

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS

**VOLUME 11—FRENCH SHIPS IN THE PACIFIC,
1708-1717**

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by

Rodrigue Lévesque

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- v. 6. Revolts in the Marianas, 1673-1678.
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Front endpaper: Typical French frigate of the period. Actually, this is a representation of the famous pirate ship Glorieux of Captain Jean Bart.

Rear endpaper: Sketches of the inhabitants of Sonsorol and Palau Islands, by José Somera in 1710. For full explanations, see pages 250-251.
(Source: AGI MP Fil. 17-2).

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.
AGR	Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit magazine, Rome).
ANP	Archives Nationales, Paris.
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit archives, Rome).
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.
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.
Laval	Laval University Library, Québec.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MARC	Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
MBU	Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar (All documents moved to MN).
MCF	Microfilm.
MHA	Marine Historical Association, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut.
MMB	Mercedarias Misioneras de Berriz (Mercedarian Sisters of Berriz, Vizcaya, Spain).
MN	Museo Naval, Madrid.
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (of Issoudun, France).

NDL	National Diet Library, Tokyo.
NLA	Newberry Library, Ayer Collection, Chicago.
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.
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.
S&D	Streit & Dindinger (see Bibliography—Reference section)
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.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris.
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USN	U.S. Navy [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USS	U.S. Ship.
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

“We don’t move into the future facing forward so much as we back into it, gazing out over the past.”

[Line attributed to Walter Benjamin]

Some countries are less skilled than others at travelling “back to the future.” France is one of them. Most Frenchmen ignore that many French ships crossed the Pacific Ocean before their more famous Bougainville in the 1760s. In fact, the first French ship to go around the world was the **Grand-Dauphin**, Captain Dufresne, and also the first to go around the world twice in a row. I have researched this topic and discovered to my amazement that at least 17 French ships visited Guam in the short period from 1708 to 1717. Many of those continued their voyage around the world after visiting China, some more than once. The aptly-named ship **Découverte** discovered a new island, Clipperton, still a French possession. Many more French ships must have crossed the Pacific, but left no records, except that we know from a Captain Boisloré (whose story will unfold in future volumes) that he had himself visited the area of the Philippines earlier, in 1703. This was before the first recorded voyage by Captain Frondat in the ship **Saint-Antoine**, in 1708.

For political reasons in Europe, and the stipulations of the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, the French government forbid French ships from going to the Pacific. Threats of confiscation and fines were of no use until the King issued a decree, on 29 January 1716, ordering the death penalty for any captain who contravened this edict. It took time for this news to reach all corners of the world. Meanwhile, the largest French fleet in history to visit Guam was there at the beginning of June 1716. One straggler came by in 1717, but the end of a prosperous period of free trade had come to an end.

This volume also contains more documents about the continuing exploration of the Caroline Islands. In 1700, a boat from Guam had accidentally re-discovered Ulithi Atoll. In 1710, a Spanish ship from Manila finally discovered new islands, the Palau Group. However, lack of success was a normal outcome of such voyages of exploration. Another 20 years would pass before an attempt at colonization would be made. In the meantime, many shipwrecks occurred and 16 Spanish were marooned forever at the islets of Sonsorol, including two Belgian Jesuit missionaries. Father Serrano, the Superior of the Caroline Mission, died in a shipwreck among the Philippines in 1711.

In 1709, some English pirates led by Woodes Rogers were able to capture another Manila galleon off California. On the way home they dared to stop at Guam with their prize. The Spanish prisoners were ransomed, but the pirates got their refreshments after threatening destruction of the colony. Governor Pimentel had to suffer through end-

less law-suits for years to come, for not having fought with these pirates, although he saved the colony by not doing so. The reaction of the Manila officials made him coy about reporting the visits of other foreign ships; from then on, he wrote few reports, and not one word about French ships, though France was a friendly country. By the way, Rogers carried another Chamorro canoe to England, perhaps at the suggestion of William Dampier, who was then on his third voyage around the world.

Father Bouwens, the “second founder” of the Mariana Island Mission, died of a bout with diarrhea in Saipan in 1712. Soon after that, Father Cruydolf, his companion, closed the mission station at Anaguan (now called Garapan) and the people were concentrated at the main station at Fatiguan (now called Chalan Kanoa). By 1727, the whole island of Saipan was depopulated, and the people moved to Guam. Already in 1710, the native population of Guam had decreased to about 5,000, that is, one-third of the population at contact, but there was hardly 1,500 able-bodied men remaining. At least half of the natives suffered from disfiguring skin diseases, according to French visitors, and from other miseries, which they bore with patience, according to the missionaries.

Normally, fictional stories have no place in this collection of historical documents, but I could not resist reproducing part of an imaginary voyage around the world by Daniel Defoe, the famous author of the *Robinson Crusoe* story. What he says about the Philippines, Guam, and the exploration of the Pacific may interest some readers. Defoe’s ideas must certainly have some effect on the conceptions and mis-conceptions that learned people in England had of Pacific navigation at that time.

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, November 1998.

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Errors and corrections

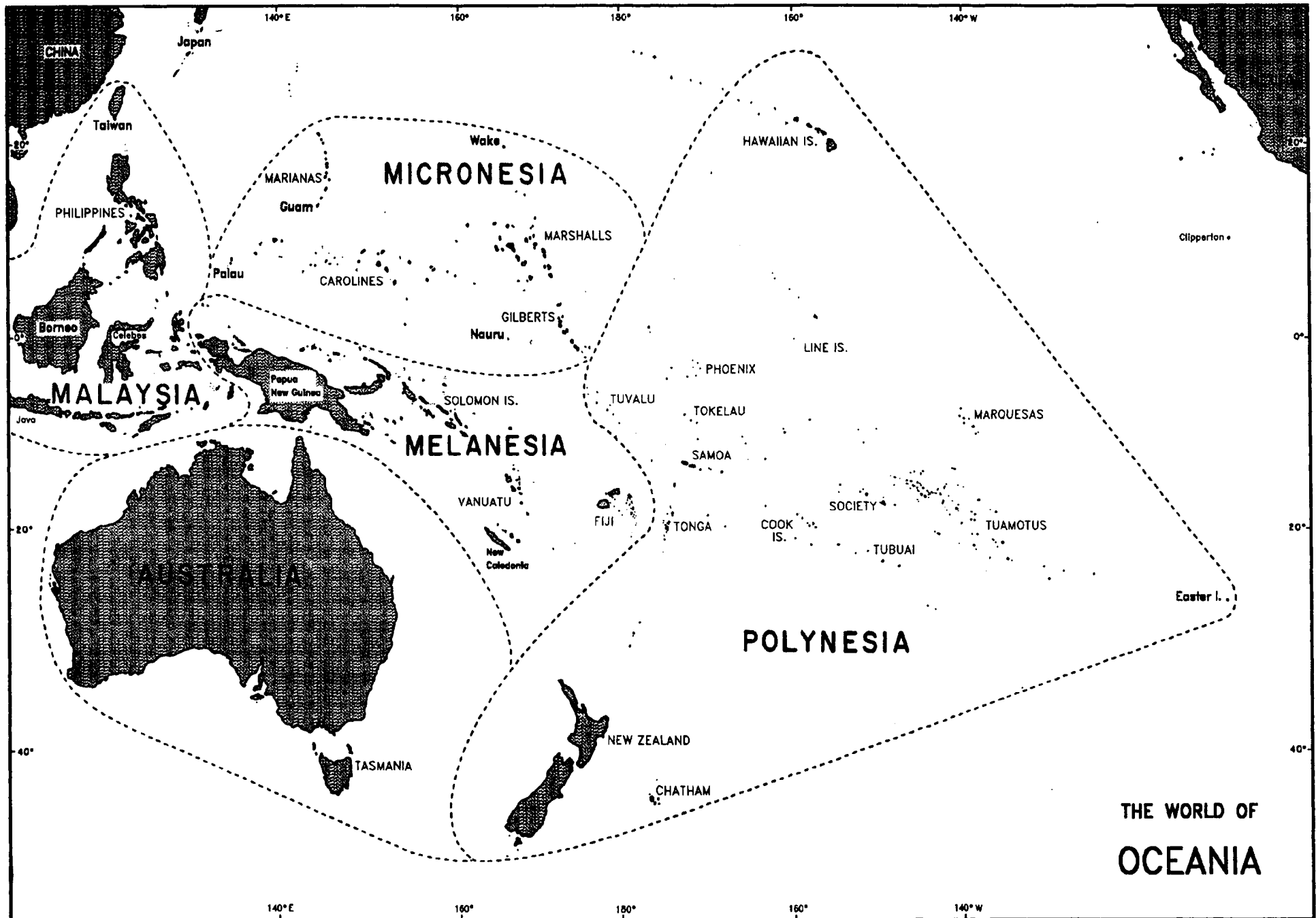
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

Note on sources

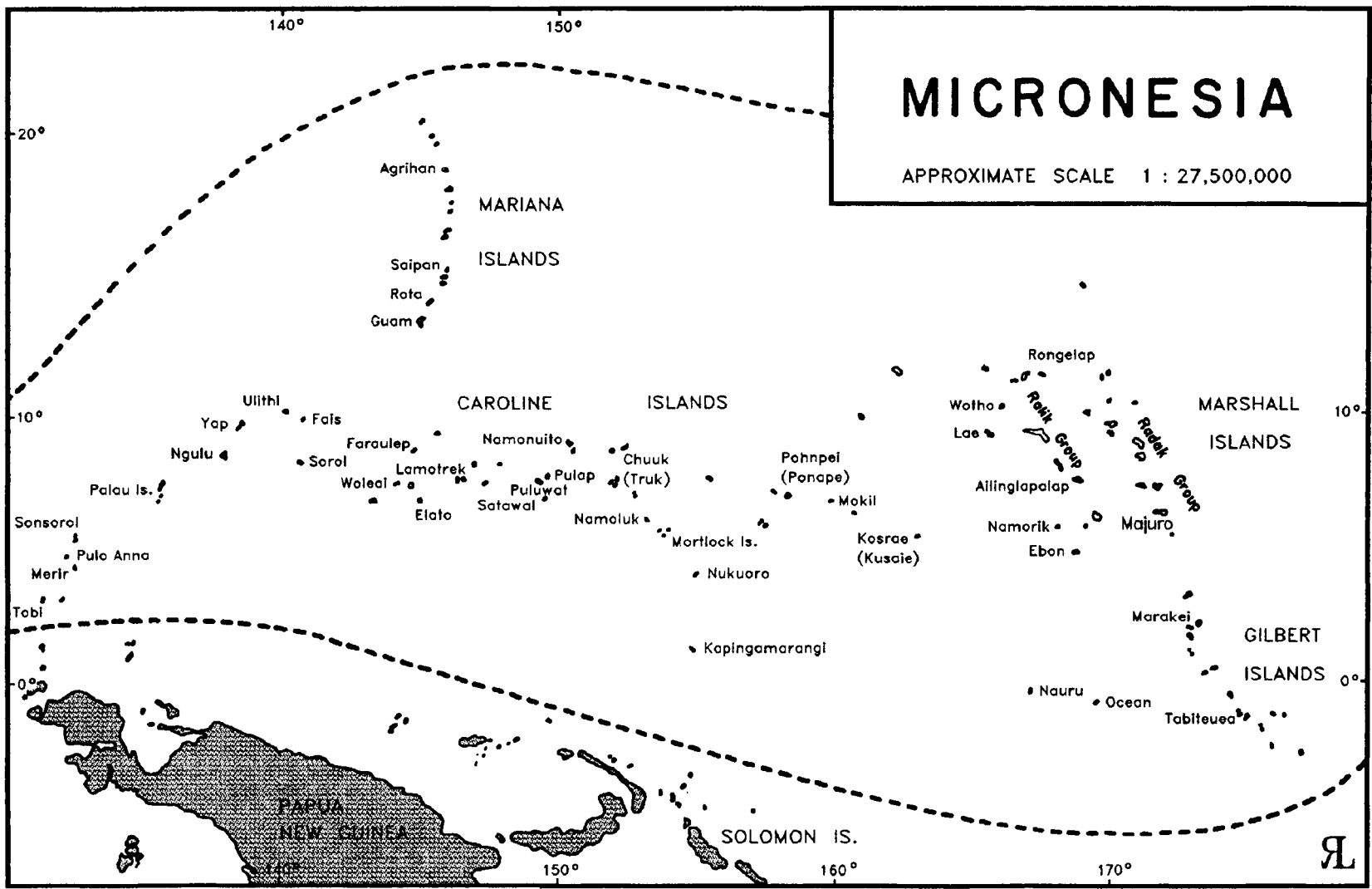
The documents drawn from AGI are from the *Filipinas* bundles, unless otherwise indicated.

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.



**THE WORLD OF
OCEANIA**



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Document 1708H

First French ships across the Pacific

French ships at Guam, 1708-1717

Sources: Many mss. in ANP (Archives Nationales, Paris), BNP (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), the Royal Library in Stockholm, and the writings of E. W. Dahlgren, specially his book: "Voyages français à destination de la Mer du Sud avant Bougainville (1695-1749)," Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1906. First published in JPH 33.1 (1998): 105-110.

Introduction to a little-known period in Pacific History

Historical setting.

More than a century after the first intrusion of a foreign ship into "the Spanish Lake", the Dutch and the English controlled the direct traffic routes between Europe and Asia. However, only the Dutch were welcome in Japan. In September 1698, the French founded the Pacific Ocean Company for the overt purpose of trading with Chile and Peru, but their eyes were on China and a route across the northern Pacific. Their chance came in 1700 with the death of King Charles II of Spain and his heir was a Bourbon king of French descent, none other than Louis XIV's own grandson, Philip of Anjou, who became Philip V of Spain. The English objected and the War of the Spanish Succession began in earnest in 1702. This was one more reason for French (and Spanish) ships to avoid the Indian Ocean shipping lanes to the Orient.

A rich trade between France and the South Sea was soon established. Between 1698 and 1725, no fewer than 168 French ships sailed to the South Sea; 117 returned, most making a good profit.¹ This profit was mostly in the form of gold and silver from Peru, but there was merchandise that had come from China via the galleon trade, which the Spanish had illegally taken from Acapulco to Peru. However, the French trade with the South Sea was made illegal and this period of French history was soon forgotten—even early circumnavigations by French ships—to such an extent that some historians still think that the first French circumnavigator was Bougainville in the 1760s.

¹ This remark is taken from O.H.K. Spate's second book and based on works by E. W. Dahlgren.

N°	DATES OF VISIT	TON	NAME OF SHIP	HOME-PORT	NAME OF CAPTAIN	COMMENTS
1	1708 June 20-23	300	Saint-Antoine-de Padoue	Port-Louis	Nicolas de FRONDAT	—First French ship to cross the Pacific.
2	1711 Jan'y 25-31	---	Solide	---	Guillaume de RAGUIENNE de Mareuil	—Later shipwrecked in Brazil.
3	1711 May 15-18	---	Découverte	Dunkirk	Michel DUBOCAGE	—Discovered Clipperton Island, with n° 4 below.
4	1711 May 15-18	400	Princesse	Dunkirk	Mathieu MARTIN de Chassiron	—Discovered Clipperton Island, with n° 3 above.
5	1712 April?	350	Grand-Dauphin	St-Malo	Sébastien(?) DUFRESNE des Saudrais	—First French ship around the world.
6	1713 February 1-7	280	Grande-Reine-d'Espagne	St-Malo	Jacques BRUNET	—Circumnavigation, with n° 7 & 8.
7	1713 February 1-6	---	Saint-Louis	Port-Louis	Henri BOUYNOT	—Circumnavigation, with n° 6 & 8.
8	1713 February 1-6	---	François	Port-Louis	René LE COCQ	—Circumnavigation, with n° 6 & 7.
9	1713 June?	300	Éclair	Port-Louis	Jean de BOISLORÉ	—Captured in Philippines and renamed Relámpago.
10	1716 January?	130	Notre-Dame-de-Lorette	---	Gilles-René DELAAGE	—Possible stop at Guam. Circumnavigation.
11	1716 March?	350	Grand-Dauphin	St-Malo	Louis-Hervé DUFRESNE des Saudrais	—Possible stop at Guam. Second circumnavigation.
12	1716 May 30-June 6	350	Jupiter	---	Maurice BÉVEN	—Circumnavigation.
13	1716 May 30-June 5	---	Comte-de-Lamoignon	Nantes	? DE LAFOND	—Circumnavigation.
14	1716 May 30-June 6	450	Martial	St-Malo	Servan COLLET de la Villepoulet	—Circumnavigation.
15	1716 May 30-June 6	250	Marquis-de-Maillebois	---	? DE LA PERCHE	—Circumnavigation.
16	1716 June 2-6	120	Bien-Aimée	St-Malo	Georges-Olivier HARDOUIN de la Bénestais	—Disappeared after passing Cape Engaño.
17	1717 Oct. 5-Nov. 28	200	Pontchartrain	St-Malo	Louis ROCHE	—Circumnavigation.

Enter E. W. Dahlgren.

In about 1900, Erik W. Dahlgren was Director of the Royal Library in Stockholm, Sweden. One day, his eyes fell upon two original ship journals in the collection of manuscripts there; they were both written in French, one by a certain Nicolas de Frondat and the other by a Pierre Moirre, respectively captain and pilot of a ship named **Saint-Antoine**. This lucky find led Dahlgren to investigate the earliest voyages made by the French to and across the Pacific at the beginning of the 18th century. What he discovered was that, during the two centuries that followed Magellan's death, 23 ships had also made circumnavigations, and half of them had been French.

At least 7 of these early French navigators are known for sure to have stopped at Guam, like Magellan, on their way around the world, and maybe 3 more probably did. Furthermore, more French ships, travelling between Peru and China, and back to Peru, made stopovers at Guam. The table (on facing page) gives a summary list of those early French visitors to Guam.

Captain Frondat, 1708.

The first French ship to cross the Pacific to go to China was the **Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue**, Captain Nicolas de Frondat, in 1708. He returned via the north Pacific and came back to Peru at the end of 1710. This was obviously an infringement of the old privileges accorded to the Manila galleon trade.

Captain Frondat had left Callao, the port of Lima, on 22 March 1708. Three months later, on 20 June, he reached Guam and was guided to Agaña by a Spanish-speaking native. As he saw no pass through the reef there, he was signalled away by two guns from the shore and went to anchor at Aty [i.e. Cetti] Bay. The French took on water and wood, and all sorts of supplies. They mention cattle, hens, ducks, pigs, goats, and fruits such as coconuts, bananas, lemons, oranges, pineapple, and others. In exchange, the French gave "old clothes and some hardware." The native traders did not care for money. The log-keeper adds: *"The people of the country are very easy to deal with. They come alongside aboard pirogues which have outriggers to prevent their capsizing. When the natives learned that we were Frenchmen, friends of the [Spanish] nation, after the Governor had someone tell them that they had nothing to fear, that they could come in complete safety, they did so immediately."*

The French visitors took time to careen their ship, on both sides, and to exchange dinner invitations with the Governor. Upon departure, they gave the Governor some French cognac and 2 barrels of flour. The normal food ashore was said to be rice, there being no wheat even for biscuits. On 24 March, the ship left for the port of Canton in China. At Aty, they had observed a latitude of 13°42' N.

Captain Raguienne de Mareuil, 1711.

The ship **Solide** came from Port-Louis in Brittany. Captain Guillaume Raguienne, Lord of Mareuil, was trading in Peru when he heard about Frondat's voyage to China.

He left Peru in mid-November 1710, one month before Frondat returned there. He too stopped at Rota and Guam from 25 to 31 January 1711.

The pilot and supercargo of the *Solide*, Mr. Moncourant, has left us a short narrative of this voyage and some sketch maps of Rota and Guam.¹

When they first saw Rota, they thought they were at Guam and they made for its west side. Off Sosa, a Spaniard came aboard and undeceived them, offering to guide them to Umatac, which he did. The ship had been spotted from Agaña and Governor Pimentel came to Umatac to meet it. The Governor provided the ship with coconuts, bananas, lemons, potatoes, rice and many other types of food supplies, in exchange for flour, wine and brandy. Mr. Moncourant noted that there were then 15 Jesuit missionaries in the islands (11 priests and 4 brothers), and that the native population was between 1,400 and 1,500 only, mostly all Catholic. There were two missionaries who remained from the first mission band of 1668, he said; this was no doubt a reference to Father Bustillo and Father Bouwens. The fort at Agaña is said to have had 11 guns in 1711. Mr. Moucourant also reported that the Spanish were then building a bark to go and explore the Caroline Islands. Tinian was also mentioned as a good anchorage and supply base for foreign ships.

The **Solide** was also careened at Guam and the Governor entertained on board. Finally, after 5 days in Guam, the ship left for China.

Captains Dubocage and Martin, 1711.

Captain Michel Dubocage of Dunkirk had left France in 1707 as part of a fleet. As the name of his ship, **La Découverte**, indicates, the purpose of his voyage was supposedly one of discovery, not trade with China. Nevertheless, while on the way to Guam from Peru, Dubocage discovered a new island south of Mexico and named it Passion Island.² The *Découverte* was not alone but in company with **La Princesse**, Captain Mathieu Martin. The discovery of Clipperton Island is also recorded in the logbook of this ship.

Both ships sighted Guam on 14 May 1711 and soon came to anchor at Umatac.³ The Governor was already at Umatac waiting for the regular galleon. The food items provided to the ships included peppers, watermelons, lemons, sour oranges, rice, corn, potatoes, yams, coconuts, breadfruit, and by way of meat, some calves, goats, pigs, chicken, and ducks. Dubocage says that Captain Frondat had left a better kind of ducks on the island. As for Dubocage, he brought in the first turkeys to Guam, leaving one male and two females for breeding purposes.

1 I was fortunate to find these loose sketches in Paris a few years ago and tied them to this voyage on the basis of the dates and Moncourant's handwriting.

2 An Englishman, Captain Clipperton, came by 10 years later and named it after himself, but in modern times, France effectively laid claim to it on the basis of prior discovery by Dubocage.

3 Because the Frenchmen of that period used crude Dutch charts (by Pieter Goos), they often confused Aty with Umatac. Guam itself was called Agoupagan on those charts.

During a fancy dinner aboard the **Princesse**, Captain Dubocage questioned Governor Pimentel about the islands and has recorded a few interesting notes. He reports a population of 4,000 people on Guam, including 200 Spanish, in 1711. Half of those natives suffered from a disease similar to leprosy. On two inhabited islands further north, there were 800 and 1,500 people respectively.

The ships left on the 18th and went directly to Amoy in China, and back to Peru by way of California. Among the ships anchored at Callao was the **Solide**, then making ready to return to France.

There exists a journal kept by a Mr. Prudhomme who was aboard the **Princesse**.¹ Referring to the native canoes, he says that *"it is nothing to see them on paper; we were astonished to see the speed at which they go and with what ease they are maneuvered. I assure you that they would have made a double circle around us."* He also mentions that the Governor was given wine, brandy and flour by Captain Martin. He records that Governor Pimentel was the illegitimate son of a former viceroy of Peru long established in Manila. Only half of the foreigners living in Guam were whites, he says, and they were married to native women whom he did not think were pretty, *"no more so than the men. They have very small eyes, a flat nose, and very big lips. They are fairly tall but most of them are lepers..."*² Upon leaving Guam, the seamen aboard the **Princesse** had to share the deck with 10 live cows and even more pigs.

Captain Dufresne, 1712.

Captain Sébastien(?) Dufresne des Saudrais commanded the ship **Grand-Dauphin**, the first French ship to have gone around the world. Little is known about this voyage as no logbook or journal has survived. This ship left Saint-Malo in January 1711 and returned in July 1713. It is certain that it visited Guam, although it probably did, because the French ships that crossed the Pacific after Captain Frondat carried copies of his logbook. By the way, it is useless to look into Spanish records for a mention of those French ships, because Governor Pimentel never reported the passage of foreign ships after he was severely criticized for having helped the English pirate Woodes Rogers in 1710. As for Captain Dufresne, he is said to have gone once more around the world, possibly stopping at Guam again in March 1716.

The French ships of 1713.

The word about the rich profits to be made in China had gotten around among the French ships trading with Peru. On 1 February 1713, the inhabitants of Guam witnessed the arrival of the **Grande-Reine-d'Espagne** of Saint-Malo, Captain Jacques

1 See Doc. 1711K.

2 Leprosy is seldom mentioned as an important cause for the depopulation of the Mariana Islands, but it disfigured and killed the natives prematurely and obviously made them unattractive as marriage partners. Leprosy was not an imported disease but endemic even before the conquest and colonization period.

Brunet. It was accompanied by two other ships: the **Saint-Louis** of Port-Louis, Captain Henri Bouynot, and the **François**, also of Port-Louis, Captain Le Cocq. The ships stayed 5 or 6 days and left for China. The first two ships continued around the world, whereas the last one was condemned in India.

Another ship, the **Éclair**, Captain Jean de Boisloré, visited Guam in June that year. Later on, it was forced to seek a port in the Ilocos Province of Luzon, was captured by two Spanish ships, taken to Cavite, impounded and the captain jailed, for illegal trading in Spanish waters.¹

The French fleet of 1716.

As a result of the Treaty of Utrecht (April 1713), the French voyages to the South Sea (and to Guam) should have stopped, but the buccaneer spirit of the Breton ship-owners and sea captains was the stronger. They hurried to dispatch all the ships they could find in what could have been their last chance.

So it is that the largest fleet of French ships ever to visit Guam arrived on the last day of May 1716 and stayed for one week. They were:

1. The **Jupiter**, Captain Béven;
2. The **Comte-de-Lamoignon**, Captain De la Fond;
3. The **Martial**, Captain Collet de la Villepoulet;
4. The **Marquis-de-Maillebois**, Captain De la Perche;
5. The **Bien-Aimée**, Captain Hardouin de la Bénestais.

The story of their voyage was published by Le Gentil de la Barbinais, although there are two logbooks extant.² This book has been effectively summarized in English by Callander.³ In Guam, the French captains were invited to the so-called Governor's palace at Umatac. In France, this would have been called a cottage at best, as it was covered with thatch, and palm-leaves. An excerpt from Callander's translation is as follows: *"The inhabitants are half naked, and universally infected with the leprosy, which seems to be here an epidemical distemper. Their huts are formed of large trunks of trees, morticed into each other, and covered with palm-leaves. Their way of life is sordid and miserable to the last degree, and yet the Spaniards here are in a worse situation still, not being accustomed to live as the Indians do. Those last diminish every day, there being scarcely 1,500 now remaining of 15,000 found there at the conquest."*

This fleet continued on to Amoy, China, and then around the world, except for the **Bien-Aimée** that disappeared without a trace soon after leaving Guam. Barbinais' ship carried 11 Spanish soldiers away from Guam, and perhaps the other ships as well. Those soldiers purchased their release from the Governor; actually the French advanced them

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- 1 Extract from the logbook of the **Éclair** are to be found in AGI. The claim of Captain Boisloré was brought to the attention of the Council of the Indies by the French ambassador in Madrid, and his case remained pending for a long time.
 - 2 Le Gentil de la Barbinais, *Nouveau voyage autour du monde* (3 volumes, Paris, 1725). The Guam episode is in Volume 1, pp. 146-155.
 - 3 John Callander, *Terra Australis Cognita*, art. VI, pp. 439-443.

the money for it and they became “French” sailors. One should mention the possibility of another French ship visiting Guam in January that year; the **Notre-Dame-de Lorette**, Captain Delaage, left no logbook to prove or disprove this point.

Captain Roche, 1717.

Before the tide of French trading ships across the Pacific was stopped, at least one more ship came to Guam in October 1717. It was the **Pontchartrain** of Saint-Malo, Captain Louis Roche. There is no logbook, but Captain Roche made a declaration after his return to France in which he says that he stayed at Guam from 5 October to 28 November, a rather long stay. I conjecture that he may have found some serious problems after careening his ship.

The Spanish government was naturally quite upset that French ships took the South American and Chinese trade away from Spanish ships. The official reaction was the dispatch, in 1716, of four well-equipped ships from Spain with a commission to arrest the culprits. Three of those ships were French privateers. Their policeman general, Jean-Baptiste Martinet, seized six French trading ships in Peru in 1717, and the others fled, thus effectively putting an end to this type of venture.¹ In 1718, there was also a Spanish royal decree issued about the China trade that had caused so much harm to the industry of Seville. A new viceroy was also sent to Peru to ensure compliance. Thus the back door of the South Sea was effectively closed to French ships.

¹ The French king forbid his subjects from trading in the South Sea, under penalty of death, The draft of this royal decree, dated 16 January 1716, is found in ANP Marine B1.4, folios 44v-47.



The port of Saint-Malo in Brittany, in 18th-century France. *It was the homeport of many of the French ships that visited the Pacific at that time.*

Documents 1708I

The voyage of the French ship Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, Captain Nicolas de Frondat

Note: The real name of this ship is indeed Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, and not Saint-Antoine-de-Pade, as Dahlgren has repeatedly written.

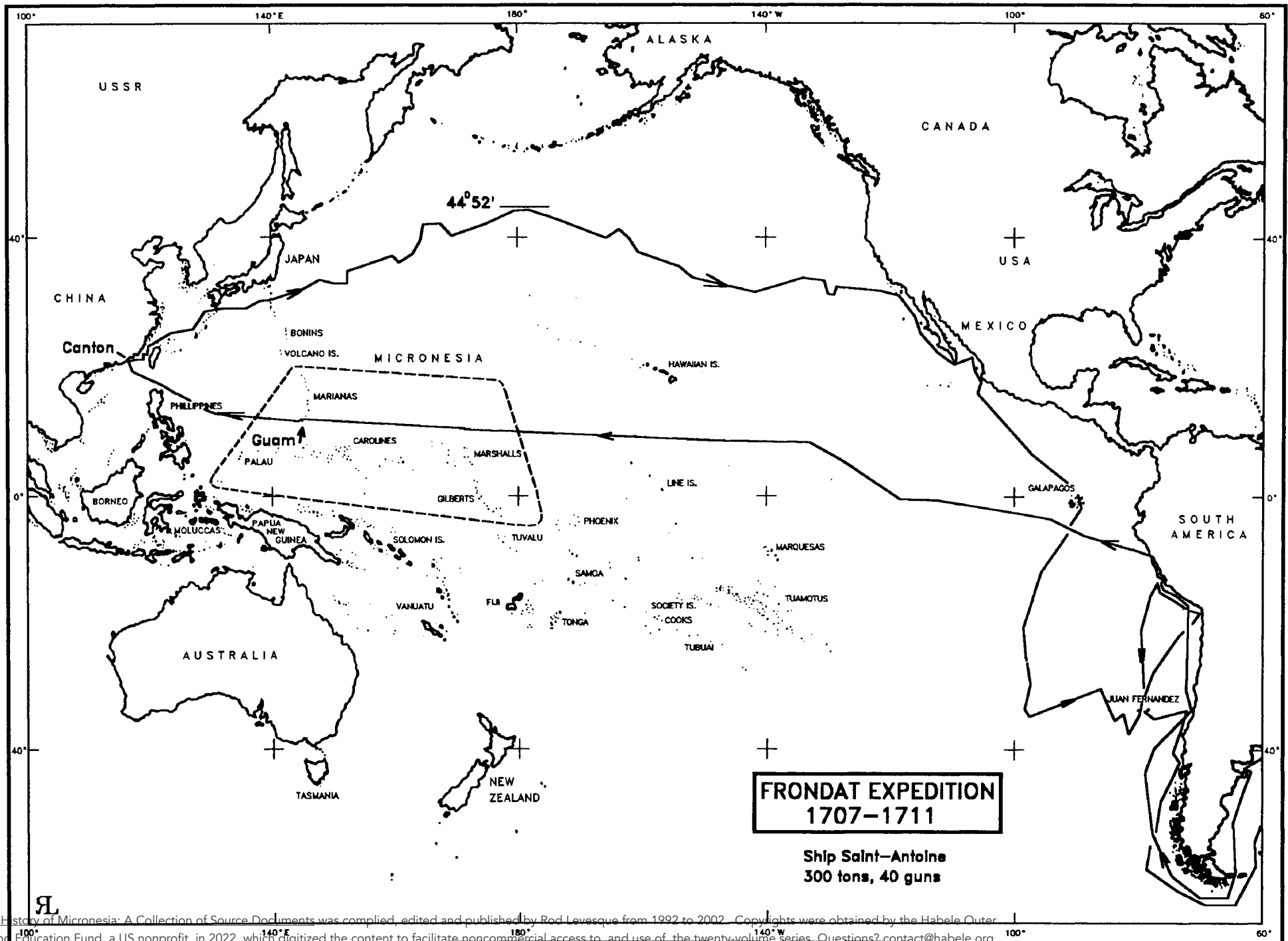
Introductory note, translated from Dahlgren.

Source: Dahlgren, Voyages français, n° 48.

The **Saint-Antoine-de-Pade** [sic] of Port-Louis [in Brittany]; 300 tons, 40 guns, 164 men. Captain: Nicolas de Frondat [or Frondad]; ship-owners: Du Moulin and De Laye.

Departed Port-Louis on 30 January 1707 and from the roadstead of Groix on 14 February. In sight of Madeira on 8 March; crossed the Equator on 6 April. In the River Plate from 10 May to 7 September. In the Strait of Lemaire on 4 September... In Concepción [Chile] from 16 November to 3 January 1708. In the Bay of Paracá from 30 January to 6 March; Pisco [Peru] 6-22 March; Callao on 24 March; Huacho 26-30 March. **Crossed the Pacific, with a stopover at Guam 21-23 June.** Passed by the Babuyan Islands [Philippines], 8-10 July. Saw the coast of China on 17 July. In Macao on 21 July. In Canton (Wampoa) from 26 July to 28 February 1709. At Suanchoosonboo 10-11 April. Passed by the Linschoten Is. 23-25 April. Sighted the Saint-Antoine (Ponafidin, or St. Peter) Islands and Saint-Roch (Lot's Wife) on 29 April. During the eastward crossing of the Pacific, it reached its northermost point, 44°52' lat. N on 4 June. Followed the coast of Baja California from 23 July to 7 August. Tres Marias Is. 13-16 August. Valle de Banderas, from 21 August to 5 September. Galapagos Is., 8-9 October. Ilo [Peru], from 9 December to 24 January 1710. Pisco, from 29 January to 8 April, and from 19 April to 16 September. Valparaiso [Chile], 13-20 October. Arica, 4-28 November. Concepción, 4 January to 8 February 1711, and from 25 February to 14 March. Passed Cape Horn on 4 April. At Martinique from 8 June to 11 July. Arrived at Brest on 27 August. The value of the gold and silver coins on board was then 1,768,202 pounds, 9 pence and 3 farthings.

The Saint-Antoine was seized by the French Government on 2 November, because trade with China through the back door of the Pacific Ocean was officially forbidden.

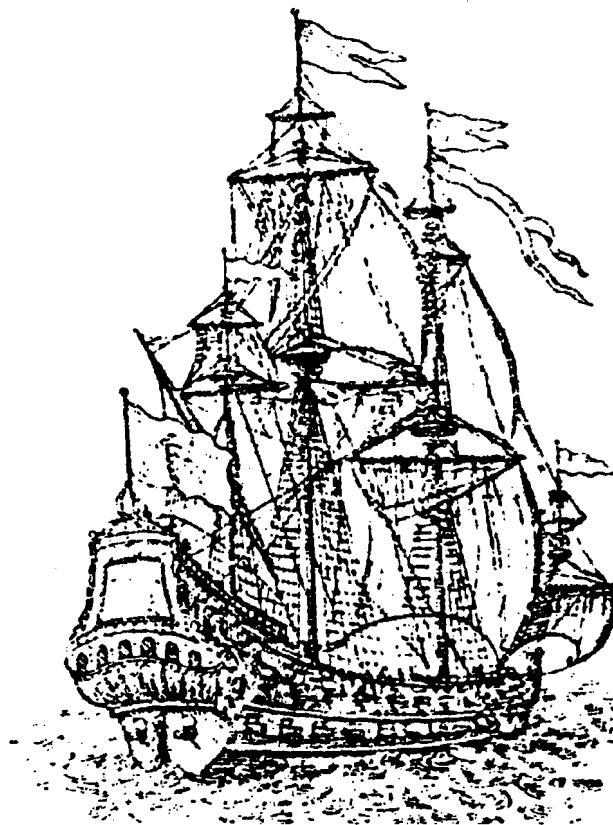


II. The journal of Captain Nicolas de Frondat

Sources: Original ms. in the Royal Library in Stockholm; synthesized, in Swedish, by E. W. Dahlgren, in the Ymer magazine, 1900, specially in the chapter entitled: "Saint-Antoine vid Mariannerna," pp. 121-127.

Original title in French.

Journal du voyage de Pérou en Chine, et retour en France, repassant par le Pérou, et Chily dans le Vaisseau le St. Antoine, du port de 300 thonneaux, armé de 44 canons, et 150 hommes d'Équipage, et appartenant aux particuliers de France; commandé par Mr. De Frondat.



The ship Saint-Antoine-de-Padoue, first recorded French ship to cross the Pacific. *It went from Peru to China, and back to Peru between 1708 and 1710. Her home port was Port-Louis in Brittany. (From a sketch appearing on a chart of the North Pacific by J.-B. Nolin, fils. Original formerly in SHM, but now at BNP Cartes et Plans. Copied from Dahlgren, in Ymer, 1900, p. 320).*

Synthesis in Swedish, by Dahlgren.

Kap. 7. Saint Antoine vid Mariannerna.

Jämförelse mellan de nautiska observationerna på le Saint Antoine och verkligheten. — Ankomst till Mariannerna. — Invånarnes förskräckelse och misstänksamhet. — "Den hederligaste guvernör i hela spanska väldet". — Beskrifning på ön Guam. — Chamorros. — De äldsta kartor öfver Guam. — Afresa från ön. — Segling genom Babyanernas arkipelag. — Kartor öfver densamma. — Färd öfver Kinesiska sjön. — Inloppet till Kantonfloden. — Ankring på Macaos redd. — Färd genom Bocca Tigris. — Ankomst till Whampoa.

Efter den exkurs, hvarmed föregående kapitel afslutats, och som bristande fackkunskap hindrat mig att utsträcka till nautikens rent matematiska område, må vi återvända till "Saint Antoine" och se till, huru resultatet af de beräkningar, som dess piloter utförde under den långa oceanfärden, ställde sig till de faktiska förhållandena.

Den 20 juni 1708 kl. 4 e. m. pejldes på 10 lieues afstånd ön Guam eller "Ile de Mariana," såsom den kallas af vårt manuskripts författare. Besticket utvisade samma dags middag 13° 15' n. lat. och 167° 46' long., men det holländska sjökort, hvaraf man begagnade sig, förlade ön på 164° 20' o. long. från Tenerife. MOIRIE anser sig alltså hafva misräknat sig på 3° 26', och att den tillryggalagda vägen var 52-2/3 lieues längre än besticket angaf. Han tillskrifver detta riktigt nog strömmens inverkan — man hade större delen af resan seglat inom den mot väster sättande norra ekvatorialströmmens område — och tröstar sig med att de flesta piloter kommit till lika sfort eller större fel. Gå vi till de nyaste ortbestämningarna,¹ så finna vi Guams latitud uppgifven till 13° 25' 48" — jämförelsen utfaller alltså här särdeles fördelaktigt för Moiries observationsförmåga — men annorlunda förhåller det sig med longituden. Ön ligger nämligen 142° 19' 16" o. fr. Paris eller 161° 17' 37" o. from Tenerife,² och om vi taga i betraktande, att Moirie bestämt sin utgångspunkt, Huacho, till 295° 55' long., då den rätteligen bort vara 298° 55' 16" o. fr. Tenerife, så finna vi, att han enligt sin beräkning seglat 128° 9', men i själfva verket tillryggalagt 137° 37' 44". Felet i besticket uppgick alltså till icke mindre än 9° 28' 44".

Sedan man om natten legat bi för minskade segel, dublerades påföljande morgon Guams norra udde. Så snart man befann sig i lä om ön, fick man besök af en mängd infödingar, hvilka i sina kanoter medförde stora massor af frukt, som utbyttes mot knifvar. I en af båtarna befann sig en spanior, som erbjöd sig att lotsa fartyget till hufvudorten Agañas redd. Sedan han under föregifvande att vilja underrätta guvernören om främlingarnas ankomst, begifvit sig i land, upptäckte dessa till all lycka ett undervattensref, på hvilket spanioren, i tanke att de voro sjöröfvare, velat sätta fartyget. Just då

1 "Connaissance des temps," in French.

2 M. de Frondat själf säger i sin journal: "il paraît que cette île de Gouama ou Marianne est par les 13° 25' N et 162° 30' long." Denna märkligt exakta ortbestämning är antagligen grundad på i land auställda observationer.

man ämnade öfvergifva den ogästvänliga ön och fortsätta färden till Kina, kom ännu en inföding ombord, hvilken med hot och löften om belöning förmåddes att anvisa en bättre ankarplats längre söder ut, utanför en liten ort vid namn Atty. En båt sändes härifrån till byn Umata, vid hvars landningsplats fransmännen mottogos af en spansk kapten i spetsen för ett hundratal beväpnade infödingar. Vid underrättelsen att skeppet tillhörde en vänskaplig nation och att det var stad på fredlig köpmansfärd till Kina, blefvo de landstigna väl bemötta, men några af dem kvarhöllos dock såsom gisslan, medan bud sändes till Agaña för att meddela guvernören att ingen fara var å färde och att den redan allarmerade befolkningen kunde återgå till fredliga sysselsättningar. Det var ej att undra på, att fransmännens ankomst vållade förskräckelse, då man dittills aldrig fått mottaga vänskapliga besök annat än af galeonen från Acapulco, som passerat åtta dagar tidigare.

Följande dag, den 22 juni på morgonen, syntes guvernörens båt ro längs stranden med hissad flagga för att tillkännagifva, att han själf vore ombord. Så var dock ej fallet, ty guvernören infann sig samtidigt förklädd på det franska fartyget för att förvissa sig om hvilket mottagande man ämnade bereda honom. Då han fann, att intet svek åsyftades, begaf han sig till land, hvarifrån han sände ett bref till M. Frondat, som icke dröjde att göra sin uppvaktning för att begära tillstånd att på ön förse sig med lifsförnödenheter. Denna begäran villfors på det artigaste, infödingarna fingo befallning att icke neka främlingarna något, och inom en kort stund sågo dessa sitt fartyg öfverfylldt af fjäderfä, frukt och hornboskap, hvarjämte den förekommande guvernören lät frakta ombord allt vatten man behöfde.

Den tredje dagen af vistelsen vid Guam var guvernören, jämte några officerare och tvenne jesuitfäder, inbjuden till middag ombord; gästerna fingo lämpliga skänker,¹ men betalning för de lämnade förnödenheterna vägrade spaniorerna att mottaga. I förtjusning häröfver utbrister författaren till vårt manuskript, som hade en helt annan erfarenhet af de spanska ämbetsmännens beteende, att man helt visst påträffat "den hederligaste guvernör i hela spanska väldet." Detta omdöme modifieras i våra ögon af vissheten därom, att det var de arma infödingarna som fingo betala sina herrars gästfrihet.

Guvernörens namn var, enligt Pierre Moirie, don MANUEL DE ARGUELLES från Asturien. Om vi emellertid studera Mariannernas historia hos LOUIS DE FREYCINET, så finna vi ej den förträfflige mannens namn å listan öfver öarnas styresmän. Åren 1704—1709 innehades guvernörsbefattningen af don ANTONIO VILLAMOR Y VADILLO, hvilken sistnämnda år aflöstes af don JUAN ANTONIO PIMENTEL. Vi kunna alltså antaga, att don Manuel endast en kortare tid på förordnande förvaltat guvernörsämbetet, hvilket blir så mycket sannolikare, som "Saint Antoinnes" besök inträffade kort efter det att jesuiten JOSÉ DE TEXADA, genom sina skarpa klagomål mot förvaltningen på öarna,

1 "Deux barils de farine et un quart d'eau de vie de France, ce qu'il estima beaucoup, l'île étant dépourvue d'eau de vie, vin, farine et bled. Leur nourriture n'est que de ris, leur venant quelque fois du biscuit de Manille" [Ed. comment: See next document.]

föranledt en kunglig befallning om åtals anställande mot deras oredliga styresmän; troligen var med anledning häraf den ordinarie guvernören vid den ifrågavarande tidpunkten försatt ur tjänstgöring. Däremot finna vi en don MANUEL ARGUELLES omnämnd af GEMELLI CARRERI såsom kapten på galeonen "San José," med hvilken han 1696—97 gjorde färden från Manila till Acapulco. Helt säkert var det samme man, som tio år senare välkomnade de franska sjömännen såsom vice guvernör på Guam. Visserligen berättar Gemelli Carreri, att den kapten, som spaniorerna kalla "capitaine de mer et de guerre," dog under resan, men då bland galeonens befäl funnos flere kaptener — chefen kallades, såsom förut nämnts, general — behöfva vi häri ej se något hinder för den påpekade identiteten. För öfrigt få vi af Gemelli Carreri icke veta något annat om don Manuel, än att hans befattning var en ren sinekur, på hvilken han dock sade sig förtjäna 25- à 30,000 piaster under en enda resa.¹

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Till berättelsen om besöket på ön har manuskriptets författare fogat en beskrifning af densamma och dess invånares seder. Efter en så kort vistelse kan man ej vänta, att författaren härom skall lämna oss några underrättelser af större värde. Sådana skulle dock hafva varit särdeles önskvärda, då det folk, hvarmed man här trädde i beröring, sedan långt tillbaka ej mera existerar. Mariannernas urinvånare, Chamorros, dukade nämligen hastigt under för det gränslösa förtryck, hvaruti de råkade, sedan de ej längre kunde göra motstånd mot spaniorernas välde. Deras starka frihetskänsla förledde dem till förnyade uppror, "men de hafva fått ångra sig," säger Pierre Moirie. Helt visst öfverskattar han befolkningens storlek, då han anger de vapenföra människors antal till 5- à 6,000. Den första folkräkningenn, år 1710, skall hafva utvisat blott 3,539 invånare, och år 1741 hade antalet sjunkit under 2,000.² Öarnas nuvarande befolkning är en degenererad ras, uppkommen genom urinvånarnes blandning med tagaler, införda från Filippinerna.

Om det intressanta folk, som vid "Saint Antoinnes" besök redan torde hafva förlorat flere af sina ursprungliga egendomligheter, få vi hos Moirie blott några magra notiser. Han omtalar deras kraftiga kroppsbyggnad, deras vapen, som bestodo af pil, spjut och slungor, hvilka senare de skötte med stor skicklighet; vidare omtalar han deras klädedräkt och föda, hvilka båda efter spaniorernas ankomst ej längre voro så enkla som förr, samt säger, att de fordom tillbådo solen och stjärnorna, ehurn utan någon särskild kult, men nu äro de alla kristna. För öfrigt spredde de en så stark "lukt af vilde," att det var nästan omöjligt att vistas i deras närhet. Slutligen beskrifver han de utomor-

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- 1 M. Le Gentil säger: "Ce capitaine est un espèce d'homme de paille, et pis encore, car il est fort difficile de dire au juste quel est son emploi." Men som den ifrågavarande kaptensbeställningen var den bästa platsen på fartyget, måste den, som önskade erhålla densamma, betala 3- à 4,000 piaster åt guvernören i Manila (Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde, T. 2, Paris 1781, s. 210).
- 2 Meinicke, Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans, Th. 2, Leipzig 1876, s. 397.

dentligt snabbseglande kanoterna med deras stora trekantiga segel och på lovertssidan placerade utriggare. Dessa farkosters konstruktion, till följd hvaraf de ej behöfva gå öfver stag vid kryssning,¹ har väckt alla sjöfarares uppmärksamhet, och seglens form gaf redan öarnas äldsta besökare anledning att gifva dem det snart förgättna namnet "Islas de las velas latinas."

Utom en vacker förtoning af ön sedd från öster, har Moirie figvit oss en större karta öfver densamma. Den äldsta specialkarta öfver Guam, som torde finnas, är den som är intagen i jesuiten CHARLES LE GOBIEN's Histoire des isles Marianes (Paris 1700, s. 75). Med denna visar Moiries karta ett tydligt släktttycke; då talrika olikheter i namnens skrifning göra det oantagligt, att den senare är en kopia af den förra, ör det troligt, att ett gemensamt spanskt original legat till grund för dem båda. Väsentliga förbättringar i teckningen af öns sydvästra del äro dock af Moirie införda. Kustkonturen är här mera öfverensstämmande med verkligheten; ankarplatser, undervattensref, bränningar och talrika djupsiffror, hvilket allt saknas på Le Gobiens karta, äro införda af "Saint Antoinnes" pilot, som helt visst förvärfvat kändedom härom genom den rekognosceringsfärd i båt, som företogs vid inseglingen.

En karta öfver Guam finnes också i Nouveau voyage autour du monde par M. LE GENTIL DE LA BARBINAIS (T. 1, Paris 1727, s. 213). Vid nämare granskning visar sig denna, som hä återgifves i facsimile, vara en kopia af Moiries: många af namnen äro visserligen hos La Barbinais förvridda, men kustkonturen och större delen af de hydrografiska detaljerna äro alldeles desamma. Om bekantskap med "Saint Antoinnes" resa vittnar också teckningen af ett skepp utanför byn Atty, på den plats där Moirie med ett ankare utmärkt sitt fartygs förtöjningsplats.²

* * *

Omedelbart sedan guvernören och hans följe efter den ofvannämnda middagsbjudningen tagit afsked af sina värdar och af dem hälsats med 5 kanonskott och 5 gånger "Vive le Roi," lyftade "Saint Antoine" ankar och styrde till hafs. Kursen sattes nu hufvudsakligen mot NV, och efter femton dagars segling (den 23 juni—d. 8 juli 1708) fick man sikte på Kap Engaño, ön Luçons nordöstra udde. Norr om denna ö ligger en ögrupp kallad las Babyanas, som det nu gällde att genomsegla. Då detta delvis måste ske om natten, vittnar företaget om icke ringa djärfhet och skicklighet, i betraktande af de tillgängliga sjökortens ofullständighet. Talrika förtoningar så väl af Luçons kuster som af de nämnda öarna jämte en vacker karta öfver hela trakten har Moirie lämnat oss såsom minnesmärken af det nit, hvarmed fartygets piloter fullgjorde sina plikter. På kartan har en senare hand än författarens tillagt en kurslinie för ett annat franskt fartyg, "le Jupiter", som 1716 passerade Babyanernas arkipelag på väg till Amoy, och ännu en, icke fullt utdragen kurslinie har antagligen afsett att utmärka den kurs, som

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- 1 Moirie säger: "Il n'est pas besoin de faire le tour pour virer de bord; ils ne font seulement que changer la voile, qui est triangulaire et a les deux bouts en haut, et changent le devant pour le derrière."
 - 2 Ed. note: For the map of Guam by Le Gentil de la Barbinais, see Doc. 1716A.

skeppet "le Martial" samma år styrde till Kanton. Några af den senare handen klumpigt tillritade öar närmare Luçons kust kunna icke sägas tillhöra förbättringarnas antal, enär desamma, åtminstone att döma efter motsvarande karta i STIELERS handatlas, saknas i verkligheten. På ett i vårt manuskript löst inlagdt blad finnes ännu en karts-kiss öfver Babyan-arkipelagen. Utom "Saint Antoine" kurs se bi här en densamma korsande routelinie, vid hvilken läses: "Passage de la Princesse et la Découverte pour aller à Emouy." ¹ För alla de nämnda fartygens Kinafärder skall jag framdeles redogöra.

...

I2. Extracts, in duplicate, regarding the voyage of the Saint-Antoine

Sources: 1) AHP, Marine, 4JJ1 n° 4 bis, formerly in SHM, Div. 1, n° 4 bis; 2) copy in AHP, Marine, B4 32, fol. 301+, formerly in SHM also.

Note: The quality of the French leaves much to be desired. The other copy is slightly better; it was made later on by a clerk who added the following note at the foot of the title page: "Sous Monsieur de Coetlogon."

Original text in French (unedited).

Observations de la campagne que vient de faire M. de Frondad [sic], capitaine commandant le Saint-Antoine armé de 40 canons, 164 hommes d'Equipage. —

Party du port louis le 30e Janvier 1707. pour la Riviere de la platte; le perou; la Chine; les illes de Molluces et De la Merique [sic].

Premierement

Le 14e feurier 1707. Nous partimés de la Rade de groye apres y auoir fait deux Relaches; pour faire la Route pour les illes des Canaries; ou nous arriuames en vue de madere le 8e Mars suiuan; et continuamés nostre Route sans prendre terre pour La Riviere de la platte; nous passames la Ligne le 6e aupil et Navons fait d'autre Remarque pendans La trauersee qu'aux aproches de la ligne que les Courants Nous portoient au sud: et plusieurs grains fort frequents faisants pour lordinaire la Route du suroist;

...

Le 1er May 1708. dans ses parages depuis Le 17. du passé il faut quil y ayt des Courants bien Extraordinaires puis que nous Nous Sommes toujours trouués plus nord que nostre estime; et auons Eu Connoissance de quantité de poissons Bonites thon; dorades Et grandes oreilles qui nous ont esté de grand secours Et de plusieurs oizeaux et fregattes qui nous denottoient La proximité de la terre.

Le 15. du d. Continuant toujours la Route du ouest Jay trouué par ma hauteur du mesme jour quil falloit que les Courants Meussent Encore porté Nord; puis que depuis 15. jours que jetois au sud de la ligne Je mé trouue lauoir Coupée sans auoir fait d'autre

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1711J & K.

Routte que L. O. O1/4 de NO et O.NO: ayant toujours Trouué tres peu de variation NE: Ce qui me fait juger que les Courants portent au NO: dans ses parages Cest ce que nous veriffieront; a la premiere veüe de Terre Suposé quelle soit bien Marquée.

Le 15. Juin 1708. Jay pris hauteur a Midi et trouué par les 13. degrés 26. minutes de latitude Nord et par les 169. degrés 5. minutes de Longitude; Nous trouuons toujours de tres grosses differences Entre Nos Estimes et nos hauteurs; Ce qui ne peut prouenir que de quelque Courants qui nous transportent Sur le NO: Car il nous falloit faire L. OSO: pour que l'a Routte vallut L. ouest et si elle prend du sud Cest bien peut;

[Note in margin:] *Lisle de gouama Lune des Ladronnes ou Mariannes*

Le 20. Juin 1708. Nous auons Veu La terre a 4. heures du soir qui est lisle de gouamá Lune des Ladronnes; autrement Mariannes elle Nous demeuroit au NO: Environ 10. Lieues[.]

[Note in margin:] *Mouillé a la Rade Daty*

Et Nous auons Esté Mouiller par les 8 brasses d'Eau fond de Sable et Roche pourrie; Vis a vis un petit village qui se Nomme aty¹ Environ une portée de Canon de terre au surois de lisle; Nous auons Lisle de Danot² au Sud de nous Environ 2 Lieues[.] Elle est fort platte et tres dangereuse; ayant une Chainé de Roche jusqu'a Marianne que l'on ne peut passer Et du Costé du ouest suroist Beaucoup de dangers qui portent a 1. Lieue au large Elle est fort platte; Les gens du pays la nomme Lisle de Coco; et disent quil y a un aussy Bon port du Costé du sud de Cette ille Marianne pour les petits batiments qui viennent de Manille.

Sitost que Nous auons Esté Mouillé Nous auons Enuoyé Nostre Chaloupe a terre avec un officier Et le pilote pratique qui nous a amené pour faire de LEau a terre; il nous a Conduit dans une Espece dance qui Nous Restoit au SE: Environ 1 Lieue et auons Enuoyé Nostre Canot; vis a vis de nous ou on a trouué deus petites Riuieres qui tombent des montagnes³ dont l'Eau est Exelante et tres facile a faire; Ce qui nous a fait prendre le party d'y faire Celle dont nous auions Besoing Mais on a trouué personne dans Les Maisons que 3. Indes⁴ malades les autres s'en Estant fuy a la Montagne avec leurs femmes a Nostre arriuée Nous ayant pris pour des pirates[.] Nous auons trouué dans ce lieu Beaucoup de Rafrachissements Et Receu Touttes Sortes dhonne[s]tetés du gouverneur[.] Nous auons appris Lá quil ny auoit que 8. jours que la hourque de Capoulque En Estoit partie pour Manille;

[Note in margin:] *Partance daty...*

Le 23e Juin 1708. Nous auons apareillé de la Rade d'aty⁵ dans Lisle de Marianne surnommée Gouamá Lune des illes Ladronnes avec un petit Vent d'est NE: fait par Es-

-
- 1 Ed. note: The other copy has it as "Aety" but this erroneous rendering comes from the note in margin (not reproduced here) where "Daty" meant "of Aty."
 - 2 Ed. note: Clearly written "Dano" in the other copy.
 - 3 Ed. note: The other copy says: "une petite Riviere qui tombe des montagnes."
 - 4 Ed. note: The other copy clearly says: "Indiens."
 - 5 Ed. note: "datty" in the other copy.

time Jusquau dimanche 24e aoust [rather ouest] au NO 21. Lieues; pris hauteur le mesme Jour et troué 17. degrés 47. minutes de latitude Nord et par les 162. degrés 51. minutes de Longitude.

Le Gouverneur de cette ille de Gouamá ou Marianne qui vint hier a nostre bord se nomme dom Manuel de guillarde [sic] il nous a dit quá 10. ou 12 Lieues de la Rade ou Nous Estions dans L'ouest NO: [sic] Gissoit un banc de Roche; Sur lequel il y auoit 8 a 10. Brasses d'Eau; quil y en auoit un autre dans Louest 1/4 de SO: a 80. Lieues au large quy se Nomme Les Garbançes[.] Ce sont de petites illes plattes Et quil falloit bien se donner de garde de les aborder[,] que les Courants de marianne a Manille portoi[en]t viollament sur Louest SO: et que le passage d'Entre Lisle Formosá et Lisle de Luconie lui est la grande Manille estoit fort sein et que mesme a la pointe du nord de la dite ille de Luconie il y auoit de petites illes Sur lesquelles il y auoit des Religieux augustin[s] peres de la Mission, il paroist que Cette ille de gouamac [sic] ou Marianne Est par les 13 degrés 25. Minutes de Latitude Nord et 162. degrés 30 minutes de Longitude;

Le dimanche Premier Juillet 1708. La Route nous ayant vullu presque toujours Louest et O 1/4 de NO: Nous avons trouué 17. degrés 11. minutes de Latitude Nord et 148. degrés 44. Minutes de Longitude; Ce qui nous fait Croire que les Courants Nous ont porté Nord: Ne deuant pas estre si nord par nostre estime; a midy Nous auons veu La terre que nous auons Estime estre Lisle de Luçon ou Le Cap. d'anganá [sic] et lequel nous Restoit a La nuit a O 1/4 de SO: Environ 8 a 9. Lieues Et Les autres terres plus au sud;

Il faut que les Courants portent bien nord pour trouuer des differences aussi grandes que nous auons trouué; Car ce matin le Cap anganá qui nous deuoit demeurer a ouest il nous demeuroit a ouest 1/4 de SO.

...

Translation.

Observations made during the voyage just completed by Mister de Frondad [sic], Captain in charge of the Saint-Antoine, armed with 40 guns, and manned by a crew of 164 men.

Departed Port-Louis on 30 January 1707 bound to the River Plate, Peru, China, the Moluccan and American Islands.

Firstly.

February 14, 1707. We left the bay of Groix after having had to seek shelter there twice, bound to the Canary Islands, where we arrived in sight of Madeira on 8 March. We then proceeded on our course for the River Plate without stopping anywhere else along the way. We crossed the Line on 6 April and we had nothing to report during the crossing except near the line where the currents carried us southward, in the midst of very frequent rain showers, but generally we were heading SW.

...

May 1, 1708. In these parts, since the 17th of last month, there must be some extraordinary currents because we have always found ourselves more north of our estimated

position. We came to know of a large quantity of fish: bonitos, tuna, dorados, and “Big Ears” that have been a good help to us [for food].¹ We also saw many birds and frigates that indicated to us the proximity of land.

May 15, 1708. Continuing always westward, I found by observation today that the currents must have carried us north because, for the past 15 days when I was south of the line, I found myself to have crossed it without having followed any headings other than W, W1/4NW and WNW, having also found very little [compass] variation to NE; this makes me suppose that the currents bear northwest in these parts. This is what we will check, at the first sign of land, provided that it is well positioned [on the charts].

June 15, 1708. I took the sun at noon and found my position to be 13°26' latitude north and 169°5' longitude [E of Tenerife]. We always find large differences between our estimates and our observations which can only come from some currents carrying us northwest, because we had to sail WSW to move truly west, and if we make some leeway southward, it is very little.

[Note in margin:] The Island of Gouama, one of the Ladrones or Marianas.

June 20, 1708. We have seen land at 4 p.m. which is the Island of Gouama [=Guam], one of the Ladrones, otherwise known as Marianas. It bore NW about 10 leagues.

[Note in margin:] Anchored in Aty Bay.

We went ahead and anchored in 8 fathoms, sandy bottom and crumbling rock, in front of a small village that is called Aty² at about gun range from the shore, in the SW part of the island. We have the Island of Danot³ south of us about 2 leagues; it is very flat and very dangerous, having a reef barrier extending from it to Mariana Island [i.e. Guam] that cannot be crossed. On the WSW side, many dangers extend as far as 1 league at sea. It is very flat; the local inhabitants call it Cocos Island. They say also that there is a good port on the south coast of this Mariana Island for the small ships that come from Manila.⁴

As soon as we had been moored, we sent our launch ashore with one officer and the local pilot who brought us ashore to take on water. He brought us to a sort of cove bearing SE about 1 league [i.e. Umatac]. We sent our canoe ashore in front of us, and we found two small rivers⁵ that come down from the mountains whose water is excellent and very accessible. This made us decide to take what we needed here. However, we found nobody in the houses except 3 sick Indians, because the others had fled to the mountain with their women at our arrival, having mistaken us for pirates. We have found here many fresh provisions and received all kinds of honest dealings from the

1 Ed. note: My guess is that Big Ears could be a type of soldierfish.

2 Ed. note: Also written Atty, it corresponds to Cetti Bay on modern maps, as a result of a typographical error made at the beginning of the American regime, ca. 1899.

3 Ed. note: Written correctly as Dano in the other copy. The name was changed to Cocos Island at about this time (see below).

4 Ed. note: Not Umatac, which was considered a roadstead, but Merizo, which was the usual anchoring place of the Mariana patache.

5 Ed. note: The other copy says “one small river.” There are two such streams in Cetti Bay.

Governor. We learned that it was only 8 days ago that the galleon from Acapulco had left for Manila.

[Note in margin:] Departure from Aty.

June 23, 1708. We have sailed from Aty Harbor in Mariana Island, also called Gouama, one of the Ladrones, with a small wind from ENE, made by estimate until Sunday 24th W by NW 21 leagues. Taken the sun the same day and found 17°47' lat. N and 162°51' long.

The governor of this Island of Gouama or Mariana who came aboard yesterday is called Don Manuel de Guillaude.¹ He told us that, toward WNW [sic = WSW], at 10 to 12 leagues from the harbor where we were, there was a shoal under 8 to 10 fathoms of water.² There was another W 1/4 SW 80 leagues at sea that is called "Los Garbanzos."³ They are small flat islands that must be carefully avoided. The currents between Mariana and Manila run strongly WSW. The strait between the Island of Formosa and Luconia [i.e. Luzon] Island, which is the Great Manila [Island], is all very free of dangers. Even at the northern point of the said Luconia Island, there are small islands upon which there are some Augustinian missionary Fathers working there. It appears that this Island of Goumac [sic] or Mariana is at 13°25' latitude north and 162°30' longitude.

Sunday, 1st of July 1708. Although we headed almost always W and W1/4NW, we observed 17°11' lat. N and estimated 148°77' longitude. This made us believe that the currents had carried us northward. We should not have been so far north, according to our estimates. At noon, we saw land, which we thought must have been the Island of Luzon or Cape Engaño. By nightfall, this land bore W1/4SW about 8 to 9 leagues, with other lands south of it.

I3. More notes about the voyage of the Saint-Antoine

—Another summary in the National Library

Source: BNP Ms. français 5113. Manuscript entitled: Campagne de M. de Frondad, commandant le Saint-Antoine, parti de Port-Louis avec les Deux-Couronnes [Catholiques] le 30 janvier 1709.

—The Frondad family was a noble family from Italy

Source: ANP Marine B1/4, folios 191v-192v.

Note: The Frondad family was originally from the city of Urbin in Italy. The great-grandfather of Nicolas Frondad had emigrated to France in 1582. Nicolas Frondad petitioned the Navy Council to support his recognition as a noble, but the Council only referred the matter to the Interior Council.

1 Ed. note: Manuel de Argüelles, who served on an interim basis, from 1707 to 1709.

2 Ed. note: He was undoubtedly referring to the Santa Rosa Bank.

3 Ed. note: The Chick-pea, or Ulithi, Islands. We learn here that they were already known and called Garbanzos by the Spanish, before their re-discovery two years later, and before the involvement of Fr. Cantova in the 1720s and 1730s.

 Document 1708J

The voyage of the Saint-Antoine—Extract from an anonymous logbook

Sources: Now at ANP, formerly in Service hydrographique de la Marine, Paris, Div. 1, n° 4 bis.

Note: This document bears various filing notes on top of the first page: "1ere Division n° 4 bis. Cotte M n° 32. 1708 M32," the latter M32 being in large letters.

Extract concerning the westward crossing of the Pacific Ocean.

Original text in French.

Extrait du Journal de la traversée Du perou à la chine et de la chine au perou sur le V[aisse]au Le St. Antoine Commandé par M^o Frondat année 1708 et suivantes.

Du Jeudy 22e. Mars au vendredy 23. a midy Les vents Variables du SSE. au SSO. bon petit fraix, hier sur Les 2. h. après midy appareillé de La Rade de pisque [=Pisco] d'un vent de SSO. et presenté au ONO pour doubler les Isles de Lexte et L'isle de St. Gaillan à 6. h. gouverné au NO. Jusqu'a minuit que nous auons changé de route et presenté au NO 1/4 N. Jusqu'a 5. h. du matin arriué au NNO Jusqu'a midy alors nous somes venus au N 1/4 NE. pour àprocher de terre, hier au soir sur Les 6. h. Je Relevé L'isle de Lexte qui me restoit au SE 1/4 S. 3. L: [=Lieues] 1/2. et Lisle de St. Gaillan au S 1/4 SE. 5° S. 5. Lieux ou Jay formé mon point qui est par Le 13°55 m. S.[rather L., for Lat.] et par Les 297° de Long., La route Estimée depuis hier 6. h. du soir ma valû le NNO. 24. L. 1/3.

Corigé le NNO 2° singlé 29. L. 2/3

Lat. Estimée L: de 12° 57.m

hauteur obs. L: 12° 33.

Long. arrivée de 296° 33.

A midy les Isles du Caillou [=Callao] me restoit au Nord 5°E. distance de 10. L. Hier au soir nous observames La variation que Jay trouvée estre de 7° NE.

...

Du Mercredi 20 [Juin] au Jeudy 21e a midy Les vents ont Reigné du NE1/4.E. a E1/4NE Bon petit fraix le temps Couvert La mer belle et gouverné a O1/4SO. et OSO.

Jusqu'a 4. h. du soir que nous vimes La terre de L'isle marianne ayant de Cap a OI/4SO elle me restoit à ONO. aussytost nous presentames au NO Jusqu'a 6. h. du soir que nous arrivames au NNO jusqu'a 8. h. du soir; a 1. h. après menuit nous gouvernemes au N: et N:1/4NE. au plus près du vent les 2. Ris pris dans les huniers pour faire petite veille assez, Enfin de ne pas nous Eloigner trop de terre et à 1. h. [rather 3?] après menuit nous virâmes de bord et présenté au SSE et SE1/4S. Jusqu'a 4. h. du matin que nous avous fait servir et viré de bord - présenté à O. et OI/4SO pendant 1/2. h. ensuite nous auons fait servir à OSO en prolongent L'isle pour tacher d'aller au mouillage et gouverné depuis le SSO a ESE Les vents venant par Raffalles suivis de quelques grains de pluye qui ne faisoient que passer, nous avons veû Beaucoup de pirogues tout prest de terre même qui estoient a la voile, il en est venû quelquunes abord un desquels gens de Lisle parloit Espagnol et nous a dit qu'il n'y auoit que six jours que La hourque Estoit partye pour Manille; nous les auons prié de nous amener au mouillage, il nous ont fait approcher la terre de Gouadana [sic = Agaña] Croyant pouvoir mouiller mais il y auoit une barre au milieu du passage ou La mer y Brisoit beaucoup dessus, L'Endroit ou Etoit la ville elle est fortifiée de galions [sic = bastions] ou se tient Le gouverneur, voyant que nous aprochions la terre de trop près et qu'il n'y auoit pas de passe pour y aller mouiller nous fit des signeaux de deux Coups de Canons, pour Lors nous virames de bord pour aller mouiller de 8. a 9. Lieux de la plus sud ou La hourque vat mouiller; il y à une Isle a gouadana toute ronde qui est a E: de la ville, nous avons sonde 3. a 4. fois a 50. B[rass]es à 2/3 de Lieux de terre, on peut aprocher La terre de fort près[.]

Hier à 7. h. du soir La pointe du sud me restoit au SO1/4S 9. à 10. L. La pointe La plus N. au OI/4SO. 6. L. Ce matin sur Les 4. h. La pointe La plus sud me restoit au S1/4SE. 6. L. La pointe la plus O au SO1/4O. 4. L. La Routte Estimée depuis hier à midy ma value Jusqua ce matin que J'ay marqué ou réglé mon point d'arivée La routte Estimée ma valû

O. 1/4NO. 4°30.m. O. singlé 19. L. 1/3.

Latt. Estimée 13° 31. m.

Long. arrivée 164° 58.

Je me suis trouvé Juste à Laterrage de Lisle de gouant [sic = gouama?] me servent de La Carte de Pitregos [sic = Pieter Goos] hier a 5. h. 1/2 du soir J'ay relevé La pointe du N. qui me Restoit a ONO. 5. L. 1/2. a 6. L. La ditte pointe a 7. h. du soir me restoit à OI/4NO. 3 L. 1/2. La terre qui nous paroist La plus sud au SO. 9. à 10. L. La terre assez haute et Bien Escarpée.—

Du jedy 21e au vendredy 22 a midy, Les Vents variables du NE. a ENE. Venant par rafale Le temps Couvert suivy de quelques grains de pluye de temps en temps qui ne faisoit que passer, gouvernant depuis Le SSE a ESE. ENE longeant la cotte nous tenant à 3/4 de lieu de terre[.] a midy La pointe de L'E. de la rade daty [= de Aty] me restoit au SO. 5° sud 4 L. on nous a dit que nous aurions pu mouiller au sud d'une Baye ou E[s]t la Residance du gouverneur, voyant que tout au long de la Cotte ne paroissoit que Brisans, nous fumés plus sud, ou mouilloit ordinairement la hourque qui E[s]t de 8

a 9 L. sondant par Les 45 B. sans trouver fonds a demy Lieu de terre, hier sur les 4. h. du soir nous mouillames par les 9. B. fonds de de Roches pourries à 1/4 de lieu de terre dans La rade daty et pour marque du mouillage nous auons La pointe du O. de Lille de Coco laquelle me reste au S1/4SE distance de 2 L. Le Bout de la pointe de L'E. de la dite ille, ou il y a un petit illot un peu Ecartez de Lille de gouan au SE1/4S 3° S. tout ron [=ras?] comme un rocher au N1/4N. demi L. ou Environ[.] depuis hier au soir apres auoir été mouillé Le temps sobscursit, et pendant toute la matinée, nous auons eu quelques grains de pluye. Les vents venant par rafale, ce matin Le gouverneur de Lille à Envoyé son maitre de Camp a Bord pour dire a Mr. Frondat quil lauroit voulu parler a terre, Ce quil a fait peu de temps apres, pour sçavoir ce quil auoit a lui dire, hier apres que nous fumes mouillés tous les habitans s'en furent a la montaigne, nous prenans pour fourbans, nayant jamais vu venir icy aucun vaisseau françois, il y a dans cette ille icy grande facilité a faire de L Eau dans deux Endroits; il y à une riviere du Cotté du nord, ou la Chaloupe peut Entrer dedans, et l'autre endroit du Cotté du sud La ou nous fimes Le Bois lequel Est assé facile a faire, et Bon pour Bruler, et propre a la Charpante en cas de besoin.

Du vendredy 22e au Samedy 23 a midy[.] Les Vents ont variés de L E. au NE. Bon frais le temps sombre suivy de quelques grains de pluye de tems En tems Jusqua 6. h. du matin quelle à Cessé. Le temps s Est un peu Eclarsy hier apres que Mr. Frondat fut revenu de terre. Il nous dit que le gouverneur L'auoit Envoyé à chercher Expres pour diner avec Luy et il le pria de Venir diner à bord, Ce quil luy promit de faire et Luy fit offre de tout Ce quil y auoit dans lille, Mr. Frondat accepta une grande double chaloupe qui nous servit pour faire de L Eau, et du Bois, Et tous Les rafraichissements necessaires Lesquels sont En assé grande abondance, Et Etant Bon prix, ayant toutes sortes de Legumes Comme aussy quantité de Bestiaux, Comme Boeufs, poulles[.] Canars, Cabrit Le tout assé Bons prix, Il y a aussy quantité de fruits Comme Cocos, Bananes, melons, Citrons, oranges, banane Et anana Et Beaucoup d'autres fruit[.] il ne manque pas aussy de Capres lesquelles sont fort Belles, Ils troquent Le tout pour des hardes et de la quinquaille. ils font peu de Cas de Largent Lequel Est assé rare dans lille, Ce matin Le gouverneur Est Venu rendre visite a Mr. Frondat Et il a diné a Bord, Il nous à Envoyé 2 douzaines de Cochons, six Boeufs et six Veaux, Et quantité de poulles[.] on trouve de quoy faire dans cette ille de toutes sortes de refrechissemens[.] Les gens du pays sont fort traitables[.] ils Viennent a Bord avec des piraubes [rather pirogues], Lesquelles ont des Valenciens pour Le garantir de Chabirer, Lorsque les gens du pays aprirent que nous Etions des françois amis de la nation Le gouverneur Leur ayant fait dire quils navoient rien a Craindre, quils pouvoient venir En toute sureté, Ce quils firent tout aussitost, Et se trouverent a la descente de Mr. Frondat, plus de Cinq Cens, tous habitans que soldats, tous armes de fleches Et fusils, et firent grand honneur au Capitaine laccompagnant jusqua La maison du gouverneur Lequel reste à 1 L. 1/2 dicy ou Est La forteresse Et La Ville, Ce matin nous auons donné La Bande au navire des deux Cottés.

[Note in margin:] Juin.

Du Samedi 23e au dimanche 24 a midy[.] Les Vents variables du NE a E1/4NE Bon petit frais le temps sombre, Et mer Belle, hier sur les 5 h. du soir, Le gouverneur Espagnol qui Etoit venue diner a Bord, S En retourna à terre. nous Le saluames de Cinq fois Vive le Roy et de Cinq Coups de Canon, Mr. Frondat luy donna de present 2 Barils de farine[.] d'un quart d Eau de vie de france, Ce quil Estima Beaucoup, Lille Etant depourvue d'Eau de vie[.] vin, farinnes, et Bled. Leur nourriture N Est que de Ris Leur Venant quelque fois du Biscuit de manille. Lequel dit gouverneur nous a dit quil devoit partir Bien tost pour Estre Gouverneur à manille.

[Note in margin:] *Départ de l'isle Mariane pour aller a Canton.*

Sur les six heures, nous apareillames de la Rade daty de Lille marianne pour faire route vers la chinne au port de Canton, Et gouverné a ONO. pour passer dans le de-troit des illes de Baboyannes jusqu'a 8 h. du soir. Ensuite nous Vimes au NO1/4N. pour nous Eloigner de la pointe du sud, de Lille de Coco ou les Courans nous jettoient dessus[.] Ensuite apres nous Estre mis un peu au large de la pointe nous revimes au ONO Et O1/4NO. ou nous avons Gouverné Jusqu'à minuit que nous auons fait Route a O1/4SO: Jusqu'à 4 h. du matin que nous auons formé La Route à O1/4NO. Jusqu'à midy[.] hier sur les 8 h. du soir, Jay formé mon point de partance de la Rade daty de Lille Marianne, Laquelle ditte Rade m Est resté au NE 5° E 2 L. 1/3 ou jay formé mon point de meridien qui Est par les 13°15 m. de Lat. Nord et par les 163°55. minutes de longitude. la pointe la plus nord de Lille Marianne me Reste au NNO. 3° Nord 4 L: La pointe la plus sud de Lille marianne a L ESE 5° E. 3 L: La Roche qui Est dans la Rade daty au nord 5° E. 1 L. 2/3 Le milieu de Lille Coco au SE 2 L. 1/2 La Route Estimé depuis hier a 8 h. du soir que j'ay formé mon point ma valu L ONO. 5° O. 20 L. 2/3 et Corrigé L ONO. 2° N. 21 L. 2/3

Lattitude Estimée nord de 13° 34

hauteur observée nord de 13° 42

Longitude arrivée de 162° 53

...

Translation.

Extract from the journal of the crossing from Peru to China and from China back to Peru with the ship St.-Antoine, under the command of Mr. Frondat, in 1708 and following.

From Thursday 22 March to Friday 23 at noon. Winds variable from SSE to SSW, moderate. Yesterday at about 2 p.m. we set out from the bay of Pisco with a SSW wind and headed WNW until midnight when we changed course and headed NW1/4N until 5 a.m., then steered NNW until noon. We then stered N1/4NE to approach the land. Last evening at about 6 p.m., I observed that the Island of Lexte bore SE1/4S 3-1/2 leagues and the Island of San Gaillan bore S1/4SE 5° S 5 leagues.¹ Here I estimated

¹ Ed. note: They are now called the Ballestas and Chincha Islands respectively.

my position at $13^{\circ}55'$ lat. and 297° long. My estimate run since 6 p.m. last evening gives me NNW 24-1/3 leagues.

Corrected, it gives a run of 29-2/3 leagues

Estimated latitude $12^{\circ}57'$

Observed latitude $12^{\circ}33'$

Calculated longitude $296^{\circ}33'$

At noon the Islands of Callao bore $N5^{\circ}E$ distant 10 leagues. Last night we observed the variation which I found to be 7° NE.

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From Wednesday 20 to Thursday 21 at noon. The winds have remained NE1/4E to E1/4 NE, good to moderate, the sky covered, the sea nice. Steered W1/4SW and WSW until 4 p.m. when we saw the land of Mariana Island. With the heading at W1/4SW it bore WNW. Right away we headed NW until 6 p.m. when we changed to NNW until 8 p.m. At 1 a.m. we steered N and N1/4NE closest to the wind with the two topsails furled to reduce sails so as not to get too far away from the land. At 1 [rather 3?] a.m. we changed our tack and headed SSE and SE1/4S until 4 a.m. when we raised the sails and changed tack heading W and W1/4SW during 1/2 hour, when we again tacked to WSW following the island on the way to the anchorage and steered from SSW to ESE as the winds were gusting after some rain showers passed us by. We saw many canoes near the land, even at the town. A few came alongside; one of their people spoke Spanish and he told us that only six days ago the galleon had sailed for Manila. We requested them to bring us to the anchorage. They made us approach the land of Gouadana [Agaña] believing we could anchor but there was a bar in the middle of the pass and the sea was breaking a lot upon it. The place where the town is [located], fortified by galleons [rather bastions], is where the governor resides. Seeing that we were approaching the land too much and that there was no pass into the anchorage, he signalled to us by firing two guns which made us turn around and go and anchor 8 to 9 leagues away to the south where the galleon goes to anchor. There is a very round island at Gouadana to the east of the town. We have sounded 3 to 4 times at 50 fathoms at 2/3 of a league from the shore. The shore can be approached very close.¹

Yesterday at 7 p.m. the southern point bore SW1/4S 9 to 10 leagues, the northernmost point W1/4SW, 6 leagues. This morning at about 4 a.m. the southernmost point bore S1/4SE, 6 leagues, the westernmost point at SW1/4W, 4 leagues. My estimated daily run as of noon yesterday until this morning when I marked or adjusted my arrival point has given me:

W1/4NW $4^{\circ}30'$ W resultant 19-1/3 leagues

1 Ed. note: He refers to Alupat Island in Agaña Bay.



Map of Guam drawn in 1708, from the Voyage of N. de Frondad. *The first recorded French ship to visit Guam was the Saint-Antoine in 1708. One of the officers on board made this map of the island. The ship was anchored in Cetti Bay for 3 days. (BNP Cartes et Plans—SH Port. 175, Div. 11, p. 6).*

Estimated latitude 13° 31'
 Calculated longitude 164° 58'

I found myself right on the position for the Island of gouant [sic] according to the chart of Pitregos.¹ Yesterday at 5:30 p.m., I took a bearing on the northern point; it bore WNW 5-1/2 to 6 leagues. The said point at 7 p.m. was W1/4NW 3-1/2 leagues; the land that appears southernmost bore SW 9 to 10 leagues. The land is fairly high and with cliffs.

From Thursday 21 to Friday 22 at noon. Winds NE to ENE, variable and gusting, sky covered and some passing rain squalls from time to time. Steering from SSE to ESE, ENE while following the coast and remaining 3/4 league from the shore. At noon the easternmost point of Aty Harbor bore SW 5° S 4 leagues. We were told that we could have anchored south of a bay where the governor resides² [but] seeing that the whole coast was nothing but breakers, we went south where the galleon normally anchors which is 8 to 9 leagues [further].³ Sounding to 45 fathoms without finding bottom at 1/2 league from shore, yesterday at 4 p.m. we anchored in 9 fathoms, bottom made of broken rocks, 1/4 league from shore in Aty Harbor. To mark the anchorage place, we had the west point of Cocos Island bearing S1/4SE at 2 leagues, the tip of the SE point of the said island, where there is a small islet a little separated from Gouan Island bearing SE1/4S 3° S, completely bare [flat?] like the rock at N1/4N [sic] 1/2 league or thereabouts. As of last night after having anchored, the sky became covered and during the whole morning, we have had some rain showers, with gusting winds. This morning, the governor of the island sent his master-of-camp⁴ aboard to tell Mr. Frondat that he wished to speak [to him] ashore. He did so, soon afterwards, to find out what he had in mind. Yesterday after we had anchored, all the inhabitants fled to the mountain, taking us for treacherous people, as they had never seen a French ship. There is easy access to water at this island in two places: there is a river on the north side [of Aty Bay] where the launch can go in and, the other place on the south side is where we cut wood, which is readily available; it is good for burning and for carpentry work also, in case of need.

From Friday 22 to Saturday 23 at noon. The winds have varied from E to NE, somewhat fresh, sky covered, followed by a few rain squalls from time to time until 6 a.m. when it cleared. The sky cleared up a little. Yesterday when Mr. Frondat came back from shore, he told us that he had been sent for to dine with him ashore, and that

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- 1 Ed. note: That is, Pieter Goos, a Dutch map-maker. His charts were based on Spanish ones and showed longitudes based on the meridian of Tenerife in the Canary Islands (see Bibliography). The first French handbook with a map of the Pacific was not published until 1742; it was a later edition of Nicolas Bellin's *Hydrographie Française* (Paris, 1742). On a modern map, Umatac Bay is at 13°21' lat. N and 144°40' E of Greenwich.
 - 2 Ed. note: Apra Bay was not yet used, even by the Spanish themselves.
 - 3 Ed. note: In the area of Umatac Bay on the SW coast.
 - 4 Ed. note: The Sergeant-Major of the Garrison, or royal camp, was still José de Quiroga.

he had [in turn] invited him to dine on board, which he promised to do. He then offered a big double launch that allowed us to take on water and wood and all the necessary refreshments which are in fairly large quantity, at a good price. They have all kinds of vegetables and a large quantity of cattle, like bullocks, chickens, ducks, goats, all at a fairly good price. There are also lots of fruits, like coconuts, bananas, melons, lemons, oranges, pineapple and many other fruits. There is no lack of capers either, which are very beautiful. They barter everything for old clothes and some hardware. They do not pay attention to money which is fairly rare in the island. This morning, the governor came to return Mr. Frondat's visit and he had dinner aboard. He has sent us 2 dozen hogs, 6 cows and 6 calves, and many chickens. One can find on this island all kinds of fresh provisions. The natives are very easy to deal with. They come alongside aboard canoes which have outriggers to prevent their capsizing. When the natives learned that we were Frenchmen, friends of the [Spanish] nation, the governor having had someone tell them that they had nothing to fear, that they could come in complete safety, they did so immediately. When Mr. Frondat landed, there were more than 500 of them, islanders as well as soldiers, all armed with arrows [sic] and muskets. They made a great honor guard for the captain, accompanying him to the house of the governor who lives at 1-1/2 leagues from here where the fort and the town are. This morning we careened the ship on both sides.

[Note in margin:] June.

From Saturday 23 to Sunday 24 at noon. Winds variable NE to E1/4NE, good to moderate, sky covered, the sea nice. Yesterday, at about 5 p.m., the Spanish governor who had come to have dinner on board went back ashore. We saluted five times in honor of H.M. the King, with 5 guns. Mr. Frondat gave him as a present 2 barrels of flour and one small barrel of brandy from France which he appreciated much, since the island is devoid of brandy, wine, flour or wheat. Their normal food is rice, and biscuit that is brought to them from Manila sometimes. The said governor told us that he would soon leave to become Governor at Manila.¹

[Note in margin:] Departure from Mariana Island and bound for Canton.

At about 6 p.m. we sailed from Aty Harbor in Mariana Island to go to the port of Canton in China. I have steered to WNW, to [go and] pass by the strait of the Babuyan Islands, until 8 p.m. and then we steered to NW1/4N to get away from the south point of Cocos Island where the currents were taking us, and then after having put ourselves a little off the point, we came back to WNW and W1/4NW until midnight, when we headed W1/4SW until 4 a.m., when we changed to W1/4 NW until noon.

Yesterday, at about 8 p.m. I computed my departure point from Aty Harbor in Mariana Island. The said harbor bore NE 5° E and 2-1/3 leagues where I marked my meridian point whose position is 13°15' lat. N and 163°55' longitude. The northernmost

1 Ed. note: Manuel Argüelles first went to the Philippines in 1688 (ref. B&R 42:272). He was supposedly on board the galleon San José, as Captain of marines, during the 1696-97 voyage to/from Acapulco, according to Gemelli Careri. He did not become Governor of the Philippines, but he came back to Guam for a second term as Governor, from 1725 to 1730.

point of Mariana Island bore NNW 3° N 4 leagues, the southernmost point of Mariana Island ESE 5° E 3 leagues. The rock that is in Aty Harbor N 5° E 1-2/3 leagues. The center of Cocos Island SE 2-1/2 leagues. The estimated run since 8 p.m. yesterday when I estimated my position has given me WNW 2° W 20-2/3 leagues and corrected [it becomes] WNW 2° N 21-2/3 leagues.

Estimated latitude north	13°34'
Observed latitude north	13°42'
Calculated longitude	162°53' ¹

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¹ Ed. note: If this longitude was East of Tenerife, then it was about 15° in error, because that would be 159°34' E of Greenwich, and the true longitude is 144°35'.

[There follow two tables of positions across the Pacific, from Peru to China and back to Peru, according to the above extract of the voyage, as compared to Moiré's original journal in Stockholm. From Dahlgren's article in Ymer, 1900, pp. 410-411.]

Extrait du journal de la traversée du Pérou à la Chine
(Mscr. Dépôt de la marine).

Âr.	Mån.	Dag.	Dekl.	Lat.	Long. från Tenerife.	Long. från Greenwich.	Âr.	Mån.	Dag.	Dekl.	Lat.	Long. från Tenerife.	Long. från Greenwich.
1708	Mars	22	Appareillé de la rade de Pisco.				1708	Juin	14	10° 33' E	13° 25' N	178° 15'	156° 40'
		23	J'ai formé mon point, qui est par les 13° 55' S et par les 297° long. La route estimée depuis hier 6 h. du soir m'a valu le NNO 24 ¹ / ₂ heures.						19	9° 30' E	13° 30' N	188° 29'	147° 20'
									20	8° 17' E			
	Avril	3	5° 30' E	9° 16' S	291° 25'	277° 25'				Guam. J'ai marqué ou réglé mon point d'arrivée; la route estimée m'a valu lat. estimée N 13° 31' long. arrivée 10 ¹ / ₂ heures.			
		5	4° 30' E	8° 16' S	287° 55'	273° 40'			28	6° 12' E	15° 40' N	157° 39'	138° 15'
		6	4° 25' E	8° 4' S	287° 12'	272° 50'			29	4° 59' E	16° 14' N	155° 44'	134° 30'
		7	4°	7° 45' S	286° 10'	271° 45'			1	4° 42' E	16° 23' N	150° 59'	131° 55'
		9	3° 42' E	6° 30' S	283° 12'	268° 35'		Juillet	2	3° 32' E	17° 3' N	149° 26'	130° 25'
		17	3° 4' E	2° 13' S	275° 25'	259° 55'			3	3°	17° 45' N	147° 49'	128° 55'
		21	3° 12' E	1° 5' S	272° 8'	256° 15'			7	2° 8' E	18° 31' N	143° 2'	124° 25'
		23	0° 10' E	0° 20' S	271° 5'	254° 50'			8	1° 27' E	18° 37' N	142° 0'	123° 25'
	Mai	16	2°	12° 16' N	239° 37'	221° 5'				A midi Cap Engaño O ¹ / ₂ 80 ¹ / ₂ heures (MOIRÉ).			
		21	3°	13° 20' N	226° 38'	207° 35'			12	0° 20' W	18° 56' N	137° 55'	118° 15'
		24	2° 17' E	14° 10' N	219° 35'	200° 10'			13	0° 21' W	19° 12' N	137° 22'	117° 40'
		25	4° 17' E	14° 47' N	217° 28'	198° 0'			15	1° 32' W	19° 35' N	136° 17'	116° 35'
		28	5°	14° 18' N	210° 42'	190° 55'			16	2° 5' W	21° 0' N	134° 5'	114° 25'
		29	7° 47' E	14° 31' N	208° 32'	188° 40'			17	La côte de Chine au NNO 7 heures (MOIRÉ).			
		30	6° 42' E	14° 11' N	206° 19'	186° 20'			18	2° 33' W	21° 56' N	—	114° 20'
	Juin	2	9° 8' E	15° 0' N	200° 49'	180° 30'			19	2° 55' W	22° 10' N	—	114° 25'
		4	9° 40' E	14° 27' N	196° 29'	177° 0'			20	3°	W 21° 42' N	—	113° 50'
		5	9° 40' E	14° 34' N	194° 12'	173° 35'				Ile de Montano au N ¹ / ₂ NO 3. O. 1 ¹ / ₂ heures et les îles les plus à l'O de Viades au NNO 5. O. 10 heures (MOIRÉ).			
		7	10° 49' E	15° 49' N	190° 28'	169° 40'							
		8	9° 42' E	14° 35' N	189° 28'	168° 30'							
		9	11° 47' E	14° 34' N	187° 17'	166° 15'							
		10	12° 5' E	14° 12' N	185° 45'	164° 35'							
		11	11°	E 14° 38' N	184° 1'	162° 45'							
		12	11°	E 13° 45' N	182° 3'	160° 40'							
			9° 27' E	—	—	—							
		13	10° 42' E	14° 3' N	180° 12'	158° 45'							

Journal de M. Pierre Moirle
(Mscr. Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm).

År.	Mån.	Dag.	Dekl.	Lat.	Long. enl. MOIRIE.	Long. från Greenwich.	År.	Mån.	Dag.	Dekl.	Lat.	Long. enl. MOIRIE.	Long. från Greenwich.	
1708	Mars	23	7° E	12° 28' S	296° 25'	282° 45'	1709	Mars	7	3° W	21° 44' N	—	113° 38'	
									9	3° W	21° 3' N	—	114° 0'	
									13	3° W	22° 19' N	—	115° 8'	
		30	Départ de Huscho. J'arrête mon point dans la rade par 11° 8' S et par 295° 55' de long., me servant de la carte de Pieter Goos.									Ce matin à la pointe du jour nous avions Pierre Blanche au N ¹ 4 NE 1 ¹ 2 lieue.		
		31	7° E	10° 50' S	295° 10'	281° 30'			16	3° W	22° 21' N	—	116° 46'	
Avril		3	6° E	9° 11' S	291° 29'	277° 30'	Avril	11	Départ de Soubou, à 7 h. du soir la pointe de l'E. de cette baie me restait au NO. ² / ₃ de lieue, sur laquelle je prends mon point de départ par 25° 5' lat. N. et par 140° 42' long., me servant toujours de ma carte hollandaise.					
		4	5° 30' E	8° 48' S	289° 17'	275° 10'		29	Vers les 8 h. du matin nous avons vu un gros rocher nous restant au S 5° O 5 lieues (lots Wife).					
		5	4° E	8° 16' S	287° 55'	273° 40'		1	5° E	28° 50' N	165° 2'	142° 15'		
		8	3° 25' E	7° 10' S	284° 45'	270° 15'		3	5° 30' E	29° 5' N	165° 46'	142° 55'		
		9	3° E	6° 30' S	283° 12'	268° 35'		5	6° E	29° 28' N	166° 20'	143° 20'		
		11	2° E	5° 20' S	280° 40'	265° 50'		6	6° 30' E	30° 41' N	167° 9'	144° 10'		
		16	1° E	5° 5' S	275° 41'	260° 20'		7	7° E	31° 59' N	168° 47'	145° 45'		
		18	2° E	1° 37' S	274° 32'	258° 55'		9	7° 30' E	34° 57' N	172° 20'	149° 15'		
Mai		13	1° E	11° 30' N	244° 51'	226° 40'		10	8° E	35° 30' N	172° 30'	149° 20'		
		23	4° E	13° 35' N	221° 56'	202° 40'		11	8° 40' E	35° 40' N	174° 12'	151° 0'		
		25	4° 17' E	14° 47' N	217° 26'	198° 0'		13	9° E	34° 16' N	177° 47'	154° 35'		
Juin		1	7° E	14° 50' N	203° 2'	183° 50'		16	9° 30' E	36° 4' N	177° 33'	154° 15'		
		2	8° 30' E	15° 0' N	200° 49'	180° 30'		18	10° 30' E	37° 42' N	181° 6'	157° 40'		
		4	9° 40' E	14° 27' N	196° 29'	177° 0'		19	11° E	38° 18' N	185° 6'	161° 40'		
		7	10° 40' E	15° 49' N	190° 28'	169° 40'		22	11° 30' E	38° 29' N	189° 24'	165° 50'		
		9	11° 54' E	14° 34' N	187° 17'	166° 15'		24	12° E	38° 24' N	192° 10'	168° 35'		
		10	12° E	14° 12' N	185° 45'	164° 35'		27	13° E	40° 53' N	192° 13'	168° 30'		
		11	10° E	14° 38' N	184° 1'	162° 45'		30	13° 30' E	43° 26' N	194° 42'	170° 50'		
		16	9° E	13° 19' N	174° 28'	152° 40'		31	15° E	43° 8' N	196° 5'	173° 15'		
		20	8° E	13° 15' N	167° 46'	145° 35'		1	15° 17' E	42° 45' N	197° 30'	178° 35'		
			A 4 h. du soir nous eumes connaissance de l'île de Mariannas (Guam).							2	15° 30' E	43° 17' N	198° 49'	174° 55'
		23	Départ de Guam. J'arrête mon point par 13° 15' lat. N et par 163° 55' de long.							3	16° E	43° 54' N	201° 17'	177° 20'
		24	8° E	13° 37' N	162° 49'	143° 15'		5	14° 30' E	43° 45' N	206° 37'	182° 35'		
		25	7° 30' E	14° 38' N	160° 29'	140° 55'		10	13° E	40° 11' N	218° 40'	194° 25'		
		27	7° E	15° 49' N	157° 39'	138° 15'		13	15° E	39° 44' N	224° 42'	200° 25'		
		28	6° E	16° 14' N	155° 44'	136° 25'		17	14° E	39° 2' N	229° 46'	205° 25'		
		29	4° 39' E	16° 20' N	153° 45'	134° 30'		18	13° E	37° 51' N	231° 18'	206° 50'		
		30	4° 30' E	16° 12' N	152° 20'	133° 10'		20	10° 30' E	36° 17' N	234° 35'	210° 0'		
Juillet		1	3° E	16° 23' N	150° 59'	131° 55'		22	10° E	36° 25' N	236° 18'	211° 40'		
		3	3° 30' E	17° 43' N	147° 49'	128° 55'		23	11° E	36° 33' N	237° 25'	212° 45'		
		6	2° E	18° 45' N	144° 46'	126° 0'		1	10° 30' E	33° 34' N	244° 2'	219° 5'		
		8	1° E	18° 37' N	142° 0'	124° 25'		2	11° E	33° 14' N	244° 21'	219° 20'		
			A midi Cap Engaño O ¹ / ₄ SO 5 lieues.							4	10° E	33° 34' N	241° 53'	219° 50'
		17	1° W	21° 6' N	134° 5'	114° 25'		5	9° 30' E	34° 28' N	245° 35'	220° 30'		
			La côte de Chine au NNO 7 lieues.							8	9° E	33° 32' N	248° 30'	223° 20'
1709	Mars	6	J'ai relevé la pointe du O. de Montano au N. 3 lieues, sur laquelle je prends mon point de départ, la prenant par 22° lat. N. me servant d'une carte platte hollandaise à grand point, faite pour cette navigation à Batavia.											

Document 1709D

Letter from Major Quiroga to the King, dated Agaña 14 May 1709

Source: AGI Fil. 215; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, pp. 175-176.

Note: This letter was answered by the King in Doc. 1715B2.

Original text in Spanish

El Sargento mayor de Marianas da parte de haver ejecutado el orden de haver conquistado las Islas de Aguiguan, Tinian y Seipan sublevados el año de 84.

Señor.

Por carta orden y mandato de mi Rey y Señor[,] que en santa gloria estef[,] tio de Vuestra Magestad su fecha en Madrid à 12 de Noviembre de 1696[,] he rreducido y dos vezes conquistado las Islas de Rota, Tinian, Seipan y Aguiguan Isla sin plaza ni Puerto alguno donde se hicieron fuertes los Barbaros de las Islas referidas[,] despues de haver peleado con ellos en ellas con algunos muertos y heridos de ambas partes[,] retirados y echos fuertes en dicho Piñon sitiandolos con embarcaziones al rededor por termino de un mes poco mas ó menos, y en dicho tiempo llamandolos en nombre de Vuestra Magestad les perdonava todos los agravios que avian echo y ofreciendoles sus tierras, casas y hacienda, y de no benir y obligarme à subir à dicho Piñon con quasi evidente riesgo mío, y de mis compañeros lo perderían todo y serían castigados como meresia su terquedad y menospreciando las christianas y caritativas amonestaciones, me determine viendo que convenia para establecimiento del Santo Evangelio para gloria de Dios y de las almas de Vuestra Magestad con el referido riesgo, y con algunos ardidés subir dicho Piñon en la qual subida me ayudo el Señor mui mucho pues sin perdida de algunos compañeros y de los Barbaros muertos solo los que resistian la subida y rendidos estos y à su exemplo se dieron de paz unos siete ú ocho Islotes que esta[n] mas al Norte de las referidas yslas y hasta çen leguas de esta cavezera à truje los naturales de dichos yslotes y los de la Isla de Tinian[,] los primeros por la dificultad grande que avía en la administracion de sus almas por lo orroroso de los mares y divilidad de sus embarcaciones[,] y los segundo por su dura servis [sic] y aunque se me mandava en dicho Real despacho dieçe quenta de lo executado como lo hice el mismo año de 96 y por no haver tenido respuesta repito esta para cumplir con la obligazion de leal basallo que pido y ruego à Dios nuestro Señor Guarde à Vuestra Magestad muchos años con mucha paz

y quietud para alivio y consuelo de la Monarchia[,] bien y aumento de su Santa Iglesia.

Agadña Mayo 14 de 1709 años.

*B[esa] L[os] Reales pies de Su Magestad su humilde y leal basallo,
Joseph de Quiroga y Lozada.*

[Endorsement:] *Agaña. A Su Mgd. 10 de Mayo de 1709.—*

*Don Joseph de Quiroga y Lozada.—Dice haber conquistado por dos veces Rota, Tinian, Saipan y Aguiguan à costa de grandes trabajos y conocidos riesgos à cuiò exemplo se rindieron tambien siete ó ocho Islotes. De cuià operacion acompaña **certificacion del Padre Juan Tilpe** de la Compañia de Jesus Vice Provincial y Superior de las Islas Marianas.*

Opinion of the Fiscal, dated Madrid 17 December 1714.

El fiscal, suponiendo el resumen de esta carta y con vista de los papeles que le acompañan:

Dice que el año de 1684 ubo sublevacion en estas Islas en que causaron grande estrago los Indios[.] en el año de 1696 se despacho Real Zedula, en que se encomendo à este sujeto como sargento maior de aquellas Yslas y que la estava governando en interin, continuase en las buenas diligencias de recuperarlas aprovandole todo lo que avia obrado, y que diese aviso de lo que ubiese adelantado en aprovechamiento de las almas de los Infieles que se redujeren al gremio Santo de la Iglesia, y como en otra carta refiere haver dado quenta y no haver tenido repuesta lo repite en esta y que aunque se causaron algunos muertes de una y otra parte consiguio buenos efectos.

Y lo que se ofrece al Fiscal es que aunque à los Indios Apostatas y rebeldes ó sublebados todas las veces que se resistan se puede obrar contra ellos como contra Apostatas y rebeldes, pero siempre es nesario prevenir el que en esta parte se atienda con muy especial cuidado à las justas y arregladas prevenciones que estan prevenidas por diferentes leyes espezialmente la 9- y la 10- libro 3, titulo 4 de la recopilazion de Indias llevando siempre por delante los medios suaves y pacificos y sin apartarse de ellos en quanto permitiere la posibilidad.

Madrid y Diciembre 17 de 1714.

Consejo 19 de Diziembre de 1714.

Como lo dize el Sr. Fiscal, alentando y esforzando la conservacion de lo descubrido.

Translation

The Sergeant-Major of the Marianas reports that he has carried out the order of conquering the Islands of Aguiguan, Tinian and Saipan that rebelled in the year 1684.

14 May 1709

Sire:

Through a written order from my King and Lord (the uncle of Your Majesty who is now in glory), dated Madrid 12 November 1696,¹ I have reduced and twice conquered the Islands of Rota, Tinian, Seipan, and Aguiguan, an island without any settlement or port, where they fortified themselves. The barbarians of the above-mentioned Islands, after fighting with them at home, with some dead and wounded on both parts, withdrew and fortified themselves in said rock island, which they defended with canoes all around for the whole of one month more or less. During said time period, I called them back [telling them that] in the name of Your Majesty I forgave them all the wrongs they had done, and offered them their lands back, their houses and property, and if they did not come back, and forced me to climb up said rock, with an almost evident risk to myself and my companions, they would lose everything and would be punished as their stubbornness deserved. Since they kept on disregarding such Christian and charitable warnings, I decided, since it was appropriate for the establishment of the Holy Gospel for the glory of God and of souls belonging to Your Majesty, to take the above-mentioned risk and climb said rock with a few tricks. I was helped very much by the Lord in said climb, because none of my companions died. On the side of the barbarians, only those who resisted the climb died; the rest gave themselves up. Their example was followed by others who sued for peace, some from 7 or 8 small islands [i.e. the Gani Islands], which are located further north of the above islands, and as far as 100 leagues from this capital, to which I brought the natives of said islets and those of the Island of Tinian; the former did so because of the difficulty of administering their souls on account of the horribleness of the seas and the weakness of their canoes, while the latter did so on account of their resistance. Although said Royal despatch had ordered me to give a report of what had been done, and I did so that same year 1696, since I have not received a reply,² I repeat it here, to comply with the duty of a loyal vassal, and I beg and pray God our Lord to save Your Majesty for many years with much peace and calm for the relief and consolation of the monarchy, the welfare and propagation of your Holy Church.

Agadña, 14 May 1709.

Your humble and loyal vassal who kisses the royal feet of Your Majesty,

José de Quiroga y Losada.

Agaña 10 May 1709.—

[Endorsement:] Don José de Quiroga y Losada.—He says that he has conquered twice Rota, Tinian, Seipan and Aguiguan at the cost of great hardships and known risks, and following this example 7 to 8 other small islands surrendered also. Enclosed is a **certificate signed by Father Juan Tilpe** of the Society of Jesus, Vice-Provincial and Superior of the Mariana Islands.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1696N.

2 Ed. note: He did not receive a reply, because the two copies of his report (Doc. 1696E) were suppressed by the Jesuits in Spain; the documents in question were kept by them and seized by the Spanish government with other Jesuit papers in about 1770, and they are now in RAH Madrid.

Opinion of the Fiscal, dated Madrid 17 December 1714.

The Fiscal, basing himself on the summary of this letter and in view of the papers that accompany it, Declares:

That in the year 1684, there took place an uprising in these Islands in which the Indians caused great havoc. In 1696, a Royal decree was issued, in which it was recommended to this individual, as Sergeant-Major of those Islands who was then their interim governor, to pursue his efforts to recover them, and approving everything he had done. He was to report on the progress made for the spiritual benefit of the heathen who might be reduced to the holy flock of the Church. Since he refers to another letter in which he reported, but to which he did not receive a reply, he repeats it in this one. Although a few deaths occurred in both sides, he achieved good results.

What the Fiscal can say about all of this is that, although in the case of apostate and rebellious or mutinous Indians action can be taken against them every time they resist, as against apostates and rebels, however, it is necessary to warn the one who is involved in this action to be very careful and to follow the just and existing regulations appearing in the form of various laws, specially Law 9 and Law 10, Book 3, Title 4 of the revised Code of the Indies, by first applying always bland and peaceful means and without deviating from them whenever possible.

Madrid, 17 December 1714.

The Council, on 19 December 1714.

As the Fiscal says, and encouraging the efforts made for the preservation of what has been discovered.

Documents 1709E

First report of Governor Pimentel to the King, dated 24 November 1709

Introductory note.

Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of the Marianas, is reported as having been a General as far back as 1689, when he was mayor of Tondo, a suburb of Manila. However, his substantive military rank was then only that of an artillery captain. He seems to have been in constant trouble with the Governors of the Philippines; he possibly had been demoted and posted as far away from Spain as possible. His record in the Marianas would also end in disgrace. His plan to ingratiate himself with the King by proposing a military conquest of the Carolines was, of course, not approved (see Doc. 1715F1). The part about Quiroga was answered by the King in 1715 (see Doc. 1715B).

E1. Letter dated Agaña 24 November 1709

Sources: AGI Fil. 129-4-120 & -121 (formerly 68-5-29); copy in AGI Ultramar 561, letter #9 of 1709; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4, pp. 384-395.

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *El Teniente General D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas, da cuenta à V.M. de haber tomado posesion de aquel Gobierno à 22 de Agosto de 1709, de que embia testimonio y avisa del estado en que se hallan aquellas Islas con las anuales epidemias que han consumido sus naturales, y que apenas tienen las tres Islas, que estan sugetas à la obediencia de V.M. cinco mil almas, en cuyo numero entran niños, viejos, y mugeres, habiendose hallado en ellas mas de 24,000 cuando entraron los misioneros à su combersion, à que se agrega los muchos que han muerto en sus levantamientos.—Describe el sitio de la principal, nombrado Guajan, que tiene cuatro puntos de entradas peligrosas. Los frutos que producen y la falta de maderas que padecen, y que es necesario tenerla poblada de Españoles, por ser ante mural de las Filipinas, donde llegan de tornabuelta las naos de su Comercio, à rehacerse de bastimentos, agua y leña, para proseguir su viage, y que en caso de haber piratas por enemigos de la Corona, pueden dar aviso à dichas Naos sin que sean vistas para que muden derrota, y en caso que traigan fuerzas para defenderse puede reforzar-*

las con ochenta ó cien mosqueteros buenos para su seguridad, sin que hagan falta al Presidio.—Que determina hacer el descubrimiento de las Islas Carolinas, y la de los Garbanzos, à su costa y mencion para lo cual escribe en la ocasion al Conde de Lizarraga, actual Gobernador de las Islas Filipinas, le embie una balandra pequeña, que dexó en ellas, aviada de Pilotos, Marineros, bastimentos y peltrechos, y municiones.—Que el Sargento Mayor D. José de Quiroga no tiene numen de Gobierno ni está practico en la disciplina militar[,] propone salvando el Real parecer de V.M. que fuera bueno darle una encomienda en Filipinas, para que en ella pase sus pocos días, y escusar este sueldo &c.

Señor

El dia viente y dos de Agosto proximo pasado de este año me dio posesion de este Gobierno, el General D. Manuel de Argüelles Valdes, Gobernador y Capitan General interino de estas Islas Marianas como consta del Testimonio adjunto, y aunque hize todas las instancias, en que se me abiasse de bagel para pasar à ellas el año antecedente, no lo pude conseguir del Maestre de Campo D. Domingo de Zabalburu, Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas, con el pretesto de no tener Pilotos, y gente de Mar, con que abiar el patache de la situacion [i.e. del situado] de estas Islas Marianas sin embargo de mandarselo V.M. expresamente por Cedula despachada à favor del Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus, y su Procurador General en esa Corte, sobre el descubrimiento de las Islas de los Palaos, en que se le ordena, que indefectiblemente despache luego dicho Patache, para que de buelta de viage de estas Marianas fuese à descubrir dicho Palaos mudando la derrota à la parte del Sur, y disminuyendo hasta altura de seis grados, que no puso en ejecucion por conservar un año mas, à dicho general Don Manuel de Argüelles Valdés, su hechura en este Gobierno, ó por que son odiosas à Virreyes y Gobernadores las plazas que provee V.M. por que quisieran ser dueños de todo. Y aunque en la ocasion presente mando se executase el orden de V.M. no pudo tener afecto por ser el vagel muy grande para golfo tan lleno de bajos, como se tiene noticia de los naturales de estas partes, y de corrientes muy rapidas, como por que falleció en esta Ciudad el Capitan Manuel Fernandez Lobo, Piloto mayor de dicho Patache, persona perita en su facultad, y de muchas experiencias, y no ternerse entera satisfaccion del Capitan Juan Ruiz de Zamora su acompañado para arriesgar tan hermoso vagel, y tantas almas, como en el han de ir embarcadas, à que se añade el no traer marineros esprofesos [i.e. expertos] para semejante empeño, ni un soldado de guarnicion: y aunque el Capitan Carlos José, Cabo Superior de dicho Patache, es piloto de profesion, y muy experimentado en esta carrera, pues ha hecho nueve viages à estas Islas, se halla tan molestado de achaques sobre sesenta y tantos años de edad, que dudo llegue con vida à las Filipinas.

Señor,

Deseando hacer un expecial obsequio à V.M. en el descubrimiento de las Carolinas, escribo al Maestre de Campo D. Martin de Ursua, Conde de Lizarraga, hoy Gobernador y Capitan General de dichas Filipinas, compre por mi cuenta una balandra pequeña, que por Julio de este año dexé en el puerto de Cavite, y que aviado esta de buenos

Pilotos, y Marineros, peltrechos, y municiones me la despache por Mayo del año que viene; para que à tiempo oportuno salga de esta isla à dicho descubrimiento de las Carolinas, por ser las mas inmediatas à esta de Guajan, pues el Piloto que mas se alarga le da veinte y cinco leguas de distancia, permita la divina Magestad, se logren mis buenos deseos, de atraer al gremio de nuestra Santa fé Católica tanta gentilidad como se supone haber en ellas, y à la obediencia de V.M. sin que se la acrecienten nuevos gastos à su real erario, por lo que mira à dicho descubrimiento, pero en caso de haberlas de conquistar y poblar, como será preciso estando descubiertas, y reconocidos todos sus puertos, entradas y salidas, con lo que vojean será forzoso que V.M. concorra con los situados necesarios para los socorros de la gente de guerra, que se ocupare en estos efectos, por no alcanzar mi caudal à tanto empeño, asegurando à V.M. à ley de Catálico y leal vasallo que si lo tubiera suficiente lo gastara todo en tan gloriosa empresa, y en caso de que dichas Islas carolinas esten desiertas y sin habitantes que reducir al gremio de nuestra Santa Madre Iglesia, encaminaré dicha Balandra al descubrimiento de dichos Palaos, y las de los Garbanzos que estan en el meridiano de esta, y aquellos a distancia de cuarenta leguas; aunque me dicen los que han visto dichos Garbanzos, que son Islas muy vajas, y que el mar las inunda con sus crecientes. Mas no dudo que siguiendo esa Cordillera, que corre oriente à poniente, se descubra alguna que domine las aguas, y no padezca sus fluxos, y refluxos, para poderse dar la mano, con estas y las Filipinas.

[Population of the Marianas in 1709]

Dicho Maestro de Campo D. Domingo de Zabalburu ordenó à dicho General D. Manuel de Argüelles que visitase todos los pueblos de estas tres Islas de Guajan, Rota, y Zeipan que estan à la obediencia de V.M. y que contase todos los naturales que las havitan, y haciendolo ejecutado, no halló en ellas mas numero de almas que el de cinco mil, quinientas treinta y dos, en que entran niños, viejos, y mugeres, habiendose hallado en ellas al pie de veinte y cuatro mil personas cuando entraron à su combersion los religiosos misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus. Y à la fecha de esta puedo afirmar à V.M. que apenas habrá cinco mil por los muchos que han fallecido de cuatro meses à esta parte, con una rigurosa y voraz epidemia, que han padecido, la esquinencia, garrotillo, tabardillo, dolores de costado, fluxiones de sangre por la boca, y monstruosas postemas; à estas anuales enfermedades se atribuye tan gran disminucion de gente como se experimenta, à que se agrega la mudanza de ritos, y costumbres, y à que dhos Padres Misioneros, los han reducido à vida comun y politica en Pueblos que han formado, sacandolos de sus antiguas rancherias, donde vivian esparcidos, y à los levantamientos, que han intentado, y puesto à tiempo en ejecucion, con ánimo de acabar con los religiosos y Españoles, de que mataron muchos cuyas reducciones han sido à fuerza de armas, en que perecieron muchisimos naturales, viendo precisado el General Don José Madrazo, Gobernador interino que fué de estas Islas à retirar toda la gente que habitaba las ocho Islas, que corrian à la parte del Norte, en que se habian encastillado, y negado la obediencia, V.M. cuyos nombres son estos: Anatajan, Sariguan, Guguan,

Alamagan, Pagon, Aguiguan [i.e. Agrigan], Mao, y Achonso [i.e. Asongsong, or Asunción], dexandolas desiertas, y despobladas, reduciendo sus moradores, à estas tres, que estan debajo de la obediencia ya referida de Guajan, que es la Corte y escala de las Naos, que buelben de la Nueva España à Filipinas, donde se proveen de algunos bastimentos, aguada, y leña. La de Rotta, dista de esta diez leguas, y la de Zaipan, treinta leguas, ambas à la parte del norte cuya cordillera dicen que llega hasta el Japon, en temperamento frio, y como se mudaron aquellos naturales à este temperamento cálido murieron mas de tres mil almas, y hoy juzgo que no permanece ninguno.

*Esta Isla principal vojea treinta leguas toda rodeada de arrecifes, que le sirven de muro con solos cuatro (fuertes) ó Puertos, nombrados Tachog, Merizo, Umata, y Apra, y todos muy estrechos, y arriesgados, por ser sus entradas canales angostas entre peñas que es menester ser muy practicos los Pilotos para no peligrar en ellos. La tierra es toda serranias, y en la mayor llanada esta fundada esta Ciudad de S. Ignacio de Agaña, no estendiendose mas su terreno, que doce cuadras de largo, y seis en lo mas ancho, teniendo el mar inmediato, en la frente, y à sus espaldas la serrania, estando poblado solo el tercio de su corto distrito; abunda de ganado mayor y de cerda, de que se mantienen religiosos y soldados, y vecinos, y se proveen las Naos de la carrera. Los frutos que produce esta tierra son pocos, y sin sustancia, como es el arroz, y maiz. Un genero de fruta que llaman **rima**, y dura tres meses del año, y la comen asada y cocida, los naturales, quienes se sustentan lo mas del año, con dos especies de raizes que llaman **Nica**, y **Dago**, y los Cocos producen sus Palmas, que tambien les sirve de comida y bebida. Las maderas son de muy poca duracion, de que resulta duplicado trabajo à los naturales en sus cortes, y fabrica de casas, que es necesario bolber à refe]dificar, cada seis ó siete años. Los templos son baxos y lóbregos por falta de materiales, como por que son lisiadas estas Islas de huracanes, y que los suelen deribar los techos, de todos estos edificios son paxizos que necesitan de repararse cada tres años. El de esta Ciudad le fabrico de canteria dicho General D. Manuel de Argüelles, con los soldados Españoles, y Panpangos, y sus criados en discurso de año y medio, sin molestar à los naturales de la tierra, habiendo hallado su celo arrecifes de que hacer cal, y labrar piedras para la **fabrica de esta Iglesia, de tres naves**, capaz para mas numero de gente de la que tiene al presente, y aunque se le opusieron varios inconvenientes, atropelló por todo y consiguio sus buenos deseos en tan brebe tiempo, como el referido, que parece cosa increíble, o que el brazo poderoso del Señor, cohópero en la fabrica de su casa y la de sus ministros misioneros que es de la misma materia que la Iglesia.*

Este real Campo tiene tres Compañias, dos de Infanteria Española, y una de Pam-pangos, naturales de Filipinas, y en ellas ciento sesenta y ocho plazas mayores, y menores de gente bien disciplinada, y lucida, repartida en los Pueblos de Meriso, Agate, Pago, y Apurguan, para que sirvan de freno, à los naturales y no intenten nuevos levantamientos, y por Sargento mayor de toda ella à D. José de Quiroga y Losada, que lo exerce con Real despacho, y futura sucesion, por muerte ó ausencia de los Gobernadores de estas Islas, interin que los de Filipinas proveen este puesto, y à logrado gobernarlas dos veces; la primera fué en ausencia del Teniente General [sic] D. Damian de

*Esplana, que hizo viage à las Filipinas; en cuyo tiempo se portó con tanta aspereza, y riguridad, con oficiales y soldados, que se vieron estos obligados à prenderlo y privarle del Gobierno hasta que bolbió dicho Teniente General D. Damian de Esplana, y castigó el atrevimiento y desacato de la Infanteria, **apeloteando veinte y tres hombres que halló ser las principales cabezas del motin.** Esto resultó de castigos rigurosos, que executó en los soldados, que le decian sus émulos, andaban trabiesos con las indias, sin averiguar la verdad, pagandose del primer informe que le hacian, en este especie de pecado, disimulando los robos, embriaguezes, y demas delitos, no teniendolos por pecados, como si no fuesen de una igualdad y gravedad, los diez preceptos del decálogo. Lo mismo ejecuto la segunda vez, que entró à gobernar por muerte de dicho Teniente General D. Damian de Esplana, celando con todo extremo el pecado de concupisencia, teniendo tan amilanados à soldados y naturales, sus castigos escesivos, que de solo oir su nombre tiemblan de horror, y hace cuanto quiere de ellos, pues le labran sus sementeras de arroz, y maiz, le casan vacas y cerdos en los montes[,] se los mantienen y ceban, le cortan las maderas que necesita para su casa, y las de sus allegados con muy poca paga que les da. Ya sido dueño de cuantas casas tiene esta pobre Ciudad, porque luego que muere el posehedor, se la apropia y vende à quien se la paga, despojando de ellas à los herederos lexitimos de los dueños. Y aunque Governaron en interin estas islas, el General D. José Madrazo, y Sargentos Mayores D. Francisco Medrano, y D. Antonio Villamor, no remediaron estos daños, por no malquistarse con el[,] considerando que à lo sumo habian de permanecer tres años, pero dicho General D. Manuel de Argüelles Valdés, no le permitió semejantes escesos, y aunque sabia que su Gobierno no podia pasar de dos años, constandole de la provision que en mi persona tenia hecha V.M. à quien represento que dho Sargento mayor, no tiene numen de Gobierno, ni está muy capaz à la disciplina militar, y que me causa lastima el crecido sueldo que percibe. Y salvando el Real parecer de V.M. el mio fuera retirarle à las Filipinas, y darle una encomienda para que pasase en ella los pocos dias que le quedan de vida, pues aunque ha hecho algunas conquistas en las islas del Norte, de donde retiraron la gente, fué con los Capitanes y soldados disciplinados que dexó dicho Teniente General D. Damian de Esplana, quien se preció siempre de buen soldado; y para lo abreviado que es este gobierno, bastan los dos capitanes Españoles, que en el militan para la futura[,] interin que provee el de Filipinas, considerando no poderse dismantelar estas Islas, por ser antemural de aquellas, y que si hay vageles de Piratas, ú otros enemigos de la corona, que vengan à hacer escala en ellas para esperar las Naos, que buelben de Nueva España con el Real Situado, y caudales de aquel Comercio, han de ser vistos y acosados de esta infanteria, y se pueden socorrer dichas Naos, con cien mosqueteros buenos para su defensa, sin que lo embarasen los enemigos, porque la gente de guerra que anualmente traen dichas Naos de Nueva España, es toda visoña é incapaz de ponerla en defensa, y basta saber que en esta Isla haya infanteria Española, para que no aporten à ella, como sucedió el año de 1705 con los vageles de Piratas, que acometieron à la Nao **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, del cargo del General D. Fermin de Zalabarria, que intentaron apresarla en las costas de Nueva España, que no consiguieron*

por la gallarda resistencia que hallaron en dicho General. Y habiendo pasado por la Isla de Rotta, y sabido en ella el numero de infanteria que habia en esta no quisieron tomar puerto,¹ mudando su derrota asi al Norte, por apartarse de esta Infanteria, que es de la mejor que hay en las Indias, y la mas obediente al sevicio de V.M. cuya sacra Católica y Real Persona guarde Dios dilatados años, con aumentos de nuebos reynos, y señorios, como la Cristiandad necesita, y este su mas humilde vasallo desea.

Ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña y Noviembre 24 de 1709 años.

Juan Antonio Pimentel

Translation.

[Endorsement:] Lieutenant General Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands reports to Y.M. that he has taken possession of that Government on 22 August 1709, enclosing the certificate, and he narrates the condition in which those Islands are found, with yearly epidemics that have wasted the natives, so much so that in the three Islands that are under the authority of Y.M. there are hardly 5,000 inhabitants, counting children, old people and women, while at the time of the religious conquest the Missionaries found 24,000 of them. To that must be added the many deaths as a result of their rebellions.—He describes the site of the main [Island], named Guajan, as having 4 ports with dangerous approaches; the local products, and the lack of wood for construction, and that it is necessary to keep the Spanish presence there as they act as the first wall of defence for the Philippines, where the galleons touch on their return voyage to trade and refresh with wood and water before pursuing their voyage, and that in case of there being pirates, it is possible to warn the galleons about the presence of such enemies of the Crown, so that, without being perceived, they may alter their course, and, in case they come in force, it would be possible to add to their defence requirements by reinforcing them with 80-100 good musketeers, without them being missed by the Garrison.—He adds that he has decided to explore the Caroline Islands and those called Garbanzos, at his expense, and he mentioned that he has written forthwith to the Count of Lizarraga, the present Governor of the Philippine Islands, to send him a small sloop that he has left there, supplied with pilots, seamen, food, weapons and ammunition.—That Major José de Quiroga lacks the ability to govern, and is not competent to give military training either, and he proposes, unless Y.M. objects, that it would be good to give him some land grant in the Philippines, where he could spend the few days that he got left, and thus save the amount of his salary, etc.

Sire:

Last 22 August, General Manuel de Argüelles y Valdés, interim Governor and Captain General of these Mariana Islands, gave me possession of this government, as shown in the enclosed certificate. Although I made many requests to be provided with a vessel to come here this past year, I could not get it out of Master-of-Camp Domingo de

1 Ed. note: Pimentel's description does not accord with the facts of the case.

Zabalburu, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, the pretext being that there were no pilots or seamen available to outfit the Patache that belongs to these Mariana Islands, notwithstanding an express order from Y.M. as given in a royal order despatched at the request of Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, and his Procurator General at that Court, regarding the exploration of the Islands of Palaos, in which it is ordered that, without fail, he was to send the said Patache, so that, during the return voyage from these Marianas, it would go and explore the said Palaos, by altering its route southward, and go down in latitude as far as 6 degrees. I could not do so, because he kept the said General Manuel de Argüelles y Valdés in this post as Governor for one more year, because the posts filled directly by Y.M. are distasteful to Viceroy and Governors, because they wish to be master of everything. Although on this occasion, he has ordered that Y.M.'s order be carried out, it could not take effect, on account of the vessel being very large for an expanse of sea that is so full of shoals, according to notice received from the natives of these parts, and the currents that are very strong.

Another thing is the death in this City of Captain Manuel Martinez Lobo, chief pilot Major of said Patache. He was expert in his field and had much experience; not enough trust exists in the ability of his Mate, Captain Juan Ruiz de Zamora, to risk such a beautiful vessel¹ and so many souls, as must go aboard her, besides the fact that they did not bring the seasoned seamen required for such a venture, nor one soldier to guard her. Although Captain Carlos José, the commander of the said Patache is a pilot by profession, and very experienced on this run, since he has indeed carried out 9 voyages to these Islands, he is suffering from so many aches and pains—he is over 70 years old—that I doubt that he will reach the Philippines alive.

Sire:

I wish to ingratiate myself with Y.M. by going to the discovery of the Carolines. I am writing to the Master-of-Camp Martin de Ursua, Count of Lizarraga, the present Governor and Captain General of the said Philippine Islands, to buy on my account a small sloop that I left in the Port of Cavite this past July. If this sloop were equipped with good pilots and seamen, weapons and ammunition, and despatched by May of the coming year, in order to come out of this Island in time to go to the exploration of the Carolines, since they lie closer to this Island of Guajan; well, any pilot who would go beyond 25 leagues from it [would find them].² May His Divine Majesty allow the success of my good desires to attract to the bosom of our holy Catholic faith so many gentiles, as it is supposed to exist in them, and to the obedience of Y.M., without incurring any new expenses to your Royal Treasury for the said exploration, but once they are conquered and populated—something that will have to be done if they are found—and all their ports surveyed along with their access channels, it would then be

1 Ed. note: Its name was the Rosario, one of many ships with that name.

2 Ed. note: The misconception, from 1686, that Carolina Island lied practically in sight of Santa Rosa Bank was still strong.

necessary for Y.M. to come up with the required subsidies to maintain the occupying troops, as my personal funds would not suffice for such a purpose, although I can assure Y.M. that, as a good Catholic and loyal subject, if I had sufficient funds of my own, I would spend them all in such a glorious enterprise. In case the said Caroline Islands should be uninhabited, that is, without people to reduce to the bonds of our Mother Church, I will then take the said sloop to the exploration of the said Palaos Islands and those called Garbanzos that lie on the same meridian as this one, but distant 40 leagues. Even though I am told by those who have seen the said Garbanzos that they are very low-lying islands, and that the sea bathes them with its currents, still I do not doubt that by following their range, which runs from east to west, to discover some that stand out of the water and are not subject to flooding at high tides, in order to gain a stopover between these and the Philippines.

[Population of the Marianas in 1709]

Said Master-of-Camp Domingo de Zabalburu had ordered said General Manuel de Argüelles to visit all the villages of these three Islands of Guajan, Rota, and Seipan, that are under the authority of Y.M. and to make a census of all the natives who inhabit them. Having done this, he found no more than **5,532 souls** in them, including the children, old people and women, as opposed to the number of 24,000 found in them, when the Religious Missionaries of the Society of Jesus arrived to convert them.¹ However, as of this date, I can assure Y.M. that there could hardly be more than 5,000 of them left, on account of the many who have perished in these last 4 months as a result of a harsh and voracious epidemic, and they still suffer from various symptoms, such as quinsy,² throat infection, headache, pain in the ribs, and spitting of blood, as well as monstrous sores. Added to such yearly ailments, such a great decline in the population is also attributed to the changes that have occurred in their rites and customs, and to the fact that the said Missionary Fathers have concentrated them to a communal and civilized way of life in towns that they have formed, taking them out of their old farmsteads where they lived spread out; also to the rebellions that they have attempted, and sometimes carried out, for the purpose of getting rid of the religious and Spanish people, of whom they killed not a few,³ until they were reduced by force of arms, and very many died during such operations.³ General Joseph Madrazo, who was then interim Governor of these Islands, withdrew all the people who lived in the 8 islands that lie toward the north, where they had fortified themselves, and refused submission to Y.M. The names of these islands are as follows: Inatajan; Sarigan; Guigan; Alamagan; Pagan; Aguigan [rather Agrigan]; Mao, and Assonson. He left them depopulated, reducing

1 Ed. note: The misconception as to a high population having existed in 1668 was still strong, although 24,000 is not too far off the better estimate of 20,000 at most.

2 Ed. note: Quinsy, "esquinencia" in Spanish, is a severe inflammation of the tonsils.

3 Ed. note: This comment may be meant to discredit Major Quiroga. The missionary reports, however, are quite clear and show that he did pacify the islanders at the least cost to their own lives.

their inhabitants to three others, that are submitted to Y.M., as I have said, and they are: Guajan, which is the seat of government and the stopover of the galleons that return from New Spain to the Philippines and where they take on some wood and water; Rota, distant 10 leagues from this one; and Zeypan, 30 leagues. The last two belong to the same range that, they say, runs all the way to Japan, that has a cold climate, and when those [Japanese] natives moved southward to this hot climate, more than 3,000 of them died, and today I judge that there are none of them left.¹

This main Island has a circumference of 30 leagues all surrounded with reefs that act as a defence wall, with only 4 ports, named Tachog, Merizo, Umatag, and Apra, all very narrow and risky on account of their entrance channels being narrow and bound by rocks, so that it is necessary for the pilots to be very knowledgeable about local conditions not to be at risk in them. The land is everywhere hilly, the greatest stretch of flat land is where this City of San Ignacio of Agaña was established, although its boundaries do not extend beyond 12 blocks in length, and 6 blocks at the widest point, the sea being immediately in front of it, and the hills beginning right behind it; only one-third of the small district belonging to it is settled. It abounds in large cattle and pigs, from which the religious, the soldiers and the residents get their own food, and supplies for the galleons of the run. The local products are few, and without the substance that rice and corn provide. One type of fruit, which they call *rima* [i.e. breadfruit] and lasts three months a year, is eaten by the natives roasted and cooked, but the rest of the year they get most of their food from root crops, that they call *Nica*, and *Dago*, and from coconuts, produced by their palm trees, which they use not only as food, but as a drink. The [local] wood does not last long; so, twice the amount of work is required of the natives, in cutting it and building their houses with it, as it is necessary for them to rebuild every 6 or 7 years. The churches are built low and are gloomy, for lack of materials, to resist the usual hurricanes that sweep through these Islands, and usually bring down the roofs of all these buildings, that are made up of thatch that needs to be replaced every 3 years. This city, however, was [re-]built with stones by the said General Manuel de Argüelles, with the Spanish and Pampango soldiers and his servants in the course of a year and a half, without calling on the natives of the land, since his zeal led him to discover that lime could be made from the reefs and to work stones for the **construction of this church with three naves** capable of holding more people than exists at present. Although he met with much opposition and problems, he overcame them all, and managed to get the object of his good desires in such a short time, as mentioned earlier, that it seems incredible, unless the arms of Almighty God had something to do with the building of His own house, and that of His ministers, the Missionaries whose house is of the same material as the church.

1 Ed. note: There is no historical basis to justify this theory of Japanese migration to the Mariana Islands before 1700. Japanese migration to the islands north of the Marianas was then only a supposition; it seemed only natural that they would. By 1700, the Spanish had sighted most of them at one time or another, all the way to the Izu Islands that lie very close to Honshu, but they did not realize that they were all uninhabited.

This Royal Camp has three companies, two of Spanish infantry and one of Pampango natives from the Philippines; they total 178 positions, senior and junior, of men who are well disciplined and outstanding, distributed in the posts of Merizo, Agat, Pago, and Apurguan, so that they may serve as a curb on the natives, to prevent any new uprisings. The Major in charge of the whole is Don José de Quiroga y Losada who had a royal commission to that effect, and acts as a replacement of the Generals of this Island, in case of death or absence, until those of the Philippines fill this post again. He has thus succeeded in governing them twice. The first time was in the absence of Lieutenant General Damian de Esplana, who made a trip to the Philippines [in 1688]; at that time, he behaved with such roughness and rigor with officers and soldiers, that they were forced to seize him and deprive him of the government until the return of Lieutenant General Damian de Esplana, who punished this waywardness and misbehavior of the Infantry by **executing 23 men whom he found to have been the ring-leaders of this mutiny.**¹ This [mutiny] was the result of severe punishments imposed on the soldiers who, it was said, abused the Indian women, without ascertaining the truth, and accepting the first report made with regard to this type of sin, while disregarding the thefts, the drunkennesses, and other crimes as such, as if they were not equally serious, and also against the precepts of the 10 commandments. He did the same thing the second time he happened to govern as a result of the death of Lieutenant General Damian de Esplana [in 1694], watching with extreme care against the sin of concupiscence, and keeping the soldiers and natives alike so intimidated by excessive punishments that they tremble with horror just at hearing his name and he makes whatever he wants with them; for instance, they work on his plantations of rice and corn, they hunt cows and pigs for him in the hills, they maintain them and feed them, they cut the wood he needs for his house and those of his allies for the very small pay that he gives them. And he has been the owner of so many houses, in this poor city, because whenever the owner of one dies, he appropriates it for himself and sells it to one willing to pay for it, thus despoiling the legitimate heirs of the owners from them. Although these Islands were governed on an interim basis by General Joseph Madrazo, and Majors Francisco Medrano and Antonio Villamor, they did nothing to remedy these damages, as they did not wish to antagonize him and considered that they had to stay for only three years, but said General Manuel de Argüelles Valdés did not permit such excesses, although he knew that his government could not last more than two years, given the commission that Y.M. had given me. I declare that this Major does not have the ability to govern nor does he have much ability in matters of military training, and that his inflated salary causes me some concern. Not presuming on Y.M.'s opinion, mine would be to retire him to the Philippines and give him a land grant so that he may spend the few days that remain of his life there. Well, though he did indeed achieve some conquests in the

1 Ed. note: This was not for the 1688 mutiny, but the 1690 mutiny of convicts off the patache Pilar.

northern Islands, from where he removed the people, they were with the help of disciplined Captains and soldiers left behind by the said Lieutenant General Damian de Esplana, who always took pride in being a good soldier.¹ In summary, for this government, it is enough to have two Spanish captains to take care of military matters in future, until the government of the Philippines provides otherwise, considering that these Islands cannot be dismantled, as they are the first line of defence for those others, and in case of pirate ships and ships of other enemies of the Crown coming here to make a stopover, to lie in wait for the galleons that return from New Spain with the royal subsidy, and the profits of that commerce, they must be sighted and intercepted by this infantry, and the said galleons can be reinforced by 100 good musketeers for their defence, to prevent their being bothered by the enemies, because the military personnel brought yearly from New Spain by the said galleons are all new recruits and unable to defend them. It is sufficient to know that this Island is garrisoned by Spanish infantry to make sure they do not seek port here, as happened in 1705 with the pirate vessels that attacked the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** commanded by General Fermín de Zalabarría, which they tried to seize off the coasts of New Spain, and they failed on account of the gallant resistance put up by the General; they then passed by the Island of Rota and, upon learning about the number of Infantrymen in this Island, they did not wish to seek port in it, changing their route northward, in order to avoid this Infantry which is the best that is in the Indies and the most obedient in the service of Y.M., whose sacred Catholic and Royal person may God keep for very long years with an increase in new Kingdoms and dominions as Christendom needs, and as this your humblest vassal wishes.

City of San Ignacio of Agaña, 24 November 1709.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.²

E2. Act of take-over of the governorship

Original text in Spanish.

Yo el Capitan Domingo de Paredes, que lo soy actual de una de las dos Compañias que militan en este Real Campo, y Secretario de esta Gobernacion y Guerra, por nombramiento del Señor General Don Manuel de Argüelles Valdés, Gobernador interino y Teniente de Capitan General que fué de estas Islas Marianas; certifico, doy fé y verdadero testimonio à los Señores que el presente vieren como hoy de la fha, se presentó el Señor Teniente General D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, Regidor propietario, de la muy noble, y siempre leal Ciudad de Manila, con un Título, y real provision de merced de este Gobierno, y pidió su cumplimiento à dicho Señor General Don Manuel de Argüe-

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- 1 Ed. note: Esplana was a great boaster and could indeed convince many listeners of his many great exploits.
 - 2 Ed. note: This letter of Governor Pimentel was seen in the Council of the Indies in December 1714, and the King answered it soon after (see Doc. 1715F).

Iles Valdés, quien por su obediencia la tomó en sus manos, besó, y puso sobre su cabeza como carta de su Rey y Señor natural (que Dios guarde) con acrecentamiento de mayores reynos, y señorios, y por su virtud le entregó el baston é insignia de tal Gobernador y Capitan General de estas dichas Islas, y quedó en posesion de ellas, à cuyo acto se hallaron presentes todos los Cabos militares de este Real Campo, y para que conste donde combenga à pedimento de dicho Señor Teniente General D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, doy el presente, por cuatriplicado, que es fecho en esta Ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña, en veinte y dos dias del mes de Agosto, de mil setecientos y nueve.

En testimonio de verdad, con mi firma acostumbrada,

Domingo de Paredes, secretario nombrado.

Translation.

I, Captain Domingo de Paredes, who is at present actual Captain of one of the two Companies that are based at this Royal Camp and Secretary for administration and war, by appointment of General Manuel de Argüelles Valdés, Governor by interim and former Lieutenant of Captain-General of these Mariana Islands, do certify and attest to the Gentlemen present that on this date, there appeared before me Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, resident and property owner in the very noble and ever loyal City of Manila, with the certificate of a royal commission to take charge of this Government, and said General Manuel de Argüelles begged that it be observed, taking it as he did in his hands, kissing it, and placing it over his head as being a letter from his King and natural Lord (God save him and give him enlarged kingdoms and dominions). By said power I delivered to him the Staff and Badges of rank for the exercise of said Governorship, and as Captain General of these Islands, and he remained in possession thereof. Those present at this ceremony were: all the military officers of this Royal Camp and in faith thereof, wherever it may be needed, at the request of said Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, I deliver this document in four official copies.

Made in this City of San Ignacio of Agaña on 22nd day of the month of August 1709.

In witness whereof, I have affixed my usual signature.

Domingo de Paredes, Official Secretary.

[There follow two certificates, one signed by Fr. Juan Tilpe, Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits, and the other by Major Quiroga, stating that Captain Paredes had indeed been appointed Government Secretary.]

Documents 1709F

Letters from Fr. Cortyl, Belgian missionary on the way to the Carolines

F1. Letter from Fr. Cortyl to his family, dated Mexico 11 September 1708

Source: Fr. F. Kieckens, S.J., article entitled: "Les anciens missionnaires belges aux Iles Philippines," in Précis Historiques, 1881, pp. 294-299.

Notes: Fr. Cortyl was one of the explorers of the Carolines. He was stranded and died at Sonsorol Island. The original letter was in Flemish. Fr. Kieckens translated it into French.

Letter from Fr. Joseph Cortyl to his brother and sister

Mexico 17 September 1708.

Dearest brother and sister,

I hope that the letter I wrote to you from Veracruz, through the opportunity of a ship that was due to leave soon after, has reached you.¹ I have described to you the whole of our voyage; that is why I will tell you about it now only in summary.

We left Cadiz on 21 May [1708]. On the 29th, we saw the Canary Islands. We had a continuously favorable wind. On 21 June, we began to see some sea birds. One or two days later, we had some lightning. All of these were signs that we were no longer far from land. On the 24th, we saw the Islands of St. Martin, Martinique, etc.

On 28 June, we sighted Puerto Rico. It is at this island that the ships renew their provisions of meat, fruits, and the supply of water. We stayed 4 days there. Many of the Spanish Fathers were so keen on going ashore to breathe a different air that they simply forgot to take along some money or food; the result was that they had already fasted for half a day when our procurator sent me ashore to join them with some money. We stayed for three days to have our clothes washed.

The inhabitants of this island speak Spanish. Their skin is copper-tone and burned by the sun. They flocked in immediately with their fruits, their animals, their pigs and some calves that are very nice and cheap. Sheep are rare. This island is over 30 leagues in length and it is very fertile. The sea shores are planted with lemon trees, orange trees, laurel trees, etc., as it is very warm there, because these islands are in 18° latitude. The

¹ Ed. note: This letter was not found in the Cortyl family archives in 1881.

dryness of the soil does not permit the cultivation of wheat. The inhabitants of these islands make their bread with Turkish wheat [i.e. corn], or with some root crops that they first grind; they call this *cassava*. There is also a type of fruit they call *piña* [pineapple] which resembles a pine cone a lot, except that it is much bigger. At first, it is of a green color, then it becomes yellow and has such an excellent taste that there is no fruit in Europe that can be compared to it. Besides this, they have the coconut, which is the size of two fists, or more; the shell is very hard. When this shell is broken, one finds inside some clear water, which, when distilled, gives out a good oil. On the inside of the shell, there is a white crust as thick as a finger, that has the color of hazel-nut, but tastes better. Therefore, one finds in this fruit some food, drink, and oil.

They have some bananas that replace bread and that are very pleasant to the taste. They have the potatoes that are known in Spain, and also other fruits that are less tasty, some tasting like apricots, others like nuts.

The character of the inhabitants is mild; they spend their days working, and at night they would come to confession until midnight. The Spanish Fathers were half sick and forced to take a rest; two French Fathers and myself could not keep up with the confessions. We had little sleep, all wet with dew, and, at dawn, we began again to exercise our ministry. That lasted two days. On the third day, most of the Fathers went back to the ship. As for myself, I kept busy; whatever time was left, day and night, I was hearing confessions.

God was kind enough to keep me free from sickness so far, because I had to walk a lot in the sun. One day, when I had gone far into the woods, I laid down under a laurel tree to recite my breviary and rest a little. One of the inhabitants came to warn me that the shade of this tree was harmful and advised me to look for shade under a lemon tree. First, I resisted this advice, but, after a while, I began to have a headache; so, I changed my mind and, following the advice received earlier, went under a lemon tree. My headache disappeared right away.

I bought a provision of fruits and on the fourth day, we left. We went to the Island of Santo Domingo or Hispaniola to find out if we had anything to fear from the English who own the Island of Jamaica. We learned that there were five English warships ready to set sail. At that time, one of the ships in our fleet was pushed by the wind straight toward our ship. There was no way to avoid it; it would have crushed us, if it had touched us, but, thank God, it cut right in front of us without catching us. We decided to cross the Vieja Channel, which is a very dangerous sea on account of its rocks and sand banks. Our pilot had crossed it often; that is why he transferred to the *almiranta*, but after a few minutes of sailing, we found ourselves on top of a shoal. All those seas are bottomless; that is why they are never sounded [for depth]. One of the sailors shouted: "It appears to me to be shallow water ahead!"

We sounded and found a little over five fathoms. We thought we were about to be shipwrecked. Some people even wanted to lower the boats, but the pilot refused, saying that everyone would make for the boats and we would be in danger. He gave the order

to veer to the left, and a little afterwards, we sounded and found seven fathoms. We anchored and the seamen began to sing.

A short time later, we arrived at Cuba, another large island. In the city of Havana, we took in refreshments. The bishop of the place gave us a great quantity of fruits and jams. These fruits were the best ones in all the islands and much superior to those in America; they are the same ones that I have mentioned earlier. All of these islands produce sugar and the best tobacco ever.

A few days later, at about midnight, we met with 12 English ships. We were once again fearful, since we had only three warships, as follows: the *almiranta*, a very beautiful Spanish ship, built entirely of cedar; and two French ships carrying 60 guns, as well as three French frigates with 30 guns; in spite of our inferior power, we prepared for battle. The other merchant ships, in order to be in a better state of readiness, pitched some merchandise overboard. Our ship, carrying 35 guns, made 20 of them ready, but at daybreak, we found that they were mere merchant ships that were fleeing at our approach. The wind was very light, so that they had not made more than half a league during the night; that is why the French ships were right behind them, pursuing them. They were all in sight of us. By noon, we saw that they had overtaken three of them. The English ships scattered on all sides and, as there were only five of our ships that could pursue them, six of them managed to escape. The six others came back with the French ships in the evening. They were loaded with sugar, Brazil wood, indigo, etc.

One day or two later, we arrived in the Sounding Sea, which is a shallow sea and so called, because one has to use a sounding line continuously. The usual depth is 20 fathoms. We would have hit a sand bank once again, had not the pilot warned the admiral on time to bear right. There was plenty of fish in this Sounding Sea, at a place where it was somewhat deeper. We threw the 50-fathom lines overboard, and a short time later, pulled in a large white fish, bigger than a haddock, and another one, reddish in color. Sometimes we got two at once, because each line had two hooks. We had so many that some were thrown back into the sea.

This Sounding Sea is 84 leagues in extent; on account of contrary winds, we took four days to cross it. We still had 80 miles to go, and we did that in three days. A storm then arose and forced us 12 miles beyond Veracruz, but the wind abated and it took us the whole night to cover 12 miles. The next night, another storm hit us and once again we were pushed off even farther out to sea. However, by midnight, the wind became more favorable, so that, by two in the afternoon, we reached Veracruz, singing the *Te Deum laudamus*.

Immediately a boat carrying the Father Rector of Veracruz with all the Fathers aboard came alongside our ship. They were bringing us some wine, fresh meat, water, all sorts of refreshments and fruits. We remained on board ship until 4 o'clock, then we went ashore. It is hard to imagine the friendship that these good Fathers showed toward us. They gave us a wide variety of foods, all very good and better cooked than in Spain. We spent four days in that city.

The climate of Veracruz is very warm and the soil is not very fertile. All the food supplies must come from more than a mile from there. The sea contains a great quantity of fish; every evening, and even on non-fasting days, fish was served in addition to meat. The inhabitants just go a little off shore in their boats and right away they find as much fish as they want. These fish seem to me of a firmer and better kind than in Flanders; maybe this has something to do with the fact that they are eaten raw...

From Veracruz, we went to Mexico on mule-back. The distance is 80 Spanish miles. The Spaniards, here as in Spain, never go on foot. They reckon one mile to be the distance covered by a mule in one hour. That is why I think that the distance was more than 130 of our miles. The first day was 5 miles. The road was rather good, except toward the end. There is an incredible number of biting flies [mosquitos?] here; they seldom left us alone. They bite so much that they draw blood and it is the hands that usually suffer the most. Mine were covered with blood stains all the way to Mexico, because these insects lasted for three days during our trip. When we had passed the first high mountains, we arrived in such a beautiful plain that it looked like paradise. Here the weather is cool. The roads are very pretty and always green, because it is never too cold nor too hot. We stopped for one day to rest. This area looked much like Flanders, our dear country.

The next day's journey was terrible on account of the height of the mountains through which we had to pass. The high Pyrenees are nothing next to those mountains. If the mules were not used to climbing these heights, we would have had more than 100 accidents. One sees so many chasms that fear is inevitable. That day, we stayed on the saddle for over 11 hours, and covered only 11 miles. From then on, the climate was so temperate that heat was no longer a bother, even though the sun was hitting us directly upon the head. I would prefer to be here in the sun than in our country in the month of August, because there is a constant breeze. In fact, such a coolness comes out of the ground that it is too cold in the shade. When we reached a spot 17 miles from the city of Puebla de los Angeles, we met the Rector with a few Fathers, in a farm which they own; they had brought with them every thing one can imagine. This country has all the foods and fruits of Flanders, but in addition it has all the products of the islands described earlier, and jams aplenty. We spent one day here. This farm is so large that the workers on it cost 1,000 pesos. As everyone here makes sure that his land is sown, there is a Brother who looks after that.

The next day, we went to another farm seven miles from there. This one is even more beautiful than the first.

On the third day, we covered another seven miles (mule miles, as usual) which would be about 10 of our miles and, at three leagues from the city we found some coaches and a magnificent meal that the Rector had prepared for us; many of the canons from the cathedral were present. In the afternoon, we went by coach to the city. I am unable to describe the friendliness of all those Fathers. We spent four days there. The city is very beautiful and the churches are beyond any description. The streets are so straight that

one can see from one end of the city to the other, as far as the eye can see. One can see all sorts of Religious.

The road goes through some mountains yet. There are two of them so high that, when they are first seen from six leagues away, one thinks that they are only two or three miles off. They are covered with snow all year round, and this snow can be seen from 30 leagues away, covering the mountains the space of two miles.¹ I saw some clouds three miles below the summits of those mountains. We passed near the foot of those mountains. When we got within three miles of Mexico, we were met by some coaches. The Provincial's assistant, as well as other Fathers, told us that the Provincial was sorry that he was busy that day and could not come himself.

We are here in a farm belonging to one of the Provinces of the Philippine Islands, a little less than one league from the city. We will stay here until next March. We will then travel 80 miles to reach the port named Acapulco, on the other side of America. From there we will embark for the Philippine Islands. The voyage lasts three months. In the meantime, I will not be idle here. I have to teach theology to some brothers of our Society, some Spanish and some from the French provinces, who have not yet completed their studies.

The farm we own here is very big; you will be able to judge by yourself by what follows. Besides the big and small cattle, there are also 30 horses that are used only to thresh the wheat. This is not done as in Flanders, with flails. The horses go back and forth, stepping for a long time, until the straw is all cut up into small pieces. The straw is put away in storage, or it is used to feed the horses. Then, the wheat which had remained all mixed up with the mud and dust, it thrown up into the air with pans, so that the wind picks up the dust, and that is the way that the wheat is separated. With this method, it is possible to thresh 30 bushels a day.

The city of Mexico is similar to all the other cities, except that it is more beautiful than Puebla. It is really a magnificent city, but all of this did not excite my curiosity much, because I was thinking of the heavenly city, that is the celestial Jerusalem. May this thought, dearest brother and sister, be your consolation in everything, because, as I hope, we will be re-united there forever.

Good-bye, pray for me, and give my regards to all the Fathers and all my friends and relatives in Bailleul. I beg you to send a copy of my letter to the nuns in Cassel, as well as to Father Valentin and our cousin Swyngedauw. I say hello to all of them from the bottom of my heart.

Your servant in Christ and beloved Father,
Joseph Cortyl.

1 Ed. note: These two mountains located between Puebla and Mexico City are the semi-active volcanoes Popo and Ixta, i.e. Popocatepetl and Ixtaccihuatl, made famous in Aztec mythology, in which they represent a godly couple. I had them in sight for one month in 1970 as I lived in Cuernavaca and first heard this legend.

F2. Letter to his family, dated Luzon Island, 17 July 1709

Source: Same as for F1 above, i.e. Fr. Kieckens' article in Précis Historiques, pp. 378-383.

Dearest brother and sister,

In my second letter to you, I narrated our voyage from Spain to Mexico. Now I am going to describe our crossing to the Philippine Islands.

From Mexico to the Pacific Sea, there are 92 miles to cover on mule back. The roads are horrible on account of the height of the mountains, some of which seemed to rise above the clouds.¹ In spite of the fact that most of the voyage took place within the torrid zone, since it is only 18 degrees from the equator, in some places it is very cold. One morning, in fact, some of the Spanish Fathers were almost frozen.

At some other times, we passed through places that were horribly hot; one cannot go through there at high noon with the mules. In the vicinity of such hot places, there is one mountain so high that I have never seen any like it. There are two settlements on the summit, and they say it is very temperate there; we skirted the foot of this mountain. These same mountains are responsible for the moderate climate of the area around them.

We crossed three rivers, two of which are full of crocodiles. The crocodile is a beast with the form of a lizard, and some have a tail 15 feet in length; others, 20 feet. They are strong and cruel, and they eat men; but they are timorous. Where there are many people, they do not dare show themselves. They have scales on their bodies; that is why they cannot be wounded on their back. Their tail is terrible. One of these rivers, where there are many crocodiles, is called the Grosbeak River, because there is a large quantity of these birds near it.² We came at last to the highest mountain and the roads are so difficult that, if the mule were to make the slightest misstep, one would be killed. The roads are full of uneven stones, so much so that my mule lost its footing and it fell down, but I threw myself on the opposite side. It was dangerous, because I could have broken a leg when falling upon the stones, but luckily there were no cliffs, as usual around here. My guardian angel protected me and I was not hurt in the least. One of the Fathers became sick and I remained behind to help him. A short time later, we just continued on our way, and God allowed this to happen, no doubt to give me time to hear confessions along the way. At the first parish, I was busy until midnight; the next day, I said mass and gave communion. The visiting priest lived many miles away, and the poor inhabitants could hardly go to confession once a year. It seemed to them that I had been dropped there, straight from the heavens. We slowly continued our voyage, and the second half of our mission band caught up with us. We joined them. My patient lost no time in getting better, and I was hearing confessions during my spare time. It was during Lent; the inhabitants were so happy. In spite of my fatigue, I spent part of the night in such exercises, of which these poor people had a great need.

1 Ed. note: See an old map of this road in HM2: 290.

2 Ed. note: I believe this corresponds to the Rio Papagayo, which means Parrot River.

Finally, we arrived at the port of Acapulco. When the people living in the neighboring countryside learned that we had arrived, they flocked in, some of them coming from as far away as 20 miles. We were hearing confessions all day long, and even part of the nights, specially during Holy Week, until Holy Saturday, when we went aboard ship.

The voyage from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands is about 2,400 miles. We normally had a good wind and we had begun our voyage with some periods of calm weather. This favorable condition lasted about 17 days, and during all this time we used a fan to cool us off a little during this leg of about 150 miles. After that, we had a little storm; the many thunder claps and lightning bolts came from the direction of some small islands not far from us. The captain of our ship¹ asked me to perform the prayers or exorcism whose formula can be found in the book of rites. I did it in my capacity as ship chaplain...²

All the Fathers shared one cabin, and I was left alone as chaplain. A place aboard a ship, no matter how small, is worth more than a big house. I have seen a tiny cabin aboard our ship rented out for a quarter of a year (as our voyage lasted three and a half months) for the sum of 30 pesos.³ I began my work as a missionary on the fourth day, by preaching to prepare them for Easter. As they had all boarded the ship during Holy Week, they had not had time to make their devotions. Three days later, I preached once more, and granted them eight more days. We began to hear confessions, and all the other Fathers helped me out, because I could not have done it by myself, even in three weeks.

After the first 17 days at sea, we had a favorable wind that lasted 30 days straight, and that was followed by 6 or 7 days of calm weather with a great heat. After that, the wind again became favorable.

[Arrival at Guam]

After a voyage of 73 days, we arrived at the Alderle [sic = Ladrone] Islands, also called Marra [rather Marianas], and on the sea-charts *Islas de las Velas* or *Islas de los Ladrones*. These islands were first given the first name, because of the large number of sails that would go from one island to another. Thirteen of these islands are better known, but there are many more, because the sea is strewn with them as far as Japan. We were then closer to Japan than to the Philippine Islands, since we were at a distance of only 300 miles from them.⁴ The second name of *Ladrones* was given to them because the inhabitants had stolen an axe [sic] from Magellan, the famous navigator; they were

1 Ed. note: It was Captain Salavarría in charge of the galleon Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación, alias Desengaño.

2 Ed. note: Kieckens says that the few lines that follow this point in the original manuscript had faded with time, and were unreadable.

3 Ed. note: The word "écu" is used in the French version, but "escudos" = pesos then.

4 Ed. note: He means 300 leagues.

induced to do it, because such a tool was the more precious to them on account of the lack of iron.

The Fathers of the Philippine [Province] have a mission here. They immediately sent us some refreshments which consisted of fruits, meat, etc. The Superior came aboard the next day. He was a man over 70 years old, but still vigorous.¹ He was accompanied by a Flemish Father, named Bouwens, older still.² They were both very strong. The youngest of the Fathers (there are 9 of them) had been there for 20 years. They needed help; **our procurator left them four Fathers, among whom my companion, Fr. Cruydolf, and two Brothers.**³

The inhabitants are good-natured individuals, with big and strong limbs. It is said that they are descendent from a race of giants, and even that there are still a few giants among them.⁴ They are almost continuously in the water, or swimming or sailing. Their canoes are made without a single nail, with tarred cords, the same as the mast. The sail is a mat, and one could say that they skim over the water, because their navigation is so swift. The men are such good swimmers that they catch fish with their hands;⁵ if the fish dive, they also dive and catch them. They are almost entirely naked. The soil is very fertile; pineapples, melons, lemons and other local fruits are excellent. These fruits lasted us until we reached the Philippines.

The voyage from here to Manila is about 400 miles.⁶ The sea is perverse and treacherous. We had only either a flat calm or a contrary wind with a storm. The little distance to the first island of the Philippines is 300 miles [sic], but it cost us about four weeks to cover that distance. The ships used here are very heavy; they are like [floating] churches. They are so built as to resist the storms that usually hit them during the voyage from the Philippines to Mexico. The voyage lasts six months. They must climb to 40° before finding a favorable wind. The ships are so loaded with merchandise that force must be used to pack them in. Their merchandise consists of all kinds of silks. The value of one ship's cargo can go up to 1,600,000 pesos. Silk is so cheap in the Philippines that even the seamen, sailors and other boat-men or fishermen of the low class are dressed with it.⁷

1 Ed. note: This was Fr. Bustillo, then 67 years old.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Bouwens was then 75 years old.

3 Ed. note: It is unfortunate that he does not give all the names. The names of only three Fathers are known for sure: Fr. Peter Cruydolf, from Ghent, Belgium; Fr. Joseph Bloart (or Blauwaert), from Belgium; and Fr. Ignacio Ibarguen, from Bilbao, Spain. The fourth was probably a Fr.

Aranguren, from Spain. The two brothers were Br. Nicolas Montero and Br. Luis Garcia. The nine surviving missionaries, besides Bustillo and Bouwens, were: Tilpe, Schirmeisen, Muscati, Zarzosa, and Chavarri for sure; the names of the others are not so sure: Aparicio, and Cundari.

4 Such characteristics had already been mentioned by Fr. van Hamme in 1689 (ref. *Het leven van P. Petrus-Thomas van Hamme*, edited by Fr. Serrure (Ghent, 1891)).

5 Ed. note: By repeating this legend, the writer shows that he has been influenced by hearsay, or previous stories from books, not strictly from personal observation.

6 Ed. note: Again, his miles are rather leagues.

7 Ed. note: By now, we realize that the young Fr. Cortyl was a little naïve, if he believed all the tall stories he was told.

It is hard to believe all the different nationalities that come to Manila, the capital of the Philippines. Aboard our ship, I have counted up to 16 different nationalities: there were some from Mexico, among them a merchant with his wife and their four young children; the youngest was a year and a half, the other three, etc. and they ran all over the ship like rats. There were passengers of various races from Japan, Spain, India, Caphri [i.e. Africa], France, Portugal, Italy, Flanders, plus the sailors from the Philippines, and many others.

We were often fishing with baited lines to pass the time; as for me, I caught many fish. The sailors could catch with hooks no bigger than the thumb some fish larger than a man, but mine escaped after breaking a copper wire made up of three strands. These big fish are called by the Spaniards *tiburones* [i.e. sharks]. They are very greedy, and eat even men, so that, if anyone fell into the water near them, he would be lost. That has already happened, as I was told by one of our seamen. During his last voyage, a young man fell overboard. This young man knew how to swim very well and he would have been easily saved, had one rope been thrown to him, but the fish tore him apart immediately. We caught one, among others, that had in its belly a pig which we had thrown overboard a short time before; it had bitten it and then swallowed it whole. Their teeth are terrible; they are laid out in two rows, above and below, and they are thin and sharp, tight together like [the blades of] scissors. The other fish that I have described in the other [Atlantic] voyage are the *dorados*; they are so called because they are golden in color. They are good and even delicious, and as big as haddocks. Their head has got some crest on top, like the comb of a rooster. They normally follow small fish that are whiter than our herrings and some others that are smaller and rounder, with two fins on both sides of the head, which they use to fly over some distance. Then they again wet their fins or sort of wings, in order to be able to fly again, which they do to escape the *dorados* that pursue them continuously and that with an incredible agility. These small fish fly as fast as birds and the *dorados*, seeing which direction they fly, swim in the same direction and get there almost as fast as the flying-fish. I have seen and noticed that myself...

All I have told you so far concerns our voyage. Now, let us talk about the Philippines where, thank God, I arrived in such good health that, during the whole voyage, I have had only a headache for one or two hours. God is wonderful in His works! I reckoned that for many years I have not had such a happy life as during the three and a half months of our voyage, which seemed like one week to me. And that, in spite of the stinking water that we had to drink sometimes, full of worms, but with which we had to make do, as if it were the best champagne from France.

Now, I am arriving at the Philippines. These islands are very numerous and very big. The main one is that of Luçonia, on which is located Manila, where the Governor resides. That is where the royal Audiencia is and where the main Asia trade takes place. One encounters in that city almost all the nations in existence below the heavens: Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, Italians, Portuguese, people from Mongolia, from

Armenia and from India. In one of the suburbs live over 5,000 Chinese; there are not even as many Chinese in the whole of Japan.

One year ago, a rather large group of Japanese arrived on a ship. Some of them were converted and some of those even became Religious.¹

The country is very fertile; the fruits are different from those of Europe... Everything is cheap. However, they say the same thing about China, where one can buy enough bread for one day for one *real*.² That means almost nothing in such a rich country where there is no coin of lower value.³ The poor people eat rice, which is so abundant here that one *real* provides enough rice for one whole week.

The rivers contain much wealth; the Indians know how to look for it. The tribute that every Indian must pay once a year to the King is 2 pesos. What does he do? He goes to one of those rivers, and looks for gold to pay his due, the purpose of his trip. However, they are so lazy that, at other times, they almost never seek gold. Nevertheless, their women usually wear earrings and other gold jewelry. Gold coins are not in circulation in the Philippines, because such is not the Chinese custom.

Crocodiles here are terrible and very horrendous; they often catch Indians and eat them up. The latter are, it is true, continuously in the water; that is why their life is often in danger. When the Spaniards go swimming, their companions take care to make noise near the shore; the danger is thus avoided.

In the country where we have our mission, the natives are usually good-natured; the Catholics are the best in Asia. The Fathers are few, and those who come in are looked upon as God-sent. Their usual food is rice. There are also cows and pigs in abundance, but sheep cannot be found on account of the heat. The usual drink is the same for animals as for men: it is water. However, it has the excellent quality mentioned in the proverb: "The best water is that with no taste at all."

We are now destined for new islands, where we will be obliged to eat like the savages some roots and fruits. Blessed be our Lord who will thus take away the risk of gluttony.

I therefore recommend myself to your prayers, dearest brother and sister. The Islands of Niera,⁴ to be fertile, will no doubt have to be sprinkled with the blood of martyrs. As for me, I probably will not be among those lucky ones, but if the burden of my sins will not allow me to spill my blood for the Gospel, nevertheless, as our infinitely-merciful Lord, as the holy scriptures say, sometimes accepts the most useless and weakest instruments to confound the strong, I do not despair. So, pray for me so that I may be able to respond to my vocation and the grace of God.

1 Ed. note: Obviously, that did not happen in the course of one year. The event took place many decades earlier.

2 Ed. note: The word used in the French version is "escalin," probably from "schilling" in the Flemish original. A *real* was, of course, worth the eighth part of a piece of eight, or peso.

3 Ed. note: In China at that time, there were only copper coins in circulation; none were made of gold, or silver, except in Tibet. It took 600 copper coins to make up one *Leang*, a unit of account, according to the French Jesuit missionaries (ref. Du Halde's General History of China (1736)).

4 Ed. note: Misprint for Carolina, I think.

This letter may be my last one, because we are going to faraway islands where the opportunity to write will be minimal. I recommend you daily in my weak prayers, and the same goes for all my relatives and friends. I beg you to send a copy of this letter to the nuns in Cassel, to whose prayers I recommend myself; please send another copy to Father Valentin. Send my regards to the Father Rector in Bailleul and all the Fathers [there]. Our cousins the Syngedauw would also be happy if you let them read my letter. You could also say hello to the Father Provincial on my behalf.

Good-bye, dearest brother and sister! How happy we will be when we meet in Heaven where we never again will be separated from one another.

From Luzon Island, 17 July 1709.

Your humblest servant and brother,
Joseph Cortyl.

P.S. My most cordial greetings to all our relatives.— An Italian secular priest left Manila one year ago to go to Japan, but being unable to reach his destination, he has just stepped ashore in some wood. He is a holy man; his name Ceroti.¹ Let us hope that God will open the door of Japan to the Gospel. I recommend myself to all the Fathers.²

1 Ed. note: Misprint for Sidoti.

2 Ed. note: Sixteen months after the date of this letter, Fr. Cortyl left for his mission field. He was left stranded at the main Sonsorol Island with Fr. Dubéron. Neither of them was ever seen alive, and both were eventually given up for dead.

Document 1709G

Jesuit annual report for 1708-1709, by Fr. Tilpe

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 96-99v.

Original text in Spanish

Puntos para la Carta anua [sic] de Marianas y año de 1709.

Desde Abril del año pasado de 708 hasta Mayo del presente de 709 han asistido en esta Mission Mariana 9 Sacerdotes y 2 Hermanos Coadjutores. De los primeros ha estado enfermo gravemente todo el año en peso padeciendo una penosa asma el Padre Phelipe Maria Muscati, y los otros ocho aunque todos cargados de años y achaques han cuidado de los nueve partidos que esta Mission administra, y los dos Hermanos de lo temporal que tienen a su cargo, unos y otros con todo puntualidad y diligencia. Con que corrieron los ministerios sin descaer en nada de los años pasados, acudiendo los Na[tur]ales con puntualidad a la Missa los días de su obligación, y a la enseñanza de la doctrina sacando de ay [=alli] el fruto, que se echó de ver en las Confesiones anuas con que cumplieron todos con gran consuelo y satisfacción de sus Ministros, como en otros casos, que se yran mencionando.

A los Militares, ademas de los Sermones y platicas que suele aver entre año se les predicó en los domingos de la Quaresma la tierna Historia del Patriarca Joseph acompañada de provechosísimas moralidades y enseñanzas para hazer una buena confesion con arrepentimiento verdadero y proposito firme de la enmienda, como la hizieron y ratificaron con las asperas penitencias que pedian se les impusiesen, y executaron el Jueves y Viernes Santo[,] siendo exemplar eficaz a que los imitasen azotandose tambien los Marianos: y pidiendo con las lagrimas en los ojos mas y mas penitencia por sus pecados.

Los quales hazen gran aprecio de los Santos Sacramentos como remedios unicos que nos dexo Christo N^o Señor para nuestras almas: Y empezando por el de el Santo Bautismo, las preñadas luego que entran en el mes noveno vienen a confesarse por prevenir el peligro que pueden correr asi ellas como las criaturas; pidiendo a Dios las alumbre con bien y que las criaturas lleguen á alcanzar el Santo Bautismo: valiendose para ello de la ynterçesion de la Virgen SSma. Madre de Dios y de la de nuestro glorioso Patriarca San Ygnaçio y de sus reliquias que al sentir los dolores, las embian a pedir luego por tener ya entendido lo mucho que ymportan para facilitarles sus partos: Embian los Cri-

aturas al terçer dia despues de nacidas luego y sin dilatarlo mas a la yglesia aunque esten bien remotas de ella para ser Bautizadas: Y si entre tanto les dan un accidente mortal, y no esta a mano el Padre las hazen Bautizar en caso de neçesidad y se precian mucho dello, los que lo saben y pueden hazer por tener ocaçion de embiar una alma al çielo.

[fol. 97v] *El de la Penitencia no tienen en menos por ser el proximo remedio del pecado despues del Bautismo. Una vieja aviendose acordado de un pecado olvidado, que avia cometido, quando niña no pudo sosegar hasta venia a confesarse del con mucho arepentimiento; caso que paso tambien por otra mosa. Un muchacho que venia de Rota para confesarse en Guahan naufrago en la barra y luchando con la resaca, que era reça, y viendose tres vezes a pique de ahogarse y sin confesion, acordose del acto de contriçion y haziendole lo mejor que pudo le saco una ola a salvamiento.*

[The Gani Islands were still visited in 1709]

Avian de yr ocho bancas desde la yslla de Saypan a las de Gani todos los que avian de yr en ellas obedeciendo a la exortacion del Padre se dispusieron para este viaje con el Sacramento de la Penitencia adivinando casi lo que les avia de sobrevenir con el temporal, que les cogio el dia siguiente en medio de la travesia, y echo a pique quatro bancas con muerte de 18 hombres: y gran sentimiento de todos y en particular de sus parientes.

*A **Anna Nunna** casada en Rota cuyo Hermano murio en este fracaso, saco casi de sí el oyr la triste nueva, y la truxo 15 dias como perdida y enagenada y comiendo lo que topava de frutas caidas alrededor del peñol, que llaman Taypingor [sic], mirando ya a una parte y a otra de la mar por si acaso descubria a su Hermano sin saver que consejo tomar en su desconsuelo: hasta que al cavo de doze dias açando los ojos a lo alto del Taypingor, y viendo la Cruz que en 14 de Setiembre se avia arbolada en el:] cobro alientos, y fuerças con que trepar y subir a ella como lo hizo y llegando que llegó se echò al pie della esperando como de arbol de la vida, que es, su remedio: y no se engañò; porque se sintio luego tan aliviada, y alumbrada de Dios, que empezo a preguntarse asi misma; pues que hago aqui en el monte, acaso me dexase morir como un bruto, y sin confesion? No es mejor, volver al pueblo, y tratar de mi salvaçion? Y, resuelta a ello baxò el Sabado siguiente y se vino derechita [sic] a la yglesia [...] de todos, que conociendo el natural desta miserable gente; la davan ya por acabada con muerte violenta a fuerça de su desconsuelo y sentimiento: confessiose por la tarde y comulgò el Domingo siguiente.*

*Otra buena vieja de Rota llamada **Catalina Edi**, que no obstante su mucha vejez y achaquez no dexava por camino muy largo y aspero arrimada a un bordon; de venir a Missa; hallandose un dia muy cansada le dixo al Padre:] Padre administrame los Sacramentos que por [fol. 98] que por mi mucha vejez no podre durar mucho: Hizola el Padre y ello tan a tiempo, que pasados dos dias se la trujeron a enterrar.*

***Thomasa Ia**[,] vezina de Agadña temiendo quedarse muerta de repente por los frequentes desmayos, que le davan, vino por sus piez a la yglesia pidiendo confesion y comunion con que disponerse para una buena muerte, y Dios le dio mejoría y salud:*

Miguel Madi,] soltero y vezino de Mongmong, viendo que le iba consumiendo la febre etica, que tenia, pidio le llevasen a la yglesia para recevir los Santos Sacramentos y aviendolos recevido con mucha devoçion, pidio asimismo al Padre no dexase de benir a verle, y ayudarle con buenos actos y afectos mientras le durase la vida. Durole poco porque el dia siguiente espiro.

El mesmo deseo de ser vizitados y ayudados en este trançe mostraron otros y en particular un colezialito llamado **Pedro Matanani**; que se consolava mucho con tener al Padre a su cavezera, con que se reconçiliava a menudo, hasta dar como piadosamente creemos su alma a Dios; Una muger de Saypan estando ya Sacramentada y oleada desde bien lexos y sin tener **mãã** [sic] se mando traer a la yglesia solamente por reconciliarse: Otro de la mesma ysla hallandose gravemente apretado embio a toda priesa a pedir un Santo Christo y siendo ya administrado, y dandole el ultimo apreton se asio fuertemente del mesmo S[ñor] y, abrasado con el le entrego su alma. **Santiago Nifiña** de la mesma ysla recevidos muy a tiempo los Santos Sacramentos y abrazado asimismo con el Santo Christo y haziendo fervorosos actos de contriçion acabo con las Santissimos nombres de Jesus y Maria en la boca.

Ana Fanana,] niña de 10 para 11 años[,] na[tur]al de Rota emferma ynstava repetidas vezes al Padre a que le diese el viatico[,] por condecender con sus ynstancias para recevir con fruto el Santissimo Sacramento y como le respondiese la emferma niña con toda satisfaçion le administro el viatico con gran consuelo suyo: Otras dos paridas de Guaahan [sic] cargandoles en el sobre parto un peligroso catarro, y no pudiendo por los ahogos que padeçian recibir el viatico[,] luego que se sintieron algo desahogadas pidieron con vivas ynstancias a que se les truxese y administrase.

Al de la extremaunçion han perdido el miedo que le tenian, pidiendole con ançias por el provecho que les da en cuerpo y alma; **Simon Agao**,] vezino de Aniguac [sic] por penosisimos baidos de cabeza y mortales desmayos, que le davan temiendo quedarse muerto de repente, algun dia, siendo Sacramentado ya, pero no oleado, llamo un dia al Fiscal y le dixo, dile al Padre no me dexa morir sin los oleos[,] dieronsele y quedo consolado y aliviado de sus penas y [fol. 98v] dolores.

Una muger mosa que era escandalo del pueblo tanto que yendo un dia cierto Padre a socorrer a un herido y pasando por el Pueblo en que ella vivia, saliole el marido della al encuentro llorando y diziendo al Padre:] en aquella casa esta mi muger metida con un soldado. Açercose el Padre a la casa y desde fuera la llamo dos vezes por su nombre: y no saliendo ni respondiendole ella: añadio: al fin no escarmientas, sino que te quieres yr a los ynfiernos, y dicho esso se fue el Padre. Pocos dias despues al tocar el levantar en nuestra casa vino el mismo marido a pedir un confessor y agua vendita, para su muger diziendo que se estava muriendo, de un accidente repentino que le dio de bomitos de Sangre, è hinchason de barriga, tal que la dexo sin fuerças y habla. El Padre que savia lo que havia pasado tanpoco avia en el pueblo cojio al instante los oleos y se fue tras el marido. Hallo a la paciente tendida en el suelo, aviertos los ojos y clavados en un cuadrito de la Virgen de Guadalupe de que estava asida y sin habla pero en su acuerdo: porque hablandola el Padre y exortandola a que se arrepiñiese de sus peca-

dos, dio con meneos de ojos y cabeza y golpes de pechos tales señas, que la pudo absolver y olear: Absuelta y oleada empeso a gemir, y como hazerse fuerça para hablar, deceando (como dixo despues) confesarse entera y vocalmente. Al fin hablo y se confeso: Confesada y absuelta de nuevo añadio y dixo: Padre tres noches arreo he visto entre sueños una muger que mirandome con seño me amenaçava con la muerte, sino me enmendava de mis malos pasos: diziendo que el miercoles lo vería: Este aviso aprehension o ymaginacion no dexo de darle cuidado: Porque, llegado el miercoles al anocheser y antes de acostarse, dixo a su cuñado: temo morirme esta noche, pero como no sintiese mal ninguno se acosto sin mas cuidado; hasta que antes de media noche le dio el accidente que dixe arriba y siendo por causa del [=de él] socorrida con los Sacramentos de penitencia y extremaunçion, y aviendo en virtud de esta o, de su arrepentimiento cobrado el habla que tenia perdida: prometio muy de veras la enmienda: Absuelve el Padre y la exorto a que viniese a comulgar en mejorando: lo qual tambien fue tan presto que la mesma mañana se levanto, oyo Misa y comulgo y con el Señor en el pecho renovo y ratifico el proposito de la enmienda y lo ha guardado 5 meses ha fielmente.

En el Sacramento del Santo Matrimonio, no ay gracias a Dios, tantas las quiebras como solia aver. Una muger de Saypan estando maltra- [fol. 99] -tada, y adolorida de una cayda que avia dado, y negando por eso el devito [sic] al pedirselo su marido, y poniendole este escrupulo de aver faltado a su obligacion, vino luego por la mañana a confessarse desta falta.

Y al paso que hazen apreçio de los Santos Sacramentos ta[m]bien lo hazen y tienen respeto a quien se los administra, que son los Padres. En çierto partido se avian descomedido algunos de su[s] Fiscales con el Padre. Supolo uno del partido vezino, y los vino asperamente diziendo: Muy reços aveis andado en perder el respeto a vuestro Padre pues no lo aveis perdido tanto a su R^a como a Dios cuyo Maestro es y nos lo representa.

Para mas deçente administracion de los Santos Sacramentos hanse casi acabado las yglesias de Hinarajan [sic], Merizo, y Agat y mejoradose la de Pago con una boveda de tablas y campanario. La de Agadña toda de cal y canto las paredes, y portada grande y Magestuosa. Contrivuyendo a ella sus manos y obras asi Militares, como Na[tur]ales a la indefessa [sic = indefectible] asistencia y direccion de Su Señoria el Señor Governador D. Manuel de Arguelles y Valdes.

No obstante como siempre ay mas paxa que trigo en la era tambien nuestros pecados han provocado la yra de Dios que descargo en general 1^o con una epidemia de catarros y dolores de barriga de que murieron muchos 2^o con un bagueo que hubo en 20 de Setiembre de 708 y maltrato en Guaahan los frutales y maizales; Mas reçio en Rota destronco y arranco los frutales y cicales, derribo el techo de la Casa del Padre y maltrato el de la yglesia cuyos feligreses con mucha voluntad en decurço de un mes lo bolvieron á restaurar todo y aun mejorar. Y en la traveçia de Saypan para Gani causo la perdida de las 4 bancas y 18 hombres que diximos arriba: En particular descargo el castigo de Dios sobre dos escandalosos adulteros atajando al uno sus malos pasos con una muerte desastrada y al otro con una larga y penosa prigion.

—*Hanse bautisado hogaño [sic]: 167 Parvulos*
 —*Casado: 87 Pares*
 —*Muerto con la gracia bautismal: 89 Niños ynocentes*
 —*Con los Santos Sacramentos: 299 Adultos*
 —*Sin ellos de repente: 12.*
Agadña y Mayo 4 de 1709 años.
Juan Tilpe.

Translation

Points for the annual report from the Marianas for 1709.

From April of the past year 1708 until May of the present year 1709 this Mariana Mission had 9 priests and 2 coadjutor Brothers working in it. One of the priests, Father Felipe María Muscati, has been gravely ill the whole year, suffering from a painful asthma, but the others, though they were suffering the effects of aches and pains, and old age, took care of the 9 districts that this Mission administers, while the two Brothers took care of the material side, both in a timely manner. Hence our ministries continued as before without losing any ground: the natives continued to flock readily to mass on obligatory days, and to the teaching of the doctrine, and they derived much from it, as could be seen in the annual confessions that they complied with, all to the great consolation and satisfaction of their Ministers, and in other cases, that will be mentioned below.

As far as the military men are concerned, in addition to the sermons and talks that are usually addressed to them during the year, on Sundays during Lent they were preached on the subject of the tender History of the Patriarch Joseph, accompanied by the most advantageous principles of morality to enable them to make a good confession, with true repentance and a firm commitment to amend their ways, which they did and ratified with the harsh penances that they were asking us to impose upon them, which they carried out on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday; this was a powerful example for the Marianos, who imitated them by whipping themselves also, and with tears in their eyes, begged to receive more and more penance for their sins.

They really appreciate the Holy Sacraments as unique remedies that Christ our Lord gave us for our souls. In the case of Holy Baptism, for instance, as soon as the pregnant women enter their ninth month, they come to confession, to offset the risk that they, or the babies, might then run, and to ask God to grant them a normal delivery so that their babies may be able to receive Holy Baptism; to this effect, they appeal to the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, and to our glorious Patriarch St. Ignatius and to his relics. In fact, upon feeling the first pains of childbirth, they send for the relics, as they already understand the benefit of having them to ease the process. The newborn babies are sent to church on the third day after their birth to be baptized without delay, even though they might live a good distance away. If in the meantime a mortal accident happens, and the Father is not around, the babies are baptized in case of need; those who know how to baptize take pride in being able to do so, and in having an opportunity

to send a soul to heaven. As for the sacrament of Penance, they appreciate it for being the next remedy for sin, after baptism. One old woman, after remembering a forgotten sin that she had committed when young, could not feel at peace until she had come to confess it with much repentance; a similar case took place with another younger woman. One boy who was coming from Rota to Guahan for confession, was shipwrecked on the bar; he was fighting with an undertow, which was strong, and came close to drowning three times, without confession, when he remembered the act of contrition. He recited it as best he could, and was pushed to safety by a wave.

[The Gani Islands were still visited in 1709]

When eight canoes decided to go from the Island of Saypan to the Gani Islands, those aboard were exhorted by the Father to prepare for their voyage by going to confession. He had almost predicted the occurrence of the storm that effectively hit them the next day in the middle of the passage, and sank four canoes, causing the death of 18 men, to the great sorrow of everyone, specially their relatives.

A married woman in Rota, named **Ana Nuna**, whose brother died in this disaster, almost lost control of herself when she heard the news. For 15 days, she acted as if lost and crazy, eating what she could find among the fallen fruits at the base of the large rock, which they call Taypingor [sic],¹ looking on one side or the other toward the sea, in case she might spot her brother, and not knowing what to do in her despair, until the end of the 12th day, that is, when she chanced to look up at the top of the Taipingor Rock and saw the cross that had been planted there on 14 September. She recovered some courage, and enough strength to climb up there, as she effectively did. When she got there, she threw herself at the foot of the cross, hoping that she had reached the Tree of Life, that is, her remedy; she was not disappointed, because she immediately felt so relieved, and inspired by God, that she began to question herself: "What am I doing here in the bush? What if I die here like an animal, without confession? Is it not better to return to town and look after my salvation?" So, she decided to return the following Saturday, and came straight to the church [at the surprise] of everyone else who, knowing the character of these miserable people, had given her up for dead, from a violent death, out of sorrow.² She confessed herself and took communion the following Sunday.

Another good old woman of Rota, named **Catalina Edi**, had the habit of coming to hear mass from a very long distance and rough trail, in spite of her advanced age, and aches and pains; she walked with the help of a pilgrim's staff. One day that she was very tired, she told the Father: "Father, administer to me the sacraments because I am so old that I will not last long." The Father did so, and it turned out that it was right on time, because two days later they brought her in for burial.

1 Ed. note: The Taipingot Peninsula; the mistake in spelling is in the original.

2 Ed. note: The Chamorros had expected her to commit suicide, by jumping off the cliffs, or by drowning herself.

Thomasa Ia, a resident of Agadña, fearing that she would die suddenly, because she frequently fainted, came on foot to the church to ask for confession and communion, with which to prepare herself for a good death, but God gave her back her health, instead. When **Miguel Madi**, a bachelor and resident of Mongmong, found out that he was dying of consumption, he asked to be taken to the church to receive the holy sacraments. After he had received them with much devotion, he asked the Father not to forget to come and see him, and assist him with good acts of devotion while he was still alive. He did not have to wait long because he expired the next day.

The same desire to be visited and assisted in this passage was shown by others, and in particular a small college boy named **Pedro Matanani** who was consoled much by the presence of a Father at his bedside. He would reconcile himself with God often, until he finally, as we piously believe, gave up his soul to God. A woman of Saypan who had already received the sacraments, including the last rites, without having **mää** [sic]¹ had herself brought in, only to reconcile herself [with God]. A man from the same Island, finding himself in dire straits, had someone rush over to get the eucharist, and, after he had received it, and the last preparation was given him, he took a strong hold of the crucifix itself, and died while kissing it. **Santiago Nifiña** of the same Island had received the holy sacraments way ahead of time; he was similarly embracing the crucifix and reciting zealous acts of contrition, and uttering the most holy names of Jesus and Mary when he died.

Ana Fanana was a young girl of 10, going on 11, and a native of Rota. When she became sick, she was repeatedly asking the Father to be given the viaticum. To accede to her requests to receive the most holy sacrament with effect, he asked the sick girl to answer some questions; she did so with complete satisfaction and was given the viaticum, and was much consoled by it. Two other women, on the Island of Guaahan [sic], were afflicted by a dangerous head cold, in addition to being pregnant and near childbirth. They could not then receive the viaticum on account of their choking fits, but as soon as they could feel relief from the strain, they made lively requests for it to be brought in and administered to them.

As far as the [sacrament of] extreme unction is concerned, they have lost their fear of it, and ask for it anxiously, because of the benefit they derive from it, for body and soul. **Simon Agao**, a resident of Aniguac [sic] who had very painful headaches and as a result some risky fainting spells feared to die suddenly one day; he had already received the sacraments, but not the last one. One day he called the Fiscal [of his village] and told him: "Tell the Father not to let me die without the last sacrament." He was given it and he was consoled and relieved of his pains and aches.

One young woman was the scandal of the town where she lived, so much so that one day a certain Father who had gone to assist a wounded man, was passing by the town in question, when her husband came to meet him, crying while telling the Father: "In

1 Ed. note: This word could be a Chamorro word, a misprint, or an abbreviation of the word "malady."

the house overthere is my wife, involved with a soldier." The Father approached the house and from outside he called her by her name twice. When she did not come out or answered, he added: "If you do not amend your ways, you will end up in hell," and the Father went away. A few days later, when the réveillé was sounded in our residence, the same husband came to ask for a confessor and blessed water for his wife, saying that she was dying, from a sudden accident that made her vomit blood, and suffer from a swollen belly that left her without strength or speech. The Father who knew about what had happened a while earlier in that town, immediately grabbed the oils and followed the husband. He found the patient stretched upon the floor, with her eyes open but fixed upon a small portrait of Our Lady of Guadalupe which she had in her hands. She was dumb, but concious, because, when the Father talked to her to exhort her to repent for her sins, she gave enough signs by moving her eyes, shaking her head, and pounding her chest, that he was able to give her absolution and the last rites. Once she had been absolved and oiled, she began to moan, as if trying to make efforts to speak, as she wished (as she later said) to make a full confession, out loud. Finally she spoke and confessed herself. Once she had confessed herself and been absolved a second time, she added: "Father, three nights ago, I saw in one of my dreams a woman looking at me, pointing at me and threatening me with death, unless I repented of my evil steps. She was saying: "On Wednesday you'll see." This warning, apprehension, or imagined thing affected her for sure, because, on Wednesday night before she went to sleep, she said to her brother-in-law: "I fear that I might die tonight," but as she did not feel any pain, she lied down without any more worry. However, before midnight, the accident that I mentioned before hit her. So, after she was assisted with the sacraments of penance and extreme unction, and saved, either by that or by her repentance, she recovered the speech she had lost, and promised very sincerely to amend herself. The Father absolved her and exhorted her to come and receive communion when she got better. Her recovery was so quick that that very morning she got up, heard mass and received communion; with our Lord in her bosom, she renewed and ratified her promise to amend herself, and she has kept it faithfully for 5 months so far.

As for the sacrament of holy matrimony, there are not, thank God, as many break-ups as there used to be. A Saipanese woman who had injured herself in a fall and was in pain, refused for that reason to do her duty to her husband, when he solicited her; she was later affected by this scruple of having failed in her duty, and went the next morning to confess this sin.

While they appreciate the holy sacraments, they also appreciate and respect those who administer them, that is, the Fathers. In a certain district, some of its Fiscals had been discourteous toward their priest. A Fiscal from a neighboring district learned about this and came to tell them harshly: "You have been very remiss in losing respect for your Father, because you have not lost respect as much toward His Reverence as toward God, whose Teacher he is and His representative among us."

For a more decent administration of the holy sacraments, the churches of Inarajan, Merizo and Agat have been almost finished, and that of Pago has been improved with

a dome made with boards and a bell tower. All of the walls of the church of Agadña are made of masonry; its entrance is wide and majestic. Those who contributed their time and skills to build it were military as well as native men, under the unfailing presence and supervision of His Lordship, Governor Don Manuel de Argüelles y Valdés.

Nevertheless, as always, there is more straw than wheat on the threshing floor. Also our sins have provoked the ire of God who unleashed all over: firstly, an epidemic of head colds and belly aches that killed many; secondly, a typhoon that occurred on 20 September 1708 and damaged the fruit trees and corn fields in Guaahan. This typhoon was stronger in Rota; there it destroyed and uprooted the fruit and coconut trees, tore the roof off the residence of the Father and damaged the church, but the parishioners restored it all within one month, and they even improved it. That storm was the same one that caused the loss of the 4 canoes and 18 men mentioned earlier. The punishment of God was particularly unleashed upon two scandalous and adulterous men; a disastrous death stopped the bad actions of the former, and a long and painful imprisonment affected the latter.

—This year have been baptized: 167 children.

—Married: 87 couples.

—Died with the baptismal grace: 89 innocent children.

—[Died] with the holy sacraments: 299 adults.

—Without them, and suddenly: 12.

Agadña, 4 May 1709.

Juan Tilpe.

Documents 1709H

The Inquisition to Fr. Bustillo, dated Mexico 1709 and 1710

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 221, 224-226v.

H1. Letter dated 27 February 1709

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comissario de la Ziudad de Agadaña [sic] avisandole del recivo y dandole las gracias por la publicacion de edictos.

Con testimonios oportunos] se recivio la carta del R.P. Lorenzo Bustillo de la Comp^a de Jhs nuestro Comisario en la Ziudad de Agadaña su fha 7 de Junio del año pasado de 1706, en que nos da cuenta de haver zelebrado el año antezedente la funzion de Publicazion de los edictos Generales de la fee de que damos aviso desse Rvo. a nuestro Comisario y las grazias por el cuydado, que a tenido asi en su publicazion como en que se executase con toda dezenzia.

Guarde Dios a V.P. &^a

Inquisición de Mexico, y febrero 27 de 1709 años.

Translation.

To the Commissioner in the city of Agaña, to acknowledge receipt of his letter and thanking him for the publication of the edicts.

Along with the proper certificates, we received the letter of Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, our Commissioner in the City of Agaña dated 7 June of the past year 1706, in which he reported to us that he had proceeded the previous year to the publication of the general edicts of the faith. By the present, we acknowledge receipt of same from the Rev. our Commissioner and we give him thanks for the care that he took in publishing them, as well as in seeing to their decent observance.

May God save Your Paternity, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 27 February 1709.

H2. Letters to the Manila Commissioner, dated 12 March 1709

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comissionario de Manila

*En esto Santo Oficio se rezivio la Carta de V.P.Rda. por duplicado de 25 de Junio del año pasado de 1708 con el pliego que venia adjunto del Pe. Lorenzo de Bustillo de la Comp^a de Jhs nuestro Comisionario en las Yslas Marianas de que damos notizia a V.P.Rda. y de haver llegado al Puerto de Acapulco la persona del Ayudante Balthasar Rodriguez de Oropesa en la Capitana el **Rosario** que se entrego al Comissario de este Santo Oficio de dho Puerto para su remizision a las Carzeles secretas de esta Inquisicion.*

Guarde Dios a V.P.R. &c.

Inquisición de Mexico Marzo 12 de 1709.

*En este Santo Oficio se rezivio la Carta de V.P.Rda. de 20 de Mayo del año pasado de 1707 con el testimonio adjunto que incluye las nuevas diligencias hechas sobre el Matrimonio conraydo por el Ayudante Balthasar Rodriguez de Oropesa en las Marianas de que damos notizia a V.P.Rda. y de haver remitido el Rdo. Padre Fr. Joseph Vila Comisario en la Ziudad de Manila la persona del dho Balthasar Rodriguez de Oropesa en la Capitana **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que el presente año llego al Puerto de Acapulco en donde se entrego para su remision a estas carzeles secretas.*

Guarde Dios á V.P.Rda &c^a

Inquisición de Mexico Marzo 12 de 1709.

Translation.

To the Commissioner in Manila.

The letter dated 25 June of last year 1708 from Your Reverend Paternity was received by this Holy Office in duplicate, along with the letter that came enclosed from Fr. Lorenzo de Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, our Commissioner in the Mariana Islands, of which we inform Y.R.P. and also that the person of Adjutant Balthasar Rodriguez de Oropesa has arrived at the port of Acapulco aboard the flagship **Rosario**; he was handed over to the Commissioner of this Holy Office in said Port for despatch to the secret prisons of this Inquisition.

May God save Y.R.P., etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 12 March 1709.

The letter of Y.R.P. dated 20 May of the past year 1707 was received by this Holy Office along with the enclosed certificate which included the new proceedings made re-

garding the marriage contracted by Adjutant Balthasar Rodriguez de Oropesa in the Marianas. We inform Y.R.P. of same and also that we have sent to Rev. Father fray José Vila, Commissioner in the City of Manila,¹ the person of Balthasar Rodriguez de Oropesa aboard the flagship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that arrived at the port of Acapulco this year, where he was handed over for despatch to the secret prisons over here.

May God save Y.R.P., etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 12 March 1709.

H3. Letter to Fr. Bustillo, dated 12 March 1709

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario R.P. Lorenzo Bustillo en la Ziudad de Agaña.

Con esta remitimos a V.P.R. los dos edictos adjuntos para que los mande publicar en la Yglesia Parroquial de essa Ziudad en un dia festivo despues del Evangelio de la Misa mayor en la forma que se acostumbra remitiendonos thestimonio de dha lectura por el Notario que la executare, y si por lo que toca al de las Carnestolendas reconoziere nuestro Comisario no ser nezesario por no haverse introduzido en esas Islas abusos que contiene omitira su publicazion y nezesitandose la suspendera hasta su tiempo.

Guarde Dios &c^a

Inquisición de Mexico y Marzo 12 de 1709.

Translation.

To our Commissioner, Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, in the City of Agaña.

Y.R.P. will please find enclosed two edicts. You are to have them published in the parish church of that City on a holiday after the Gospel during the high mass in the usual manner, and you are to send us a certificate to the effect that said reading took place, made by the notary who executed it, but if our Commissioner were to recognize that the edict concerning Ash Wednesday is not necessary, because no such abuses have yet been introduced into those Islands, then he is to omit its publication, postponing it until needed.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 12 March 1709.

1 Ed. note: Dominican who arrived in the Philippines in 1679 (ref. B&R 43:31) and was Provincial of his order by 1701.

H4. Letter dated 28 March 1710

Original text in Spanish.

*Cartas que se escribieron por el Tribunal a los Comisionarios de Manila, y Yslas Marianas en esta Nao Capitana nombrada **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, en que bino por General Don Fernando de Angulo, y dha Nao que partio de tornaviaje el dia 28 de Marzo de 1710.—*

*Con esta Nao **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, benia de Almiranta, el Patache nombrado **El Rosario** [rather Encarnación], y habiendose separado de ella, unos Pirattas que las estaban esperando en tres Navios junto a las Yslas Marias, apresaron dho Patache Almiranta el dia 2 de febrero de dho año de 1710 en que benia por Cavo un frances.*

Al Comisario de las Islas Marianas: en los Autos 2^a Balthasar de Oropesa.

En este S. Oficio se rezibio la carta del R.P. Lorenzo Bustillo de la Compañia de Jesus nuestro Comissario en las Yslas Marianas su fecha de 13 del año proximo pasado de 709, en que proponenos venimos de declarar si Rosa de Ribera con quien caso el Ayudante Balthasar Rodriguez de Oropesa en la Ciudad de Agadaña, es soltera ó no; para el efecto, que en dicha carta se espresa, y con vista de ella, emos mandado abisar a nuestro Comissario de su recibo, y remitirle el testimonio adjunto, para que tenga en vigor a dicha Rosa de Ribera para que con el la susodicha use de su derecho como le convenga, ante el Juez eclesiastico que pueda y deba.

Guarde Dios &c^a

Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 28 de 1710 años.

Sres. Oreze y Garzaron. Ante el Secretario Peñas.

[P.S.] Abisase asimismo a V.Pd. del rezibo de una suya de quatro de Mayo de Setezientos y nueve con un testimonio, en orden a la causa del dicho Oropesa.

Translation.

Letters that were sent by the Tribunal to the Commissioners in Manila, and in the Mariana Islands aboard this flagship named **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, which came under the command of General Fernando de Angulo, and which departed on her return voyage on 28 March 1710.—

Along with this galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** was coming the *almiranta*, the patache named **El Rosario** [rather Encarnación] and, having separated from her, some pirates who were awaiting them with three ships next to the Marias Islands [off California] captured said *almiranta* patache on 2 February of said year 1710. It was under the command of a Frenchman.

To the Commissioner of the Mariana Islands, regarding the second round of declarations on Balthasar de Oropesa.

The letter of Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, our Commissioner in the Mariana Islands, dated 13 [?] of last year 1709 was received by this Holy Office. In it he asked us to declare whether Rosa de Ribera, whom Adjutant Balthasar Rodriguez de Oropesa had married in the City of Agaña, is unmarried or not; to the effect stated in said letter, and because of it, we have ordered that our Commissioner be notified that it was received, and that the attached certificate be issued and sent to him, so as to enable said Rosa de Ribera to make use of it to ascertain her right before the ecclesiastical judge, as she should and must.

May God, etc.

The Inquisition of Mexico, 28 February 1710.

Gentlemen: Oreze and Garzaron. Before Secretary Peñas.

[P.S.] We also acknowledge the receipt of another letter from Y.P., dated 4 May 1709, along with a declaration in the case against said Oropesa.

 Document 1709I

Manifest for the Marianas, for 1709

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Goods and cash sent to the Jesuits aboard the galleon Rosario

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio del Situado de la sagrada Comp^a de Jhs deste año de 1709.

*Antonio Ximenes de Gusman escrivano de su Magestad Zertifico y doi testimonio como por el rexistro del Galeon Capitana **Nuestra Señora del Rossario S. Francisco Xavier y Santa Rossa** que hizo su tornaviaje a las Yslas Philipinas[,] consta que el dia siete de Marxo proximo pasado Don Juan Francisco de Yrazarri[,] Maestre de dho Galeon rexistro por parte de la mision de la sagrada compania de Jesus de las Yslas Marianas [y] Provincia de Philipinas lo siguiente:*

Quarenta y dos tercios con la marca del margen los treinta y dos de cacao de Atercio; dos caxones de javon; tres barriles de vino; dos tercios de cacao Caracas; un surron de cacao Goathemala; dos tercios de suela a entregar al Padre Rector que es o fuere de las Yslas Marianas;

Asimismo de la segunda marca de el margen treinta y tres [sic] tercios los veinte y ocho caxones de Atercio[,] uno de paño; un caxon de javon; un surron de cacao Goathemala; un barril de vino; que por todos hazen treinta y tres [sic] tercios a entregar al Revdo. Padre Rector de la Jubentud de dhas Yslas Marianas;

Asi mesmo de la tercera marca de el margen ochenta y seis(?) caxas y dos surrones de cacao Goathemala a entregar al Reverendo Padre Procurador de el Colexio de S. Ygnacio de la Ciudad de Manila de dhas Yslas Philipinas;

Assi mismo rexistro por parte de dho Colexio de San Ygnacio de dha Ciudad de Manila diez y seis mill ochocientos y cinquenta [rather sesenta] pessos los quatro mill quatrocientos quarenta y un pesos de ellos al Padre Procurador general Garzia Salgado y los doze mill quatrocientos y dies y nueve pessos restantes al Padre Procurador Joachin Sanchez; todo lo qual lleva embarcado en dha capitana como de dho rexistro consta y parece a que me remito. Y para que consta donde combenga de pedimiento de el Capitan D. Joseph Perez Nauaz doi el prezente en la Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto

de Acapulco a catorze dias de el mez de Noviembre de mill settecientos y nueve años siendo testigos Xptoval Lapiditao[,] Miguel de Riga y Carlos de Roa prezentes.

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Antonio Ximenez de Gusman, escrivano real.

Translation.

Certificate of the subsidy of the sacred Society of Jesus for this year 1709.

I, Antonio Ximenez de Guzman, royal notary, do certify and vouch for the fact that the manifest of the flagship galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Francisco Xavier y Santa Rosa** that made her return voyage to the Philippine Islands, shows that on 7 March last, Don Juan Francisco de Irisarri, master of said galleon, took charge on behalf of the mission of the sacred Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands [and] Province of the Philippines, of the following:



—42 loads with the mark in margin: 32 of which with cacao in regular-size half-loads, 2 crates of soap, 3 barrels of wine, 2 half-

loads of cacao from Caracas, 1 pouch of cacao from Guatemala, 2 half-loads of sole-leather, for delivery to whomever may be Father Rector of the Mariana Islands;

—Also, with the second mark in margin, 33 [sic] loads: 28 being regular-size crates; 1 of clothes; 1 crate of soap; 1 pouch of cacao from Guatemala; 1 barrel of wine; all in all 33 [sic] loads for delivery to Rev. Father Rector of the youth in said Mariana Islands;

—In addition, with the third mark in margin, 86(?) boxes and 2 pouches of cacao from Guatemala for delivery to the Rev. Father Procurator of the College of San Ignacio in the City of Manila in said Philippine Islands;

—In addition, he accepted on behalf of said College of San Ignacio in said City of Manila 16,850 [rather 16,860] pesos, of which 4,441 pesos for Father Procurator General García Salgado and the remaining 12,419 pesos to Father Procurator Joaquin Sanchez; all of which was aboard said flagship, as shown in said manifest, and to which I refer. And for whom it may concern, as requested by Captain José Perez Navas, I give the present in the City of the Kings, Port of Acapulco, on 14 November 1709, in the presence of the following witnesses: Cristobal Lapiditao, Miguel de Riga, and Carlos de Roa.

And in faith whereof, I affix my signature:

Antonio Ximenez de Guzman, royal notary.

Document 1710A

The English pirate Woodes Rogers at Guam in 1710 with four ships

Introductory note.

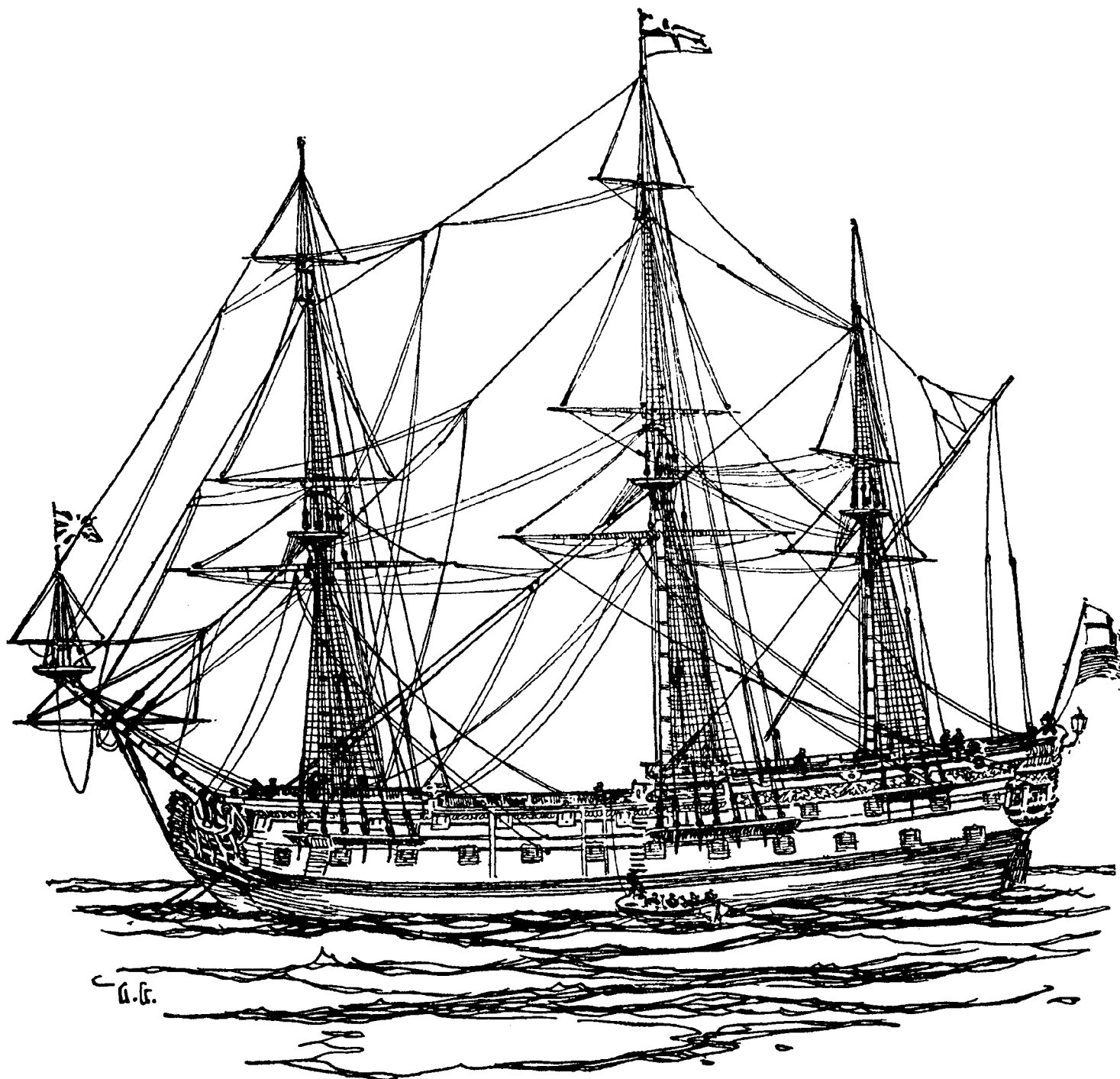
Woods Rogers, who ended up as Governor of the Bahamas, had started his professional life as a so-called privateer, or better said, a pirate. He took the command of two ships that some merchants of Bristol had equipped to prey on Spanish shipping in the South Sea. They were: the **Duke** (300 tons, 30 guns, and 170 men), and the **Duchess** (270 tons, 26 guns, and 151 men).

Dampier, a seasoned buccaneer himself, sailed as master of the **Duke** and pilot of the expedition. Captain Courtney was in charge of the **Duchess**. The more valuable booty that this expedition brought back to England was not so much the money, as the latest Spanish maps and charts captured on the coast of Peru and aboard a Spanish galleon. These maps were immediately engraved in London and published by John Senex.

On 1 September 1708, by the Julian calendar, the squadron set out from Cork bound for the Canary Islands. After touching Brazil at Isla Grande, south of Rio de Janeiro, the ships visited the Falkland Islands, then rounded the Horn in a gale, in time to spend New Year's Day 1709 at Juan Fernandez Island, where Alexander Selkirk was rescued after years of solitary living. Rogers' narrative was to inspire Daniel Defoe who, in his *Robinson Crusoe*, lifted most of the ideas from the real life of Selkirk. The two ships stayed at the island 10 days eating goat meat and vegetables from Selkirk's garden.

Soon, however, the pirate ships were sailing up the coast of South America in search of something to plunder. Near Paita, Peru, they managed to take a Spanish vessel, which the Spanish had bought from the French (the "Vierge de Grâce", according to Mr. Moncourant's logbook, 1711), which they renamed the **Marquis**.

As there were no other moving target, they attacked the town of Guayaquil, then moved on to California to wait for the arrival of the Manila galleon. After a long wait of three months, the galleon **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, alias el Desengaño, was seized; she was renamed the **Bachelor**, in honor of the leader among the Bristol merchants. In this encounter, Rogers was wounded on the left cheek. Having heard that another galleon was close by, they sighted her after five days but did not attack her as she was heavily gunned. Instead, they sailed across the Pacific, passing by Guam where they replenished their provisions.



English ship of the turn of the century, ca. 1700. This one has two rows of guns, whereas Captain Rogers' two main ships had only one. Note the relatively-flat deck, without a poop castle. (From Culver's Book of Old Ships).

Rogers too, like so many visitors before him, was impressed by the flying proas whose top speed he was told was estimated at 20 miles per hour. He carried one Chamorro proa with him back home to England. Rogers and Dampier returned to England by way of Batavia (now Jakarta) and the Cape of Good Hope, in the company of Dutch ships.

For a record of proceedings of the Spanish ashore during this visit to Guam, see Doc. 1721D.

The narrative of Captain Woodes Rogers

Sources: The primary source is: Captain Woodes Rogers, A Cruising Voyage Round the World (London, 1712); see Bibliography under 1710. Secondary sources are de Brosse, Callander, Burney, Kerr, Knox, Harris, Wycherley, etc.

Sailing towards the Island of Guam.

[p. 356]

...

Jan. 10 [1710].

I now go on with my Journal, being on our Departure from California, and returning to Great Britain. I shall not trouble the Reader with every Day's particular Transactions in this long and tedious Passage, but only take notice of such Occurrences as are worth remark, and to satisfy the Curious, shall subjoin a Particular Table of each Day's Run, with the Latitude, Longitude and Variation betwixt Cape St. Lucas on California, and Guam, one of the Ladrones Islands. We resolv'd to keep an exact Account of the Distance and Variation not being certainly known to us from any former Voyagers.

Jan. 11.

We weigh'd [anchor] from Port Segura last Night, but were becalm'd under the Shore till the 12th in the Afternoon, when there sprung up a Breeze, which soon run us out of sight of the Land. We took our Departure from Cape St. Lucas, which bore N. by E. at 12 a Clock, distant about 15 Leagues.

[We are short of old Salt Provisions]

We were forc'd to go away with little or no Refreshment, having but 3 or 4 Fowls, and a very slender Stock of Liquor, which we got out of the **Batchelor**. Several of our Men were in a weak Condition, besides my self, Mr. Vanbrugh, and the rest that were wounded. We were forc'd to allow but 1 Pound and half of Flower, and a small Piece of Meat to 5 in a Mess, with 3 Pints of Water a Man for 24 Hours, for Drink and dressing their Victuals. We struck down 10 of our Guns into the Hold, to ease the Ship; for being out of the way of Enemies, they are altogether useless betwixt this and the East-Indies.

On the 16th the **Batchelor** made a Signal to give us some Bread, they having found a good Quantity of Bread and Sweet-meats aboard her, but little of Flesh-kind: We had 1000 Weight of Bread for our Share, the **Dutchess** as much, and the **Marquiss** 500

Weight; in lieu of which we sent back to the Prize 2 Casks of Flower, one of English Beef, and one of Pork, they having but 45 Days Provision aboard in Flesh. This Morning Thomas Conner, a Boy, fell over-board, but the Launch being a-stern, we cut her Moarings and took him up just as he was tired with Swimming, and ready to sink.

On the 26th in the Morning the Water was very much discolour'd, at which being surpriz'd, we immediately sounded, but found no Ground. We spoke with the **Dutchess**, and agreed to go away W.S.W. till we got into the Lat. of 13° because our Spanish Pilot told us it was dangerous going in 14, by reason of Islands and Shoals, where a Spanish Vessel was lost sometime ago, ever since which the Manila Ship, in her Return from Acapulco, runs in Lat. 13 and keeps that Parallel till they make the Island of Guam.

[Some of our Men punish'd for stealing Provisions]

On the 28th the Steward missing some Pieces of Pork, we immediately search'd, and found the Thieves, one of 'em had been guilty before, and forgiven, on Promise of Amendment, but was punish'd now, lest Forbearance should encourage the rest to follow this bad Practice; Provisions being so short, and our Run so long, may prove of ill Consequence. I order'd 'em to the Main-jeers, and every Man of the Watch to give 'em a Blow with a Cat of Nine-tails, and their Mess-mates being privy to the Theft, were put in Irons.

Feb. 1.

We buried one [man named] Boyce, betwixt 40 and 50 Years of Age, whom we brought from Guiaquil, where, and in other Parts of New Spain he had been a Prisoner above 7 Years, since he was taken in the Bay of Campeachy.

On the 5th a Negro, we named Deptford, died, who being very much addicted to stealing of Provisions, his Room was more acceptable than his Company at this time. On the 6th we spoke with the **Dutchess**; I was for augmenting the Mens Allowance in Meat, since we had such a favourable Gale, which was like to continue; but Capt. Courtney objected against it, alledging that if we miss'd Guam, we should all be starved; so we deferr'd it a Week longer. We have had very bad Luck in fishing hitherto, having took only one Albicore since we came from Cape St. Lucas.

On the 11th I agreed with Capt. Courtney to continue a W. by S. Course till we get clear of the Rocks call'd the **Bartholomews** [i.e. Taongi], which are laid down in 13° and a half; but the Distance of them being variously computed, makes us the more curious, and keep a constant good Look-out.

[Our Spanish Pilot dies]

On the 13th the Spanish Pilot we took in the Batchelor died; we kept him, thinking he might be of use to us, if he recover'd of his Wounds; but he was shot in the Throat with a Musket-ball, which lodg'd so deep, the Doctors could not come at it.

On the 14th we agreed with Capt. Courtney to give half a Pound of Flower or Bread more to a Mess. That same Day, in Commemoration of the ancient Custom in England of chusing Valentines, I drew up a List of the fair Ladies of Bristol, that were any ways related to, or concern'd in the Ships, and sent for my Officers into the Cabbin,

where every one drew, and drank the Lady's Health in a Cup of Punch, and to a happy fight of 'em all; this I did to put 'em in mind of Home.

On the 17th I was troubled with a Swelling in my Throat, which incommoded me very much, till this Morning I got out a Piece of my Jaw-bone that lodged there since I was wounded. Our Ship began to make more Water, so we clapt on a new Bonnet where we took the old one off; but after many fruitless Attempts, were forc'd to keep one Pump continually going, every two Men in the Watch taking their Posts once an Hour; which Labour, with the want of sufficient Food, make our People look miserably.

On the 18th we threw a Negro overboard, who died of a Consumption and Want together. Our Men began to be very much out of order, and what adds to their Weakness is our continual Pumping, nor can we pretend to make any farther Addition to their Allowance.

On the 25th Tho. Williams, a Welch taylor, died; he was shot in the Leg at engaging the 2d Manila Ship, and being of a weak Constitution, fell into a Dysentery, which kill'd him.

On the 26th we caught a couple of fine Dolphins which were very acceptable to us, having had but very indifferent Luck of Fish in this long Passage.

On March the 3d we buried a Negro call'd Augustine, who died of the Scurvy and Dropsy. We agree to give 6 Negroes the same Allowance as five of our own Men, which will but just keep those that are in health alive.

[We see the Island of Guam]

On the 10th we made Land, being the Island Serpana [i.e. **Rota**], which bore N.W. distant about 8 Leagues. The **Dutchess** made another Island to the Westward, which bore W. by S. distant about 10 Leagues; the latter they took to be the Island **Guam**, so we clapt upon a Wind, and stood for it.

March 11.

This Morning we had sight of both Islands, the Northermost bearing N.N.W. distant about 7 Leagues, and the Body of the Westernmost W.S.W. 5 Leagues. The Spaniards say there is a great Shoal between these Islands, but nearest to Serpana. We ran along the Shore, being satisfied it was the Island of Guam, from whence there came several flying Prows to look at the Ships; they run by us very swift, but none would venture aboard. At Noon the Westernmost [rather Southernmost] part of the Island bore West [sic],¹ and at the same time we made a small low Island [i.e. Cocos] joining to Guam, with a Shoal between it and Guam; the Island appear'd green and very pleasant, off of it there runs a Spit of Sand to the Southward, but keeping it a good Birth from you as you near it, there's no Danger, being gradual Soundings to the Shoal. After we were clear of it, we sprung our Luff, and stood in for the Harbour [of Umatac], which lies mid-way betwixt this and the North part of the Island. There came heavy Flaws of Wind off Shore, sometimes for us, and at other times against us; but we got to an An-

1 Ed. note: The ships coasted the **eastern** shore of Guam, a brave procedure unless the wind was blowing from the NE. It was, says Capt. Cooke (Doc. 1710B).

chor in the Afternoon in 12 Fathom Water, about half a Mile off Shore, where there was a little Village. The small Island to the Southward bore South of us, distant about 3 Leagues, and another small one to the Northward bore N.N.W. about 2 Leagues. The Necessity of our stopping at these Islands to get a Refreshment of Provisions, was very great, our Sea Store being almost exhausted, and what we had left was very ordinary, especially our Bread and Flower, which was not enough for 14 Days at the shortest Allowance.

[Send to the Spanish Governour for Provisions]

In order to recruit quietly, we endeavour'd to get some of the Natives aboard that were in the Prows, to keep 'em as Hostages in case of sending any of our Men to the Governour: One of 'em, as we were turning into the Harbour with Spanish Colours, came under our Stern. There were 2 Spaniards in the Boat, who asked what we were, and from whence we came? Being answered in Spanish, that we were Friends, and came from New Spain, they willingly came aboard, and ask'd if we had any Letter to the Governour? We had one ready, but before we could get it sign'd by all the Commanders, there came a Messenger from the Governour, who demanded the same Account of us. We immediately sent him away with two of our Linguists, detaining one of the Spaniards till they return'd. The Letter was thus:

[Letter from the pirate Captains to the Governor of the Marianas, dated 23 March 1710]

SIR,

We being Servants to Her Majesty of Great Britain, and stopping at these Islands in our Way to the East-Indies, will not molest the Settlement, provided you deal friendly by us. We will pay for whatever Provisions and Refreshments you have to spare, in such manner as best agrees with your Conveniency, either in Money, or any Necessaries you want. But if after this civil Request you deny us, and do not act like a Man of Honour, you may immediately expect such Military Treatment, as we are with ease able to give you. This we thought fit to confirm under our Hands, recommending to you our Friendship and kind Treatment, which we hope you'll esteem, and assure your self we then shall be with the strictest Honour,

Your Friends and humble Servants,

W. Rogers.

S. Courtney.

E. Cooke.

To the Honourable Governour of the Island of Guam, March 23, 1709.¹

[The Civility of the Natives]

March 11.

1 Ed. note: They used the Gregorian calendar date, then in use at Guam. It is to be compared with the version given by Captain Cooke (next document).

In the Morning we and the **Dutchess** mann'd our Pinnace, and sent her ashore with a Flag of Truce, where they were entertain'd curteously by the Natives, who promis'd to supply us with such Provisions as they could spare, provided the Governour would give 'em leave.

[The Governour's civil Answer]

About Noon our Linguist return'd, and brought with him 3 Spanish Gentlemen from the Governour, who in answer to our Letter sent another, expressing all Readiness imaginable to accommodate us with what the Island afforded, and that he had sent those Gentlemen to treat with us. I immediately sent for Capt. Dover, Courtney, and Cooke, &c. being not able to stir out of the Ship, and desir'd they would come and consult with me how to act.

March 13.

This Morning we had 4 Bullocks, 1 for each Ship, with some Limes, Oranges, and Cocoa Nuts. Our Misunderstandings at California have been very much augmented since by our Want of Provisions, one Ship's company being jealous the other had most and best; but now being arriv'd at a Place of Plenty, we are all indifferently well reconciled, and an Entertainment was provided aboard the **Batchelor** for the Spanish Gentlemen, where most of our Officers appointed to meet.¹ I being not able to move my self, was hoisted in a Chair out of the Ship, and also out of the Boat into the **Batchelor**; there we had a good Entertainment, and agreed, that on Thursday next a Representative for each Ship should wait upon the Governour, and make him a handsome Present for his Civility and Readiness to supply us.

March 15.

This Morning we had another Entertainment aboard the **Marquiss**, where I likewise went in the same manner as before.

March 16.

This Morning our Pinnace went with several of our Officers to accept of the Governour's Invitation ashore, who receiv'd them with all imaginable Friendship and Respect, having near 200 Men drawn up in Arms at their landing, and the Officers and Clergy of the Island to conduct them to the Governour's House, which was a very handsome Seat, considering where we are: They entertain'd them with at least sixty Dishes of several Sorts, the best [that] could be got on the Island, and when they took their Leaves, each fired a Volley of small Arms. They presented the Governour, according as we had agreed, with 2 Negro Boys dress'd in Liveries, 20 Yards of Scarlet Cloth-Serge, and 6 Pieces of Cambrick, which he seem'd wonderfully pleas'd with, and promis'd to assist us in whatever lay in his Power.

1 Ed. note: The Spaniards could not have helped noticing that the Batchelor was in fact the Encarnación.

March 17.

This Day we got our Dividend, being about 60 Hogs, 99 Fowls, 24 Baskets of Indian Corn, and 14 Bags of Rice, 44 Baskets of Yams, and 800 Cocoa Nuts.

March 18.

There was an Entertainment aboard us to day, where we had most of our Officers, and 4 Spanish Gentlemen from the Governour. I made 'em as welcome as Time and Place would afford, diverting 'em with Musick, and our Sailors Dancing till Night, when we parted very friendly. We got some more Bullocks on board, being small lean Cattle, but what we gladly accepted of; each Ship had 14 in all.

March 20.

This Morning each Ship had 2 Cows and Calves more, being the last we are like to get. We had a Meeting on board the **Marquiss**, where 'twas agreed to make a handsome Present to the Governour's Deputy, who had the Fatigue to get our Provisions together, wherein he us'd all possible Dispatch. We gave him and the rest of the Gentlemen what they esteem'd double the Value of what we received of them, which they certify'd under their Hands, and that we had been very civil to them. We also gave them the like Certificate, sign'd by all our Officers, to shew to any English that might have occasion to recruit there, and parted very friendly. Having finish'd that Affair, it was agreed that we should steer from hence a West and by South Course, to go clear of some Islands that lie in our way,¹ and then thought it proper to steer directly for the South-East Part of Mindanao, and from thence the clearest Way to Ternate. It was also agreed, that our Ship being very leaky, I should deliver to Capt. Courtney one Chest of Plate and Money, to be put on board the **Dutchess**.

March 21.

At Break of Day we hoisted our Colours, and fir'd a Gun for our Consorts to unmoor. In the mean time, with the Consent of the other Officers I put an old Spaniard ashore, call'd Ant. Gomes Figuero, whom we took in the 1st Bark in the South-Seas, and design'd to carry him to Great Britain, to condemn all our Prizes took there, but he being now in all appearance not likely to live, we agreed to dismiss him, he giving us a Certificate that he saw us attack and take several Prizes, all Subjects to Philip V, King of Spain, &c. I gave him some Cloaths and other odd things to help him in his Sickness, then put him ashore to the Deputy-Governour, and the rest of the Spanish Officers, who gave us a Certificate, that they receiv'd such a Person.

I shall here give a Description of the Isle of Guam.

The Island of Guam Describ'd.

This Island is about 40 Leagues round; the Anchoring-place is on the West-side, and about the middle there's a large Cove, with several Houses built after the Spanish Mode, with Accommodations for the Officers and Crew of the Acapulco Ship, the Settlement being made here on purpose for that Ship to recruit at, in her way to Manila. There are

¹ Ed. note: They should have relied on their new Spanish charts, rather than outdated English ones, as there is no such danger west of Guam.

about 300 Spaniards on this and the neighbouring Islands; most of the Natives are their Converts. They told us they have 8 Fathers, 6 of whom teach School, besides performing their Offices as Clergymen. They have also Schools taught by Mullattoes and Indians, who have learn'd the Language, so that most of the Natives understand Spanish. The Spaniards inform me, that there's a Range of Islands from hence to Japan; among which there are several abound with Gold, and they were now building a small Vessel to discover them, in order to get a Trade.

The Island of Guam it self abounds with Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Musk and Water Melons, which were brought hither by the Spaniards. The Orange-trees thrive very well here. The Island is full of Hills and Dales, and Streams of good Water. They have Plenty of Cattle, but small, poor, and generally white. The Indico Plant grows wild in such Abundance, that were they industrious, and had Coppers to boil it up, they might have great Quantities of that Commodity; but being so remote and out of the Way of Trade, they make no Use of it, nor do they improve any thing but what contributes to their present Subsistence; and having that, they are easie. Money is of so little Use, and so scarce among them, that they could not raise 1000 Dollars in the whole Island to purchase Commodities from us, which they would gladly have done. Here are about 200 Soldiers, who receive their Pay from Manila by a small Ship once per Ann[um]. This Ship brings them Clothes, Sugar, Rice, and Liquor, for which she carries back most of the Money again. This has made them of late sow Rice in their Valleys, and make other Improvements.¹ They abound with Hogs, which are the best Pork in the World, because they feed altogether on Cocoa-Nuts, and Bread-Fruit, which are plentiful here; and were not the Spaniards slothful, they might have most Necessaries of their own Growth for the Maintenance of Life.

Their Bread-Fruit I thought the most remarkable Thing on the Island. I saw some of it which was as large as Oranges, and much resembled them. They tell me, that when ripe they are three Times as large, and grow in many other Places near the Equinox in the East-Indies. The leaves are almost as large as those of Figs, something like them, but of a brown Colour. The Tree is large, and they have such Plenty of this Fruit in the Season, that they fatten their Hogs with them. The Fruit has no Stone, and by the Account they gave, the Inside resembles a dry Potato or Yam, with which they likewise abound.

The Wind blows constantly a S.E. [rather N.E.] Trade here, except during the West-erly Monsoons, which last from the Middle of June to the Middle of August.

The Governour lives on the N. Side of the Island, where there's a small Village [i.e. Agaña], and a Convent, being the chief Habitation of the Spaniards. They marry with the Natives, and had not above four Spanish Women on the Island. The Indians are tall and strong, of a dark olive Colour, go all naked, except a Clout about their Posteriors, and the Women have little Petticoats. The Men are dextrous at slinging of Stones,

1 Ed. note: This is the first time that rice is reported as being imported into Guam, but the information may be as wrong as the notion that rice cultivation in the island was something new.

which they make of Clay, of an oval Form, burning them, till as hard as Marble, and are so good Marksmen, that the Spaniards say, they seldom miss hitting any Mark, and throw it with such a Force, as to kill a Man at a considerable Distance. I heard of no other Weapons that they used, but a Stick or Lance made of the heaviest Wood in the Island.

[Description of a flying proa]

The Governour presented us with one of their flying Prows, which I shall describe here, because of the Odness of it. The Spaniards told me 'twould run 20 Leagues [sic] per Hour, which I think too large; but by what I saw, I verily believe, they may run 20 Miles or more in the Time, for when they view'd our Ships, they passed by us like a Bird flying. These Prows are about 30 Foot long, not above 2 broad, and about 3 deep; they have but one Mast which stands in the Middle, with a Mat Sail, made in the Form of a Ship's Mizzen. The Yard is slung in the Middle, and a Man sits at each End with a Paddle to steer her, so that when they go about, they don't turn the Boat as we do to bring the Wind on the other side, but only change the Sail, so that the Jack and Sheet of the Sail are used alike, and the Boat's Head and Stern are the same, only they change them, as occasion requires, to sail either Way; for they are so narrow that they could not bear any Sail, were it not for Booms, that run out from the Windward Side, fastened to a large Log shap'd like a Boat, upon which they carry Goods or Passengers. The greatest Inconveniency in sailing these Boats is before the Wind, for by the Out-layer, which is built out on one Side, if the Wind presses any thing heavy on the contrary side, the Boat is over-set, which often happens; having brought one of these Boats to London, it might be worth fitting up to put in the Canal in St. James's Park for a Curiosity, since we have none like it in this Part of the World.

As soon as the Boat return'd from landing Senior Figu[e]ro, we put under Sail, having a fine Breeze of Wind at E.N.E. We had generally fair Weather here in the Day-time, and Showers commonly in the Night, but very sultry. The Wind always off Shore betwixt the E. and N.E. Our Decks are fill'd with Cattle and Provender.

According to Promise, I have here inserted my Run from California to Guam.¹

¹ Ed. note: In the second column is recorded the day of the week, beginning with A = Sunday.

A Table of each Days Run between Cape St. Lucas in California, and the Island of Guam.

1710		Course	Dist.	Lat. by Reck. & Observat.	Long. W. from London	Diff. Long. from Cape S. Lucas	Variation Easterly
				N	W	W	
	12	E S 22°30' W	45	22°16'	114°09'	00°09'	03°00'
	13	F S 28°00' W	66	21°18'	114°42'	00°42'	02°50'
	14	G S 33°45' W	54	20°24'	115°15'	01°15'	02°50'
	15	A S 33°45' W	52	19°25'	115°45'	01°45'	02°50'
	16	B S 33°45' W	68	18°56'	116°24'	02°24'	02°45'
	17	C S 33°45' W	72	18°00'	117°06'	03°06"	02°45'
	18	D S 35°10' W	41	17°11'	117°30'	03°30'	02°15'
	19	E S 33°45' W	62	16°32'	118°05'	04°05'	02°00'
	20	F S 43°40' W	68	15°44'	118°54'	04°54'	01°50'
	21	G S 68°00' W	83	15°00'	120°15'	06°15'	01°30'
	22	A W 06°48' S	94	14°49'	122°05'	08°05'	01°10'
	23	B W 05°20' S	152	14°36'	124°25'	10°25'	00°50'
	24	C W 04°00' S	142	14°24'	126°45'	12°45'	00°40'
	25	D W 04°10' S	151	13°14'	129°05';	15°05'	00°45'
	26	E W 05°25' S	147	13°50'	131°23'	17°25'	00°50'
	27	F W 18°50' S	97	13°29'	132°58'	18°58'	01°00'
	28	G W —	88	13°29'	134°41'	20°41'	01°10'
	29	A W 03°00' S	122	13°22'	136°48'	22°48'	01°15'
	30	B W 04°00' N	146	13°27'	139°21'	25°21'	01°25'
	31	C W 04°00' N	160	13°32'	142°07'	28°07'	01°30'
Feb. 1	D	W —	143	13°32'	144°37'	30°37'	01°40'
	2	E W 04°00' N	168	13°36'	147°32'	33°32'	01°50'
	3	F W 06°00' S	160	13°26'	150°18'	36°18'	02°00'
	4	G W —	156	13°26'	153°02'	39°02'	02°10'
	5	A W —	130	13°26'	155°19'	41°19'	02°25'
	6	B W —	137	13°26'	157°43'	43°43'	02°30'
	7	C W 02°00' S	161	13°25'	160°31'	46°31'	02°50'
	8	D W 08°00' N	144	13°41'	163°00'	49°00'	03°00'
	9	E W —	130	13°41'	165°18'	51°18'	03°20'
	10	F W 01°00' N	124	13°44'	167°26'	53°26'	03°30'
	11	G W 03°00'	146	13°36'	169°56'	55°56'	03°45'
	12	A W 01°00' S	146	13°33'	172°27'	58°27'	04°00'
	13	B W 01°00' N	148	13°36'	175°00'	61°00'	04°30'

1710				Lat. by	Long. W.	Diff. Long.	Variation
February	Course	Dist.	Reck. &	Observat.	from	from Cape	Easterly
					London	S. Lucas	
14	C	W 02°00' S	136	13°32'	177°21'	63°21'	05°20'
15	D	W 04°00' N	125	13°40'	179°28'	65°28'	06°30'
16	E	W 04°00' N	112	13°47'	181°24'	67°24'	07°00'
17	F	W 04°00' N	114	13°54'	183°22'	69°22'	07°30'
18	G	W 01°00' S	113	13°52'	185°37'	71°37'	09°00'
19	A	W 07°00' S	122	13°40'	187°42'	73°42'	10°15'
20	B	W 07°00' S	124	13°28'	189°49'	75°49'	11°00'
21	C	W 04°00' S	98	13°21'	191°30'	77°30'	11°30'
22	D	W 05°00' S	113	13°12'	193°25'	79°25'	12°00'
23	E	W 04°00' S	70	13°07'	194°37'	80°37'	11°50'
24	F	W 01°30' N	72	13°10'	195°51'	81°51'	11°00'
25	G	W 04°00' S	118	13°03'	197°51'	83°51'	10°00'
26	A	W 01°30' S	70	13°00'	199°03'	85°03'	09°50'
27	B	W 02°00' S	71	12°57'	200°16'	86°16'	09°30'
28	C	W 02°00' S	120	12°54'	202°20'	88°20'	09°00'
Mar. 1	D	W 02°00' N	108	12°58'	204°12'	90°12'	08°40'
2	E	W 03°00' N	110	13°04'	206°06'	92°06'	08°20'
3	F	W 01°00' N	84	13°05'	207°33'	93°33'	08°00'
4	G	W —	88	13°05'	209°04'	95°04'	07°50'
5	A	W 02°00' S	106	13°02'	211°54'	96°54'	07°30'
6	B	W 02°48' N	105	13°07'	212°42'	98°42'	07°10'
7	C	W —	82	13°07'	214°07'	100°07'	07°00'
8	D	W 03°00' S	78	13°03'	215°28'	101°28'	06°50'
9	E	W 03°00' N	100	13°08'	217°11'	103°11'	06°30'
10	F	W 06°00' N	74	13°16'	218°27'	104°27'	05°40'

At three a Clock in the Afternoon the Island of Guam bore W. by S. distant 10 Leagues.¹

March 22.

At 6 last Night, the Body of the Island Guam bore E.N.E. Dist. 8 Leagues, from whence we took our Departure, designing for Ternate, one of the Molucca Islands belonging to the Dutch, and distant from Guam about 400 Leagues. We had a fresh Gale

1 Ed. note: At noon, Dampier's true longitude was approximately 142°30' east of London (i.e. Greenwich), which is only about 3° in error. This was an excellent estimate of longitude for the period. However, his latitude was about 30 minutes too low, which can only reflect on the quality of the astronomical table at his disposal.

of Wind at N.E. and N.E. by E. with fair Weather, but very sultry. Lat. 12°45' Var. 05°03'E.

[European discovery of Tobi Island]

April 11. [See Land, but know not what it is].

Nothing remarkable has occur'd worth noting, but that we have generally had a strong Current setting to the Northward. At Two Yesterday Afternoon we made Land, bearing S.E. distant about 5 Leagues, being a **low flat Island**, all green, and full of Trees. Lat. 02°54'N.¹

April 14. [Saw more Land].

Yesterday in the Afternoon we saw Land, bearing W.S.W. 12 Leagues, being very high. The Current has set to the Northward this 24 Hours very strong. Lat. 01°54' [N].²

...

1 Ed note: This island could only have been Tobi Island (lat. 3° N).

2 Ed. note: This land could only have been Morotai, but Cooke (Doc. 1710B) says it was an island; therefore, there is here a misprint in the latitude, which must be 00°54' instead.

A
VOYAGE
 TO THE
South Sea,
 AND
Round the World,

Perform'd in the
 YEARS 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711.

Containing

A JOURNAL of all memorable Transactions during the said VOYAGE; the Winds, Currents, and Variation of the Compass; the taking of the Towns of *Puna* and *Guayaquil*, and several PRIZES, one of which a rich *Acapulco* Ship.

A DESCRIPTION of the *American* Coasts, from *Tierra del Fuego* in the South, to *California* in the North, (from the *Coasting-Pilot*, a *Spanish* Manuscript.)

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of all those Countries from the best AUTHORS.

With a new MAP and DESCRIPTION of the mighty River of the AMAZONS.

Wherein an ACCOUNT is given of Mr. *Alexander Selkirk*, his Manner of living and taming some wild Beasts during the four Years and four Months he liv'd upon the uninhabited Island of *Juan Fernandes*.

Illustrated with CUTS and MAPS.

By Capt. EDWARD COOKE.

LONDON, Printed by H. M. for B. LINTOT and R. GOSLING in *Fleet-Street*, A. BETTESWORTH on *London-Bridge*, and W. INNYS in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. M DCC XII.

Title page of Edward Cooke's Voyage to the South Sea.

Document 1710B

English pirates at Guam in 1710—The narrative of Captain Edward Cooke

Source: Captain Edward Cooke's A Voyage to the South Sea and Round the World... (London, 1712), e.g. Vol. 1 = BNP G21621.

Note: Captain Cooke was in command of the Duchess.

Summary of the capture of the almiranta Encarnación and of the visit to Guam, in Volume I

Chap. XXVI. The lesser Manila ship taken, the greater attempted in vain; Prisoners releas'd; Differences, and Capt. Dover appointed to command the new Prize; Orders of the Committee, Account of all Prizes taken; Cargo of the Duke, Dutchess, and Marquis; Gold, Plate, and Jewels aboard the two first of them.

Having thus deliver'd what finall Observations I could make, during my Stay in Puer-to Seguro, which, as has been said, might have been much more satisfactory, could we have understood the Natives, it remains to proceed on our Journal.

[In margin: Small Manila ship taken.]

December 22. 1709. Being busy in the afore-said Port fitting the Ship **Marquis**, then under my Command, I being order'd before in to fit the Ship, and then to cruize 'till the others were ready, at Ten in the Morning heard some Guns fir'd in the Offing, near the Cape, I bent our Sails in order to go out and join our Ships; but the Sea Breeze coming in, prevented me; whereupon I went up a Hill, and saw our Ships engage and take the lesser of the Manila Ships, which we had been so long expecting. The Action lasted not half an Hour, before she was in our Possession, they then lay by, and in the Afternoon we saw them standing in for the Harbour, being distant about six Leagues, the Wind from N.W. to E.S.E.

December 23. In the Evening our Ships came in with the Prize, being a Ship of about 400 Tons, carrying 20 Guns, and 20 Brass Pedreros, commanded by Sir John Pichberty,

a French Gentleman, and Brother-in-Law to Monsieur du Cass.¹ Before the Engagement, had 193 Men aboard, out of which about 20 were kill'd and wounded. On our Side, only Capt. Rogers was wounded in the Cheek, and one of his Men in the Buttock. The Prisoners inform'd us, that this Ship came out with another great one, both bound from Manila to Acapulco, with India Goods. This Prize is call'd *Nuestra Senora de la Encarnacion*, that is, Our Lady of the Incarnation. We were farther inform'd by the Prisoners, that the Cargo in India amounted to two Millions of Dollars, and that the other Ship was of much greater Value. They said they were parted from her in the Latitude of 35 Degrees; whereupon it was resolv'd in a Committee, that Capt. Courtney, in the **Dutchess**, and Capt. Cook, in the **Marquis**, should go out immediately, and cruize eight Days for the said other Ship.

Saturday, December 24. 1709. In the Morning, the **Dutchess** heel'd and cleans'd both Sides, in order to go out and cruize with the **Marquis** for the other Manila Ship; then both unmoor'd, the Wind from N.W. to E.S.E. At eight in the Evening sail'd, the Wind at N.W. a small Breeze off the Shore.

[In margin: Great Manila Ship discover'd.]

Sunday, December 25. Being Christmas-Day, at Eight in the Morning, were two Leagues off Cape St. Luke, and saw a Sail bearing S.W. distant about seven Leagues, which we concluded to be the great Manila Ship. The **Dutchess** was two Leagues to the Westward of us; we both gave Chase, the Wind at N.W. a small Breeze, making clear Ships to engage her. At Noon she bore South, distant about five Leagues. At Six in the Evening, she was four Leagues S.S.E. from the **Marquis**, and about two from the **Dutchess**; at Seven, we lost Sight of her and the **Dutchess** both; but at Nine, saw a Light from the **Dutchess**, and follow'd that Light with all the Sail we could croud. At Twelve at Night, the **Dutchess** got up along the Side of the Manila Ship, and began to engage her; Capt. Courtney fought very briskly about four Glasses, then lay by for us to come up, and to secure his Mast and Rigging, being shatter'd. We were about two Leagues from them when they engag'd, and there being little Wind, and sometimes quite Calm, and our Ship not so good a Sailer as the **Dutchess**, we could not come up, being then about Two of the Clock in the Morning.

Monday, December 26. 1709. Seeing a Gun fir'd from one of them, concluded the Ship had not struck to the **Dutchess**. As soon as it was Day, we saw them about two Gun Shots from one another, and were our selves near a League and a half from them, with little Wind at N.W. steering directly for them. We saw the Spaniards Flag, by which knew him to be the Admiral of Manila.² At eight, we perceiv'd the **Duke** near the Cape coming out to us, we being then about 10 Leagues from the said Cape, and having but little Wind, could not get up along the Side of the Manila Ship. At Noon, we were about a Mile a-stern of her, the Wind at E.S.E. a small Breeze. At Two we got up along her

1 Ed. note: Du Casse was cruising in the West Indies in 1708 (see Fr. Taillandier, Doc. 1708E) and in 1712 (see Fr. Bourges, Doc. 1713C).

2 Ed. note: Meaning the General of the fleet, in Spanish terms.

Side; but the Wind shifting, could fetch no nearer than about half Musket-shot to Leeward of her. She then fir'd two Shot at us, and we return'd a Broad-side, and Volleys of small Arms, after giving three Cheers. When we had fought two Glasses, the **Dutchess** came up under her Stern, and rak'd her fore and aft, and then fell a-stern again, we still continuing hot at her for five Glasses; then war'd and stood to the Westward to fetch nearer up to her, for firing so any Guns had lay'd us to Leeward. The **Dutchess** went up, and engag'd again very briskly for half an Hour or better, and then stretch'd a-head of her. We could perceive many Shot plac'd in her betwixt Wind and Water, which oblig'd them to pump often. At Five we tack'd, and stood towards the Enemy, half an Hour after engag'd again, and rak'd him fore and aft with our Starboard Broad-side; then war'd under her Stern, and did the same with our Larboard Broad-side, being still very near, and firing several Volleys, loaded our Larboard Guns again, and gave the other Broad-side. By this Time it grew dark; for which Reason, we fell a-stern to speak with the **Dutchess**, and get more Ammunition, having but three Rounds of Shot for most of our Guns left. At Eight I went aboard the **Dutchess**, which was much disabled in her Masts and Rigging, and had seven Men kill'd and wounded. Capt. Courtney and I agreed to be Yard Arm and Yard Arm with the Enemy in the Morning, he to lie on the Bow, and I on the Quarter; and if he boarded, I was to clap him aboard, and enter my Men over him. Soon after, Capt. Rogers sent his Boat aboard Capt. Courtney to assist, if there were Occasion, he bringing up his Ship with all speed. Being supply'd with more Ammunition, I return'd aboard the **Marquis**, both of us keeping close under the Chase's Quarter, and firing Guns to annoy the Enemy, and to give the **Duke** Notice where we were, keeping out Lights.

Tuesday, December 27. In the Morning, had a small Easterly Breeze, Cape St. Luke bearing N.E. by E. distant about two Leagues, the Chase keeping before the Wind almost all Night, either because we forc'd her down, or that she took the **Duke** for her Consort, or else might have Thoughts of running ashore, because she steer'd directly in. Before Day the **Duke** join'd us; and being all three provided, clear Ships, and near the Enemy, made Sail to engage again.

[Engage again.]

Capt. Courtney, in the **Dutchess**, stood close up, gave his Broad-side and Volleys, and then ran a-head. The **Marquis** coming up under her Quarter, did the like, and the **Duke** next perform'd the same along her Lee-side. We kept raking of her fore and aft, and then war'd to get out of the Way of the **Duke**'s Shot, still firing, as did the other Ships. Soon after, the **Dutchess** came upon her Starboard-side, and the **Duke** follow'd very close, and so near the Chase, that she threw her Stink-Pots on Board the **Duke**, that blew up several Carriages of Powder on the Quarter-Deck; the **Dutchess** being a going to lash to the Enemy, was forc'd to cast off, and get clear, for Fear of being set on Fire. The Enemy fir'd at us all three at once, but slow, seldom missing our Masts and Rigging, and sometimes hulling us. After lying near half an Hour along the Chase-side, the **Dutchess** lay by to stop her Leaks, and secure her Fore-mast, being very much disabled, having 25 Men kill'd and wounded, and the Sails and Rigging much shatter'd.

Capt. Rogers some Time after lay by to secure his Mast. Then I lay a-twart the Enemy's Harse, 'till I had fir'd three Broad-sides, some odd Guns, and several Volleys; then gave another Broad-side, and some Volleys into their Stern. The **Duke** came up again by this Time, and fir'd several Guns, and both fell a-stern the Chase, keeping under Sail, and standing to the Westward. We knotted some of our Rigging, and stopp'd our Leaks made with Twelve Pounders. Our main Mast was disabled also, the Sails and Rigging much shatter'd; but the Enemy aiming to disable my Masts, I had the good Fortune to have only my second Mate, and some others blown up with Powder. The Ship was once set a-fire by the Enemies Stink-Pots, with which I stunk several Days intolerably, but we soon put it out. About Eleven I wore the Ship, and design'd to attack the Enemy again, making all the Sail I could after him; but seeing the **Duke** and the **Dutchess** lying by, the one with a Waist in his Ensign, and the other with a Spanish Jack, the Signals to speak with one another, I brought to, Capt. Courtney came aboard of me, and we both went aboard the **Duke**, where we found Capt. Rogers wounded in the Heel, and some others hurt and blown up. We held a Council there, and design'd to have engag'd again; but the Carpenters and Men viewing the Masts, and finding them unfit for Service, and the Prisoners who were examin'd, telling us, if we enter'd 500 Men, we should lose them, the Enemy being provided with false Decks, which we saw when along their Side, and their Ship so strong, that I believe our Shot in some Places did but little Damage, it appear'd, by the Opinion of several, absolutely necessary to alter our Resolution. On our Side, we had several of our best Men poison'd with eating some Fish, and scarce able to stand just before we first engag'd; but the Doctor gave them something, and they soon recover'd. We fir'd above 300 great Shot, about 50 Cross Bars, and two great Chests of Steel Bars, besides abundance of Partridge small Shot, and above nine Barrels of Powder in the **Marquis**. The Enemy was a new Ship of above 900 Tuns, could mount at least 60 Guns, but had not now so many. I had but 18 Guns now on Board the **Marquis**, six of which were very small, and but a meer Shell of a Ship. If the Enemy had fir'd at the Hull, as he did at the Mast and Rigging, he consequently must have shatter'd us almost to Pieces. Our Ships look'd like small Barks to the Enemy. I often wish'd that I had a better Ship for his sake, our Officers and Men behaving themselves so bravely. To give the Enemy their Due, they defended themselves very well. But we might as well have fought a Castle of 50 Guns, as this Ship which had about 40, and near as many Brass Pedreros, each carrying as big a Shot as our great Guns; and, as some of the Prisoners told us, 600 Men, whereof 150 were Europeans, many of them English and Irish, some of which had been formerly Pirates. The Gunner was a Genoese born, had an Employment at Manila, and 30 of the best Men belong'd to him, which made them fight desperately. However, Capt. Courtney and I were for carrying of him by Boarding, and design'd to make another Attempt; but at the Council aboard the **Duke**, it was thought more advisable, by the Majority of Voices, to forbear making any farther Attempt, our Ships being in so ill a Condition in that remote Part of the World; and therefore it was agreed, as follows.

[Resolution of the Council to desist from the great Manila Ship.]

We having consider'd the Condition of all our three Ships, the Masts being much damnify'd in engaging the Manila Ship, do think it convenient, for the Interest of the whole, to forbear any farther Attempt upon her, having no Probability of taking her, and to do our Endeavour to secure the Prize already taken, which will be much more for the Honour and Interest of our selves and Country. This is our Opinion: In Witness whereof we have set our Hands this 27th Day of December, 1709.

Woodes Rogers,

Hen. Oliphant, Tho. Glendal, Step. Courtney,

Alex. Selkirk, John Connely, Edward Cooke,

John Kingston, John Bridge, Will. Dampier

John Pillar, Lanc. Appleby, Rob. Fry.

As we lay by, saw the Enemy run out some more Guns of his lower Tire, and rig out Booms at his Bows, with Barrels of Powder at the Ends, expecting we would enter them by Storm; and finding that was the Place where we did them most Damage, they provided very well for our Reception. We had for the Ship several Times a-fire on the Quarters and Bows; but they put it out, and did the same by us. We shot their Mizen Yard, most of their Rigging, and two Suits of Sails almost to Pieces; but they had the good Fortune that all their Masts stood; we also shot their Ensign half down, and thought they had struck, but they some Time after hoisted it again.

Having lain by 'till the Evening, we then stood in for the Shore with a small Easterly Breeze of Wind, and were forc'd to make very easy Sail, for Fear of the **Duke** and **Dutchess's** Masts, ours not being quite so bad as theirs; yet my Sails and Rigging were much shatter'd, and I had near 30 great Shot through our Mizen-Top-Sail. The French Captain inform'd us, that they had Advice from Maderas, two Months before they left Manila, that two Bristol Privateers were coming in quest of them into those Seas, and that Capt. Dampier was Pilot; which was the Reason they had so many Europeans aboard the great Ship, most of whom having their Wealth aboard, they would fight to the utmost; and having agreed to pay no Freight there, had fill'd up all between the Guns with Bales to secure the Men. The two Ships were to have join'd at Cape St. Luke, expecting to meet us off Cape Corrientes, or Navidad. He added, that the great Ship was prodigious strong, and that they have an excellent Sort of Wood at Manila for building of Men of War. Gemelli says, this Sort of Wood is hard, and heavy as a Stone. The Planks are so thick, and lin'd both within and without, that they receive little Damage by Cannon-Balls, (we observ'd that the Plank of the Prize we took, did not splinter.) He farther adds, that a Ship, which fought 14 Sail of Dutch, that came to take Cavite, had 90 Balls taken out of her Side, sticking there as if it were in a Wall of soft Stone; and this, because being run aground, she was forc'd to fight all the while on one Side, to the great Astonishment of the Enemy. I may be bold to say, this Ship, we fought was

as strong, and had some hundreds of Shot in her Hull. But enough of this, since it was not our Fortune to take her.

Wednesday, December 28. 1709. Little Wind, and sometimes calm; the **Duke** and **Dutchess** sent in their Pinnaces with Men, to secure and guard the Prize, 'till we could get in, the Prisoners not being yet sent away. At Noon the Cape bore N.E. distant five Leagues, Wind at E.S.E.

[Return to Puerto Seguro]

Sunday, January 1. 1709.10. Was set at Liberty the Captain of the Prize, and the two Hostages for Guayaquil, Capt. Pichberty giving Bills for the Bark and her Cargo, to the Value of 2000 Dollars, as also for the Deficiency of Guayaquil Ransom. All the Prisoners were put Aboard the Bark, except about 30 Lascars, which we kept to help sail the Ship, and gave the others Provisions enough to carry them to the Continent. In the Evening they sail'd with a fair Wind, having before their Departure sign'd the following Paper.

We whose Names are hereto subscrib'd, do acknowledge, That ever since we have been in the Hands of Capt. Woodes Rogers, and Capt. Stephen Courtney, Commanders of the Duke and Dutchess, two British private Men of War, we have been by them very civilly treated; and whatsoever we have transacted or done, has been by our voluntary Will and Consent; and particularly in passing Bills and Obligations, through the Hands of Sir John Pichberty, for the Ransom of the Town of Guayaquil, and other valuable Considerations, as Witness our Hands, on the Coast of California,

*Don John Pichberty, Manuel de Punta,
Don Antonio Gutterra [i.e. Gutierrez] Manuel Hemanes [i.e. Hernandez]*

At this Time we had several Differences and hot Disputes about appointing a Commander for the Manila Ship, being a Prize of considerable Value. Capt. Dover, being an Owner, desir'd he might command in chief Aboard her. Capt. Rogers, and several Officers of the Committee, voted that my self or Capt. Fry should command her; but having a Ship already, I voted against it, and proposed, together with Capt. Courtney, and several of our Officers, that it would be for the Interest of the whole, that Capt. Dover should command the said Ship, which we then call'd the **Batchelor** Frigat in Memory of a worthy Person at Bristol, who was one of the principal Owners of our Ships, and that Capt. Fry and Capt. Stretton should act as second Captains under him...

...

The several Prizes taken by the **Duke** and **Dutchess**, private Men of War, in their Voyage round the World.

...

6. April 15. 1709. in 4 Deg. 8 Min. South Latitude, the **Havre de Grace**, Joseph de Arizabalaga Commander, bound from Panama, to Lima, taken by the **Dutchess**, Burden 250 Tuns, 29 Passengers, 29 Sailors, 74 Blacks, equipp'd by us, and nam'd the **Marquis**.

...
 13. December 22. in 23 Deg. 10 Min. North latitude, the **Nuestra Senora de la Encarnacion**, Don John Pichberty Commander, bound from Manila, to Acapulco, taken by the **Duke and Dutchess**, Burden 450 Tuns, 193 Passengers and Sailors, brought Home, laden with rich India Goods; which, with the Ships and Barks ransom'd with the Town of Guayaquil, makes in all 20 Sail of Ships and Barks.

...

Chap. XXXII. Return Home from the South Sea, through India; touch at the Islands Ladrões, Batavia, and Cape of Good Hope; arrive in Holland, North about, and thence into the Downs.

We left our Ships at Puerto Seguro in California, to treat of the Coasts and Country of New Spain, as had been done before with Chile and Peru, it is now Time to return to them, and continue our Voyage to England.

[Depart from California.]

Tuesday, January 10, 1709/10, having put between 60 and 70 English into the Prize, with about 30 Indians and Blacks, in all about 100, ran out at Midnight, and at Twelve the next Day, Cape St. Lucas bore North, distant five Leagues. Provisions being scarce, the Allowance was shorten'd to a Pound and a half of Meal or Bread for five Men. Steer'd away for some Days S.W. by S. and, according to a good Observation, had but a S.S.W. Course occasion'd by the Current, the Variation here scarce worth observing. Getting into the Trade-Winds, our Course was afterwards uniform, so that it will be needless to be particular in it, there being nothing remarkable, 'till

[Arrive at Guam.]

Friday, March 10, 1709/10, when, at Three in the Afternoon, we made the Island Sarpana, bearing W.N.W. distant 12 Leagues; and at Six in the Evening, the Island Guam or Guagan [sic], bearing W. by S. distant 12 Leagues, lay by most Part of the Night; and

Saturday, the 11th in the Morning, steer'd S.S.W. and S.W. Latitude 13 Deg. 30 Min. At Six in the Evening came to an Anchor at Port Umata, of the Island Guam, the Houses bearing E. by N. distant about a Mile.

The Spanish Governour of the Island promis'd to furnish us with all the Island afforded. They entertain'd us with all possible Civility, and in Return, we paid for all we had, to their entire Satisfaction. The necessary Description of the several Countries we sail'd along in the South Sea, and of the several Ways into it, with the small Abridgments of what has been done by other Adventurers in these Parts, having taken up so much of this Volume, it has been thought most convenient to shorten our Run Home, that the Reader may not look upon this as an imperfect Relation, if we should break off abruptly, after taking the Manila Ship, we shall therefore conclude [Vol. 1] with this Chapter, only mentioning the Heads, or most material Passages, from this Time, 'till our Return into England. It is however intended to publish, in a very short Time, a second Volume, containing all the Particulars of the remaining Part of our Voyage from

California, with exact Descriptions, not only of this Island Guam, but of all other Places we touch'd at, or shall have Occasion to mention in our Way, the Bearings of all the Coasts on the Back of America, from the Island [sic] of California, to the Streights of Magellan, Draughts of many considerable Harbours, taken from the Spanish Coast-ing-Pilots, and other curious Cuts, which, with several Curiosities, too tedious to be here taken Notice of, will render the Work as useful, instructive, and diverting, as any Book of this Nature hitherto extant. I must therefore refer the Reader to it, proceeding for the present to bring our Ships Home, with the greatest Brevity.

[Depart Guam.]

Tuesday, March 21, 1709/10, in the Morning we all sail'd with a small Breeze at N.E. and at Noon the Body of the Island Guam bore N.N.E. distant six Leagues. We saw no Land 'till

Monday, April 11, and then at Two in the Afternoon made a **pleasant small low Island**, [i.e. Tobi] bearing E.S.E. distant about six Leagues, not laid down in any of our Charts. It is full of Trees, and I make it to lie in the Latitude of 2 Deg. 55 Min. North, and 14 Deg. 40 Min. Latitude West from Guam.¹

...

Detailed narrative, in Volume II

Chap. I. Departure from California; the long Run a-cross the South Sea, to the Islands Ladrones; Arrival at Guam, one of that Number; courteous Entertainment there by the Spaniards; Letters and Certificates on both Sides; Variation in those Parts, &c.

The great and wealthy Countries lying along the South Sea, being the Object on which the Eyes and Thoughts of all Men are at present fix'd, less could not well have been said of them, than has been done in the first Volume of this Voyage, Our Ships ran along that Coast, to make such Attempts as were proportion'd to our Strength; which being but small, we had not the Opportunity of performing many Actions, that might of themselves have render'd this Work both useful and entertaining, there is a farther View in what may be perform'd hereafter; and a bare Run at Sea, could not have answer'd those Ends, which every Man may propose to himself in the Perusal of this Voyage. We brought our Ships Home from California, after taking the Acapulco Prize, that the Relation might not appear altogether maim'd and imperfect; but, at the same Time, we promis'd a more ample Account of their long Navigation in this second Volume. We had the greatest Part of the Globe to sail round, when we departed California; and so great a Tract will well deserve to be seen more at large, than could possibly be done before. This shall be the Subject of the first Part of this second Volume, which shall conclude, as was promis'd in the first, with a more ample Description of all

1 Ed. note: This positively identifies it as Tobi.

the Coasts of the South Sea, with the Bearings of all the most noted Lands, and all curious Observations as to Winds, Currents, &c. taken from the Spanish Manuscripts. I will now proceed to the Journal

[Departure from California.]

Tuesday, January 10, 1709/10.

The Ship **Marquis**, which I commanded, with the **Duke, Dutchess**, and Manila, or Acapulco Prize, now call'd the **Batchelor** Frigat, being at Puerto Seguro, in the Island [sic] of California, in the Latitude of 23 Deg. 10 Min. North, ready to sail, Capt. Rogers put aboard the Prize about 30 Men, Capt. Courtney 25, and my self 12; which, with about 30 Lascars or Indians, and Blacks, made 100 Men. The Breeze beginning to come off from the Shore at nine in the Evening, we all unmoor'd, and at twelve weigh'd, and ran out with a small Gale at N.W.

Wednesday, January 11, had little Wind in the Morning, and sometimes calm, and Capt. Rogers sent his Boat aboard all the Ships, with the following Letter.

[Short Allowance.]

*Capt. Courtney, Capt. Cook, Mr. Fry, and Mr. Stretton,
At Sea, Jan. 11, 1709/10*

Gentlemen, the Prize sailing so very heavy, it behoves us to provide for a long Passage: Our Allowance of Flower now bring two Pounds for five Men a-Day, is little; but having no Remedy, it must be less, and we ought to allow but one Pound and a half of Flower or Bread for five of our Men, and the same for six others. I do not doubt you'll agree with me, and have order'd that Allowance to begin this Day. I am your Friend to serve you,

Woodes Rogers.

This Day at Noon, Cape St. Lucas bore North, distant five Leagues. The Run from California being long, in an open Sea, and most before the Wind, there is not so much remarkable in it, as in other Passages of less Length; I have therefore here plac'd the following Journal-Table of the Voyage to the Island Guam.

This Table shewing our Course, the Winds, Latitudes, and other Particulars of that Nature, I shall proceed to what is otherwise material during the said Run to, and our Stay at the Island Guam, one of the Ladrones.

Sunday, January 15, 1709/10.

I observ'd that having had pleasant small Breezes of Wind at N.E. and some Weather since the 13th, and steer'd S.W. by S. yet made but a S.S.W. Course, it cannot be suppos'd that the Variation should occasion the Mistake, because that is there so small as scarce to be worth taking Notice of; and therefore it must be on Necessity caus'd by the Current. For Latitudes, &c. I refer to the Table.

A JOURNAL-TABLE of our *Voyage*, in the Ship the *Latitude* of 23 Deg. 10 Min. North; to the Island *Guam*, in the Latitude of 13 Deg. 30 Min. North, in the Year 1709.

Months and Days.	Course corrected.	Disla. sail'd.	Northings in Miles and Tenths.		Southings in Miles and Tenths.		Eastings in Miles and Tenths.		Westings in Miles and Tenths.		Latitude Observati	
			Miles.	Tenths.	Miles.	Tenths.	Miles.	Tenths.	Miles.	Tenths.	Deg.	M
Jan. 11, 12, 13	S. 24 Deg. W.	106	0	0	97	0	0	0	42	5	21	3
14, 15	S. S. W.	115	0	0	106	3	0	0	44	0	19	4
16, 17	S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	116	0	0	102	0	0	0	55	0	18	
18, 19	S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	120	0	0	93	0	0	0	76	0	16	3
20, 21	S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	146	0	0	92	0	0	0	113	0	15	
22, 23	W. 6 Deg. S.	236	0	0	28	2	0	0	234	2	14	3
24, 25	W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	250	0	0	24	5	0	0	248	8	0	
26, 27	W.	206	0	0	0	0	0	0	206	0	13	3
28, 29	W. 4 Deg. S.	180	0	0	12	0	0	0	279	0	13	2
30, 31	W.	260	0	0	0	0	0	0	260	0	13	2
Febru. 1, 2	W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	280	14	0	0	0	0	0	279	0	13	3
3, 4	W. 2 Deg. S.	290	0	0	10	0	0	0	275	0	13	2
5, 6	W.	240	0	0	0	0	0	0	240	0	13	2
7, 8	W. 2 Deg. S.	281	0	0	9	0	0	0	280	0	13	2
9, 10	W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	251	25	0	0	0	0	0	249	0	13	4
11, 12	W. 2 Deg. S.	270	0	0	9	4	0	0	269	7	13	3
13, 14	W. 2 Deg. N.	270	9	7	0	0	0	0	269	7	13	4
15, 16	W.	230	0	0	0	0	0	0	230	0	13	4
17, 18	W.	230	0	0	0	0	0	0	230	0	13	4
19, 20	W. 4 Deg. S.	271	0	0	19	0	0	0	270	0	13	2
21, 22	W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	212	0	0	20	0	0	0	210	0	0	
23, 24	W.	160	0	0	0	0	0	0	160	0	13	
25, 26	W.	195	0	0	0	0	0	0	195	0	13	
27, 28	W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	200	0	0	20	0	0	0	199	0	12	4
March 1, 2	W. by N.	240	35	0	0	0	0	0	237	4	13	2
3, 4	W.	290	0	0	0	0	0	0	290	0	13	2
5, 6	W.	115	0	0	0	0	0	0	115	0	13	2
7, 8	W.	176	0	0	0	0	0	0	176	0	13	2
9, 10	W. 2 Deg. N.	210	7	4	0	0	0	0	209	0	13	3
11	W.	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	47	0	13	3

This Day at Noon, the South Part of the Island *Guam*, bore *West* and by *South*, Distance 8 Leagues; and the *North*

Tuesday 17.

Saw several Sea-Fowls, which made me judge we were near some Islands.¹

Thursday 19.

Saw a Multitude of Craw-Fish swimming by us, and several Lumps, with Barnacles on them, which I did suppose to be Amber-Grease [sic = Gris]; but, for want of a Boat, could not take up any.

Saturday 21.

Saw several Shoals of Flying-Fish.

¹ Ed. note: At 18° lat. and between 2° and 3° west of the meridian of Cape San Lucas, the squadron was then sailing through the Revillagigedo Archipelago, near Roca Partida.

larquis, from Cape *St. Lucas* in the Island of *California*, in of 13 Deg. 30 Min. North, Longitude 100 Deg. 20 Min. West. Perform'd in th

Days per station.	Longi- tude.		Meridian Distance.		Winds.	Weather, and Bearings of the Land, &c.
	D.	M.	D.	M.		
33	0	42	0	42	N.W. to E.N.E.	Cape <i>St. Lucas</i> , N. 24 Deg. E. Dist. 106.
47	1	29	1	26	N.E.	Fine Weather, little Variation.
5	2	27	2	24	N. E. by E.	Fine Weather.
32	3	46	3	40	E. N. E.	Fine small Breezes and hot Weather.
0	5	43	5	33	N. E.	Fine Weather and fresh Breezes.
30	9	45	9	27	N. E.	Fine Weather, fresh Breezes, Variation 5 Deg. E.
6	14	3	13	36	N. E.	Fresh Gales and fine Weather, with some Squalls.
36	17	25	17	2	N. E.	Fresh Gales, with some Squalls, and fine Weather.
24	20	20	20	1	N. E. by E.	Moderate Gales and fine Weather.
25	25	0	24	21	E. N. E.	Fresh Gales, a <i>Negro</i> dy'd.
39	29	45	29	0	E. N. E.	Strong Gales and squally Weather, Variation $\frac{1}{2}$ Point E.
29	34	28	33	35	E. N. E.	Hard Gales and squally Weather.
29	38	36	37	35	E. by N.	Moderate Breezes and fine Weather.
20	43	26	42	5	E. N. E.	Fresh Breezes and fine Weather.
45	47	40	46	14	E. N. E.	Variation $\frac{1}{2}$ Point Easterly.
37	52	15	50	44	E. N. E.	Fresh Gales with some Squalls, Variation 6 Deg. E. (round the World.
47	56	38	55	14	E. N. E.	To this Day Noon, we want 3 Deg. 22 Min. to make up 180 Deg. being then half
47	60	32	59	4	E. by N.	Moderate Gales and fine Weather, Variation 7 Deg. E.
47	64	27	62	54	E. by N.	Moderate Breezes and pleasant Weather.
28	69	1	67	24	E. N. E.	Pleasant Gales and fine Weather, Variation 8 Deg. E.
8	72	36	70	54	E. N. E.	Small Breezes and hot Weather.
8	75	21	73	34	E. N. E.	Moderate Breezes and fine Weather. Variation 9 Deg. E.
8	78	41	76	59	E. N. E.	Moderate Breezes and very hot Weather, 1 Point E. Variation.
48	83	0	80	19	E. N. E.	Moderate Breezes, 12 Deg. E. Variation.
23	87	40	84	16	E. N. E.	Moderate Gales and fair Weather, 1 Point Variation.
23	90	55	87	26	E. N. E.	Moderate Breezes, &c. Last Night <i>George Rowell</i> dy'd.
23	92	53	89	21	E. N. E.	Small Breezes, Variation 10 Deg. E.
23	95	44	92	17	E. N. E.	Yesterday a <i>Negro</i> dy'd, small Gales, Variation 8 Deg. E.
30	99	30	95	47	E. N. E.	Moderate Breezes, Variation $\frac{1}{2}$ Point E.
30	100	20	96	34	E. N. E.	Fresh Gales and fine Weather.

r. North East and by East, Distance 8 Leagues.

Monday 23.

Our Ship proving very leaky, and no Possibility of coming to stop it, because in or near the Stern, was forc'd to stitch a Sail with Oakham, hang Weights to each Clew, and lower it down athwart the Cutwater, believing the Leak might suck in some of it.

Wednesday 25.

Perceiving our Bonnet had done the Leak but little Good, ran a-head the other Ships and brought to; but the Sea ran so high, that the Leak could not be stopp'd; and continuing bad, I got down our Top-Gallant Yards to ease the Ship more by the Stern, found she was not so leaky as before.

Thursday, February 2, 1709/10.

A hard Gale of Wind at E.N.E. and a great Sea following us, with several Squalls of Rain and Wind, which continu'd 'till the 4th, when we had moderate Breezes.

Wednesday 8.

Ran a-head again to stop the Leak; but there being a great Sea, could not come at it.

Friday 10.

Being in 13 Deg. 45 Min. North Latitude, and 47 Deg. 40 Min. Longitude West from Cape St. Lucas, observ'd by a good Amplitude, that we had half a Point Variation Easterly.¹

[Half round the Globe.]

Tuesday, February 14, 1709/10.

I reckon'd we were 3 Deg. 22 Min. short of 180 Degrees of Longitude from the Meridian of London, West, which would make half way round the Globe. About this Time had several Men ill, and some dropp'd down at the Pump and Helm; which, I suppose, was occasion'd by the Badness and Shortness of Provisions, therefore began to allow them more.

Monday 20.

Being in 13 Deg. 28 Min. Latitude North, and 69 Deg. 1 Min. Longitude, found above half a Degree Variation Easterly. More Men fell sick.²

Wednesday 22.

In 13 Deg. 8 Min. Latitude, and 72 Deg. 36 Min. Longitude from Cape St. Lucas, found about seven Degrees Easterly Variation.

Friday 24.

Still in 13 Deg. 8 Min. North Latitude, and 75 Deg. 22 Min. Longitude, nine Degrees Easterly Variation.

Sunday 26.

Stopp'd one of our Leaks.

Wednesday, March 8, 1709/10.

The Clouds settled to the Westward, we saw several Sea-Fowls, which made me conclude we should soon see the Islands Ladrões.

[Arrive at the Islands Ladrões.]

Friday 10.

At three in the Afternoon, made the Island Sarpana [i.e. **Rota**], one of the Ladrões, bearing W.N.W. distant 12 Leagues, and at Six the Island **Guam** bearing W. by S. distant 12 Leagues. Lay by most Part of the Night; and

Saturday 11, towards Morning, made Sail, the Wind at E.N.E. a fresh Gale, steer'd S.S.W. and S.W. At Noon, the South Part of the Island Guam bore W. by S. distant three Leagues, and the Northermost Part N. by E. distant 8 Leagues. Latitude per Estimation this Noon 13 Deg. 20 Min. Longitude from Cape St. Lucas 100 Deg. 19 Min.

1 Ed. note: Half a point is half of $11^{\circ}15'$, or $5^{\circ}37'$, but Dampier aboard the Duke only recorded a variation of 3° for that day (Doc. 1710A).

2 Ed. note: At this point, he had already overestimated his distance by 6° more than Dampier.

we gave the low Point at the S.W. a Berth, by Reason of the Shoals, then hal'd upon a Wind, and made several Trips.

At Six in the Evening came to an Anchor in Port Umata of the Island Guam, or Guana, in 15 Fathoms Water, at about a Mile Distance from the Houses, which bore E. by N. another Part of the Island bearing South, distant two Miles, and the Rock to the Northward, N.E. by N. from which runs a Ridge of Rocks to the Island, and a Shoal to the Eastward. We went in with French and Spanish Colours, that they might not suspect us to be Enemies. Several of their Boats, which they call *Paraos*, came about our Ships, but none would venture aboard, 'till, being off the Anchoring-Place, one was sent by the Spanish Governor, desiring to know who we were, what we wanted, and to shew us where to anchor. We presently sent away Mr. White, our Interpreter, and one Murphy, an Irish-man, taken in the *Batchelor*, with a Letter to the Governor, and detain'd a Spaniard, as Hostage, 'till their Return. He sent a very obliging Answer, promising to supply us with what the Island afforded, and sending some Refreshments at the same Time. Our Letter to him, and his Answer, were as follows.

The Letter to the Governor.

SIR,

We being Servants to her Majesty of Great Britain, and oblig'd to stop at these Islands in our Passage to the East-Indies, will not molest the Settlements, provided you deal friendly by us, and shall pay for all Provisions and Conveniencies, either in Money, or such Necessaries as you want. But if, after this civil Request, you deny us, and act not like a Man of Honour, you may expect such military Treatment, as we are with Ease able to give. This we have thought fit to give under our Hands, recommending to you our Friendship and kind Treatment, which we hope you'll esteem, and assure your self we shall then be with the strickest Honour,

Your assur'd Friends, and Humble Servants,

Tho. Dover, Woodes Rogers,

Steph. Courtney, Edw. Cooke.

To the Honourable the Governor of the Island Guam.

March the 11th, 1709/10.

The Governor's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I receiv'd a courteous Letter from you, the Bearer whereof acquainted me with your great Wants, and that you requested Refreshments, Wood, and Water; I answer you with the same Civility, and offer all I possibly can perform; but we have had a violent Distemper here, and bury'd abundance of our People. Tho' you are our Enemies, upon your paying for what you have, as you write in yours, I have order'd all under my

Command to offer no Injury to any of yours, and desire you will do the same, permitting to pass to and fro without Molestation. Capt. Don Antonio Gutierres [sic]¹ is my Friend, I have some Business with him, and desire you will let him come to me, and Capt. John Antony Pestana [sic = Retana] will remain in his stead. I also desire you will let me have all the Spanish Prisoners. I have order'd Capt. J. R.² to supply you with what we can.

Yours,

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel.

To the four Captains, viz, Woodes Rogers, Steph. Courtney, Tho. Dover, and E. Cooke.

Sunday, March 12, 1709/10.

Our Pinnaces went a-shore to the Watering-Place with some of our Officers, where they were civilly treated by a Spanish Captain, and other Officers at the Port of Umata. The Latitude and Longitude of this Place, is laid down wrong in most of our [English] Books and Charts, except Capt. Haley's Variation Chart,³ which comes very near the Matter, as well in this Run, as in our others; but none of our Authors that I have read, take any Notice of the Variation in these Parts, and we find it half a Point Easterly at this Island; and in our Passage to it, we had sometimes 12 Degrees.⁴ The Reason of this I take to be the Unevenness of the Globe of the Earth, and its unequal Mixture of much Matter differing in it self as to the magnetical Quality; as having large and stony Mountains, spacious Valleys, deep Seas, long Continents, high Promontories, with mighty scatter'd Rocks of Load-stone, Iron Mines, and other magnetical Substance.

We continu'd at Guam 'till Tuesday, March 21, 1709/10, which Time was spent in fitting, wooding, watering, and carrying off Provisions and Refreshments. The Spanish Gentlemen there treated us with all imaginable Civility, and supply'd us with the following Quantity of Provisions, asking nothing for them; but we apprais'd the said Provisions, and return'd the full Value in Goods they stood in need of, to their extraordinary Satisfaction.

1 Ed. note: Captain Gutierrez was the Master of the Encarnación.

2 Ed. note: His second-in-command, Capt. Juan Retana.

3 Ed. note: Captain Edmund Halley sailed in 1698 aboard the pink *Paramour* on a two-year voyage whose purpose was to measure terrestrial magnetism. The results of his observations of 1699 and 1700 had just been published in the form of a chart entitled: "Shewing the Variations of the Compass in the Western & Southern Oceans as Observed in ye Year 1700 by his Majesty's Command by Edm. Halley," when Rogers & Co. left England in 1708. Halley's chart was the first to reproduce this phenomenon as a set of plotted lines of equal variation (isogonic lines). Edmund Halley later became Astronomer Royal and became concerned with methods of finding longitudes.

4 Ed. note: This time he is in close agreement with Dampier, no doubt after he had a chance to confer with him. The maximum variation measured by Dampier was indeed 12°.

Provisions taken in at the Island Guam, and their Value.

	Dollars. ¹
4000 Coco Nuts, at 10 Dol. per 1000,	0040
100 Baskets of Maiz, or Indian Wheat, at 1 Dol. 4 R. per 2 Baskets,	0075
60 Bags of Rice and Paddy, ² at 2 Dol. per Bag,	0120
250 Baskets of Yams and Patatas, at 4 R. per Basket,	0125
360 Fowls small and great, at 2 Roy.	0090
220 Hogs small and great, at 4 Dol.	0880
51 Bullocks, at 14 Dol.	0714
8 Cows with Calves, at 18 Dol.	0144
300 of Eggs, at 2 Dol. per 100,	0006
	—
	2194

Liquors, &c.

3 Cases of Brandy, each containing 15 Bottles, at 15 Dol. per Case,	0045
4 Jars of Coco Wine, at 15 Dol. per Jar,	0060
3 Jars of Nipa Wine, at 10 Dol. per Jar,	0030
11 Jars of Bread, at 3 Dol. per Jar,	0033
3 Jars of Sugar, at 5 Dol. per Jar,	0015
2 Jars of Vinegar, at 5 Dol. per Jar,	0010
	—
	0193
	+ 2194
	—
Total,	2387

Value of Returns made for the above Provisions, &c.

	Dollars.
2 black Women, at	0225
2 black Men, at	0225
40 Pieces of good Bays, at 25 Dol. per Piece,	1000
12 Pieces of damnify'd Bays, at 10 Do. per Piece,	0120
6 Pieces of scarlet Shaloon, a little damag'd,	0180
20 Match-Locks, at 12 Dol. each,	0240
1 Box of Medals,	0120
1 Box of Relicks, Pictures, &c.	0157
6 Boxes of Nails, at 20 Dol. per Box,	0120
	—
Total,	2387

2 Black Boys, &c. a Present to the Governor.

The Governor, being lame, could not come Aboard us, but several of our Officers went to see him, whom he receiv'd and treated very civilly, we sending by them as a Present two black Boys in Liveries, and some other Things; for he liv'd not at the Port, but farther up to the Northward. None of our chief Commanders went to see him, but

1 Ed. note: Dollars = pesos; Royals = reals. One dollar = 8 royals.

2 Ed. note: Paddy rice is "palay", same as unhusked rice.

the Gentleman who is next to him in Command, came several Times, with other Officers, Aboard our Ships, and we went daily ashore to them, entertaining one another.

Monday the 20th of March, all the Spanish Gentlemen, and most of our Officers in chief, were Aboard together, to conclude all Affairs among us, where it was agreed to give Certificates on both Sides, of the good Usage each Party had receiv'd from the other, and were as follows:

Guam, March 21, 1709/10.

We the Commanders and chief Officers of four British private Ships of War and Prizes, do hereby acknowledge, that arriving at the Island of Guam, and in Want of Refreshments, we met with a kind and generous Reception from the Honourable Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor and Captain General of the Marian Islands, and Capt. Don Juan Antonio Pretana [sic = Retana], and other Officers and Gentlemen of the said Island, and were plentifully supply'd, in a shorter Time, and better Manner, than we could have expected. During our Stay here, we liv'd in a very Friendly Manner, and at our Departure, made such Presents to the said Gentlemen, in Return for the Necessaries they furnish'd us with, that they express'd themselves fully satisfy'd and contented therewith under their Hands, as on our Part we do the same,

<i>William Dampier,</i>	<i>Thomas Dover,</i>
<i>Robert Fry,</i>	<i>Woodes Rogers,</i>
<i>William Stretton,</i>	<i>Stephen Courtney,</i>
	<i>Edward Cooke.</i>

From the Lieutenant General Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor and Captain General of the Marian Islands, &c.

In his Name,

*Capt. Don Juan Antonio Prettana [sic = Retana] informs,
That four English Ships arriving at these Islands, whose Captains, are, Woodes Rogers, Stephen Courtney, Thomas Dover, and Edward Cooke, who came hither for Want of Provisions, they requested with much Courtesy, that we would spare them as much as we could, and they pay'd very liberally for it, more than double the Value, and treated all the Captains of this Island, with which they are well satisfy'd, and give it under their Hands,*

*Don Juan Antonio Prettana [sic = Retana],
Don Sebastian Luis Romez [sic = Gomez],
Don Nicholas de la Vega,
Don Juan Nunez.*

The Surgeons, also belonging to the Ships, sign'd the following Certificate.

We the Surgeons of the Duke, Dutchess, Marquis, and Batchelor, having view'd Senor Antonio Gomez Figueroa, a Spaniard, it is our Opinion, that he cannot live long at Sea, and therefore acquiesce with the Commanders to let him go ashore at the Island

of Guam, to recover his Health, there being no Probability of carrying him to Great Britain.

Witness our Hands, this 21st Day of March 1709/10.

*James Wasse,
John Barry,
John Ballet,
Charles May.*

The Day before the signing of the above Certificates, a Committee was held on Board the Marquis, the Result whereof was as follows.

It is agreed, that we shall steer from hence a W. by S. Course, to go clear of some Islands that lie in our Way; and then we think it proper to steer a direct Course for the S.E. Part of Mindanao, and from thence the clearest Way to Ternate. It is also farther agreed, that Capt. Rogers shall deliver to Morrow Morning unto Capt. Courtney, one Chest of Plate and Money, to be put on board the Dutchess.

<i>Joh. Ballet,</i>	<i>W. Stretton,</i>	<i>T. Dover, Presid.</i>
<i>W. Dampier,</i>	<i>Cha. Pope,</i>	<i>Woodes Rogers,</i>
	<i>T. Glendal,</i>	<i>Steph. Courtney,</i>
	<i>J. Connelly,</i>	<i>Edward Cooke,</i>
		<i>Robert Fry.</i>

The Prisoners taken Aboard the Acapulco, or Manila Ship, except such as were necessary to condemn the said Prize, were, according to our Promise made to the Governor, set ashore.

Chap. II. A brief Account of the Marian Islands, commonly call'd Ladrones; Description of the Island Guam, or Iguana; the Islands of Solomon; Paraos, a Sort of Boats; the Rima, Ducdu, Areca, and Pine-Apple Fruits, &c.

[Ladrones Islands]

The Island Guam is one of those most generally known by the Name of *Islas de los Ladrones*, or Islands of Thieves, from the natural Inclination of the Natives to stealing. The famous Magellan, who first sail'd through the Streight of his Name, into the South Sea, was the first Discoverer of these Islands, and gave them this Name of *Ladrones*, because the Natives coming Aboard his Ships, would snatch up every Thing of Iron they could lay hold on, and leap over Board; which Practice they afterwards continu'd with other Ships passing by, and by that Means confirm'd the Denomination. The same Magellan call'd them also *Islas de las Velas*, or Islands of Sails,¹ from the great Num-

¹ Ed. note: Magellan never called them by that name, but the misinformation continued, as Cooke here simply parrots this description from previous authors.

ber of Paraos, or Boats resorting to his Ships, which had three-corner'd Sails, made of Mats. The Spaniards, who are the only constant Traders in those Parts, having found it convenient to settle on some of them, for supplying of their Ships with Provisions and Refreshments, have rejected both those Names, and given that of the Marian Islands, that is, Islands of St. Mary.¹ Their Distance from New Spain is generally reckon'd between 2300 and 2400 Leagues; and, by our Reckoning, from Cape St. Lucas in California, it is about 2000 Leagues. The constant Trade-Winds which reign between the Tropicks, are the Occasion of rendering this long Run extraordinary easy; and it is generally performed in about 60 Days, some few over or under.² As to their Number and Position, they will be best seen in the Charts and Maps of the Islands of India.

[Guam Island.]

The Island where our Ships now anchor'd, is call'd **Guam**, Guana, or Iguana, lying in 13 Deg. 30 Min. of North Latitude, and 100 Deg. 20 Min. Longitude from Cape St. Lucas in California, and bears S.S.W. from Sarpana, another of the Ladrones, distant 8 Leagues. The S.W. Part of it is high, but the N.E. is low Land. The Valleys are very pleasant, having curious open Plains, Rivulets, and in some Places fine Groves of Trees. The Length of the Island from N.E. to S.W. is about 10 Leagues, the Breadth six. The Land on the Hills is red, and in the Vales a good fat black Soil; which, if manur'd, would certainly produce any Thing that is necessary for the Support of human Life.

[Products.]

At present it affords Rice, Plantans, Bananas, Yams, Patatas, Rima, or Bread Fruit, Ducdu, Pine-Apples, Coco Nuts, Areca Nuts, Maiz, or Indian Wheat, Indigo, Jacas [i.e. jack-fruits], Oranges, large Lemons, Limes, Guavas, Papas [i.e. papaws, or papayas], Chaddocks [sic], Water and Mush [rather Musk] Melons, small *Garvanzos*, that is, Spanish Pease [sic = chick-peas], Capers in Abundance, and Pompions [i.e. squashes].

[Beasts, Birds, and Fishes.]

For Beasts, they have Black Cattel, Horses, Swine, Sheep, and Deer; and of Fowl, Hens, Pigeons, Curlious, a Sort like our Black-Birds,³ and Thrushes. There is no great Variety of Fishes, the chief Sorts being Grampusses [i.e. dolphins], Thrashers [i.e. sharks], Flying Fish, some Eels, and small Fish like Old Wives [rather alewives], Crawfish, and a small Sort like our Gudgeons, in the fresh Water Rivers and Brooks; and among the Rocks, by the Sea-side, large Scollops. Venemous Creatures there are none, except the Centipes.

[Garrison and Churches.]

At the port of Umatta, and another Place where the Governor resides, there are about 100 Spanish Soldiers, commanded by the Captain-General of these Marian Islands. In this Island there are two Churches, and three Jesuits, who instruct the Indians

1 Ed. note: Nevertheless, the English continued to refer to the Marianas as the Ladrones well into the 20th century.

2 Ed. note: Add 10 days for a departure from Acapulco.

3 Ed. note: Called Urracas by the Spanish.

in the Christian Faith.¹ The King of Spain is at the Charge of maintaining them, and the Garrisons here and at Sarpana, only these two Islands being at present inhabited by the Spaniards, as they have been for these 40 Years past, to supply their Ships trading from New Spain, to the Philippine Islands, with Refreshments. From hence runs a Ridge of Islands at some Distance from each other to the Northward, to above 20 Degrees of Latitude, and to the Southward there are others scatter'd about almost as far as the Coast of New Guinea.

I have here given a View of the Island Guam, or Iguana, as taken at Port Umatta.

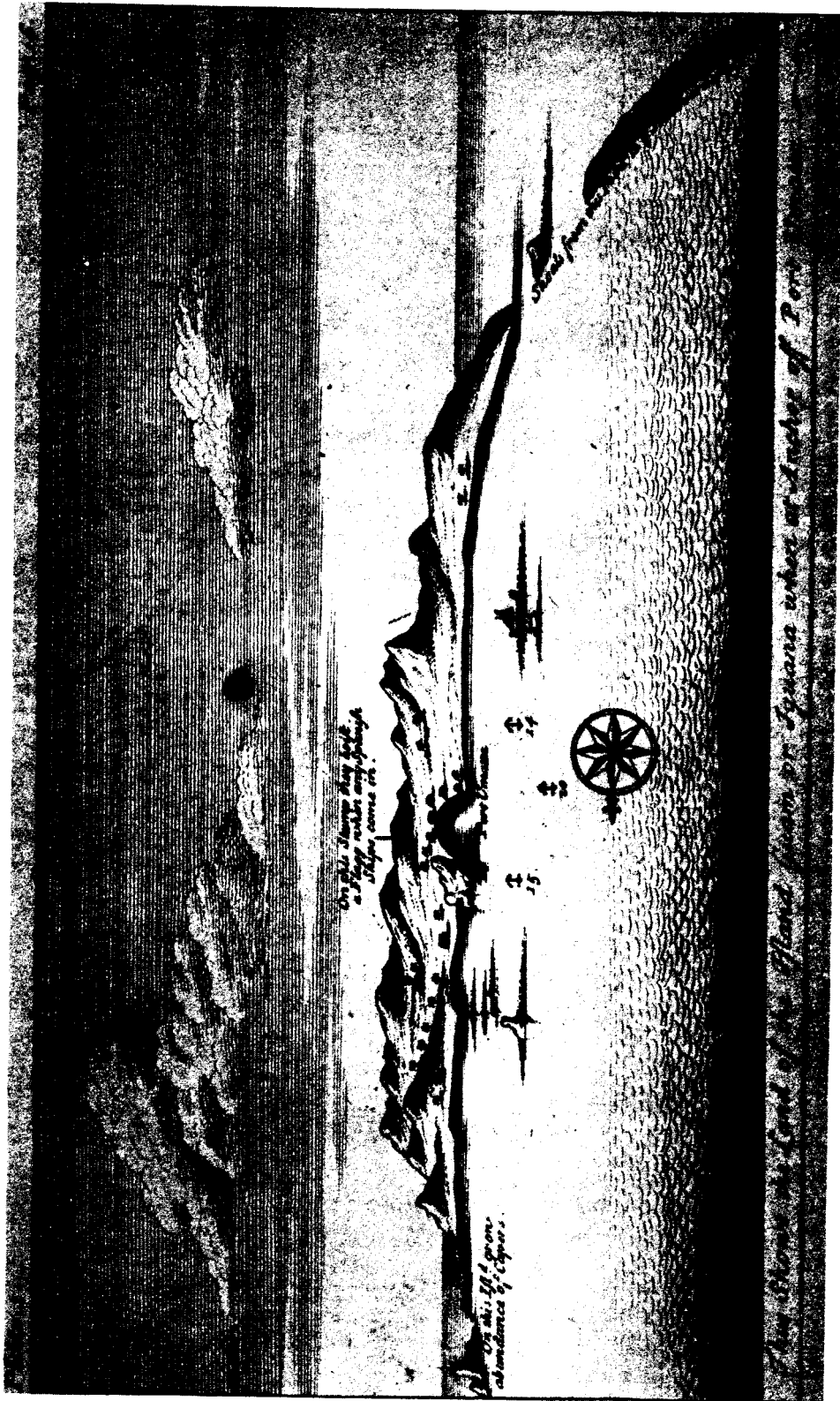
[Islands of Solomon.]

The Spaniards at Guam, or Iguana, inform'd us, that a Ship of theirs sailing formerly from Manila for New Spain, discover'd a Parcel of Islands very pleasant, and abounding in Gold, Amber-Grease, and other valuable Commodities, and gave them the Name of the Islands of Solomon. They say several Ships have been since sent out in quest of those Islands, but could never find them; and some Paraos, which have ventur'd upon the same Discovery, not knowing how to steer, when out of Sight of Land, have never more been heard of. These Islands some place in 15 Deg. 20 Min. of North Latitude, and 300 Leagues to the Eastward of the Ladrones. Others will have them to be in 14 Degrees South.² The aforesaid Ship having been drove by Stress of Weather upon an Island, it appear'd that the Agitation of the Vessel had remov'd all the Earth from about the Hearth of the Furnace, which was supply'd with some taken from the said Island. When this Ship arriv'd at Acapulco, removing that Earth, they found under it a Mass of Gold, which the violent Heat of the Furnace had melted, and separated from the Earth. The Commander surpriz'd at this unexpected Accident, acquainted the Vice-Roy of Mexico, and he the King, who fitted out some Ships to find the said Island. They kept to the Southward of the Line, and could not find it, only one of those five Ships returning Home to New Spain. I am of their Opinion, who believe it must be to the Northward of the Line, because the Ship which is said first to have found it, being bound for New Spain, must of Necessity keep well to the Northward, else could not make the Passage by Reason of the Trade-Winds between the Tropicks.

This my Opinion is grounded, as above, on the suppos'd Discovery made by the Ship bound from Manila for New Spain; however, the Fragment we have of the Discovery made of the Islands of Solomon, seems to place them to the Southward of the Line, which was by Ships sent from Peru; and in it there is no Notice taken, where they mention Latitudes, of their passing ever to the Northward. That Relation is so maim'd and imperfect, that it gives us little Light for finding of those Islands, which are there very advantageously represented; but since we have so little Knowledge of them, it will be proper to return to the Ladrones, or Marian Islands.

1 Ed. note: Captain Cooke had not bothered to get more accurate information.

2 Ed. note: The author has confused the legend of Rica de Oro with the real story of the Solomon Islands of Mendaña.



(Facing page:) **“Thus Shows the Land of the Island Guam or Iguana when at Anchor off Port Umatta.”**—Engraved by H. Hulsberg. The view is of the southwestern side of Guam, from Facpi Point on the left to Cocos Island on the right. The anchoring places and depths of 3 ships are shown. Note on the left: “On this Island grow abundance of Capers.” In top center: “On this Stump they hoist a Flagg when any Spanish Ships come in.” The stump in question is badly shown; the arrow should point to Fort Santo Angel on the north (i.e. left) side of the port. The note on the right reads: “Shoals from this Point to the Southward of ye Island.”

[Natives of the Ladrones.]

The Natives of them are of a dark Complexion, not so black as the Indians of California, but most of them the largest and best limb'd Men I ever saw, and some of them very hairy and strong. The Women are strait and tall; near about where the Spaniards reside, they have something to cover their Privities, but a League farther up, they go stark naked, both Men and Women. The savage Part of them are said to eat white Men, if they take them, and drink their Blood, devouring all they catch raw.¹ Some have no peculiar Worship; but the most pay their Adoration to the Sun, the Moon, and several other Creatures, according to every Man's particular Fancy. One arm'd Spaniard will beat 40 of them. They are very dexterous at catching of Fish, and building and managing their flying Paraos, which I shall describe below.

[Temperature.]

We found the Weather very hot here, and yet the Island is counted very healthy, by Reason of the fresh Trade-Wind continually blowing; however, many of the peaceable Indians have dy'd of late of the Leprosy, and I saw several who had it when we were there, but all the White Men were clear.

There is good Anchoring here, in clean Ground, within less than a Mile off the Shore, in 10 or 12 Fathom Water, right off the Village of Umatta, the Wind generally blowing off the Shore. The little Mr. Funnel² says of this Island, and Parts about it, is not to be regarded, being all contrary to what I have found, and perhaps only taken upon Hearsay. Cowley's Voyage³ has as little of Truth; for he makes it 14 Leagues long, and talks of 600 Spaniards in Garrison there; which is all false, as may be seen by what has been said above.

[Umatta Port.]

At Umatta there is a large House for the Governor, built after the Spanish Fashion, with Galleries about it, for Coolness. The Church is of Boards and Bamboes split, and cover'd with Palmito Leaves, as is the House for the Priest, and the Guard-House; besides which, there are several Pens for Cattel and Fowl, and many Indian Huts, all

1 Ed. note: Obviously, Cooke's description is not to be relied on for the truth.

2 Ed. note: William Funnell (see Doc. 1705B).

3 Ed. note: His previous voyage (see Doc. 1685Z).



of Bamboe and Palm-Tree Leaves. About these Houses grow the several Sorts of Fruit above-mention'd.

A Ship comes hither once a-Year from Manila, with Necessaries for the Spaniards inhabiting the two Islands. I saw no Fortification at this Place; but it is likely, and we are told by others, that there is a small Castle up the Country, where the Governor resides, to curb the Natives.

[Description of Chamorro canoes, or flying proas]

[Paraos Boats.]

The flying Paraos of this Island, are very unaccountable, as well for their strange Make, as for their extraordinary swift sailing. They are made of two Trees hollow'd, like a Canoe, and sew'd together with strong fine Sinnet, made of the Threads of some of the Palm-Trees. When laden, they draw between a Foot and a half, and two Foot Water, being built sharp, and not above three Inches broad at the Bottom, and 20 Inches at the Top, and about 35 Foot in Length. Being so narrow, they have two Out-leakers, eight Foot distant, plac'd in the middle, always on the Weather-side, and about 12 Foot long, with a Log at the Ends of the Out-leakers, made fast with Stantions [rather stanchions] of two Foot long to the Log, which is about 15 Foot long, and made in the Shape of the Bottom of the Parao, which always swims in the Water, and keeps her steady; the Lee-side of the Parao being built near upon a Line, and the Weather-side rounding, for which Reason they are the best Boats in the World upon a Wind. They have but one Mast of about 20 Foot long, and a Sail made of a Mat, three corner'd, like that of a Settie [sic],¹ about 21 Foot deep at the Leech,² with a Yard 25 Foot long, and a Boom of the same Length at the Foot of the Sail, with the Sheet made fast two Thirds out of the Boom, the Sail being lash'd both at the Yard and Boom, and the Boom lash'd at the Foot of the Yard. No Sort of Boats whatsoever can come near them for Swiftness in Sailing; for by Report of the Spaniards of this Island, they will run above 20 Leagues [sic] an Hour. Don Juan Antonio Pretana [rather Retana] told us, he would lose his Head if they did not perform it; and because we thought it incredible, he affirm'd that one he had presented us, and design'd to bring for England, would sail 30 Leagues in an Hour. I could not believe it; but have seen them sail at a prodigious Rate.

When they turn to Windward, and design to stand the other Way, they let go the Sheet, and shift the Tack to the End the Sheet was at, placing the Tack, or End of the Yard, in a Notch cut in the Thaughts [rather thwarts] at each End of the Parao for that Purpose; and that which was the Stern before, thus becomes the Head; either End going foremost, there being no Difference in the Built of them, but the same still remains, and always is the Weather-side. Most of these Boats are painted red above the Water, and black below. A Board, about eight Inches broad, is made fast on the Weather-side, from

1 Ed. note: Also settee; an old English word, taken from the Spanish word *saetia*, and/or the Italian word *saettia*. It was a boat with lateen sails; *trabaque* in French (ref. O'Scanlan's Dictionary).

2 Ed. note: The leech is the free end, or outside edge, of the sail.

End to End, to keep the Sea out; and for carrying of Goods or Passengers, they lay Boards a-cross the Out-leakers, about two Foot out from the Side of the Parao, where they place them hanging over the Water. There are generally three Indian Sailors in these Boats, one being always in the middle to lade out the Water, which comes in thro' the Seams, and over the Sides; the other two sit at each End of the Boat, to steer with a Paddle in the Lee-Quarter, shift the Sail, and hale aft the Sheet. The Mast stands with a Fork at the End of it, upon the middle Piece of the Out-leaker, from which comes a forked Pole, made fast four Foot up from the Step of the Mast, to keep it from falling to Windward. The Mast always hangs forward; when they shift the Sail, and stand the other Way, they ease one Stay, and hale the other forward for that Purpose. See it exactly represented, Plate 2, Numb. 1.

[Rima, or Bread-Tree.]

I shall only add three or four Sorts of Fruit I took most particular Notice of. The *Rima* is a great Tree, as big as the Walnut, with large Leaves, having five Indentures on each Side. The Flower is oblong, of a yellow Colour, and a Pith, or Down within. The Fruit is as big as a Man's Head, of a Date Colour when ripe, and a rough Outside; which boil'd or bak'd, is us'd instead of Bread, and serves the Natives for six Months. Cut in Slices, and dry'd in the Sun, it eats like Bisket. The Leaves serve the Cattel for Provinder, as well as those of the *Ducdu*. See it Plate 2, Numb. 2.

[Ducdu Tree.]

The *Ducdu* is like the *Rima*, both in Tree and Fruit, bating that the latter is more oblong, and has about 14 or 15 Kernels in it, about as big as a Chesnut, and taste very like them when roasted, being all that is eaten of this Fruit. The Leaves are not so much indented as those of the *Rima*. You have the Figure of it Plate 2, Numb. 3.

[Areca Tree.]

The *Areca* Tree is like the Palm, but slenderer, and not so high. It bears a Bunch or Cluster of Fruit or Nuts, inclos'd in a Case or Husk, like the Coco-Nut, about as big as a Nutmeg, and not unlike it when cut. This Nut is chew'd with *Betele* [rather Betel] Leaves and Lime all over India, making the Teeth black and the Lips red; but reputed by the Natives, and all that use it, an excellent Preservative against the Tooth-ach and Scurvy, most of them being free from rotten Teeth, tho' of a great Age. It is represented, Plate 2, Numb. 4.

[Pine-Apple Fruit.]

The Pine-Apple grows on a Stalk, about two Foot above the Ground, from amidst a Parcel of Leaves, not unlike the *Sempervivum*, or our House-Leek, only the Leaves are two or three Foot long. The Fruit is oblong, about a Span in Length, yellow within, with Knobs or Squares on the Outside; whence it has the Name of a Pine-Apple, because resembling those which grow on our Pine-Trees. When ripe, it is yellow and red, with a Tuft of Leaves on the Top. It's Taste partakes of the Sweet and Sowre, with a most delicious Flavour, extraordinary pleasant. Some eat it with Sugar and Water. It is reckon'd very wholesom, tho' of a very hot Nature, insomuch that they affirm a Knife

left sticking in it a whole Day, loses its Temper; yet it has no hot biting Taste, and is esteem'd by all Europeans as a most excellent Fruit. See this, Plate 2, Numb. 5.

[Yellow-Tail Fish.]

The only particular Sort of Fish I took Notice of here, is a Species of Yellow-Tail, about 12 Inches long, and three in Breadth, having a small long Head, with a large Mouth and Eye, a Feather Fin on his Back, which runs to his large forged [rather forked] Tail. His other Fins and Tail as in the Figure, Plate 2, Numb. 6. His Back of a dark Yellow, the Belly of a Silver Colour. On his Sides, from Head to Tail, has two Streaks of Blue, and three of Yellow, the Tail and Fins Yellow.¹

[A Fish-hook.]

The Fish-hooks these People use, are made of a large Bone, with a small one fix'd in it, looks white, and when tow'd in the Water, the Dolphin takes Hold of it, and is caught. See it represented Plate 2, Numb. 7.

Chap. III. Sail from the Island Iguana; see some small Islands...

Tuesday, March 21, 1709/10, in the Morning the **Duke** and **Dutchess** fir'd each of them a Gun, as a Signal to unmoor. At Eight the Dutchess, **Batchelor**, and **Marquis** weigh'd, and made easy Sail. Soon after the Duke came off with a small Breeze of Wind at N.E. At Noon the Body of the Island Iguana bore E.N.E. distant six Leagues.

[Departure from Guam.]

Thursday 23.

From our leaving the Island Iguana, to this Day, had moderate Gales of Wind at N.N.E. with some Showers of Rain, and close hot Weather, and steer'd away W.S.W. with half a Point Allowance for the Variation. Our Course to this Day Noon but W. by S. Distance 210 Miles, Westing 200, Southing 60, Latitude per Observation and Estimation 12 Deg. 30 Min. North, Meridian Distance from the Island Iguana 3 Deg. 30 Min.

Friday 24.

At Night, by a good Amplitude, found we had still half a Point of Easterly Variation, and believe we had a Current that set us to the Northward. Course to Saturday 25 at Noon W. quarter S.

Sunday 26.

In the Morning, judging our selves to the Westward of the Islands Saavedra, &c.² steer'd away S.W. by S. and at Night, by a good Amplitude, had five Degrees of Easterly Variation, Latitude 10 Deg. 45 Min. North, Meridian Distance from the Island Iguana 8 Deg. 35 Min. West. Since our leaving that Island, Capt. Courtney, in the Dutchess, kept a-head, with a Light by Night, and every Day made Sail a-head of the other Ships, to discover any Danger before Night, and in the Evening brought to. I kept be-

1 Ed. note: This fish is not specifically identified by Amesbury & Myers, but seems to be a member of the jack family, related to the Rainbow Runner.

2 Ed. note: A reference to some Caroline Island group on their old charts.

tween him and the Prize, bringing to when the Dutchess did, and putting out Lights for the Prize; and when she came in Sight, made Sail again towards the Dutchess.

Thursday, March 30, 1710.

We had now passed several small scattering Islands, as the Matalotes, Arrecifes, &c. but saw none of them, which we must have done, had they been right laid down in our Charts; yet I suppose we could not be far from them, having seen several small Birds. This Day Capt. Courtney and I went Aboard the Duke, and there agreed to steer away half a Point more Westerly, being to the Southward of the Shoals which lie off the afore-said Islands. We farther agreed, as follows:

[Signals for keeping Company, &c.]

The Dutchess to be a-head, the Duke next, the Marquis third, and the Batchelor last, all at a convenient Distance.

In case the Dutchess saw any Danger in the Night, she was to show a Light over the Poop-Light, and fire a Gun, making an easy Sail from it, so that the rest might be near enough to have sufficient Warning. Each Ship to answer with two Lights, and fire a Gun.

In case the head-most Ship found it most proper to lie by, she was to show another Light, and fire two Guns, the least Light to be kept at the Bowsprit-Head, but if to continue under Sail, only the first Signal to be made. When all Signals were answer'd, so as to satisfy each Ship, then to keep a single Light out all Night; and if the head-most Ship, or any other, found the first Soundings in the Night, she was to show three Lights of an equal Height on her Poop, or Bow; if less than 30 Fathom, to show three Lights, two equal, and one over them. The Dutchess generally had a Light at the Mizzen Peak, which was not design'd for a Signal, but to know the Ship.

Monday, April 2, 1710.

These Days past the Weather extreamly hot, several Sharks and other Fish were about our Ships, some of which we took. Judg'd we had a strong Current setting us to the Southward, farther than could be expected, which I perceiv'd by an indifferent Observation this Day at Noon, having had none some Days, by Reason the Sun was near the Zenith; found now 5 Deg. 45 Min. Latitude North, Longitude from the Island Iguana 12 Deg. 18 Min. West.

Wednesday 5.

Latitude per Observation and Estimation 3 Deg. 45 Min. North, Longitude from the Island Iguana 13 Deg. 8 Min. West; perceiv'd a strong Northerly Current, and at least five Degrees Variation.

Monday 10.

Split my Main Top-Sail, and was forc'd to bend another. At Two in the Afternoon made a **pleasant small low Island** [i.e. Tobi], bearing E.S.E. distant about six Leagues, not laid down in any of our Charts. It is very low Land, and full of Trees; and I made it to lie in the Latitude of 2 Deg. 55 Min. North...





Document 1710C

Governor Pimentel reports the visit of English pirates

*Sources: AGI Fil. 129-4-122 (formerly 68-3-11); copy in AGI Ultramar 561, letter #10 of 1710.
Note: The pirates in question were Englishmen under the command of Woodes Rogers.*

Letter from Governor Pimentel to the King, dated Agaña 13 April 1710

Original text in Spanish.

*El Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Marianas da cuenta à V.M. de que los corsarios Ingleses aportaron à esta de Umata en la Isla de Guajan, dia 22 de Marzo con quatro fragatas de Guerra, y de ellas supo, que la una de ellas, era la Almiranta de Filipinas, **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, que la apresaron junto al Cabo de San Lucas, costa de la Nueva España, el dia 2 de Enero, por no ir prevenida de jaretas y defensivos, y haberse adelantado tres dias à su Capitana, que esta fue acometida de dichos Corsarios con tres fragatas, repetidas veces en discurso de 48 horas, pero su General D. Fernando Angulo se defendió con valor y gallardía, matandoles mucha gente, y maltratandoles dichas fragatas, obligandoles à ceder el campo, y retirarse aceleradamente. Que no pudo dicho Gobernador hacerles ostilidad alguna, por la poca gente que tiene aquel Presidio. Pido aumento de ella, y los situados correspondientes. Y que V.M. se sirva de ordenar al Virrey de Nueva España le provea de arcabuces, y mosquetes Vizcaynos, por la falta que tiene de ellos.*

Señor

Pongo en la noticia de V.M. como el dia 22 de Marzo proximo pasado de este año, entre diez y once de la mañana, me vinieron à avisar, que à la vista del Pueblo de Pago, dos leguas de esta Ciudad en su contra costa à la parte del Sureste, se havian avistado

(Previous pages:) **Ruins of Fort Santo Angel, at Umatac, Guam, in 1959.**
This fort was built before 1710, because its presence was first recorded by pirate Captain Cooke in 1710. In modern times, ironwood trees have replaced the iron cannon as lonely vigils. (Photos courtesy of the late Mr. Domingo Abella, who appears in second photo).

cuatro vageles de alto bordo con banderas de Borgoña apreados à la ensenada de dicho Pueblo, y discurriendo, que serian corsarios ó piratas, despaché al punto centinelas vigilantes que observasen sus movimientos, para prevenir los daños que pudiesen ocasionar, al mismo instante hice despacho à todos los religiosos misioneros de esta Isla de Guajan, avisandoles de la vista de dichos vageles, y encargandoles, que consumiesen los depositos de sus Iglesias, y con la plata labrada, y alhajas de ellas, se retirasen à los montes, hasta imbestigar que gente conducian, de donde venian, y à donde iban.

Y pasado una hora tube segundo despacho, en que me avisaban como todos cuatro vageles seguian su derrota, por aquella contra costa al Puerto de Umata, que es el principal de esta Isla. Y teniendo recogida la poca gente de situacion que tiene este Campo, sali con ella la buelta del Pueblo de Agat, cercano à dicho Puerto de donde comboqué à Junta de Guerra, à los Oficiales y reformados de el, a quienes propuse si sería conveniente pasar al referido Puerto de Umata, ó esperar en el dicho de Agat, nuevos avisos de los exploradores, que por todas partes despaché en cuidadoso desvelo, y antes de anochecer se me dió aviso de haber surgido dichos cuatro bajeles, en aquel Puerto, que habian quitado las banderas de Borgoña, y puesto las blancas en señal de paz. Luego despaché en una barquilla à un flamenco buen marinero, para que reconociese, de que corona eran aquellos vasos, y gente de ellos (à causa de no haberse atrevido à saltar en tierra)[.] de este supieron la cercania, en que me hallaba, y luego dispusieron los cuatro Cabos principales de ellos escribirme carta cortesana, y politica, espresando en ella, que la necesidad de bastimentos, agua, y leña los habia conducido à dicho Puerto: que me sirviese de proveerles de los frutos de la tierra, y asegurando su puntual satisfacion, y que no harian hostilidad alguna en ella, por vida de su reyna Ana de Inglaterra.

*Este despacho me hizieron con el ayudante de General, ó capitan mayor de ellos que hacia oficio de interprete: este me dixo ser nacido en esa Corte de Madrid, de Padre Irlandes, y Madre Española, que habia corrido toda la Europa, y reino del Peru, atravesandolo hasta Buenos Ayres, de que dió plenissima noticia. Este me informó que à principios de Julio de 1708, habia despachado dicha reyna Ana, del rio de Londres dos fragatas de guerra, con setecientos cincuenta hombres escogidos y expresa orden de que corriesen las costas del Perú, y Nueva España, que en ellas habian hecho 21 presas de vageles de todos portes con mucho interes en ellas. Que habian saqueado la Ciudad de Guayaquil, por la poca resistencia de sus vecinos, y que ultimamente se habian retirado al Cabo de S. Lucas costa de Nueva España, cerca de la ensenada de las Californias, à esperar en virtud de la orden de dha su Reyna, las Naos de Filipinas, que el dia dos de Enero avistaron à la Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, y que al punto salieron à embestirla, con dichas dos fragatas, y otra que habian quitado à unos franceses, abordandola todas tres, y de la primera roceada que le dieron de Artilleria y escopeteria, mataron al Piloto mayor, y su acompañado, y otros siete, ú ocho sugetos de menor cuenta por cogerlos à cuerpo descubierto sin los reparos de jaretas y defensivos, quedando herido el Almirante francés de un artillazo, y viendo este que no habia mas que dos hombres que defendiesen dicha Almiranta, que eran el Capitan D. Antonio Gutierrez, Maestre de ella, y su Guardian, por que los demas oficiales, y pasageros,*

*se havian metido debajo de cubierta, mando arrear el estandarte en señal de rendimiento, que al punto pasaron à dicha Almiranta cien ingleses, que la conduxeron à la ensenada, para que no fuese vista de la Capitana. Esta fue descubierta à los tres dias despues de lo referido, y al instante salieron à ella con dichas tres fragatas, juzgando llevarsela con [la misma] facilidad que à la Almiranta, pero la hallaron tan bien armada y fortificada con jaretas dobles y otros reparos, y defensivos, y à son de batalla que no pudieron descubrir un hombre solo à quien hacer blanco de sus tiros, que les causó espanto, y ansi que la abordaron diversas veces, en discurso de cuarenta y ocho horas, nunca pudieron hechar su gente en ella, ni hacer mella en el vaso los tiros de su artilleria, experimentando los enemigos que los de la Capitana pasaban de claro en claro sus vageles, que sus arboles estaban rendidos, y para caer de los balazos que dicha Capitana les habia dado, y que les habia muerto, y herido mucha gente, trataron de huir y alejarse de dicha Capitana; esta quedo manteniendo el Campo de la batalla, desafiandolos à balazos, para que bolbiesen à ella, pero no les combenia, por que sus vageles hacian mucha agua, y temian irse à pique confiesan los enemigos, que si dicha Capitana hubiera menudeado mas sus tiros de artilleria, hubiera dado al traves con ellos, por que no malogró tiro: y dicen que la Nao, **Nuestra Señora de Vegofia**, no es vagel sino castillo roquero, por su gran resistencia, y no se han querido persuadir, à que el General D. Fernando de Angulo, sea Español sino extrangero por el gran valor y gallardia, que mostró en la defensa de su Capitana; luego que esta perdieron de vista, dieron la buelta à dicha ensenada, donde tenian oculta la Almiranta, que incorporaron con sus tres vageles, y dieron libertad à dicho Almirante, Oficiales, y Pasajeros, à quienes dieron otra fragata del Perú, que traian prisionera, para que en ella se fuesen à Acapulco.*

Tambien rescato dicho Almirante dos prisioneros de cuenta que traian de Guayaquil, obligandose à pagar por su rescate tres mil pesos, por cuya accion generosa dieron los Corsarios à dicho Almirante, mas de veinte mil pesos en generos nobles. Y asegura dicho interprete, que si dicho General Angulo hubiera llegado à presumir, que su Almiranta era presa del enemigo, y que estaba en la ensenada se hubiera arrojado à ella para libertarla.

Las veinte y una presas y saqueo de Guayaquil, computan los Corsarios en mas de siete millones, sin la Almiranta y su carga, que llevan intacta à su Reyna, por haber deseado con extremo ver una Nao de Filipinas, que por nuestras culpas y mal gobierno, à conseguido su ambicion y vanidad. En ella llevan al Capitan y Maestre D. Antonio Gutierrez, para que de razon de toda la carga, con cuya noticias y cartas que recibí de dicho Capitan y Maestre, en que me protesta no me acerque à ellos por el mucho poder que traen, ni me fié de su palabra: respondí à la carta de dichos cuatro Cabos Superiores con la misma urbanidad, y cortesania, ofreciendo condescender con su ruego, habiendolos con los frutos del pais no pidiendo por ello mas precio que el rescate de la Santisima Virgen, Patrona de dicha Almiranta, y otras reliquias de Roma, que supe havian cogido en las presas: la libertad de dicho D. Antonio Gutierrez, y otros treinta marineros y grumetes de ella que tenian prisioneros, y que no ejecutasen hostilidad alguna en la Isla, como lo observaron puntualisimamente conminando con pena de muerte al

que de su gente se atreviese à coger una naranja, de que da mucho esta tierra, condescendiendo en la libertad de marineros y grumetes que dexaron en tierra, y solo contradixeron lo de dicho Gutierrez, por llevarle para el fin espresado, y le han ofrecido que llegados à Londres, le debolberan todo quanto constare ser suyo por factura y registro.

Detuvieron en aquel Puerto doce días (que fueron necesarios) que fueron necesarios para conducirles los viveres y vituallas, saliendo de el muy gustosos, y aficionados à la Isla, que dieron à entender ser buena, para su Reyna, y que de aqui à dos años bolverian à ella con mayor poder. Y no dudo Señor que si lo intentan lo consigan, por que esto está vendido por la poca resistencia, que se les puede hacer con ciento treinta plazas que tiene de situacion repartidas en tres Compañias, las dos de Infanteria Española, y la una de naturales Filipinos en que entran los oficiales de las primeras planas, pues aunque las he alargado à 168, con el fin del descubrimiento de las Carolinas, que quise anticipar en uno de dos barcos que halle en esta Ciudad, que tengo renovado para el efecto.

Mas considerando que las Naos de Filipinas, salen muy mal aviadas por la ambicion de sus moradores y principales Gefes, quienes las cargan tanto que no pueden manegar la artilleria, ni ser Señores de si, y de las mares, resolvi despachar el otro barco con aviso de lo referido al Conde Lizarraga, actual Gobernador de aquellas islas, para que como tan leal vasallo de V.M. y celoso en su real servicio, disponga las cargas en dichas naos, en la conformidad que por repetidas Cédulas tiene ordenado V.M. y con mas espresion en la del 12 de Agosto de 702 eligiendo Cabos, Oficiales, Artilleros, y Marineros practicos, y experimentados en sus ministerios, y que no se gobierne por empeños de personas poderosas en la eleccion de dichas plazas, como han hecho sus antecesores, por ser esto la ruina de los vasallos. La que padeció dicha Almiranta, se origino de que todos los Oficiales, y Pasajeros, iban disgustados con el Almirante, por no ser Español como ellos, como lo publican los prisioneros, los cuales remito en dicho barco, para que à boca, informen à dicho Conde de Lizarraga, y respecto à que no puede estar esto sin barco que sirva de freno à sus naturales, me es preciso suspender dicho descubrimiento, hasta que de Filipinas me venga la Balandrilla que tengo pedida de que di cuenta à V.M. en carta de 24 de Noviembre de 709 y cesando el motibo bolberán à quedar las plazas en su situacion de ciento treinta. Estas Señor son muy pocas para defender esta tierra de enemigos Europeos, bien disciplinados, mayormente quando sus naturales no viven muy gustosos, con el suave yugo de nuestra Santa religion, y se debe recelar de ellos, que hallando ocasion oportuna, se unan con nuestros enemigos.

Y asi suplico à V.M. se sirva de ampliar el numero de las plazas, y su situacion de Reales, al que su Real animo gustare, y juzgare combenir para la defensa de estas Islas, y hacer escala para sus insultos. Asi mismo suplico à V.M. se sirva mandar al Virrey de Nueva España, que me provea de arcabuces y mosquetes vizcaynos, de que hay mucha falta en este Campo, y la mayor parte de la gente, la he hallado desarmada por haberse perdido muchas quando se levantaron todos estos pueblos, y mataron los Religiosos y Soldados, y las que han reventado los visoños por haverlas sobre cargado.

[Fort Guadalupe, built in 1683, now in ruins]

La fuerza que el Maestre de Campo D. Antonio Saravia, primer Gobernador de estas islas, fabricó en la barra de esta Ciudad la demolió el mar en una inundacion que padeció y aunque pudiera fabricar un Castillo en el Puerto de Umata, por ser el surgidero de todos los vageles, me hallo sin artilleria con que guarnecerlo, y coronarlo, de que me ha parecido dar cuenta à V.M. para que se sirva disponer lo mas combeniente à su Real servicio, en todos los puntos aqui espresados.

Guarde Dios la Católica y Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad necesita, y sus leales vasallos desean.

Ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña, y Abril 13 de 1710 años.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

Translation.

The Governor and Captain-General of the Mariana Islands reports to Y.M. that the English corsairs made port at Umata in the Island of Guajan on 22 March 1710 with 4 war frigates. He learned from them that one of them was the Almiranta of the Philippines, the **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** which was seized by them near Cape San Lucas, on the coast of New Spain on 2 February, because she had not placed herself on the defensive, without nets to prevent boarding, etc. and she was 3 days ahead of her flagship, which was herself attacked by 3 frigates belonging to these corsairs, and the attack was repeated many times during the course of 48 hours, but her General, Don Fernando Angulo, defended himself with courage and valor, killing many of their men, and damaging said frigates, forcing them to quit the scene of battle and withdraw speedily. That said Governor said that he could not engage hostilities with them, because that garrison has few men. He requests that their number be increased, with the corresponding subsidies. And that Y.M. be pleased to order the Viceroy of New Spain to provide him arquebuses, and Viscayan muskets, because he needs some.

Sire:

I have the honor to report to Y.M. that on 22 March of this year, between 10 and 11 a.m., I received notice that, in sight of the Town of Pago, two leagues from this city, on the opposite coast toward the southeast, had been sighted 4 sea-going ships flying Burgundian flags¹ and their bows pointed in the direction of the bay of said Town. Suspecting that they might be corsairs or pirates, I immediately despatched sentinels to observe their movements, to anticipate any potential harm from them. At the same time I sent messages to all the religious missionaries of this Island of Guajan, to advise them of the sighting of said vessels, and entrusting them with the consumption of any deposits in their church,² and they were to withdraw to the bush with the silver vessels

1 Ed. note: He means French flags, of course, the same way that Castilian flags would have meant Spanish flags.

2 Ed. note: A literal translation, meaning the consecrated hosts.

and other precious articles, [and remain there] until we found out who were the people on board them, where they came from, and where they were going.

One hour had not passed when I received a second despatch, by which I was advised that all 4 vessels were pursuing their course, along that opposite coast to the Port of Umata, which is the main port of this Island. Having collected the few men of the standing garrison of this Camp, I went out with them as far as the Town of Agat, nearer said port, where I called all the officers, serving and reserve, to attend a War Council and proposed to them whether it would be proper to go on to said port of Umata, or wait in that of Agat, for new advices from the scouts whom I despatched every where as a careful precaution. Before nightfall, I had received news that said vessels had anchored in that port, taken down the Burgundian flags, and raised white flags instead as a sign of peace. I then despatched aboard a canoe a good Flemish sailor to reconnoiter and find out what Crown those vessels and their men belonged to (because they had not dared to step ashore). From him they found out that I was in the vicinity, and then their four main officers wrote me a courteous and polite letter, in which they expressed that their need for food supplies, water and wood, had brought them to said port; they requested me to be pleased to provide them with local products, and should they be satisfied readily, they would do no hostility here, as long as Queen Ann sat on the English throne.¹

This despatch was written to me by the adjutant to their General, or Senior Captain, who was serving them as interpreter. This man told me that he was born in that Court of Madrid, from an Irish father and a Spanish mother, that he had travelled all over Europe, and the Kingdom of Peru, crossing it as far as Buenos Aires, about which he gave much information. This man informed me that at the beginning of July 1708, said Queen Ann had despatched from the river of London two war frigates, with 750 selected men, and an express order to cruise off the coasts of Peru, and New Spain, that they had captured 21 vessels of all sizes, made them prizes, and taken their contents as booty; that they had sacked the City of Guayaquil, on account of the little resistance put up by its residents, and that finally they had withdrawn to Cape San Lucas on the coast of New Spain, near the bay of the Californias, there to await, by order of their above-mentioned Queen, the galleons from the Philippines; that on 2 January they sighted the almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, and that they immediately attacked her with the two above-mentioned frigates, plus another which they had seized from some Frenchmen; that all three engaged her, and in the first discharge of their guns and muskets they killed the Chief pilot and his mate, and from 7 to 8 other individuals of lower status, because they caught them in the open, without any preparation such as anti-boarding nets or other defenses, and her French Admiral² was left wounded by a cannon ball. When this man saw that he had no more than two men to

1 Ed. note: Ann Stuart, born in London in 1665, ruled from 1702 until her death in 1714.

2 Ed. note: The Governor of the Philippines had indeed given this important commission to a man with French nationality. France was then allied with Spain, Philip V being the grandson of Louis XIV and the first Bourbon King of Spain.

defend said *Almiranta*, that is, Captain Don Antonio Gutierrez, her Master, and his Boatswain, because the other officers and passengers had sought shelter below deck, he ordered his flag lowered as a sign of surrender. One hundred Englishmen immediately boarded said *Almiranta* and took her to a cove, from where she would not be seen by the flagship. The latter was spotted three days after the former, and they immediately went after her with said three frigates, thinking that they would take her over as easily as the *Almiranta*, but they found her so well armed and fortified with double netting and other defensive preparations, and so well prepared to fight that they could not spot one single man whom to shoot at, so much so that they were surprised. Thus, no matter how many times they attacked her in the course of 48 hours, they could never place men aboard her; and not one dent could their guns do to her hull. The enemies found out that the people of the flagship were clearly superior to those of their own vessels, that their masts had been brought down, and in order to get away from the shots that said flagship gave them, and because many of their men were either dead or wounded, they tried to flee and get away from said flagship. She stood her ground, kept on firing to dare them to return and continue the battle; however, they were not interested, because their vessels were leaking badly, and they feared sinking. The enemies admitted [to me] that, had said flagship fired her cannon more frequently,¹ she would have finished them off, because no shot did any damage [to her]. And they say that the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** is not a vessel but an impregnable fortress, on account of her great resistance, but they did not want to admit that it was because her General, Don Fernando de Angulo, was a Spaniard, and not a foreigner, on account of his great courage and valor, which he showed in the defence of his flagship. After they lost sight of her, they went back to the cove where they had hidden the *Almiranta*, which they added to their fleet of three vessels, and they let go said Admiral, the officers and passengers, to whom they gave another frigate from Peru, which they kept as a prize, so that they would be able to reach Acapulco with it.

Said Admiral also ransomed two important prisoners whom they had taken from Guayaquil, obliging himself to pay 3,000 pesos for their ransom; for this generous deed, the corsairs gave said Admiral more than 20,000 pesos in high-quality merchandise. And said interpreter assures me that, if said General Angulo had come to know that his *Almiranta* had been taken by the enemy, and that she was in the cove, he would have rushed there to free her.

The corsairs estimate their gain out of the 21 prizes and the sack of Guayaquil at over 7 million [pesos], not counting the *Almiranta* and her cargo, which they are taking intact to their Queen, because she wishes intensely to see a Philippine galleon; because of our mistakes and bad administration, she has now achieved her ambition and vanity. Aboard her they hold Captain and Master Don Antonio Gutierrez, so that he might give an account of the whole cargo. I received messages and letters from said Captain and Master, in which he warns me not to get close to them because of their

1 Ed. note: What is meant, I think, is more accuracy, rather than more frequency.

great strength, and not to trust their word. I answered the letter from said four Commanders with the same politeness and courtesy, offering to accede to their request, by supplying them with local products, asking in return only for [the statue or portrait of] our Blessed Virgin Mary, the patron saint of said Almiranta, and other relics from Rome, which I learned had been taken from the prizes, plus the freedom of Don Antonio Gutierrez, and 30 other seamen and ship's boys from her, whom they kept as prisoners, and they were to keep the peace while at this Island. In fact, they very exactly observed everything, even imposing the death penalty on any one of their men who would dare pick up even one orange while ashore—and there are many in this island—and they consented to releasing the seamen and ship's boys, whom they left ashore, but they refused to hand over said Gutierrez, since they kept him for the above-mentioned purpose; they have promised him that, once they get to London, they will give him everything that he can prove to be his, through invoices and the manifest.

They lingered in that port for 12 days which were necessary for transporting the food supplies to them. They left very satisfied and fond of the Island, and gave to understand that it would be good for their Queen, and they would return two years from now with more strength [to take it over]. And I have no doubt, Sire, that if they try it they might succeed, because this [government] is already sold out on account of the little resistance that can be offered them with [only] 130 permanent positions divided among three companies, two of them Spanish Infantry, and one of Filipino natives, including their own officers; indeed, even though I have enlarged them to 168 positions,¹ for the purpose of exploring the Carolines; indeed, I had already planned to do that by having one of the two boats present at this City renovated for that purpose.

However, considering that the galleons from the Philippines are very badly outfitted when they depart, on account of the ambition of their residents and main leaders, who overload them so much that the cannon cannot be manned, nor are they managed well while at sea, I decided to despatch [to Manila] the other boat with an advice of the above events to Count Lizarraga, the present Governor of those Islands,² so that he may, as the loyal vassal of Y.M. that he is, and zealous in your royal service, arrange for the loading of said galleons to be in conformity with the repeated decrees that Y.M. has ordered and more particularly in the decree dated 12 August 1702 dealing with the selection of Commanders, Officers, Gunners, and practical Seamen, all experienced in their offices and trades, and that he should not let himself be governed by powerful lobbyists when choosing men to fill said posts, as his predecessors have done, because this is ruinous to your vassals. The cause of the trouble suffered by said Almiranta was the fact that all the officers and passengers were disgusted with the Admiral, because he

1 Ed. note: He could do this by calling the reserves, consisting of married men who had already served for many years and then been classed as "reformados", i.e. continuing to receive pay but not serving daily; in effect, many men were semi-retired and could be called to service any time the Governor so wished.

2 Ed. note: This Guam boat, like the other, has remained nameless. In any case, he did well because the returning galleon avoided Guam entirely two months later.

was not a Spaniard like them. This is what the prisoners were saying publicly. That is why I am sending them in said boat, so that they may give a verbal report to said Count of Lizarraga, and, since this place cannot remain without a boat to refrain the natives, I am obliged to postpone said voyage of exploration, until the small sloop arrive from Manila, the one I mentioned to Y.M. in my letter of 24 November 1709; therefore, now that the motive is no longer there, the regular strength will return to 130 positions. This number, Sire, is very small to defend this land from European enemies, well disciplined, specially when the natives are not very happy to live under the sweet yoke of our Holy religion, and one must distrust them, in case they might seize an opportunity to join forces with our enemies.

And so I beseech Y.M. to please increase the number of positions, and the corresponding subsidy, to the number that your Royal mind may like, and judge appropriate for the defence of these Islands, and to put a stop to their insults.¹ In addition, I beg Y.M. to please order the Viceroy of New Spain to provide me with arquebuses and Vizcayan muskets, of which there is a great lack in this camp, because I have found most of the men without weapons, as a result of the many they lost when all these towns rebelled and killed the Religious and soldiers, and the firearms that the green recruits have blown up when they overloaded them.

[Fort Guadalupe, built in 1683, now in ruins]

The fort that Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, the first Governor of these Islands,² had built on the bar [i.e. beach] of this City was demolished by the sea during a flood and although a fortress could be built at the port of Umata, since it is the anchorage for all the vessels, I find myself without guns to fortify it, and to surmount it, of which it seemed to me that I should inform Y.M. so that you may be pleased to arrange what is most convenient for your Royal service, in all the above-mentioned points.

May God save the Catholic and Royal Person of Y.M., as Christendom needs, and your loyal vassals wish.

City of San Ignacio of Agaña, 13 April 1710.³

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

1 Ed. note: It is unclear whose insults are to be refrained, probably those of the pirates.

2 Ed. note: Since Pimentel's commission had come from Madrid, his pride made him consider the commissions of most other governors to be inferior, if not invalid.

3 Ed. note: The spelling of the word Agaña became more popular than Agaña at about this time.

Document 1710D

Governor Ursua reports the capture of the Almiranta Encarnación by English pirates

Summary report by the Council of the Indies

Sources: AGI Fil. 94; copy in AGI Fil. 105; copy in AGI Ultramar 561.

Original text in Spanish.

Conde de Frigiliana.

Don Antonio de Omns.

Son Manuel de Mieses.

Marques de Miana.

Don Nicolas Manrique.

Don Manuel de Silva.

Don Joseph Munive.

Don Diego de Zuñiga.

Señor

*El Conde de Lizarraga, Gobernador de Filipinas, en carta de 17 de Julio del año pasado de 1710, da cuenta de que habiendose despachado el año antecedente por su antecesor D. Domingo de Zabalburu dos Navios de Capitana y Almiranta, al Puerto de Acapulco de la Nueva España con el permiso de los vecinos de aquellas islas, y a conducir el situado de ellas[,] la Capitana nombrada **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, à cuyo cargo del General Don Fernando Angulo, y la Almiranta nombrada **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, à cargo de D. Juan Presberti de nacion francés, fué apresada la referida Almiranta con toda su carga el dia dos de Febrero del mismo año por tres fragatas inglesas, que encontró en el Cabo de San Lucas, en las costas de la Nueva España, sin haberla podido faborecer su Capitana, por haber llegado esta tres dias despues, à la cual procuraron apresar tambien los mismos ingleses, peleando con ella dos dias enteros pero que despues se hubieron de retirar los enemigos, con perdida de mucha gente, que les hirieron y mataron; con lo cual prosiguió la Capitana su viage para Acapulco sin haber recibido daño alguno; cuya noticia le participo el Gobernador de las islas Marianas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, el dia 3 de Mayo del mismo año, por haberla adquerido de los propios ingleses, que con sus tres fragatas, y la Almiranta apresa-*

da, llegaron à dichas islas el dia 22 de Marzo donde estubieron algunos dias, dados fondo, haciendose de bastimentos y aguada de que iban muy necesitados; y dexaron algunos de los prisioneros que yban de la Almiranta, los cuales remitió à Manila el Gobernador de Marianas, y los enemigos prosiguieron su biage sin saber con certidumbre à donde le encaminaron.

*Que luego que tubo la referida noticia combocó gente de guerra por si fuese necesario dar algunas providencias, asi para la seguridad de la referida Capitana **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** que se aguardava de tornaviage de la Nueva España, como para el Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que estaba para despacharse al mismo Reyno; y se determinó que à este último se le aumentasen sobre su dotacion cuarenta soldados mosqueteros con todas las armas precisas, y que al General de la Nao se le diesen las instrucciones combenientes para su defensa y seguridad; lo cual se ejecutó, y dispuso juntamente que aquella Ciudad y Comercio concurriesen con 4,500 pesos para los sueldos, y demas gastos, que habian de ocasionar los referidos 40 mosqueteros; y que esta cantidad se sacase en Acapulco del carguio del espresado Galeon, para introducirla de buelta en la Caja Real de aquella Ciudad.*

Que habiendo dado vista al fiscal de aquella Audiencia de la carta del Gobernador de Marianas, y de lo determinado en la Junta de Guerra, pidio se (remitiese) recibiese informacion sobre la forma en que fué apresada dicha Almiranta, y en que parage; à cuyo fin fueron examinados los prisioneros que se remitieron de Marianas (segun el interrogatorio que habia formado el fiscal) y otras preguntas que mandó el mismo Gobernador se hiciesen, de que se bolbio à dar vista al fiscal; quien en el escrito que presentó, pidió (entre otros puntos) se procediese criminalmente contra el Gobernador de Marianas por haber dado puerto en aquellas islas à los enemigos que apresaron la Almiranta, dexandolos saltar en tierra y proveyendoles de bastimentos, sin haberles hecho oposicion alguna; y que despues de haberse visto lo pedido por el fiscal en los demas autos en junta que combocó compuesta de los Ministros de aquella Audiencia, de los Capitulares de la Ciudad y su Comercio y de los Cabos Militares; lo remitió por voto consultivo al real acuerdo, por lo que miraba al Gobernador de Marianas; en el cual se determinó que dexando en su fuerza y vigor los autos en lo que hubiere lugar de derecho se procediese por el Gobernador (con parecer de un Ministro togado de aquella Audiencia) à sustanciar mas en forma la referida causa; y que despues de concluida bolbiese al real acuerdo; lo cual no se habia podido ejecutar, por estar tan proximo à salir el Galeon que se despachaba à la Nueva España; pero que se ejecutaria con la mayor brevedad que fuese posible, y remite testimonio de los autos segun el estado que tenian.

Al mismo tiempo se ha recibido una Carta de Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador de las islas Marianas con fecha de trece de Abril de 1710, en que da cuenta à V.M. de que el dia 22 de Marzo antecedente le dieron noticia de haberse avistado cuatro bageles de alto bordo con banderas de Borgoña, y aproados à la ensenada del pueblo de Pago distante dos leguas de aquella Capital, y que discurriendo serian corsarios ó piratas despacho al punto, cintenelas vigilantes que observasen sus mobimientos para prevenir los daños que pudiesen ocasionar dando orden al mismo tiempo à los religio-

Los Misioneros de la isla de Guajan, para que consumiesen los depositos de sus iglesias, y se retirasen con la plata labrada y alhajas de ellas à los montes, hasta imbestigar que gente conducian aquellos bageles y cual era su designio; y que à poco rato tubo la noticia de que seguian su derrota al Pueblo de Umata, que es el principal puerto de aquella isla. Y que teniendo recogida la poca gente de su dotacion que tiene aquel campo, salió con ella à las cercanias del referido Puerto, donde combocó à Junta de guerra à los oficiales [aun]que reformados, proponiendoles si seria combeniente pasar al mismo Puerto de Umata ó esperar en aquel paraje nuevos avisos de los exploradores que por todas partes habia despachado su cuidadoso desvelo; y que aunque antes de anocheecer se le participó habian surgido los cuatro bajeles en el referido Puerto de Umata, habiendo quitado las banderas de Borgoña, y puesto las blancas en señal de paz, no les dió crédito; con lo cual despachó luego en una banquilla a un flamenco, buen marinero, para que reconociese de que corona eran aquellos navios y la gente de ellos, por no haberse atrevido à saltar en tierra, y que imformados por el flamenco, de la cercania en que se hallaba el Gobernador, le escribieron los cuatro Cabos principales de ellos una carta cortesana y politica, espresandole que la necesidad de vastimentos, agua y leña les habia conducido à aquel Puerto, pidiendole los proveyese de frutos de la tierra y asegurando su puntual satisfaccion, y que no harian hostilidad alguna en ella interponiendo para mayor seguridad y aseveracion, la vida de su Reyna Ana de Ynglaterra.

*Refiere que el Ayudante general con quien le remitieron la Carta le dixo ser nacido en esta Corte de Padre irlandes y madre española, que habia corrido toda la Europa y reino del Perú, atravesandolo hasta Buenos Ayres (de que dió muy puntuales noticias) y que à principios de Julio de 1708, habia despachado la Reyna Ana, del rio de Londres dos fragatas de guerra con 750 hombres escogidos, y orden espresa de que corriesen las costas del Perú, y Nueva España, en que habian hecho veinte y una presas de vageles, de todos portes con mucho interes en ellos, habiendo saqueado la Ciudad de Guayaquil por la poca resistencia de sus vecinos; y que últimamente se habian retirado al Cabo de San Lucas costa de la Nueva España, cerca de la ensenada de las Californias à esperar en virtud de la orden de su Reyna las Naos de Filipinas; cuya Almiranta nombrada **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion** avistaron el dia 2 de Enero, y la embistieron con sus dos fragatas, y otra que habian quitado à unos franceses abordandola todos tres, y que de la primera carga que la dieron de Artilleria y de escopeteria mataron al Piloto mayor y su acompañado y otros siete ú ocho sugetos de menor cuenta, por cogerlos à cuerpo descubierto y sin los reparos de jaretas in defensibos, quedando herido el Almirante francés de un artillazo, el cual viendo que no habia mas que dos hombres que defendiesen la Almiranta que eran el Maestre de ella Don Antonio Gutierrez y su Guardian (por que los demas oficiales y pasajeros se habian metido debaxo de cubierta) mandó arrear el estandarte en señal de rendimiento.*

Que luego al punto pasaron à dicha Almiranta 100 ingleses que la condujeron à la ensenada para que no fuese vista de la Capitana, y que à los tres dias se descubrió esta y la embistieron juzgando llevarsela con la misma facilidad que la Almiranta; pero que la hallaron tan bien montada, armada y fortificada con jaretas dobles, y otros reparos

*y à son de batalla que no pudieron descubrir un solo hombre à quien hacer blanco en sus tiros (que les causó mucho espanto) y que aunque la abordaron diversas veces, en el discurso de cuarenta y ocho horas, nunca pudieron hechar su gente en ella ni hacer mella en el vaso los tiros de su artilleria, experimentando los enemigos que los de la Capitana pasavan de claro en claro sus bageles; y que viendo que sus arboles estaban rendidos y para caer de los balazos que tiraba la Capitana y que les habia muerto y herido mucha gente, se retiraron huyendo de la Capitana, la cual quedó manteniendo el Campo de batalla, y desafiandolos para que bolbiesen à ella, pero que no lo ejecutaron por que con la mucha agua que hacian sus bageles temian irse à pique: comfesando los enemigos que si la Capitana hubiera menudeado mas sus tiros de artilleria, hubiera dado al traves con ellos, por no haber malogrado tiro alguno; ponderando que la Nao **Nuestra Señora de Begofia**, no es bagel, sino castillo roguero, por su gran resistencia, y no queriendose persuadir que el general Don Fernando de Angulo, fuese Español, sino estrangero, por el gran valor, y gallardía que mostró en la defensa de su capitana y que habiendose perdido esta de vista dieron la buelta à dicha ensenada donde tenian ocultada la Almiranta que incorporaron con sus tres bageles y pusieron en libertad al referido Almirante, oficiales y pasajeros, dandoles una fragata del Perú (que llevaban prisionera) para que en ella se fuesen à Acapulco; habiendo rescatado tambien el Almirante dos prisioneros de cuenta que llevaban de Guayaquil, obligandose à pagar por su rescate 3,000 pesos por cuya accion generosa le dieron los corsarios mas de 20,000 pesos en generos nobles: y que ultimamente le aseguró el referido Ayudante, que si el General Angulo hubiera sabido haber sido apresada su Almiranta, y que estaba en la ensenada se hubiera arrogado à ella para libertarla; y que las veinte y una presas, y saqueo de Guayaquil la computaban los enemigos en unas de siete millones, sin la Almiranta y su carga que llevaban intacta à su Reyna por haber deseado con extremo ver una Nao de Filipinas.*

Que con estas noticias y las que le participó el referido Maestre (de Campo) Don Antonio Gutierrez, previniendole, no se acercase à ellos por el mucho poder que llevaban, ni se fiase de su palabra, respondió à la carta de los cuatro cabos principales con la misma urbanidad ofreciendoles proveerles con los frutos de el pais sin pedirles por ello mas precio que el rescate de la Santissima Virgen patrona de la referida Almiranta y otras reliquias de Roma (que supo habian cogido en las presas) la libertad del referido Don Antonio Gutierrez y otros treinta marineros, y que no ejecutasen hostilidad alguna en la isla: lo cual observaron puntualisimamente conminando con pena de muerte al que de su gente se atreviese à coger una naranja (de que abunda mucho aquella tierra) condescendiendo tambien en la libertad de marineros y grumetes, a quienes dexaron en tierra, y solo contradixeron la del Maestre, por llevarle para que diese razon de toda la carga, ofreciendole que en llegando à Londres le volverian todo lo que constase ser suyo, por factura y registro; y que habiendose detenido doce dias en aquel Puerto (que fueron los que necesitaron para conducirles los viveres y vituallas) salieron de él muy gustosos, y aficionados à la isla, dando à entender era buena para su Reyna, y que dentro de dos años bolberian à ella con mayor poder: no dudando este Gober-

nador que si lo intentan lo consigan por la poca resistencia que se les puede hacer con 130 plazas que tiene aquella isla repartidas en tres compañías las dos de infanteria Española y la otra de naturales filipinos en que entran los oficiales de las primeras planas; pues aunque las ha alargado à 168, con el fin del descubrimiento de las Carolinas que quiso anticipar en uno de dos barcos que allo en aquella ciudad, y tenia renovado para este efecto; considerando que las Naos de Filipinas, salen muy mal abiadas, por la ambicion de sus moradores y principales Gefes, quienes las cargan tanto que no pueden manegar la artilleria, ni defenderse y señorear los mares: despachó el otro barco participando todo lo referido al Conde de Lizarraga, Gobernador actual de aquellas islas, para que como tan leal vasallo de V.M. y zeloso de su real servicio dispusiese las cargas de dichas Naos, en la conformidad, que por repetidas cédulas tiene V.M. ordenado, y con especialidad por la de 12 de Agosto de 1702; eligiendo Cabos, oficiales, artilleros, y marineros practicos y experimentados en sus ministerios y que no se gobierne por empeños de personas poderosas en la eleccion de dichas plazas (como han hecho sus antecesores) por ser esto la ruina de los vasallos habiendose originado la que padeció la referida Almiranta, de que todos los Oficiales, y pasajeros iban disgustados con el Almirante por no ser Español; como lo publicaban los prisioneros que remitia en aquella ocasion para que informasen à boca al espresado Conde de Lizarraga y que respecto de no poderse mantener sin barcos aquellas islas que sirvan de freno à sus naturales, le era preciso suspender el descubrimiento de las Californias [rather Carolinas], hasta que de Filipinas le llegase la Balandra que tenia pedida desde el año antecedente; y que cesando el motibo, bolberian à quedar las plazas en su situacion de 130, siendo muy pocas, para defender aquella tierra de enemigos Europeos, bien disciplinados, mayormente cuando sus naturales no viven muy gustosos con el suave yugo de nuestra sagrada religion, y se debe recelar de ellos que aílano ocasion oportuna, se unan con nuestros enemigos, para cuya oposicion, tampoco hay fortaleza alguna pues la que fabricó el Maestre de Campo Don Antonio Saravia primer Gobernador de aquellas islas, en la barra de aquella Ciudad, la demolió el mar en una inundacion que padeció: y que aunque pudiera fabricar un Castillo en el Puerto de Umata por ser el surgidero de todos los Bageles, se halla sin artilleria, con que guarnecerlo, y coronarlo; y suplica à V.M. se sirva ampliar el número de las plazas, y la situacion de reales al que fuere de su real agrado, y juzgare combenir, para la defensa de aquellas islas por ser antemurales de las Filipinas cuyas naos peligran continuamente si los enemigos se apoderan de ellas y hacen escala para sus insultos; y que asimismo se sirva V.M. mandar al Virrey de la Nueva España, le provea de arcabuzes y mosquetes vizcaynos, de que hay mucha falta en aquellas islas, estando la mayor parte de la gente sin armas, por haberse perdido muchas cuando se levantaron todos aquellos Pueblos, y mataron à los religiosos y soldados y haber rebentado otros los visoños por haberlas sobre cargado.

...

Haviendose visto en el Consejo las espresadas cartas con el Testimonio que ha remitido el Gobernador actual de Filipinas, acordó pasasen al fiscal, para que sobre todo

dixese lo que se le ofrecia, como lo ejecutó; haciendo espresion del contesto de ellas; y a su continuacion, dió la respuesta que literalmente es como sigue.

El Fiscal con vista de las cartas de el Gobernador actual de Filipinas y de su antecesor y la del Gobernador de las Marianas; Dice que aunque el Testimonio de autos, viene sin estado de determinarse por quedarse todavia continuando las diligencias en Filipinas se reconoce por el lo mismo que contienen las cartas, de que va hecha mencion; debaxo de cuyo supuesto lo que se ofrece al fiscal es que (segun todo lo que resulta del testimonio de autos) la Almiranta de Filipinas, no navegaba en términos ni disposicion de perfecta defensa, ni la gente de ella gustosa, en que Don Juan de Pechverti la gobernase como Almirante nombrado por el Gobernador; y en estos términos se debe desaprovar en la conformidad que el Consejo fuere servido al Gobernador que fué de Filipinas, la forma de despacho de esta Almiranta y el nombramiento de Almirante de ella, en quien no fuese vasallo de S.M. y navegado en otras ocasiones aquella carrera de viage pues à D. Juan de Pechverti en otras cosas pudiera atender à sus combeniencias y alivio, sin ocuparle en semejante empleo, y sin seguridad alguna de dar residencia, ni responder en el viage, como no consta el que hubiese respondido, ni del parage donde se halla; pues ciertamente haciendose semejantes viages y despachos fuera de las comunes reglas y navegando los bageles sin perfecta defensa, suceden con frecuencia semejantes lances, de que se debe advertir al Gobierno de Filipinas para que en otras ocasiones naveguen los bageles de aquella carrera, vajo de las comunes reglas y ordenanzas con que se debe practicar aquella navegacion.

Y por lo tocante à haber llegado à las Marianas las tres fragatas con la referida presa, y pedido vastimentos y concedidoselos el Gobernador de las Marianas, aunque de este testimonio de autos resulta haber solo en ellas cuatro tinajuelas de pólvora, y que solo hay 130 plazas en tres compañías, y la una de ellas de naturales y tambien la falta de artilleria, arcabuzes y mosquetes; como los autos sobre este punto, se quedaban todavia substanciando, y continuandose las diligencias en ellos para la determinacion de lo que se habia obrado en Marianas; hasta que vengan los autos con la determinacion y legitima sustanzacion, no se puede responder determinadamente sobre este punto, y asi se deberá librar despacho al Gobernador de Filipinas, para que en caso que ya no halla remitido los autos determinados al Consejo, los embie sin dilacion, citadas las partes, con señalamiento de estrados, dandole al mismo tiempo à entender, el que atienda y considere el mal estado y disposicion de defensa en que se hallaban las islas Marianas por falta de armas y municiones, para que en caso que ya no las halla socorrido con todo lo necesario, en ninguna manera, ni para lo en adelante se atrase aquellas islas el situado y socorro competente de armas y municiones y todo lo demas que necesitare en ellas, teniendo muy presente los deseos y intenciones que han manifestado los ingleses de las tres fragatas, de ocupar las islas Marianas, para en escala en el mar del Sur, y incomodar las dos costas de los dos reynos del Perú y de Nueva España, como las incomodaron estas fragatas haciendo tantas presas y destruccion en sus costas: y de todo se debiera dar noticia a S.M. para que esté en su real inteligencia la intencion y deseos

que han manifestado los ingleses de ocupar las islas Marianas, consultando el Consejo todo aquello que considerare ser mas combeniente à la mayor seguridad y defensa.

El Consejo, en vista de todo lo referido, habiendo reconozido, y contemplado con la mayor reflexion, y madurez, la gravedad de este espediente, y lo mucho que conviene el remedio de èl, y ejemplar, que en adelante deve tenerse para semejantes casos; y consistiendo el hecho, y circunstancias de èl, en tres puntos; y por inzidente otro, para lo general de los resguardos necesarios, en todas las Yndias, los divide por su orden para mayor claridad.

Es el primero en quanto al exzeso del Governador de Philipinas Don Domingo de Zabalburu, en el nombramiento, que hizo de Almirante, en quien concurría la notoria nulidad que previenen las Leyes, así por ser extrangero, y no poder recaer en èl, aquel empleo, como por su imperizia y falta de esperienzia, a que virtualmente se deve atribuir el origen de la desgrazia, y perdida de la Almiranta: sobre que es de sentir el Consejo, se espidan luego ordenes al Governador y Audiencia de Philipinas, para que sin dilacion, prozedan, sustanzien, y determinen esta causa; procediendo contra los culpados a lo que hubiere lugar en derecho; y que remitan copia de los autos, de todo lo que en esta razon hubieren obrado, pues queda V.M. muy a la mira de ello; previniendoles, se estraña, y repreende mucho al referido Governador que hizo este nombramiento, y que sele multa en 2 mil pesos, reservando para el tiempo de su residencia proceder contra el, sobre este caso; y que a este fin se prevenga en Sala de Justizia, para quando se aya de determinar dicha residencia. Que así mismo, se expida despacho cometido a la Audiencia de Mejico, (donde se considera oy al referido Don Domingo de Zabalburu) para que luego le apremie, y saque la multa de 2 mil pesos expresos, prezediendo para ello en la parte de aquel Reyno donde estubiere, y remitiendola a estos Reynos en la forma que se acostumbra.

El segundo punto produce lo tolerado y permitido por Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governador de las islas Marianas, franqueando con tanta liberalidad à los enemigos todo lo que necesitaban para su socorro, cuando sabia los daños y perjuicios que habian ejecutado; pretextandolo con el que le podrian hacer, si no hubiere condescendido à su instancia; siendo asi que consta del mismo espediente, que siendo dos embarcaciones las de los enemigos con solos 200 hombres, no les hizo la menor oposicion; confesando (como confiesa) tenia 130 hombres prontos con que poderlo ejecutar, aunque quiera alegar la falta de polvora y armas que espresa y no justifica: siendo de parecer el Consejo se deponga desde luego de su empleo al referido Governador de las Marianas, ordenando al de Filipinas lo haga salir luego de ellas conduciendole à Manila y embiando à aquel Gobierno sin la menor dilacion persona de su mayor satisfaccion confianza, y profesion militar, para la seguridad y defensa de aquellas islas, dandole todas las instrucciones, órdenes y providencias mas eficazes, para el resguardo de ellas. Y que así mismo se espida despacho al Governador y Audiencia de Manila para que procedan, sustancien y determinen la causa del espresado Governador de Marianas, procediendo conforme à derecho, y dando cuenta de lo que resultare en este particular.

El tercer punto mira à las providencias que para el resguardo y seguridad de las islas Marianas, se deben aplicar en los términos que hoy permite la mayor eficacia y posibilidad (aun cuando sea incierta la falta de municiones y gente que refiere el Gobernador) por lo mucho que importa precaverlas de cualesquiera riesgos é imbaciones asi de los enemigos como de los naturales; à cuyo fin es de parecer el Consejo se espida orden al Virrey de Nueva España para que en inteligencia de este suceso, procure, en la primera ocasion de Navio, remitir la polbora y municiones que le parecieron necesarias, y hasta 200 mosquetes ó fusiles con el destino preciso de que el Gobernador de Filipinas los remita à las islas Marianas, para la defensa de ellas; y que procure tambien embiar en la misma ocasion los mas forzados que pudiere de los que se suelen rematar y remitir à aquellas islas, para que el Gobernador de Filipinas embie los que tubiere por combeniente, y a proposito para las Marianas, previniendo de ello al Gobernador de Filipinas; y el preciso desvelo, cuidado y vigilancia que debe tener siempre en la mayor puntualidad de los socorros, y providencias para la mejor defensa, seguridad y conservacion de aquellas islas, como tan importantes; y que igualmente se designe con la mayor atencion y solicitud à que los navios que salen de aquellas islas para la Nueva España, nabeguen en la buena disposicion y defensa que se requiere, y deben tener en su ida, y buelta, como tambien en la eleccion de oficiales y cabos, que han de ir en ellos, procurando sean los mas espertos en su profesion para la mayor seguridad y defensa de las Naos.

El quarto y ultimo punto resulta por inzienzia de la falta general, que en la mayor parte de las Yndias, ay de armas, y la forma en que se podrá subenir para el socorro de ellas; como tambien para que el costo que ocasionaren a la Real Hazienda, buelba à reintegrarse en ella: sobre cuyo asunto juzga el Consejo por preziso y conveniente, que V.M. se sirva mandar que en las fabricas de Vizcaya, se hagan hasta el numero de 8 mil fusiles de toda calidad, para su mayor durazion, y permanenzia, y que se prevenga la porzion de piedras que correspondiere, y fuere sufiziente, para que en proporzion se repartan en todas las Provinzias, y Puertos de las Yndias, segun la necesidad de cada parte, distribuyendolas entre los vezinos, y moradores conozidos de ellas; y obligandoles a pagar el valor, y costo que tubieren; pues de esta forma se resarzirà el que tubiere la Real Hazienda, no se extraviaràn, ni perderàn las Armas, y estaràn siempre existentes, para las urgenzias, y necesidades de la mayor defensa.

Don Joseph Munive y Don Diego de Zuñiga, aunque van con el Consejo, en todo, no se conforman en quanto a la multa del Governador Don Domingo de Zabalburu, por aora; sino en que sele estrañe el nombramiento que hizo de Almirante.

Don Nicolas Manrique, no se conforma en quanto à la deposizion absoluta del Governador de las Marianas, sino en que sea condizional, para que resulte solo de la vista, y determinazion de su causa, justificandose por ella su culpa.

V.M. mandarà lo que fuere mas de su Real agrado.

Madrid à 14 de Junio de 1712.

Membrete.

Consejo de Yndias a 14 de Junio de 1712.

Pone en al Real noticia de V.M. las que ha partizipado el Governador de Philipinas, y el de las Yslas Marianas, de haver apresado Yngleses la Almiranta que salió para la N^a España el año de 1709; y dice a V.M. lo que se le ofrece.

Hay votos particulares.

Registrado.—Secretaria de N^a España.

Resolucion de S.M.

En quanto à que no se resuelva la deposicion absoluta del Governador de las Marianas me conformo con Don Nicolas Manrique. La multa de Domingo de Sabalburu se suspenda por aora: en todo lo demas me conformo con el Consejo y assi lo he mandado.

Rubricado. Publicada en 30 de Junio de 1712.

Translation.

Sire:

The Count of Lizarraga, Governor of the Philippines, in a letter dated 17 July of last year 1710, reports that, after his predecessor, Don Domingo de Zabalburu, had despatched two ships, a flagship and an almiranta, to the port of Acapulco in New Spain with the permitted cargo of the residents of those Islands, and to bring back their subsidy, the flagship named **Nuestra Señora de Begoña** under the command of General Don Fernando Angulo, and the almiranta under Don Juan Presberti of French nationality, the above-mentioned almiranta was captured with all her cargo on the 2nd of February of the same year by three English frigates that met her at Cape San Lucas on the coasts of New Spain, without her flagship being able to help, because she arrived on the spot only three days later, when the same Englishmen tried to capture her too, and fought with her for two whole days, but afterwards the enemies had to withdraw, with the loss of many men, either dead or wounded. Therefore, the flagship pursued her voyage to Acapulco without having received any harm. This news was given by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, on 3 May of the same year,¹ as told by the English themselves, who arrived at said Islands with their three frigates and the captured almiranta on 22 March, where they stopped for a few days, at anchor, replenishing their food supplies and taking on water, of which they were in great need, and they left behind some of the prisoners they made aboard the almiranta, whom the Governor of the Marianas sent to Manila. The enemies pursued their voyage but it was not known for sure where they were going.

That, as soon as he received the above-mentioned news, he called a meeting of military men, to decide what provisions were necessary, not only to provide security to the

1 Ed. note: This particular letter, from Pimentel to the Governor of the Philippines, is missing, but is effectively paraphrased here.

above-mentioned flagship **Nuestra Señora de Begoña** that was expected to return from New Spain, but also to the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that was about to be despatched to the same Kingdom. It was decided that the latter galleon should be given additional manpower in the form of 40 musketeers with all the required armament, and that the General of the galleon be given the appropriate instructions for her defence and security; this was carried out, and jointly arranged for that City and Commerce to put up 4,500 pesos for the salaries, and other expenses, that the above-mentioned 40 musketeers had to occasion; and that such sum be collected at Acapulco from the [sale of the] cargo of merchandise of the above-said galleon, in order to reimburse the Royal treasury of that City upon her return.

That the Fiscal of that Audiencia, having examined the letter of the Governor of the Marianas, and the decision of the War Council, asked for information about the manner in which said almiranta was captured, and in what neighborhood. To this effect, the prisoners who had been forwarded from the Marianas were interrogated (in accordance with the written questionnaire made by the Fiscal) and other questions formulated by the Governor himself. The record of proceedings was once more seen by the Fiscal who, in a writ that he presented, asked (among other things) that the Governor of the Marianas be criminally charged for having given refuge in those Islands to the enemies who had captured the almiranta, for letting them step ashore and for providing them food supplies, without having opposed them in any way. That, after the request of the Fiscal and other legal papers were examined in the meeting that he convened of the ministers of that Audiencia, of representatives of the City and its Commerce, and of the military commanders, by consultative vote he remitted same to the royal agreement, in the matter concerning the Governor of the Marianas. The meeting also decided to leave in force and vigor the matters within the legal purview of the Governor (with the opinion of one judge from that Audiencia) and that are to be substantiated some more as required by said case, and that, once concluded, it be returned for royal agreement. There was no time to conclude said matters, in time to be remitted aboard the galleon that was then about to depart for New Spain; however, it was to be proceeded with as quickly as possible, but the record of proceedings were to be remitted in the state they were in at that time.

There was received at the same time a letter from Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of the Mariana Islands, dated 13 April 1710, in which he reports to Y.M. that on the previous 22 March he was given notice of four sea-going vessels...

...

[The next few pages are a very close paraphrase of Doc. 1710C.]

...

The above-mentioned letters having been seen in the Council, along with the record of proceedings remitted by the present Governor of the Philippines, it was agreed to consult with the Fiscal, and the file was in fact referred to him. He in turn examined the texts and their contexts, and gave the answer which literally reads as follows:

The Fiscal, in view of the letters from the present Governor of the Philippines and from his predecessor, and that from the Governor of the Marianas, Declares: that, although the Record of proceedings is incomplete, because the process was still going on in the Philippines, one can recognize from the contents of the letters that are mentioned therein, the Fiscal basing his opinion on same, that (according to the result of the proceedings) the Philippine almiranta was not sailing in readiness for a perfect defence, nor were the men happy with the fact that Don Juan de Pechverti, was in command of her as the Admiral appointed by the Governor; such terms should be used if the Council be pleased to disapprove what the former Governor of the Philippines did, to wit, the manner of the despatch of this almiranta, and the appointment of her Admiral, the fact that he was not a vassal of Y.M. and [not] having previously sailed on that same run; indeed, he could have attended to Don Juan de Pechverti's advantage and relief in other ways, without employing him in such a post, without the safety net of being able to hold an audit of his administration, as in fact, there is no proof that he ever did answer for his actions, nor information given as to his whereabouts. Indeed, here is proof that such voyages and despatches are made outside of the common rules and that vessels sail without a perfect defence, and the Government of the Philippines should be reminded that similar bad outcomes are bound to happen frequently, unless the vessels of that run sail henceforth under the common rules and ordinances with which that navigation must be carried out.

And, concerning the fact that three frigates visited the Marianas with the above-mentioned prize, and requested food supplies, and were granted them by the Governor of the Marianas, although the record of proceedings state that there were only four small jars of gunpowder there, and that there are only 130 positions in the three companies, and one of them is made up of natives, and that guns, arquebuses and muskets are also lacking, given that the proceedings in this point are incomplete, and the matter being pursued in court to ascertain what happened in the Marianas, until such proceedings come with the decision in the case, one cannot respond definitely regarding this point; therefore, a despatch should be sent to the Governor of the Philippines, in case he has not in the meantime sent the final case files to the Council, to make him send them without delay, citing the parties and the attorneys involved, and also letting him understand that he should consider the bad condition and defence situation that the Mariana Islands found themselves in, for lack of weapons and munitions, so that, in case he has not yet succored them with everything they need, he in no way must let those Islands down in future, providing them promptly with the subsidy and sufficient succor of weapons and munitions and everything else they might need overthere, and he should keep in mind what the English of the three frigates said about occupying the Mariana Islands, to have a port of call in the South Sea, and to incommode both the coasts of the Kingdom of Peru and of the Kingdom of New Spain, as these two frigates did, by taking so many prizes and causing destruction on their coasts; and Y.M. in Council should be kept informed of everything that concerns the intention and desires shown

by the English to occupy the Mariana Islands, in order to take the most appropriate decisions for greater security and defence.

...
[The Council made decisions regarding the three main points covered above. Firstly, they recommended that ex-Governor Zababuru be fined 2,000 pesos for having given the command of a galleon to a Frenchman.]

...
The second point deals with what Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of the Mariana Islands, has tolerated and allowed to happen, by providing the enemies so liberally with everything they needed for their succor, when he knew the damages they had done and prejudice they had caused, using as an excuse the harm that they could have done him, if he had not acceded to their request. Indeed, the file itself state that the enemies had only two vessels with only 200 men, but he did not oppose them in any way, and even confessed that he had 130 men at hand who could have carried it out, although he mentions the lack of gunpowder and weapons but does not justify his inaction. The Council is of the opinion that the above-mentioned Governor of the Marianas should be immediately removed from his post, and an order sent to the Governor of the Philippines to get him out of there and take him to Manila, and to send at once to that Government a person of his greater satisfaction, trust, and military profession, for the security and defence of those Islands, and giving him all the instructions, orders and provisions that would protect them more efficiently. And in addition a despatch should be issued to the Governor and Audiencia of Manila, for them to put up, substantiate and determine the case against the above-mentioned Governor of the Marianas, according to law, and send a report on the results of this particular case.

The third point has to do with provisions regarding the protection and security of the Mariana Islands. They must be stated in terms that are more efficient but within today's means (even if the lack of men and munitions referred to by the Governor be true) given the importance of guarding them against any risk and invasion, not only on the part of enemies but also of the natives; to this effect, the Council is of the opinion that an order should be issued to the Viceroy of New Spain, so that, once advised of this situation, he may provide and remit powder and munitions in quantities that he sees fit, and up to 200 muskets or rifles, with the specification that the Governor of the Philippines is to remit them to the Mariana Islands, for their defence; and he is to try and send on the same occasion the largest number of convicts that are usually rounded up and sent to those Islands, so that the Governor of the Philippines may send those he feels appropriate for the Marianas, informing the Governor of the Philippines about it;¹ and reminding him of the extreme care and vigilance that must be kept always in the timely remittance of the succors for the better defence, security and preservation of those Islands, as they are so important; and also that more careful planning and efforts

1 Ed. note: They mean that, to save time, the firearms and some of the convicts were to be left directly in Guam, and not taken to Manila and back to Guam.

be made so that the ships that leave those Islands for New Spain do sail in the state of readiness and defence that they must have, both on the outward and return portions of their voyage, as well as in the selection of the officers and commanders who have to go on board them, an effort being made to choose the most expert among their various professions, for the greater security and defence of the galleons.

...

[As for the general lack of firearms in Spain and Spanish possessions, the Council recommended the manufacture of 8,000 rifles in Vizcaya, with a corresponding number of slugs for them. Two members of the Council did not agree that Governor Zabalburu be fined. One, Don Nicolas de Manrique, did not agree that Governor Pimentel be charged outright. The summary of this consultation is expressed as follows:]

Endorsement.—

The Council of the Indies, on 14 June 1712, has the honor to forward to Y.M. the news given by the Governor of the Philippines and that of the Mariana Islands, that is, the English have captured the almiranta that left for New Spain in the year 1709, and lets Y.M. know of their opinion. There are dissenting voices and one rubric.

Decision of H.M.—

As long as the case against the Governor of the Mariana Islands is not finished, I agree with Don Nicolás Manrique. The fine imposed on Don Domingo de Zabalburu is suspended for now. In everything else, I agree with the Council, and so I have ordered.

Signatures follow. Published on 30 June 1712.¹

1 Ed. note: The actual letter from Governor Ursua is to be found in AGI Fil. 94, and 129-4-149 & -150. For follow-up actions, see Doc. 1712A.

Document 1710E

Subsidies for the 1710-15 period

Source: AGNAHH 1733, fol. 1, 4v, 6-6v.

Subsidy for 1710

[To] Royal Judges, officials in charge of the Royal Treasury in the City of Manila.

The 250,000 pesos of the subsidy of those Islands, in cash and goods, pertaining to this year of 1710, are reconciled and broken down into categories, as follows:

...

Religious of the Society of Jesus: 2,000 pesos, paid out of the Royal Treasury to the Religious of the Province of the Society of Jesus of those Islands for them to cover the cost of going to the Islands of heathens that are between the Philippines and the Marianas toward the south, named Pais or Palaos, very populated with people of a docile nature and without any trace of idol worship, disposed to receive the Catholic Truth, and the light of the Gospel, in order to preach it and propagate it 2,000 p

Mariana Islands: And 29,914 pesos, 7 tomins and 3 grains paid out of this Royal treasury in view of the warrants dated 25th and 26th February of this year 1710: 21,375 of which for the salaries corresponding to the Governor, the Sergeant-Major, and the 60 soldiers of the standing garrison and camp of the Marianas; and the remaining 8,539 pesos, 7 tomins and 3 grains for the stipends of 18 Religious of the Society of Jesus, missionaries of those Islands, i.e. 14 priests and 4 coadjutor brothers, whose presence has been certified by their Rev. Father Vice-Provincial and Superior, plus the maintenance of the Seminary where the Mariano children are taught Christian and civilized customs, and the value of the wine from Spain and the olive oil that are used by the Missionary Fathers to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and to use in 10 lamps that burn before 10 tabernacles and which they have hung very carefully in as many churches: 29,914p 7t 3g

Mexico, 13 March 1710.

José Fernandez Canal

Antonio Gomez Lobato

Cristobal de Medina¹

¹ Ed. note: The same 2,000 pesos were paid the following years, but the amount of the subsidy for the Mariana Islands rose to 30,754 pesos in 1711 (*idem*, fol. 40-40v), to 30,775 pesos in 1712 (fol. 75), and the same in 1713 (fol. 109), but had risen to 32,691 by 1714 (fol. 141v) and 32,772 by 1715 (fol. 167).

Documents 1710F

Expeditions to the Caroline Islands — Results of the 1709 and 1710 voyages

Sources: AGI Fil. 215, formerly 68-5-29; copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

F1. Memorial by Fr. Andrés Serrano, undated (but December 1709)

Original text in Spanish.

El Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jhs, como superior y Vize Provincial, nombrado por N.P. General de la Mission que se ha de remitir à Palaos, ó Islas Australes; en la mejor forma que de derecho le convenga, se presenta ante V. Señoria y Dize:

*Que rreproduce la Real Zedula que ante el predecesor de V. Señoria presentó el Padre Pablo Clain Provincial actual de dicha Compañia su fecha de dies y nueve de Octubre del año passado de mill setecientos y cinco, despachada para el dicho Señor, y para V. Señoria por cuio contexto vera V. Señoria el sumo zelo de su Magestad, y el empeño y precision con que manda, que se haga el descubrimiento de dichas Yslas para plantar en ellas el Evangelio, y este mismo empeño y precision se rreconose de las Reales Zedulas, que sobre este mismo punto despacho su Magestad, à los Ilustrisimos Señores Arcobispo Metropolitanos de Mexico y de estas Yslas y especialmente de la que despacho al Exselentisimo Señor Duque de Albuquerque Virrey y Capitan General de las Provincias de Nueva España, mandando desde luego, que el dicho Señor Virrey libre dos mill pesos en cada un año para los alimentos de los Misioneros que entraren en dichas Yslas, disiendo su Magestad que dichos dos mill pesos se entreguen con puntualidad sin replica ni dilacion alguna y sin la mas mínima deduccion ni minoracion de dicha cantidad por causa alguna como de hecho lo ha executado asi por tres años continuos dicho Señor Virrey y en la dicha Real Zedula despachada al dicho predesesor de V. Señoria expressa su Magestad que se dé providencia para que **por dos vias** se exploren mas brevemente dichas Yslas dandose horden para que el Patache que de Cavite sale à Marianas procure descubrirlas; de que resulta, que atenta la Real voluntad de que se llegue à asegurar y logran el dicho descubrimiento y à las ymportantes consecuencias espirituales y temporales que comprehende, segun la mentte de su Magestad se han hecho ya dos despachos en tiempo del dicho Señor Predesesor de V. Señoria sin que se*

*aya logrado el Real empeño y deseo por diferentes accidentes que constavan à V. Señoria por los autos hechos en tiempo de dicho Señor y por lo que avra participado à V. Señoria el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga y como quiera que la Real voluntad es que se haga este descubrimiento y que **todos los años** se haya despachado de embarcacion con Cavo y escolta de soldados que quede con dichos misioneros y que se repita dicha orden en el Patache que ba à Marianas como todo consta de la dicha Real Zedula para efecto del dicho descubrimiento porque todas las dichas Zedulas Reales y Decretos, que à avido en esta materia han tenido presentes, que dichas Yslas no estan hasta aora descubiertas, y que es presisso que haya estos accidentes que realmente se descubran.*

A V. Señoria pide y suplica que en vista de los autos que han presedido, y mandando hacer y ber los Mapas que de nuevo se han hecho se sirva de dar la providencia que su Magestad manda, haziendo aprestar Patache competente y nombrando Cavo y escolta de soldados como se executo por dicho Predesesor de V. Señoria y eligiendo y nombrando Piloto de toda ynteligencia y practica de todos los parages y rumbos por donde sea [=se ha] de navegar dando cumplimiento en todo y por todo à dicha Zedula Real en que V. Señoria hara un servicio gratisimo à su Sanctidad y à su Magestad como lo podra rreconocer por el impresso que manifiesta y al suplicante singular gracia y fabor y principalmente à Dios nuestro Señor, y à todos aquellas almas de infieles que al presente havitan dichas Yslas.

Y asi lo espera de la Cristiana piedad y gracia de V. Señoria etc^a.

Jhs

Andres Serrano

Translation.

I, Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, as Superior and Vice-Provincial appointed by our Fr. General for the mission band that is to be sent to the Palaos, or Austral, Islands, in the best manner allowed by law, appear before Your Lordship and Declare:

That, according to the Royal decree dated 19 October 1705 addressed to the predecessor of Your Lordship and [therefore] Your Lordship, presented to him by Father Pablo Clain, the actual Provincial of our Society, Your Lordship will see therein the extreme zeal of His Majesty, and the commitment and obligation with which he orders that the exploration of said Islands be carried out in order to plant the Gospel there. The same commitment and obligation can be seen in the Royal decrees that His Majesty has despatched on this same point to their Illustrious Lordships, the Metropolitan Archbishops of Mexico and of these Islands, and specifically in the despatch to His Excellency the Duke of Albuquerque, Viceroy and Captain-General of the Provinces of New Spain, by ordering said Viceroy to release right away 2,000 pesos every year for the sustenance of the Missionaries who might make an entry in said Islands, His Majesty stating that said 2,000 pesos were to be delivered on time, without excuses or delays, and without the least deduction or decrease whatever from said sum under any pretext, something which said Viceroy has in fact been doing for the last three years.

And, in said Royal decrees despatched to said predecessor of Your Lordship, His Majesty states that provisions are to be made to explore said Islands more rapidly **from two directions** by giving an order for the patache that goes from Cavite to the Marianas to try and discover them. The fact is that the Royal will consists in making sure that said exploration does achieve success and the spiritual and material consequences that would ensue from it. In accordance with the will of His Majesty two despatches have since been carried out during the term of His Lordship your predecessor but without accomplishing the Royal commitment and wish, due to various accidents that are related to Your Lordship in the records of proceedings during the term of your predecessor, and through the report given to Your Lordship by General Don Miguel de Elorriaga. Inasmuch as the Royal will is for this exploration to take place and for a vessel to be sent **every year** with a Commander and an escort of soldiers to remain with said missionaries and that said order be repeated for the patache that goes to the Marianas, because all said Royal decrees that have been issued concerning this matter have recognized that said Islands have not been discovered so far, and that it is necessary that they be discovered in spite of these accidents.

I beg and beseech Your Lordship, in view of the above statements, to please order that the Maps that have recently been copied be examined, and to give the provision ordered by His Majesty, for outfitting an appropriate patache and for appointing a Commander and an escort of soldiers, as was done by the predecessor of Your Lordship, and for selecting and appointing a pilot with full knowledge and experience of all the courses in the area through which the navigation is to take place, and complying fully and completely with said Royal decree, by which Your Lordship will do a most grateful service to His Holiness and to His Majesty, as can be recognized upon reading the printed account that I exhibit,¹ and to this suppliant a particular favor, but mainly to God our Lord, and to all those people who presently live in said Islands.

And so I wish from the Christian piety and favor of Your Lordship, etc.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano²

F2. Record of proceedings opened by General Elorriaga, on 11 May 1709

Original text in Spanish.

En el Patache nombrado la Sanctisima Trinidad Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier en once dias del mes de Mayo de mill setecientos y nueve años.

1 Ed. note: The book he edited, entitled: "Breve noticia" (see Bibliography, under 1705).

2 Ed. note: On 20 December 1709, the Governor ordered a review of the documents concerning the unsuccessful voyage by General Elorriaga. The two Jesuit would-be missionaries to the Carolines were then Fathers Bobadilla and Estrada.

Yo el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, Theniente de Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas descubridor de las Yslas de los Palaos [sic] y Cavo Superior de la gente de mar y guerra que ba en el hallandome en el embocadero de San Bernardino con falta de Escrivano publico ni Real que pueda entender en las diligencias Judiciales que puedan ofrecerse para ocurrir à ella y para que se hagan con publica authoridad usando de la facultad que tengo y por mi autoridad se me confieren en aquella via y forma que mas aya lugar en derecho nombro por mis testigos acompañados al Ayudante Marcos Gonzales y à Don Juan Manuel de Curuzelaegui persona de toda satisfacion para que asistan conmigo à las dichas diligencias y mando que antes se les resiva juramento de usas vien y fielmente el dicho cargo guardando secreto en lo que fuere nesasario y por este auto assi lo provey mande y firme.

Miguel de Elorriaga.

...
Y por no saber firmar dicho Ayudante à su ruego lo firmo el Reverendo Padre Phelipe Bernardo Mexia religioso de la Compañia de Jesus y Capellan de este dicho Patache de que doy fee.

Miguel de Elorriaga.

...
[Requisitioning the frigate San Miguel to accompany the patache]

En el Patache nombrado la Sanctisima Trinidad Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco en dose de Mayo de mill setecientos y nueve años:

Yo el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga Theniente de Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas descubridor de las Yslas de los Palaos y Cavo superior de la gente de mar y guerra que ba en el, hallandome en el embocadero de San Bernardino con falta de vientos favorables para poder dar el devido cumplimiento por la precision que devo à las ordenes con que me hallo en cuya atencion:

*Digo que el capitulo seis de la ynstruction que se me dio por el superior gobierno se ordena se retire à tiempo que pueda dar quenta à su Magestad (que Dios guarde) el Señor Governador en el despacho de este presente año y en atencion à lo adelantado del tiempo y atrasado del viaje ocasionado de la continuadas brisas circunstancia que hace probable el no poder cumplir dicha orden sin tomar algun medio conducente à su mas puntual y exacta observancia cuya execucion se promete su Señoria de lo que dictare mis experiencias y obligaciones segun lo pidieren las circunstancias presentes como consta de dicho Capitulo seis y siendo las presentes las demas consideraciones assi para el servicio de su Magestad que con tanto empeño favorece esta ympresa como del agrado de su Señoria tan exacto en las cosas del real servicio jugaba conbeniente el combocar junta de los Reverendos Padres Misioneros y del Capitan Don Francisco de Padilla que ba nombrado por Cavo de la Escolta que ha de quedar en las Yslas de los Palaos y por pacificador de ellas y de sus naturales y los oficiales de este Patache para deliberar si combendria haberse de una fragata nombrada **Nuestra Señora de la Estrella, San Miguel y las Animas** que viene à cargo de Pasqual Sanchez capaz de resistir à los tiempos que huvieren de bientos contrarios por ser del porte de este Patache*

y que esta pueda dar cuenta à su Señoria con anticipacion de lo subседido y descubier-to mientras este Patache se detiene en hacer y disponer lo nesesario para una suficiente defensa de los Reverendos Padres Misioneros y soldados que halla ubieren de quedar segun horden de su Señoria y porque puede haver el yncombeniente de que se recres-can al Real haver nuevos gastos en el havio de dicha fregata dicho General haserlos de su cuenta y haserse cargo de los atrasos gastos ó menoscavos que ocasionare à su dueño por juzgarlos del servicio de ambas Magestades en cuya atencion ruego y encargo à los Reverendos Padres Misioneros y ordeno al Capitan Don Francisco de Padilla y à los oficiales de este Patache asistan à junta y que en ella con libertad cristiana digan su sen-tir y parecer para que se determine lo mas combeniente al mayor servicio de su Magestad y menos gastos de la Real Hacienda y mexor y mas pronto descubrimiento de dichas Yslas de los Palaos; y por este auto assi lo provey mande y firme con asistencia de mis testigos acompañados de que doy fee.

Miguel de Elorriaga.

Por Marcos Gonzalez, Phelipe Bernardino Mexia.

Juan Manuel de Curuzelaegui.

...

[Decommissioning the frigate San Miguel]

En el Patache nombrado la Sanctisima Trinidad, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier en dos de Julio de mill setezientos y nueve años:

*Yo el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga... Dixo que por haverse reconosico se le an abierto algunas costuras por la proa dificultossa de remediar à **la fragata nombrada Nuestra Señora de la Estrella, San Miguel y las Animas** con lo que trabaxo con la mucha mar que ubo en los dos temporales que experimentamos el mes passado y para discurrir y determinar lo que se debe aser en este casso devia combocar à Junta ...*

...

[Opinion of the pilot]

El Capitan y Piloto Mayor de este Patache Don Juan Luis de Acosta haziendo espe-cial reflexo sobre el agua que hazia la fregata y lo maltratado de la vela mayor: Dixo que haziendo el agua por la proa y siendo por proa tambien los vientos era la natural que fuessen à mas el agua por lo que travajava la embarcacion como las mares que por la proa venian, y que si sobrebenia algun viento recio que acabara de quebrantar la vela mayor de la fregata no abia de que hazer otra, ni aun de que remendar la antigua, casso ambos que retardarian nuestro viage con aberla de aguardar à cada rrato por no poder seguir al Patache y demas de esto servia de alivio este despacho de dicha fregata para que nos dexara algunos vastimentos para proseguir nuestro viage por no hallarnos so-brados de ellos, y estar los tiempos arriesgados à no poder coger tierra tan presto.

Con este parecer se conformaron el Capitan de mar y guerra Don Francisco de Eborá y el Capitan y Piloto acompañado Don Eduardo Duarte de Barrios, y Domingo Dias Contra-Maestre de este Patache jugando ser dicho pareser del dicho Capitan y Piloto Mayor Don Juan Luis de Acosta muy conforme con las presentes circunstancias en que nos hallamos, y abiendo entendido y enteradome del pareser de los dichos Muy Rev-

erendos Padres Misioneros y demas contenidos en esta Junta me conforme en todo y por todo, con el dictamen y sentir de los de dicha Junta...

...

[General Elorriaga changes course on the advice of his Carolinian pilot]

En el Patache nombrado la Santisima Trinidad... en tres de Jullio de Mill setezientos y nueve... Yo el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga... Digo que en el Capitulo segundo de la ynstruccion que me dio el Señor Governador se hordena haga la derrota para el descubrimiento de las Yslas de los Palaos segun las que estan situadas por tales en un Mapa...

*Por lo que el año passado experimento el Capitan Juan Luis de Acosta Piloto Mayor de este Patache que fue despachado para dicho descubrimiento con el mismo empleo... y el de havernos dado à entender por demostrazion que hacia el principal de los naturales de Palaos que ultimamente se desgataron en el año proximo pasado y estan embarcados en este Patache para bolber à sus Yslas que estas estaban lejos y no las hallariamos si navegavamos de leste para el sueste y se contristaba quando bia que se nabegaba con la proa del leste para el sueste como consta à todos los mas de este Patache y en esta atencion luego que perdimos de bista el Cavo del Espiritu Sancto habiendo conferido con dicho Piloto mayor el punto resolbi conformandome con su dictamen seguir el viaje **por altura de entre dies y onze grados** porque diferentes Mapas Españoles y estrangeros ponen en esta latitud barias Yslas lo qual se à executado siempre que los an permitido los vientos y aunque emos pasado por medio de ellas segun la derota y observacion de dicho Piloto maior y la del acompañado en diferentes alturas y distancias y estando siempre con todo cuydado y vigilancia no emos reconocido aya tierra ninguna y porque segun el Parage en que nos hallamos por su latitud no se puede descubrir ninguna de las Yslas contenidas en el referido Mapa y porque con mexor acuerdo se tome la determinacion conbeniente en matheria de tanta gravedad, ruego y encargo al Muy Reverendo Padre Superior de la Mision asista en la junta que hordeno se aga de los oficiales de este Patache... y assi mesmo hago el mismo ruego y encargo à los demas Muy Reverendos Padres Misioneros y que el Padre Pedro de Estrada exprese su dictamen y el juicio que à hecho de lo que le an dicho los dichos naturales de las Yslas de los Palaos supuesto que les entiende la lengua y les à cuydado y tratado mas de sinco meses ...*

[Opinion of Fr. Bobadilla]

Dijo dicho Padre que por lo que pudo observar el año passado no podia aprovar enteramente dicho Mapa por haverle visto errado en la longitud y latitud con que por las primeras Yslas pues se passo entre algunas y sobre algunas de ellas sin haverlas visto y por otros yerros que facilmente se pueden observar entre las quales es muy considerable el dar treinta dias de bojeo à la primera Ysla y esto con ligera embarcacion y viento favorable lo qual andando solo cincuenta leguas por singladura viene à dar à dicha Ysla mill y quinientas leguas que no las tiene todo el Arco embocadero à Marianas y à dicha Ysla el Mapa no le da que quatro grados en su mayor estencion que es de norte à sur...

[Opinion of the Carolinian pilot on board, through Fr. Estrada]

*El Muy reverendo Padre Pedro de Estrada Misionero de las Yslas de Palaos, Dixo que segun lo que à entendido de los Palaos que ban en este Patache en lengua bisaya en que se explican bastantemente las Yslas que buscamos estan mas distantes de lo que hasta agora sea discurrido, y al leste, oeste del Cavo del Espiritu Santo porque dicen lo primero que en sus embarcaciones que son como las de Marianas en hechura y en ligeresa con biento à popa y fresco navegando al leste son menester mas de cinco dias para llegar à la primera que es **Palug** de donde se colige que estaran de Palapa[g] por lo menos mas de ducientas y cincuenta ó ducientos y quarenta leguas pues determinado el andar de sus embarcaciones respecto de este patache explica con muy lenta accion el correr de este y el de aquellas con muy aselerada aun habiendo visto al patache correr con viento à popa fresco de que se infiere que si este Patache que sea experimentado que con biento fresco navega cincuenta y sesenta leguas por singladura aun no anda tanto como sus embarcaciones las Yslas estaran por lo menos en la cordillera de Marianas que cae al sur de Guahan à que se añade que estando nosotros à por à mas de ducientas leguas de Palapa dize el principal que aumenta por la proa confirmandose todo esto con lo que dize gastaron en la arribada à Palapa que fueron treinta dias con viento leste de los quales los veinte y seis se dejaron benir que aunque fueran sin bela[,] los mares[,] el viento y las corrientes los havia de abatir mucho fuera de que los dias bonancibles levantare bela para llegar presto à tierra donde buscar comida y agua de que trayan falta lo segundo que esten estas Yslas suyas, leste oeste con el Cavo del Espiritu Sancto le an significado uniformemente desde que se desgaritaron como se puede ver en el Mapilla que el hiso en presencia del Padre Provincial Pablo Clain y especialmente en esta navegacion se a ratificado que estava dicho rumbo porque quando el Patache salio la buelta del sueste para disminuyr altura ynsto diferentes veces que ibamos perdidos y juzgandosse que en tomando la competente altura se consolaria biendonos tirar **al este** subsedio al contrario porque se desconsolo mucho y dezia que nos ybamos à morir para que no encontrariamos tierra por alli sino muy bajos señalando siempre las Yslas con grande uniformidad à donde siempre havia dicho colijesse que habla con algun fundamento; lo tercero de que (como el dize) **era el piloto que mas sabia en su Ysla** y que por estos le entregaron los demas principales las dos embarcaciones que se perdieron para que les siguieran [rather guieran] de que preguntandole con curiosidad si el sol en todo el año salia siempre por un sitio[,] me respondió que no[,] sino que cada mes salia por sitio diberso[,] demostrandolo en el suelo con palillos con mas acierto de el que prometia su barbaridad y biendo que aun no seguimos su juicio mudando de derrota[,] hizo con los mismos palillos demostracion de el rumbo que debiamos tomar y de el que llevaba ni es por estrellas que el conose y nombra[,] poniendo una sobre Palapa[,] otra sobre su Ysla, otras sobre el termino de nuestro rumbo[,] consiguiante siempre con su dicho[,] y **agora puestos en la Altura de dose grados, y medio[,] dize que al este estan sus Yslas[,]** de todo lo qual colijo que habla con fundamentos y parece ser sus Yslas en la Cordillera de Marianas al sur de Guajan; y los Garbanzos Yslas pertenecientes à ellas[,] y mas teniendo como tiene[n] embarcaciones en todo*

semejantes à las de Marianas con los mismos Palos, cuerdas, cates y echura y los mismos sombreros[,] el mismo modo y tonada de cantar[,] de donde juzgo que hallandonos en este parage agamos diligencias para coger Garbanzos ó otras Yslas por este rumbo situada para tomar lengua por lo menos de hasia donde caen estas Yslas[,] puesto que no tienen mas cosa fixa en los Mapas[,] y echa esta diligencia tomar rumbo fijo para que no se malogre nuestro viaje como se malograra si desde este paraje tomaramos la buelta del sudueste à buscar las Yslas en un paraje tan ynsierto con la nezesidad de perder nos[,] siendo los tantos gastos al Real haver[,] frustrar la expectacion de las dos Magestades Catholicas y Cristianisimas[,] la de Su Sanctidad[,] la de toda Europa[,] lo que fuera mas lastimosa à pechos christianos la reduccion de tantas almas à Nuestra Sancta Fee, por no pasar pocas leguas delante para buscar las Yslas en el paraje donde tantos fundamentos nos lo dan cumpliendo assi con mas aseguracion la voluntad del Señor Governador que prinzipalmente es de buscarlas y las que el Mapa de su Señoria señala sin exponernos à que yendo por nueve y ocho grados à buscarlas asia messes las corrientes que corren con tanta violencia al sur nos sotabentaran como subsedio el año pasado sin lograr cossa alguna mas que gastos y cansancio.

...

[Opinion of Chief Pilot Acosta]

... de tener bientos para yr para el leste me parece navegamos hasta dar con las Yslas que estan al sur del Meridiano de Iguan y de todo me remito à lo que mas conbenga.

...

[Pilot Acosta explains his estimated position]

*El Capitan Don Juan Luis de Acosta Piloto mayor de este Patache: Dixo à lo que es preguntado, y sacando la carta y compasses en presencia de todos se hallava en latitud por estimativa de treze grados y treinta y nueve minutos y en longitud de veinte y quatro grados à leste de Iguan siete grados segun su punto y representado en esta Junta como o mas del Biscocho se havia mojado con la continuacion de mar y biento que emos experimentado y al presente continua y no tan solamente se halla mojado el pan de arina que tambien recalando para abajo se hallaron en el pan muchos costales mojados y el que le fue à bisitar el guardian de este Patache dise que todo lo mas de abajo esta mojado con adbertencia que todo lo mojado del viscocho es causado de benir con tan poca estiva pues no trae à rais del Lastre mas que un petate con otra circunstancia que nunca se le dexo à la bomba criar agua de mas de quatro puntos y por estas causas que digera mi parecer pues **nos hallavamos propassados de Marianas** caussada de no haver podido observar el sol en quatro dias por lo serrado del tiempo de viento y agua y tambien por las corrientes que por estos parages ay à que respondi que era mi parecer el rendir el otro bordo y hacer esfuerso para yr à dicha Ysla de Iguan ú otra de la cordillera à bastimentarnos y de ay salir al fin de nuestro viage[.] cambiamos del otro bordo como à la oracion en buelta del ves norueste con el viento sudueste y los horizontes serrados.*

[Council of 17 August, held “on top of Guam”]

En el Patache nombrado la Santisima Trinidad... en dies y ocho dias del mes de Agosto de mill setezientos y nueve:

Yo el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga... Digo que con los vientos favorables que emos thenido estos dias juzgo se puede haver navegado la distancia que se pensso haver propassado las Yslas Marianas y no haviendolas abistado biniendo por su altura hasta el dia de oy y ser mucha la escases de bastimentos con que nos hallamos siendo la falta de agua mucho maior y para que se discurra lo que conbendria hazer en este casso, deve mandar y mando se comboque à Junta...

El Guardian [Domingo Díaz,] llamado à la Junta dixo que no havia agua que para 8 à 10 dias...

En lo que toca à la poca seguridad que prometen los Cables podridos y el poco ó ninguno abio de Jarcias de remuda y otros peltrechos necesarios al Patache: de lo qual como su Reverencia no tiene experiencia no puede hazer el adecuado concepto que se deve.

...
[Opinion of Pilot Acosta]

El Capitan Don Juan Luis de Acosta Piloto Mayor de este Patache: Dixo que haviendo oydo el auto dize se halla segun los Mapas situan la Ysla de Guan del Cavo del Espiritu Sancto en dies y seis grados y quatro minutos al este dicho Cavo, y en latitud de tresse grados y tresse minutos, y discurre hallarse al este de dicha Ysla por la fuerza de vendabal que bento como veinte dias y la mucha mar que ubo haziendosse à ber ydo mas al este que las observaciones me an mostrado y por otra razon que todo la mas fuerza de dicho vendabal era de dia y de noche en continuo turbonadas que las mas presisavan à quedar con el trinquete, y estava sin boneta aunque me hase fuerza el que haviendo navegado desde dosse de este mes hasta oy de la fecha con viento largo no aygamos visto dicha Ysla y por las razones arriva referidas me parese seguir la derrota por esta altura como dos singladuras y de no ver dicha Ysla el que sigamos la derrota en vuelta del sur sudueste à reconocer mas al sur de donde estubimos assi por barias señas que vimos este viage como el pasado...

Y haviendo enteradome del parecer de todas las personas referidas y oydo la larga conferencia... devi ordenar y hordene al dicho Piloto mayor que navegue hasta mañana al rumbo del oeste para ber si por la altura en que nos hallamos de la Ysla de Guajan se descubre, y en casso de no avistarlo gobernara al sur ó sur quarta al sudueste hasta ponerse en altura de ocho à nueve grados para que se pueda registrar y ber si por aquel paralelo estan las Yslas de los Palaos que buscamos... y mande al dicho Guardian que no de à la gente mas que la mitad de la racion que se à dado este mes y la mayor parte del pasado que viene haser [=a ser] la quarta parte de la rasion ordinaria con poca diferencia, y assimesmo dara solamente à medio quartillo de agua cada dia à cada uno...

Translation of the record of proceedings so far.

Aboard the patache named Santísima Trinidad, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier, on the 11th of the month of May of 1709.

I, General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, Lieutenant of Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, discoverer of the Islands of the Palaos and Senior Commander of seamen and soldiers on board, finding myself in the Strait of San Bernardino without a notary public or a royal notary who could understand the legal procedures that might be involved and be able to partake in them, therefore, in order to officially record the proceedings I make use of the authority that I have at my disposal to confer in that form and manner granted me in law to appoint as my companion witnesses Adjutant Marcos Gonzalez and Don Juan Manuel de Curuzeláegui, a person of complete satisfaction, in order for them to take part with me in said proceedings and I order that beforehand they swear the customary oath stating that they will faithfully fulfil said obligation, keeping information secret when necessary, and I so order through this my declaration, in faith whereof, I sign.

Miguel de Elorriaga.

...

And, given that said Adjutant does not know how to write, at his request, the Reverend Father Felipe Bernardo Mexía, religious of the Society of Jesus and chaplain of said patache, signed in his stead, in faith whereof, I sign.

Miguel de Elorriaga.

...

[Requisitioning the frigate San Miguel to accompany the patache]

Aboard the patache named Santísima Trinidad, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier, on 12 May 1709.

I, General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, Lieutenant of Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, discoverer of the Islands of the Palaos and Senior Commander of the seamen and soldiers on board, finding myself in the Strait of Bernardino and lacking favorable winds to enable me to give due compliance to the obligation that I have to respect my orders, consequently:

Declare that Chapter 6 of the Instruction given me by the superior government, to the effect that I should come back with sufficient time to enable the Governor to give a report to His Majesty (whom may God save) with this year's despatch, and given that time is running out and the voyage is delayed on account of continuous tradewinds, a circumstance that makes it probable that I will not be able to respect said order unless I take some means by which to do so more rapidly and precisely, whose execution Your Lordship relies upon, based on my experience and obligations, in accordance with prevailing circumstances, as stated in said Chapter 6; the present and other circumstances being what they are, to serve not only His Majesty who favors this enterprise with so much commitment but also to please Your Lordship so precisely in matters of the royal service, decided that it was proper for me to call to a meeting the Reverend Missionary Fathers, Captain Don Francisco de Padilla who is going as Commander of the Escort

that must remain in the Islands of the Palaos and as peace-maker of the Islands and their natives, and the officers of this patache, to deliberate whether it would be convenient to make use of a frigate named **Nuestra Señora de la Estrella, San Miguel y las Animas**¹ that comes under the command of Pascual Sanchez, able to resist any weather that might present itself with contrary winds, since it is of the same tonnage as this patache and that said frigate might report in advance to Your Lordship about the events and discovery while this patache would remain behind to make the necessary arrangements for a sufficient defence of the Reverend Missionary Fathers and soldiers who might have to remain overthere in accordance with the order of Your Lordship, and because of the disadvantage that new expenses might incur upon the Royal treasury in the outfitting of said frigate, said General will take them on his own account and be responsible for the delays, costs or damages that might be occasioned to its owner, because he judges them to be for the service of both their Majesties; consequently, I pray and entrust the Reverend Missionary Fathers and order Captain Don Francisco de Padilla and the officers of this patache to attend a council and therein to state their own opinion with complete Christian liberty, in order to resolve what is most appropriate for the greater service of His Majesty and lesser expenditures to the Royal Treasury and better and faster exploration of said Islands of the Palaos; and by this my declaration I so ordered it, and in the presence of my companion witnesses, and in faith whereof, I signed.

Miguel de Elorriaga.

For Marcos Gonzalez, Felipe Bernardino Mexía.

Juan Manuel de Curuzeláegui.

[A council was held on 13 May aboard the Patache, while it was anchored in the Bay of Sogod at Capul Island. Fr. Superior José de Bobadilla voted in favor of requisitioning the frigate. His opinion was endorsed by Fr. Pedro de Estrada. Fr. Mexía, as chaplain of the Patache, also had a favorable vote. Captain Padilla was also favorable. Chief Pilot Juan Luis de Acosta was not so sure that the frigate would resist the winds, but did not dissent. Juan Francisco de Eborá, captain of marines, added his vote in favor. So did Domingo Díaz, boatswain. So, by unanimous decision, Captain Sanchez was ordered to follow the patache. However, circumstances soon changed.]

[Decommissioning the frigate San Miguel]

Aboard the patache named Santísima Trinidad, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y San Francisco Xavier, on the 2nd of July 1709:

I, General Don Miguel de Elorriaga... Declare that, given the realization that some seams of the frigate named Nuestra Señora de la Estrella, San Miguel y las Animas have opened in her bow, something difficult to repair, and as a result of which it labored

1 Ed. note: Known as the San Miguel for short (see Doc. 1711D), this frigate was owned by General Miguel Martinez (see F6 below).

greatly in the heavy seas that occurred during the two storms that we have experienced this past month, and in order to deliberate and determine what is to be done in this case, must call a Council...

...

[Opinion of the pilot]

I, Captain Don Juan Luis de Acosta, Chief Pilot of this patache, having pondered the problem of leakage aboard the frigate and the damaged condition of its main sail, Declare that, since the water leakage is through the bow and the winds are also head winds, it was normal that the leakage increased when the vessel was fighting directly against the seas, and if some stiff wind were to finish off the main sail of the frigate, there would be nothing with which to make another, or even mend the old one, both happenstances would then delay our voyage, because we would have to wait on it at every turn, as it would not be able to follow the patache and, in addition, said frigate could be of some use to us by letting us have some of its food supplies to pursue our own voyage, as we find ourselves without any surplus of them, added to the fact that the weather is such that we may not be able to touch at any land any time soon.

Those who agreed with this opinion were Captain of marines Don Francisco de Eborá and Captain and pilot's mate Don Eduardo Duarte de Barrios, and Domingo Días, boatswain of this patache, since they thought that said opinion of said Captain and Chief Pilot Don Juan Luis de Acosta was very appropriate under the present circumstances in which we find ourselves, and having afterward heard and taken cognizance of the opinion of the above-mentioned Reverend Missionary Fathers and the other contents of this Meeting, I agree fully and completely with the decision and opinion of those of said Council...

...

[General Elorriaga changes course on the advice of his Carolinian pilot]

Aboard the patache named Santísima Trinidad... on 3 July 1709... I, General Don Miguel de Elorriaga... Declare that Chapter 2 of the Instruction given me by the Governor orders me to follow a certain course in the exploration of the Islands of the Palaos in accordance with their situations as shown on a Map...

Given the experience of last year by Captain Juan Luis de Acosta, Chief Pilot of this patache, who was despatched to said exploration with the same post... and the fact given us to understand by sign language by the chief of the natives who have recently drifted from the Palaos last year and are present aboard this patache to return home to the effect that their Islands are far away and we would not find them if we continue to sail ESE, when he saw that we were sailing with the bow pointed to the ESE, as is known by most on board this patache, and on this occasion, as soon as we lost sight of Cape Espiritu Santo, having conferred with said Chief Pilot on this point, I decided in accordance with his opinion to pursue the voyage **at a latitude between 10 and 11 degrees** because various Spanish and foreign charts show various Islands at this latitude, something we have always done, weather permitting, and although we have passed through the middle of them, according to the route taken and the observation of said

Chief Pilot and of his mate through various latitudes and distances, and being always very careful and watchful, we have not sighted any land whatever, and because, according to the neighborhood that we are in, on account of its latitude, we cannot find any of the Islands appearing on the above-mentioned Map and because a matter of so much importance should be resolved more assuredly, I pray and entrust the Most Reverend Father Superior of the Mission to attend the council meeting that I order be held of the officers of this patache... and also I make the same request to the other Most Reverend Missionary Fathers and let Father Pedro de Estrada express his opinion and the judgment that he has made of the sayings of said natives from the Islands of the Palaos, supposing that he understands their language and has dealt with them for over five months...

[Opinion of Fr. Bobadilla]

Said Father said that, through his experience of last year, he cannot approve completely said Map, because he considers it in error in its longitudes and latitudes; the first islands were sailed through and some of them passed over without being seen, and there are other errors that can be observed easily, for instance, the first island that needs 30 days to circumnavigate and this, with light vessel and a favorable wind; now if it were to sail only 50 leagues in a daily run, the result is that said Islands would be 1,500 leagues [in length] but that is the whole distance between the entrance Strait and the Marianas, and also said Island is given an extension north-south of 4 degrees of latitude on said Map...

[Opinion of the Carolinian pilot on board, through Fr. Estrada]

The Most Reverend Father Pedro de Estrada, Missionary of the Islands of the Palaos, Declared that, according to what he has understood from the Palaos who are aboard this patache in the Visayan language in which they explain themselves rather well, the Islands that we are looking for are farther than the distance we have covered so far, and lying east-west with Cape Espiritu Santo, because they say firstly that with their canoes that are like those of the Marianas in width and lightness, with a fresh wind behind them while sailing eastward, it takes more than five days to arrive at the first Island which is **Palug**; hence, one can conclude that the actual distance from Palapag would be at least over 250 leagues or 240 leagues; in fact, having recognized the slowness of this patache with respect to their canoes, he explains it by a very slow motion [of his hand] and the speed of theirs by a very fast motion, even though he had seen how fast the patache goes when running before a fresh wind. Consequently, one can infer that, if this patache can in effect cover from 50 to 60 leagues in a daily run with a fresh wind, still it does not travel as fast as their canoes, and the Islands would be at least in line with the Mariana Island chain but south of Guahan. Furthermore, the chief says that now that we are over 200 leagues from Palapag, we should continue eastward. He confirms all of this by saying how much time it took them to reach Palapag, which was 30 days with an easterly wind, but they spent only 26 of those days in coming, that,

though they be without sail, the seas, the wind and the currents made them drift very much, besides the fact that on days with favorable wind they raised the sail in order to make a landfall faster and look for food and water of which they had little on board. Secondly, [he said] that these Islands of his lie east-west with Cape Espiritu Santo, and he has said so constantly ever since they drifted, as can be seen in the little map that he made in the presence of the Father Provincial Pablo Clain and specially in this navigation he has ratified that to be the [right] heading, because when the patache took the SE direction to lower its latitude, he indicated to us many times that we were lost, and when he thought that we had reached the proper latitude he showed that he would be happy if we continued **eastward**, but when the opposite happened he was very much discouraged and was saying that we would die because we would not find any land that way, except a few shoals; he kept on showing the same direction that he had always indicated, and he might have a good reason to say so. Thirdly, he affirms that **he was the most knowledgeable pilot in his Island** and that was why the other chiefs entrusted him with the two canoes in which they got lost, for him to pilot them. So, when I was led by curiosity to test him, by asking him if the sun always rose in one direction all year round, he answered me that it did not, but every month it came out of a different spot, and he proceeded to demonstrate it upon the ground with small sticks, thus showing me more assuredness that can be expected from his barbarity; and upon seeing that we did not follow his judgment by correcting our course, he used the same small sticks to show [me] the course that we should follow, and that that we were following, explaining it all by mentioning the names of stars that he knows in his language, placing one over Palapag, another over his island, and others over the destination corresponding to our course, and he was always adamant in his statement. **And now that we are in a latitude of 12 and a half degrees, he says that his Islands lie to the east.**¹ From all of this, one can deduce that his Islands lie along the chain of the Mariana Islands south of Guajan; and the Garbanzos [i.e. Chick-pea] Islands are part of them. Furthermore, since their canoes are in everything similar to those of the Marianas, with the same masts, sheets, frames and width and the same hats, the same manner and tonality in their singing, I am led to believe that, once we get to that neighborhood we should make efforts to find the Garbanzos or other Islands located in that direction, in order to speak with some people, at least to find out which way lie these Islands, since they are not marked accurately on the Maps; once this effort succeeds, we can then follow a fixed course, and not lose our voyage, as it is sure to fail if, from this neighborhood, we turn SW to look for the Islands in an area so uncertain and the certainty of becoming lost, thus rendering useless the great expenditures made by the Royal treasury, frustrating the expectation of the two kings, His Catholic Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty, that of His Holiness, that of all of Europe, and, what should be more deplorable to Christian bossoms, the reduction of so many souls to our Holy Faith, if we do

1 Ed. note: He was wrong, of course, as there are no islands at all in the Carolines between 13° and 11° of latitude north.

not go on a few more leagues to look for the Islands in the vicinity where we have so many good reasons for believing that they are, thus complying more assuredly with the will of His Lordship the Governor which consists mainly in looking for them and those shown on the Map from His Lordship, without exposing ourselves to what happened months ago when we were looking for them in 9 and 8 degrees, to currents that run with great violence southward that might make us drift to leeward, as happened last year without achieving anything but expenses and fatigue.

...
[Fr. Mexía agreed that the route should be eastward along the present parallel of 12 and a half degrees. Captain Padilla stated that the objective was to find the islands, and therefore the route selected should be where it was more probable to find them.]

...
[Opinion of Chief Pilot Acosta]

... if we have the proper winds to go eastward, it seems to me that we should sail that way until making a landfall with the Islands that lie to the south of the meridian of Iguan, and I agree fully with what is more convenient.

...
[Marine Captain Eborá agreed with Acosta, and Boatwain Díaz simply stated that the orders of the Governor should be followed. General Elorriaga concluded that the opinions of the missionaries and pilots should be followed, heading eastward whenever possible.]

[By 21 July, however, no islands had been sighted, and the food supplies were running low. Rationing was begun. Another council was held to decide whether or not the patache should head for Guam to refresh. The missionaries were consulted first, and they were in favor. Their estimated position, according to Pilot Acosta, was then **12° 49' N. and longitude 16° 40' E of Cape Espiritu Santo**. The decision taken at this council was to head for Guam.]

[On 26 July, confusion set in as Guam had not yet been sighted. Fr. Bobadilla said that they should head "for the nearest islands." Acosta wanted to head south at this point. Fr. Mexía advised him "to make every effort possible to touch at one of the Mariana Islands." So, Acosta was asked to explain his fix.]

[Pilot Acosta explains his estimated position]

Captain Don Juan Luis de Acosta, Chief pilot of this patache, Declared, in answer to what he was being asked, and pulling the chart and compasses in the presence of everyone, that he found himself in an estimated latitude of 13 degrees and 39 minutes and in a longitude of 24 degrees[,] **east of Iguan** [by] 7 degrees according to his fix. He also mentioned in this council that the biscuit was more or less wet with the continuous seas and wind that he have experienced and continue at present and not only the bread made out of flour is wet but also saturating downward, as many bags containing bread were found to be wet, and that the man who went down to inspect this patache, the boatswain, reported most of everything that lie underneath is wet, and he warned

that the reason for all of the biscuit being wet was because of so little stowage; indeed, there is nothing but a mat on top of the ballast, in spite of another circumstance, that he never let the water in the pump rise more than four points, and for reasons such as this he said “my opinion then is that **we find ourselves beyond the Marianas**, the cause being that I have not been able to observe the sun for four days on account of the sky being covered with wind and water, and also on account of the currents that prevail in this neighborhood,” to which I answered that it was my opinion that we should give up and turn back, making efforts to reach said Island of Iguan or another island in that chain to replenish our supplies, and from there go out to achieve the purpose of our voyage. We changed direction at about the time of the prayer and headed NW with a wind from SW and a covered sky.¹

...

[Council of 17 August, held “on top of Guam”..]

Aboard the patache named Santísima Trinidad... on the 18th of the month of August 1709:

I, General Don Miguel de Elorriaga... Declare that with the favorable winds that we have had for the past few days, think that we may have made up for the distance that we had covered beyond the Mariana Islands, and not having seen them in spite of our sailing at their latitude until today and since our food supplies are getting very scarce and the lack of water even greater, and in order to deliberate on the best course of action in this case, had to call and I call a meeting of the Council...

The Boatswain [Domingo Díaz], when called to the meeting declared that there was water for only 8 to 10 days...

As far as the little security offered by the cables that are rotten and the little or non-existent supply of spare rigging and other necessary equipment for the patache, His Reverence said that he did not have the experience to enable him to adequately judge the situation.

...

[The missionaries wanted the patache to head southwest, toward the presumed position of the Palaos. Army Captain Padilla and Marine Captain Eborá agreed with the missionaries, that they should seek some islands.]

[Opinion of Pilot Acosta]

I, Captain Don Juan Luis de Acosta, Chief Pilot of this patache: Declare that, having heard the statement, I find himself where the Charts place the Island of Guan, at 16 degrees 4 minutes east of Cape Espiritu Santo,² and at 13 degrees 13 minutes [lat. N], and I think that I must be east of said Islands on account of the force of the monsoon that blew for about 20 days and the sea that ran high, so that I must have been

1 Ed. note: This was a wrong decision, as it turned out later; they were still due west of Guam, but close to it, when they decided to head westward, back to the Philippines...

2 Ed. note: The actual difference in longitude is 19 degrees plus.

more to the east than my observations have shown me and another reason is that most of the force of this monsoon took place day and night during continuous squalls that forced us to remain with the foresail, and without a bonnet, although I am at a loss to understand, having sailed since the 12th of this month until today with a wind that was not a headwind, we still have not seen said Island, and for the above-mentioned reasons it seems to me that we should follow our present course and keep this latitude for two more daily runs and, if said Island is not sighted, we should then change the heading to SSW to reconnoiter more to the south where we were before, because of some signs we saw in this voyage and in the last one...

...
[At this point, they began to use as food supplies the 300 cavans of *palay*, or unhusked rice, which they had meant to sow in the Caroline Islands. The decision taken was as follows:]

And having heard the opinion of all the above-mentioned persons and the discussion that followed... I had to order and ordered said Chief Pilot to sail due west until tomorrow to see if we can find the Island of Guajan on our present latitude and, in case we do not see it, to head south or S1/4 SW until we get to a latitude between 8 and 9 degrees to check whether or not the Islands of the Palaos that we are looking for are on that parallel or not... and I ordered said boatswain not to give the men more than half the ration that has been given during this month and for most of last month, that is, a quarter of the ordinary ration more or less, and also he is to give only half a pint of water per day to each man...

[This was one last chance at finding the islands. However, on 13 September 1709, they came into sight of Cape Espiritu Santo. For a summary of the logbook of this voyage, see Doc. 1709B.]

F3. Continuation of the Inquiry, January 1710

Original text in Spanish.

Escrito del Señor Fiscal.

El Fiscal de su Magestad à la vista... del escrito presentado por el Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano...

Dize que por el Real Rescripto se ordena se ponga en practica el despacho para la reduccion de estas Yslas sus avitadores y que en ellas se planten el Sancto Evangelio cuyas providencias por lo que toca à este gobierno se han dado en dos despachos y en el primero gastado tres meses y dies y siete dias, y en el segundo seis mezes y nueve dias siguiendo los rumbos que expresa la Real Zedula por cuyo contexto se dieron los derroteros, y ordenes à los Cavos que segun sus diarios y Juntas que parase hizieron con yntervencion y asistencia de los Reverendos Padres Ministros que iban à dicha mision no se dio con dichas Yslas de Marianas como de trescientas leguas y haviendose sondeado no solo la mediania sino tambien los rumbos por los vientos en que solo descubrieron Mogotes de los muchos que tiene el mar yncapaces de poblarse, haviendose hecho tanto gasto.

...

Y haviendose para el afecto echo dos salidas sin haver dado con ellas se deve suspender otro qualquiera [viaje] que se yntente asta dar cuenta à su Magestad, con testimonio de los autos y Mapas para que sobre todo ordene lo que fuere de su Real agrado y que en el ynterin queden depositados en estas caxas los dos mill pessos que anualmente se embian, y casso negado que se yntente la tercera salida, se deba para ello conbocar una junta de seis pilotos de mas experiencia en estas Yslas y que forme un Mapa ordenado por todas de las Yslas de este Archipiélago por los rumbos de quinientas leguas, en circuyto por todos los cuatro vientos...

A V. Señoría Suplica que theniendo presente determine y mande por ser Justicia. Manila y Henero veinte y dos de mill setecientos y dies años. Licenciado Albarado.

Translation.

Writ of the Fiscal.

The Fiscal of His Majesty, having read... the writ presented by Reverend Father Andrés Serrano...

Declares that by the Royal Rescript is ordered the execution of the despatch for the reduction of these Islands, their inhabitants and that the Holy Gospel be planted there, and the provisions that concern this government have resulted in two voyages, one lasting 3 months and 17 days, and the other 6 months and 9 days, and following the courses mentioned in the Royal decree, that inspired the more precise search plan given in the order to the Commanders. However, according to their logbooks and council deliberations that took place with the intervention and attendance of the Reverend Father Ministers who were on their way to said mission, the said Islands of the Marianas [sic]

were not sighted after about 300 leagues and, after checking out not only their vicinity but also the [intermediary] courses, on account of the winds, they sighted only rock islets among the many present in the sea, and are uninhabitable, after having spent so much...

And, given that two voyages have already been done for this purpose without discovering any Island, no other voyage whatever should be undertaken until a report is sent to His Majesty, enclosing the record of proceedings and the Maps so that orders might be given to please His Majesty, and that in the meantime the 2,000 pesos that are sent every year remain deposited in this treasury. Otherwise, if the case be denied and a third voyage undertaken, a meeting of the six foremost pilots in these Islands should be convened beforehand, and they should lay out a regular Chart covering all the Islands of this Archipelago for up to 500 leagues in all direction, for all four winds...

To Your Lordship he begs that justice be done and orders given, keeping the present in mind.

Manila, 22 January 1710.

Licentiate Alvarado.

F4. Memorial by Fr. Serrano, undated (but about 1 February 1710)

Original text in Spanish.

El Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus superior y Vice-Provincial de la Mision de las Yslas de los Palaos parece ante V. Señoria...

Dize que el dicho Señor Fiscal como tan exacto y zeloso Ministro de su Magestad en substancia representa que se deve suspender la tercera expedicion...

En atencion à que (hablando con respeto devido) asta aora en los dos viages no se han hecho las devidas diligencias ni se han buscado puntualmente las dichas Yslas en la parte que se ynformo à su Magestad; esto es entre Philipinas, y Marianas à la parte Austral de estas; cuyo ynforme consta de la misma Real Zedula en que se manda que el Patache de Marianas de buelta de viage à estas Yslas concurra à su exploracion y en quanto à esta parte no se à cumplido del todo la dicha Real Zedula. Y porque el no haverse buscado en la parte (no se à cumplido del todo) la dicha Real Zedula consta porque dichas Yslas segun ella, se deven buscar en la Arca ó en el Golfo zeñido de las lineas rectas que se ymaginan desde el Cavo del Espiritu Santo hasta las Yslas Marianas y de estas hasta pasar la linea al menos dos, ó tres grados asi al sur que es la verdadera parte Austral de Marianas y de aqui hasta el Cavo de San Agustin en la Ysla de Mindanao y de este Cavo al de el Espiritu Santo en la Ysla de Ibabao y es claro y constante en los autos y diarios de los dos viages no haverse andado todo este Golfo ó area ni por las partes colaterales ó lineas rectas de el ni mucho menos por los yntermedios y asi no esta cumplida la dicha Real Zedula por no haverse hecho las devidas diligencias en la forma que lo prescribe.

...

Y en el segundo viage consta el engaño de la fantasia de dicho piloto pues segun su derrotero se imagino propasado de las Yslas Marianas siete grados siendo assi que como se vio despues no avia llegado al Meridiano de ellas[,] fuera de que toda la dicha navegacion fue entre dies y quinze grados al Norte y assi fue tambien preciso el mal logro de dicho viage. Y por lo que toca à la parte de los gastos de la Real Hazienda es cierto que se deven hacer quando por la dicha Real Zedula y Decreto de su Magestad consta que desea y quiere que se hagan. Por cuya razon (hablando con el respeto devido) no se deven suspender dicho tercer viage...

...

*Y porque no es solo pendiente la probabilidad de estas Yslas su existencia de lo que informaron unos Yndios que se explican con demostraciones porque como parece de la ynformacion que presenta desde los años de setenta y uno aca, **por espacio de casi quarenta años se han desgaritado hasta ocho vezes muchos Yndios que han llegado hacerse ladinos y Christianos en especialmente en las Provincias de Caraga y Leite** los quales se an christianos y tratados con los Reverendos Padres Ministros y por los Alcaldes mayores y estos han contestado en los mismos ynformes que los otros menos entendidos ó de menor capacidad antes se be la especialisima providencia de Dios en querer que se desgariten tantas vezes buscando su remedio y para que su Sanctidad y su Magestad se ayan movido à los breves y hordenes dados para este fin y assi mismo consta la existencia y situacion de dichas Yslas de la Historia General de Indias [de Herrera] y otras Historias y relaciones y de relaciones particulares que han hecho los Padres Francisco Miedes y Geronimo de Cebreros (que aun oy vive) ambos de la Compañia de Jesus que esta pronto à presentar ante V. Señoria é informara al Real Consejo con ellas.*

Porque pide y suplica à V. Señoria que en atencion à no averse cumplido la dicha Real Zedula ni hechos las diligencias exactas y devidas que su Magestad manda con tanto aprieto por esta via ni por la de Marianas se sirva de mandar que se haga tercero despacho...

...

Y para que conste la facilidad y modo con que se deve hazer dicho viage y descubrimiento presenta el Mapa y derrotero que suplica à V. Señoria se ponga en dichos autos para que el Piloto que fuera nombrado se gobierne por el. Pido justicia, ut supra.

Jhs

Andres Serrano.

Translation.

Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Superior and Vice-Provincial of the Mission of the Islands of the Palaos, appears before Your Lordship...

Declares that said Fiscal, as a correct and zealous Minister of His Majesty essentially recommends that the third expedition be suspended...

With all due respect, given that in the two voyages done so far not all due efforts have been made, nor have said Islands been searched for intently in the area that was recommended to His Majesty in consultation, that is, between the Philippines and Marianas, to the south of them; such consultation is recorded in the Royal decree itself, in which is ordered that the Mariana patache, on its return voyage to these Islands, is to make a search for them, and this part of said Royal decree has not been fully complied with, and this is so because, according to it said Islands must be sought within the arc or area of the sea bound by straight lines that can be imagined as running from Cape Espiritu Santo to the Mariana Islands, and from the latter down 2 or 3 degrees southward, which is the true southern part of the Marianas, and from here to Cape San Agustin in the Island of Mindanao, and from this Cape to that of Espiritu Santo in the Island of Ibabao. It is clear and constant in the record and logbooks of the two voyages that not all of this area has been covered, not the parts near the boundary lines and not on those lines, and much less in the intermediate parts, and so said Royal decree has not been complied with, because not all due efforts have been made in the manner described therein.

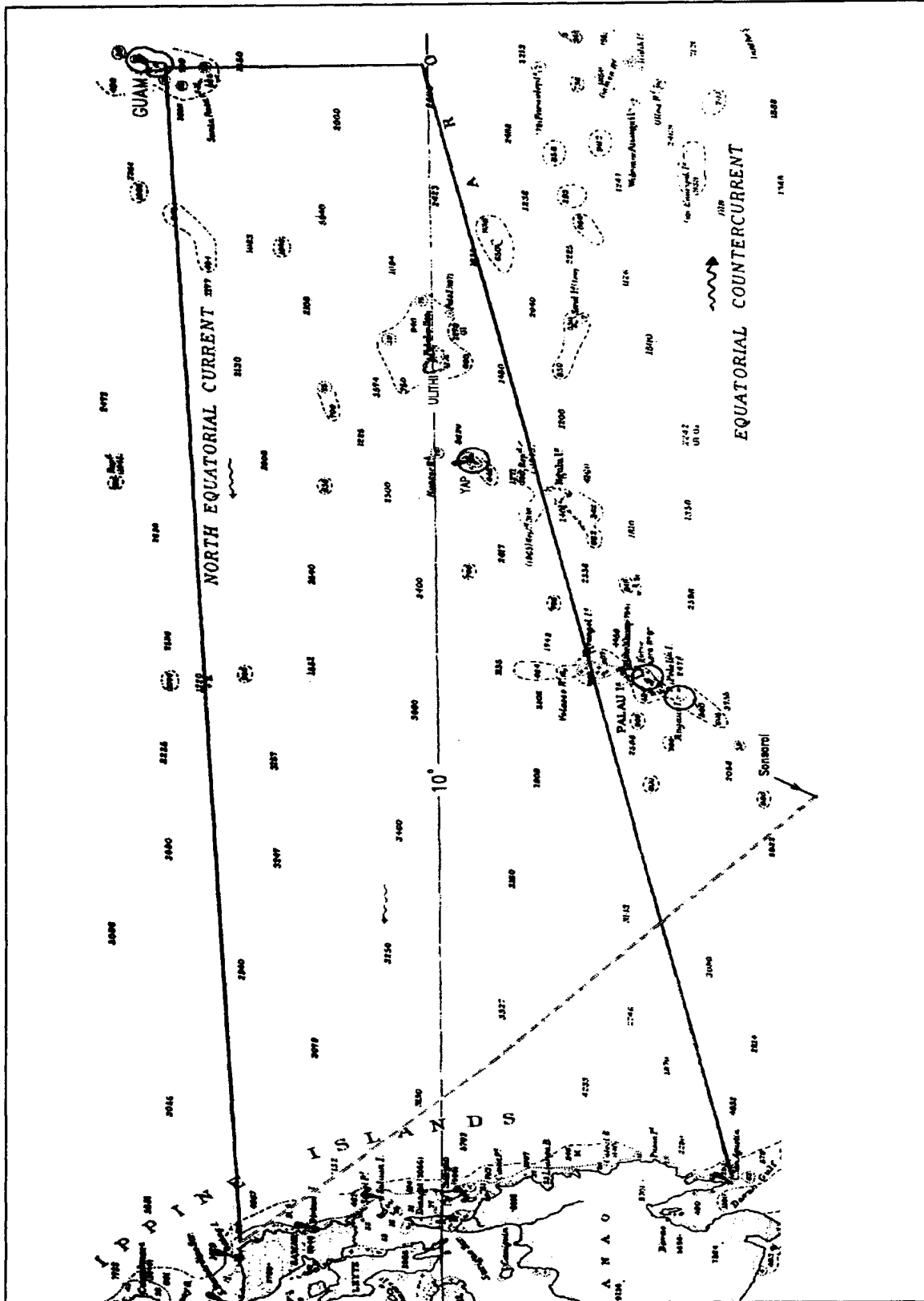
...

And in the second voyage, there was this mistake made by said pilot who was tricked by his imagination into believing that he had sailed 7 degrees beyond the Mariana Islands, but when later on it was realized that he had not reached their meridian, in spite of the fact that the whole navigation was between 10 and 15 degrees north, thus the failure of said voyage was inevitable. And, as far as the waste of money on the part of the Royal treasury, it is certain that said Royal decree must be respected, when it states that such is the wish and will of His Majesty. For this reason (speaking with all due respect) said third voyage must not be suspended...

...

And because the existence of these Islands is not just a question of probability, as some Indians have informed and explained it with demonstrations, and their information has been recorded [by us] since the year 1671 until now, **during the period of almost 40 years many Indians have drifted in up to 8 times** when they succeeded in learning a common language¹ and become Christian, specially those who reached the Provinces of Caraga and Leyte, who have become Christian and had contact with the Reverend Father Ministers and the provincial Mayors. The latter have said in the same inquiries that many others with less knowledge or with lower status have had similar experiences. One can see the most particular providence of God in wishing them to drift so many times, looking for a remedy, and in moving His Holiness and His Majesty to issue briefs and orders for this purpose, and in addition the existence and position of said Islands have been recorded in the General History of the Indies [by Herrera] and

1 Ed. note: "Ladino" in Spanish can be interpreted this way. The usual common language was Visayan.



(Previous page:) **Search area recommended by Fr. Serrano.** *The first Spanish expeditions to the Carolines were unsuccessful because there were not any islands in the search area recommended by their promoter, except for Yap and Ulithi. On the other hand, the dotted line, along a south-east course running from Cape Espiritu Santo was the idea of Fr. Clain. It was to lead the ship directly to Sonsorol Island a few months later.*

tories and narratives, and in individual reports made by Father Francisco Miedes and Father Gerónimo de Cebreros, both of the Society of Jesus; the latter is still alive and ready to appear before Your Lordship and to inform the Royal Council about them.¹

He begs and beseeches Your Lordship, given the fact that said Royal decree has not been complied with, and not all due efforts been made, according to the order given by His Majesty with so much insistence, neither from here nor from the Marianas, you may be pleased to order that a third despatch be made...

...
And in order for the ease and manner of carrying out said voyage of exploration be recorded, he presents the Map and rutter, which he begs Your Lordship to add to said records of proceedings² so that the pilot to be appointed will follow its guidance. I ask for justice, etc. as above.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano.

F5. Meeting of the Finance Committee, 10 March 1710

Original text in Spanish.

...
Y Conferido largamente sobre ello todos unanimes y conformes fueron de parecer y voto que se haga tercer viage para el descubrimiento de dichas Yslas Palaos con la precision que expresa la dicha Real Zedula de su Magestad (que Dios guarde) y en la conformidad que pide la representacion hecha por el Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano...

Y oydo por su Señoria dicho Señor Conde de Lizarraga Presidente y Governador y Capitan General de estas dichas Yslas Philipinas; Dixo que se conformaba y conformo con el comun parecer de los dichos Señores de esta Junta y mando se den por este Gobierno y Juezes Oficiales Reales las dichas providencias y se le de por ynstruccion al Cavo de este Patache la execucion de dicha derrota por el tiempo y modo que refiere en el pedimento del Padre Andres Serrano para el dicho descubrimiento y dichos Juezes

1 Ed. note: For Fr. Miedes' report, see Doc. 1664D. For Fr. Cebreros' report, see Doc. 1709C.

2 Ed. note: No copy was made to accompany the official case file sent to Madrid.

Oficiales Reales y Contador de cuentas y resultas tome razon de esta Junta en los libros de sus oficios para su execucion y se de cuenta á su Magestad, este presente año...

Translation.

...
And having conferred at length about it, all unanimously agree in their opinion and vote that a third voyage be undertaken for the discovery of said Palaos Islands, exactly as stated in said Royal decree from His Majesty (whom may God save) and recommended in the representation made by Reverend Father Andrés Serrano...

And this having been heard by His Lordship, said Count of Lizarraga, President and Governor and Captain-General of these Philippine Islands, Declared that he agreed with the common opinion of said gentlemen of this Committee and ordered that said provisions be issued by this government and the Royal officials and that the Instruction given to the Commander of this patache is to specify said courses, time period, and manner referred to in the request of Father Andrés Serrano for said exploration, and said Royal officials, judges and Royal Accountants for revenues and expenses, take note of the minutes of this meeting in the books of their offices for its execution, and to give a report to His Majesty this year...

Editor's note:

Fr. Serrano then presented a copy of the booklet printed at Madrid, entitled "Breve noticia", which contains the letter of Fr. Clain to Fr. General Tirso Gonzalez (Doc. 1697F) and the King's decree of 1705, among other documents.

F6. Extracts from yet another, long, memorial by Fr. Serrano

Original text in Spanish.

...
Son muy moderados los gastos que hasta aora se han hecho por quenta de su Magestad en los dichos dos viages respecto de lo que pide una empresa que tan ymportantes consecuencias espirituales y temporales comprehenden como habla el Piosissimo Monarcha. Porque para el primer viage que se hizo con demasiada aceleracion y brevedad se apresto un Barco ya usado, que no se pudo componer por la dicha precision, y en la Provincia de Catbalogan, fue necesario calafetearlo aunque de passo y muy de priesa; porque hacia mucha agua, y no era capaz de aguantar qualquier temporal que se ofreciere. Para el segundo viage dio el Señor Governador predecesor de V. Señoria una balandra nueva, que fabrico á su costa, y quiso en esta ocasion servir con ella á Dios y al Rey por obsequiar á ambas Magestades y habiendo acompañado á esta una fragata del General Miguel Martinez hizo todos los gastos de ella por el mismo moti-

vo de arriba el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga con que solo se cargaron á la Real Hazienda los gastos accesorios de estos dos viages...

...

Pero para este viage á los Palaos es menester que los Pilotos sean de singular valor, y sabiduria del arte nautico y especulativa y practica porque aunque para los viages y mares muchas vezes trillados suelen ser suficientes Pilotos de moderada inteligencia (por la mucha noticia y practica que ay de dichos mares), para los nuevos descubrimientos no basta ordinaria pericia ó ciencia por las experiencias dificultades que concurren en dichos viages y mas en los que son de oeste al leste (como este de que se trata) por no haver en la longitud punto fixo como lo ay en la latitud de los lugares.

La facilidad del dicho viage á Palaos y su verdad podra ver V. Señoria practicamente en la derrota que presenta para hallar dichas Yslas en el Papel adjunto y el Mapa, que de nuevo se ha hecho para evidenciar mas esta materia; el qual es sacado puntualmente de los Mapas y cartas de Marear de España [por] los Portugueses, Franceses y Olandeses; por la qual derrota y Mapa se demuestran los Rumbos fixos para hallar las Yslas de los Palaos de ynsierta situacion por las que la tienen cierta en dichos Mapas, y cartas de Marear.

...

Y si sin dispendio de la Real Hazienda (segun ha propuesto á V. Señoria por personas zelosas) se puede tambien efectuar este descubrimiento en Fragata pequeña (que se lleva á Acapulco en quarteles) á la vuelta del Galeon de estas Yslas azia los baxos de San Bartholome donde se cree estar buen golpe de las Yslas de los Palaos) V. Señoria mande se execute assi; para que por tres partes en nombre de la Sanctisimo Trinidad embistamos al fuerte armado el enemigo del linaje humano (que por tan dilatados años con injuria del criador posee con tiranico imperio las miserables y desamparadas almas de sus Ysleños) y lo desaloxemos de sus infernales trincheras, á mayor gloria de la misma Trinidad.

Otro sí, porque los Mapas, que presento el suplicante son muy grandes é incomodos para los autos y para que haian al Rey nuestro Señor presente el que cita arriba; y assi este como todos los papeles adjuntos suplica V. Señoria se acumulen á los autos de este descubrimiento para que vea su Magestad y su supremo Consejo de las Yndias los gravisimos fundamentos con que fue informado de materia de tan importantes consecuencias espirituales y temporales, y hordene V. Señoria á los Pilotos que hubieren de hazer este viaje lean todas las dichas relaciones y papeles por la gran luz que dan para la consecucion del intento de su Magestad, es justicia que pide y espera etc^a.

Jhs

Andres Serrano.

Translation.

...
 The expenses that have been made on the account of His Majesty so far in the two voyages in question have been very moderate, when compared with the demands of an enterprise with such important spiritual and material consequences implicated in it, as mentioned by the most pious Monarch. Indeed, for the first voyage, that was made with too much speed and too short a time, a ship that was already old was outfitted, but it could not be repaired very well, and in the Province of Catbalogan, it became necessary to caulk it, though in passing and much too quickly, because it was leaking very much, and was not able to face any storm that might happen. For the second voyage, the Governor, predecessor of Your Lordship, gave a new sloop that he had built at his expense, and wished on this occasion to serve God and the King with it, as a present to both their Majesties, and having accompanied the latter a frigate belonging to General Miguel Martinez,¹ for the same motives General Miguel de Elorriaga covered all its expenses; that is why only the incidental expenses were charged to the Royal treasury in these two voyages...

...
 However, for this [third] voyage to the Palaos, it is necessary that the Pilots be of singular courage and knowledgeable in the nautical sciences, both the speculative and the practical, because, although for voyages and seas many times criss-crossed, the usual need is for pilots of moderate intelligence (given the many notices about such seas and experience with them), for new discoveries ordinary expertise or science is not sufficient, on account of the difficult experiences that are required during such voyages, and even more so when they are made eastward (as this one is), because there are no fixed point in the longitudes as there are in the latitudes of places.²

Your Lordship can better see the ease of making this voyage to the Palaos and its certainty by examining the route that I have marked to find said Islands on the enclosed paper and the Map that has again been made to clarify this matter even more; this map is copied accurately from the maps and navigational charts from Spain [by] the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch; on said rutter and map are shown the exact courses [to sail] to find the Islands of the Palaos, whose positions are uncertain, although they are given precise positions on said maps, and navigational charts.³

...
 And, at no cost to the Royal treasury (according to a proposal made by zealous persons to Your Lordship), it is also possible to carry out this exploration aboard a small

1 Ed. note: That is why it was called the San Miguel, after his patron saint.

2 Ed. note: In other words, some pilots were better at "dead reckoning" than others.

3 Ed. note: These new charts of the Pacific, showing the New Philippines, were but approximations and copies made from the map sent by Fr. Clain in 1697 and published in Europe in 1705 and after.

frigate (to be taken to Acapulco in pieces) and then on the return of the galleon of these Islands, near the shoals of San Bartolomé, which are believed to be a goodly distance from the Islands of the Palaos, Your Lordship could order that it be done thus,¹ so that from three sides, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, we may attack the armed fortress of the enemy of all mankind (who for so many long years, with damage to the Creator, keeps within his tyrannical empire the miserable and forsaken souls of the Islanders there), and we may dislodge him from his infernal trenches, for the greater glory of the same Trinity.

Furthermore, because the maps presented by the suppliant are very large and inconvenient for enclosure in the record of proceedings, and so that the King our Lord may understand what is mentioned above, thus he presents this one,² which he begs Your Lordship to order that it be added to the record, along with all the enclosed documents, so that His Majesty and his supreme Council of the Indies may see the very serious bases with which he was informed in a subject matter of such important spiritual and material consequences, and he begs Your Lordship to order the pilots who are to go on this voyage to read all said narratives and documents, because of the great light it might throw [on the problem], for the success of the project of His Majesty, as such would be justice, that he hopes to receive, etc.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano.

F7. Meeting of pilots, 16 April 1710

Note: Those present were: Fr. Clain, Fr. Serrano, General Elorriaga (the recently-appointed General of the flagship Rosario which was being made ready to go to Acapulco at Bagatao), Admiral Salazar (her chief pilot), Juan Luis Acosta (pilot's mate), Eduardo Duarte, José Ramón, Vicente Binasa, and José Somera.

Original text in Spanish.

...

Parecer del Padre Pablo Clain.

*El dicho Muy Reverendo Padre Provincial Pablo Clayn fue de parecer y voto que, sin embargo de qualquier opinion contraria que havia tenido sobre la situacion de las Yslas de Palaos, al presente era de sentir que **este descubrimiento se havia de emprender por el rumbo del sueste** movido de dos fortisimas razones:*

[1] la primera por que habiendo conferido muy de proposito con el principal desgarrado de las Yslas de Palaos por April del año pasado de Mill setecientos y ocho la situacion de las dichas Yslas poniendole delante un Mapa grande que contenia y espresaba parte de las Yslas Philipinas y en especial la Ysla de Samar en la qual esta la poblacion

-
- 1 Ed. note: This idea was adopted (see Binasa's voyage, Doc. 1711F), but the boat launched on its separate way nearer Guam.
 - 2 Ed. note: No longer found with the case file.

de Palapag á cuyo distrito arribó con los suyos y el Cavo de Espiritu Santo que es la primera tierra que vio dicho principal quando se desgarró y así mismo otras Yslas intermedias en el golfo de entre Philipinas y Marianas con mas las Yslas Australes que en gran numero estan situadas al norte de la Nueva Guinea en latitud austral de la linea, habiendo el dicho principal preguntado al dicho Padre Provincial á donde [en] el dicho Mapa caia el Oriente del sol y havendoselo enseñado el dicho Padre Provincial mostro con la mano el rumbo al qual cayan sus Yslas de Palaos apuntando con el brazo derechamente el rumbo de la sueste al qual en el dicho Mapa caya. Clarisimamente la multitud de las dichas Yslas Australes situadas al norte de la Nueva Guinea en la dicha latitud de uno para tres grados de donde se convence que por ese rumbo del sueste y ningun otro se han de buscar las dichas Yslas; á lo qual no obsta que el dicho principal havendose desgarrado de sus Yslas por fines de Marzo y principios de Abril del dicho año de mill setecientos y ocho parece no pudiera haverse desgarrado para la Ysla de Samar si la[s] dicha[s] sus Yslas estaban al sueste del Cavo del Espiritu Sancto por decirse que por Marzo y Abril reynaba en ese golfo las brisas que son los vientos lestes y nordestes y por consiguiente que no pudiera haver con el dicho su desgarramiento subido desde uno ó mas de latitud boreal en que estaba el dicho Cavo del Espiritu Sancto yendo navegando con vientos lestes ó nordestes, porque á todo esto satisface el mismo principal diciendo que las corrientes del sur para el norte havian sido muy grandes y consta á todos los peritos en el arte de navegar que sin embargo de la fuerza de qualquier viento aun contrario vane la fuerza de las corrientes y llevadas embarcaciones á los rumbos de donde vienen los mismos vientos contrarios y mas diciendo el mismo principal que muchos dias yban navegando sin vela por ser el viento demasiado y no sufrible á la cortedad de su embarcacion de donde se sigue que siendo las corrientes del sur para el norte para mas altura boreal avia de subir.

[Rota natives drifted to the Carolines, circa 1690]

*Lo qual confirma tambien lo que dice el mismo principal y es que años pasados se desgarraron á sus Yslas de Palaos unos Yndios naturales de la Ysla de Rota, una de las Marianas, por otro nombre Zarpana, al norte de la Ysla de Guajan, y Austral respecto á Ysla de Seipan y preguntado con que viento se avian desgarrado los dichos naturales de la dicha Ysla de Rota á las suyas de Palaos, respondió que con el viento llamado en su lengua **Efangelefol** que viene á hazer Norte quarta al Norueste ó hablando en todo rigor, Norte quince grados al Norueste por no corresponder su tabla de vientos á la nuestra en todo rigor,¹ lo qual no pudiera ser si las Yslas de los Palaos no fueran las dichas que estan al norte de la Nueva Guinea, pues solo á esta con el dicho viento se pudieron aver desgarrado los dichos naturales de Rota y de ello se convence con evidencia que **las Yslas de Palaos de donde se desgarró este principal de ninguna manera pueden ser orientales respecto de las Yslas Marianas, pues era imposible que con norte quarta al norueste se pudiera aver desgarrado los di-***

1 Ed. note: Efangelefol is simply a northerly wind.

chos Yndios naturales de la Ysla de Rota al oriente de Marianas, sino que se desgarraron acia el sur; y por consiguiente las Yslas de Palaos de donde este principal se desgarrito no pueden estar al Oriente de Marianas sino que necesariamente han de caer al sur respecto de ellas ni se puede atribuir el dicho desgarramiento de los dichos naturales de Rota á la fuerza de las corrientes, porque estas en el golfo del Mar del Sur entre las Marianas, y la America y entre los dos tropicos jamas corren acia el oriente como es constante á todos los que vienen de Acapulco para Marianas.

[2] La segunda razon, porque de esta manera se escusa el peligro de quedar frustrada y inutil esta tercera empresa de este tercer descubrimiento como quedaron frustradas y mal logradas las dos antecedentes...

Todo lo qual escusa navegando como se [h]a dicho en esta tercera empresa al rumbo fixo del sueste donde es certisimo que se ha de hallar un gran numero de Yslas que segun lo que se dixo en la primera razon en conformidad de lo que se afirma y ratifica el principal desgarrado parece son las mismas de que él se desgarritó, sin embargo de qualquiera otra declaracion en contrario que resulte de los autos del segun viage, pues estas necesariamente [h]an de ser inciertas respecto de que el dicho principal entonces aun no estaba tan adelantado en la lengua Bisaya como lo esta aora y por consiguiente ser todas las declaraciones antecedentes en lo que son contrarias á estas sus declaraciones ultimas espuestas á equivocacion del interprete entendiendo una cosa por otra en lo que decia entonces el principal desgarrado como menos idoneo entonces asi para entender lo que se le preguntaba como para poderse explicar para responder á ello por la poca pericia que entonces tenia de la lengua Bisaya en que se hablaba, y él respondia, no obsta á lo dicho que los desgarrados á la Ysla de Samar y la contra costa del Pueblo de Guiguan que llegaron al dicho Pueblo á fines de Diciembre del año de mill seiscientos noventa y seis y por consiguiente aviendo tardado en su viage desde sus Yslas hasta estas nuestras setenta dias, comenzaron á desgarritarse pasados mediados Octubre y por consiguiente navegando durante los meses de Noviembre y Diciembre en los quales en este golfo se dice que solo reynan los vientos nortes y nordestes, y lestes por los quales parece imposible aver subido de la altura de uno, dos y tres grados de latitud Austral, á once grados y veinte minutos de latitud septentrional en que está la dicha tierra de Guiguan, pues seria el subir contra el viento; porque á esto se satisface de la misma manera como se satisfizo de lo de arriba alegado contra el desgarramiento de las dichas Yslas para aca del principal desgarrado el año de mill setecientos y ocho, que es que podido mas la fuerza de las corrientes que del sur corrian para el norte segun dixo el dicho principal que no la fuerza de los vientos colaterales respecto del rumbo del leste oeste que son los vientos nortes nordestes y lestes, y estas son las razones que dixo el dicho Padre Provincial que le movian para sentir que solo este rumbo del sueste y ningun otro se havia de intentar esta tercera empresa de este descubrimiento.

...

Parecer del General D. Miguel de Elorriaga.

El dicho General Don Miguel de Elorriaga se conformo con el parecer del dicho Muy Reverendo Padre Provincial sobre que si saliendo del Cavo del Espiritu Santo y

*haciendo camino del sueste, ó sueste quarta del leste se descubririan diferentes Yslas diciendo que segun las muchas que se reconocian en los Mapas era muy probable el dar con ellas pero que juzgaba que estas no serian las de donde vinieron desgarrados los naturales de Palaos el año de mil seiscientos y noventa y seis á la punta de Guiguan por estar esta en onze grados de latitud septentrional y por haver llegado á este paraje por fines del mes de Diciembre que es cuando en estas partes venian los nortes y nordestes con mucha fuerza y las aguas corren para el sudueste y sur sudueste y por esta causa vemos que todos los años salen los Pataches que vienen á comerciar á estas Yslas para la costa por los meses de Diciembre, Henero y Febrero, y esta suposicion es dificultoso pudiesen llegar de cerca de la linea equinoccial donde se discurre estan situadas dichas Yslas mencionadas por el Muy Reverendo Padre Provincial y lo mismo juzga de los Palaos que ultimamente aportaron á Palapag el año de mill setezientos y ocho por estar el dicho Puerto en doze grados y treinta minutos de altura y por aver llegado á el por el mes de Abril que siempre en el Golfo se experimenta brisas y segun ellos dijeron en varias ocasiones el año pasado que iban embarcados en el patache que se despacho para este descubrimiento los vientos recios que experimentaron de la parte donde sale el sol los desgarró á la parte contraria y constara de los autos que entonces se hizieron á que se remite y con especialidad á las declaraciones del Muy reverendo Padre Pedro de Estrada que les entendia la lengua Visaya que ya entonces hablaban y á la de los demas Muy Reverendos Padres que iban en dicho Patache en cuya atencion y de todo lo demas que en dichos autos resulta en abono de lo referido y que adelante dirá, juzga que **para el mejor éxito de este descubrimiento seria bueno salir por el tiempo regular de los vendavales** y despues de montado el Cavo del Espiritu Sancto ponerse en altura de ocho grados y navegar por este paralelo mas de ducientos y treinta leguas al este de dicho Cavo y no haviendose en toda esta distancia descubierto nada hazer la derrota para la Ysla de Guajan que es la Capital de las Marianas y reformandose en ella de bastimentos y lo demas necesario salir con tiempo bonancible la vuelta del sur dando resguardo a un baxo grande que esta en distancia de siete ó ocho leguas de ella desde donde se vera la Ysla que llaman Carolina, pues de este mismo bajo la vieron el año de mill seiscientos ochenta y seis los que estaban embarcados en el Galeon **Santa Rosa** que venia de la Nueva España y avistada esta no parece sera dificultoso su reconocimiento y el de otras que se hallan en los Mapas mas al sur en poca distancia de esta y en caso de que no ser la que se solisitan se puede continuar la derrota del sur guiñando para el sueste ó sudueste segun la prudente conjetura del Piloto y de los demas que fueren á esta empresa tan del servicio de Ambas Magestades y porque infiere de lo que ha experimentado, oydo á dichos Palaos y de las muchas Yslas y Bajos que se ven en los Mapas y con especialidad en los de algunos Españoles que han navegado en esta Carrera que en mas de trescientas leguas á leste de Marianas por diferentes alturas de doce, once y dies y mas y menos grados estan extendidas es mas probable que de alguna de estas sean [=se han] unos y otros desgarrados, pues los nombres de las que dejaron los venidos el año noventa y seis confirman estas que llegaron ultimamente de donde se saca ser de unas mismas Yslas todos que lo que tienen por mas cierto y con*

este supuesto le parece que á poca costa se podran reconocer estos parajes y las Yslas que ay en ellos si son ó no que llamamos Palaos...

[The origin of empty European-type boats found on the coasts of the Marianas in the past]

*... porque todos los años en que el Galeon que se despacha para el Reyno de la Nueva España por el Real situado se lleva una **Lancha nueva** en cuarteles en su bodega, la qual llegado á esas costas se fabrica en el mismo combés del Galeon y le sirve para la descarga y todo los demas necesario y algunas vezes en los viages que ha hecho ha sido preciso dejar una en Acapulco por haver llevado lo que siempre sacan de estas Yslas los Galeones, aunque otros, por yr mas safas y desembarazadas la suelen dejar al través despues de haver desembocado y perdido la tierra [de Filipinas] de vista y este es el estilo ordinario que ay en esta carrera y siendo del agrado de su Señoría el mandar hazer dicha Lancha que se lleva en rosca que tenga dos codos mas de manga que lo que se requiere y las demas dimensiones correspondientes que en caso de un genefa(?) no por eso dejara de servir disminuyendo su tamaño, y con el aumento de manga y todo lo demas que le corresponde tiene hombres bastantes para poderla traer [de] Acapulco hasta con trescientas leguas antes de llegar á Marianas de donde con alguna de la gente que ordinariamente viene en el Galeon, y con lo demas que se jugare necesario se podra disponer vaya á ponerse en altura de onze grados poco mas ó menos y que navegue la vuelta de oeste con buena guardia y cuidado de dia y de noche dandole las ordenes necesarias en caso de que descubran algunas de las muchas Yslas que se reconocen en los Mapas por aquellos parajes y porque su Señoría el Señor Presidente Governador y Capitan general de estas Yslas se [h]a servido de hazerle merced de General de Galeon que este presente año mediante Dios se [h]a de despachar para el reyno de la Nueva España en caso de determinar se disponga dicha Lancha en la forma referida procura con todo el esfuerzo posible dar cumplimiento á las ordenes que para este efecto se le dieren como tambien á todas las demas de este Superior Gobierno y ultimamente resuelve y dize que no obstante todo lo referido se compromete en todo y por todo con el voto y parecer del Muy Reverendo Padre Provincial por el conocimiento que tiene de su mucha y notoria literatura, zelo y exemplo y por sus grandes experiencias en estas Yslas y por su eficazissima aplicacion y estudio en averiguar en que parte ó partes se hallan las dichas Yslas de los Palaos asi por lo que han venido en estos ultimos años á quienes [h]a tratado muy despacio como por otros que [h]an llegado desgaritados en otros distintos tiempos y con especialidad los que oyo decir llegaron el año de mill seiscientos sesenta y quatro de que ay especial relacion y porque demas de lo expresado y mucho que omite por no ser mas largo y molesto, es dicho Muy Reverendo Padre Provincial profesor de las matematicas, lo qual ayuda mucho para el acierto en caso de esta igualdad.*

Translation.

Said Most Reverend Father Provincial Pablo Clain was of the opinion and vote that, notwithstanding any opinion he may have had contrary to the position of the Islands of the Palaos, at present he feels that **this exploration must be undertaken by sailing S.E.** based on two very strong reasons:

[1.] Firstly, because, having conferred very specifically with the chief [i.e. Moac] from the Islands of Palaos who drifted in in April of 1708 about the position of said Islands, by placing before him a large chart that included the details of part of the Philippine Islands, and specially the Island of Samar where is situated the town of Palapag at which district he drifted with his people, and Cape Espiritu Santo which is the first landfall that said chief saw when he drifted in, and in addition other islands in-between that lie in the area of the sea between the Philippines and Marianas and those that lie in great number north of New Guinea on the south side of the equator, after said chief asked said Father Provincial which way on said map was located the orient of the sun,¹ and after said Father Provincial had shown it to him, he showed with his hand the direction that his Islands of the Palaos lie, and his arm corresponded directly on the map with the S.E. direction. Most clearly then, the multitude of said Austral Islands located to the north of New Guinea lie in said latitude from 1 to 3 degrees [south], and that is why he is convinced that it is along this S.E. course, and no other, one must look to find said Islands; notwithstanding the fact that said chief drifted in from his Islands at the end of March and beginning of April of said year 1708, when it seems that he could not have drifted to Samar Island if his Islands are located S.E. of Cape Espiritu Santo, given that the winds prevailing in that area of the sea in March and April are easterlies and northeasterlies and therefore he could not with such wind have drifted up from a latitude of 1 or more degrees north to the position of said Cape of Espiritu Santo, when sailing with easterlies and northeasterlies, however, the same chief can explain everything satisfactorily by saying that the currents running from south to north had been very strong, and that can be corroborated by all the experts in the art of navigation who, notwithstanding the strength of any wind, even a contrary one, can vouch for the force of the currents that can take canoes on headings that may even be against such contrary winds. Also the same chief says that for many days they were sailing without a sail, because the wind was too strong for his canoe to resist, from which it follows that the currents running from the south to the north had to make him gain latitude.

[Rota natives drifted to the Carolines, circa 1690]

What the same chief says is confirmed by what he also says about **Indian natives from Rota Island in the Marianas who years ago drifted to his Islands of the Palaos**, from the island that is otherwise known as Zarpana, north of the Island of Guajan, and south of the Island of Seipan. When asked which wind carried off said

1 Ed. note: The cardinal direction for Carolinians was east, not north.

natives of Rota Island to his islands in the Palaos,¹ he answered that it was the wind called **Efangelefol** in his language, which means that it comes from the N1/4NW, or to speak more correctly, 15 degrees west of due north, because their wind rose does not correspond to ours exactly,² something that could not be, unless the Islands of the Palaos are indeed those to the north of New Guinea, given that they are the only ones which the natives of Rota could have drifted to with said wind,³ and therefore it is obvious that **the Islands of Palaos, from which this chief drifted can in no way be to the east of the Mariana Islands**; indeed, it was impossible with a wind from N1/4NW for said Indian natives of Rota Island to have drifted eastward from the Marianas, but they did drift southward, so, consequently, the Islands of Palaos, from which this chief comes from, cannot be east of the Marianas but must fall to the south of them; neither can said drifting voyage by said natives of Rota be attributed to the force of the currents, because those prevailing in the area of the sea between the Marianas and America, and between the two tropics never run toward the east, as is known by everyone who comes from Acapulco toward the Marianas.⁴

[2.] The second reason is, because in this manner is avoided the risk of this third attempt turning into a failure, like the two previous attempts that were frustrated and unsuccessful...

All of the above-mentioned reasons tell us that this third attempt should be along a SE heading, where it is most certain that a great number of islands will be found, and which, as mentioned in the first reason and as confirmed by the chief who drifted in, are the same islands from which he drifted, notwithstanding any other declaration to the contrary mentioned in the proceedings of the second voyage,⁵ because these statements must necessarily be uncertain⁶ since said chief was then not as knowledgeable in the Visayan language as he is now, and therefore all his previous declarations that are contrary to these his latest declarations are the result of mistakes made by the interpreter, understanding one thing when another was meant then by said chief who drifted, and was less capable to express himself, not only in grasping what he was asked but also in explaining himself in his answers, on account of the little expertise he then had of the Visayan language that was used to communicate. This explanation is not contrary to what was said by those who drifted to Samar Island and the coast opposite the Town of Guiguan at the end of December 1696, that is, their having taken 60 days in their drift voyage from their Islands to these our Islands; they began to drift in the second half of October and therefore continued their navigation during the months of No-

1 Ed. note: Moac was originally from the Olimarao-Lamotrek area of the Carolines.

2 Ed. note: Correct! Modern knowledge tells us that Efangelefol corresponds to N by W, i.e. 1 point west of due north.

3 Ed. note: Not necessarily as such canoes were maneuverable. In fact, Lamotrek lies S by E from Rota.

4 Ed. note: Fr. Clain did not know about the Equatorial countercurrent that does run eastward.

5 Ed. note: Fr. Clain obviously did not agree with Fr. Estrada's interpretation.

6 Ed. note: Spaniards often say uncertain when they mean to say untrue, or false.

vember and December, during which in this area of the sea it is said that the prevailing winds are northerlies, northeasterlies, and easterlies, and hence it seems impossible for them to have gained latitude from 1, 2 or 3 degrees lat. south, to 11°20' lat. north in which said land of Guiguan lies; indeed, that would mean sailing against the wind. However, this can be satisfactorily explained in the same manner as was explained the allegation mentioned above against the drifting from said Islands to here by the chief who drifted in 1708, that is, by the force of the currents running northward, as mentioned by said chief, and not by winds blowing sideways with respect to the east-west direction, i.e. northerlies, northeasterlies, and easterlies. And such are the reasons that moved said Father Provincial to think that only a SE course and no other should be attempted in this third voyage of exploration.

[Fr. Serrano, José Ramón and José Somera agreed fully with Fr. Clain.]

...

Opinion of General Don Miguel de Elorriaga.

Said General Don Miguel de Elorriaga agreed with the opinion of said Most Reverend Father Provincial, to the effect that by departing from Cape Espiritu Santo and heading SE, or SE1/4E, various Islands would be discovered, by saying that, given the many islands shown on the maps, it was very probable that some can be run into, but that he thought that they would not be the same ones as those from which came the natives of Palaos who drifted in the year 1696 to Point Guiguan, because their island [i.e. Fais] is in 11° lat. N. and since they arrived at this vicinity at the end of December which is when in this vicinity the northerlies and northeasterlies blow very strongly and the currents run to SW and SSW, that is why we see every year pataches coming to trade along the coast of these Islands during the months of December, January, and February. So, it is difficult to suppose that they came from anywhere near the equatorial line, where are located the Islands mentioned by the Most Reverend Father Provincial, and he thinks the same about the Palaos who recently made a landfall at Palapag in 1708, because said port lies in 12°30' lat., and because they got there during the month of April when there are always tradewinds blowing in the area. Also, they themselves said on various occasions last year when they were aboard the patache that was dispatched to this exploration that they experienced stiff winds from the direction where the sun rises and drifted in the opposite direction, as will be seen in the record of proceedings that was then made, to which he referred, and in particular the statements of the Most Reverend Father Pedro de Estrada who understood them in the Visayan language which they then spoke and those made by the other Most Reverend Fathers who were aboard said patache. The result of this and everything else mentioned in said record, is that he supports the above-mentioned [recommendation] and what he will say later on, and thinks that **to make sure that this voyage of exploration will be successful, it would be a good idea to depart during the regular season of the monsoon** and after passing Cape Espiritu Santo to head for the latitude of 8 degrees and sail along that parallel for over 230 leagues to the east of said Cape and, if no discovery be made in this whole distance, to divert to the Island of Guajan which is the capital of

the Marianas and, once food supplies and other necessities have been replenished, to head south with a fresh wind, taking care to avoid a large shoal that is distant 7 or 8 leagues from it, from which will be seen the Island they call Carolina; indeed, from this very shoal those coming from New Spain aboard the galleon **Santa Rosa** saw it in 1686.¹ Once it has been sighted, it does not seem difficult that it, and others that appear on the maps further south a short distance from it, be surveyed. Now, if it turns out that it does not correspond to the island that is sought, one could continue heading south and a little to SE or SW, depending on the prudent conjecture of the pilot and of the others who might be part of this enterprise, which is so much to the service of both their Majesties. And because he infers, from what he has experienced, and heard from said Palaos, the presence of many islands and shoals, as shown on the maps, and specially those made by some Spaniards who have sailed on this run, to the effect that they are laid out over 300 leagues to the east of the Marianas at various latitudes, of 12, 11 and 10 degrees more or less, it is very probable that some of them are where the two sets of drifters came from; indeed, the names given by the drifters of 1696 are confirmed by the more recent drifters, and therefore they must all be from the same Islands, at least that is the most likely assumption. To conclude, it seems to him that the area in question can be explored at little cost and one can find out if the Islands that are there are in fact those that we call the Palaos...²

[The origin of empty European-type boats found in the Marianas in the past]

... because every year when the galleon is despatched for the Kingdom of New Spain for the Royal subsidy, she carries a **new launch** in pieces in her hold. Upon arrival at those coasts said launch is assembled upon the very deck of the galleon and serves her for unloading and every other necessary moves. Sometimes, in the voyages that he has made, it became necessary to leave one in Acapulco because they had kept the one that the galleons always take from these Islands, **although on other voyages, in order to clear the deck they used to get rid of it after leaving the Strait and losing sight of the land [of the Philippines], and this is the ordinary custom that exists in this run.** Now, if Your Lordship be pleased to order that said launch be taken as a bare hull,

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- 1 Ed. note: Carolina, i.e. Yap, cannot be seen from Santa Rosa Bank. This wrong piece of information from 1686 had already been responsible for many unsuccessful voyages to rediscover Yap from Guam, for instance, the two voyages of Captain Rodriguez in 1689, and the two voyages of Alonso Soón in 1689 & 1690; it would also lead Captain Binasa (who was present at this discussion) to make two more unsuccessful attempts the following year. The reason for this misconception was the preoccupation at Manila in 1686 with the Dutch threat, and no inquiry was held with regards to the discovery of Carolina, alias San Barnabe. Later on, the memories of those aboard the Santa Rosa, including the Captain, played tricks on them, not to forget that the better seamen had separated from the galleon at Santa Rosa Bank and drifted on their own to Luzon Island; that tragedy and boat drift were somewhat better recorded in the annals of Manila.
 - 2 Ed. note: If only the Jesuits had learned, or at least recorded the basics of the Carolinian language spoken by both groups, they could have easily ascertained if they came from the same islands.

it should be two cubits wider than required in the beam, and the other dimensions proportionately greater also, in case of a *genefa(?)*,¹ it would still be a service if its size is diminished, but with a wider beam and everything else that corresponds to it, there will be enough men to be able to bring it from Acapulco until 300 leagues before arriving at the Marianas, from where some of the men who ordinarily come aboard the galleon, and with other things that might be thought necessary, it will be possible to arrange for it to go down to a latitude of 11 degrees more or less and to sail westward, keeping a good lookout day and night; they should be given necessary orders in case they might discover some of the many Islands that are seen in those neighborhoods on the maps. And because His Lordship, the President, Governor and Captain-General of these Islands has been pleased to do him the favor of appointing him General of the galleon that this coming year, God helping, must be despatched to the Kingdom of New Spain, in case a decision is made to arrange for said launch in the above-mentioned manner, he will make all efforts possible to comply with the orders that he will be given to this effect, as well as all the others from this superior government, and finally he came to a resolution and he says that, notwithstanding what he has just said, he is fully in agreement with the vote and opinion of the Most Reverend Father Provincial, because he knows of his great and notorious knowledge, zeal and example, his long experience in these Islands and his very efficient investigation and study to find out more exactly where said Islands of the Palaos are situated, by communicating very slowly not only with the people who drifted in these last few years, but also with others who have drifted in earlier, specially those about whom he has heard, who drifted in 1674 [rather 1664], about whom there is a special report, and because, in addition to what he stated and much that he omits in order not to waste time and bother people, said Most Reverend Father Provincial is professor of mathematics, something that is very useful in ascertaining a problem of this order.

...
[José Somera, José Ramón, Admiral Salazar, Duarte and Binasa all agreed with General Elorriaga. The Governor, Count of Lizarraga, therefore, made it unanimous.]

[Fr. Serrano submitted yet another memorial, in which he said that the one small ship assigned was inadequate and might be replaced by two sloop-type boats. A general meeting of the Finance Committee was held on 6 May 1710. It was decided to refer the matter to the legal adviser, i.e. the Fiscal. He was of the opinion that the costs would be excessive with two vessels. Another general meeting of the Finance Committee was held on 7 June, and they decided to send two ships, the sloop [i.e. the San Miguel] that had recently returned from Batavia, and the frigate Santísima Trinidad, and that they should leave at the end of August, or early September of 1710. Consequently, Ramón and Acosta submitted the list of naval personnel required to sail these two vessels.]

1 Ed. note: Word hard to decipher, perhaps “una hernía,” meaning rupture [of a section].

F8. Another memorial by Fr. Serrano

Original text in Spanish.

El Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus superior y Vice Provincial de la Mision de las Islas Australes por otro nombre de Palaos parece ante V. Señoria, y Dice:

Que pone en su soberana consideracion que los soldados y Gente de mar que ba por cuenta de su Magestad al descubrimiento de dichas Islas es necesario que lleven alguna ropa de remuda asi para la Navegacion como para el tiempo de su demora en dichas Islas porque siendo las embarcaciones en que van de una sola cubierta, y no teniendo parte donde poderse guarecer cuando llueve es preciso que se mogen sus bestidos y de no tener con que remudarlos se sigue que se les sequen en los cuerpos y de ay se ocasionan enfermedades graves y de estas la muerte de ellos y el malogre del fin para que son embiados à si mismo es necesario que se lleven algunos rescates por cuenta de Su Magestad, como son Cuchillos, Tijeras, Quentas, Abalorios, Sortijas de china, Gorras coloradas y alguna ropa decente asi para ganar la voluntad de Regulos, y caciques de dichas Islas como tambien para permutar por cosas comestibles para el socorro de dicha gente, y para si ay algunos generos preciosos, como oro, ambar, albalia, cera, y otros que se puedan adjudicar al Real haver de que podra tener cargo el que ba por Cavo de la Milicia como theniente de las fuerzas oficiales reales destas Islas, pues consta de las historias de las conquistas de Indias y especialmente de estas Islas no haver omitido esta prevencion los heroes é insignes Capitanes autores de dichas conquistas.

Asi mismo siendo la voluntad de Su Magestad como consta de su Real Zedula de dies y nueve de Octubre à el año pasado de mill setecientos y cinco de que los Misioneros de nuestra Compañia sean proveidos de todo lo necesario assi para el viage como para mantenerse en dicha Islas juzga el suplicante por necesario para esta manutencion y perseverancia en ellas, y adelantar el dicho descubrimiento el que se fabriquen alla dos balandras pequeñas, para las cuales à costeadado todas las herramientas y clavazon precisas y necesarias que lleva consigo y oficial que sepa hacer las dichas Balandras, y le faltan solamente otros materiales para armarlas, como son mantas de Ilocos para el velamen, xarcias, cables, y anclotes competentes à la calidad de dichas embarcaciones quedando à su cuydado el mandar hacer alla el corte de las maderas necesarias para ellas por todo lo qual:

A V. Señoria pide y suplica se sirva de hordenar à los Juezes oficiales Reales de esta ciudad en consideracion de ser todo lo dicho consiguiente assi à la voluntad de Su Magestad como à lo ya determinado en diferentes Juntas de la Real Hacienda que sobre este mismo expediente y despacho se han celebrado disponga y prevengan la dicha ropa necesaria para la Milicia y gente de mar los dichos rescates y el dicho velamen, xarcia, cables y anclotes para las dichas Balandras, que en ello recibirá merced de la grandeza y liberalidad de V. Señoria etc^a.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano

Translation.

Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Superior and Vice-Provincial of the Mission of the Austral Islands, otherwise known as Palaos, appears before Your Lordship and Declares:

That he submits to your sovereign consideration the idea that the soldiers and seamen going on the expedition to said Islands on the account of His Majesty should bring along some change of clothes, not just for the voyage but also for the time of their stay in said Islands, because the vessels on board which they will go are only single-deck vessels, and since they will have no place where to take shelter when it rains, their clothes will necessarily get wet and, if they have no spare clothing, their clothes will have to be dried on their bodies and this might occasion serious sicknesses and eventually death of some of them and the failure of the purpose for which they are sent. In addition, it is necessary that they bring along a few goods to barter on the account of His Majesty, such things as knives, scissors, beads, necklaces, rings from China,¹ colored caps and some decent clothing, not only to gain the goodwill of the small kings and leaders of said Islands but also to trade in exchange for edibles for the succor of said men, and also to give in exchange for some precious goods, if any, such as gold, amber, *albalia*,² wax, and others that might be adjudicated to the Royal treasury, and which can be taken care of by the man who goes as Commander of the Militia and Lieutenant of Commander-in-chief of the royal forces of these Islands; indeed, there are precedents for this in the history books on the conquest of the Indies, and specially of these Islands, as the heroes and illustrious Captains who were the authors of such conquests never omitted this precaution.

In addition, since it is the will of His Majesty, as seen in his Royal decree of 19 October 1705, that the Missionaries of our Society be provided everything that is necessary, not only for the voyage but also to maintain themselves in said Islands, the suppliant thinks that it is necessary for this maintenance and permanence there, and in the interest of said exploration to have two sloops built overthere, and therefore he has included the cost of all the tools and iron work necessary that a competent boat-builder for said sloops could take along, and there remains only the rest of the materials to rig them, such as cloth from Ilocos to make the sails, rigging, cables, and small anchors suitable for said vessels, plus the responsibility for ordering the necessary timber for them to be cut overthere. Hence:

He begs and beseeches Your Lordship to please order the Royal officials of this City, in view of the fact that everything that was said above is not only the will of His Majesty but also what was decided in the many meetings of the Treasury Committee that were held about this same case file and despatch, to arrange for said necessary clothing for the Militia and seamen, said trade goods and said sails, rigging, cables and small

1 Ed. note: Perhaps this could be translated as porcelain rings.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps meaning a special type of sea shells.

anchors for said sloops, as this would be received as a favor from the greatness and liberality of Your Lordship, etc.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano.

[On 1 August 1710, a decree to that effect was issued to the royal officials.]

F9. Instruction issued to Major Francisco de Padilla, dated Manila 27 August 1710

Original text in Spanish.

Instruccion que ha de guardar el Sargento maior Don Francisco de Padilla Cavo superior de los pataches nombrados la Santissima Trinidad y San Miguel que se estan aprestando en el Puerto de Cavite para el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos dada por el Conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi Cavallero de la orden de Santiago del Consejo de Su Magestad su Governador y Capitan General de estas islas Philipinas Presidente de la Audiencia y Chancilleria Real que en ellas reside etc.^a.

1º Primeramente al entregarse y hazerse cargo de dichas embarcaciones pasara muestra de la gente de mar y Guerra y de las demas que lleva y hara que antes de salir à la mar se confiesen y comulguen y que en todo el discurso del viage se escusen juramentos y ofensas à Dios nuestro Señor.

2º Llevando dicho Sargento maior en buena guardia y disciplina militar dichas embarcaciones y gente hagase à la vela en todo el mes de Septiembre como esta determinado y procure en caminar su derrota sin perder ora de tiempo à dicho descubrimiento de dichas Islas Palaos que constan del Mapa y rumbo que se le entrega haziendo observacion de la derrota rumbos demarcacion y Mapa de todas las Islas que se descubriere del genero de gente que tienen y de los Puertos mas seguros que reconociere para surgidero de embarcaciones y comunicacion con estas Islas como tambien de los frutos que en ellas ay.

3º Ha de procurar yr con toda advertencia y cautela reconociendo los bajos y Puertos con la chalupa y que se llegue siempre à tierra con el cuidado y mesma advertencia de no ser invadidos de enemigos en tierra y en su embarcacion precautelando qualquiera traicion ó hazechanza con andar siempre juntas las dos embarcaciones de su cargo y en buena orden para librarse los que se desembarcaren en tierra.

4º Salido del Embocadero ordenara à los Pilotos naveguen por el rumbo del sueste considerando estar dichas Islas Palaos al norte de la Nueva Guinea sin variar de rumbos como se acordo y se determino en Junta de personas practicas generales, y Pilotos de esta carrera celebrada à los dies y seis de Abril pasado de este año.

5º Hallando ocasion congrua y competente de quedarse en aquellas mission los Padres Misioneros como se espera en Dios de las buenas noticias que nos han dado los de aquella Nacion que ultimamente han arribado à estas Islas y se hallan en esta Ciudad para ir [en] su conservasion haziendo eleccion (en caso de descubrirse) de la que pare-

ciera mas à proposito numerosa de gente y que tenga buenas tierras para sembrar, Puertos francos, entradas, y salidas libres y aguas dulces procurara tomar sitio competente y eminente donde pueda formarse alguna palisada ó terraplen donde se pueda plantar las piezas de Artilleria, Pedreros y demas armas y municiones que conviniera dexar en ellas para el resguardo y mayor seguridad de los Padres Misioneros y gente que quedare de su escolta mientras que con la noticia que se me traxere se den por este Gobierno otras mas eficazes y combenientes providencias para el maior adelantamiento de aquella mision.

6° Procurara que los soldados que à este fin llevan vivan christianamente y con buen exemplo para que los naturales que se reduxeren à su imitacion recivan mexor nuestra santa fee y christianas costumbres evitando en ellas los juramentos, blasfemias y todo genero de ofensas à Dios que castigara [con la] cordura que el caso pidiere.

7° No permitira que dichos soldados, gente de mar y demas personas que lleva embarcadas anden desunidos y vagando de unas partes à otras por lo que pueda resultar de perjuicio en alguna inopinada invasion precautelando las traiciones y asechansas que pueden ofrecerse con andar siempre juntos y en buena orden en el numero que combienere.

8° Asistira à los Padres Misioneros con su gente para todo lo que se les ofreciere concurriendo à su conferencia en todas las ocasiones que conviniera resolver ó determinar alguna cosa para el mejor progreso y adelantamiento de la reduccion de aquellos naturales procurando (en cuanto lo fuere posible) ajustarse al dictamen y parecer del Padre superior y Vice Provincial de dicha Mision.

9° Remitiendome los diarios que hizieren ambos Pilotos en todo el discurso de la Navegacion.—Y en caso (de que lo que Dios no permita) por temporal arrivada ú otro frangente Maritimo se hallare nesecitado en alguna Provincia de estas Islas de alguna cosa assi para sus personas como para dichos vageles qualesquiera Alcaldes maiores y Justicias le daran todo lo que nesecitaren para su alivio.

10° Traera ó rremitira à este Gobierno relacion de todo lo que hubiere acaecido desde su entrada en aquellas Islas con noticia yndividual de los que se hubieren reducido y de la gente que las abita sus costumbres, ritos y ceremonias y si abrazan con facilidad nuestra sagrada religion la fertilidad y abundancia de cada una y los frutos y especies que produce con lo demas que le pareciere combeniente como quien tiene la cosa presente para que con su noticia se pueda dar quenta à Su Magestad del estado y progresos de dicha reduccion y las providencias que convenga y procurara dicho Sargento maior executar lo mas propicio y favorable para conseguir el fin tan deseado para mayor honrra y Gloria de Dios y servicio de Ambas Magestades en todo lo demas que ocurriere que assi me prometo de sus obligaciones, experiencias con que en otras ocasiones à manifestado su catholico zelo sobre el mismo yntento.

Manila y Agosto veinte y siete de mill setecientos y dies años.

El Conde de Lizarraga.

Por mandado de su Señoria Don Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

Instruction to be observed by Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Padilla, Senior Officer of the pataches named Santísima Trinidad and San Miguel that are being made ready in the Port of Cavite to go to the exploration of the Palaos Islands, given by the Count of Lizarraga, Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, Knight of the Order of St. James, member of His Majesty's Privy Council, his Governor and Captain-General of these Philippine Islands, President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery residing therein, etc.

1° Firstly, upon taking delivery and charge of said vessels, he will pass muster of the seamen, soldiers and others on board and before departure he is to make sure that they go to confession and during the whole voyage they are to avoid swearing and offences to God our Lord.

2° With said vessels kept in good order and all their men in good military discipline, he is to make sail during the whole of the month of September, as was determined, and endeavor to pursue his course, without the loss of one hour of time, to said exploration of said Palaos Islands that appear on the Map and rutter that he is provided with. He is to record his observations, such as the route, courses, position and maps of all the islands that he might discover, the people he meets and the safest ports he might find suitable as anchorages for vessels, and commerce with these Islands, as well as the products they have.

3° He is to apply due care and precaution when surveying shoals and ports with the launch, and the same care and warning apply whenever anyone goes ashore, being aware of possible attacks by enemies ashore or against his vessel, being aware of possible attacks or trap by having the two vessels under his charge stay and sail together and in good order in order for those who might go ashore to free themselves.

4° After leaving the Strait of San Bernardino he will order the pilots to navigate on a SE course, considering that said Palaos Islands lie to the north of New Guinea, [and] without changing courses, as was agreed and determined in the Meeting of the general coastal pilots and the pilots of the run that took place on 16 April of this year.

5° If a suitable occasion be found for the Missionary Fathers to remain and establish a Mission there, as expected from God, and from the good news that have been brought to us by people of that nationality who have drifted in to these Islands recently and are presently in this City, ready to go to their preservation, (in case of their being discovered) the most suitable island is to be selected, hopefully one with a large population, good lands for sowing, ports with entrance and exit channels free of danger, and potable water. He should try and find a suitable site on a rise, where he might built some kind of stockade or earthwork to install the artillery pieces, the mortars and the other weapons and munitions that can appropriately be left there for the defence and greater security of said missionary Fathers and the men of their escort who are to remain behind. In the meantime, after due notices have been received, this government will make more appropriate provisions to foster the progress of that Mission.

6° He will endeavor to have his soldiers live in a Christian manner and give a good example to the natives who are to be reduced for them to imitate and thus receive better our holy faith and Christian customs, by having them avoid the utterance of blasphemies and all sorts of [other] offences to God, which he is to punish with the severity that each case might deserve.

7° He is not to allow said soldiers, seamen and other persons whom he carries on board to walk around on their own and to wander everywhere, on account of what might result in prejudice in case of any unexpected attack, by expecting treacheries and traps that might occur and preventing them by making them walk together always and in good order, in a suitable number.

8° He will assist the missionary Fathers with his men in everything that might turn up, and confer with them on any occasion that might be required to resolve or determine some thing for the better progress and advancement of the Reduction of those natives, endeavoring (as much as possible) to adjust his own opinion to that of the Father Superior of said Mission.

9° He is to remit to me the logbooks to be kept by both pilots during the whole voyage.—And in case you should (God forbid), on account of any storm, return in distress or other maritime mishap, some thing were needed for their persons or for said vessels, in any Province of these Islands, any one of the Mayors or Magistrates is to give you everything needed for the relief.

10° He is to bring back or remit to this Government a written account of everything that might have happened since his entry in those Islands, with a very detailed notice of the islands reduced and their inhabitants, their customs, rites and ceremonies, whether or not they embrace our sacred religion easily, the fertility of every one of them, the availability of local products and spices, and everything else that might be included, keeping in mind that his report will be used to inform His Majesty of the status and conditions of said reduction and to make appropriate provisions. Said Sergeant-Major is to endeavor to do his best in every circumstance, to achieve the purpose intended for the greater honor and glory of God and service of both their Majesties, in line with the hope we have of him, based on his sense of duty and the experience that his Catholic zeal has shown on other occasions, for the same purpose.

Manila, 27 August 1710.

The Count of Lizarraga.

By order of His Lordship, Don Miguel de Allanegui.

F10. Another memorial by Fr. Serrano announcing the result of the 1710 voyage

Original text in Spanish.

El Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus superior y Vice Provincial de las Misiones de las Islas Australes por otro nombre Pais ó Palaos, ante V. Señoria se presenta en la mejor via y forma que de derecho le convenga y Dice:

*Que como consta de las cartas que an llegado de la Provincia de Caraga; se à principiado (por la bondad y misericordia de Dios) al descubrimiento de dichas Islas mediante el Patache que para este descubrimiento mando V. Señoria aprestar en el año proximo passado el cual arribo de vuelta del dicho descubrimiento à la dicha Provincia de Caraga à tres de Henero de este presente año de mill setecientos y onze porque el dia treinta de Noviembre del dicho {presente} año se descubrieron en cinco grados y seis minutos de latitud; y ciento y cincuenta y dos grados y veinte minutos de longitud las Islas nombradas en la lengua de los Palaos **Sonsonrrol** à quienes los del Patache llamaron de San Andres por haverse descubierto en su dia. Y el dia onze de Diciembre del mismo año, à distancia de quarenta y dos leguas de las dichas Islas, habiendo navegado con vendabal el dicho Patache descubrio nuevas Islas grandes, y de tierra alta en numero de siete llamadas de sus Isleños **Paloc, y Palao, ó Panlog**, situadas en siete grados onze minutos de latitud, y ciento cincuenta y tres grados y seis minutos de longitud; las quales Islas ser parte de las muchas que manda Su Magestad con catholissimo zelo se busque al sur de las Islas Marianas se evidencia assi por ser de las dichas Islas halladas Australes respecto de las Marianas, como principalmente por la ydentidad de la lengua de sus Isleños con la de los Indios Palaos que vinieron de ellas, y bolvieron christianos à dichas Islas; Y por la conformidad en la fisonomia, costumbres, colores y embarcaciones de los Indios de dichas Islas con los que se desgitaron à estas de Philippinas por los años de mill seiscientos sesenta y quatro (ciento digo) un mill seiscientos noventa y seis, un mill setecientos y nueve, y no menos por la semejanza, y aun ydentidad de los nombres que à ellas dieron en tan diferentes tiempos dichos Isleños.*

Y porque los Padres misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus que fueron al dicho descubrimiento aviendo saltado en tierra con el Piloto maior, Contra maestre, Alferes y siete soldados solo à fin del enarbolar en aquella tierra el Estandarte de la Sancta Cruz, y el de Su Magestad y buscar surgidero y aguada, se quedaron en ella desamparados, por no haverlos podido sacar el Patache à quien sotabentaron las corrientes; y sin prevenicion alguna de bastimento, ropa, recado de decir Misa, ni otra cossa, expuestos à que los barbaros inhumanamente les quitasen las vidas ó que de necesidad las pierdan; cuió accidente é inponderable trabajo pide el auxilio y socorro presto y preciso que se deja entender de la piedad christiana y del santo zelo de V. Señoria. Y por la real y magnifica piedad de Su Magestad tiene especialmente prevenido y con aprieto ordenado en su Real Cedula que sin la menor omision se socorra todos los años que los Misioneros de su sagrada religion asi con todo lo necessario para mantenernos en esta mision como

tambien con la escolta de soldados que pareciere competente para su seguridad confirmando en dicho real rescripto lo que por diferentes Leyes esta en orden à semejantes descubrimientos y Misiones tiene dispuesto y mandado en estos Reynos y Provincias de Indias.

Y porque descubiertas las dichas Islas con las situaciones ya mencionadas qualquier Piloto perito en su arte las podra facilmente hallar sin otro derrotero que la instruccion que se dio à los Pilotos de la precedente expedicion, y la noticia de dichas situaciones. Y porque en disponer nuevo viaje no se pierde el tiempo pues à mas de atender à la necesidad presente que urge tanto, y su socorro esta conforme à la Real Voluntad, se prosigue el descubrimiento comensado de las demas Islas asta la costa septentrional de la Nueva Guinea (donde demora la maior parte de ellas) y su cordillera hasta Marianas segun el Mapa que se presento el año pasado en este superior gobierno en instruccion que mando V. Señoria dar en consecuencia à los Pilotos de dicho viaje con cuia observancia consiguieron el intento. Por todo lo qual:

A V. Señoria pide y suplica se sirva de mandar se apresten sin dilacion alguna en Cavite embarcacion ó embarcaciones competentes que puedan salir à mediados de Agosto de este año [1711] con todo el bastimento, peltrechos y gente necesaria para el socorro de dichos Padres Misioneros haziendo dar à los Pilotos la Instruccion del año pasado, à que se deven arreglar siguiendo la derrota y rumbo que entonces se ordeno y valiendose estas de la noticias que despues del descubrimiento an venido para el maior acierto y brevedad de estas empresas.

*Otro si, en conformidad de lo ordenado por su Magestad en su Real Cedula se sirva V. Señoria de **mandar al Cavo y Piloto del Patache que va à Marianas que indellectiblemente de vuelta de viaje haga la misma diligencia de socorrer à los dichos Padres Misioneros y españoles que quedaron en las Islas de San Andres dejandoles bastimentos y soldados ó sacandoles de ellas si pareciere mas conveniente y explorando de camino quantas Islas del dicho Palaos pudiere segun la mente de Su Magestad cuio Real animo y voluntad es atender con todos los medios conducentes à la consecucion de una empresa tan del agrado de Dios que son palabras de dicha Cedula y es justicia que pide y espera el suplicante de la singular piedad y zelo de V. Señoria etc.***

Jhs

Andres Serrano

Translation.

Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Superior and Vice-Provincial of the Missions of the Austral Islands otherwise known as Pais or Palaos, appears before Your Lordship in the best manner and form permitted by law, and Declares:

That, according to the letters that have arrived from the Province of Caraga, a beginning has been made (thanks to the kindness and mercy of God) in the discovery of said Islands by means of the patache that Your Lordship had ordered outfitted for this voyage of exploration last year. This patache was returning from said discovery when

it made port at said Province of Caraga on 3 January of the present year 1711, because on 30 November of said present [rather last] year were discovered at 5°6' latitude and 152°20' longitude the Islands named **Sonsonrrol** in the language of the Palaos, and which the people of the patache named Islands of San Andrés, because they discovered them on his feast-day.¹ And on 11 December of the same year, at a distance of 42 leagues from said Islands, after said patache had sailed with the monsoon, it discovered new Islands, large and with high land, seven in number, called by their Islanders **Paloc, and Palao, or Panlog**, whose position is 7°11' lat. and 153°6' longitude; these Islands are part of the many that His Majesty, with very Catholic zeal, ordered the exploration to the south of the Mariana Islands. They are shown to be the same, not only because said Islands lie southward of the Marianas, but more importantly because the language of their Islanders is identical with that of the Palaos Indians who came from there, and returned as Christians to said Islands. Not only that, but the physiognomy, customs, complexions and canoes of the Indians of said Islands are the same as those of the Indians who drifted to these Islands of the Philippines in the years 1664, 1696, 1709, and not just for the similarity, but even the sameness of the names given to them at such various times by said Islanders.

And, because the missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus who went to said discovery, having stepped ashore with the Chief pilot, Boatswain, Second Lieutenant and 7 soldiers, only for the purpose of planting in that land the standard of the Holy Cross and of His Majesty, and to look for an anchorage and watering place, were forced to remain behind there, because the patache was unable to take them out on account of being carried off by the currents. They were abandoned without any food supplies, clothing, mass kit, not one thing, and exposed to the risk that their lives may be taken inhumanely by the barbarians or by sheer starvation. Such an accident and unexpected hardship calls for immediate help and succor, one that the Christian piety and holy zeal of Your Lordship will no doubt appreciate, and one that the royal and magnificent piety of His Majesty has foreseen and carefully ordered in his Royal decree, to the effect that without fail the succor be made available every year that the Missionaries of his sacred Order, as well as everything necessary to maintain them in this mission along with an appropriate number of soldiers as an escort for their security, thus confirming by said Royal rescript what various Laws have arranged for similar explorations and missions taking place in these Kingdoms and Provinces of the Indies.

And because said Islands have been discovered with their already-mentioned positions, any pilot who is knowledgeable in his art will be able to find them easily without the need for any other rutter than the Instruction that was given to the pilots of the previous expedition, and the notice of said positions. And because no time should be lost in organizing a new voyage (indeed, besides the present necessity that makes their rescue urgent), it is according to the Royal will that such exploration work, once begun, be continued with the rest of the Islands as far as the north coast of New Guinea (where

1 Ed. note: This must have pleased Fr. Serrano whose patron saint he was.

most of them lie) and along their chain as far as the Marianas, according to the Map that was presented last year to this superior government with the Instruction that Your Lordship ordered be given to the pilots of said voyage, and whose compliance resulted in this discovery. In view of all the above:

He begs and beseeches Your Lordship to please order the outfitting without delay of some appropriate vessel or vessels in Cavite that could leave in the middle of August of this year [1711] with all the food supplies, weapons and men necessary to rescue said Missionary Fathers, and arrange for the pilots to be given the Instruction of last year, with the same courses that they were ordered to follow then, and they should be guided by the notices that have come after their discovery, the better to achieve these enterprises, and more quickly.

Furthermore, in conformity with the order of His Majesty as stated in his Royal decree, Your Lordship may be pleased to **order the Commander and Pilot of the patache that goes to the Marianas to carry out, without fail on its return voyage, the same project of rescuing said Missionary Fathers** and the Spanish who remained behind in the Islands of San Andrés, by leaving them food supplies and soldiers, or taking them out of there, if it should appear more appropriate, and also exploring for more such Palaos Islands along the way, as this is the will of His Majesty, whose royal spirit leads him to wish the attainment of an enterprise so agreeable to God (the very words he used in said decree) by all the means at his disposal. The suppliant asks for justice and hopes that he will receive it from the particular piety and zeal of Your Lordship, etc.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano

Documents 1710G

Last letters from Father Jacques Dubéron before his voyage to the Caroline Islands in 1710

Letter to Fr. Waudripont, dated Lauan (Samar Island) 19 October 1710, with an enclosure

Source: AGR Brussels, Jesuits Flandro-Belgique, Box #1431-1437.

Notes: Fr. Waudripont had been Fr. Dubéron's professor of philosophy at Douai (France) and later his Master in the novitiate. Lauan is an island 2 leagues from Palapag in N. Samar (see map HM10:596).

Original texts in French.

a Lauan le 19 d'8. bre 1710

*Mon Reverend Pere*¹

Voicy la troisieme lettre que j'ay l'honneur d'écrire a V. R. depuis nostre arrivé aux Philippines. j'écrivis la 1.ere de Cabite et je l'envoiai par la voie de la Chine l'an passé. j'écrivis la 2. de de Bangahon, qui est le Peuple, dont je fus d'abord chargé, et je l'envoiai par la voie d'Espagne. j'envoie celle cy de Lavan, ou je me suis rendu depuis peu par ordre du P. Provincial pour y attendre le P. Serrano au passage, devant l'accompagner dans le voiage qu'il va faire pour découvrir les Nouvelles Philippines. je reçu lettre de ce Pere peu de jours apres que ma derniere fut envoyée a V. R., par ou il me donnoit avis qu'il s'embarqueroit a Manile sur la fin d'aout, et qu'il me prendroit icy en passant; je sortis de Bangahon le 1.er de 7. bre avec beaucoup de ressentiment du Peuple, qui assista a la grand messe que je chantai solemnelement ce même jour a S. Michel pour implorer sa protection, et apres laquelle je leur fis une exhortation, leur cachant pourtant la longueur de mon absence pour moderer leur douleur et la mienne a la veue de la leur. je fus d'abord a Catbalogan, ou tous les Peres de la Résidence se rendirent aussitot pour me donner l'adieu, qui ne se passa point sans larmes, pour l'affection que ces chers et RR. Pères me portent, sans l'avoir meritè d'aucun autre endroit que de leur charité. je partis de Catbalogan le 12 de 7. bre et j'arrivai icy le 19. j'eu l'honneur de dire a V. R. dans ma derniere que les voiajes dans cette isle de Samal se font tous pas mer

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Dubéron himself has neglected to use the proper French accents throughout.

ou riviere, les chemins de terre étant impraticables, pour les rochers, montagnes et torrents, dont elle est composée.

*Lavan est une petite Isle de 6 a 7 lieues de circuit, a 2 lieues de Palapag, dont le P. Recteur de cette Residence a soin conjointement avec Palapag, qui est sa demeure ordinaire. il peut y avoir environ mil ames. L'Eglise est dediée a S. Michel; je m'en suis chargé jusqu'a que nous nous embarquions. nous solemnisâmes la feste de ce Prince des Anges avec beaucoup de pompe; le P. Recteur et quelque autre Pere du voisinage vinrent y assister; ne paroitra t'il pas a V. R. qu'il y a quelque Providence particuliere que je fus chargé d'abord d'une Eglise dediée a S. Michel, et que sortant de celle la, j'arrive a une autre dediée au meme Saint, sous la protection duquel et de tous ses Anges nous avons mis les Nouvelles Philippines; ces 2 Eglises sont les deux meilleures chrétiétés de ce Pais au sentiment de tous nos Peres. outre cela l'on a donné le nom du meme Saint au Chef de ceux, qui ont été jettés des N.elles Isles icy il y a 2 ans, et qui fut baptisé avec sa femme ces pasques passées de l'Evesque de Camarines dans la Cathedrale de Manila avec grande solemnité et réjouissance de toute la ville, étant parin [sic] le fils du Gouverneur, qui donna pour surnom au Neophite, celui de sa famille, qui est de **Osua**—ainsi le nom et surnom du nouveau Chretien est: Michel Joseph de Osua. il s'appelloit auparavant **Moa**. il a 2 fils, dont le plus grand agé de 7 a 8 ans s'appelle Jean. on le baptiza dez qu'il arriva. et l'autre qui naquit icy, a Palapag, il y a 2 ans (la femme étant enceinte, lorsqu'elle arriva) se nomme françois—le plus agé est mort il y a prez d'un an et demi, et fut extremement regretté. [verso] il pouvoit avoir 9 a 10 ans. nos Peres me disent qu'il étoit aimable, et qu'il avoit bien de l'esprit, qu'en 3 a 4 mois de temps il parla espagnol et bisaya et sçut, en perfection tous les mysteres de N. Ste. Religion. je ne sçais quel nom on luy donna sur les SS. fonds: je l'ay oublié. il est allé au Ciel prier pour la Conversion de son Pais. il me paroît qu'il a d'autres fils plus agés dans son Pais, selon ce qu'il donne a entendre. tous ses esclaves, qui avoient ete jettés avec luy sur ces costes, sont fuis ou mort. 3 ou 4 disparurent d'un coup allant a la pêche, nous attendons icy tous les jours celui, qui fut jetté par le dernier uracan le mois de mai passé dans une petite Isle a 20 lieues d'icy. l'on ne scait pas ce que sont devenus les 40, qui arriverent en même temps icy, par la crainte qu'ils eurent qu'on ne les chatiat pour avoir tué 4 a 5 personnes qui s'opposèrent contre toute raison, qu'ils abbatissent quelques cocos pour se sustenter, etant pressés de la faim lorsqu'ils auroient dû les leur presenter eux mêmes, il semble a que le grand nombre leur fit peur, ou même que le Seigneur les chatiat, comme me dit le P. Recteur, pour avoir manqué a la messe, car ces pauvres Palaos (c'est en leur langue le nom general de leurs Isles) ne firent aucum mal a quelques autres Indiens qu'ils rencontrèrent ensuite, au contraire ils leur firent des presents; je vis leur espece de cinturon, qu'ils leur donnerent. large d'une paume, travaillé avec art de petites pierres noires et blanches enfilées et entrelacés, je ne sçais avec quel instrument ils purent les travailler et les percer, n'ayant point de fer. le P. Provincial, qui est venu recenment visiter ces Eglises, l'emporta avec luy pour la presenter, comme je pense au Gouverneur de Manila; ce n'est plus le P. Clain, il a achevé son temps, c'est le P. François Dias de la Province de Castille, qui étoit le Compagnon du Precedent; j'eû le*

bien de le recevoir icy le 8 de ce mois; quelques heures avant son arrivée je reçu les lettres qu'il m'avoit envoiées de Manile et au P. Vice-Provincial de Bisaya pour ma Profession, 2 mois auparavant, remarquant que je pouvois la faire le 15 d'avril ou le 8 de 7bre; mais le Seigneur en disposa autrement. je la fis icy entre les mains de ce Pere le 18 feste de S. Luc apres les 8 jours d'exercices selon le stil [sic] d'icy, auxquels ils ajoutent 3 jours de recollection, que le départ du P. Provincial ne me permit pas de faire; la feste se solemnisa avec beaucoup d'appareil; le P. Provincial chanta luy meme la grand Messe, et le P. Recteur devoit precher, s'il ne s'étoit pas trouvé incommode ce jour la; les bons Indiens se distinguerent et temoignerent bien leur bon coeur; leur Isle, qui est toute composée de petites colines, sur le haut desquelles sont leurs maisons, parut un feu d'artifice la veille, tant ils avoient rangé par tout avec art des illuminations; on n'entendit tout le soir que le son des cloches, des tambours, Cimbales, clarons et hautbois et le bruit de quelques mousquets qu'on avoit apporté de Palapag. toutes les Residences tiennent des armes et des soldats, qui font garde contre les Mores de Mindanao, qui sont venu plusieurs fois desolé ces Eglises pillants et ravageants tout. ils ont martirisé plusieurs de nos Peres dans ces occasions. Ce meme fut le matin et pendant la grand messe. la joye que je ressentis in D[omi]no de faire la Profession fut outre les motifs ordinaires; de la faire dans le lieu, ou ont presques toujours arrivé. ceux des Nouvelles Philippines qui se sont égarés, y assistants les premiers de ces Chretientés futures et étant pret a partir pour leur porter la foy; le jour d'un Evangeliste auquel se lisent en la Ste messe les instructions que J. C. donna au 1^o disciples; **et misit alios 72** ce dans une Eglise dediée a S. Michel le cher Protecteur de N. voyage, un samedi étant entré par un tel jour en la Compagnie [en] la feste de ce Prince des Anges. toutes les circonstances, mon R. Pere, me parurent [recto 2] menagées de la Providence pour me confirmer de plus en plus dans la confiance que j'ay que le Seigneur voudra bien se servir d'un instrument aussi vil et aussi foible que moy pour enseigner le chemin du salut a ces pauvres Peuples. **Magnificat anima mea D[omi]num...** ils m'ont fait faire la Profession avant le P. Wibault, disants que son temps étans passé, je le precedois pour être plus antien de Religion. je ne sçais ce qu'il y a dans les Constitutions la dessus; je dis plusieurs fois au P. Pr[ovinci]al que ce Pere me precedoit d'un an dans les études. enfin tout sujet de confusion pour moy etant le dernier et le plus vil de tous. **ita Pater placitum est arte te.**

Lavan 27 d'8bre 1710

[P. S.] Je pense d'avoir écrit a V. R. dans ma derniere lettre du mois de juin passé que 2 petits batimens alloient a découvrir les nouvelles Philippines. dans l'un de P. Serrano, et le P. Bobadilla, dans l'autre le P. Cortyl, le f. Bodin [sic] et moy. ce dernier sortit de Cabite le 27 de 7bre dernier, et arriva icy le 5 de 7bre,¹ ainsi le P. Cortyl et le frere assisterent a ma Profession. le vaisseau du P. Serrano ne partit de Cabite que le 1er d'8bre, et n'ayant pas eû un temps aussi favorable que l'autre, il n'arriva a la veüe de cette Isle

1 Ed. note: Obvious error for 5 October, not September.

que le 20 du même mois et s'en étant approché trop prez pour son malheur, il fut jetté le 21 sur un bas de rochers, ou il fit naufrage. personne ne périt, et le principal de la charge fut aussi sauvé, je laisse a penser a V. R. si ce coup fut sensible au P. Serrano. ce voiage luy aiant tant couté de travaux et de soins pour les difficultés qu'il dût surmonter pour l'obtenir. il le reçût avec beaucoup de patience et de conformité a la volonté du Seigneur, qui l'a ainsi permi pour des fins, qui nous sont inconnus. on sauva d'abord ce Pere et son Compagnon dans la chaloupe, qui vint icy pour prendre du secours. dez que je les appercûs, je fus sur le rivage pour les y recevoir, mais l'embrassement fut bien triste dans ces conjonctures, sur tout ne pouvant le secourir sur le champs; tout le Peuple étant allé chercher leur petite provision de vivres en leurs cements, qu'ils appellent,¹ dont je pense avoir touché quelques mots a V. R. dans ma dernière ce que le Pere sentit le plus fut que la chaloupe ne put même retourner au vaisseau ce meme soir avec quelques uns de nous pour qu'ils n'y manquassent pas de secours spirituel en cas qu'ils y fussent en danger de perir, et que le vaisseau fit eau, parceque les flots étoient trop grans ou plustot les brisants, ces endroits étant remplis de bancs et de rochers, un homme du país trouva moien d'aller par terre et par eau assez prez de l'endroit, ou étoit le vaisseau, et vint assurer le P. Serrano qu'il n'y avoit aucun danger pour la vie, n'ayant gueres plus de 2 pieds d'eau, la mer etant basse. ainsi le Pere étant hors d'inquietude de ce coté la, nous nous entretinmes quelque temps sur l'accident present, et sur ce qu'il y avoit a faire dans ces conjonctures pour que cette S[ainte] entreprise n'échouat point de ce coup. il me fit mettre par écrit quelques raisons qui m'étoient offert la dessus, et les aiant consulté 2 jours avec le Seigneur, il m'appella et me dit en pleurant; allez, mon Pere, allez seul a la decouverte de ces Isles, puisque pour mes pechez le Seigneur ne veut pas que j'y aille avec vous, du moins a présent, m'ayant coupé les jambes par cet accident jamais vaisseau n'a fait un voiage plus h[er]ueux de Manila icy, que celui, qui vous est signalé et jamais autre se perdit ou le mien s'est perdu, ni plus mal heureusement; je vous laisse apres Dieu toute la gloire de cette entreprise dont j'attendray icy les nouvelles de son h[er]ueux succes, que je recommanderay sans cesse a sa divine Majesté, et me disposeray a vous rejoindre [verso 2] au plus tot, si le Seigneur veut bien me le permettre. ainsi parle l'humilité des Saints! ah! Dieu ne plaise pour moy que je me glorifie, sinon en la Croix de Jesus Christ! **in hoc gloriabor, si Cruci configar Jesu meo**: je ne respondis a ce discours que par la confusion, dont mon visage fut couvert; et que pouvois je dire sinon les paroles de la Ste Vierge a l'Ange ou celle du Profete au Seigneur; **ecce ego...** je suis persuadé de mon neant et de mon inutilité pour tout et encore plus de la grandeur de mon ingratitude envers un Dieu, qui ne m'a fait que trop de graces; enfin, **non vos me elegistis...** car du coté de l'indignité, personne ne merite plus que moy d'être rejetté de cette Ste entreprise. **ô altitudo!**... que vos jugemens, o mon Dieu, sont cachés et que vos voies sont impenetrables! V. R. pou[r]ra faire plus d'une reflexion sur cette disposition de la Providence, si elle se souvient de ce que j'ay eû l'honneur de luy communiquer autrefois. et d'autant plus que le P. Serrano reçût icy a son

1 Ed. note: Rather "sementeras".

arrivée une lettre du P. Provincial, qui luy mandoit de me venvoir a Bangahon, dont le Peuple faisoit des instances pour me ravoir, dans le vaisseau, qui retourneroit pour donner avis de la decouverte. ce Pere, qui a besoin icy d'ouvriers, et qui ne sçait rien de ce qui me regarde sur ce point, n'aeant pas eü l'occasion de le luy communiquer, agit prudenment, étant le seul de ceux, qui étoient signalés pour le voiage des Nelles Philip[p]ines, qui sçut la langue de ce país: mais cela même devoit m'y faire rester independâment du naufrage, puisque cette langue est celle, qu'entendent le plus les nouveaux Philippinois, qui doivent nous servir d'interpretes dans leurs Isles, jusqu'a ce que le Seigneur nous delie la langue pour annoncer par nous mêmes ses grandeurs!

le P. Serrano tint aussitot consulte des peres, qui se trouvoient icy, sur sa resolution de faire poursuivre le voiage avec les Peres, qui estoient marqués pour le vaisseau, qui reste; et tous furent de son avis, le P. Bobadilla dit meme que sa santé ne luy permettoit pas de songer a un autre voiage, aiant craché sang de ce dernier coup; il écrivit dez le même jour au P. Provincial s'offrant d'aller me remplacer a Bangahon, comme il a quelque commencement de la langue Tagale, qui est celle de Manile, il entrera dans celle cy en peu de temps, parcequ'elle en derive. le P. Serrano s'applique desja a la langue de ce pais pour ne pas y être inutile le temps qu'il y restera. l'on fit ensuite consulte de Pilotes et des Offficiers, et tous se réjouirent de la resolution du Pere sur le voiage qu'il leur dit qu'il me constituoit en sa place, ne jugeant et l'on renvoia les inutiles a manile: mais a mon avis le nombre n'en est encore que trop grans, prez de 200 personnes doivent monter ce petit vaisseau, qui a peine tiendra 80 ou 90 pieds de long, et auplus 20 de large. la chambre ou nous sommes, et qui est la seule, est si étroite et si basse qu'on ne peut y être assis, sinon par terre, mais graces au Seigneur ce n'est pas ce qui me fait peine, au contraire j'y vais d'autant plus content et plus surement l'autre vaisseau étant mieux disposé et plus commode: aussi en avons nous vu la fin. ce qui me console encore est d'avoir avec nous les prémisses des Nelles Philipines. nous les avons desjà independamens du naufrage. l'équipage est composé de nations bien différentes. le chef est espagnol andalouse; le Capitaine biscaien; le pilote françois de Marseilles; le 2[ième] Portugai[s]. celui du vaisseau, qui perît vient aussi pour être plus experimenté que l'autre dans les mers ou nous allons aiant servi plusieurs années les hollandois, est de Maiorque, le Contremaître est du Perou. un autre est Italien. quelques mariniers [recto 3] quelques mariniers [sic] sont hollandois, d'autres Espagnols, et les autres de divers endroits de ces pais; que le Seigneur veuille les unir tous des liens de la charité et de son St. amour! nous devons partir au 1er jour. l'embaras du naufrage nous retint jusqu'a present que V. R. ne nous oublie pas dans le Seigneur. mes respects a tous nos Peres, Parents et amis. je suis avec toute la soumission possible dans l'union de vos SS. Sacrifices.

Mon R. Pere

Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur Jacques DuBeron

[P. P. S.] j'ay reçu icy 3 lettres de V. R. du 26 de may, du 1er de juin et du 23 d'aout de 1708. j'ajoute au bas de cette lettre un mot au P. Duchambge.

Enclosure: Letter to Fr. Duchambge.

Mon R. et tres cher Pere Joseph

P. C.

j'ay reçu icy a mon arrivée 4 lettres de V. R. du 13 et 26 de may, du 29 de juin et 17 d'8bre de 1708. le P. Serrano la remerci beaucoup des soins qu'elle s'est donnés pour le f. Horion aussi bien que moy et en particulier pour tout ce qui me regarde, et que je luy avois recommandé, et surtout des voeux qu'elle offre incessamment a Dieu pour le succez de nos desirs, qui ne buttent que a sa plus grande gloire, et le salut de ses cheres ames. je ne manqueray pas d'y correspondre de mon coté par la part qu'elle aura dans nos petits travaux. elle doit se consoler restant dans le pais qu'elle ne fera pas moins par ses prieres que nous autres par nos courses. Moise ne contribua pas moins a la victoire que Josué, et peut être en a t'il devant Dieu le merite et la gloire. je dis le même du P. Mafels, a qui je vous prie de faire part de ce que j'écris au P. de Waudripont et m'excuser de ce que je ne responds pas a sa lettre, qui m'est venu avec celles de V. R. L'embaras, ou nous a mis le naufrage, et le depart m'en ote le loisir; je vous prie de la même grace pour Mr. Turpin, dont j'ay reçu un billet inseré dans la lettre du P. Mas. le P. Perenchies m'écrit du -- de 10bre. je ne sçais par quelle occasion m'est venu sa lettre. il me parle que ces PP. Daf et Lettenberg viennent aux Philippines sans me dire plus: je ne sçais si peut être ils viennent avec le f. Horion. obligez moy de luy faire aussi mes remercimens et mes excuses. le P. le Quesne m'écrit du Mexique; ils n'ont osé se hasarder a s'embarquer cette année pour icy pour la crainte des ennemis qui ont pris l'un des 2 vaisseaux qui sont parti l'an passé pour le Mexique. il me mande qu'il a écrit au P. Générale pour rester aux Philippines en cas que la porte de la Chine leur soit fermée. ils seront reçu icy a bras ouverts. Les 4 PP. françois, qui sont parti de Manila au commencement de cette année pour tenter l'entrée de la Chine, n'ont rien obtenu. ils sont a Ponticheries et l'un deux m'écrit qu'ils se sont offert pour d'autres missions, qu'on traite d'établir dans ces endroits vers le Royaume de Carnate. pour ce qui est des nouvelles de la Chine nous les apprenons les Iers. je ne sçais rien de nouveau depuis mes dernieres.

Mes respects et complimans a tous les Parents et amis. tout a vous en J. C.

Jacques Duberon

[verso 3]

je recû une lettre du P. Wibault aiant écrit celle-cy, par ou il me mande de la maniere que fut rendu capable du Baptême en tres peu de temps le nouveau Philippinois ou Palao, qui fut jetté par le dernier ouracan sur les côtes d'un Peuple de l'Isle de Samal de la Residence de Dagami, ou de Leyte, qui est celle du P. Wibault. il était en route pour venir nous joindre, mais le P. Prov[inci]al l'a detenu dans Bangahon, ou il le trouva, de crainte, a ce qu'il nous a écrit, qu'étant encore foible et nouveau dans la foy, il ne vint a la perdre se trouvant dans son pais. ainsi ce cher Pere ne verra pas son esperance frustré de ce que ce Palao luy serviroit un jour d'interprete, entrant facilement dans la langue Bisaya. je vous envoie sa lettre quoy qu'elle soit en espagnol, ne aiant pas le

loisir de la traduire, je pense que vous n'aurez guerre besoin d'interprete pour l'entendre et la matq(?)vale.

[Envelope:] *A mon Reverend Pere
Le R. P. De Waudripont
de la Compagnie de Jesus
Flandres. a Tournay*

Translation of the above texts

In Lauan, 19 October 1710.

My Reverend Father,

This is the third letter that I have the honor to write to Y.R. since our arrival in the Philippines. I wrote the first one from Cavite and mailed it by way of China last year. I wrote the second one from Bangahon, which is the settlement I was first assigned to,¹ and sent it by way of Spain. I am sending this one from Lauan, hither I have come recently by order of the Fr. Provincial, to wait for Fr. Serrano to pick me up on his way to the New Philippines, where I am to accompany him in a voyage of discovery. I have received a letter from this Father a few days after I had sent my last one to Y.R., in which he advised me that he would embark at Manila towards the end of August, and that he would pick me up here in passing.

I left Bangahon on 1 September with much resentment of the people, who attended a high mass in honor of St. Michael that I celebrated that same day, to get his protection, and after which I gave them a sermon, taking care not to tell them about the length of my absence, in order to moderate their sadness and also my sadness upon seeing theirs. I first went to Catbalogan, where all the Fathers of the Residence congregated immediately to bid me adieu; this did not take place without tears, given the affection that these dear and reverend Fathers have toward me, who does not deserve it, other than through their charity. I left Catbalogan on 12 September and arrived here on the 19th. I had the honor to tell Y.R. in my last letter that the voyages in this Island of Samal are always made by sea or river, the roads being impracticable, on account of the rocks, mountains and torrents in the way.

Lauan is a small island of 6 to 7 leagues in circumference, at 2 leagues from Palapag. The Fr. Rector of this Residence takes care of it, along with Palapag, where he normally lives. There could be about a thousand souls. The church is dedicated to St. Michael. I took charge of it until we embark. We had a solemn celebration of the feast-day of this Prince of Angels with much pomp. The Fr. Rector, and some other Father from the vicinity came to participate. Doesn't it seem providential to Y.R. that I was first put in charge of a church dedicated to St. Michael, and that, after leaving that one, I came to another one dedicated to the same saint, under whose protection, and that of

1 Ed. note: A village on Samar Island.

all the angels, we have placed the New Philippines? These two churches are the best two Christian communities in this area, according to all our Fathers.

[The story of Moac the Carolinian, and his family]

Besides that, the name of this same saint was given to the Chief of those who had drifted from the New Islands hither 2 years ago; he was baptized with his wife this past Easter by the Bishop of Camarines in the Cathedral of Manila with a great solemnity and rejoicing of the whole city. The god-father was the son of the Governor, who gave as the neophyte's surname his own family name of de Osua;¹ therefore, the full name of the new Christian is: Michael Joseph de Osua.² His former name was Moa.³ He has two sons; the older one, from 7 to 8 years of age, is named John. He was baptized as soon as he arrived. The other one, born here in Palapag 2 years ago (the wife being pregnant when she arrived), is named Francis. The eldest [i.e. Olit] died about a year and a half ago, and was sorrily missed; he was about 9 or 10 years old. Our Fathers tell me that he was friendly, and so intelligent that within 3 to 4 months of time, he could speak Spanish and Visayan, and knew perfectly well all the mysteries of our holy Religion. I do not know what name was given to him on the holy baptismal fonts; I forgot. He went to Heaven to pray for the conversion of his country. It seems to me that he [i.e. Moac] has some other older sons in his country, according to what he said. All his slaves, who had been thrown upon this coast along with him, have fled or died. Three or four disappeared at once, while on a fishing trip.

Every day now we are expecting the man who was thrown upon a small island 20 leagues from here by the last hurricane last May. It is not known what happened to the 40 people who arrived here at the same time; they fled out of fear of punishment for having killed 4 to 5 persons who tried to refuse, against all reason, to let them cut down a few coconut trees to get food, since they were hungry, and the coconuts should have been presented to them instead. It appears that the [presence of the] crowd frightened them [away], or else, that the Lord punished them [i.e. the Filipinos], as the Fr. Rector told me, for having skipped mass, because these poor Palaos (that is the general name given by them to their islands) did no harm to a few other Indians they met subsequently; to the contrary, they made them some presents. I have seen the sort of belt that they gave; it is one palm in width, and is artfully done with small black and white stones, threaded and interwoven. I do not know what tool they used to work them and pierce them, since they have no iron.

The Fr. Provincial, who came recently to visit these Churches, took it with him to offer it, I think, to the Governor of Manila. It is no longer Fr. Clain, who has

1 Ed. note: Rather, de Ursúa.

2 Ed. note: To be precise, this was in Spanish: Miguel José de Ursúa.

3 Ed. note: Written Moac in all other accounts. Moac was later accused of having been responsible for the death of the writer at Sonsorol.

completed his term [as Provincial]; it is Fr. Francisco Díaz from the Province of Castile, who was the companion of the former.¹ I had the pleasure of welcoming him here on the 8th of this month. A few hours before he arrived, I received the letters that he had sent me from Manila and to the Fr. Vice-Provincial of the Visayas for my profession [ceremony], 2 months earlier, mentioning that I could do it on 15 April or on 8 September. However, the Lord disposed otherwise. I did it here in the hands of this Father on the 18th, St. Luke's Day, after the 8 days of exercises that are customary here, to which they add 3 days of retreat, but I had no time for the latter before the departure of the Fr. Provincial. The ceremony was celebrated with much solemnity. The Fr. Provincial himself celebrated the high mass, and the Fr. Rector was due to preach, but he took ill that day. The good Indians outdid themselves to prove their good heart. Their island, which is all composed of small hills, on the top of which are located their houses, seemed like fireworks on the eve, on account of the many lights they had artfully laid out everywhere. The whole evening was filled with the sounds of bells, drums, cymbals, trumpets and flutes, as well as the noise made by some muskets which had been brought from Palapag. All the Residences have some firearms and soldiers, who are there to guard against the Moros of Mindanao. The latter have come many times here to despoil these Churches, pillaging and devastating everything. They have martyred many of our Fathers at such times.

This same [profession] took place the next morning and during the high mass. The joy in the Lord that I felt in making my profession was due, besides the ordinary reasons, to its taking place where those cast adrift from the New Philippines have almost always arrived, and I, making ready to take the faith to them. Also it was the feast-day of the Evangelist when are read during mass the instructions that Jesus Christ gave to the first disciples: *Et misit alios 72*,² and that, inside a church dedicated to St. Michael, the dear protector of our voyage, and my having joined the Society a certain Saturday when the feast-day of this Prince of Angels [was celebrated].³ All of these circumstances, my Reverend Father, seemed to me to have been arranged by divine Providence to confirm me more and more in the trust that I have that the Lord has deigned to use an instrument as vile and as weak as I am to teach the way of salvation to these poor peoples. *Magnificat anima mea Dominum...*⁴ They made me make my profession ahead of Fr. Wibault, saying that his time was passed. I was senior to him in religion. I do not know what the Constitutions say about that. I told the Fr. Provincial many times that Fr. Wibault was one year ahead of me in his studies. This is quite

- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Díaz served as Provincial of the Jesuits from 1710 to 1713. He replaced Fr. Paul Klein.
- 2 Ed. note: Paraphrase of the first paragraph of the gospel read on October 18, taken from Luke 10, verse 1, and meaning: "and he sent another 72."
- 3 Ed. note: According to official records, Fr. Dubéron did join the Society on 29 September 1691. This was indeed a Saturday, by reference to a perpetual calendar.
- 4 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "My soul rejoices in the Lord..."

a subject of confusion for me, as I am the last and the most vile of all. *Ita Pater placitum est arte te.*¹

Lauan 27 October 1710.

[P. S.] I think that I wrote to Y.R. in my last letter of last June that 2 small vessels were to go to the discovery of the New Philippines: in one of them, Fr. Serrano and Fr. Bobadilla, and in the other Fr. Cortyl, Br. Baudin and myself. The latter² left Cavite on 27 September last, and arrived here on 5 September [rather October]. Both Fr. Cortyl and the Brother attended my Profession [ceremony]. Fr. Serrano's vessel³ did not leave Cavite until 1 October and, not having had as favorable a wind as the other, arrived in sight of this island only on the 20th of the same month. Having come too near it for its own good on the 21st, it was thrown upon some rocky shoals, where it was shipwrecked. Nobody perished, and most of the cargo was also saved. I let Y.R. decide if this was a hard blow to Fr. Serrano. This voyage had cost him so many labors and worries on account of the difficulties that he had to surmount to get it. He took it with much patience and acceptance of the will of the Lord, who allowed it to happen for purposes unknown to us. They first saved this Father and his companion,⁴ aboard the ship's boat that came here to get help. As soon as I saw them come, I went to the shore to receive them, but it was a sad embrace under the circumstances, specially since no one could go to the rescue immediately; all the people had gone to their *sementeras*, as they call them [i.e. plantations], about which I think I mentioned to Y.R. in my last letter. What the Father felt the most was the fact that the ship's boat itself could not return to the vessel that same evening with a few of us, so that at least some spiritual help would be available, should they become in danger of perishing, should the vessel open up, because the waves were too big, rather the breakers were, since the area is full of banks and rocks.

One local man was able to make his way, by land and water, to the place where the vessel was, and [then] came to re-assure Fr. Serrano, [saying] that there was no danger to life, there being only 2 feet of water, and a low tide. This removed the Father's worry about that. We talked for a while about the present accident, and what could be done under the circumstances to salvage the holy enterprise itself. He asked me to put down in writing what I thought about it, and, after he had consulted with the Lord for 2 days, he called me and told me through tears: "Go, by yourself, to the discovery of those islands, because, on account of my sins, the Lord does not wish me to go with you, at least not now, as He has cut me short by this accident. Never had a vessel had such a happy voyage from Manila hither than the one mentioned, and never has one been lost so unhappily. I leave all the glory of this enterprise to you, after God. I will wait here

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Father, it is pleasant to serve Thee.

2 Ed. note: The patache **Santisima Trinidad**, Major Padilla in command.

3 Ed. note: The sloop **San Miguel** that was to have been used as flagship, although it was smaller.

4 Ed. note: Father José de Bobadilla.

for news of its happy outcome, one that I will not cease to commend to his divine Majesty, and I will make ready to join you as soon as possible, if the Lord will let me." Thus speaks the humility of the saints! May God be pleased to have me glorify myself only through the Cross of Jesus Christ! *In hoc gloriabor, si Cruci configar Jesu meo.*¹ My only answer to his speech was confusion, which covered my face. What could I say, except the words of the Holy Virgin to the Angel, or that of the Prophet to the Lord: *Ecce ego...*² I am persuaded that I am worthless and useless for anything, and even more in my ingratitude toward a God, who has overwhelmed me with favors, but *non vos me elegistis...*³ because, when it comes to unworthiness, no-one deserves more than me to be left out of this holy enterprise. Oh Almighty! How hidden are your reasons, oh my God, and how unfathomable are your ways! Y.R. will be able to make more than one meditation on this topic of Providence, if only you will remember what I had the honor to communicate to you earlier, and even more so, now that Fr. Serrano has received at his arrival here a letter from the Fr. Provincial, ordering him to send me back to Bangahon, in answer to a request made by the people there, aboard the vessel that would be sent back to give notice of the discovery. This Father, who needs workers here, and who does not know anything concerning me about it, since he had not had the opportunity to hear me out, had acted prudently, I being, among those earmarked to go on the voyage to the New Philippines, the only one who knows the local [Visayan] language. However, this very thing, independently of the shipwreck, pleaded in my favor, because this language is the one that the people of the New Philippines, who must serve us as interpreters in their islands, understand the best, until such time as the Lord will untie our tongues in order to proclaim his glory by ourselves!

Fr. Serrano held an immediate consultation with the Fathers who were here, upon his intention to have the voyage go on with the Fathers who were earmarked for the vessel that remained. All agreed with him. Fr. Bobadilla himself said that his health did not allow him to think about another voyage, as he had spit some blood at this last blow. He wrote the same day to the Fr. Provincial, offering to go himself to Bangahon. Since he has a basic knowledge of the Tagalog language, which is that of Manila, he will enter into this one in a short time, because it derives from the former. Fr. Serrano has already begun to learn the local [Visayan] language, in order to be useful while he remains here.

There was then held a consultation with the Pilots and Officers. All were happy about the Father's decision regarding the voyage, as he told them that he had chosen me to replace him, judging that the surplus people be sent back to Manila. However, in my estimation, the number [remaining] was still too large; almost 200 persons were to go aboard this small vessel, which is hardly 80 or 90 feet in length, and at most 20-foot wide. The cabin where we are, and the only one, is so narrow and so low that one can

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "I will taken glory in being fixed to the Cross of my Jesus."

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "Here I am..."

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "You have not selected me..."

only sit down, upon the floor, but thank God it is not what worries me; to the contrary, I happily welcome it, specially since the other vessel has a better layout and is more comfortable. So, that was the end of it. What consoles me even more is that we still have the first fruits of the New Philipines; we had it already, independently of the shipwreck.

The crew is composed of many different nationalities. The commander [i.e. Padilla] is a Spaniard from Andalusia, the captain is from Biscay, the pilot a Frenchman from Marseilles, his mate Portuguese. That [pilot] of the vessel that perished also came, because he was more experienced than the other in the seas where we are going, having served the Dutch for many years; he is from Mayorca.¹ The boatswain is from Peru. Another one is Italian. Some seamen are Dutch, others Spanish, and the rest are from various regions of this country [i.e. Filipinos]. May God deign to unite them all by links of charity and his holy love! We are to leave on the 1st [of November]. The shipwreck problem has kept us here until now.

May Y.R. remember me in the Lord. Give my regards to all our Fathers, relatives and friends. I remain,, with all possible submission, united with you in your holy sacrifices.

My Rev. Father,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
Jacques DuBeron

[P. P. S.] I have received here 3 letters from Y.R., dated 26 May, 1 June, and 23 August of 1708. I enclose at the foot of this letter [a copy of] a letter to Fr. Duchambge.

Enclosure: Letter to Fr. Duchambge.

My Reverend and dearest Father Joseph,
Peace of Christ.

I have received at my arrival here 4 letters from Y.R., dated 13 and 26 May, 29 June, and 17 October 1708. Fr. Serrano wishes to thank you much for the steps taken on behalf of Br. Horion, and I too, specially for everything that concerns me, that I had entrusted to you, above all the prayers that you ceaselessly address to God for the success of our project, whose only objective is His greater glory, and the salvation of His dear souls. I will not fail to respond in kind, considering that you will have a part to play in our small works. You must console yourself that, by staying at home, you will contribute as much by your prayers as ourselves by our travels. Moses contributed as much to victory as Joshua, and maybe before God he had the merit and the glory for it. I say the same thing to Fr. Maes; please inform him of what I write to Fr. de Waudripont, and tell him to excuse me for not answering his letter that came with those of Y.R. The problem caused by the shipwreck and the lack of time caused by our departure will not allow it. I beg the same favor for Mr. Turpin, whose note was enclosed in the letter from Fr. Maes. Fr. Perenchies wrote to me on -- of December. I do not know by what means

¹ Ed. note: This refers to Joseph Somera, I think.

his letter came to me. He tells me that those Fathers Daf and Lettenberg are coming to the Philippines, without saying more. I do not know if they are coming with Br. Horion. I would be obliged if you would also thank him and present my excuses. Fr. le Quesne wrote to me from Mexico; they did not dare embark to come here this year, on account of the fear they have of the enemies who have captured one of the two vessels that left for Mexico last year.¹ He tells me that he has written to Fr. General to remain in the Philippines, in case the door to China be closed to them. They will be welcomed here with open arms. The 4 French Fathers who left Manila at the beginning of this year to attempt to enter China have gotten nowhere. They are [now] at Pondichery and one of them wrote to me to say that they have offered themselves for other missions, that are planned for those places towards the Kingdom of Carnate.² Regarding news from China, we are the ones who learn them first. I do not know anything new since the last ones.

Regards and greetings to all the relatives and friends.
Yours truly in Jesus Christ,
Jacques Duberon

[P.P.S] I have received a letter from Fr. Wibault, after I wrote this one, in which he tells me about the manner by which the man from the New Philippines, or Palaos, was made able to receive baptism in a very short time; he is the one who had been cast away by the last hurricane upon the coast of Samal Island, at a settlement belonging to the Residence of Dagami, or Leyte, to which Fr. Wibault belongs. He was on his way to join us, but the Fr. Provincial kept him in Bangahon, where he met with him, for fear, as he wrote to us, that he might lose his faith after returning to his country, since he was new and still weak in the faith. Thus, this dear Father will not see his hope frustrated, that this Palao might one day serve him as interpreter, by easily learning the Visayan language [first]. I am sending you his letter, though it is in Spanish, not having the time to translate it. I think that you will have no need of an interpreter to understand it and to get(?) something out of it.

[Envelope:] To my Reverend Father,
Rev. Fr. De Waudripont
of the Society of Jesus at Tournay, Flanders

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- 1 Ed. note: A reference to the capture of the **Encarnación** by Woodes Rogers and other English pirates in 1710. The ship that brought the above-mentioned letters to Manila in 1710 was the galleon **Begoña** that went by Saipan, as they feared that the pirates were waiting for them at Guam. Fr. le Quesne may have crossed the Pacific aboard the **Rosario** in 1711.
 - 2 Ed. note: To the south of Pondichery, in the modern Tamil Nadu or Madras State in India.

Documents 1710H

Expeditions to the Caroline Islands— The voyage of 1710

Sources: Original version in AGI Fil. 215; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4. The narrative portion was published, in French, by Fr. Le Gobien in his "Lettres édifiantes" (Paris, 1707), vol. 4, pp. 700 et seq under the title: "Relation en forme de Journal, de la découverte des Isles de Palaos, ou Nouvelles Philippines"; reprinted in his vol. XI (1725), pp. 75-92; XV (1781): 321-331; VIII (Lyon, 1819): 420-435, and, in Spanish, in "Cartas edificantes" (Madrid, 1755), pp. 239-246; even published in German, in Forster-Sprengel's "Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde X (Leipzig, 1789), pp. 183-210; also in German in Thilenius, ed., Report of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition. Callander has published one version in English.

Note: Somera's original maps are in AGI and in ARSI Hist. Soc. 150.

H1. Decree of 20 June 1711, etc.

Original text in Spanish.

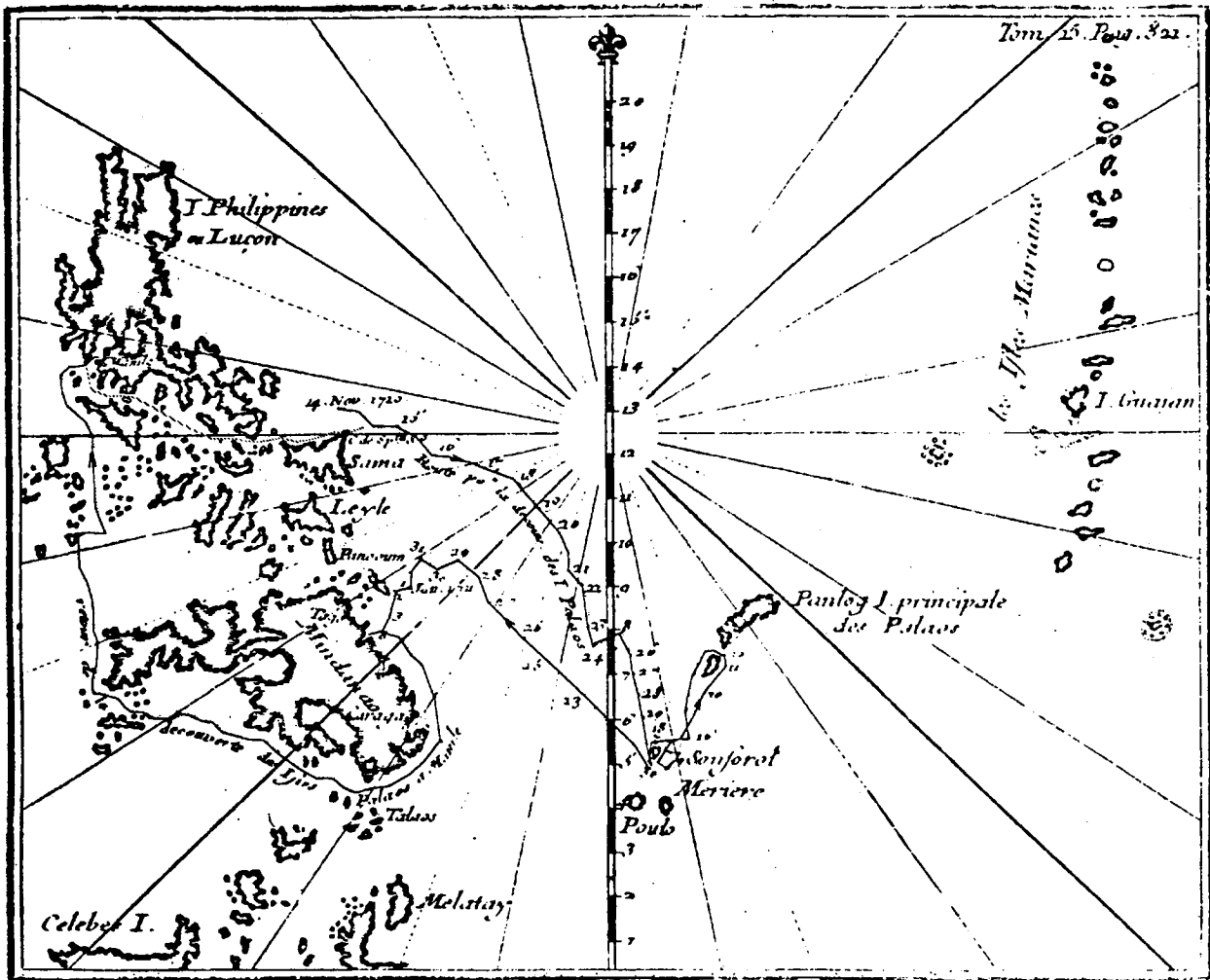
Manila Veinte de Junio de mill seteciento[s] y onze.—

Respecto de que el día diez y siete de este presente mes llego al puerto de Cavite el Patache que fue al descubrimiento de los Palaos, y que el cavo de el y su piloto se hallan en esta ciudad, se les notificara por el presente Escribano presenten el diario del viaje que han hecho, y de la Zituacion y grados en que estan las Islas que han descubierto.

Acordado a estos Autos: se comboque la Junta de Pilotos para el efecto que expresa el señor fiscal, a la qual ser[a] tambien combocado el de dicho patache.

Rubricado de su Señoría el Señor Conde de Lizarraga.—

Allanegui, escribano en esta ciudad de Manila, en veinte y un dias del mes de Junio 1711.—Yo el sargento maior Don Miguel de Allanegui, escribano maior de la Governacion de estas Islas Philipinas en cumplimiento de lo mandado por el decreto de veinte del Corriente que se halla en la hoja antes de esta, notifique segun y como en el se contiene á Joseph Somera, piloto maior del Patache nombrado La Santissima Trinidad y San Francisco Xavier que acava de llegar de las Islas de Palaos en su perssona, quien habiendo oydo y entendido lo contenido en dicho decreto, dixo que lo oye y dara el devido cumplimiento en pressentar el diario del viaje que ha hecho y la mapa de la Zitua-



Track of the voyage of exploration of 1710. *Fr. Le Gobien published this chart to show the complete track of the voyage of the patache Santissima Trinidad from Manila to Sonsorol and the south part of the Palau Islands in 1710 and 1711. (From one of the many editions of the "Lettres Édifiantes et curieuses.")*

cion y Grados en que estan las Islas de Palaos y demostracion de las Tierras que ha visto.

Lo qual dio por su respuesta y lo firmo de que doy fee.

Joseph Somera.—

Don Miguel de Allanegui, escribano.

En esta Ziudad de Manila, dicho dia, mes y año.

Yo dicho Escrivano mayor hise otra notificacion como la de arriva del dicho decreto de enfrente, segun y como en el se contiene, al sargento mayor Don Francisco de Padilla, cavo superior de la gente de guerra y mar del referido Patache, y en su persona, quien habiendo oydo y entendido lo conthenido en dicho decreto, dixo que lo oye y que esta prompto a dar el devido cumplimiento en lo mandado en el Auto que se me tiene notificado por el presente escrivano, lo qual dio por su respuesta y lo firmo conmigo de que doy fee.

Francisco de Padilla.—

Don Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

Manila, 20 June 1711.

Considering that on the 17th of this month, there arrived at the port of Cavite the patache that had been sent to the discovery of the Palaos, and that its commander and its pilot are to be found in this city, they shall be notified by the notary here present to present the logbook of the voyage that they have made, and the location and position of the islands they have discovered.

In accordance with these edicts: the members of the Council of Pilots are hereby convoked for the purpose expressed by the Fiscal, including the pilot of said patache.

[Original signed by His Lordship, Count of Lizarraga.]

Allanegui, notary in this city of Manila, on 21 June 1711.

I, Sergant-Major Miguel de Allanegui, senior notary of the government of these Philippine Islands, in accordance with the decree of the 20th, along with the attached edicts, the contents of which are hereby communicated to José Somera, chief pilot of the patache named **La Santísima Trinidad y San Francisco Xavier** that has just arrived from the Islands of the Palaos, in person, and who, having heard and understood the contents of said decree, said that he heard and understood the contents of said decree, said that he heard it and will carry it out by presenting the logbook of the voyage made by him and the map of the location and positions of the Islands of the Palaos that show the lands that he has seen.

Such is his answer confirmed by his signature, in faith whereof.

José Somera.

Don Miguel de Allanegui, notary.

In this city of Manila, on said date.

I, said senior notary, made another notification similar to the one above of the decree appearing on the previous folio, in accordance with its contents, to Sergeant-Major Francisco Padilla, commander of the soldiers who, having understood the contents of said decree, said that he heard it and is ready to carry out what he was notified of by said notary, and this is what he gave as his answer and he signed it, in faith whereof.

Francisco de Padilla.

Don Miguel de Allanegui.

H2. Logbook of the voyage

Original text in Spanish.

*Diario de viaje del descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos con el Patache **La Santísima Trinidad**, y por nombre las Nuevas Philipinas, siendo cavo superior el sargento maior Don Francisco de Padilla, y el Reverendo Padre Jacobo Duberon, superior de dicha Mission, y el Padre Joseph Cortil capellan de dicho Patache, y de Piloto maior Don Joseph Somera, y su Acompañado Don Roque Bautista.*

En el nombre de Dios poderoso.

...

Sabado veinte y nueve de dicho mes.

He vuelto á cojer mis derrotas desde el veinte y siete á medio día, que fueron al sueste y al sueste cuarta al sur y al sursueste, con los vientos al nornordeste y al lesnordeste y al leste, con turbonadas del nordeste, los que la otra derrota me han llevado al sur por mi estimatiba quince leguas y un tercio, y al leste diez leguas y media. Por lo que las otras leguas, hallé que mi angulo estimatibo fué de treinta y cuatro grados y veinte y cuatro minutos del sur á la banda del leste, y mi camino, en ocho lineas rectas, de diez y ocho leguas y un tercio. Mi diferencia en latitud observada fue de un grado y seis minutos; halle veinte minutos de mas al sur por mi observacion. Halle que [mi] angulo corregido fué de veinte y cinco grados y treinta y un minutos del sur á la banda del leste, y mi camino corregido de veinte y cuatro leguas y un tercio. La corriente me ha echado al sur de veinte minutos de mas que mi estimatiba desde el veinte y siete del corriente a medio día hasta oy a medio día.

Domingo treinta de dicho mes.

*A las cinco de la mañana descubrimos las Islas de **Sonsonrrol**—assi las llaman los Isleños que habitan en ellas—las quales son del numero de las Islas Palaos que buscamos, y otras Islas nos quedaban entonces al nordeste. Tres grados al norte, como tres leguas de distancia, biramos de bordo para reconocer otras Islas, por parecer del Cavo superior Don Francisco de Padilla; y los Muy Reverendos Padres Jacobo Duberon y el Padre José Cortil y [los] pusieron [por nombre] las Islas de San Andres, por ser las primeras y ser día del santo. Y a las ocho de la mañana pareció otro barco con ocho personas de otras Islas que vinieron á reconocer el patache, todos pintados, y a un tiro*

de Alcabuz arriaron su vela de ... y nos gritavan todos “mapia, mapia” que significa en su idioma ser buenos. Hizimos que se quitara Moac la camissa para que viendo sus labores llegaran a Bordo; y platicaron con Moac y su mujer por ser una misma lengua. Empesaron a Besarnos la cara, las manos y los pies, y nos parecio gente muy alegre, de buen cuerpo, limpio y pintado de la misma manera que Moac, nuestro Palao, desde el Pescuezo hasta el empeine de los pies, en perfeccion tapadas sus partes con una tualla amarilla de abaca, y un capisayo de petate, y un sombrero como los que traen los sangleyes en Manila con unas plumas de pajarito bobo con su fiador para debajo de la barba, sus cavellos encrespados, la barba fornida, y por señal de alegria se pintan de Amarillo la cara. Estavan espantados de bernos chupar tabaco. Son aficionados al hierro; todo el hierro que miraban lo pedian.

Despues de medio día vinieron dos Barotos á bordo; algunos de ellos entraron á Bordo, se pusieron a cantar con mucho orden, dando palmadas en los muslos, y acabada la musica[,] uno de ellos con los brazos tendidos midio el anchor del Patache, y otro empeso a cantar a la gente. Nos traxieron algunos cocos. Su sustento son Cocos, Rimas, platanos y pescado; la tierra parece muy fertil por los arboles que bimos de rimas. La fabrica de sus barcos son como los de Marianas, con poca diferencia, con su contrapeso a la mar, su bela de petate latina; sus barcos traen de la Islas Panloc que abra como unas cinquenta leguas de distancia, y ban dellos con los vendabales y viento sur a las Islas de Panloc a traer otros barcos. Y ellos nos dieron las noticias adonde quedavan las Islas de Panloclap y Palao, y otras Islas, confirmando la relacion de[] Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano. Y nos dieron noticias que en cinco dias yban de [a?] Panloclap tirando por el nordeste. Y tambien nos dieron noticias de la Isla de merideis(?) [= Meriere] que es un poco mas grande que la suya, un día de camino de la Isla de Sonsonrrol, quedando de su dicha Isla al sur quarta al sueste. Nos dan tambien noticias de otra Isla que se llama Paolo [Poulo? i.e. Pulo (Ana)] que queda al sursueste, a un día de distancia de otra Isla. Y no falte de marcar el lugar a donde nos señalaban con la mano; yo, con la aguja, marque a la parte adon[de] nos asian la[s] señas. El Indio Palao que señalaba ha estado en todas estas Islas de Palao, y es Piloto entre ellos, segun a entender Moac; [el] qual dicho Isleño hera de hedad de cinquenta años al parecer. Cuando señalaba dichas Islas era de noche, y quando f[u]jimos á Panloc me fie en la señal de la noche que de día haria de hierro [rather yerro] quarta y media {h}a todas por no ber las estrellas.

Y quando estuvimos serca de la tierra de la Isla de Sonsonrrol, el señor sargento maior Don Francisco de Padilla y el reverendo Padre superior [y] yo Piloto mayor hallamos aproposito el embiar la lancha con el Piloto acompañado para ver si abia forma de dar fondo con el Patache, para provernos de Agua y leña,¹ y registrar las otras Islas y los frutos de ellas. Y cuando estuvo nuestra lancha como un cuarto de legua de otra Isla, se allegaron dos barcos a ella, y entro un Indio de dichos barcos para mirar, y cojio

1 Ed. note: Thus transcribed by Krämer. The reports of Br. Baudin all say that it was, rather, “tomar lengua,” that is, to get information.

un alfanje y se arrojó en el agua; y nuestra lancha se volvió a bordo sin hacer nada. Y a las dos de la tarde, el Piloto de la Balandra, Don Joseph Ramon, le mandamos que fuera hacer la misma diligencia como el acompañado, y luego que estuvo cerca de tierra que bido muchos Indios en la Playa que, aunque yban armados, se volvieron sin hacer nada de lo que se le[s] havia[n] ordenado. Y el viento calmo entonzes, y la corriente nos hecho al sueste, por ser muy rapida. Y los mui Reverendos Padres dieron Gracias á Dios, y todos nosotros por haver visto las Islas de Palaos. Y el Padre Superior dio a entender a un Indio Palao de las otras Islas que Jesuchristo es hijo de Dios, y le hazia pronunciar Jesus Maria. El dicho Palao lo pronunciava claramente, y parecia aficionado a pronunciarlo, y hacia y {h}acudia con puntualidad, de la frecuencia de nosotros, al rosario y a oyr Misa, con Moac que lo instruia al reso. Y aseguro que en la grande Isla tenia como ochocientas almas; por la Isla pequeña no dio razon del numero de Isleños que tiene. Y la Isla grande tendra como dos leguas de sirconferencia, y la chica tendra como una cuarta parte de la Grande. Y esta es la [situacion(?)] por la parte que la descubrimos y su situacion de dichas Islas: es por los cinco grados y veinte y quatro y treinta y ocho minutos de longitud.—

Desde ayer a medio dia hasta oy a medio dia tengo navegado, por el angulo del sur-sueste y del sueste cuarta al sur con los Bientos al nordeste y al leste nordeste, como media legua cada [h]ora; y halle que las otras derotas me llevaron, por mi estimatiba, al sur ocho leguas y dos tercios y al leste dos leguas y media, por las quales halle que mi angulo estimatibo en linea Recta fue de Diez y seis grados y cinco minutos del sur a la banda del leste, y mi camino estimatibo en otro angulo, de nueve leguas; mi diferencia en latitud sur observada, de quarenta y tres minutos, y halle diez y siete minutos de mas al sur por mi observacion que por mi estimatiba, y segun mi corrección halle que mi angulo corregido fue de nueve grados y cincuenta y tres del sur a la banda del leste, y mi camino corregido de catorce leguas y dos tercios. Me halle allegado, por mi observación, a los cinco grados y diez y seis minutos de longitud; desde ayer a medio dia hasta oy a medio dia, la corriente me hecho al sur diez y siete minutos, y observe cinco grados en este paraje de bariación nordeste.—

Lunes primero de Diziembre.

Desde ayer a medio dia hasta oy a medio dia tengo navegado, al ueste y al ueste quarta al norueste con los vientos frescos al lesnordeste, como una legua poco mas cada ora, para poder aguantar las dichas Islas de Sonsonrol, y a medio dia nos quedavan otras Islas al ueste norueste, como siete leguas de distancia; y por la mucha corriente que nos hechavan al sueste, por ser mui rapida, no podiamos aguantar para cojer otras Islas, por que nos de[s]garitaban la fuerça de las corrientes. Y observe en dicho dia y me halle por los cinco grados y catorce minutos de latitud norte.—

Martes dos de dicho mes.

Desde ayer a medio dia hasta a la[s] seis de la tarde de dicho dia tubimos calma; entonçes los bientos saltaron a lesnordeste y al nordeste, como una legua poco mas cada

ora. Entonzes, el cavo superior y los Reverendos Padres [y] yo Piloto maior hallamos a proposito hazer toda fuerza posible para cojer otra Isla, para provernos de agua y leña, como huviera forma de poder dar fondo sin riesgo del Patache, y ma[ne]r[a] de gobernar al ueste quarta al norueste. Y a las seis de la mañana las otras Islas paresian al ueste quarta al norueste, a sinco leguas y media de distancia largas. Y los Bientos saltaron entonzes al leste y al esnordeste; hize gobernar al ueste y al ueste quarta al norueste, y a las seis de la tarde nos hallamos de las dichas Islas como dos leguas de distancia. Toda la noche tubimos la proa sobre de ellas, con los vientos al leste fresco[s], y con todo eso no podiamos cojer dicha Isla, por la corriente rapida que nos desgarrantava al sueste.—

Miercoles tres de dicho mes Diziembre.

A la[s] seis de la mañana, las otras Islas nos quedavan al ueste quarta al su[du]este, como una legua de distancia. Los Bientos entonces afloxaron y made gobernar al ueste quarta al norueste, para poder cojer dicha Isla. A las seis de la tarde estuvimos como dos leguas de distancia. Nos quedavan al ueste norueste, y mande gobernar toda la noche sobre dichas Islas, sin poder abansar sino mui poco, por lo rapido de las corrientes que nos echavan al sueste.—

Jueves quatro de dicho mes.

*A las seis de la mañana, [h]allandonos en frente de la boca de dicha Isla, hallamos á propocito, con el cavo superior y los mui Reverendos Padres [y] yo Piloto maior, de embiar la lancha otra bes, armada con el Piloto acompañado y **Moac**, si abia forma de poder dar fondo con el Patache sin riesgo y proveernos de lo que nesositavamos. Y á las quatro de la tarde bolvio la lancha a bordo de haver registrado otra Isla, y declaró el Piloto acompañado, que no tenia Puerto ni lugar adonde poder surjir, por estar encandilado y mucho fondo serca de la tierra y piedras, sin resguardo de ningun biento, y las corrientes mui rapidas.—*

Biernes cinco de dicho mes.

A la[s] seis de la mañana, los muy Reverendos Padres se determinaron para ir a tierra á poner dos Cruces, una grande y otra pequeña, que el dia antes se avian hecho con este fin y pintado en este Patache. Y el cavo superior Don Francisco de Padilla [y] yo Piloto maior les propocimos por el riesgo para poder ir sus paternidades. Le[s] dimos a entender que las corrientes son mui biolentas, como lo [h]an experimentado dichos reverendos padres, que nos ibamos desgarrantando, y que nos podia dar un punto que nos desgarrantara y no nos daria lugar de poder cojer la lancha. Y les propocimos que los Indios heran mui aficionados al hierro, y que por dicho hierro podian jurtar la lancha. Y pidieron que dieramos la lancha Armada con las personas que nombraron dichos reverendos Padres, que fueron el contramaestre Daniel Bagatin, y el Alferez de mar y Guerra Roque de Cordova con el estandarte Real, y el Piloto de la Balandra Don Joseph Ramon, soldados armados, el cabo [de es]quadra Carlos Joseph Barreto, con un

mosquete cada uno, con su garnier con vastante carga, y sus mechas y lanças, para no dejar arrimar ningun baroto a querer embarcarse, y para defenderse en caso que fuera menester guardar á los muy Reverendos Padres y a sus personas tambien; pues todos fueron armados hasta los marineros Pedro de Lima, Manuel de Aliman, Domingo Gines, soldados Pampangas Francisco Pinto, Martin de la Cruz, y los quatro Palaos. Y a las seis de la tarde la corriente nos apartó de dichas Islas con los vientos al nordeste y al norueste y al ueste y al sueste, con buenas turbonadas, y a la noche el cavo superior mando poner faroles al baupres y a la mesana por si acaso venian a bordo.

Sabado seis de dicho mes.

A las seis de la mañana, las dichas Islas no paresia[n] mas que un poco, quedando al norte quarta al norueste, como ocho leguas de distancia, con los [vientos] al nordeste y al leste nordeste floxo[s], haciendo toda fuerza de bela para cojer dichas Islas, y como eran tan rapidas las corrientes nos desgarraban al sueste. Y a las seis de la tarde nos calmó el biento hasta a las tres de la mañana, siete del corriente [mes]. Toda la noche el cavo superior estuvo manteniendo los faroles ensendidos, para que si binieran a bordo nos bieran. Los bientos saltaron por el leste y leste sueste, y mande gobernar al ueste norueste.

Domingo siete de dicho mes.

A las nueve de la mañana descubrimos las dichas Islas desde el tope, que nos quedavan al ueste norueste, como nueve leguas de distancia. Los bientos se puçieron frescos al leste y leste nordeste y a leste sueste. Mande gobernar al ueste norueste, y al norueste quarta al ueste sobre dichas Islas. Y a las seis de la tarde estuvimos como dos leguas de distancia de dichas Islas, y nos quedavan al norueste. Entonzes estava el tiempo bueno y la mar en calma, para poder benir dicha lancha. Toda la noche, en la mesana y baupres tubimos faroles ensendidos para que nos pudieran ber si benian a bordo. Y toda la noche estuvimos en calma.—

Lunes ocho de dicho mes.

A las cinco de la mañana, las dichas Islas nos quedavan al nornorueste, quatro grados a la banda del lueste, como siete leguas de distancia. Los bientos estavan al norueste floxos, y mande gobernar al ueste surueste. Y a las cinco de la tarde los bientos saltaron al ueste surueste fresco[s], y dichas Islas perdimos de vista, y estubimos manteniendo de un Bordo y otro, para no desgarrarnos mas lejos de dichas Islas. Los vientos ventaron con mas fuerza al ueste surueste, y [crecio la] mar del dicho Biento. Y toda la noche tubimos los faroles ensendidos, si acaso salieran a la mar, aunque no podia la lancha estar en la mar, por los mares muy cresidos que aun nosotros no podiamos mantener con el Patache.—

Martes nueve de dicho mes.

A las seis de la mañana me halle como diez leguas de distancia de dichas Islas, y me quedavan al ueste. Por mi observacion de medio dia que me halle por los cinco grados y veinte y quatro minutos de latitud norte, y por los ciento y cinquenta y dos grados y siete minutos de longitud. Los vientos muy frescos al surueste que nos desgarrantavan de dichas Islas. Y por junta que hizimos el cavo superior, y el hermano Estevan Baudin [y] yo Piloto maior Don Joseph Somera de dicho Patache, y mi acompañado Don Roque Baupista, por haver visto que hera ymposible cojer dichas Islas, por ser el dicho Biento mui rezió, y por la proa, y vimos que nos yvamos desgarrantando mas y mas, determinamos que era apropocito ir a descubrir las Islas Panloclap y Palaos, por estar el viento a popa y recio. Entonzes mande gobernar al nornordeste y por el angulo de veinte y siete grados y treinta minutos del norte a la banda del leste. Entonzes los Bientos saltaron al ueste surueste, como una legua y dos terzios cada ora, y fui proseguendo mi derrota.—

Miercoles diez de dicho mes.

Desde ayer a medio dia hasta oy a medio dia, que dejamos las Islas de Sonsonrol, tengo navegado por el angulo de veinte y dos grados y treinta minutos del norte á la banda del leste, y por el angulo de veinte y siete grados y treinta minutos del norte a la Banda del leste, con los vientos al ueste surueste frescos[s], como una legua y media cada ora y menos. Mi camino estimativo fue de treinta y dos leguas, mi diferencia en latitud norte estimativa de un grado y veinte minutos, mi diferencia en longitud al leste un[a] legua. Y me halle por los seis grados y quarenta y nueve minutos de latitud norte estimativa, no habiendo podido observar, por estar nublado[s] los orisontes, y por los ciento cinquenta y dos grados y cinquenta y un minutos de longitud.—

[Discovery of the Palau Islands]**Jueves onze de dicho mes.**

A las ocho de la mañana descubrimos la tierra de Panloclap y Palao, las quales dichas tierras son Islas de los Palaos, segun lo que Dixo Moac y el viejo Piloto de Sonsonrol, y que las demas Islas estavan al leste y a lesnordeste y a leste quarta al sueste. Las quales dichas Islas de Panloc nos quedavan, la punta la mas al ueste, al norueste quarta al ueste, y la punta la mas a leste que podiamos alcanzar con la bista, nos quedava al norte quarta al nordeste, como diez leguas de largo o de distancia. A medio dia [he] buuelto a tomar mis derrotas. De nueve del corriente a medio dia hasta oy a medio dia que tengo navegado, por el angulo de treinta grados y treinta minutos del norte a la Banda del leste, y por los veinte y dos grados y treinta minutos del norte a la Banda del lueste, con los Bientos al ueste surueste frescos[s]. Las quales dichas derrotas me llevaron al norte, por mi estimatiba, cinquenta y dos leguas y media, y a leste veinte y tres leguas. Y halle que mi angulo estimatibo en linia recta fue de veinte y tres grados y quarenta y quatro minutos del norte a la banda del leste. Y mi camino estimatibo en dicho angulo fue de cinquenta y siete leguas y un terzio. Mi deferencia al norte por mi

observación que por mi estimatiba. Y segun mi corrección halle que mi angulo corregido fue de treinta y dos grados y siete minutos del norte a la banda del leste, y mi camino corregido de quarenta y tres leguas y un terzio. Mi latitud {a} llegada por observación, siete grados y catorze minutos norte, y por los ciento y cinquenta y tres grados y diez y seis minutos de longitud. La corriente muy rapida me hecho quarenta y siete minutos al sur [por mi] estimatiba.—

*Como a las quatro de la tarde nos hallabamos como dos leguas de la tierra. Binieron quatro barcos a bordo y se mantuvieron a medio cable de este Patache, sin quererse acercar; y como a las cinco, estando mas cerca de las Islas, fueron viniendo los demas barcos, como otros quatro, y estando mirandonos algun tiempo, nos hizieron demostraciones con las manos que estaban buenas gentes, hablando ellos **Mauman**, que significa bueno, y despues reconozimos que eran grandes ladrones y traydores y embusteros. Y se hecharon al agua y binieron a bordo. Con mucho miedo estubieron en la toldilla de popa, hablando con el Hermano Estevan Baudin [que] no los entendia, [y] estando prompts para dejarse caer al agua, andando ojeando que pudieran jurtar. Y uno que vino nadando se {h}arrogó [a] la mesa de guarnición y agarro una cadena de dicha guarnición, y queriendo quebrarla con las manos, con las diligencias que hazia y como no podia, le hechava el diente para hazer mas fuerza para llevarsela. Y de esa misma manera yban haziendo a las argollas y machos y abrazaderas del timon, y como no pudieron arrancar ni llevar nada, el Hermano les dio un pedazo de plato quebrado y una sarta de Abalorio y un poco de Asucar, y se fue contento a su embarcación. Y otro que le {h}echaron un pedazo de Plato se cayo al agua, en donde los dichos Indios lo fueron a buscar y traer. Son estopendos nadadores. El cabo superior Don Francisco de Padilla, {y} viendo que avia muchisima gente en los otros barcos, y que estaban llenos de lanzas y flechas, no les consentia que ningun barco se arrimara a bordo, estando toda la gente en arma con toda pre[vencion]. Y llegaron despues dos barcos con Isleños, y dos subieron arriba. [Como] el Hermano Estevan Baudin [vio] que no se entendian uno ni otro, [los] cojieron y {h}echaron al agua. Y se embarcaron dentro de su embarcacion, y cojiendo a distancia de sus flechas, nos empesaron a tirar. Y biendo el sargento mayor su atrebimiento de ellos, mando disparar a la Infanteria. Y al estruyendo de las balas o silvido que les yba por los oidos, se hecharon al agua desamparando sus embarcaciones, y zambullendose en el agua, y amparandose de ellas, para poder escapar [con] las vidas a huir a toda priesa para sus Pueblos. Y son hombres bien hechos, y conforme las calidades estan pintados; porque ay entre ellos amulatados, y otros de color amembrillado, y otros mas morenos, con el Pelo ensortijado, y otros de Pelo gargo, y otros bermejos.*

Biernes dose de dicho mes.

Desde ayer a las seis de la tarde hasta oy a las seis de la mañana tubimos calma. Y sobre las tierras como de distancia de tres quartos de legua, Reconociendo desde el tope (por hallarnos sin la lancha) adonde podiamos dar fondo para estar seguro el Patache, y las corrientes tan rapidas que no nos daban lugar de cojer Puerto y nosotros no deter-

minamos el cojerlo por las Piedras que ay debajo del agua, y el mucho fondo que abia, eche el escandallo barias bezes en diferentes parajes de dichas Islas, y no se hallaba fondo.—

Y como a las quatro de la tarde binieron dos barcos á bordo y haçian la misma señal que los otros de buena jente, y se estuvieron ronseando por el Patache, y benian armados de Piedra[s] y flechas, y como beyan el patache que estaba como Puerco espin, no se atrevieron a espinarse, sino haziendonos señal de que no fuéramos a las Islas que corren mas al este de los Palaos, porque los Isleños de ellas es mala gente y que nos havian de cortar las cabezas, ino que fuéramos a sus tierras, que {h}eran buenos, y hai mucho que comer, señalando cocos, rimas, y tortas de pescado, y pilis en dulce, que el sargento maior y cavo superior Don Francisco de Padilla no permitio que ninguno comiera de ello, por el beneno que podia haver, que lo aviamos reconocido en las lanzas.

Y a un soldado llamado Juan Morillo que comio muy bien de lo [que] trujieron, y el cavo superior le reprejendio por aver comido, y por que no çe apestaran si acaso havian puesto el veneno, lo mando el cavo superior hechar todo el regalo al agua que havian traído. Y como a las diez de la noche los vientos saltaron al sursueste, fresco[s], como una legua y media cada ora; reconocimos que la corriente nos hechava con mucha fuerza ensima de las Islas, y viendo que no podiamos montar ni la punta del ueste, halle aproçito de pasar entre dos Islas y mande gobernar al nornorueste; las quales dichas Islas y el canal avia bien marcado el dia antes desde el tope, para poder pasar si se ofreciera ocazió como se ofrecio. El canal de las dichas Islas havia como dos terzios de legua de anchura que se podia pasar sin riesgo ninguno, por no haver visto, estando serca de ellas, arresife ni rebentasones.—

Sabado treze de dicho mes.

A las seis de la mañana nos hallamos como quatro leguas de la dicha tierra, y a medio dia como siete leguas, que nos [ha] quedado al este quarta al su[d]jeste; y los vientos saltaron por el nordeste. Hizimos Junta el señor sargento maior Don Francisco de Padilla, yo Piloto maior, y el hermano Estevan Baudin y el acompañado. Primeramente echamos de ver que los bientos estaban al nordeste, y era imposible, con los dichos Bientos, de ir a descubrir las demas Islas que nos quedavan al esnordeste y al nordeste, segun las señales que el viejo Piloto de Sonsonrol nos dio; otra razon es, que nosotros no podiamos arriesgarnos a ponernos entre tantas Islas donde las corrientes muy rapidas, sin tener lancha para podernos safar en caso que se nos ofreciera, no habiendo ni plano de dichas Islas para buscar los puertos por çi acaso nos dieran algun tiempo, o que las corrientes nos apuraran. Y reconocimos que era desesperación arrojar al peligro que teniamos experimentado, y hallamos mas aproçito de bolver a las Islas de Sonsonrol para haçer diligencia de coxer los Padres y la demas jente de escolta. Y entonzes mande gobernar al surueste, con los bientos al nordeste, como dos terzios de legua cada ora.

Y al medio dia obse[r]ve, y me halle por los siete grados quinze minutos de latitud norte y por los ciento y cinquenta y dos grados cinquenta y dos minutos de longitud, segun el angulo y la distancia como tengo dicho arriva.—

Domingo catorze de dicho mes.

Desde ayer a medio día tengo navegado al surueste, y al sur, y al ueste surueste, con los bientos al nordeste, como dos terzios de legua cada ora; y habiendo reducido mis derrotas, y halle que me llevaron al sur, por mi estimatiba, veinte y quatro minutos, y al ueste diez y ocho minutos, Por las quales halle que mi angulo estimatibo en linia recta fue de treinta y seis, cinquenta y dos minutos del sur a la banda del ueste, y mi camino estimatibo en dicho angulo de diez leguas, mi diferençia en latitud sur observada de veinte y nueve minutos. Y halle cinco minutos de más al sur por mi dicha observación que por mi estimativa; y segun mi correxçion halle que mi angulo corregido fue de treinta y un grado y quarenta y nueve minutos del sur a la banda del ueste, y mi camino corregido de onze leguas y media. Me halle hallegado a medio día por los seis grados y quarenta y seis minutos de latitud norte y por los ciento cinquenta y dos, y treinta y quatro minutos de longitud. La corriente me hecho al sur desde ayer á medio día cinco minutos, y obse[r]ve haver cinco grados de bariación nordeste en este Paraje.—

Lunes quinze de dicho mes.

Desde ayer a medio día hasta oy a medio día tengo navegado por el angulo de diez y seis grados del sur á la banda del lueste, con los bientos al nornordeste y nordeste, y tengo hecho [segun] sobre digo en dicho angulo, por mi estimativa, ocho leguas. Mi diferençia en latitud sur estimatiba, de veinte y tres minuos y mi diferençia en longitud al lueste de siete minutos, mi diferencia en latitud sur observada de veinte y ocho minutos. Halle cinco minutos de mas al sur por mi observación que por mi estimativa, y por mi corrección halle que mi angulo corregido fue de treze grados y treinta y siete minutos del sur a la banda del lueste, y mi camino corregido de nueve leguas y dos terzios. Me halle hallegado por los seis grados y diez y ocho minutos y por los ciento y cinquenta y dos grados y veinte y siete minutos de longitud, y halle en este paraje cinco grados de bariación nordeste.—

Martes diez y seis de dicho mes.

Desde ayer a medio día hasta oy a medio día tengo navegado por el angulo de diez y seis grados del sur a la banda del ueste, con los bientos al norte y nornordeste. Tengo hecho en dicho angulo dose leguas. Mi diferençia en latitud sur estimatiba, de treinta y cinco minutos, y mi diferençia en longitud del ueste de diez minutos, mi diferençia en latitud sur observada de quarenta y cinco minutos; y halle diez minutos de mas al sur por mi observación. Halle que mi angulo corregido fue de dose grados y treinta y quatro minutos del sur a la banda del ueste, y mi camino corregido de quinze leguas y un tercio. Y me halle por los cinco grados y treinta y tres minutos de latitud norte y por los ciento cinquenta y dos grados y quinze minutos de longitud; observe cinco grados de bariación en este paraje.—

Miercoles diez y siete de dicho mes.

Desde ayer a medio dia hasta oy a medio dia tengo navegado por el angulo de diez y siete grados y cinquenta minutos del sur a la banda del ueste, con los bientos bariables al nordeste y a lesnordeste, y tengo hecho en dicho angulo nueve leguas y dos terzios, por mi estimativa. Mi diferençia en latitud sur estimativa, de dos leguas, y mi diferençia en longitud al ueste, de nueve leguas y un terzio; y por no haver sol á medio dia no observe. Y me halle por los cinco grados veinte y siete minutos de latitud norte estimatiba, y por los ciento cinquenta y un grados y cuarenta y nueve minutos de longitud.—

Jueves dies y ocho de dicho mes.

*A las seis de la mañana descubrimos las Islas de **Sonsonrol**, a donde estaban los muy Reverendos Padres, que nos quedava[n] al ueste cuarta al surueste, como cinco leguas de distancia. Y los vientos, al nordeste, fresco[s]. Y a las tres de la tarde nos hallamos en frente de dicha Isla, como [a distancia de un tiro de artilleria, adonde quedamos hasta a las seis de la tarde, de un bordo y otro, sin haver bisto que no benia la lancha; y vimos dos barcos que atravesavan de una Isla a otra. Toda la noche tuvimos calma, con las velas cargadas. El sargento mayor y cavo superior mando poner faroles ensendados al baupres y la mesana, por si salieran nos bieran; adonde estavamos esperando dicha lancha y el tiempo favorable para que pudiera venir qualquiera embarcaçión.*

He buuelto a tomar mis derrotas desde el dies y seis del corriente hasta oy a medio dia, que tengo navegado por el ang[u]llo de sesenta y siete grados treinta minutos, y por el angulo [de] ochenta y seis grados, y por el angulo de setenta y ocho grados del sur a la banda del ueste, con los vientos al norte, nornordeste y nordeste, floxo[s]; las quales derrotas me han llevado al sur, por mi estimatiba, siete minutos, y al ueste, quarenta y cinco minutos; por las quales halle que mi angulo esimatibo en linia recta fue de ochenta y un grado y nueve minutos del sur a la banda del ueste, y mi camino estimatibo en dichos angulos de quinze leguas. Mi diferençia en latitud sur y observada, de treze minutos. Halle seis minutos de mas al sur por mi observaçion que por mi estibatiba. La corriente me hecho al sur seis minutos, y por mi correcçion halle que mi angulo corregido fue de setenta y cinco grados y cinquenta y dos minutos del sur a la banda del ueste, y mi camino corregido de quinze leguas y dos terzios. Y me halle hallegado, por mi observaçion, por los cinco grados y veinte minutos de latitud norte y por los ciento cinquenta y un grados y treinta y dos minutos de longitud.—

Biernes dies y nueve de dicho mes.

Oy a las seis de la mañana nos hallamos apartados de la dicha Isla como seis leguas, por las corrientes al sueste tan rrapidas, y nos quedavan al norueste quarta al norte. Los vientos, variables, al nornordeste, y calma. Y a las tres de la tarde pe[r]dimos de vista la dicha Isla. Y mande govarnar al norueste quarta al norte, con los vientos floxo[s] al nordeste. Y no observe, por no haver sol; me halle, por mi estimatiba, por los cinco gra-

dos y quatro minutos de latitud norte y por los ciento cinquenta y un grados y quarenta y tres minutos de longitud. Toda la noche el sargento maior y cavo superior mando poner faroles ensendidos en la mesana y el baupres para que nos vieran si benian con la lancha y nos bier[a]n donde andabamos.—

Sabado veinte de dicho mes.

Desde ayer a las tres de la tarde hasta oy a las seis de la mañana mande gobernar al norueste quarta al norte con los vientos al nordeste, coxiendo del leste fresco como una legua y media cada ora, [hasta] que descubrimos la[s] dicha[s] Isla[s] que nos quedavan al ueste como tres leguas de distancia. Nos acercamos como tres quartos de legua para ver si viene la lancha con los Padres y la escolta y no la podimos ber nunca, ni barcos de los Palaos. Y a las seis de la tarde, dicha[a] Isla[s] nos quedavan como una legua de distancia por el sur. Entonzes nos salto una turbonada muy rezia por el nordeste y por el sueste y por leste, y nos oblige de poner la proa al ueste y al norueste, con el trinquete. Toda la noche con los faroles ensendidos en la mesana y baupres, para que nos bieran, aunque por aquel tiempo no podian venir, pero por hazer diligencia, por si acaso se arriesgaran con dicho tiempo. A medio dia observe, y me halle por los cinco grados y veinte minutos de latitud norte, y por los ciento cinquenta y un grados y treinta y tres minutos de longitud. Entonzes las dichas Islas me quedavan al ueste, y serca de las onze de la noche, que fue cuando pasaron las turbonadas, [nos] pusimos á camino con la proa al sursueste y los bientos al nordeste.—

Domingo veinte y uno.

A las seis de la mañana, la[s] dichas Islas nos quedavan al sursueste como siete leguas de distancia, y los vientos al nordeste fresco[s]. Y a mediodia fuimos tres cuar[tos] de legua de distancia de dichas Islas a donde quedamos hasta a las tres de la tarde sin parecer nuestra lancha. Hizimos Junta en el tiempo q[ue] se puso una turbonada muy rezia al nordeste que nos oblige de [vi]rar a ueste y al ueste con el trinquete. Entonzes por la Junta que hizimos, el sargento maior y cavo superior, [y] yo Piloto maior, y el Hermano Estevan, y el acompañado, y demas óficiales del Patache, habiendo visto que nos [a]sercamos varias vezes a dichas Islas con buen tiempo, y que nuestra lancha nunc parezio, abiendo podido venir, ni ninguno de los barotos de los Palaos, que tenia[n] costumbre de venir antes que los Padres fueron a dichas Islas; Entonzes bimos claramente que los Isleños de dichas Islas les detubieron [su] lancha, y a nosotros nos {h}ra imposible el poder [cojerlas], no teniendo lancha ni tener a donde dar fondo el Patache, y [aun]que [nuestra] lancha [fu]era, era imposible apoderarnos de la tierra por la multitud de Palaos [que ay] en dichas Islas. Biendo que era en balde de quedar alrededor de dichas Islas, con turbonadas, a donde son las corrientes tan rapidas por el sudeste, hallamos mas apropocito de bolvernos a Manila para dar en tierra...

...

Translation.

Logbook of the voyage of exploration to the Palaos Islands, called the New Philippines, with the Patache **Santisima Trinidad**, under the command of Major Francisco de Padilla, with Reverend Father Jacques Dubéron as Superior of the Mission, the chaplain of the said patache being Father Joseph Cortyl, its Chief Pilot José Somera and his mate Roque Bautista.

In the name of almighty God.

...

9 November 1710.

This day, Sunday, begins with departure from Calomotan at 3 a.m., slack wind from the south...

Summary of the beginning of the voyage.

[He had some difficulties trying to work his way out of this port, fighting to overcome the currents and avoid the shoals, but was unsuccessful. He returned to port.]

[On Monday, 10 November, he moved to a safer anchoring place, and spent the day recovering one anchor and cable.]

[On Tuesday 11, the water tank on the port side was found to be leaking heavily.]¹

[On Wednesday 12, he was towed out of the inner port by the launch, but the wind veered and he spent the night near the mouth of the outer port. During the morning hours, he worked his way beyond Cape Espiritu Santo.]

[On Thursday 13, at daybreak, the Cape bore W 6 leagues. By sunset, the Cape bore S 1/4 SW 8 leagues.]

[On Friday 14, at daybreak, the Cape bore SW 1/4 S about 9 leagues. No change by noon time. He took his departure from this point, 13° lat. N. & 144° 22' longitude, with respect to Cape Espiritu Santo, which he considered to be located at 144°. ² From then on, he headed southeastward.]

Dates and positions.

Saturday 15: 14°39' est. lat. N. & 145°13' long.

Sunday 16: 12°3' obs. lat. N. & 146°23' long.

Monday 17: 11°51' obs. lat. N. & 147°38' long.

Tuesday 18: 11°26' obs. lat. N. & 148°29' long.

—He measured compass variation at 5° E.

Wednesday 19: 10°50' obs. lat. N. & 148°59' long.

Thursday 20: 10°17' obs. lat. N. & 149°20' long.

-
- 1 Ed. note: This is an important point. By 1700, the Spanish were regularly using metal water tanks, in addition to the hundreds of water jars still carried aboard their Philippine galleons, the jars being gradually reduced in number as the years went by, and trust in the water tanks increased.
 - 2 Ed. note: As mentioned by Fr. Calderón in Doc. 1711BB, this was relative to the peak of Taide in Tenerife, Canary Is. (almost 17° W of Greenwich). Since the true longitude of Cape Espiritu Santo is 125°10' E of Greenwich, this estimate was only 144° - (125°10' + 17°) = 2° approx. in error.

Friday 21: 9°29' obs. lat. N. & 149°40' long.

—He again measured a variation of 5° E.

Saturday 22: 9°8' est. lat. N. & 150°2' long.

—At 8 a.m., some men thought they had seen land but it was a cloud formation that soon vanished.

Sunday 23: 7°53' obs. lat. N. & 150°17' long.

Monday 24: 7°41' est. lat. N. & 150°25' long.

—Variation 5° E.

Tuesday 25: 7°54' obs. lat. N.

Wednesday 26: 7°25' est. lat. N. & 150°56' long.

Thursday 27: 7°5' obs. lat. N. & 151°3' long.

—Variation 5° E.

Friday 28: 6°34' est. lat. N. & 151°20' long.

Synopsis of the arrival at Sonsorrol.

[On 30 November we sighted land to the NE 3° N, distant 3 leagues. We tacked to get close to it and we found out that there were two islands which Father Du Béron named the St. Andrew Islands, because we were celebrating the feast day of this great apostle that day.]

[When we were near the islands, we saw a boat that was coming toward us, in which there were some islanders who were shouting at us from afar: *Mapia! Mapia!* which means "good people." The Palao native who had been baptized at Manila showed himself to these people and spoke to them. They immediately came aboard, and told us that the islands were named **Sonsorol**, and that they belonged to the Palaos Islands. They exhibited a great joy at being among us, and they showed it by kissing our hands and embracing us...]

[After noon, two other boats came to us each carrying 8 men. As soon as they came alongside, they began to sing; all the while they were keeping the beat by hitting their hands against their thighs. After they came aboard, they measured the length of our ship, imagining that it was all made of a single piece of wood; some others counted the number of men on board...]

[We asked them to indicate the direction of the main island of their group of islands which is called **Panloq**, and they pointed to the NNE. They added that to the S 1/4 SW, and to the S 1/4 SE, there are two islands, one of them is named **Meriere**, and the other **Pulo** [Ana]. When we had come still nearer to the land, I sent my mate to sound for a place to anchor. When the ship's boat had arrived at a quarter of a league from the island, it was boarded by two local boats in which there were many of these islanders... My mate was unable to find a single spot appropriate for anchoring, because the bottom was made of rock and that there was a great depth everywhere... In the meantime, I kept under sail fighting the strong current that ran to the SW. However, the wind began to fail and we drifted offshore. The islanders who were aboard then boarded their boat to go home.]

[The two missionaries tried to have one of them stay with us, but they did not succeed. They spoke to him for a while about religious truths and had him repeat the holy names of Jesus and Mary, which he did in a very affectionate manner. He was queried as to the size of the island and the number of the inhabitants. He answered that the circumference was about two leagues around and that there were 800 people...¹ I observed the sun's elevation at noon, and found myself in 5° 24' latitude N; the variation at sunrise had been 5° NE.]²

[The currents were carrying us forcibly to the SE, so that we were unable to make the land until the fourth day at daybreak. We were then between the two islands. I sent the boat in to look for a good anchorage. It was useless. It came back at 4 in the afternoon, with the news that there was a rocky bottom at great depth everywhere and that it was impossible to anchor.]

[On the fifth day, at 7 in the morning, Fathers Du Béron and Cortyl decided to go ashore to plant a cross. Don Padilla and I explained to them the dangers to which they would expose themselves, what they had to fear from islanders whose temperament they knew nothing about, and the problem they would have if the currents were to push the vessel offshore, so that it would be impossible to recover them or come to their assistance. Their zeal did not listen to these difficulties; they persisted in their first resolution. They then left their Brother Baudin aboard the ship and boarded the boat with the boatswain and the second lieutenant of troops destined to go ashore.]³

[After their departure, we remained under sail all day long, using the wind to fight the currents, but at nightfall, the wind abated and we were carried offshore. All night, we kept a lamp burning at the bowsprit, and another at the mizzen-mast, so as to be seen from the island. During the night, we had some squalls from the NW, W, and SE. In the morning, at daybreak, the bigger island was 8 leagues away. Until the ninth day at noon, we made every effort to get close to the land, without gaining anything; to the contrary, we were falling off more and more...]

[Don Padilla, the Jesuit brother, my mate and I, decided to go to the discovery of Panlog Island, the capital of all these islands, which is about 50 leagues from the one we were then leaving.]

1 Ed. note: Both estimates are probably too high. We now know that Sonsorol is only 2 miles in circumference.

2 Ed. note: The correct latitude of the center of Sonsorol is 5°19' and the present-day magnetic variation is about 2° E.

3 Ed. note: The boat was thus carrying 16 persons, including the Palao native, Moac, his wife Marva and his two children.

Translation of the detailed logbook (cont'd)

Saturday 29 November [1710].

I have analyzed my courses beginning with the 27th at noon, when it was SE, [then] SE1/4S and SSE, with the [corresponding] winds NNE, ENE and E, with squalls from the NE which has brought me with the other course in my estimation 15-1/3 leagues south, and 10-1/2 leagues west. With the other leagues, I found that my estimated angle had been 34°24' east of south, and my distance traversed, in eight straight lines, of 18-2/3 leagues. My difference in observed latitude was 1°16'; I found my observed reading 20' more to the south [than my estimate]. I found that my corrected angle was 25°31' east of south and my corrected distance to be 24-1/3 leagues. The current had [therefore] driven me southward by 20' more than my estimate between noon on the 27th of this month and noon today.

Sunday 30 November.

At 5 in the morning [of 30th November], we sighted the Sonsonrrol Islands, which is the name given to them by the Islanders who live there, they being part of the Palaos Island Group that we are seeking. The said Islands were then bearing NE 3° N distant about 3 leagues. We veered toward them to reconnoiter them, as per decision of the commander, Don Francisco de Padilla, in consultation with Reverend Father Jacques Dubéron and Father Joseph Cortyl, who baptized them the St. Andrew Islands, on account of their being the first discovered and this day being that of this saint.

At 8 o'clock, there appeared another canoe with 8 persons from the said Islands, coming to reconnoiter the Patache; they were all tattooed. When they reached the range of an arquebus, they lowered their mat sail and shouted to us: *Mapia; mapia*, which means "to be good" in their language. We asked Moac to remove his shirt, so that, by seeing his tattoo patterns, they would come aboard and confer with Moac, and his wife, since it is the same language. They began to kiss our hands, and our feet, with their face.¹ They seemed to us to be very happy people, with good clean bodies, and tattooed with the same pattern as Moac, our Palao man, from the upper chest perfectly drawn all the way down to the ankles. Their [sexual] parts were covered with a yellow towel made of abaca.² [They wore] a mantle [or poncho] made from a mat, and a [conical] hat like those that Chinese merchants bring to Manila, with some feathers from the booby bird, complete with a strap that passed under their beard. Their hair was somewhat cringy, their beard well developed, and as a sign of happiness they paint their face yellow. They were surprised to see us sucking tobacco [i.e. Manila cigars]. They are fond of iron; every time they saw some iron, they would ask for it.

1 Ed. note: In other words, they touched the hands and feet, then their own face, as explained in earlier documents by Fr. Clain.

2 Ed. note: In other words, fibers that looked as if they were from the Filipino sisal plant, from which Manila rope is made.

After midday, two [more] canoes came alongside. Some of these people came aboard. They began to sing, accompanying themselves by tapping their thighs with their hands. When the music was finished, one of them measured the anchor of the *Patache* with his arms stretched out. Another one began to sing to the men. They brought us some coconuts. Their food consists of coconuts, breadfruit, bananas and fish. The land appears to be very fertile, judging by the breadfruit trees that we saw.

The design of their canoes is the same as in the Marianas, with little difference; they have outriggers over the sea, their lateen sail is made with mats. Their canoes come from the Panloc Islands which are situated some 50 leagues away, and they go back with the vendavals [i.e. monsoon winds] and southerlies to the Pa(n)loc Islands to bring the said canoes.

They gave us notice of the whereabouts of the Islands of Paloclap,¹ and Palaos, and such islands are mentioned in the narrative of Rev. Fr. Andrés Serrano. They gave us notice that it takes them 5 days to go from [rather to] Paloclap, heading northeast. They also gave us notice of the Island of **Merideis** [=Meriere] which is a little bigger than theirs, distant one day from the Island of Sonsorrol, bearing S 1/4 SE. They gave us notice also of another island, called **Paolo** [or Poolo = Pulo Ana] which bears SSW, at one [more] day from the said island. I did not fail to note down the bearings that were indicated to us with their arm; I checked the compass to ascertain the directions shown by the Palao Indian, who declared that he had visited all of those Palao Islands and that he is a Pilot among his people, according to what Moac said to us. The Indian in question was about 50 years old. When he showed the direction to the said islands, it was night-time; in the day-time, by reference to the compass needle, [I figured that] there was [a margin of error of] from one-and-a-half points [i.e. about 17°] to two points [22°], as we had not seen the stars. So, when we went to Panloc, I trusted in the night-time direction, rather than the daytime reading.

When we were nearer the land of the Island of Sonsorrol, Major Francisco de Padilla, Rev. Fr. Superior and I, found it proper to send the launch with the pilot's mate, to see if it were possible to come to an anchor with the *patache*, in order to take in water and wood, and to inspect the said islands, and their products. When our launch was at about a quarter league from said islands, two canoes left the shore to go to it, and one Indian from said canoes went up to look; he grabbed one cutlass and threw himself into the water with it, and our launch came back without doing anything.

At about 2 in the afternoon, we sent José Ramón, the Pilot of the sloop, on the same errand as the mate had been. When he came close to the land, and saw many Indians on the beach, although our men were armed, they came back without doing anything of what they had been ordered to do. The wind then abated and the current took us to the SE very rapidly. The Reverend Fathers, and all of us, gave thanks to the Lord for having shown us the Palaos Islands. Father Superior tried to explain to a Palao native of said islands that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and made him repeat the names

1 Ed. note: If the transcription is correct, this would mean "the Big Pa(n)loc."

Jesus, Mary, which the said Palao would pronounce clearly; he appeared to take delight in pronouncing them and he joined us in saying the usual rosary and to hear mass with Moac who was teaching him how to pray. He assured us that the bigger island contained about 800 people; he gave no estimate for the smaller island.¹ The big island appeared to be about 2 leagues in circumference and the small one was about 1/4 the size of the big one, that is, as seen from the direction from where we first sighted them. **The position of said Islands is 5° 24' lat. N., as observed by me, and 151° 38' [long. E].**²

From noon yesterday, until noon today, I have been sailing at angles bearing SSE and SE 1/4 S, the winds being NE and ENE, at a rate of about half a league per hour, and I found that said courses took me, according to my estimation, southward 8 and 2/3 leagues and eastward 2 and 1/2 leagues; hence, I found that my resultant vector was 16°5' from S toward E, and my resultant distance along that bearing, of 9 leagues. My difference in observed latitude was southward 43', which was 17' more southerly than I had estimated; therefore, my corrected resultant vector was [only] 9°53' from S toward E, and my resultant distance had been 14 and 2/3 leagues. By observation, my position was 5° 17' lat. N. & 151° 42' long. Since yesterday noon until noon today, the current had carried me southward 17' and I noted a compass variation of 5° eastward in this neighborhood.

Monday 1 December.

From noon yesterday until noon today, I have sailed W and W 1/4 NW, with fresh winds from ENE, making a little more than 1 league an hour, to get back to said Islands of Sonsorrol. By noon, said Islands bore W and NW [respectively], distant about 7 leagues, and on account of the very strong currents taking us to the SE, we were unable to get closer to said Islands, since the drift due to the strength of the currents was so great. I took an observation today, and found myself at 5° 14' lat. N.

Tuesday 2.

From noon yesterday, until 6 p.m., we were becalmed. Then the winds jumped to ENE and to NE, a little over 1 league an hour. Then the commander, the Rev. Fathers and I decided to make every possible effort to touch at said Islands to get wood and water, if some way of anchoring could be found without risk to the patache, and also to steer W 1/4 NW. At 6 a.m., said Islands bore W 1/4 NW distant 5 and 1/2 leagues. The winds then jumped to E and ENE. I had them steer W and W 1/4 NW, and at 6 p.m. we found ourselves at about 2 leagues from said Islands. All night we kept the bow towards them, the winds blowing fresh from the E. In spite of all that, we could not reach said Islands, on account of the strong currents that carried us to the SE.

1 Ed. note: The bigger island is Sonsonrol proper; the smaller one is called Fana.

2 Ed. note: Since the true longitude of Sonsonrol is 132°33' E of Greenwich, his estimate was therefore only 151°38' - (132°33' + 17) = 2°30' approx. in error.

Wednesday 3.

At 6 a.m., the said Islands bore W 1/4 SW distant about 1 league, Then the winds abated and I had them steer W 1/4 NW in order to make the said Islands. At 6 p.m., we were about 2 leagues from them, bearing WNW, and I had them steer all night towards the said Islands without much progress on account of the currents that carried us SE.

Thursday 4.

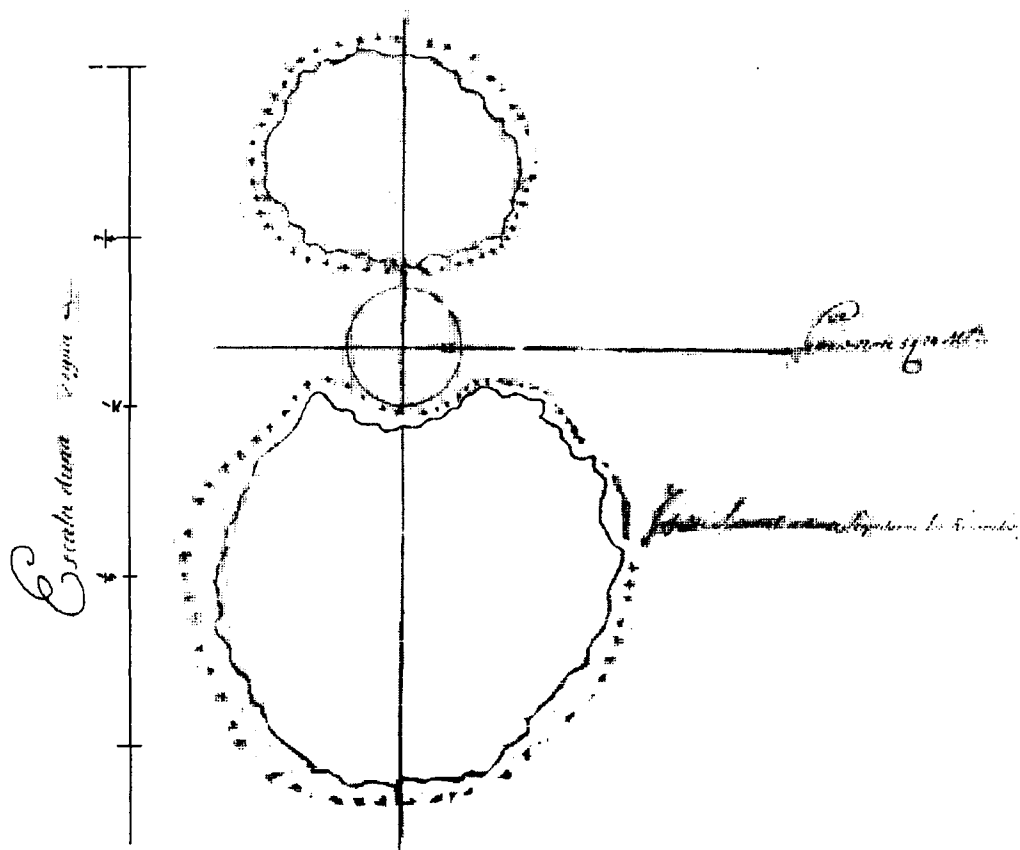
At 6 a.m., [since] we found ourselves facing the strait between said Islands, we found it proper, the commander, the Rev. Fathers and I, the Chief Pilot, to send the launch once more, armed, with the Pilot's mate and Moac, to try and find a way to come to an anchor with the patache without risk, and to get the supplies that we needed. At about 4 p.m., the launch returned on board from having inspected the other Island and the Pilot's mate declared that there was no port, nor any place where one could anchor, as it was very steep with a great depth close to a rocky shore and no shelter from any wind, with very strong currents.

Friday 5.

At 7 a.m., the Rev. Fathers decided to go ashore to place two crosses, one large one and one small, which they had made and painted the day before aboard this patache for this purpose. The Commander, Don Francisco de Padilla, and I, the Chief Pilot, suggested to them that there was a risk that prevented their Reverences from going. We made them understand that the currents were very strong and were carrying us off, as said Reverences had experienced for themselves, that we could not find a single spot from which we were not carried off and that we might not be able to recover the launch. We suggested to them that the Indians were very fond of iron and that for said iron they could board the launch. They asked that we give them the launch, armed with men chosen by the said Reverend Fathers, who were the Boatswain, Daniel Bagatin and the Second-Lieutenant of Marines, Roque de Córdoba, carrying the Royal standard, and the Pilot of the sloop, Don José Ramón, armed soldiers with their Squad Corporal Carlos José Barreto, each carrying a musket with its powder horn and enough matches, plus lances, to prevent any canoe from boarding them or bothering them, and to defend themselves in case the Reverend Fathers needed protection, themselves too, of course; for this reason, everyone was armed, even the seamen: Pedro de Liñan, Manuel de Aliman and Domingo Quinto. The Pampango soldiers were: Francisco Pinto, Martin de la Cruz, plus the 4 Palaos. At 6 p.m., the current carried us off said Islands, the winds being NE, NW and W, and then SE with good squalls, and at night the commander ordered that lamps be placed on the bowsprit and at the foremast, in case they came aboard.



First map drawn of the Sonsonrol Is., in 1710. Chief Pilot José Somera made this chart of the islands. The original has been damaged by water, a possible evidence that it was used during the next voyage to the area by the patache Santo Domingo in 1711 and 1712. It has never been published before. (AGI MP Fil. 18).



Same map of Sonsonrol Is., restored. Vertical scale reads: "Escala duna Legua" which means "Scale of 1 league." The horizontal axis is labelled thus: "Lattitud norte 5 g 24 M[inut]os." i.e. $5^{\circ}24'$ lat. N. The vertical axis of the islands is labelled, at the bottom: "7 g 47 Minutos de Longitud" i.e. $7^{\circ}47'$ longitude [E. of Cape E. S.]. The descriptive note on the right of Sonsonrol Island proper reads: "Isla de Sonsonrol a donde se quedaron los Reverendos Padres" i.e. Sonsonrol I., where the Reverend Fathers have remained. The estimated longitude of Pilot Somera was only $2^{\circ}30'$ in error, an excellent result for 1710.

Saturday 6.

At 6 a.m., the said Islands could hardly be seen bearing N 1/4 NW distant about 8 leagues. The winds being NE and ENE slack, as we made every possible effort to reach said Islands, but as the currents were so strong, they were carrying us off to SE. At 6 p.m., the wind died down until 3 in the morning of the 7th. All night the commander had the lamps burning, for them to see us in case they came aboard. The winds jumped to E and ESE and I had them steer WNW.

Sunday 7.

At 9 a.m., we sighted the said Islands from the topmast, and they bore WNW distant about 9 leagues. The winds became fresh E, and ENE, and ESE. I had them steer WNW, and NW 1/4 W towards the said Islands, and at 6 p.m. we were about 2 leagues from the said Islands, as they bore NW. The weather was then good, and the sea calm enough for the launch to come to us. All night, we kept the lamps burning at the foremast and bowsprit so that they could see us, if they came aboard, and all night we were becalmed.

Monday 8.

At 5 a.m., said Islands bore NNW, 4° W, at about 7 leagues. The winds were NW slack and I had them steer WSW. At 5 p.m., the winds jumped to WSW and became fresh and we lost said Islands from sight. We maintained ourselves in place, by tacking back and forth, so as not to be carried off further from said Islands. The strength of the WSW winds increased and the seas became agitated on account of said wind. All night, we kept the lamps burning, in case they went to sea, although the launch could not have kept itself afloat in that kind of sea, as the sea was running very high, and even we could hardly maintain ourselves with the patache.

Tuesday 9.

At 6 a.m., I found myself at some 10 leagues from said Islands, and they bore W. At noon, I observed the sun and found myself at 5° 24' lat. N. & 152° 7' long.¹ The winds were brisk from SW and they were carrying us off said Islands. We held a meeting among the commander, Brother Estevan Baudin, myself, José Somera, Chief Pilot of said patache, and my mate, Don Roque Bautista, as we had become aware that it was impossible to reach the said Islands, because said wind was very brisk and ahead, and we saw that we were being carried off more and more. We decided that it was proper to go to the discovery of the Islands of Paloclap, and Palaos, as the wind would then be from behind, and brisk. I then had them steer NNE, and at an angle of 27°30' E from N. The winds then jumped to WSW, about 1 league and 2/3 per hour, and I pursued my voyage.

1 Ed. note: At this time, he was then on the same parallel as the islands, east of them.

Wednesday 10.

From noon yesterday until noon today, since we left the Islands of Sonsorrol, I have been heading at an angle of 22°30' from N toward E, and at an angle of 27°30' E from N, with winds at WSW fresh, about 1-1/2 leagues per hour and less. My estimate of distance travelled was 32 leagues. My difference in lat. N. was 1°20' and my difference in longitude E was 1 league. So, my estimated position was 4° 49' lat. N, as I was not able to observe today, the horizon being cloudy, and at 152° 51' longitude.

[Discovery of the Palau Islands]**Thursday 11.**

At 8 a.m., we sighted the land of Paloclap, and Palaos, the said lands are islands belonging to the Palaos, according to what Moac and the old Pilot of Sonsorrol had said,¹ and that the rest of the islands are to the east, to the ENE, and to the E 1/4 SE. The westernmost point of said Islands of Panloc bore NW 1/4 W and the easternmost point that we could make out with our eyes bore N 1/4 NE at a distance of about 10 leagues.

At noon, going back to my courses as of the 9th of this month, until noon today, having sailed at an angle of 30°30' from N toward E, and at an angle of 22°30' from N toward W, with winds WSW fresh, which courses have taken me northward, I estimate, 52 and a half leagues, and eastward 23 leagues, and I found that my estimated resultant vector to be 23°44' from N toward E and the distance covered to be 57 and 1/3 leagues. My difference in latitude observed of 1° 50' N, and I found 47' less difference by my observed latitude than by my estimated latitude, so that my corrected resultant vector was 32°7' from N toward E, and my corrected distance covered was 43 and 1/3 leagues. The latitude I found by observation was 7° 14' N & the longitude was 153° 17'[E]. [Therefore,] **the current was very strong and carried me 47' southward, from my estimates.**

At about 4 p.m., we found ourselves at about 2 leagues from the land. Four canoes came alongside and remained at half a cable length from this patache, not wanting to come any closer. At about 5 p.m., as we were closer to the Islands, some 4 other canoes joined them and kept watching us for some time. They made signs to us with their hands, pointing to themselves and saying *Mauman*, meaning good,² but afterward we found them to be great thieves and tricksters, as they threw themselves into the water and came aboard with much fear. They were staying near the rail at the poop, talking with Brother Estevan Baudin, and they looked to us as if ready to let themselves fall back to the water and they kept on eying what they could make off with. One of those who swam in went as far as the mess table and grabbed a chain in the said mess which he made every

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- 1 Ed. note: It seems as if Moac had told them that Big Palau was made up of three islands, of group of islands, but we do not recognize the names of Angaur and Peliliu. Things might have been different, had Moac still been on board.
 - 2 Ed. note: This is a Carolinian word, i.e. mwaamwaa. The Palauans may have thought that the Filipino seamen were Carolinians. In Palauan, the word for good was recorded by the first Englishmen in 1783 as "weel."

effort to try and break with his hands; when he could not, he added his teeth in order to pull harder in order to take it away. They tried the same thing with the iron rings and the ring-bolts of the rudder, but since they could not pull them off nor take anything away, Brother Baudin gave a piece from a broken plate, a string of beads and a little sugar and he went back contented to his boat. They threw another piece from a broken plate to another, but it fell into the water. The said Indians went down to get it. They are wonderful swimmers. The commander, Don Francisco de Padilla, seeing that there were too many people aboard said canoes and that they were full of spears and arrows [i.e. darts], he did not consent to their tying up alongside. All the men were armed as a precaution. Two canoes came later on with islanders and two of them came up to talk with Brother Baudin. Neither side could understand the other. They picked [them] up and they threw [them] back into the water. And they went back to their boat. After they had pulled off a distance within the range of their arrows, they began to shoot them at us. When the Major saw this boldness on their part, he ordered the infantry to shoot. When they heard the noise made by the balls whistling by their ears they threw themselves into the water, abandoning their boats, and scampering off in the water, then grabbing their boats to escape with their lives by fleeing as fast as they could back to their villages. They are men with good bodies and they are tattooed according to their rank, because there were some among them who looked like mulattoes, and others more yellowish,¹ and still others were darker with the hair crispy and others with long hair, and others reddish [hair].

Friday 12.

From yesterday at 7 p.m. until today at 6 a.m., we were becalmed. When we were close to the shore about 3/4 of a league, we surveyed the land from the topmast, as we were without the launch, to see if it were possible to come to an anchor, to secure the patache, but the currents were so strong that they did not allow us to make port, and we decided against it, on account of many reefs lying below the water, and the great depth of bottom. I used the sounding line many times in different places at the said Islands, but did not find bottom.

At about 4 p.m., two canoes came alongside, and they made the same signs as those who had called themselves good people and they circled the patache; they came armed with stones and arrows, but as they saw that the patache was bristling [with weapons] like a porcupine, they did not dare show their own bristles, but instead they made signs to us not to go to the Islands that lie to the east of the Palaos because the islanders over there are bad people and that they would cut our heads off, but that we could instead go to their own land, that they were good, and had lots to eat, showing us things like coconuts, breadfruit, and fish cakes and sweet nut cakes² that the Major and commander, Don Francisco de Padilla, did not allow us to eat any of that, on account of the

1 Ed. note: Literally, as "yellow as a membrillo," which is a quince, in English.

2 Ed. note: In Spanish "pilis en dulce." *Pili* in Filipino means a kind of nut.

poison that could be present, such as we had recognized was present in their spears. One soldier, named Juan Morillo, who had eaten a lot of the things they had brought, was reprimanded by the commander for having eaten, and in order that this would not happen again, in case the food was poisoned, the commander ordered that all the gift food that had been brought be thrown into the water.

At about 10 p.m., the winds jumped to SSE fresh, about 1-1/2 leagues per hour. We found out that the currents were taking us with much force toward the island. When we saw that we could neither double the east nor the west point, I found it proper to pass between two islands,¹ and I ordered them to steer SSW. The said Islands and the channel had been well marked the day before from the topmast, in order to make use of it should the occasion arise, as it did. The channel between said Islands is about 2/3 of a league in width, and we could pass without any risk, because when we had been close to them we had not seen any reefs or any breakers near them.

Saturday 13.

At 6 a.m., we found ourselves about 4 leagues from the said land, and at noon it bore E 1/4 SE about 7 leagues. The wind jumped to NE. We held a meeting, Major Francisco de Padilla, I, the Chief Pilot, Brother Estevan Baudin, and the mate. Firstly, we considered the fact that the winds were NE and it was impossible with the said winds to go to the discovery of the rest of the Islands that lied in the ENE and NE directions, according to the indications that the old Pilot of Sonsorrol gave us; another reason is that we could not endanger ourselves, by placing ourselves among so many islands where the currents ran very fast, without the use of a launch to tow us out of trouble, if need be, since we had no chart of the said islands in order to look for some ports, in case of bad weather or if the currents were pressing us forward, and recognizing that it would be an act of desperation to throw ourselves toward danger, such as we had already experienced, we found it more proper to return to the Island of Sonsorrol to try our best to pick up the Fathers and the rest of the people in the escort. Then I ordered them to steer SW, the winds being NE, about 2/3 of a league per hour.

At noon I observed and found myself at 7° 15' lat. N., and at 152°52' of longitude, according to the above-mentioned angle, and distance covered.

Sunday 14.

From yesterday noon, I have sailed SW, then S, and then WSW, with winds NE about 2/3 league per hour, and having computed my courses, I found that they had taken me southward an estimated 24' and westward 18' so that my resultant vector gave an estimated distance covered of 10 leagues, along an angle of 26°52' from S toward W. My difference in latitude observed was 29'. Hence, I found an excess of 5' southward in my estimate, so that my corrected angle was 31°49' W from S and my corrected distance was 11-1/2 leagues. My position at noon was 6° 46' lat. N. & 152° 34' longitude.

¹ Ed. note: Either north or south of Peliliu.

The current had carried me southward 5' since noon yesterday, and I observed the variation to be 5° NE in this neighborhood.

Monday 15.

From noon yesterday until noon today, I have sailed along an angle of 16° W from S, with winds at NNE and NE, and with this angle my estimated difference in latitude is 23' [southward], my difference in longitude 7' westward. My difference in observed latitude southward was 28', so that gave me 5' between my estimated and observed latitudes. My correction gave me a corrected angle of 13°37' from S toward W, and my corrected distance covered was 9-2/3 leagues. My position was 6° 18' [lat. N.] & 152° 27' longitude. I found the variation in this vicinity to be 5° NE.

Tuesday 16.

From noon yesterday until noon today, I have sailed along an angle of 16° W from S, with winds N, and NNE. I have covered 12 leagues along the said angle. My difference in estimated latitude was 35' [southward] and my difference in longitude was 10' westward. Since my difference in observed latitude was 45', I found an excess of 10' over my estimate, so that my corrected angle was 12°34' W from S, and my corrected distance was 15-1/3 leagues. My position was 5° 33' lat. N. & 152° 15' longitude. I observed 5° variation NE in this vicinity.

Wednesday 17.

From noon yesterday until noon today, I have sailed along an angle of 17°50' W from S, with variable winds ENE and NE. I covered an estimated distance of 9-2/3 leagues along said angle. My difference in estimated latitude was 2 leagues and my difference in longitude was 9-1/3 leagues. Since there was no sun to observe at noon, my estimated position was 5°27' lat. N. & 151° 49' longitude.

Thursday 18.

At 6 a.m., we sighted the Island of **Sonsorrol** where the Reverend Fathers are. It bore W 1/4 SW about 5 leagues, the winds being NE, fresh. At 3 p.m., we found ourselves before the said Islands at a distance corresponding to about the range of a cannon where we stayed until 6 p.m. while making short tacks, without seeing any sign of the launch, but we saw two canoes that crossed from one island to the other. All night we were becalmed, with standing sails. The Major and commander ordered lamps to be lighted and placed at the bowsprit and foremast, for them to see us in case they came out in the launch. The weather was favorable for them to come out in any kind of boat.

I have gone over my courses from the 16th of this month until today noon. I have sailed along an angle of 67°30' and an angle of 86° and also 78° W from S, with winds NNE, and NE, slack. The said courses have taken me an estimated distance of 7' southward, and 45' westward, so that I found my resultant vector to be along an estimated angle of 81°9' from S toward W, and my estimate of distance covered along that angle

to be 15 leagues. My difference in observed latitude S was 13', hence 6' in excess over my estimate; [therefore,] the current had carried me southward 6'. My corrected figures gave me an angle of 65°52' W from S, and a distance of 15-2/3 leagues. My observed position was 5° 20' lat. N. & 151° 32' longitude.

Friday 19.

Today at 6 a.m., we found ourselves off the said Islands about 6 leagues, on account of the currents running SE so fast, and they bore NW 1/4 N in calm weather. At 3 p.m., we lost sight of said Islands and I had them steer NW 1/4 N, the winds being NE slack. I took no observation as there was no sun. My estimate position was 5° 4' lat. N. & 151° 43' longitude. All night the Major and commander ordered burning lamps to be placed at the foremast and bowsprit so that they would see where we were, if they came in with the launch.

Saturday 20.

From yesterday 3 p.m. until today at 6 a.m., I had them steer NW 1/4 N, the winds being NE, and shifting to E fresh, about 1-1/2 leagues an hour, until we sighted the said Islands that bore WNW about 3 leagues. We came in closer to within 3/4 of a league to see if the launch came with the Fathers and the escort, and we could see nothing, not even the canoes of the Palaos.

By 6 p.m., the said Islands bore S about 1 league. Then we were hit by a very brisk squall from NE and SE, then E, which forced us to head W, and NW with the mizzen sail all night, with the lamps burning at the foremast and bowsprit, for them to see us, although they could not come in such a weather. Still, we had to do it, in case they took a risk with the weather.

At noon, I observed the sun, and found my position to be 5° 23' lat. N. & 151°33' longitude. The said Islands bore W at that time. Just before 11 p.m., which is when the squalls ended, we made our way with the bow bearing SSE and the winds NE.

Sunday 21.

At 6 a.m., the said Islands bore SSW distant about 7 leagues and the winds were NE fresh. At noon we were about 3/4 league from the said Islands, where we remained until 3 p.m. without seeing our launch.

We held a meeting during which a squall came in very brisk from the ENE that forced us to veer W and WNW with the foresail. Then as a result of the meeting that we held, the Major and commander, myself as Chief Pilot, Brother Estevan, the mate and other officers of the Patache, having considered that we had come close to said Islands many times in good weather, and that our launch never appeared, when it could have come, not even any of the canoes of the Palaos who had been accustomed to come before the Fathers went to said Islands. Therefore, we could see clearly that the Islanders of said Islands detained them with the launch, and it was impossible to us to be able to recover them without a launch, and without a place to anchor the patache, although, even with

a launch it might be impossible to make the shore on account of the multitude of Palaos, and that yesterday we found it impossible to stay near said Islands with squalls and with currents running so fast to the SE. We found it more proper to return to Manila to give the bad news to his Lordship about the Reverend Fathers and the people, and about not being able to go to the discovery of the other islands on account of the NE winds, most of the prevailing at this time being NE, ESE, and ENE, according to the declaration of the Pilot of Sonsorrol, when he was showing directions with his arm.

Today I observed the sun and my position [at noon] was 5° 27' lat N. & 151° 24' longitude [E].

Summary of the rest of the voyage.¹

Dates and positions.

Monday 22 Dec.: 5°48' est. lat. N. & 151°3' long. [E].

Tuesday 23: 6°36' obs. lat. N. & 150°16' long.

Wednesday 24: 6°55' est. lat. N. & 149°9' long.

Thursday 25: 7°28' est. lat. N. & 148°58' long.

Friday 26: 8°4' obs. lat. N. & 148°7' long.

Saturday 27: 8°27' obs. lat. N. & 147°54' long.

Sunday 28: 8°54' est. lat. N. & 147°27' long.

Monday 29: 9°33' est. lat. N. & 146°48' long.

Tuesday 30: Not explicitly given.

Wednesday 31: 9°31' obs. lat. N. & 145°50' long.

“At 11 a.m., we sighted the land of Caraga which bore W distant about 17 leagues, and its southern point bore SSW. We were on the same parallel as the Siargao Islands which are the northernmost ones belonging to the Island of Mindanao.”

[The winds and currents prevented his making progress northward along the coast. On 7 January 1711, he managed to anchor in the port of Tago in the Bay of Lianga, where he was weather-bound for 2 months, and had time to build a launch. Again he could not made headway northward. So, **he then decided to go clockwise around Mindanao Island.**]

[He passed by the Sarangani Islands on 1 April. On 5 April, he was in sight of the Tagami Islands. He reached Port Caldera in the SW part of Mindanao on 14 April. He was among the Calamianes Islands on 21 April. On 24 April, he was off Point Hoson, near Oton. On 28 April, he was before Iloilo. On 2 May, he anchored in the bay of Naso to refill the water tank. On 7 May, he anchored before the town of Guimbal, and in sight of the town of Tigbana.]

...

¹ Ed. note: Navigational data is mostly all omitted from now on.



The death of the Sonsorol martyrs may have been by drowning. According to the account of the pilot, José Somera, it is possible to speculate that the death of Fathers Dubéron and Cortyl, and their companions, may have occurred by starvation, drowning, etc. as the ship's boat in which they took place may have been the victim of strong currents near Sonsorol. This sketch was originally applied to a Jesuit of the Spanish Naval Mission. (From C. Hazart's *Kerckelycke Historie*).

The last page of the logbook.**Friday 8 May [1711].**

At 6 a.m. I sailed from the bay of Guimbal with slack southerly winds and as they shifted to NW at about 10 a.m., I anchored in 7 fathoms, muddy bottom. Soon after the winds became southerly and I sailed. At 11 a.m., the winds became NE and we anchored in 13 fathoms, muddy bottom. At 2 p.m., with the winds blowing from S and SSW, we sailed along the coast of Guimaras Island, a caracoa preceding us to show us the channel and at 6 p.m. we anchored in 9 fathoms, sandy bottom, in front of the fort of Ilo-ilo. My position was at about 1/3 of a league from it, and at 7:30 p.m. we got a fierce squall with great thunder and lightning for 2-1/2 hours.

Saturday 9 [May].

[blank]

On 24 of the said month, I set sail to come to Manila.

I anchored in front of the fort at Cavite on 17 June 1711.

José Somera.

[1710H3]

H3. Charts and sketches of the Caroline Islands, by R. L.

Note: The first map of the Sonsorol Islands has already been presented above.

Translation of the captions and descriptions on there drawings.

N° 1 — Compass chart of the western Pacific by Chief Pilot Somera showing the location of the newly-found islands of Sonsorol and Palau.

At the top of the chart is the caption: "*Siendo despachado en 27 del mes de Septiembre del año 1710 por dicho descubrimiento por el Señor Conde de Lizarraga, D. Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, del Consejo de Su Majestad, su Gobernador, Capitan General de estas Islas Philippinas, presidente de la Audiencia y Cancilleria Real que en ellas reside.*" Translation: "Despatched for said [voyage of] exploration on 27 September 1710 by the Count of Lizarraga, member of His Majesty's Council, his Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery established therein."

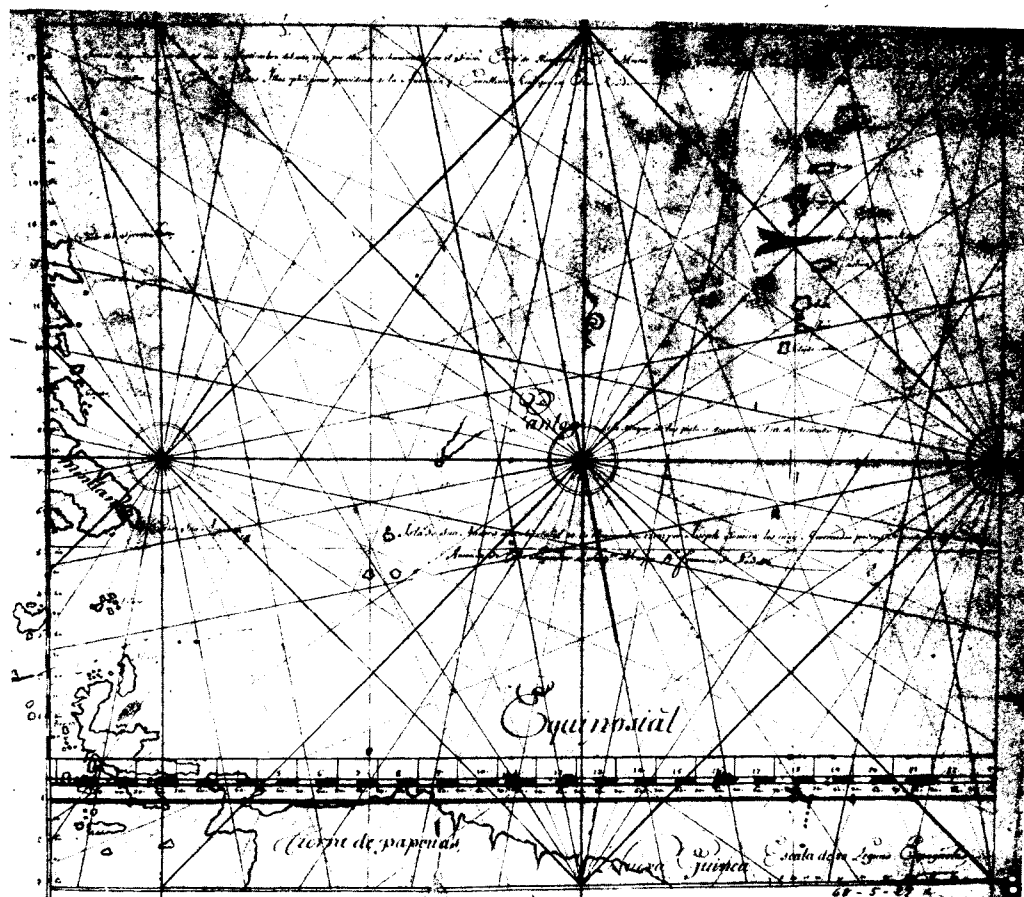
On the left, along the coast of the Philippines are: *Cabo del Spiritu Santo* which, of course, means "Cape Espiritu Santo, or Cape of the Holy Ghost." *Punta de Guivan*: Guivan Point. *Cabo San Augustin*: Cape St. Augustine.

Below the *Equinoxial* or Equatorial line, the caption reads: *Tierra de Papouas*: Land of the Papuans. *Nueva Guinea*: New Guinea. *Escala de 80 Leguas Españoles*: Scale of 80 Spanish leagues.

Notices about islands, beginning with the new discoveries to the right of Cape St. Augustine: *Isla de San Andres descubierta el 30 de Noviembre 1710 por Joseph Somera[,] los muy Reverendos Padres se quedaron en ellas. Abiendo de cabo superior el Sargento Mayor D. Francisco de Padilla*: The St. Andrew Island [i.e. **Sonsorol**] was discovered on 30 November 1710 by José Somera. The very Reverend Fathers remained there. Sergeant-Major Francisco de Padilla was commander. It is interesting to note that Somera places the islands of **Meriere** and **Pulo Ana** at the same latitude to the southward of Sonsorol; by hearsay, their directions from Sonsorol were learned from a native pilot, but not their distances. Further north, we read: *Panlog, es la mayor de las Palaos descubierta el 11 de diciembre 1710: Panlog*, the largest of the Palaos [Is.], discovered on 11 December 1710.

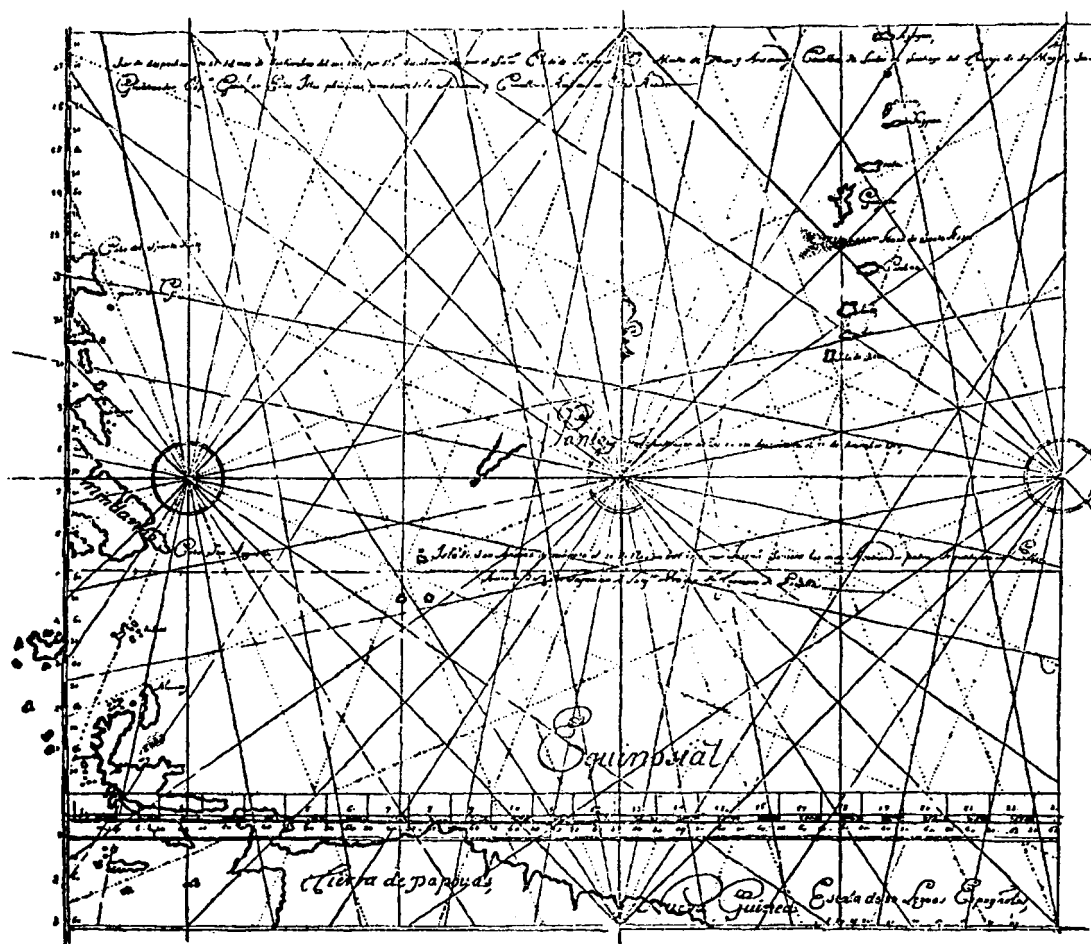
The Marianas shown on the top right corner of the chart are: Agrigan, Tinian and Saypan (shown interchanged), Rota, Guajan, Banco de Santa Rosa (Santa Rosa Bank), and four islands to the south of them: Carolina, Bato(?), Bon(?), Isla de Cata(?). It appears that Somera made little effort to find out from other pilots, and to locate more properly, the earlier discoveries of Yap in 1686, of Faraulep in 1696, and of Ulithi in 1700.¹ This area of the Carolines was to be explored and charted more accurately two

¹ The re-discovery of Ngulu Atoll was reported at Manila by Captain Binasa two months later.



Compass chart of the western Pacific, by José Somera, 1710. *The position of the Sonsorol and Palau Islands is shown correctly for the first time on this chart, drawn by José Somera, chief pilot of the expedition commanded by Major Padilla in 1710 with the patache Santísima Trinidad. (From AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29) & MP Fil. 16), the original plate of which was in a much better condition when Thilenius used it, as can be seen on facing page.*

years later by Captain Egui. Meanwhile, Somera made an effort to blend the notices received from the Carolinians themselves (ref. Clain 1697F) with his own local observations of native customs, in the following chart:



Same chart as above, restored. This in effect is the Somera chart published by Thilenius (ed.) in the report of the Hamburg or German South Sea Expedition of 1908-10, when the original plate in Seville was not deteriorated as much.

Nº 2 — Sketches of the inhabitants of the Sonsorol Islands and chart of the Caroline Islands, by Chief Pilot José Somera, 1710.

Beginning with the main captions below the compass rose:

Explicacion del Mapa de las Islas de los Palaos descubiertas por Joseph Somera, piloto mayor año de 1710: Explanation of the chart of the islands of the Palaos discovered by José Somera, chief pilot, in 1710.

A. Son dos islas pequeñas Sonsonrrol, en que se quedaron los Padres Misioneros, descubiertas a 30 de Noviembre y por eso nombradas de S. Andrés: Two small islands called Sonsonrrol, where the Missionary Fathers remained; discovered on 30 November 1710 and for that reason named the St. Andrew Islands. On the left of the islands themselves is repeated the caption: *Sonsorol adonde quedaron los Padres[,] descubierto a 30 de noviembre de 1710[.] mercel(?):* Sonsorol where the Fathers have remained; discovered on 30 November 1710. “Mercel”, or something like it, applies to Meriere, I think. The next island further down is labelled Pul; it corresponds to Pulo Ana.

B. Es la isla grande de Panloc, que boxea 30 días, parte de ella descubierta a 30 [sic] de Diciembre del mismo año: The big island of Panloc that requires 30 days to circumnavigate, part of which was discovered on 30 [rather 11] December of the same year.¹

C. Imagen de los Indios y Indias de Sonsonrrol pintados y cubiertos decentemente: Drawing of the Indian men and women of Sonsonrrol, tattooed and decently covered.

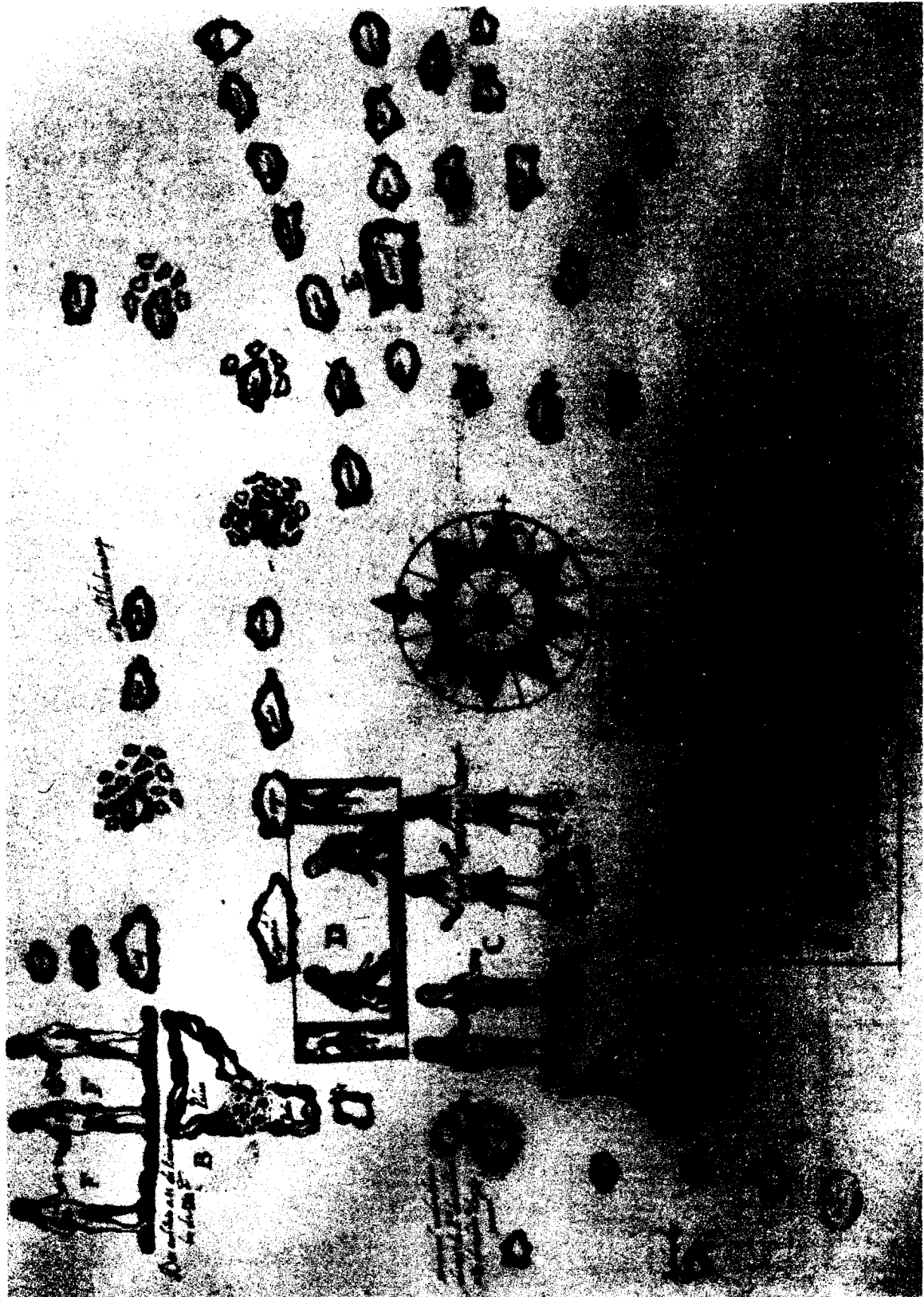
D. Camarin para recibimiento de estos mismos Indios y modo de sentarse en sus cumplimientos: Shed used for receptions by these same Indians and their way of sitting during the proceedings.²

FF. Imagen de los Indios y gente de Panloc totalmente desnuda: Drawing of the Indian inhabitants of Panloc totally naked. Below these figures appears the caption: *Descubierto a 11 de Diciembre de 1710 años:* Discovered on 11 December 1710.

E. [To the right:] Isla por nombre Ugulut mayor que Panloc, de buena gente, y vecina a las Islas de Marianas de que hay esparcidas noticias de 30 años a este presente: Island whose name is Ugulut [i.e. Hogoleu, or Truk], larger than Panloc, with good people, and in the vicinity of the Marianas, about which notices have been received over the last 30 years.

(Facing page:) **Sketches of the inhabitants of Sonsorol and Palau Islands in 1710.** The natives of Sonsorol were decently dressed, while those of Palau were completely naked. The communal house in Sonsorol exhibited some crocodile symbols (From AGI MP Fil. 231).

-
- 1 Note that Angaur bears no label, that the name of Paloc is applied to Peliliu, and that of Pelau to the rest of the group.
 - 2 Notice the crocodile, or monitor lizard, symbols drawn by Somera; they must have been prominently shown at the door of the communal house, on the lee side of Sonsonrrol Island proper.



G. Genero de embarcacion de que usan los Indios, semejante a las de Marianas.— Las demas Islas, que estan sin letras y van señaladas en este Mapa, se sabe que corren hasta Marianas por informe que dieron los Indios de Sonsonrrol mediante los Palaos christianos, que fueron de Manila y sirvieron de interpretes: Type of craft used by these Indians, similar to those of the Marianas.—The rest of the islands, not indicated with a letter, that appear on this chart, are known to be spread out as far as the Marianas, according to the report by the Indians of Sonsonrrol through the Christian Palaos who came from Manila and served as interpreters.

Editor's comments.

Using the better reproduction by Thilenius (ed.), I can state that some of the islands appearing east of Palau are recognizable: Heap = Yap; Uluto = Ulithi; Fais is Fais; Fahio is Fayo (wrongly labelled Gaferut on modern maps) which is here described as a "turtle island," meaning uninhabited.

The horizontal line-up below has islands that are recognizable, for instance: Saraol = Sorol; Olie = Woleai; Faloc = Ifaluk; above which is Helato = Elato; and Olimumo = Olimarao, etc. Similarly, in the line running from center to top right: Lamorsu = Lamotrek; Santauwal = Satawal; a reef, then Tamatam = Pulap; Pulot = Puluwat; Ulul (in Namonuito), then another corresponding perhaps to Murilo or Nomwin, etc.

Below and around the letter E are islands of the Truk, or Chuuk, district. Chuuk itself is labelled: *Ugulut, llamada Torres por otro nombre*, that is, "Ugulut, named Torres, by another name." Some recognizable names are: Pis, Pata (on Tol), Cuo (for Cuop), Etal (to the south), and Tamulo(?) which could be Namoluk, etc. (see Doc. 1697G).

Document 1710I

Manifest for the Marianas, for 1710

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Pieces shipped aboard the galleon *Begoña*

Original text in Spanish.

Año de 1710. Testimonio de dos partidas de rexistro del Zituado de la Prov^a de la sagrada Comp^a de Jhs de Philipinas y Marianas.

*Yo Don Anttonio Alfonsso Ponze de Leon Escrivano Publico propietario de Minas, Rexistros y del Real Hazienda y Caja de esta Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco por Su Magd.[,] Zertifico doi fe y verdadero testimonio que en el Rexistro de carga de la Nao capitana de Philipinas **Nuestra Señora de Vegoña** del cargo del General Don Fernando de Angulo[,], ante mi: El Maestre de ella, otorgo las dos partidas de rexistro siguientes:*

Partida de Rexistro.

*En la Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco en veinte y siete dias del mes de Marzo de mill settecientos y dies años ante mi el escrivano y testigos el Capitan Don Francisco Bibanco Maestre del Galeon Capitana de Philipinas **Nuestra Señora de Vegoña** surta en la baya de este Puerto confesso tener a vordo devajo de escotilla los Generos y Reales que iran declarados[,], los quales a recevido del Capitan Don Joseph Peres Nauas Encomendero en este Puerto y son los siguientes:*

Quatro mill ochocientos diez y ocho pesos en Reales contados a su satisfacion; quatro barriles y seis surrones de cacao que hazen diez piezas de numero uno a diez; ocho piezas de dhos barriles y surrones numerados de numero once a diez y ocho y unas y a otras marcadas con la del margen.

De todo lo qual dho maestre se da por contento y entregado a su satisfacion sobre que renuncia la excepcion de pecunia y leies de la entrega su prueba y demas del casso como en ellas se contiene y se obliga a hacer su entrega en esta manera si dicho Galeon tocasse en las Yslas Marianas le dara y entregara las dhas piezas de numero uno a diez a quien fuere parte lexitima por la Prov^a de la sagrada Compania de Jesus de dhas Yslas Marianas.

Y hecha esta entrega las piessas de numero once a diez y ocho con los dhos quatro mill ochocientos y dies y ocho pesos llevandole Dios a salvamento al Puerto de Cavite

u otro de dhas Yslas donde dho Galeon hiciere su derecha descarga entregara todos las restantes pessos y dichas ocho piezas al Padre Procurador del Colexio de nuestro Padre San Ygnacio de la Ciudad de Manila ô a quien por dicho Colexio fuere parte y en casso de no llegar dho Galeon a dhas Yslas Marianas las dhas diez piezas de numero uno â diez tambien se han de entregar (con todo lo demas) a dho Padre Procurador de dho Colexio de Manila para que las entregue al General de las Galeras de aquellas Yslas para que la condusga a las de Marianas y al cumplimiento de su entrega en la forma expressada obliga su persona y vienes havidos y por haver y con ellos se somete al fuero y jurisdiccion de las Justicias y Jueces de Su Magd. especialmente a las de dhas Yslas Philipinas para que posta de rigor de derecho le compelan y apriemien como por sentencia passada en cosa jugada renuncia todas las leies fueros y derechos de su favor con la que prohiva la general renunciacion con declaracion que de dhos Generos y Reales no se cobraron derechos por ser pertenecientes al Zituado de la sagrada Compania de Jesus de ambas Yslas. De que otorgo partida de rexistro en toda forma y lo firmo siendo testigos Diego Henriquez Caravallo[,] Francisco Surruta y Xpoval Lapidita presentes.

Don Francisco de Bibanco.

Ante mi Don Antonio Alfonsso Ponze de Leon escrivano publico y de Real Hazienda.

Otra partida de rexistro.

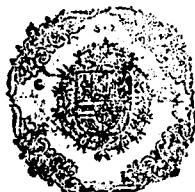
...
Concuerta con las dos partidas que originalmente quedan en dho rexistro a que me remito, y para que conste donde combenga de pidimiento del Capitan Joseph Perez Nauas doi el presente cierto y verdadero correxido y consertado siendo testigos a lo ver sacar y correjir Don Joseph Coronado Xptoval Lapidita y Francisco Surita que es fecho en la Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco en primero de Abril de mill settecientos y diez años y va en tres foxas con esta la primera del sello segunda corriente y las demas de papel comun doi fê y testimonio yo Don A.—Prov^a

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Anttonio Alfonso Ponze de Leon, escrivano publico y de Real Hazienda.

Translation.

Year of 1710. Certified copy of two extracts from the manifest of the subsidy of the Province of the sacred Society of Jesus of the Philippines and Marianas.



I, Don Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public officially appointed by His Majesty for Mines, Manifests and the Royal treasury of this City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco, do certify and vouch for the cargo manifest of the Philippine galleon and flagship **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** commanded by General Fernando de Angulo: Before me, her Master granted the two following extracts from the manifest:



Extract from the manifest.

In the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco on 27 March 1710, before me the notary and witnesses, Captain Francisco Vivanco, Master of the Philippine galleon and flagship **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** anchored in the bay of this port, admitted holding aboard, below deck, the goods and cash that will be declared, which he has received from Captain José Pérez Navas, a landlord in this port, and which are as follows:

—4,818 pesos in cash, as counted to his satisfaction; 4 barrels and 6 pouches of cacao, which make 10 pieces, n° 1 to n° 10; 8 other pieces of said barrels and pouches, numbered from n° 11 to n° 18; and all marked with the mark in margin.¹

Regarding all of the above, said master is fully satisfied and he waives his rights under the law and obliges himself to deliver them in the following manner, if said galleon should touch at the Mariana Islands, i.e. he will give and deliver said pieces n° 1 to 10 to whomever may legally represent the Province of the sacred Society of Jesus in said Mariana Islands.

And, this delivery having been made, the pieces n° 11 to 18, with said 4,818 pesos, God willing to let him reach safely the Port of Cavite or another port in said Islands where the galleon may properly unload, he will deliver all the remaining pesos and 18 pieces to the Father Procurator of the College of San Ignacio in the City of Manila, or to whomever may represent said College, but, in case said galleon should not arrive at said Mariana Islands,² said 10 pieces n° 1 to 10 should also be delivered (with all the rest) to said Father Procurator of said College of Manila in order to be delivered to the General of the galleys of those Islands, so that they may be shipped by him to the Marianas. To the effective delivery in the above-mentioned manner, he obliges his person and pledges his property, present and future, and submits himself to the jurisdiction of the royal courts, specially those in said Philippine Islands, which may strictly apply whatever definitive sentence, even one going against his own rights and interest, such as the one that generally prohibits this thing, further declaring that said goods and cash will not be subject to any levies, because they belong to the subsidy of the sacred Society of Jesus in both archipelagos. Of which he granted this extract of the manifest in due form and he signed it in the presence of the following witnesses: Diego Enriquez Carvallo, Francisco Surita, and Cristobal Lapiditao.

Don Francisco de Vivanco.

Before me, Don Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and of the Royal treasury.

1 Ed. note: Although the marks are not reproduced, this one must have been the standard one for the Marianas Padres (P.P.).

2 Ed. note: The Begonia did not visit Guam that year, as she went by way of Saipan where she did not stop.

Another extract from the manifest.

...

[Same kind of declaration, but regarding the transport of 16,208 more pesos, to be delivered also to the Jesuit Procurator in Manila.]

...

This is a certified copy of two extracts of the original manifest to which I refer, and for whom it may concern, at the request of Captain José Pérez Navas, I give the present, a truthful and corrected copy, in the presence of the following witnesses who saw it being copied and corrected: Don José Coronado, Cristobal Lapiditao, and Francisco Surita.

Made at the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco, on 1 April 1710; it contains three sheets, beginning with the first one bearing stamps, the next one is current and the others are common paper, for which I vouch, I Don A.—

And in faith whereof, I affix my signature:

Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and of the Royal treasury.

Documents 1710J

Population statistics for Guam in 1710

Sources: Various AGI files, specially Ultramar 561, making up the file of the Pimentel case (see Doc. 1721D).

J1. Request for information, by Governor Pimentel, dated Agaña [early] December 1720

Note: The request was addressed to the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits, Fr. Cundari..

Original text in Spanish.

Peticion.

El Teniente general Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador y capitán general de estas Islas Marianas parece ante Vuesa Merced Reverendísima como mejor proceda en derecho, y al suyo combenga, y dice que por haber arribado al Puerto de Umata los ingleses corsarios el día veinte y dos de Marzo de mil setecientos y diez y haberles dado refresco por que no imbadiesen la isla y llevasen á fuego y sangre todo lo sagrado, y profano con destruccion de sus naturales, hallandose la tierra tan abierta por todas partes sin reparo ni defensas tanto de muros como de artilleria de Porte, y poca gente, que habia asi de naturales como de españoles y pampangos para la defensa por que los recibí de paz y proveí de vastimentos de que resultó haberseme hecho cargo por los Señores Presidente y oidores de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria de las Islas Filipinas, testigos que en los Autos se examinaron sin temor de Dios, y en grave daño de sus conciencias, me acumularon en diversas falsedades, siendo una de ellas que se hallaban en este Campo mas de doscientos soldados Españoles y pampangos, cosa que no ha habido nunca en estas islas, por que no siendo la situacion de ellas de mas de noventa plazas mal pudieran mantener mas de doscientos con el corto sueldo de noventa. Y que el Maestre de Campo Alonso Soon, y Sargento Mayor Antonio Ayo, me habian ofrecido en Agate mas de dos mil hombres de armas de sus naturales para pelear con los Ingleses, y que yo no habia admitido la oferta, y que en esta Ciudad estaban asistiendo al Sargento Mayor Don José de Quiroga y Losada mas de quinientos naturales bien proveidos de armas, y por que uno y otro numero está escrito que se puede provar con evidencia que el dicho año de setecientos diez no se pudieran juntar en todas tres islas por la falta que en ellas habia de naturales, y que es nula y falsa semejante deposicion[.]

combiene á mi derecho que Vuesa Reverendisima se sirva de Ordenar á los Reverendos Padres Ministros de doctrina de esta isla de Guajan, que por lo que constare de los libros de confesiones de dicho año de setecientos y diez certifiquen en toda forma de derecho el numero de varones que en cada partido habia que pudiese tomar las armas excluyendo los muy viejos[,] emfermos é impedidos, y los de menor edad, para prueba de la falsedad del cargo que se me hace, y que el Reverendo Padre Rector del Colegio de San Juan de Letran como Ministro de los Españoles y Filipinos certifique que numero habia de ellos en plaza y fuera de ella, pues es constante que no habia vecino algun por que todos estaban en plaza, y este no llegaba al numero dicho, y de ellos habia muchos emfermos de la epidemia que se padeció dicho año, y Vuesa Reverendisima y dicho Padre Rector, y Reverendo Padre Diego de Zarzosa como personas que administraban en aquel tiempo, por lo que vieron y oyeron decir á los Reverendos Padres Lorenzo Bustillos [sic], y Juan Sermeisen en Ynarajan declaren sin ambigüedad á quienes llegaron á temer mas[,] si á dichos Ingleses que no ejecutaron accion alguna de hostilidad ó á los naturales de la tierra de quienes me recelé mas que á dichos Ingleses por los levantamientos pasados en que mataron trece Religiosos y muchos Españoles en odio de la fé y el que intentaron en tiempo del Sargento Mayor Don Francisco Medrano Gobernador interino de estas islas, que á no haberlo descubierto una muchacha hubieran acabado con todos los Religiosos[,] Españoles, y Filipinos.

Asi mismo suplico á Vuestra Reverendisima ordene al hermano Jaime Echaverri [i.e. Chavarri] certifique el estado en que se hallaban á la sazón el dicho Maestre de Campo Alonso Soon, y Sargento Mayor Antonio Ayo, que estaban tullidos y fueron traídos á esta Ciudad para darles las unciones, y que numero de infanteria emferma tocados de la epidemia que se padecio dicho año por combenir asi á mi defensa y justificacion de mi buen obrar.

Por tanto: A vuesa Reverendisima pido y suplico se sirva de ordenar á dichos Reverendos Padres Ministros que me den la certificacion que llevo pedida, del numero de naturales que dicho mes de Marzo habia en esta isla que pudiese tomar armas esclusos los muy viejos, emfermos é impedidos, y los menores de edad, y que el Padre Rector certifique el que habia de Españoles y pampangos, y el hermano Jaime por lo que tengo pedido en justicia, juro en forma de derecho no ser de malicia, y en lo necesario &c.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

Translation.

Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor and Captain-General of these Mariana Islands, appears before Your Most Reverend Grace as permitted under the law, and is convenient for him, and declares that, because English pirates arrived at the port of Umata on 22 March 1710 and he gave them refreshments so that they would not invade the island and bring fire and blood to everything sacred and profane with the destruction of its natives, given that the land was so open on all sides, without protection or defences, such as walls and long-range guns, with few men, either Spanish or Pampango, to defend it; because I received them in peace and provided them with

food supplies, there resulted a charge against me by the Gentlemen President and members of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery of the Philippine Islands. The witnesses who were interrogated in the records of proceedings, without fear of God and in grave damage to their own consciences, accused me of various falsehoods, one of which was that this Camp had over 200 Spanish and Pampango soldiers, something that has never occurred in these islands, because, since its establishment is not over 90 positions, more than 200 positions could hardly ever have been maintained with the short salary budget for 90. Also, that Master-of-Camp Alonso Soón and Sergeant-Major Antonio Ayo had offered me in Agat over 2,000 native armed men to fight with the English, and that I had not accepted the offer, and that in this City there had been over 500 natives assisting Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga y Losada, all well supplied with weapons, and because the numbers for both cases are recorded, written evidence exists to the effect that in said year of 1710, it was impossible for so many men to have been gathered together in all the three islands, for the lack the natives living in them, and therefore, such a deposition is null and false, and it is appropriate to my rights that Your Most Reverend Grace be pleased to order the Reverend Father Ministers of the faith of this Island of Guajan to check the books of confessions for said year of 1710 and to certify in a legal manner the number of males who lived in each district and could have borne arms, excluding the very old, the sick and the infirm, and all minors, to prove the falsehood of the charge made against me, and that the Reverend Father Rector of the College of San Juan de Letrán, as Minister to the Spanish and Filipinos, certify which number of them were in active service and in reserve; indeed, it is well-known that there was not one resident [of the Agaña district] who was not in active service, but there were not enough to fill all positions, as many of them were sick from the epidemic that was suffered that year. Your Reverence and said Father Rector, and Reverend Father Diego de Zarzosa, as persons who were ministering at that time, through what you saw and heard said by the Reverend Fathers Lorenzo Bustillos [sic] and Juan Sermeisen [sic] at Inarajan, without ambiguity, whom did they end up trusting the least? Was it the Englishmen who carried out not one act of hostility, or was it the local natives whom I trusted less than the Englishmen, on account of the past uprisings in which they killed 13 Religious and many Spanish in hate of the faith. Take, for instance, the uprising that they attempted during the term of Sergeant-Major Francisco Medrano, interim Governor of these islands; if it had not been reported by one girl, they would have finished all Religious, Spanish, and Filipinos.

In addition, I beg Your Reverence to order Brother Jaime Echaverri [rather Chavarri] to certify the condition affecting said Master-of-Camp Alonso Soón and Sergeant-Major Antonio Ayo, who were cripples, and were carried to this City to be given massages, and what number of infantrymen were sick as a result of the epidemic of that year, because this is appropriate to my defence and a justification for my good conduct.

Consequently: I beg and beseech Your Most Reverend Grace to please order said Reverend Father Ministers to issue the requested certificate, of the number of natives who were living on this island during the month of March in question, who were able

to bear arms, excluding the very old, the sick and invalids, and the minors, and have the Father Rector certify the number of Spanish and Pampangos, and Brother Jaime as well. Because my request is made to obtain justice, I swear that it is not made out of malice, and is necessary, etc.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

J2. Answer of Fr. Muscati, dated Agaña 30 December 1720

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Señor mio.

Atendiendo á la justa pretencion de V. Señoria ordene á los Padres Ministros de esta isla de Guajan, recorrieran los Padrones de sus partidos, y me certificaran del numero de gente capaz de manejar armas que habia en sus partidos el año de mil setecientos y diez y me aseguran lo siguiente.

El Padre Ygnacio de Ybarguen que aquel año era Ministro de los Españoles y Filipinos, vecinos de Agaña me certifica que el Padron (que aun mantiene) de dicho año de diez que los Españoles y Filipinos, y algunos negros no llegaban á doscientos hombres entrando tambien en este número los Infantes Solteros, y tambien los Mestizos, hijos de Españoles y Filipinos, asi mismo dicho Padre Ygnacio de Ybarguen que el mismo año de setecientos y diez por el mes de Agosto entró á administrar á los naturales de este partido y feligresia de Agaña por el Padron que aun conserva entregado de su antecesor el Padre Miguel de Aparicio me certifica que los naturales de dicho partido capaces de manejar armas, sacando enfermos[,] impedidos y niños, y viejos no llegaban á quinientos.

Con la misma certidumbre me aseguran los Padres Ministros de Agatt, Umatag, Merizo, Ynarajan y Pago que de todos los dichos partidos no se podian juntar dos mil hombres capaces de armas sacados los viejos[,] niños[,] impedidos &c.

El hermano Jaime Chavarri, me asegura que el Maestre de Campo D. Alonso Soon y el Sargento Mayor Don Antonio Ayo se hallaban enfermos en dicho año de mil setecientos y diez y despues se vió obligado á entrarlos en las unciones para darles algun remedio.

Dios nuestro Señor saque á V. Señoria de sus cuidados con la felicidad que deseo, y me le guarde con muchos años con la salud que le suplico.

Agaña y Diciembre treinta de mil setecientos y veinte.

Besa la mano de V. Señoria su mas afecto capellan,

Felipe Maria Muscati.

[Al] Sr. Teniente general D. Juan Antonio Pimentel.

Translation.

My dear Sir:

In line with the just request from Your Lordship, I ordered the Father Ministers of this Island of Guajan to check the census books of their districts and certify for me the number of men able to bear arms who were living in their district in the year 1710, and they have assured me of the following:

Father Ignacio de Ibarguen who was Minister to the Spanish and Filipinos residing in Agaña in that year certifies for me that the census book (which he still keeps) for that year records that the Spaniards and Filipinos, and a few negroes, did not reach 200 men; also included in this number are the unmarried boys, and also the "mestizos", i.e. sons of Spaniards and Filipinos. In addition, Fr. Ignacio de Ibarguen, who that same year of 1710, during the month of August, began to minister to the natives of this district and parishioners of Agaña, according to the census book which he still preserves, as handed over to him by his predecessor Father Miguel de Aparicio, certifies for me that the natives of said district able to bear arms, taking out the sick, invalids and children, and old men, did not reach 500.

With the same certainty the Father Ministers of Agat, Umatag, Merizo, Inarajan and Pago assure me that all of said districts together could not have come to 2,000 men able to bear arms, taking out the old, the children, the invalids, etc.

Brother Jaime Chavarri assures me that Master-of-Camp Alonso Soón and Sergeant-Major Antonio Ayo were sick in said year of 1710 and afterwards he saw himself obliged to treat them with massages in order to give them some relief.

May God eliminate Your Lordship's troubles and give you the happiness that I wish for you, and may He save you for many years with the health that I beg Him to give you.

Agaña, 30 December 1720.

Your Lordship's most affectionate chaplain, who kisses your hand,
Felipe María Muscati.

[To] Lieutenant-General Juan Antonio Pimentel.¹

¹ Ed. note: Attached to this letter is a certificate stating that Captain José Maynar Panyagua had been sick with the flu when the English pirate ships arrived, that Major Quiroga had a gun fired to gather the soldiers, that he went out but fainted in the street, etc. and that is why he had been unable to participate in any eventual battle.

Documents 1711A

First civilian reports on the re-discovery of Sonsorol and the discovery of Palau

Source: AGI Fil. 215; copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

A1. Letter from Major Padilla to Provincial Mayor Pridares(?), dated Lianga 7 January 1711

Original text in Spanish.

Señor Capitan Don Andres de Pridares(?)¹

Mui señor mio

*La ocazion de haver venido despachado por superior Gobierno en dos Bajeles de su Magestad por Sargento maior y Cavo superior de la gente de mar y Guerra Española y Pampanga para el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos y haver sido Dios servido de que aiga descubierto otras nuevas Islas que el dia del Señor San Andres las descubrimos à los cinco grados y quinze minutos al rumbo de sur sudeste, doscientas leguas del Cavo del Espiritu Santo y todas las demas al rumbo del Nor nordeste dichas Islas Palaos con la misma longitud, y latitud [sic], y tan numerosas de gentes infieles y de buenos rayados todos aunque en las Islas Palaos tubimos algunos ataques de lanzas y flechas por ser los Isleños balientes[.] el plomo los aplaco, y rindiendose à nuestra Santa Fee dos Islas llamadas **Sonsonro** donde quedan dos Padres misioneros el Padre Jacobo Duberon y el Padre Joseph de Cortil Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus con quatro Palaos que llevaba para dichas Islas que se Bautisaron en Manila y diez soldados con su Cavo para escolta de dicha mision entre ellos el Piloto Mallorquin y navegando para Manila el Patache la **Sanctissima Trinidad** à dar parte à su Señoria de el suceso, los vientos Nor-nordeste no me dieron lugar ni las corrientes aumentar mas altura hasta nueve grados que es à donde me hallo surto por ocasion de benir haciendo agua, el Patache y hal-larme sin lancha y desprovado de algunas cosas nesasarias como tablazones, aseite, cal*

¹ Ed. note: Br. Baudin says something like Luisdares instead. None of these versions are listed in the B&R index, not even under Ruidiaz.

*y gente para hacer camarín para resguardar los peltrechos de su Magestad porque la gente de mar es mui poca y los soldados tambien, y son necesarios **Pandaes**¹ y Galafates para hacer dicho aderezo para que no se siga maior perdida à su Magestad y que uni-ro(?) no se le pare perjuicio la dilacion.*

Tengo esta orden que es assi del Señor Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas sacada de su original que queda en mi poder [y] es como sigue:

[“]Y en casso (de que lo que Dios no permita) por temporal ó arribada ú otro qualquiera frangente marítimo se hallare nesecitado en alguna Provincia de estas Islas de alguna cosa asi para sus personas como para dichos Vageles qualesquiera Alcaldes maiores y Justicias le daran todo lo que necesitaren para su alivio.[”]

Y por Capitulo de ordenanzas de Gobierno es Vuestra Merced obligada por la orden treinta y siete del superior Gobierno para que V. Merced de el despacho con toda brevedad del providencia por ser del servicio de ambas Magestades à quien ruego Guarde la de V. Merced por muchos años de este Puerto de Lianga y Patache de la Santissima Trinidad y Henero à siete de mill setecientos y onze años.

Es menester brea y bonote.

Besa la mano de V. Merced afecto y seguro servidor,

Franzisco de Padilla.

Translation.

[To] Captain Don Andrés de Pridares(?)

My dear Sir:

The present by the Sergeant-Major and Senior Commander of seamen and of Spanish and Pampango soldiers is the result of having been sent by the superior Government in two vessels of His Majesty on a voyage of exploration of the Palaos Islands, and God having been pleased to let us discover other new Islands which we discovered on the feast-day of Saint Andrew in 5°15' along a SSE course and 200 leagues from Cape Espiritu Santo and all the others to NNE are said Palaos Islands with the same longitude, and latitude [sic], and so full of heathen people and well tattooed all of them, although at the Palaos Islands we were attacked with spears and arrows, because the Islanders were aggressive; our lead balls did placate them. Two Islands named **Sonson-ro** surrendered to our Holy Faith, and two missionary Fathers have remained there: Father Jacobo Dubéron and Father Joseph Cortil, Religious of the Society of Jesus, with 4 Palaos who had been baptized at Manila and had been on board, plus 10 soldiers with their officer for an escort of said mission, among them the Majorcan Pilot. As the patache **Santísima Trinidad** was sailing back to Manila to give a report to His Lordship about the event, neither the NNE winds nor the currents let me gain latitude

1 Ed. note: Panday is a Tagalog word for blacksmith, but used to mean skilled tradesmen, specially carpenters.

beyond 9° and that is where I am presently anchored.¹ I came here because the patache is leaky and I find myself without a launch and devoid of a few necessities such as boards,² oil, lime and men to build a shed in which to shelter the equipment of His Majesty, because I have few seamen or soldiers, and I need tradesmen and caulkers to make said repair, to prevent greater expenses to His Majesty and for fear that a delay might cause some greater prejudice.

I have an order for this purpose from His Lordship the Governor and Captain-General of these Islands; as copied from its original which remains in my possession, it reads as follows:

“And in case you should (God forbid) on account of any storm, return in distress or other maritime mishap, be in need of anything for their persons or for said vessels, in any Province of these Islands, any one of the Mayors or Magistrates is to give you everything needed for their relief.”

And by a Chapter in the ordinances of the Government, Your Grace is obliged by Order 37 from the superior Government which states that Your Grace is to look after our despatch as soon as possible, as such is to the service of both Majesties. I pray God to save Your Grace for many years.

From this port of Lianga, aboard the Patache Santísima Trinidad, 7 January 1711.

We need tar and caulking material.

Your Grace's affectionate and sincere servant, who kisses your hand,

Francisco de Padilla.

A2. Transmittal letter to Governor Ursúa, dated Parasao 23 January 1711

Note: Parasao, or Linao, is now called Bunawan; it is situated up the Butuan River in Mindanao, and inland from Bislig Bay, at 8°10' lat. N. (see modern map, and B&R 21:221; 43:196).

Original text in Spanish.

Señor mi Governador y Capitan General Don Martin de Urzua y Arismendi.

Señor

Doy parte à V. Señoria como viniendo de vizita del Presidio de Linao en el pueblo de Parasao[,] rezivi la dicha carta aunque mojada que por poco se haogan los portadores.

Y viendo su contexto me obliga à remitirla por tierra luego al punto que la recivi al pueblo de Surigao que con toda diligencia la entrieguen à los Padres de la Compañia de la Provincia de Leite para que con toda brebedad à quien la escrivio lleque à manos de V. Señoria por no poder salir embarcazion de esta cavezera por los malos tiempos de leste.

1 Ed. note: Lianga is situated exactly at 8°38' lat. N. on the east coast of Mindanao.

2 Ed. note: Boards, to build a new launch.

Y luego al punto salgo de este pueblo por tierra que dentro de dos dias estare en la cavezera à donde cumplire con lo que es de mi obligacion llevando conmigo lo que por la dicha carta se me pide y allare en esta Provincia.

De la qual no tengo otra cosa que dar parte à V. Señoria à quien guarde Dios nuestro Señor su Ilustre persona muchos y dilatados años.

Parasao veinte y tres y Henero de mill setecientos y onze.

Besa los piez de V. Señoria su maior su[b]dito y cri[a]do,

Andres de Pridares(?) y Contreras.

Translation.

[To] my Governor and Captain-General, Don Martin de Ursúa y Arismendi.

Sir:

I report to Your Lordship that, as I had just finished visiting the Garrison of Linao in the town of Parasao, I received the enclosed letter, although wet, as the bearers were almost drowned.

And, upon seeing its contents, I am obliged to forward it overland from the place I received it to the town of Surigao, to be quickly delivered to the Fathers of the Society in the Province of Leyte, so that it may, on behalf of the person who wrote it, be transmitted as soon as possible to Your Lordship, because his vessel cannot leave this capital on account of the bad easterly winds.

And I will immediately leave this town and go overland back to the capital, where I should be within two days, there to comply with what is my duty, bringing along what I have been asked to provide in said letter, and will be found in this Province.

Since I have nothing else to report to Your Lordship, may God our Lord save your illustrious person for many long years.

Parasao, 23 January 1711.

Andrés de Pridares(?) y Contreras.

Documents 1711BA

Missionary reports—The reports of Brother Étienne Baudin

Summary of two letters written by Br. Baudin from Mindanao in January 1711.

On 30 November 1710, they unexpectedly sighted two small islands (Sonsorol) of the Palao Group and they named them the St. Andrew Islands.¹ The inhabitants are described as jolly and very polite, of good height and so affectionate that they treated their visitors like kings. The Spanish went ashore as well as Fathers Jacques Dubéron and Joseph Cortyl. Armed with the holy cross and the royal standard, a total of 16 persons were left stranded at Sonsorol. A monsoon wind pushed the ship to Palau which they sighted on 11 December. The Palau Island natives are described as very different in character: they go about naked, speak a different language, and are aggressive, as they attacked the ship with arrows, but they did not harm anyone. Finally a NE wind took the ship back to Sonsorol (the larger island had about 800 inhabitants). Baudin gives information about the local conditions in which the two Fathers and their companions would find themselves in.

BA1. Letter from Br. Baudin to Fr. Pablo Clain, dated Lianga 18 January 1711, edited by Fr. Serrano

Sources: AGI 215, formerly 68-5-29 (in Spanish); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4; published in Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 3(1946): 1076-1079; an Italian translation also exists in ARSI Phil. 13, fol. 345-348; cited in Astráin VII, 766-768.

Notes: This letter is sometimes labelled differently, as addressed to Fr. Serrano, because he made a copy of it, which he sent to the Marquis of Mejorada (see Doc. 1711H).

1 In honor of the saint whose feast day it was, in accordance with the Spanish custom. The Sonsorol Islands had already been discovered by Captain Espinosa in 1522, as I have proven (Doc. 1522D in HM1:329).

Original text in Spanish.

Noticias individuales del descubrimiento de Palaos.

*Dia 12 de Noviembre de 1710 salieron del Puerto de Calomotan¹ al descubrimiento de Palaos los Padres Jacobo Duberon[,] Joseph Cortil[,] el Hermano Estevan Baudin y el Sargento Mayor Don Francisco Padilla en el Patache nombrado la **Santissima Trinidad** y à los 30 de dicho mes dia del Apostol San Andrés descubrieron dos de dichas Islas por nombre **Sonsonrrol**, y en honrra del Santo Apostol las bautizaron con el nombre de San Andres. Vino gente de tierra con sus embarcaciones à bordo[,] la recibieron con mucho consuelo de sus almas, y la regalaron con algunas cosas de comer. Es gente muy alegre y de mucha cortesia, amor y cariño, muy españolada, y de lindo talle: y segun demostraban à todos quisieran poner en su corazon. Vista esta gente tan cariñosa se hizo diligencia con la lancha de buscar algun surgidero para hacer aguada por averseles resumido [consumido?] un tanque y de camino ver los frutos de la tierra y el numero de gente que la havitaba[,] siempre con intento de proseguir su viaje con las noticias que les diesen los Ysleños.*

*Fue pues la lancha armada con **Moac**,² y su hijo por interpretes y el Piloto acompañado Roque Baptista à buscar puerto. Estando ya la lancha cerca de tierra acudio cantidad de gente à la playa asi hombres como mujeres y muchachos convidando à que saltasen en tierra: nuestra gente rezelosa, no se animava à ello, mas Moac dixo que saltasen en tierra que el aseguraba no harian daño alguno. Finalmente parte de la gente de la lancha se determino à saltar en tierra y fueron tan bien recibidos que no consintieron pusiessen los pies en tierra, sino que los cargaron, y llebaron à la cassa de su prinzipal, el qual luego que llegaron los abrazo y besoles los pies y las manos y fue tanto el amor que chicos y grandes mostraron que ya no sabia[n] de que modo agasajar nuestra gente[,] dieronles tuba de Coco[,] rimas y cocos con algunos tantos finos semejantes à los de Marianas y gritaban todos los mas [“Dios Dios.”]*

Volvio la lancha à bordo, y el dicho prinzipal conbido à los Padres para que fuesen à tierra. Aviendo visto gente tan humilde y rendida y que se conocia que Dios la movia à recibir el Santo Evangelio se previno la lancha, y assi el dia siguiente 3 de Diciembre consagrado al Apostol de las Indias San Francisco Xavier saltaron en tierra el Padre Superior Jacobo Duberon y el Padre Joseph Cortil con gente armada para plantar la Santa Cruz y el Alferes con el Estandarte de su Magd. Salio tambien el Piloto Mayor quien con el Contra Maestre Daniel Bagatin[o] y con ocasion de averse olvidado al dicho Piloto un abujon (que lo demas instrumentos ya los llevaba consigo) bolvio la lancha y en ella salto la mujer de Moac dejando {se} en el Patache à un hijo suyo pequeño, que un soldado por caridad se lo largo. El Piloto y Contra Maestre salieron con intento de buscar surgidero para hacer la aguada y todos con intencion de bolverse luego; pues los Padres no llevaron mas que su breviario[,] una estola[,] una sobrepelliz, dos

1 Ed. note: Another name for the port of Palapag (see BA2 below).

2 Es este Moac el Palao principal que se bautizo en Manila y se desgarito con otros dies de sus Yslas el año de 1708.

cruces, y una Imagen con la Virgen, con algunas cosas de comer[,] es à saber[:] medio saco de biscocho, un cuarto de queso, un poco de azucar y dos gantas de arroz **palay** para senbrar y algunos rescates para regalar al principal. El numero de la gente que salto y quedo en tierra fue 16 personas. En este tiempo como eran tan rapidas las corrientes estubieron bordeando los del Patache é imposibilitados de cojer dicha Isla de San Andres les entro un viento recio vendabal que las hizo arriivar à nuevas Yslas grandes llamadas **Paloc** y **Palaos** en tiempo de dos dias[,] las descubrieron dia 11 de Diciembre y segun las cortas noticias que les dieron[,] tiene dicha Ysla 30 [sic] dias de boxeo con sus embarcaciones y dista de San Andres 42 leguas[,] desde dicho paraje vieron 7 Yslas grandes[,] tierra alta y larga. Distan dichas Yslas del Cavo del Espiritu Santo 180 leguas[,] su situacion esta en los 7 grados y 11 minutos de latitud septemtrional y en 153 grados 16 minutos de longitud segun el meridiano de Tenerife. Las Yslas de San Andres estan en los 5 grados y 16 min. al norte y en los 152 grados y 20 min. de longitud. Fuera de lo dicho ay un gran numero de Yslas hasta el paradero de Mindanao; porque haviendose informado de un prinzipal de San Andres que se quedo en el Patache 4 dias, y preguntadole por los nombres y sus gentes les fue nombrando hasta 40 yslas y dixo ser toda buena gente hasta una ysla grande llamada **Torses** [sic] y por otro nombre Ugulut. Y preguntado en cuantos dias se podia boxear respondio no podia señalar tiempo determinado por ser mucho mas grande que la Ysla de Palaos y tambien dixo estar muy lexos de donde algunos infirieron ser la Carolina. Sus embarcaciones se desgarran con vientos leste, lesnordeste.

Aviendo pues llegado à Paloc[,] en menos de dos horas se juntaron embarcaciones con mas de 50 Indios y recelandose de la gente del Patache no se quisieron acercar por mas señas que le hizieron[,] finalmente llegaron 3 embarcaciones à bordo y los del Patache los regalaron con cosas de comer: viendo el buen trato se acercaron los demas à toda prisa; pero receloso el Sargento Mayor mando poner los soldados en orden y con armas de fuego y no consintio que se atracasen mas de dos, ó tres embarcaciones para tener noticia de algun Puerto y frutos de la tierra. Dos de estos se ofrecieron à quedarse con los nuestros para enseñarles el Puerto, y daban à entender ser todos ellos buena gente; todo era traicion para ver si podian hurtar algunos clavos, y no hallando forma se fueron à nado para su embarcacion diciendo que bolverian luego: la vuelta fue que asi que estubieron dentro de su embarcacion tiraron à los nuestros flechas y lanzas en agradecimiento de los beneficios recibidos y parece los encaminavan al Hermano Esteban Baudin. Quatro se cogieron clavadas en los costados del Navio, y una en el pie de San Xavier que estaba pintado en la Popa. Mando el Sargento Mayor Padilla disparar algunos Mosquetos (aunque parece que à nadie hirieron) con lo qual los Ysleños à toda prisa se fueron à sus embarcaciones.

El dia siguiente vino una embarcacion de dichos Indios à quien no se le dio lugar {de} a llegarse à bordo y uno de ellos se arrojó al agua y nadando trajo 6 cocos pero nunca se animo à entrar dentro sino que se estubo aguanta{n}do de la garcia: le regalaron con cosas de comer, le dieron un plato grande algo quebrado, y como no se le podia entender cosa alguna se despidio[,] echose al agua, y fue con tanta destreza na-

dando, que con llevar viscochof[,] azucar y el plato no se le mojo nada, y yendose con su embarcacion dio à entender gustaria fuese con el asia tierra.

[Description of the Palau and Sonsorol natives]

*Estos naturales de Paloc son algo diferentes de los de San Andres en el traje y modo de proceder[,] pues los de Paloc andan todos desnudos, los de San Andrés traen un capisayo de petate muy fino y un sombrero como los que usan los San[gley]es en Manila y los Principales se ponen Plumas de pajarito bobo ensartadas y las mujeres traen un petate à modo de naguas desde la cintura à las rodillas: sus ansuelos son de Carey y las hachas son de la concha del Carey [sic.] son grandes al modo de las de los Sangleyes. Las embarcaciones de los de Paloc y San Andres son como las de Marianas. Varias veces que los de San Andres vinieron à bordo [hole = fue con] vestido de gala que consiste en enbarrarse la cara de amarillo y en refregarse un rostro con otro[,] aquel genero de betun que es de tal calidad que de la ropa [en] que se imprimio no se quita jamas. Usan estos de bahaque de Medriñaque que es à modo de un paño de manos. La pintura de los cuerpos son conforme la principalia de cada uno: y esta fue la razon porque hicieron tanto caso de Moac; y tambien porque el les dijo en su lengua (que casi es toda una) que era Señor de la Ysla de **Morso** [= Amorsot, or Lamotrek] y Olimarao[.] los festejaron mucho con sus bailes en dicha Isla de San Andres[.] abra segun dijeron los Indios 800 almas[.] no se sabe que usen [de] flechas ni lanzas, ni piedras como los de Paloc.*

Finalmente fue Dios servido de dar à los nuestros un viento Nordeste para volver de Paloc à San Andres para sacar los Padres y demas gente junto con la lancha. Aviendo llegado à las Yslas de San Andres se estuvieron bordeando, y en todo el tiempo que alli estuvieron no vino ni lancha ni menos otra embarcacion para poder saltar en tierra. Viendo esto la gente de mar pidio el volverse à Manila para dar aviso al Señor Governador para que el con su paternal cuidado y providencia ponga el conveniente remedio à negocio de tanta consideracion. Pusieronse en camino para el Cavo del Espiritu Santo con el viento Nordeste, y leste que son los que reynan por alla hasta el mes de Abril pero las corrientes y viento contrario[s] no dieron mas lugar que para coger à Lianga dos dias de camino hasta Caraga en donde quedan haciendo una lancha de 9 codos de quilla, capaz de 40 hombres armados y 3 pedreros, por si acaso el viento los llevare antes à alguna Ysla de Palaos.

Por lo que se ha visto por experiencia son nesarias dos Galeotas que puedan salir por el mes de Junio en que ya empieza[n] los vendavales: la una de ellas por lo que pueda suseder de algun levantamiento[,] la otra para que vuelva con las noticias, y una de estas ó el Patache para proseguir en el descubrimiento.

Son nesarios por aora unos 200 hombres para su conserva.

[Note added by Fr. Serrano (see Doc. 1711H):]

Esto es lo que se ha sabido del Hermano Esteban Baudin en carta de 18 de Henero de 1711 escrita en Lianga al Padre Rector Pablo Clain. Dios querra alentar los corazones de todos para llevar adelante la gloria del Señor y provecho de tantas almas.

Añadese que por el mes de Marzo siguiente [1711] salio el dicho Patache siguiendo su derota para Manila; por no aberse podido efectuar el bolber à las dichas Islas de Palaos; y tomo Puerto en Cavite el dia 16 de Junio de este presente año con toda la gente buena sin aber experimentado en el viaje imfortunio ó contratiempo alguno. Estare solisitando en Manila nuevo despacho para dichas Islas de Palaos, para socorrer à los Padres Misioneros y Españoles que en ella quedaron y proseguir el descubrimiento &a.

Translation.

Detailed news about the discovery of the Palaos.

On 12 November 1710, Fathers Jacques Dubéron and Joseph Cortil, Brother Estevan Baudin, and Major Francisco Padilla left the Port of Calomotan to the exploration of the Palaos in the Patache named **Santisima Trinidad**, and on the 30th of the said month, feast-day of the Apostle St. Andrew, they sighted two of the said Islands whose name is Sonsonrol, but in honor of the Saint apostle they baptized them with the name of St. Andrew. People came from the land with their boats alongside and were received with much consolation of the souls of those on board, who gave them a few things to eat. They are very happy people, very polite, loving and affectionate, very Spanish-like, and have a fine bearing; they made it clear to everybody that they wished to place them in their heart. Seeing that these people were so affectionate, some effort was made with the launch to look for an anchoring place in order to replenish the water supply, as one water tank had been consumed, and along the way to see the local products and the size of the population inhabiting, the idea always being to pursue their voyage, once news had been collected from the Islanders. The launch was in fact armed with Moac¹ and his son as interpreters, and the Pilot's mate, Roque Baptista, to look for a port. As the launch came close to the land, a number of people came to the beach, men, women and children, to invite them to step ashore. Our men were reticent, and could not decide to accept the invitation, but Moac urged them to step ashore, saying that he guaranteed that no harm would come to them. Finally, some of the men of the launch decided to step ashore and they were very well received. In fact, they were carried off, and taken to the house of their chief who, as soon as they arrived, embraced them and kissed their feet and hands. The love shown to them by young and old was such that they looked for all kinds of ways to satisfy our men. They were given coconut water to drink, breadfruit, coconuts and a few sweets similar to those of the Marianas, and most of them were shouting: "God, God."

The launch returned on board, and the said chief invited the Fathers to go ashore. Upon seeing people so humble and submissive, and realizing that God moved them to receive the Holy Gospel, the launch was made ready, and so, the next day, 3 December, which is dedicated to the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, the Fr. Superior Jacques Dubéron, Fr. Joseph Cortil stepped ashore with armed men in order to plant

1 This Moac was the chief who was baptized in Manila and had drifted with 10 others from their Islands in 1708.

the holy Cross, accompanied by the Second-Lieutenant with the royal standard. The Chief Pilot also went with the boatswain, Daniel Bagatin, but as the said pilot had forgotten a compass (he had already taken the other instruments along), the launch came back. It was then that Moac's wife stepped in, leaving behind aboard the Patache her small son, who was later taken care of by a charitable soldier. The Pilot and Boatswain went out with the intention of looking for an anchoring place so as to take in water and all of them intended to return later on. In fact, the Fathers took along only their breviary, one stole, one surplice, two crosses, and one painting of the Virgin, with a few things to eat, that is, half a bag of biscuit, one quarter cheese, a little sugar and two gantas of palay rice to sow,¹ and a few trade articles to give to the chief. The number of people who stepped ashore and remained behind were 16 persons.

At this time, as the currents were very strong, those in the Patache were tacking back and forth, and unable to reach the said Island of St. Andrew. A stiff monsoon wind arose which forced them toward new, big Islands, called **Paloc** and **Palaos** within 2 days. They sighted them on 11 December, and, according to the few notices that they were given, it takes 30 [sic] days to go around the said Island in their boats and is distant 42 leagues from St. Andrew. From the said neighborhood, they could see 7 big islands, the land high and long. These Islands are 180 leagues from Cape Espiritu Santo, their position is 7°11' lat. N. & 153°16' longitude [E] with reference to the meridian of Tenerife. The St. Andrew Islands are in 5°16' lat. N. & 153°20' longitude.

In addition to what has been said, there are numerous Islands as far as the confines of Mindanao, because, having been informed by a chief of St. Andrew who remained aboard the patache for 4 days, and was asked for their names and population, he named as many as 40 Islands and said that they were all populated by good people as far as one big Island called **Torses**,² and otherwise known as Ugulut. When he was asked how many days it would take to go around it, he answered that he could not determine a specific time, as it was much bigger than the Island of Palaos. He also said that it was very far from where a few inferred that Carolina Island was located. Their canoes are forced onto drift voyages by E and ENE winds.

Having thus arrived at Paloc, within two hours canoes came in with over 50 Indians who, fearful of the people of the patache, did not wish to come near, no matter how many signs that were made to them. Finally 3 canoes came alongside and those of the patache rewarded them with things to eat. When they saw the good treatment afforded them, the others came rushing in. However, the Major becoming suspicious, he ordered the soldiers to be on their guard and with firearms, and he did not consent to have more than two, or three canoes to tie up to the patache, so that some information could be got about some port and local products. Two of these offered themselves to stay with our people to show them the port, and they give it to understand that they were all good

1 Ed. note: Two gantas is about 5 Kg. Palay is a Filipino word, for unhusked rice.

2 Ed. note: Transcribed as Torres elsewhere. This was Truk, or in the more modern spelling, Chuuk. Consequently, their Carolinian informant must have been disoriented aboard ship, as he pointed toward Mindanao, or maybe he pointed the direction to follow to go from Chuuk to Sonsorol.

people. This was all trickery, to see if they could steal a few nails; when they could find no way of doing so, they went swimming back to their canoe, saying that they would return later. The return, however, was by way of some arrows and spears thrown at our people, as soon as they reached their canoes, to thank them for the benefits they had received, and it seems as if such were aimed at Brother Estevan Baudin. Four of these remained stuck into the sides of the ship, and one into the foot of St. [Francis] Xavier whose image was painted on the poop. The Major ordered a few muskets fired (although it appears that no-one was hurt) and that caused the islanders to leave in a hurry to their canoes.

The next day one canoe of the said Indians came, and they were not allowed to come alongside. One of them threw himself into the water and swam in, bringing 6 coconuts, but he never got enough courage to come in; instead, he remained holding onto the rigging. He was rewarded with things to eat. They gave him a large plate somewhat broken, and as nothing he said could be understood, he said goodbye and threw himself into the water, and was swimming with such skill that, although he was carrying biscuit, sugar and plate, none of these got wet. As he went off in his canoe, he let it be known that he would be happy if they followed him ashore.

[Description of the Palau and Sonsorol natives]

These natives of Paloc are somewhat different from those of St. Andrew in their dress and behavior. In fact, those of Paloc go about completely naked, those of St. Andrew wear a cloak of very fine mat and a hat, such as those used by the Chinese in Manila, and the chiefs place some bird feathers in theirs, while their women cover themselves with a mat by way of a skirt, from the waist down to the ankles. Their fishhooks are made of Carey [i.e. tortoise shell]. The axes, made of the shell of the Carey [sic],¹ are big, such as those used by the Chinese. The canoes of the people of Paloc and St. Andrew are like those of the Marianas.

Many times those of the St. Andrew Islands came alongside, dressed in their best manner, which consisted in smearing their faces yellow and in rubbing their faces together that type of ointment is of such a quality that once it is printed upon clothes it is impossible to remove.² These people use a sort of loin-cloth that resembles a handkerchief. The tattoos on their bodies vary in accordance with the rank of the person, and this was the reason why they made such a fuss over Moac; and also because he told them in his language (which is almost the same everywhere) that he was lord of the Island of **Moso** [= Amorsot, or Lamotrek] and of Olimarao. They were entertained very well in that Island of St. Andrew with their dances. There would be about 800 souls living there, according to the Indians. It is known that they do not use arrows or spears, nor stones, as those of Paloc do.

1 Ed. note: He meant to say "Taclobo", i.e. the Tridacna shell.

2 Ed. note: Turmeric (Latin *curcuma*), was called *rang* or *taik* by Carolinians and used for cosmetic purposes.

Finally God was pleased to give to our people a northerly wind to go back to St. Andrew from Paloc in order to rescue the Fathers and other men, as well as the launch. Upon reaching the St. Andrew Islands they stayed around by tacking, and the whole time they remained there, the launch did not come and much less other craft, that could have been used to go ashore. That is why the seamen begged to return to Manila to report to His Lordship the Governor, for him to find the proper remedy to a business of such importance, given his fatherly care and providence. They headed for the Cape of Espiritu Santo with a northeasterly wind, or an easterly, which are the winds that prevail overthere until the month of April, but the currents and the wind were contrary and they could only touch at Lianga, two days away from Caraga, where they remain, while building a launch measuring 9 cubits at the keel, able to carry 40 armed men and 3 mortars, in case the wind should take them before [making the Cape] to one of the islands of the Palaos.

As the experience has demonstrated, two galliots would be necessary. They could depart during the month of June, when the monsoon winds begin. One of them could be used if some uprising were to happen; the other to return to give news. One of these, or the patache, could continue with the exploration.

For now, about 200 men are necessary to maintain them.¹

[Note added by Fr. Serrano (see Doc. 1711H):]

This is what has been learned from Brother Esteban Baudin in a letter dated 18 January 1711, written from Lianga to Father Rector Pablo Clain [in Catbalogan]. May God encourage the hearts of everyone in order to promote the glory of the Lord and the benefit of so many souls.

One can add as a epilogue, that said patache pursued its voyage to Manila during the following month of March [1711], on account of not having been able to return to said Islands of the Palaos, and it took port in Cavite on the 16th of June of the present year with all the people on board in good health, without having encountered any mishap during the voyage. I will be soliciting in Manila a new expedition to said Islands of the Palaos, to rescue the missionary Fathers and the Spanish who remained behind and to proceed with the exploration, etc.

¹ Ed. note: That is, to establish a garrison, or a permanent settlement and mission.

BA2. Letter from Br. Baudin to Fr. Francisco Calderón, Procurator General, dated Lianga 18 January 1711

Sources: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 100-103, and in AGI Fil. 215; copy in AHN Ultramar 5853; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4; copy in RAH, according to B&R 53:327. Murillo Velarde has quoted this document in part, and Delgado has copied him: Velarde's Historia (1749), pp. 379-380, and Delgado's Historia (1754), pp. 125-127.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Procurador General Francisco Calderon.

*De que esta le halle à V.R. con la mui entera salud, que yo deseo, me holgare en el alma, yo à Dios gracias siempre con mis achaques estoi prompto para todo lo que V.R. me quisiere mandar. La ocacion de haver venido con el Patache la **Santissima Trinidad** del descubrimiento de los Palaos à estas costas de Caraga dia tres de Enero de mill setecientos y onze à esta visita de Lianga ministerio del Padre Prior Fray Joseph de la Asuncion Prior de la Cavezera de San Joseph de Tanda. Y luego al punto escrivi à V.R. dando parte de todo lo sucedido que sera lo que se sigue que solo su Divina Magestad save lo que mejor conviene para su Santo servicio, el abernos puesto en estos parajes tan impensadamente y tan dilatado camino para que puedan llegar las cartas y noticias de este descubrimiento[.]*

*Sabra V.R. que à los treinta de Noviembre dia del Apostol San Andres cuando menos pensabamos porque nuestra derota era para la Nueva Guinea fue Dios servido de que descubrimos dos Islas pequeñas incognitas llamadas **Sonsonrrol** pertenecientes de los Palaos, y por haverse descubiertas dia del Santo Apostol le bautissamos el mismo nombre del Santo Apostol San Andres[.] Vino gente de tierra con sus embarcaciones abordo y lo[s] recibimos con mucho consuelo de nuestras almas y lo[s] regalamos con algunos rescates y cosas comestibles[.] Es gente mui alegre y de mucha cortesia[,] amor, y cariño muy españolado[s] de lindo talle, y segun demostraba[s] à todos quisiera[n] meternos en su corazon; Y habiendo visto esa gente tan cariñosa, y tratable[s,] se hizo diligencia con la lancha para buscar puerto para hazer aguada por estar escaso y haberse rresumido [=consumido] un tanque, y para ber juntamente los frutos de la tierra, y la cantidad de gente que se havia para poder despues proseguir nuestro viaje con las noticias que nos dieron dichos isleños[.]*

*Fue la lancha armada à tierra con **Muac** y su hijo por interpretes, y el Piloto acompañado Roque Bautista à buscar Puerto[.] estando la lancha serca de tierra fue cantidad de gente à la playa assi de hombres como de mujeres, y muchachos à combidarla que saltasen à tierra, y nuestra gente rreselosa no se animava, y Muac le[s] ha seguro [=aseguro] à todos que saltasen à tierra que el asegurava que no haria[n] daño ninguno[.] finalmente se rresolvio parte de la gente de la lancha à saltar à tierra y fueron tan bien rresividos que no consentian que pusiesen los pies en tierra sino que en peso los cargarian, y les llevaron hasta la cassa de su principal que haci [=asi] que los vido [=vió] se levanto de su asiento y à todos los abrazo y le[s] beso los pies, y las manos, y fue tanto el amor que mostrava a todos y alegria assi de los hombres como de las mujeres*

que no savian de que manera, agazarlos à nuestra gente le dieron tuba de coco, y rimay, y pescado, y cocos, y algunos petates muy finos como los de Marianas y todos los mas gritavan Dios Dios[.]

[Vino] la lancha abordo con tan buenas nuevas, y dicho prinzipal, y demas Ysleños convidavan à todos, y à los Padres para que fuesen à tierra y habiendo visto gente tan humilde, y rendida que se conocia que Dios le[s] movia[n] para rezivir el Santo Evangelio[.] se previno la lancha y el dia siguiente que fue el dia quatro[.] se embarco el Padre Superior Jacobo Duberon y el Padre Joseph Cortil y habiendo pedido yo tambien el dia antes ya con su Reverencia[.] me dijo que si[.] y el dia siguiente cuando nos haviamos de embarcar me dijo el Padre Superior de que yo me quedase[.] que era nesesario por lo que podia suceder con que me respondió el Padre Joseph Cortil al Padre Superior como me vido à mi algo afligido y que se me saltaban las lagrimas de los ojos de que si queria su Reverencia el Padre Superior se quedaria [él.] Yo respondi de que no, y que fuesen mui en hora buena[.] finalmente yo por mas ruin y por mi[s] muchos pecados no quizo Dios de que yo me fuesse y gosasse de las primicias de esa nueva Christiandad[.] Salio la lancha armada para plantar la Santa Cruz, y el Alferez con el estandarte de su Magestad y el Piloto Maiorquin, y el Contramaestre Daniel Bagatin para ver si abia algun modo de surgidero para hacer aguada, Muac con su mujer y su[s] dos hijos, por todo fueron diez, y seis personas à tierra que hasta haora estamos aguardando estubimos barloventeando cuatro dias y como eran tan rapidos las corrientes nos fueron desgaritando mar à fuera é impossibilitados de poder cojer dichas Islas de San Andres[.]

Fue Dios servido que nos entro un bendabal que nos hizo arribar à nuevas Islas grandes llamadas **Paloc**, y **Palaos**[.] En dos dias la[s] descubrimos, y [h]ay quarenta y dos leguas de las Islas de San Andres à dichos Palaos, dia onze de Diciembre se descubrieron[.] hasta aora no estan bautisados y segun lo que vimos y las noticias que tuvimos de los naturales de San Andres[.] dizen que tiene dicha Isla de Palaos treinta dias de bujeo [=boxeo] con sus embarcaciones[.] Lo que vimos con los ojos, por estar algo distante de la tierra, lo que pudimos ver, fueron como siete Islas grandes e tierra alta, y larga[.] y distan dichas Islas del Cavo de el Spiritu Santo ciento y ochenta y un leguas[.] su citucion esta por los siete grados, y onze minutos de latitud Norte, ciento y cincuenta y tres grados, y dies y seis minutos de longitud segun el Meridiano de Tenerife[.] fuera de lo dicho ay un gran numero de Islas desde Marianas hasta este paradero de Mindanao porque havindome informado por un natural prinzipal de las Islas de Sonsonrrol que se quedo con nosotros en el Patache quatro dias y preguntandole por sus nombres las Yslas quales eran gente mala, y havindole yo nombrado mas de quarenta Islas me dixo que todo era buena gente como ellos hasta una Isla grande llamada **Torses** [sic = Truk] y por otro nombre Ugulud [= Hogoleu] y preguntandole yo en quantos dias se podia bojear me rrespondio que no podia determinar tiempo señalado por estar mucho mas grandes que la isla de los Palaos, y preguntando en quanto tiempo se podia allegar con sus embarcaciones solamente me respondió de que estaba muy lejos, y segun jusgo yo que dicha Isla es la Carolina porque [no] puede menos por ser esa toda cordillera, y segun el informe y la Mapa que hizo el Padre Andres Serrano, no ay mas dif-

erencia que el estar la Mapa mal zituada que por lo que toca à dichas Islas estan todas, y mucho mas la culpa tiene[n] los que fueron à descubrir y quando se desgarran dichas embarcaciones es con el viento leste y lesnordeste.

Abiendo pues llegado à Paloc como dixè arriba[,] en menos de dos horas se juntaron siete embarcaciones con mas de cinquenta Indios, y rreselandoze de nosotros por mas señas que le hizimos no havia modo à que viniesen abordo[.] finalmente se animaron y vinieron unos tres con su embarcacion abordo, y le[s] regale con algunos rescates, y cosas de comer[.] biendo ellos el buen trato procuraron asercarse à todo priesa[.] Rreseloso de lo que pudiera suseder[.] el Sargento Maior Don Franzisco de Padilla mando poner à los soldados con armas de fuego y nunca consintio de que se atracassen sino que biniesen solamente dos, ó tres para poder tener noticia del Puerto, y fruto de la tierra[.] y habiendo regalado à barios de ellos con rrescates[,] los dos postreros se ofrezieron de quedar con nosotros para enseñarnos el Puerto, y dijieron tambien que ellos, y toda la gente de Paloc eran buen[a] gente, y que no eran como la gente de Palaos que quedavan mas abajo, que {no} mataban à la jente[.]

Todo eso era traza para ver si podia hurtar algunos clavos, y biendo que no havia forma de hurtar como ellos querian se hecharon al agua y se fueron para su embarcacion y me dixeron que luego bolverian[,] la buelta fue que así que estubieron dentro de su embarcacion fue tirar flechas y lanzas en agradecimiento de los beneficios recibidos que yo le[s] havia hecho porque las primeras flechas me las apuntaron à mi pero à Dios las gracias à ninguno lastimo[.] Cuatro cogimos que estavan pegadas en los costados del Patache[,] la una se saco en el pie de San Franzisco Xavier que esta pintado en la popa; mando al Sargento maior Don Franzisco de Padilla disparar algunos mosquetes, parece que no hirieron à nadie, à todo priesa los pobres Isleños se bolvieron para sus embarcaciones; el dia siguiente vino una embarcacion de aquellos mismos Indios que havian tirado las flechas y no consintio el Sargento maior de que estos llegasen abordo y uno de ellos se echo al agua, y nadando traxo seis cocos pero nunca se animo de entrar à dentro sino que se estubo aguardando de la jarcia; le rregale con cosas de comer y le di un plato grande algo quebrado y como no se le podia entender nada ni el à nosotros por ser diferente la lengua [de la] de la Isla de San Andres se despidio y se echo al agua y fue con tanta destreza nadando que con ser que llevaba asucar y biscochos y el plato no se le mojó nada, y se embarco en su embarcacion y todos ellos se despidiéron de nosotros dandonos à entender que se iban para tierra y que les fuesemos siguiendo[.]

[Description of the Carolinians]

*Esos naturales de Palaos: es algo diferente assi en el traje como en su modo de proceder[.] lo primero es que ban todos desnudos[.] sus embarcaciones assi de los Palaos como los de la Isla de San Andres son de la propia echura como los de Marianas[.] Los naturales de San Andres[.] el genero de bestido que usan es un Capisayo de petate muy fino, y un sombrero como los que traen los Sangleyes en Manila y los principales ponen plumas por encima para distinguir del prinzipal al **timagua** [=plebeian,*

freeman] y su caveza de ellos anda vestido con un pedacillo de petate enrollado con muchas plumas de pajarito bobo ensartadas en dicho petate[.] y las mugeres traen un petate [des]de la cintura hasta la rodilla à modo de Naguas[.] Sus anzuelos son de Caray con que cojen [el] pescado y las hachas que usan son de concha de caray muy gruesa como hachas de Sangley[.] Varias beses que binieron à bordo vinieron bestido[s] por gala ponerse de amarillo la cara que en la cortezia que usan cuando van à vizitar, y cuando reziven visita y con los abrazos que dan refrega[n] aquel genero de pintura rrostro con rrostro, y quedan de tal manera imprimidos que mancha los bestidos y no se quitan mas aunque se lave[.] todos usan bahaquez de medriñaque, y estan{do} hecho como un paño de manos[.] Las pinturas de su[s] cuerpos estan labradas de la propia suerte como Muac conforme à la principalia de cada uno, asi tienen los labores[.] Quando dichos naturales bieron à Muac que tenia el labor de hombre muy principal, y el le[s] dijo en su lengua que era señor de la Morzo [i.e. Lamorsek = Lamotrek] y Olimarao empezaron à bailar y festivarlo y se alegraron muchisimo, y tambien por ser casi todos de una misma lengua con poca diferencia.

Finalmente fue Dios servido de darnos un viento nordeste favorable para bolvernos à la Isla de San Andres para sacar à los Padres y la gente y la lancha y habiendo llegado à dichas Islas de San Andres estuvimos barloventeando y en todo este tiempo con ser que estuvimos serca de tierra en todo este tiempo ni bino embarcacion abordo ni la lancha que estabamos aguardando[.] Y viendo que ni podiamos ir à tierra por falta de lancha ni menos poder surgir[.] pidio la gente de mar el bolber para Manila à dar parte al Señor Governador para que su Señoria con su paternal cuydado de mejor providencia para essa impreza de tanta gloria de Dios y de las almas, y ser servicio de ambas magestades[.] Y habiendonos puesto en camino para el Cavo del Espiritu Santo con el viento nordeste que son los que reynan todas estas costas hasta el mes de Abril[.] las corrientes, y el viento contrario no dio lugar à subir mas altura sino hasta esta vizita de Lianga[.] dos dias de camino de la cabezera de Caraga[.] a donde esperamos el viento favorable para poder proseguir nuestro viaje para Manila. Y mientras para no perder tiempo se está haziendo una lancha grande de nueve codos de quilla, por si acaso el viento nos hiziere arribar en algunas Islas de los Palaos se puedan embarcar quarenta hombres armados con tres pedreros.

*Y buelvo à decir que los Padres quando fueron à tierra à la Isla de San Andres no fueron beramente mas que para plantar la Santa Cruz, y el estandarte de su Magd. y bolver inmediatamente[.] pues salieron tan desnudos que no llevaron mas que su brebiario, una estola, y el sobrepellis, dos cruces, y un quadro de la Virgen que es la que dedico, é hizo el Hermano Manuel Rodriguez, y alguno[s] rescates para regalar al prinzipal, y habiendole yo dado algunas tablillas de chocolate no las quiso llevar el Padre Superior diziendo que para tan poco tiempo como havia[n] de quedar no era necesaria tanta provision[.] que bastaba medio saco de biscocho, un quarto de queso, y un poco de azucar y unas dos gantas de **palae** [sic = palay] para sembrar solamente[.] el Piloto maiorquin fue bien prebenido temeroso y reseloso de lo sucedido pues aunque no llevo de comer llevo su ballestilla, y demas instrumentos de Piloto y habiendosele olvidado*

el agujon se bolvieron con la lancha abordo à sacarlo, y entonces la mujer de Muac que se havia quedado en el Patache se arrojó dentro de la lancha dejando el hijo menor llamado Franzisco y un soldado se lo alcanzo y con ezo se fueron para tierra que es cierto que se puede tener lastima, y compacion de todos porque aunque no le[s] haga mal ninguno[,] es muy dificultoso hazerse todo de un golpe à los frutos de la tierra como son rimay y pescadof.] en dicha Isla de San Andres abra segun dizen ellos ochocientos almas[.] no usan de flecha[s] ni lanza[s] ni piedra[s] segun la gente que fue à tierra que lo bio ni menos en barias veces que vinieron aquí con sus embarcaciones {no} benia[n] sin arma ninguna[.] es que lo escondieron y assi V.R. no se olvide de encomendarlos à Dios, y à mi tambien para el buen sucesso asi de los Padres como todos los del Patache[,] que se encomiendan mucho en las oraciones de V.R. y en particular el Sargento maior Don Franzisco de Padilla.

Y al presente es el empeño con el Señor Conde, y Governador de estas Islas para que prevenga dos galeotas que son aproposito para dicho descubrimiento que puedan salir por el mes de Junio que ya empiezan los vendabales y por acá es tiempo de verano y si el Alcalde maior Don Andres de Pividares(?) diera abio supuesto que el tiempo no[s] da lugar se aderezara al Patache aqui para que con mas brebedad se pueda despachar para dicho descubrimiento[.] Son nesario[s] doscientos hombres à lo menos para que se queden, y el Patache y las dos galeotas, las raciones que es menester[,] la una embarcacion que se buelva con la[s] noticia[s] de lo que [se] hubiere descubiertof,] la otra para que [se] baya descubriendo, y una que se quede para lo que pudiere suceder de algun levantamiento de los Isleños y es nesario que traigan buenas lanchas para que puedan saltar en tierra à lo menos treinta hombres armados y todos los peltrechos de guerra y de mantenimiento[s] bastante. Y à Dios las gracias hasta la [h]ora de esta[,] todos estan con salud con ser que desde que salimos de Calamotan siempre no nos ha faltado aguaseros. No soy mas largo, sino que nuestro Señor le guarde la vida [de V.R.] muchos y felices años[.]

De esta ensenada de Lianga[,] [h]oy diez y ocho de Henero de setecientos y onze años. Muy siervo de V.R.—

Esteban Baudin.

[Note in margin:] *Las Islas de Sonsonrrol Baupitissadas las Islas de S. Andres estan por los 5 grados 16 min. de latitud Norte y de longitud y como tengo dicho arriba, governandose por la misma Mapa que mando imprimir el Padre Serrano (que es veridico aunque la situacion no sea buena) al Lessueste estan todas las dichas Islas hasta Marianas saliendo del Cavo del Espiritu Santo.*

Translation.

My dear Father Procurator General, Francisco Calderón.

I hope that the present finds Y.R. in complete health, as I wish, and I would be glad in my soul. As for myself, thank God, I am always with my regular ailments, but remain at Y.R.'s disposal for whatever you may order me. The occasion for writing this letter is my having returned with the patache **Santisima Trinidad** from the explora-

tion of the Palaos to these coasts of Caraga on the 3rd of January 1711, to this mission station of Lianga, part of the ministry of Father Prior José de la Asunción, Prior of the capital of San José of Tandag. And as soon as I was able to, I wrote to Y.R. to give a report about everything that happened, which will be what follows. Only His divine Majesty knows what is better for His holy service, but He brought us to this neighborhood so unexpectedly and with such a long distance [between us], and [therefore] a delay in the letters and news of this discovery.

Y.R. will learn that on the 30th of November, the feast-day of St. Andrew the Apostle, when we least expected, because our route was towards New Guinea, God was pleased that two small unknown islands be discovered. They are called **Sonsonrrol** and belong to the Palaos. For having discovered them on the feast-day of the saintly apostle, we baptized them with the very name of the saintly apostle St. Andrew. The local people came alongside with their canoes and we received them very well, much to the joy of our souls, and we made them some presents of a few trade goods and foodstuffs. They are a very joyous people, with much courtesy, love and affection, very like Spaniards, of fair height, and judging by appearances they wished to place all of us in their hearts. And, having seen such affectionate and sociable people, an effort was made with the launch to seek a port where water could be taken on board, since it was becoming scarce (one tank had already been consumed)¹ and also to check the local products, and the size of the population, before pursuing our voyage with the news given to us by said islanders.

The armed launch went ashore with **Muac** and his son as interpreters, along with the pilot's mate, Roque Bautista, to look for an anchorage. When the launch was nearing the shore, there was a crowd on the beach, of men, women and children, inviting them to step ashore, but our people were nervous and hesitated. Muac assured them all that they should go ashore, and he assured them that no harm would come to them. Finally part of the men aboard the launch decided to step ashore and they were so well received that they were not allowed to touch the ground. Rather, they lifted them and carried them bodily as far as the house of their chief who, as soon as he saw them, he stood up from his seat and embraced them all and kissed their feet and hands. The love he showed to all was so great, and the joy of the men as well as the women, that they did not know how to show their pleasure to our people, but they gave them coconut toddy, breadfruit, fish, coconuts, and a few very fine mats like those of the Marianas, and most of them were shouting "Dios, Dios."

The launch came back alongside with such good news, and said chief and other islanders were inviting everyone and the Fathers to go ashore. After seeing such humble and submissive people, it appeared that God was moving them to receive the Holy Gospel. The launch was made ready and the next day, which was the 4th day, Father Superior Jacques Dubéron and Father Joseph Cortyl embarked but, as I had begged His

1 Ed. note: This mention of a water tank (instead of the regular jars) is the first one I have seen. I think it might predate by about one century their common use aboard European ships.

Reverence the day before [to go along too], he had told me alright, but the next day when we were about to board the launch, the Father Superior told me that I was to stay behind, that it was necessary in case something happened. Then Father Joseph Cortyl, when he saw that I was somewhat affected and that tears were coming down my cheeks, told the Father Superior that, if His Reverence wished, he would stay behind instead. I objected, saying that they should go and good luck. In the end, I had to stay and not be a witness to participate and enjoy the first fruits of that new Christian community, perhaps on account of my many sins. The armed launch left to go and plant the holy Cross, and the Second-Lieutenant with the standard of His Majesty and the Majorcan pilot, plus the Boatswain Daniel Bagatín to see if there was some way of anchoring in order to take on water, and also Muac with his wife and his two sons. All in all, there was 16 of them who went ashore, and until now we are [still] waiting for them. We tacked back and forth for four days, but as the currents were so swift, they were making us drift away from the land and making it impossible to touch again said Islands of St. Andrew.

God was pleased to send a monsoon wind that made us reach new large islands called **Paloc**, and **Palaos**. We sighted them after two days, and there are 42 leagues from the St. Andrew Islands to said Palaos. We discovered them on the 11th of December. Until now they are not baptized and according to what we saw and the information that we got from the natives of St. Andrew, they say that they need 30 days to circumnavigate said Island of the Palaos with their canoes. What we saw with our own eyes, on account of being at some distance from the land, what we were able to observe, there are about seven large islands; they are high and big. Said islands are distant 181 leagues from Cape Espiritu Santo. Their position is at 7°11' lat. N, 153°16' longitude [E] of the meridian of Tenerife. Besides what I have just said, there is a large number of islands between the Marianas and this neighborhood in Mindanao, because, according to the information I have received from a native chief who stayed with us aboard the patache for four days, when I asked him for the names of the islands, which ones had bad people, when I had read to him the names of over 40 islands, he told me that they were all good people, like themselves, as far as a big Island called **Torses** [sic = Truk], also known by another name, Ugulud [i.e. Hogoleu]. When I asked him how many days were required to sail around it, he answered me that he could not say exactly how many, because they were much larger than the Island of the Palaos. When I asked him how much time was required to sail there with their canoes, he said that it was very far. I think that said Island must be Carolina, because it cannot be otherwise, as they are all part of the same island chain, and according to the report and the chart that Father Andrés Serrano made, there is no difference except that the map is badly positioned.¹ However, as far as said Islands are concerned, they are all there, and the mistake if any lies with those who went to explore, and when said canoes drifted they did so when the wind was blowing from the E or ENE.

1 Ed. note: He means that islands are not shown in their correct positions on the map.

After we had arrived at Paloc, as I said before, in less than two hours seven canoes came alongside with over 50 Indians on board them. In spite of the welcoming signs we made to them, they were suspicious of us. Finally, they gathered their courage and three of them came alongside with their canoe. They were given a few trade goods, and food-stuffs. When the others saw the good treatment, they tried to come near with all speed, but fearful of what might happen, the Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Padilla ordered the soldiers to pick up their firearms and he never consented that any of them [i.e. the natives] tied up. He gave permission to only two, or three, in order to find out about a port, and local products. After a few were given trade goods, the last two offered themselves to stay with us in order to show us the port, and they also said that they, and the whole people of Paloc were good people, and that they were not like the people of Palaos who lived further down, who killed {did not kill} people.¹

All of this was pure trickery to see if they could steal a few nails, but seeing that there was no way to steal as they wished, they dove off and went to their canoe and they told me that they would return later. The return in question was that, as soon as they were back inside their canoe, they threw arrows and spears by way of saying thanks for the benefits received from me, because the first arrows were aimed at me, but thank God none did any harm to anyone. We recovered four of those that were stuck on the sides of the patache. One of them was pulled out of the foot of St. Francis Xavier whose image was painted on the poop. Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Padilla ordered that a few muskets be fired. It seems that they did not hurt anyone, but the poor islanders quickly fled to their canoes. The next day one canoe belonging to the same Indians who had shot arrows came over but the Sergeant-Major did not allow them to come alongside. However, one of them threw himself into the water and swam over, bringing six coconuts, but he could never gather enough courage to come on deck; rather, he remained motionless in the rigging. I rewarded him with foodstuffs and gave him a big plate that was somewhat broken. As we could not make him understand anything, and our people could not understand him, on account of the language being different from that of St. Andrew Island, he said good-bye to us and dove off, and swam with such skill that the things he carried, such as sugar and biscuit, as well as the plate, nothing got wet. He boarded his canoe and all of them said good-bye to us, giving us to understand that they were going home and that we should follow them.

[Description of the Carolinians]

Those natives of Palaos are somewhat different, not only in their clothing but also in their manner of behaving. Firstly, they are all naked. Their canoes, those of the people of Palaos as well as those of the people of St. Andrew Island, are of the same width as those of the Marianas. The type of clothing used by the natives of St. Andrew is a

1 Ed. note: One version has this correction, but it is clear that the Paloc did not kill, and the Palaos did. The enmity of two different groups within the Palau Islands, the Paloc versus the Palaos (as they are called here), is reported here for the first time, by Br. Baudin.

poncho made with a very fine mat, and a hat like those brought to Manila by the Sangleys, and the chiefs wear feathers on top [of their heads] to distinguish themselves from the **timagua** [=plebeian, freeman] and their heads are covered with a small piece of mat rolled up with many feathers from the booby bird inserted into said mat. The women wear a mat from the waist down to the knee, as a sort of petticoat. Their fishhooks are made of *caray* [i.e. carey, or tortoise-shell] with which they catch fish and the axes they use are made with a very thick *caray* shell [sic]¹ like Chinese axes. On the many occasions that they came alongside they wear their best fashion, their faces being yellow, as this is the courtesy they use when they go visiting, and when they receive a visitor; upon embracing each other they smear that type of paint upon each other's faces, and they are left stained by it, and the clothes once stained remain stained, no matter how many times they are washed. All use loin-cloths, and they are made like a handkerchief. The tattoos of their bodies have the same designs as those worn by Muac; the more rank one has, the more elaborate the design. When said natives saw Muac, who had the tattoos of a high chief, and he told them in their language that he was lord of **la Morzo** [i.e. Lamorsek, or Lamotrek] and Olimarao, they began to dance and feast him and they became extremely happy, and also because most of them use the same language with little difference.

Finally God was pleased to give us a favorable northeasterly wind in order to return to the Island of St. Andrew to rescue the Fathers and the men and the launch, and having reached said Islands of St. Andrew, we were tacking and in all this time, although we were close to the land during all this time, not a single boat came over, not even the launch that we were waiting for. And seeing that we could not go ashore, for the lack of the launch, and could even less come to an anchor, the seamen requested that we should go back to Manila to report to the Governor, so that His Lordship with his fatherly concern and greater means for this enterprise of so much glory to God and to souls, it being of service to both Majesties. And having sailed off heading for the Cape of Espiritu Santo with a northeasterly wind which are those that prevail along all of these coasts until the month of April, the currents, and the contrary wind impeded our getting to a higher latitude than that of this mission station at Lianga, which is at two days distance from the capital of Caraga, where we are waiting for a favorable wind to be able to pursue our voyage to Manila. And in the meantime, so as not to waste time, a big launch is being built that is 9 cubits at the keel, in case the wind should take us to some Islands of the Palaos, then allowing 40 armed men to embark with three mortars.

I forgot to say that the Fathers, when they went ashore at the Island of St. Andrew, went solely for the purpose of planting the holy Cross, and the standard of His Majesty and return immediately; indeed, they were so destitute when they left that they took along only their breviaries, one stole, and the surplice, two crosses, and one painting of the Virgin that is the one that Brother Manuel Rodriguez labored on, plus a few trade goods to present to the chief. When I gave a few chocolate bars to the Father Superior,

1 Ed. note: He meant to say "taclobo" [tridacna], instead of "carey" in this case.

he refused, saying that so many provisions were not necessary since they would remain but a short time, that it would be sufficient to have half a bag of biscuit, a quarter of cheese, and a little sugar and about two *gantas* of **palae** [palay] for seeding purposes. The Majorcan pilot was well prepared for what eventually was to happen, because, although he brought no food, he took along his cross-staff¹ and the other tools of his trade; when he noticed that he was missing his compass, they returned with the launch alongside to get it, and then Muac's wife who had remained aboard the patache threw herself into the launch, abandoning her minor son named Francisco, but one soldier got hold of him, and so they went ashore. One can surely feel sorry for them, and everyone some compassion, though they might not be harmed, because it is very difficult to get used at once to the local fruits such as breadfruit and fish. In said St. Andrew Island, there would be about 800 souls. They do not make use of arrows or spears, or stones, according to those who did go ashore. I did not notice any either on the many occasions that they came alongside with their canoes; they came unarmed. Perhaps they hid them. So, Y.R. should not forget to commend them to God, and me also, not only for a good outcome for the Fathers but also for all those aboard the patache who count very much on the prayers of Y.R. and specially Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Padilla.

As for now, it behooves His Lordship the Count, and Governor of these Islands to provide for two galliots, the type of ship appropriate for said exploration work, to go out during the month of June when the monsoon begins, when overhere it is summer, and if the Mayor Don Andrés de Prividares [or Luisdares?] gives supplies, supposing that the weather should permit, the patache would be made ready here, so that we may go as soon as possible to said exploration. A total of 200 men at least are necessary to settle there, and the patache, plus two galliots, with the necessary rations. One of the vessels would go back with news of what has been discovered; the other would go on exploring, and the one would remain, in case of some uprising by the islanders. And it is necessary that good launches be brought, so that at least 30 armed men could go ashore, with all the war-making equipment and enough food supplies. And thanks be to God because so far, everyone has been healthy ever since we left Calomotan and we had no lack of showers. There remains for me to say: may Our Lord save the life of Y.R. for many happy years.

From this bay of Lianga, on this day 8th of January of 1711.

Your Reverence's humble servant, Esteban Baudin.

[Note in margin:] The Sonsonrrol Islands, baptized the St. Andrew Islands, are in 5°16' lat. N and their longitude is as I said above. Using as a reference the same chart that Father Serrano ordered printed (which is correct although the position is not good), by heading ESE [sic] from Cape Espiritu Santo, all said Islands as far as the Marianas are to be found.

1 Ed. note: Although the French-speaking Br. Baudin used the Spanish word "ballestilla," the pilot could have been using a more modern instrument, at least an astrolabe, if not an octant.

Document 1711BB

Missionary reports—The report of Fr. Francisco Calderón

Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4; copy published in Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 3 (1946): 1081-1089.

Notes: This report is based entirely on verbal and written reports by eyewitnesses, such as Fr. Serano, Fr. Bobadilla, and Br. Baudin. Krämer (ref. HSSE 1908-10) has reproduced only part of this report.

Original text in Spanish.

Sucesos de la tercera expedición a las Islas Australes de los Palaos.

Aviendo entrado à Governar estas Islas Philipinas por Agosto del año pasado de 1709 el Señor Conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arizmendi y no siendo pocas [ni pequeñas] las molestias que fatigan los principios de este Gobierno; con todo eso sin embarazar à su [hole]-prehension todo el golpe de la Residencia de su [pre]decesor que cargó sobre si, ni otros impoderables [hole] dos que la acompañan, el primero y principal à [hole] su ardiente zelo aplico el animo fue de proseguir [hole] incoado asumpto (tan recomendado de su Mgd. cat[ol]ica) en muchos de los Reales rescriptos) el descubrimiento de las Islas de los Palaos (dos veces frustrado en el precedente Gobierno) para plantar en ellas el estandarte de [hole = su Mgd.] dando al rey del cielo y de la tierra nuevos imperios [hole] a la Iglesia de Cristo nuevos hijos.

Por Diziembre [del mismo año] puso en manos de su Señoria el Padre Andres Serano Superior y Vice Provincial de esta Apostolica Mission Memorial sobre este expediente para que à los Misioneros de su sagrada [Re]ligion se diese Vajel competente (segun el Real m[hole = mando?]) para navegar à dichas Islas. Y haviendose opuesto de ofi-[hole] de voluntad el Señor Fiscal de su Mgd. à esta tercera expedicion fueron tan poderosas las razones y motivos que alego de parte de la Mision el Superior de ella, asi por lo que [hole = corresponde?] à la Real voluntad, y gusto de que se lleve adelante [hole = esta em-] -presa hasta que recivan la verdadera fee sus Isleños, que agrava à la Real obligacion, proteger y cooperar à su conversion por ser sus Islas (y toda la tierra Austral incognita à ellas vezina) Provincias de su corona de su Patronato y Real demarcacion, que no solamente mando el dicho Señor Conde aprestar para el efecto un Vajel sino dos, concurriendo à esta determinacion todos los Señores de la Real Junta de Hacienda en quatro juntas que para ellas se celebraron. Dado el Orden con singularissi-

*ma inclinacion (la qual es la de este Cavallero à todas las cosas de Dios, y à la dilatacion de la fee) se dispusieron en Cavite una fragata por nombre **Santissima Trinidad** (que el Señor Domingo de Zabalburu predecesor del Señor Conde) dio liberalmente à esta mision aviendolo hecho fabricar à su costa para conducir à las Islas del Japon al Abad Juan Baptista Sidote.*

El dia 27 de Septiembre del año pasado de 1710 se hallava ya dispuesto, cargado y para darse à la vela el Patache Trinidad, y al mismo tiempo se hallo que la balandra tambien cargada hacia mucha agua por un costado y le faltavan unas abrasaderas de hierro para el arbol mayor. Y siendo precisa la detencion de la Balandra en el Puerto de Palapag, ó Calomotan cien leguas de Cavite que son con poca diferencia las que tiene el estrecho ó embocadero de estas Islas (que tanto fatiga à sus Galeones por el peligro de sus corrientes y muchas lo componen) y [por?] que siendo la Balandra por su fabrica mas ligera que el Patache parecia que aunque saliera algunos dias despues lo pod[r]ia alcanzar aun dentro del estrecho. Salio pues el Patache el dia nombrado 27 é hizo su viaje hasta Palapag con tanta felicidad, que en ocho dias tomo Puerto en Calomotan teniendo los vientos à pedir de boca[,] como dizen.

[The shipwreck of the sloop San Miguel]

*La Balandra (que llevaba contra si un oculto destino de la Providencia del Cielo)[,] compuesta el agua y los yerros[,] salio quatro dias despues: esto es à 30 del mencionado mes de Septiembre por la noche y apenas salio del Puerto de Cavite quando le salieron al encuentro los vendabales (vientos contrarios para salir por la bocana de la Isla de Mariveles[]) que por algunos dias la entretubieron en la baya de Manila y entre la Pampanga y Bataan con no pequeña fatiga del Superior de la Mision y su compañero que iban en ella. Quiso Dios que muda{n}do el viento y puesto {en} mas favorable desemboco por Mariveles el dia cinco de Octubre y prosiguió con mediana felicidad hasta la Isla de Ticao donde esperaba{n} en un Champan el Matalotage de los Misioneros que se habia prevenido en la Isla de Marinduque. Pero habiendo reconocido en el viaje el Piloto mayor Joseph Ramon (de nacion Mallorquin y excelente en su arte) que las velas estaban desproporcionadas y el arbol mayor de la Balandra excedia en lo alto en la medida competente[,] con parecer del Cavo de la Milicia y Superior de la Mision determino [ir] al Puerto de Bagatao [(donde] actualmente se estaba aderezando el Galeon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** à cargo del Almirante Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas) para reformar las velas, y tambien el arbol mayor y proveerse de algunas cosas mas que hecharon [de]menos en el discurso del camino. Aviendo entrado en dicho Puerto se detubo quatro dias, en que conpusieron las velas, se corto el arbol mayor el exceso, y se fabrico alguna herramienta no dejando punto de perfeccion, que pudiera conducir al mejor apresto de este bajel[,] acudiendo à todo con suma Providencia y cristiana caridad del Al[mirante] Rojas. Mas esto fue arrear y bestir de gala este bello vajel (en que estaban puestas todas las esperanzas del descubrimiento y exploracion de las Islas de los Palaos) para [hole=que?] su mismo adorno y compostura hiciese mas sensible y [de]plorable su sepulcro con el naufragio que presto esperaba. Salio la Balandra*

de Bagatao [hole, tan her-] -mosa y vien compuesta que parecia la Dam- [hole] -ra de los mares: paso el dia 19 de Octubre [en el] embocadero de San Bernardino no sin algunos sustos, por ser el viento escaso, y los escarseos[,] corrientes y olas de aquel estrecho [segun su condicion] formidables. Venciose esta dificultad, y aquel dia fue costeando asta el pueblo de Bobon con penalidad porque el viento no era favorable. Pasose la noche dado fondo, y el dia siguiente prosiguiendo el viento en su escasez le obligo à pasar à cortar mas por dentro de la Ysla de Tabones.

De aqui se fue empeñando asia la ensenada [hole] (que esta toda sembrada de bajos y arrecifes que no sobresale y solo tiene una pequeña canal por donde se puede llegar hasta el mismo Pueblo). Mas ignorando al Piloto Mayor estos parajes (por ser nuevo en la tierra) y engañado [por las] tres bocanas que describe el Mapa para entrar al puerto de Calomotan las dos seguras y la tercera, aunque arriesgada no espresada en la carta este peligro, vino à escoger por destino del cielo la peor, pero por no proceder en el riesgo sin acuerdo, haciendo poner à la capa la Balandra, se embarco, y puesto en el Bate-lillo fue explorando gran parte de dicha ensenada. Y aviendo llegado à una sementera de un Indio un quarto de legua del Puerto de Lauan se informo de este y le trajo à bordo, para que le mostrara la boca segura del Puerto. El Indio informo como vocal, diciendo que estaba à la buelta de la Isla pequeña (en que esta el dicho Puerto de Lauan) sin advertirle que era menester salir la mar afuera para evitar los bajos que tiene la costa de esta Isla. Con esto y con deseo de llegar al Puerto (que concebía tan vecino) empezo à costear la dicha Isla como un tiro de escopeta de ella con el escandallo en la mano[.] eran las quatro ó [cin-]co de la tarde del dia 20 de Octubre quando susedio el [hole=suceso?] y hallandose en 10 brazas de fondo prosiguió poco mas adelante é impensadamente se metio entre unos arrecifes de peñas que llaman de Tubac tan fuertemente que por mas diligencias que hizieron alijandola y con espías para sacarla por la misma via por donde avia entrado no fue posible sacarla.

No es creible ni esplicable la consternacion que ocupó los animos de todos con un suseso tan impensado y con desgracia sucedida tan à sangre fria. Viendo que el Bate-lillo de la Balandra ni la gente de ella era bastante para sacar de los bajos el bajel; y que era menester el socorro de gente y embarcaciones del Pueblo de Lauan (que dista una solo legua del paraje del naufragio) paso al dicho Puerto el Padre Andres Serrano con el Piloto acompañado Andres Moguer; y haviendo llegado cerca ya de la noche[,] hizo luego pronto despacho à los del Patache (que dias avia estava surto en Calomotan) para que socorriesen à la Balandra; y al mismo tiempo despacho cartas à los Pueblos de Palapag y Catu[big] (aquel distante quatro leguas, y esta seis) para que viniesen embarcaciones y Indios para el mismo efecto. Hizo luego eficasissimas diligencias en el Pueblo de Lauan para juntar gente y embarcaciones y acudir à los miseros naufragos. Mas Dios dispuso las cosas de tal manera que toda aquella noche triste y lamentable no se le pudiera acudir sino con tres hombres que unicamente se hallaron y se arriesgaron à ir por tierra hasta la costa donde se perdio la Balandra, donde asistieron con uno ó dos barotos à dichos naufragos.

Porque lo primero luego que se perdió la Balandra se levanto un vendaval tan furioso que no se dejaba llegar embarcacion alguna, ni por la parte de Lauan, ni por la de Calomotan. Y asi habiendo ido con la lancha los del Patache aquella misma noche estuvieron para perderse sin poder llegar à donde estaba. De Lauan tambien se dispuso una Caracoa que se llevara [llenara?] con la gente que avia venido de la Balandra y uno y otro hombre que por fortuna se topo y no hubo forma de poderla echar al agua y hacerla navegar; porque las olas la rebatian sobre unas peñas del embarcadero. En estas circunstancias los Indios principales de estos pueblos se hallaban distantes en la cauzera de Catbalogan con ocasion del nuevo Alcalde y residencia del antiguo[.] otros andavan por los montes buscando Raizes y frutos silvestres para mantener la vida por aver arruinado las sementeras el Baguio ó uracan del Mayo pasado; con que de ninguno de los referidos Pueblos vino socorro, sino tarde y [muy] corto, el qual no fue bastante à remediar la desgracia; y solo sirvio para sacar con gran trabajo y mojandose con la continuacion de {las} grandes olas algunas cosas del Rey y de la Mision que se avian salvado [hole=con mu-]-chas diligencias del Cavo y Piloto Mayor y demas [hole = gente] de mar y soldados de la Balandra.

Aviendo acontecido por ocultos juicios del [hole=cielo] tan malo infortunio, que rompio de dolor intensissimo el corazon del Padre Superior de la Mision Padre Andres Serrano. Y porque el tiempo idoneo para navegar à las Islas de los Palaos se iba pasando: estando el dicho Padre atendiendo à arreglar los despojos de la Balandra y cargando el peso de toda la gente de ella; los Padres y Piloto Mayor de dicho Patache le propusieron que no se podia dilatar mas la prosecucion del viaje de este[,] que ya Dios le avia salvado de todo riesgo hasta alli[,] quizas con el solo querria su Mgd. divina lograr el descubrimiento; que pues se hallava con el cuidado de todos los naufragos y aun de casi todo el carguio de la Balandra que avian perdonado las olas[,] no los desamparasse hasta hazerlos conducir à Manila: y que se quedase por entonces[,] pues Dios le havia quitado el Bajel en que iba contentissimo, y que los dos Padres y el Hermano con el Cavo de la gente de guarnicion bastaba para meramente descubrir las Islas (que era el fin à que unicamente se podia aspirar supuesta la perdida del mejor bajel para este efecto). El Padre Serrano que no ignorava aver mostrado nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo su voluntad à una gran sierva suya de Flandes manifestando que no se avian de descubrir los Palaos hasta que fuese el P. Jacobo Duberon por superior de esta empresa y conociendo muy interiormente el dicho Padre a quien trajo en su mision desde Flandes, y que las cosas sucedidas se iban ordenando à este mismo fin del cumplimiento del divino querer: à que se añadieron otras razones de mucha consideracion, para no emprender por aora, sino dilatar para tiempo mas oportuno su viaje asintio à la proposicion de los Padres y del Piloto Mayor y dando sus vezes al dicho Padre Duberon y aviendolo declarado delante de todos los del Patache por superior de la Mision (a quien se devia obedecer) {y} segun el orden de su Magd. Quanto antes procedio à despachar al dicho Patache con todas las cosas que pidieron [los] de el, y los mismos Padres para mejor acierto del viaje, y se quedo en el pueblo de Lauan, (con asenso del Padre Provincial) para cuidar de los despojos de la Mision y hacer conducir à Manila à los Nau-

fragos como lo executo en dos embarcaciones dandoles todo el avio y matalotaje necesario.

[The voyage of the patache Santísima Trinidad]

*Dia 12 de Noviembre del dicho año de 1710 salio el Patache Santissimaa Trinidad del Puerto de Calomotan, en demanda de las Islas de Palaos; y fue con tan buen nombre, y tanta facilidad, que havia Dios escojido este vajel mas que otro para este descubrimiento. Porque siendo assi que en estos parajes no ay ya vendabales por el mes de Noviembre sino Lestes y Nordeste, vientos opuestos al viaje; luego al punto que salio el Patache de Calomotan empezo una colla de vendavales, y algun norte que duraron muchos dias, con los quales aviendo navegado con las cautelas (que requieren nuevos mares[,] nuevas Islas, y nuevos viajes no trillados) hasta el dia 30 del mismo mes[,] dia de San Andres Apostol[,] descubrio, cuando menos se pensaba dos Islas pequeñas pertenecientes à las Palaos, nombrados en lengua de ellos **Sonsonrrol**, que en honrra del Santo Apostol llamaron de San Andres. Fue impensado este descubrimiento; porque segun lo determinado en Gobierno en junta de Pilotos, y orden que llevavan los del Patache la derrota primeramente avia de ser al su[d]este quarta mas ó menos en demanda de los Palaos mayores que son muchas Islas de cierta situacion, que demoran à la costa septentrional de la Nueva Guinea; y se cree ser [de] los que el año pasado de mil seiscientos y sesenta quatro se derrotaron en 30 embarcaciones, y algunas de ellas vinieron à estas Islas Philipinas y Siao. Pero quiso Dios que se descubriesen primero las Islas de los Palaos que vinieron el año pasado de 1708 y bolvieron cristianos en el dicho Patache; y de los que vinieron el año de 1696 cuya relacion anda impresa con los Breves del Papa, y zedulas del Rey sobre su conversion.*

Luego que los Isleños de Sonsonrrol ó San Andres vieron nuestro Patache vinieron à bordo con sus Piraguas ó embarcaciones ligerissimas y los nuestros los recibieron con gran consuelo de sus almas y agasajaron con muestras de cariño y benevolencia dandoles algunos donecillos de ellos estimables, y cosas comestibles. Es la gente de estas Islas muy alegre y festiva, de mucha urbanidad, de lindo talle[,] muy española, y tan afable y humana que parecia querer meter à los nuestros en sus corazones. Viendo estos el apacible trato y amable condicion de los Isleños trataron de embiar la lancha à tierra à fin de buscar surgidero y rio donde azer aguada por ir faltos de este alimento: y de camino explorar sus frutos, calidad, el numero de sus habitantes y vecindad de otras Islas cuya noticia deseaban para proseguir su derrota.

*Dispusose y armose la lancha con el corto numero de soldados que podia caver en ella, fue en su compañia el principal Palao llamado en su Gentilidad **Moac** y en el Bautismo que recibio en Manila D. Joseph Miguel y su hijo Juan para servir de Interpretes y con ellos por Cavo del esquife Roque Bautista Piloto acompañado. Juntose à su vista en la Playa gran numero de Gentiles hombres[,] mujeres, y muchachos, tirados de la novedad y viendo que se acercava à la playa el vajelillo, y que los de el no se resolvian à saltar en tierra preocupados de algun temor y rezelo de que los Isleños no intentasen alguna hostilidad; estos à voces y con señas los llamavan y convidaban à que saltasen;*

y asegurados tambien del Palao christiano, que no avia riesgo, y que la gente de aquella Isla no haria daño alguno: parte de los de la lancha se animo à salir à la playa como lo executaron con felicidad porque el gentio que los esperaba los recibio no solamente con muestras de benevolencia, sino con respeto: pues no consintiendo que pusiesen los pies en tierra[,] los cargaron, y llevaron en peso hasta la casa de su Cacique ó principal. El qual[,] luego que los vio los abrazo à todos, y les beso los pies y las manos, como cosa sagrada. A imitacion de su Principal todo el concurso de los Isleños hombres y mujeres explicaron con diferentes demostraciones de gozo el que tenian de su venida. Dieronles petates muy finos como los de Marianas y de lo comestible que tenian à mano, cocos[,] pescado y rimay, que es un genero de fruta que usan por pan y por bebida tuba de cocos que es como oximiel de mucha suavidad[,] al mismo tiempo clamavan con aplauso y alegria la multitud [: “]Dios. Dios.[”]

Quedaron los nuestros muy pagados con los agasajos y buena acogida de los Isleños, y queriendo dar estas buenas nuevas à los del Patache trataron de bolverse à bordo llevando consigo à aquel principal con los que le quisieron acompañar. Embarcados pues en la lancha fueron todos al Patache, donde fueron bien recibidos y agasagados de los nuestros dandoles de aquellos doncellos y alajas de buena vista {y poco precio} que podian consolidar su [buena] voluntad.

Los Isleños admirados de aquel genero de embarcacion, y no menos del humano trato de los Españoles quisieron llevar à todos à su Pueblo, y los convidaban con tanta instancia que no pudieron resistir à sus ruegos, y mas siendoles preciso el tenerlos contentos por la necesidad que tenian de ellos para explorar la Isla, hazer aguada, y tomar lengua para proseguir la empresa de descubrir otras Islas. Aviendose determinado à condescender con su gusto (pensando ser negocio de Dios que los inclinava à recibir el suave yugo del Evangelio) mando el Cavo y Sargento Mayor Don Francisco de Padilla que para el siguiente dia que era el quarto de Diziembre se preveniese la lancha del Patache. Hisose assi y el dicho dia se embarcaron para ir à tierra el Padre Superior Jacobo Duberon y el Padre Joseph Cortil su compañero; el Piloto Mayor Joseph Ramon de Nacion Mallorquin[,] el Contra Maestre Daniel Bagatin[.], Veneciano (excelente carpintero y artifice de Fragata), el Alférez con el estandarte de su Mgd.[.], los quatro Palaos, marido y mujer con dos hijos y siete soldados con sus armas[,] como el desig- nio de este embarque é ida à tierra no era para quedarse en estas Islas de San Andres, sino solamente para enarbolar la Santa Cruz y el estandarte de su Magd., buscar Puerto[,] tomar lengua y bolverse luego al Patache: salieron los Padres (y tambien los compañeros) tan desnudos de un todo, que no llevaron consigo sino sus breviarios[,] un sobrepelliz, una estola[,] dos Cruces[,] una Imagen en lienzo de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, y algunas cosillas curiosas para regalar al Principal de las Islas.

*Y aviendo ofresido el Hermano Esteban Baudin que cuydaba de lo temporal de la Mision al Padre Superior Duberon algunas pastillas de chocolate no las quiso admitir diciendo que para el poco tiempo que avian de estar en tierra no era nesaria tanta prevension, que bastaba medio saco de vizcocho[,] un quarteron de queso[,] un poco de azucar y dos gantas de arroz **palay** para sembrar. El Piloto Mayorquin solo andu-*

vo advertido (por lo que podia suceder) de llevar los instrumentos de su arte en que andubo tan preciso que aviendosele olvidado el abujon [aguhon?] yendo ya navegando bolvio à bordo à sacarlo. Con este pequeño aparato fue la lancha navegando para tierra sin que hasta aora se aya sabido el suceso de ella; porque aunque el Patache lo estuvo esperando manteniendose de uno y otro bordo por espacio de quatro dias no bolvio en este tiempo à la nave; ni esta pudo acercarse mas à tierra; porque las rapidas corrientes la fueron echando la mar afuera é imposibilitando de coger las Islas de San Andres, las quales por la cuenta de los Pilotos estan en 5 grados y 16 min. de latitud septentrional y 152 grados y 20 min. de longitud tomando el principio de esta del meridiano de Tenerife en las Islas de Canarias.

*En esta suspension y estado entro el vendabal (viento de poniente) y navegados dos dias y en ellos 42 leguas hizo arrivar al Patache à nuevas Islas grandes y de tierra alta nombradas en la lengua de los naturales **Paloc** y **Palaos** ó **Panlog** (de donde las demas Islas an tomado la denominacion de Palaos). Estan estas Islas segun la quenta de los Pilotos en 7 grados y 11 min. de latitud septentrional, y 153 grados y 16 min. de longitud desde el dicho meridiano de Tenerife. El dia de su descubrimiento fue à los 11 de Diziembre. Todos los Isleños de estas Islas son Gentiles, y segun lo que la vista pudo discernir [y] con lo que dixeron los Indios de las de San Andres ó Sonsonrrol, la Isla de Palao, ó Panlog es tan grande que son menester 30 dias para bojearla, ó rodearla con sus belozes embarcaciones ó piraguas[.] con esta vimos claramente siete Islas de tierra alta y larga sembradas por el orisonte que causavan una muy apacible variedad y su grandeza las hazian mas espantables. Su distancia al Cavo del Espiritu Santo (que es la primera tierra de Philipinas, que se ve, quando buelven sus Naos de Acapulco) es de 181 leguas y 1/2 y 42 menos la[s] de San Andres.*

Aviendo llegado el Patache cerca de la Isla de Paloc (que era la mas inmediata) en menos de dos horas concurrieron siete con [de?] sus Piraguas con mas de cincuenta Indios; pero temerosos de los nuestros no osavan à [a]cercarse al Navio aunque de este los llamavan con señas de paz. Despues de tiempo se resolvieron à abordar tres de ellos mas que [los otros] animosos con su canoa, à quienes el Hermano Misionero agasajo y regalo con rescates y cosas comestibles. Reparando en esto los compañeros procuraron acercarse mas y hacian esfuerzo para atracarse al Bajel, mas el Sargento Mayor D. [Francisco de] Padilla reseloso de algun desman[,] mando poner en el ala[rma] con armas de fuego à los soldados y no consintio que subiesen al patache sino pocos para adquirir noticia del Puerto y frutos de aquella tierra. A estos dio {algunas} alajuelas para contentarlos y todos ellos se ofrecieron à quedarse en el Bajel para mostrar à donde estava el Puerto en que pudiese dar fondo y aser aguada. Ellos correspondieron à nuestros dones con las frutas del pais, como son[:.] rimay hecho tortilla[,] gabe, cocos, buyo y dos lizas [sic=delicias?]. Y preguntados por la calidad de la gente de su Isla, respondieron ser buena, y tratable y no como [los] de la Isla de Palao ó Palog (que quedaba mas abajo) porque estos daban à entender matan à los que comercian y tratan con ellos[.] mas esto à lo que por el hecho se conocio, era traza é industria para ver si podian hurtar algunos clavos ó fierro à que son aficionados y viendo que no avia forma

de ello se arrojaron al mar y fueron nadando à su Piragua dando à entender que presto volverian. Pero asi que se vieron en su embarcacion empezaron à tirar flechas y lanzas à los del patache aunque sin efecto ó daño alguno. Quatro de ellas se hallaron pegadas al costado y una se saco del pie de la Imagen de San Francisco Xavier que estaba en la popa. Por esta osadia el Sargento Mayor Padilla mando disparar algunos Mosquetes y parece que no hirieron à los Indios: los quales espantados con el estruendo de ellos se retiraron y volvieron à la rivera.

El dia siguiente bolvio al navio una de dichas embarcaciones con pocos de los Indios que havian tirado las flechas: los quales iban llegando tan sin escrupulo de lo pasado como si el disparo de las flechas hubiera sido salva à los nuestros, y no agravio. No consintio el Cavo que llegasen à bordo: pero uno de ellos mas animoso se arrojó al agua y nadando trajo seis cocos, y sin subir al navio se estuvo manteniendo de la jarcia. Entonces el Hermano proveedor de la Mision le largo un plato y algunas cosas de comer como viscocho y azucar que el recivio con muestras de agradecimiento y viendo que no entendia nuestra lengua ni los nuestros la suia (que era diferente de la de las Islas de San Andres) se despidio y hecho al agua, y fue nadando hasta embarcar en su Piragua lo qual hizo con tanta destreza que nada de lo que llevaba se lo mojó. Embarcado ya con los suyos hicieron todos à los del Patache el ademan del buen viaje dando à entender que se iban para tierra y que les fuesen siguiendo.

Considerando la gente de nuestro Patache que los Isleños eran muchos, y que ellos carecian de lancha, ó vajel con que explorar la tierra y buscar Puerto y poder hacer aguada y por otra parte ser el viento para volver à las Islas de San Andres favorable[,] se resolvieron à dar la vuelta à estas Islas para sacar à los religiosos Misioneros, y demas Españoles que con la lancha avian quedado en ellas.

Puesta pues la proa segun este designio à las dichas Islas presto dieron con ellas, y se asercaron à tierra todo lo posible, esperando si de ellas venia à bordo algunas de sus canoas, ó Piraguas. Aviendo aguardado algun tiempo, y viendo que no parecia embarcacion alguna ni ellos tenian lancha con que poder desembarcar, pidio al cavo la gente de mar el bolver para Manila à dar quenta al Señor Governador de lo sucedido para que diese providencia mas adecuada, para llevar adelante empresa de tanta gloria de Dios y vien de las almas. Puesto en camino el bajel y la proa para el Cavo del Espiritu Santo en la Isla de Samar[,] los vientos Nordeste que reinan en aquellos parajes asta el mes de Abril y las corrientes no le permitieron subir tanta altura, sino que lo echaron à la costas de la Provincia de Caraga (en la Isla de Mindanao, una de las Philipinas) donde arrivo à tres de Henero de este presente año de 1711 à un Puerto por nombre Lianga. Aqui estuvo esperando tiempo favorable para proseguir à Manila, y [en] el interin se ocupo la gente del dicho Patache en fabricar una lancha de nueve codos de quilla: en que se pudieran embarcar quarenta hombres con tres pedreros por si los vientos les obligasen à tornar à las Islas de Palaos.

[Description of the Carolinians]

Todas las dichas Islas descubiertas convienen en el genero de embarcaciones ó Piraguas muy ligeras de que usan y son de la misma hechura y forma que las de las Islas Marianas. Tambien combienen en las pinturas de sus cuerpos con diferencia entre los principales y populares; en ser grandes nadadores y en apreciar mucho el yerro. Entre los Isleños de Sonsonrrol y de Paloc ay algunas notables diversidades. Lo primero se distinguen en las lenguas. Lo segundo los de Sonsonrrol ban decentemente bestidos. Los de Paloc del todo desnudos sin cubrir parte alguna de sus cuerpos. Tercero los de Sonsonrrol son urbanos y politicos y bien agestados. Los de Paloc son groseros[,] brutos, y de color amulatado. Quanto aquellos no usan arma {s} alguna {s}; estos tienen por arma {las} flecha {s} y lanza {s}.

El vestido que usan los de Sonsonrrol es un capisallo de petate muy fino y un sombrero al modo de los que traen los Sangleyes de Manila. Los notables llevan plumas en sus caves {er} as sobre un pedazo de petate enrrollado à diferencia de los pleveyos. Las mujeres llevan naguas de petate vistosamente labrado que cubren desde la sintura asta la rodilla: no cubren lo demas del cuerpo, no lo tienen por indecoro. Para labrar sus Piraguas, ó canoas usan de hachas de conchas de pescado muy gruesas. Los ansuelos para pescar son de Carey. Quando se visitan unos à otros untan sus rostros de color amarillo: que es especie de cortesia; y abrazandose mutuamente aplican rostro con rostro quedando impreso {s} y aun destilando el color de los unos en los otros: y si marca [mancha?] los bestidos es indelible. Todos usan de bahaques de medriñaque, que es una tela texida de cortesa de arboles de que hacen hilos mas gruesos que los de pita y con este paño tapan con decencia sus partes. La labor de las pinturas de sus cuerpos es como la del Palao Moac, que se christianó en Manila: à quien conocieron y reconocieron luego los Indios de San Andres como principal grande por la especialidad de ella y festejaron mucho su venida, y mas despues de noticiados que era señor de dos Islas.

Las flechas y lanzas que tienen por armas los de la Isla de Paloc son de caña larga y delgada, y ponen en la punta un pedazo de palma brava harponada con betun que deve ser cosa de veneno. Para tirar las flechas se ciñen con un cordon al parecer de hueso de pescado, ó concha de tortuga en el qual haciendo fuerza con el Cavo de las flechas las despiden con gran violencia.

*El Hermano proveedor de la Mision entre otras cosas que escrivio de este viaje, dize que se informo de un Isleño principal de las Islas de San Andres (que tubieron en el Patache quatro dias) de las calidades de los Isleños de este Archipiélago y que haviendole preguntado quales eran tratables domesticos y dociles para tener comercio y comunicacion con ellos le nombro por sus nombres quarenta Islas de las que estan en el Mapa (que por orden de su Magd. se imprimio en Madrid quando el Padre Andres Serrano como Procurador de su Provincia de Philipinas trato este negocio en la Corte) y que le respondio el dicho Isleño, que todos eran de gente buena hasta una Isla que llaman **Torres**, y por otro nombre Ugulut; y que solamente eran malos y matadores los de la Isla de Panlog ó Palao.*

Y aviendole vuelto à preguntar en cuantos dias se podia bojear esta Isla de Torres? respondio que no podia señalar tiempo fixo por ser la dicha Isla mucho mayor que la Isla de Panlog. Y preguntado otra vez de la distancia desde aquel paraje? no dio razon sino que era distante: No puede ser demasiada: pues con sus pequeñas Piraguas corren casi todas estas Islas sus Isleños.

Añade tambien el dicho Hermano dos cosas dignas de consideracion. La primera es que desde la costa de Caraga hasta Marianas ay un gran numero de Islas incognitas que hazen cordillera y que todas las nombradas en el Mapa citado existen realmente aunque no estan alli bien situadas en quanto à sus latitudes y longitudes. Y que quando se desgarran à estas Philipinas aquellos Isleños es con el viento leste, y lesnordeste. La segunda es que saliendo del Cavo del Espiritu Santo y gobernando al lesueste [=ESE] el Navio se topara hasta las Marianas todas las Islas del Mapa. La qual es veridica en quanto à la realidad de dichas Islas; si bien yerra en las situaciones que se deven corregir conforme se fuesen [=vayan] descubriendo. Porque los Indios desgarrados con cuya direccion se formo el Mapa, dixeron y contestaron lo que savian; que era la existencia de sus Islas: mas no la situacion geografica que ignoraban.

Aviendo logrado el dicho Patache el feliz descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos, y deteniendose en Caraga componiendose y haziendo lancha [hole] asta el mes de Marzo, se dio à la vela [hacia] Manila costeando gran parte de la Isla de Mindanao y quiso Dios que arribase al puerto de Cavite à 16 de Junio con toda la gente buena, y sin aver experimentado en todo el viaje tempestad ni infortunio alguno. Estando al presente tratando de nuevos despachos para las dichas Islas de Palaos por dos vias, assi para socorrer à los religiosos y españoles que quedaron en las Islas de San Andres ó Sonsonrol; como tambien para proseguir con el divino favor este descubrimiento y pacificacion de dichas Islas, que por ser muchas asta la tierra grande de la Nueva Guinea, es negocio de algunos años si el zelo de los Ministros del rey de estas Islas cooperasen con la aplicacion que desea su Magd. C[atolica].

Escribe esta relacion el Padre Francisco Calderon Procurador General de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus &a.

[A.M.D.G.]

Translation.

Incidents of the third expedition to the southern Islands of the Palaos.

After his Lordship the Count of Lizarraga, Don Martín de Ursua y Arizmendi, came into the government of these Philippine Islands in August of last year 1709, in spite of the many significant worries that bothered the beginnings of this government, such as the whole blow caused by the *residencia* of his predecessor which he took upon himself, or other unforeseen events that accompanied it, the first and foremost thing that his ardent zeal undertook was to pursue the affair already begun (that which has been recommended by His Majesty in so many of his royal rescripts) of the exploration of the Islands of the Palaos (twice unsuccessful during the previous government) in order

to plant there the standard of [His Majesty], thus opening new empires both for the King of Heaven and that on Earth, and for the Church some new sons.

In December [of the same year,] Father Andrés Serrano, Superior and Vice-Provincial of this apostolic mission, presented a memorial¹ to Your Lordship about this affair, in order for the missionaries of his sacred Order to be given an appropriate vessel (in accordance with the royal dictate) to sail to said Islands. And, the Fiscal having officially opposed this third expedition,² the arguments presented by the Superior of the Mission were so powerful,³ not only because of the royal will in this matter, his pleasure at seeing that such an enterprise be continued until the islanders receive the true faith, and his obligation to protect them and cooperate in the conversion of their islands (and all the islands of the Austral Land that lie near them), all provinces comprised within his Protectorate and royal demarcation, that not only did said Count order that a vessel be made ready but two vessels, and all the gentlemen members of the Royal Council of Finance agreed with this resolution. The order was given with great willingness (the same way this Gentleman attends to all of God's business, and to the propagation of the faith) and a frigate named **Santísima Trinidad** was made ready in Cavite (the same ship that His Lordship, Domingo de Zabalburu, the predecessor of Your Lordship the Count, had ordered built at his expense to take the Abbot Juan Bautista Sidoti to Japan).

On 27 September of last year 1710, the patache Trinidad was already loaded and about to sail, but at that time it was discovered that the sloop, already loaded, was very leaky on one side and it was missing some iron clamps for the main mast. So, it seemed necessary for the sloop to have to stop at the port of Palapag, or Calomotan, 100 leagues from Cavite, which is the approximate distance to the strait or mouth of these Islands (which bothers our galleons so much on account of the danger of its currents, and where there are many) because, given that the sloop is by its design lighter than the patache, it seemed that, even if it were to go out a few days later, it would catch up with it, perhaps even within the strait. Therefore, the patache departed on said day 27th, and proceeded on its voyage as far as Palapag, and after 8 days reached the Port of Calomotan, to await the opportunity of favorable winds.

[The shipwreck of the sloop San Miguel]

The sloop (for which divine Providence had reserved an occult destiny), once its water and iron clamp problems had been fixed, left Cavite four days later, that is, on the 30th of said month of September in the evening but it had hardly left the port that it met with moonsoon winds (winds that oppose an exit through the strait of Mariveles Island) so that for a few days they kept it within Manila Bay and the bay between Pampanga and Bataan, with no small fatigue on the part of the Superior of the Mission and

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1710F1.

2 Ed. note: Doc. 1710F3.

3 Ed. note: Doc. 1710F4.

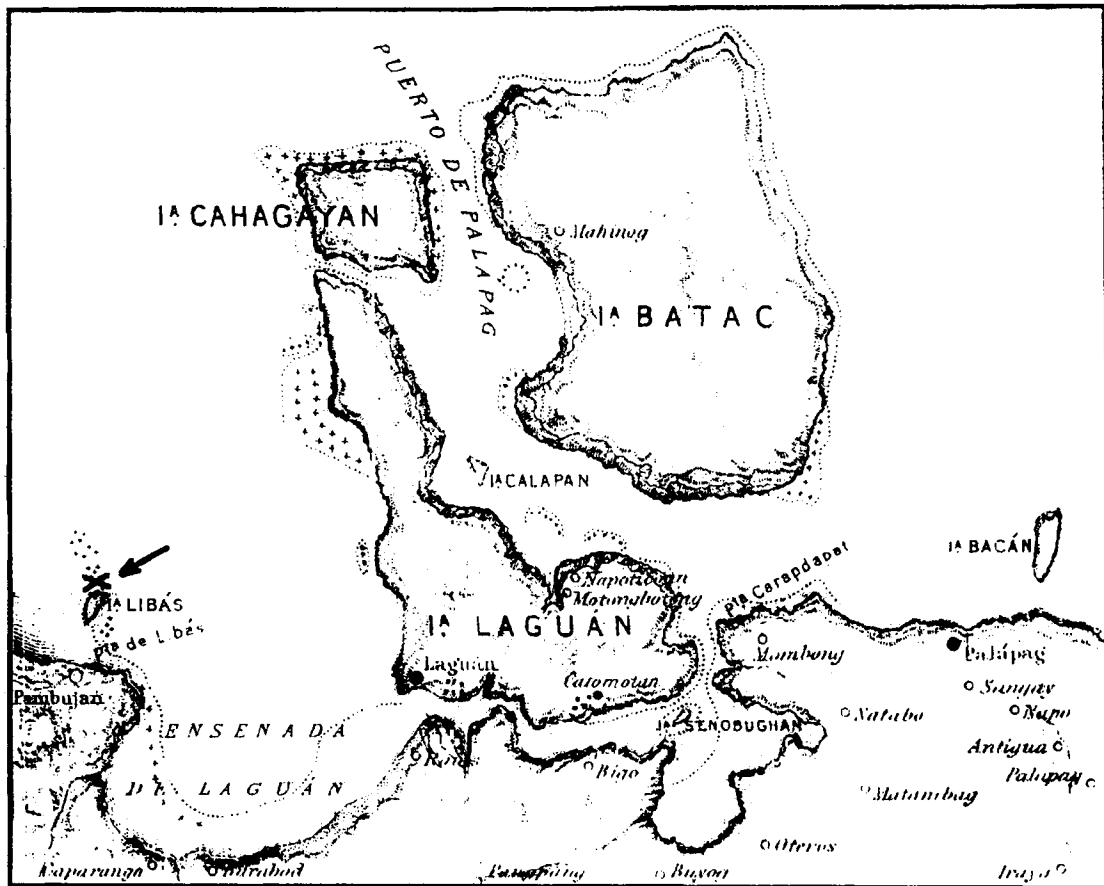
his companion who were on board.¹ God willed that the wind shifted to become more favorable, enough to exit through Mariveles on 5 October, and it pursued its voyage with an average success until Ticao Island where the food supplies for the missionaries, that had been arranged for in Marinduque Island, were awaiting it. However, the chief pilot, José Ramón (from Majorca and an excellent pilot) had noticed during the trip that the sails were too large and the main-mast of the sloop too tall for a ship of that size. He took counsel with the Commander of the soldiers and the Superior of the Mission, and decided to divert to the port of Bagatao (where the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** is presently being made ready under the care of Admiral Antonio Fernandez de Rojas) to reform the sails, and also the main-mast and to get some supplies that were missed during the trip. After going into said port, they spent 4 days there, while the sails were repaired, the excess length of the main-mast cut off, and some tools were made, etc. in order to leave everything in the ship in perfect condition, thanks to the help received from Admiral Rojas through his Christian charity. However, this turned out to be the same as adorning this beautiful vessel (in which had been placed all the hopes of discovering and exploring the Islands of the Palaos) only to have us feel even more sorry, on account of this very same adornment and improvement, and more deplorable its burial with the shipwreck that was awaiting it. The sloop departed Bagatao in such a prim state that it appeared like the Lady of the Seas. On 19 October, it entered the Strait of San Bernardino, not without a few surprises, as the wind was weak and the currents in that strait as formidable and the waves as choppy as usual. That difficulty was overcome, and that day it was coasting along as far as the town of Bobon,² though slowly because the wind was not favorable. The night was spent at anchor, and the next day it went ahead, but the scarce wind forced it to cut in behind Tabones Island.

From here on it was trying to get to the bay of [hole in ms.]³ (which is completely seeded with shoals and reefs that do not stick out and has only one small channel giving access to the town itself). However, the chief pilot ignored this neighborhood (as he was new in the Philippines) and was fooled by the three inlets shown on the map as entrances into the port of Calomotan, two of which are safe but the fact that the third one is risky is not shown on the chart. He came to choose this risky one, through some destiny from Heaven, although he did not proceed forward until he had stalled the sloop, stepped on board the small boat and gone ahead to survey a great part of said bay. Having come abreast of the plantation of an Indian a quarter of a league from the port of Lauan, he stopped to ask him some information and he took him on board, to have him point out the safe channel to the port. The Indian informed him alright, by telling him that the port was on the other side of a small island (behind which is the port of Lauan) but he forgot to warn him that he had to go out to sea first, in order to avoid some

1 Ed. note: His companion was Fr. José de Bobadilla.

2 Ed. note: On the north coast of Samar Island.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Serrano says below that the shipwreck occurred in the bay, or shoals, called Tubac (see also Doc. 1711H).



Site of the shipwreck of the sloop San Miguel in 1710. *It appears that the San Miguel ran aground on the small Island of Libás on the west side of Laguan Bay, on 20 October 1710. Black dots indicate the towns of Lauan, Calomotan, and Palapag (Inset to Map n° 18, in Fr. José Algué's Atlas de Filipinas, Manila 1899).*

shoals dotting the coast of this island. So, desiring to make the port soon (which he conceived so near), he began to coast said island at a distance of about a musket shot from the shore, with the sounding line in his hand. This was taking place at about 4 or 5 p.m. on the 20th of October. All of a sudden he reached 10 fathoms water and soon after that he unfortunately got the sloop onto some reefs which they call sunken reefs, and it became impossible to set it free, no matter how many efforts were made to lighten it, and to warp out in the direction that it had come in.

One cannot begin to describe the consternation that filled the minds of everyone after such an unexpected turn of events and a mishap that occurred in cold blood. Seeing that neither the small boat of the sloop nor its crew were enough to pull the vessel off the shoals, and that more men and boats from the town of Lauan (which lies only one league from the site of the shipwreck) were necessary, Father Andrés Serrano went to said port with the pilot's mate, Andrés Moguer, and, arriving there at nightfall, he im-

mediately sent a despatch to the Patache (which had been anchored at Calomotan for a few days already) to have its men come immediately to the rescue of the sloop. At the same time, he despatched letters to the towns of Palapag and Catubig (the former is 4 leagues away, and the latter 6) asking for more boats and Indians to come for the same purpose. Then he made great efforts in the town of Lauan to gather men and boats and go to the help of the miserable shipwrecked people. However, God arranged things in such a manner that, for the whole of that sad and lamentable night, only three men were found who accepted to go overland as far as the coast where the sloop had been lost, where they assisted said survivors with one or two dugouts.

The reason was, firstly, that soon after the sloop was lost, a monsoon wind arose that was so furious that it became impossible for any boat to get there, either from the Lauan side, or from the side of Calomotan. In fact, the launch from the patache tried to make it that same night and was almost lost itself. From Lauan also a *caracoa* had been prepared, to take back the men who had come from the sloop, along with one or two men who happened to be around, but no way was found to get it [i.e. the caracoa] into the water and make it float, because the waves were pushing it toward some rocks near the landing place. Under such circumstances, the leading Indians of these towns happened to be away at Catbalogan, the district capital, on the occasion of the arrival of a new Mayor and the *residencia* of the old one; others were spread out throughout the bush looking for wild roots and fruits for their sustenance, since the typhoon of the previous month of May had destroyed plantations. The result was that the only help that came from the above-mentioned towns came late and was insufficient to remedy the mishap; they only served to help with the salvage of a few things belonging to the King and the Mission that the Commander and chief pilot and other seamen and soldiers of the sloop had salvaged with great efforts, despite being continuously sprayed by great waves.

The heart of the Father Superior, Fr. Andrés Serrano, was broken with a most intense pain by such a bad misfortune, that occurred through the occult judgments of Heaven. And because the ideal weather for sailing to the Islands of the Palaos was quickly vanishing, said Father was busy taking care of placing the salvaged items from the sloop in safety and finding transport for its men. The Fathers and the chief pilot of the patache proposed to him that the voyage should go on with the patache, that God had already saved it from all dangers until then, and perhaps His Majesty only wished to have the patache achieve the discovery, that since he was then in charge of all the shipwrecked people and even of most of the cargo of the sloop that had been saved from the waves, he should not abandon them until he saw them all safe in Manila, and therefore he had to stay behind; indeed, God had taken away the vessel that he had been very proud of, and that the two Fathers and the Brother with the commander of the soldiers of the garrison sufficed for the mere mission of exploring the Islands (which was now the only objective it could have, given the loss of the best vessel for the purpose). Father Serrano did not ignore that Our Lord Jesus Christ had revealed his will to a great servant of His, a woman in Flanders, to the effect that the Palaos would not

be discovered until Fr. Jacques Dubéron went there as superior of this enterprise; since he knew said Father very well, because he had come from Flanders and been a member of his mission band, he saw that the events were shaping up in such a way that divine will would come true. He had other important reasons also for not proceeding any more, and rather postpone his own voyage until a more opportune time. So, he agreed with the proposal of the Fathers and of the chief pilot and, after turning his responsibilities over to Fr. Dubéron, he announced publicly to the chief pilot, in front of all those of the patache, that he was the new superior of the Mission (the man they should obey, in accordance with the order of His Majesty). As soon as possible, he proceeded to despatch said patache with all the things that the men, and the Fathers themselves, asked for, the better to ascertain the voyage. He remained behind in the town of Lauan (with the assent of the Father Provincial) to take care of the salvaged goods belonging to the Mission and to arrange for the transport to Manila of the survivors of the shipwreck. This he did, aboard two boats which he provided with all the necessary food and other supplies.

[The voyage of the patache Santísima Trinidad]¹

On 13 November of said year 1710, the patache Santísima Trinidad left the port of Calomotan bound for the Islands of the Palaos. It became evident that God had selected this vessel, bearing such a good name, over any other for this expedition, because in this neighborhood during the month of November there are no monsoon winds, but easterly and northeasterly winds instead that are contrary to the voyage. As soon as the patache came out of the port of Calomotan there began a blast of monsoon winds, and some northerly that lasted for many days, with which they navigated with all the care made necessary by new seas, new islands, and new voyages that are not commonplace, until 30th of said month, the feast-day of St. Andrew the Apostle, when two small islands were discovered when least expected. They belong to the Palaos, and are named **Sonsonrrol** in their language, but in honor of the saintly apostle they were [re-]named the St. Andrew Islands. This discovery was unexpected, because, in accordance with the decision of the government taken in the meeting of pilots, and the instruction carried by the people of the patache, the [planned] route had been firstly to head SE, plus or minus 1 point, in search of the greater Palaos, which are many islands of certain position that lie on the north coast of New Guinea; and it is believed that they correspond to the islands of origin of the people who drifted aboard 30 canoes in the past year 1664, some of them ending up in these Philippine Islands and at Siao.² However, God willed that the Islands of the Palaos that were discovered first were to be those belonging to the people who drifted in the past year 1708 and were then going back as Christians aboard said patache, and those who came in the year of 1696, whose narrative has been

1 Ed. note: This part closely follows the text of Doc. 1711BA.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1664D (HM4:235).

printed along with the Briefs of the Pope, and the decrees of the King regarding their conversion.¹

As soon as the islanders of Sonsonrrol or St. Andrew Islands saw our patache, they came alongside with their canoes or very light boats and our people received them with great joy in their souls and they welcomed them with demonstrations of love and goodwill, giving them a few small gifts to eat. The people of these islands are very merry and festive, with much urbanity, a fine appearance, very much like the Spanish and so friendly and human that it appeared that they were trying to win our people over. Seeing the gentle manner and friendly disposition of the islanders, our people in turn tried to send the launch ashore in order to look for an anchoring place and a river for a watering place, on account of the short supplies of this element, and also to survey along the way the products of the island, the quality and quantity of islanders, the vicinity of other islands, about which we needed information to pursue our course.

The launch was made ready and armed with the small number of soldiers that could fit in it. In their company went the Palao chief, called **Moac** by his pagan name, or Don José Miguel by the baptism that he had received in Manila, along with his son Juan, to serve as interpreters, and with them as leader of the skiff, Roque Bautista, pilot's mate. A large number of natives, men, women, and children, assembled on the shore upon seeing the launch, attracted as they were by the novelty. When they saw that the little vessel was nearing the shore but that the people in it were hesitating to step ashore, pre-occupied by some fear that the islanders might attempt some hostility, they called them with loud voices and motioned them to land. Re-assured also by the Christian Palao that there was no risk and that the people of that island would not do them any harm, part of those in the launch felt encouraged to go out to the beach, as they happily did, because the crowd waiting for them received them not only with demonstrations of goodwill but also with respect. Indeed, they did not let them put their feet on land; they lifted them and carried them bodily as far as the house of their cacique, or chief. The latter, after seeing them, embraced them all and kissed their feet and hands as something sacred. By invitation of the chief, the whole concourse of the islanders, men and women, made it known in various ways the pleasure they had at the visit. They gave them some very fine mats like those of the Marianas, and some edibles that were handy: coconuts, fish, and *rimay*, which is a type of fruit they use for bread, and to drink, some coconut *tuba* [i.e. toddy], which is like mead and just as sweet. At the same time the crowd was calling out the words "Dios, Dios" with applauses and happiness.

Our people felt very pleased with the welcome and good reception of the islanders, and wanted to give this good news to those of the patache. They tried to return aboard, bringing with them said chief with those who wished to accompany him. They embarked then in the launch, all went to the patache where they were well received and made welcome by our people, who gave them those small gifts and good-looking but inexpensive jewelry to consolidate their goodwill.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1705I. Krämer's transcription begins here.

The islanders, seized with admiration of that type of boat, and also by the human treatment of the Spaniards, wished to bring everybody to their town and were inviting them with such insistence that they [our people] could not resist their supplications and furthermore, as it was necessary to keep them happy, on account of the necessity that they remain so, in order [for us] to explore the island, to take on water and gather intelligence to pursue our mission to discover other islands. It was therefore decided to accept their invitation (thinking that it was God's hand that was urging them to receive the sweet yoke of the Gospel). The commander, Sergeant-Major Don Francisco de Padilla ordered the launch of the patache to be made ready for the next day, which was the 4th of December. So it was done, and on that day, the following people embarked to go ashore: the Father Superior Jacques Dubéron, his companion Fr. Joseph Cortyl, the chief pilot José Ramón, a native of Majorca, the boatswain Daniel Bagatino, a native of Venice (an excellent carpenter and frigate builder), the Second-Lieutenant with the standard of His Majesty, the four Palaos, husband and wife with their two sons, and seven armed soldiers. As the intent of this embarkation and trip to shore was not to stay at the St. Andrew Island but only to plant the holy cross and the standard of His Majesty, look for an anchorage, take on wood and then return to the patache, the Fathers left (and their companions as well) so destitute of everything that they only brought along their breviaries, one surplice, one stole, two crosses, one painted image of Our Lady of Loreto and a few curious little things to present to the chief of the islands.

When Brother Étienne Baudin, who looked after the material affairs of the Mission, offered some chocolate bars to Father Superior Dubéron, the latter did not want to receive them, saying that for the little time that they would be ashore, such precaution was unnecessary, that it was sufficient to bring half a bag of biscuits, a quarter of a cheese, a little sugar, and two *gantas* of *palay* [unhusked] rice¹ for use as seed. However, the Majorcan pilot was advised (for whatever eventuality) to take along the instruments of his trade; he was so particular about it that, having forgotten the large compass, even though they were already sailing, he returned aboard to take it out. With this small show, the launch went on sailing toward the shore, and until now the outcome has not been known; indeed, even though the patache waited for the launch for a period of four days, tacking back and forth, it did not return to the ship during that time, and the latter could not get closer to shore because of the rapid currents that pushed it far out to sea and made it impossible to reach the St. Andrew Islands. These islands, according to the pilots are in 5°16' lat. N and 152°20' long. [E], taking the meridian of Tenerife in the Canary Islands as a reference.

During this wait and state of affairs, the monsoon wind arose which, after two days and 42 leagues, brought the patache to new islands, big and with high land, called in the language of the natives **Paloc** and **Palaos** or **Panlog** (from which has originated the denomination of Palaos). These islands are, according to the pilots, at 7°11' lat. N

1 Ed. note: Two *gantas* is about 5 Kg.

and 153°16' long. [E] of Tenerife. They were discovered on 11 December [1710]. All the islanders of these islands are heathen. According to what could be discerned with the eyes and what the Indians of St. Andrew or Sonsonrol Islands said, the Island of Palao or Panlog is so big that one would need 30 [sic] days to circumnavigate it with their fast boats or canoes.¹ Apart from this one, we clearly saw seven islands, high and large, spread along the horizon, that made quite a show, and their large size made them even more respectable. Their distance from the Cape of Espiritu Santo is 181-1/2 leagues, and that of St. Andrew is 42 fewer leagues.

When the patache got near the Island of Paloc (that was the nearest),² in less than two hours there appeared seven of their canoes with over 50 Indians. Fearful of our people, they did not dare come near the ship, even though they were invited with signs of peace from the ship. After a while, three of them, more courageous than the others, decided to come alongside with their canoe. The missionary Brother welcomed them and gave them some barter articles and things to eat. Having observed this, their companions tried to come nearer and they made some efforts to overtake the ship. However, Sergeant-Major Padilla, fearful of some misfortune, ordered the soldiers to the rails with firearms, and he did not consent to let them come up except a few, in order to get information about a port and the products of that land. To these he gave little pieces of jewelry to make them happy, and all of them offered to stay in the ship to indicate where the port was where one could anchor and take on water. They in turn gave us local products in exchange for our gifts, like breadfruit cakes, yam, coconuts, betel nuts, and delicacies.³ When asked about the quality of the people of their island, they answered that they were good people and easy to deal with, and not like those of the Island of Palao or Palog (that lies further on)⁴ because they, as we were made to understand, kill those who come to trade and deal with them. This, however, as the facts made it known, was only a trick and cleverness, in order to see if they could steal some nails or iron of which they are fond. When they saw that it was impossible, they threw themselves into the sea and swam back to their canoe, giving us to understand that they would return. However, as soon as they were in their boat, they started throwing arrows and spears at those in the patache, although no harm was done. Four of them [i.e. darts] were found stuck to the side [of the patache] and one such arrow was pulled out of the foot of the image of St. Francis Xavier that was painted on the poop. For this insolence, Sergeant-Major Padilla ordered a few muskets to be fired, and it appeared that none of the Indians were wounded by them; in turn, they were astonished by the stupendous noise and they retreated and returned ashore.

1 Ed. note: This misinterpretation comes from Fr. Clain's report (Doc. 1697F).

2 Ed. note: Nearest to the ship, or to Sonsonrol? From the description and positions given in the log, the island referred to here may have been Peliliu.

3 Ed. note: The last item is hard to decipher: "dos lizas" is probably "delicias" instead.

4 Ed. note: We could interpret this information to mean that: (1) the big island of Babelthuap was the one called Palau by the natives, and (2) that its natives were at war with those living further south.

The next day one of said boats returned to the ship with a few of the Indians who had thrown the arrows. They behaved without scruple for what had happened as if the throwing of the arrows had been a greeting for our people and not an offence. The commander did not allow them alongside but one of them, more courageous, threw himself into the water, and swam in, bringing along six coconuts and, without climbing aboard, he remained hanging from the rigging. Then, the Brother, procurator of the Mission, handed him a plate and a few things to eat, such as biscuit and sugar, that he received with a show of gratitude. When he saw that he did not understand our language, nor our people his (that was different from the one spoken at the St. Andrew Islands), he said goodbye, threw himself into the water and swam to his canoe, which he did with such skill that nothing that he was carrying got wet. When he had safely boarded his canoe and rejoined his people, they all made a gesture of "bon voyage" to those of the patache, giving to understand that they were going ashore but that they should follow them.¹

Upon considering that the islanders were many, and they lacking a launch or boat to explore the land and look for an anchorage, and the possibility of taking on water, those aboard the patache decided to return to the St. Andrew Islands to rescue the religious missionaries and other Spanish who had remained there with the launch. Besides, the wind to return there was favorable.

Soon after the bow was turned in the direction of said Islands for this purpose, they reached them and they went up as closely as possible to the land, hoping that some of their canoes would come alongside. After they had waited there for some time, and saw that none of those people's canoes appeared, given their own lack of a launch to be able to disembark, the seamen begged the commander to return to Manila to report to the Governor what had happened, so that His Lordship might make a more adequate provision, in order to pursue an enterprise of so much glory for God and benefit for souls. The bow of the vessel was then turned towards Cape Espiritu Santo in Samar Island, but the northerly winds that prevail in that neighborhood until the month of April and the currents did not allow them to climb to such a high latitude. Instead, they were pushed to the coasts of the Province of Caraga (in Mindanao Island, one of the Philippines) where they landed on 3 January of the present year 1711 at a port named Lianga.² Here they waited for favorable weather to proceed to Manila, and in the meantime the men of said patache got busy building a launch of 9 cubits in keel length, able to take 40 men and 3 mortars, in case the winds forced them back toward the islands of the Palaos.

[Description of the Carolinians]

All said Islands that were discovered use the same type of craft or canoes, very light and made with the same width and shape as those of the Marianas. Also they bear the

1 Ed. note: Except for a small paragraph later on, Krämer's transcription stops here.

2 Ed. note: Situated at a latitude of 8°40' N.

same tattoos on their bodies, with a difference between the chiefs and the common people; they are all great swimmers, and all esteem iron very much. There are noteworthy differences between the islanders of Sonsonrrol and those of Paloc. Firstly, their languages are different. Secondly, those of Sonsonrrol are decently dressed, while those of Paloc are completely naked, with not a single part of their body covered. Thirdly, those of Sonsonrrol are sociable, polite and well mannered, while those of Paloc are vulgar brutes, and like mulattoes in [skin] color. Fourthly, the former do not use any weapons, while the latter use arrows and spears as weapons.

The dress used by the people of Sonsonrrol is a poncho made with a very fine mat and a hat in the style of those brought to Manila by the Sangleys [i.e. Chinese merchants]. The principal natives wear feathers on their headdress above a piece of rolled mat, something the common people do not have.¹ The women wear petticoats made of mat, pleasantly crafted, to cover themselves from the waist down to the knees; the rest of their bodies is not covered, but they do not think this to be improper. To build their canoes, they use adzes made with very coarse shells. Their fishhooks are made of *carey* [i.e. pieces of turtle shell]. When they go visiting one another, they paint their faces yellow; this is a form of courtesy. They then embrace one another and touch face to face, leaving the other fellow's face smeared with their own coloring which, if it should rub off on clothing, is indelible. All use loin-cloths, which are made of a textile woven with threads made with fibers from tree bark; such threads are thicker than those from the century plant. With this cloth they cover their [private] parts for the sake of decency. The intricacy of their tattoos is like that of the tattoos worn by **Moac** the Palao, who became a Christian at Manila. As soon as this man was spotted by the Indians of St. Andrew, they recognized him to be a high chief, on account of the intricacy of his tattoos and they made him very welcome; they feasted his visit even more when they heard that he was lord of two islands.²

The arrows and spears that the people of the Island of Paloc use as weapons are made of long and slender cane. They put on the point a piece of hardwood, which is carved like a harpoon and dipped into a kind of pitch that must be something poisonous. To throw their arrows, they tie them with a rope [sic] that appear to be a fish-bone, or turtle shell, on which they apply force with [rather upon] the butt of the arrows, that are thus thrown with great violence.³

The Brother procurator of the Mission, among other things that he wrote about this voyage, says that he interviewed a chief islander from the St. Andrew Islands (whom they had aboard the patache for four days) regarding the qualities of the islanders of this archipelago. He reports that, when he asked the man which islands had people who

1 Ed. note: There is no mention of combs.

2 Ed. note: The islands of Lamotrek and Olimarao.

3 Ed. note: A literal translation of a text that could have been made clearer. In other words, they use throwing sticks to propel their arrows, which must have been the size of darts.

were sociable, not wild, and docile enough to have contact with, he gave the specific names of 40 islands that appear on the Map (that was printed in Madrid by order of His Majesty when Father Andrés Serrano was at court looking after the affairs of the Province of the Philippines as their Procurator). Said islander told him that they were all good people, as far as an island whose name is **Torres**, also called Ugulut(?),¹ and that only those of the Island of Panlog or Palao were bad, and killers.

And, he questioned him again about how many days were required to circumnavigate this Island of Torres, he answered that he could not say how long it takes, because said island was even larger than the Island of Panlog. When he questioned him again about the distance from that neighborhood, the man did not know, and only said that it was far. But it cannot be too far, because their islanders sail among almost all of these islands with their small canoes.

Said Brother also adds two things that are worthy of mention. The first thing is that from the coast of Caraga [i.e. Mindanao] as far as the Marianas, there is a great number of unknown islands that constitute an island chain, and that all the islands mentioned on the Map really exist, although they are not shown there at their real latitudes and longitudes. Also, when those islanders drift off to these Philippines, it is when the wind blows from the east, and east-northeast. The second thing is that, by sailing from Cape Espiritu Santo and heading ESE [sic], the ship would come upon all the islands shown on the map as far as the Marianas.² [The information on] this map is corroborated, as far as the existence of said Islands, although it is erroneous as far as their exact positions, but this matter can be corrected little by little, as they are being discovered, the reason being that the Indian drifters, under whose direction the map was made, said what they knew, which was the existence of their Islands, but not their geographic positions which they ignored.³

Said patache, having succeeded in discovering the Islands of the Palaos, stayed in Caraga for repairs, while a launch was being built, until the month of March [1711] when it sailed off to return to Manila, coasting a great part of the Island of Mindanao. God willed that they made it back to the port of Cavite on the 16th of June, with all the people on board in good health, and without having experienced any storm or any mishap during this whole voyage. At present, new expeditions are in the process of being prepared by two routes: one to rescue the religious and Spanish who have remained in the St. Andrew or Sonsonrrol Islands, and the other to proceed with God's help with this exploration and pacification of said Islands, which work, on account of the islands being numerous as far as the great land of New Guinea, will take a few years, as long

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- 1 Ed. note: Torres, and Hogoleu, are the Carolinian names by which Truk (written Chuuk nowadays) was known to them.
 - 2 Ed. note: Brother Baudin's idea was partly erroneous, as he visualized the Carolines to be more tightly grouped together.
 - 3 Ed. note: What follows, though written by the same person, seems to have been penned later, says Barras de Aragon, in the Anuario article of 1949.

as the zeal of the royal Ministers in these Islands cooperate, with the diligence desired by His Majesty.

This relation was written by Father Francisco Calderón, Procurator General of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus, etc.

[A.M.D.G.]¹

1 Ed. note: “Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam” which means “For the greater glory of God.”

Documents 1711C

Inquiry into Carolinian drift voyages, held at Manila in March and April 1701

Source: AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

Notes: Following a recommendation by Doctor Felipe de Molina, the curate of the Church for Spanish residents of Manila, and secretary of the Archdiocese, Archbishop Camacho decided to hold a sort of inquiry into drift voyages, the better to inform the King about the voyages of discovery to the Islands called Palaos. This document is unfortunately out of chronological sequence; it belongs to 1701.

C1. List of questions to be put to witnesses

Original text in Spanish.

Interrogatorio segun el qual an de ser examinados los testigos:

1º Si saben ó an oydo dezir que á estas Yslas Philipinas y particularmente á los Pueblos de las Provincias de Leyte y Caraga los años pasados an aportado varios Yndios desgaritados de unas Yslas segun relacion de ellos situadas entre las Marianas y estas Yslas Philipinas algo [h]acia el sur las quales Yslas no estan conquistadas por las armas del Rey Nuestro Señor ni se ha predicado aun en ellas el Sancto Evangelio siendo pertenecientes á la demarcacion de la Corona Real de Castilla.

2º Si saben ó an oydo dezir que las dichas Yslas son muchas en numero y muy pobladas de gente.

3º Si saben ó an oydo dezir que la dicha gente es de naturales pasificos y nada belicosos y de que condicion y traza; si tratables, dociles y á su parecer faciles para ser convertidos á nuestra Sancta fee.

4º Si saben ó an oydo dezir que los moradores de dichas Yslas no son Maohetanos, ni de otra secta pertinaz sino al parecer con sola ignorancia del verdadero Dios.

5º Si saben ó an oydo dezir que los dichos moradores de dichas Yslas estan sugetos y obedezan á uno de ellos como principe y señor de aquellas Yslas y sus moradores.

6º Si á su leal saber y entender y atenta la noticia que se tiene del genio, y costumbres de dichos naturales con mediana costa de la Real Hacienda de su Magestad se pueden combertir y reducir á nuestra Sancta Fee, y sin que á este fin se le apliquen mucho numero de soldados ni otros gastos militares digan.

7º Iten, si lo que tiene declarado es publico y notorio en estas Yslas, publica voz y fama y si los dichos declarantes han visto algunos de los dichos Yndios desgaritados.

Arzobispo.

Ante mi, Francisco Sanctos de Oliveros, Secretario.

Translation.

Questions to be put to the witnesses who are to be examined:

1° If they know or have heard of various Indians who have drifted to these Philippine Islands, and specially those who made a landfall at the Towns of the Provinces of Leyte and Caraga years ago, from some Islands, according to their own account, situated between the Marianas and these Philippine Islands, somewhat to the south of the former, and not conquered by the arms of the King our Lord, and neither has the Holy Gospel been preached there yet, although they fall within the demarcation of the royal Crown of Spain.

2° If they know or have heard of said Islands being many in number and well populated.

3° If they know or have heard of said people being peaceful natives and not at all war-like and what are their condition and appearance; whether sociable, docile and in their opinion easy to be converted to our Holy faith.

4° If they know or have heard of the inhabitants of said Islands not being Mahomedans, and not having any other pertinacious religions, except perhaps a simple ignorance of the true God.

5° If they know or have heard of said inhabitants of said Islands being subjects of and obeying one of them as the prince or lord of those Islands and their inhabitants.

6° If in their loyal knowledge and understanding, and given what is known about the character and customs of said natives, it would be possible, at an average cost to the Royal treasury, to convert and reduce them to our Holy faith, and without the need to apply a large number of soldiers or other military resources to it, let them say so.

7° Similarly, let them say if the contents of their declaration is public knowledge and notorious in these Islands, and if said declarants have themselves seen some of said Indian drifters.

The Archbishop.

Before me, Francisco Santos de Oliveros, Secretary.

C2. First witness, Fr. Andrés Serrano, 46 years old (in 1701)

Original text in Spanish.

En la casa del Rio extramuros de Manila en quinze días del mes de Marzo de Mill seteziento y un años parecio ante su Señoria Illustrisima el Arzobispo mi Señor el Reverendo Padre Maestro Andrés Serrano Religioso profeso de quarto voto de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus y Procurador General de esta su Provincia de Philipinas y con licencia expresa que presento de su Reverendo Padre Provincial Luis de Morales, por ante mi el presente secretario hizo juramento in verbo sacerdotis puesta la mano en el

pecho, en forma de derecho, so cargo del qual prometio dezir verdad en todo lo que supiere y fuere preguntado y siendolo al thenor del ynterrogatorio antecedente y responde:

*A la primera pregunta dijo que sabe y á oydo decir que entre las Yslas Marianas y estas Philipinas declinando algo hazia la banda del sur ay muchas y diversas Yslas pobladas y de gente hasta aora no conquistadas de las armas Españoles aunque pertenece á la demarcacion de la Corona Real de Castilla. Las quales Yslas afrontan por una parte con la Ysla de Leyte e Ibabao y especialmente con la punta de Guiguan y con los Pueblos de Borongan, Sulad y Tubig que miran al mar de nuestra España y Acapulco que aca llaman mar del sur y por otra parte miran cassi toda la costa de la Provincia de Caraga, Baganga, Castel, Tandag y el Yslote que esta junto á dicha costa por nombre Siargao. Por la otra banda miran á las Yslas Marianas, y por la otra al ynmenso mar del sur, que esta poblado de otras inmensas Yslas de suma grandeza y muy pobladas de estas Yslas. Ha tenido noticias este testigo assi por la que le han dado los Padres de su Religion que estan en las Misiones de los Yndios Bisayas, que viven y havitan las Yslas de Leyte, e Ibabao como por haver visto Yndios desgaritados de ellas que han hecho relacion de su número, situación y costumbres y tambien sabe que por los años de setenta y nueve y ochenta un Maestro suyo de Theologia cuyo nombre era el **Padre Gerardo Bas** pretendio yr al descubrimiento de estas Yslas por tener de ellas muy individual noticia que le dio un Yndio natural de ellas llamado **Sava** que en los tiempos pasados se avia desgaritado con otros muchos que vivian en los pueblos de la costa de Ibabao donde recibieron el agua del Sancto Baustismo, el qual Yndio por haver estado muchos años en servicio de dicho Padre assi el tiempo que vivio en las Misiones de Bisayas como el [tiempo] que vivio en esta Ziudad de Manila leyendo Theologia; le notició con mucha especialidad de las cossas siguientes:*

La primera que las Yslas que estan entre las Marianas, costas de Caraga y de la Ysla de Leite Ibabao, y de que el podía dar razon ó por haverlas visto, ó por la fama que en su tierra tenían era treinta y dos en las quales y en su situacion esplicó según su capacidad con piedrezuelas unas mayores que otras que puso en el suelo segun la proporcion que á su pareser tenían las dichas Yslas y distancia entre sí y dándoles el nombre que cada una de ellas tenía, que este declarante no se acuerda al presente por no haver hallado entre sus papeles el cathalogo de ellas que tenía y de que hizo Mapa en otros tiempos, que remitió á algunos conosidos suyos á Europa.

La segunda cosa que noticio dicho Yndio era, que á todas estas Yslas governava un Principal á quien todos reconocian como supremo Señor.

[Birth of a myth about an island full of women]

La tercera que una de ellas, era havitada de solas mujeres sin que admitieran el comercio de los varones sino una sola temporada del año y que el año siguiente quando volvan les obligavan á que llevasen á sus Yslas los que havian nacido varones, quedandose ellas con solas las [h]embras.

La quarta que no havia sabido jamas ni tenido noticia que en su tierra un hombre matasse á otro, significando con esto la docilidad y templanza de sus naturales.

Tambien sabe este declarante por haverlo oydo á personas fidedignas, que las dichas Yslas estan cerca de la Ysla de Leyte y costas de Caraga donde tiene sus misiones los Religiosos de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesús y Recoletos descalzos del Señor San Agustín, que quando los Yndios pescadores de sus Misiones se enmaran algo al tiempo de bonanza ven el humo que sale de las sementeras de dichas Yslas quando, según la costumbre de estos Ysleños queman el sacate; quemase en ellas el tiempo del verano para que á las primeras aguas cresca la grana para pasto de los animales que les sirven en dichas sementeras.

Tambien sabe este declarante que por los años seiscientos noventa y siete aportaron á la sobre dicha Ysla de Leyte [sic] y punta de ella donde esta el pueblo de Guiguan muchos Yndios de las dichas Yslas desgarrados en sus embarcaciones, los cuales se presentaron al Reverendo Padre Antonio Tuccio de su sagrada Religion de la Compañia y Provincial á la sazón de esta Provincia de Philipinas, el qual se hallava visitando las Misiones de Bisayas, y el dicho Pueblo de Guiguan en compañía del Reverendo Padre Maestro Pablo Clayn su secretario y por este accidente y el grande zelo de las almas de dicho Reverendo Padre Provincial hordenó al antecesor de este declarante en el oficio de procurador de Provincia que era el Reverendo Padre Antonio de Borsas [=Borja] que comprase una buena fragata y la dispusiese y apretase para embiar dos Religiosos de dicha Sagrada Compañia al descubrimiento de dichas Yslas; lo qual savido por el Señor Governador y Capitan General de estas Yslas Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, hizo venir á Manila á parte de dichos Yndios desgarrados, y haviendolo visto, movido de zelo ayudo al designio del dicho Reverendo Padre Provincial contribuyendo una cuantiossa limosna para dicho descubrimiento el qual aunque se malogró por haver hecho pedazos un uracan la embarcación que para este fin estava ya prevenida en el pueblo de Balanguigan, cerca de la sobre dicha punta de Guiguan, mas no se frustró el mérito de tan sancto y noble yntento, y responde.

A la segunda pregunta: Dixo que segun la noticia que obtuvo por medio del Yndio natural de dichas Yslas que sirvió á su Maestro el Padre Gerardo Bas el número de ellas es el de treinta y dos que eran las que dicho Yndio sabia y de que tenian noticia dicho Padre; mas por la que an dado mas yndividual los muchos Yndios que de ellas aportaron á estas Yslas Philipinas el año dicho de noventa y siete, son en número mas de ochenta, cuyos nombres estan en un Mapa jurídico que se á hecho para este efecto, y responde.

A la tercera pregunta: Dijo que tiene noticias por haverlo oydo decir que los naturales de estas Yslas son dociles y tratables y los que este declarante ha visto assi de los que antiguamente se desgarraron el año dicho de noventa y siete eran de muy dociles naturales y el sobre dicho criado del dicho Padre Maestro Gerardo Bas decia, que en su tierra no se savia ni se avia oydo que unos hombres matasen á otros. Y la traza de estos Yndios, es muy agraciada y de cuerpos grandes y algunos se pintan todo el cuerpo á la usanza de sus antiguallas, y le parese á este declarante, que esta nación muy aproposito para el Christianismo, y responde.

A la quarta pregunta: Dixo que aunque no tiene en esta parte muy individuales noticias por las que dieron dichos Yndios desgaritados se colige que á sus Yslas y regiones no an llegado la perversa y pestilencial se[c]ta de Maf[h]oma y que solo tiene ignorancia del verdadero Dios por no haver aportado á ellas ningunos obreros evangelicos, y responde.

A la quinta pregunta: Dixo que sabe por haverlo oydo dezir que los moradores de dichas Yslas obedezan á Señor universal de ellas y que este embió estos años pasados cien caracoas ó embarcaciones pequeñas á su usanza por dichas Yslas en busca de un hermano suyo que se havia desaparecido y que una de dichas embarcaciones aportó á Caraga donde estaba el dicho hermano del Rey, hecho ya Christiano, y que aunque le persuadieron á que volviese á su tierra no lo quiso hazer con que se volvió dicha embarcacion sin él, mas el año siguiente se desaparecio el dicho hermano del Rey, y se creen volvería á su Ysla, y responde.

A la sexta pregunta: Dixo que según las noticias que tiene de estas Yslas de veinte y dos años á este parte, y segun la experiencia de la bondad de sus naturales se persuade que con mediana costa de la Real Hacienda de su Magestad se pueden reducir y convertir á nuestra Sancta fee sin que sea menester mucho número de soldados ni peltrechos de guerra; aunque juzga seran siempre necessarios algunos, para un prudente resguardo, y responde.

A la septima y ultima pregunta: Dijo, que lo que tiene declarado por la mayor parte es publico y notorio en estas Yslas Philippinas y los saben muchos, quienes an visto en nuestros días algunos de dichos Yndios, que tambien ha visto este declarante: todo lo qual dijo ser la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmo, y ratifico y declaro ser de hedad de quarenta y seis años, y lo firmó con su Señoría Illustrisima el Arzobispo mi Señor de que doy fee.

Arzobispo.

Andres Serrano.

Ante mi Francisco Sanctos de Oliveros, Secretario.

Translation.

In the riverside residence outside the walls of Manila, on the 15th day of the month of March 1701, appeared before His Lordship, the Most Illustrious Archbishop, my Lord, the Reverend Father Master Andrés Serrano, Religious and professed member of the Society of Jesus, and Procurator General of this his Province of the Philippines, and with the express permission that he presented from his Reverend Father Provincial, Luis de Morales.¹ He was sworn in before me, the present Secretary, in the legal manner for a priest, by placing his hand over his heart, by which he promised to tell the truth of everything he knew or would be questioned about, and in accordance with the above questionnaire, he answered as follows:

¹ Ed. note: A former Mariana missionary, who was Provincial from 1699 to 1702.

To the first question, he said that he knows and has heard that between the Mariana Islands and these Philippines, but somewhat more toward the south, there are many and various Islands inhabited by people who have not yet been conquered by the Spanish arms, although they belong to the demarcation of the Royal Crown of Spain. The islands in question are face to face with the Island of Leyte and Ibabao [i.e. Samar] and specially with Guiguan Point and with the Towns of Borongan, Sulad and Tubig which border our Spanish or Acapulco Sea which is called here the South Sea, on the one hand, and on the other hand they face almost the whole coast of the Province of Caraga, Baganga, Castel, Tandag, and the islet that is right next to said coast and called Siargao. In the other direction, they face the Mariana Islands, and in another direction the huge expanse of the South Sea which is strewn with other huge Islands of extreme size and others similar to the islands in question. This witness had received notices, not only through the Fathers of his Society who are in the Missions of the Visayan Indians living and inhabiting the Islands of Leyte and Ibabao, but also from having seen Indians who have drifted from them, who have given an account as to their number, position and customs, and also he knows that during the years 1679 and 1680 his teacher of theology, whose name was **Father Gerardo Bas** [=Vaz] tried to go to the exploration of these Islands, since he had gotten a very detailed account of them from one Indian native from there, named **Sava**,¹ who in times past had drifted with many others who lived in the towns along the coast of Ibabao where they received the water of Holy Baptism. The Indian in question had served said Father for many years not only during the time he spent in the Visayan Missions but also when he lived in this City of Manila teaching theology. This man gave him a detailed account of the following things:

The first thing was that the Islands that lie between the Marianas and the coasts of Caraga and of the Island of Leyte-Ibabao, on which he could report, either for having seen them or from the knowledge of them in his country, are 32 in number; of these he gave detailed information, explaining himself in accordance with his capacity, by using small stones, some bigger than others, and placing them on the ground, according to the relative size that said Islands had in his opinion, and their relative distance, giving the name of each one of them, but this declarant does not remember them at present because he was unable to find among his papers the list that he had of them at the time he made a Map which he sent to a few of his acquaintances in Europe.

The second thing or notice given by said Indian was that a Chief governs all of these Islands, and he is regarded by them all as their supreme leader.²

1 Ed. note: Pronounced Saba.

2 Ed. note: This was the first of Saba's outlandish lies. The next one is even more outrageous.

[Birth of a myth about an island full of women]

The third notice was about one island that is inhabited by only women, where they do not admit regular contact with any men, except at one period once a year, and the following year when they returned, the men would be forced to take back to their Islands the babies who were males, whereas female babies would remain with their mothers there.

The fourth thing is that no-one has ever heard of a man killing another man in his country, thus proving the docility and gentleness of its natives.

This declarant also knows, for having heard it from reliable informants that said Islands are near the Island of Leyte and the coasts of Caraga, where the Religious of the Sacred Order of Jesus and the discalced Recollect Fathers of St. Augustine have their missions; in fact, when the Indian fishermen of their Missions go somewhat far at sea during fair weather, they see smoke rising from the plantations of said Islands when, according to the custom of these Islanders they burn fodder; they burn [leftover] fodder during the summer so that with the first rains the grass will grow again and serve as food for the animals that serve them in said plantations.

This declarant also knows that in 1697 many Indians from said Islands drifted with their canoes to the above-mentioned Island of Leyte [sic] and its point near the town of Guiguan. These Indians appeared before the Reverend Father Antonio Tuccio of his sacred Order of the Society and then-Provincial of this Province of the Philippines, who happened to be visiting the Visayan Missions, and said Town of Guiguan in the company of Reverend Father Pablo Clain, his secretary. Through this accident and his great zeal for souls, said Reverend Father Provincial ordered the predecessor of this declarant in the position of procurator of the Province, who was Reverend Father Antonio de Borja, to buy a good frigate and to arrange it and make it ready to send two Religious of said sacred Society to the discovery of said Islands. As soon as this was learned by the then-Governor and Captain-General of these Islands, Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, he had part of said Indian drifters come to Manila. Having seen them, he was moved by zeal to help said Reverend Father Provincial with his plan, by contributing a goodly donation toward said discovery which, though it failed, because the vessel that had been prepared for this purpose was broken to pieces by a hurricane at the town of Balanguigan, near the above-mentioned Guiguan Point, did not however mitigate the merit of such a holy and noble attempt, and so he says.

To the second question, he Declared that, according to the information that he got through the Indian native of said Islands who served his teacher, Father Gerardo Bas, the number of them is 32, that is the number known to said Indian, and made known to said Father; however, through the more detailed notice received from many Indians who have drifted from them to these Philippine Islands in 1697, there are more than 80 of them, and their names appear on an official Map that has been made for this purpose, and so he says.

To the third question, he Declared that he learned, through hearing the natives of these Islands say, that they are docile and sociable; those seen by this declarant, not

only those who drifted in some time ago in the year 1697 who were very docile natives, but also the above-mentioned servant of said Father Master Gerardo Bas, who used to say that in his country it was not known and unheard of that men could kill other men. And the appearance of these Indians is very graceful, with tall bodies and some who tattoo their full body in the manner of their ancestors, and it seems to this declarant that this nation is very appropriate for Christianity, and so he says.

To the fourth question, he Declared that, although he did not receive detailed information on this score, through what said Indian drifters said about it, one can surmise that the perverse and pestilent sect of Mahomet had not yet reached their Islands and regions; they are simply ignorant of the true God because no Gospel workers have yet brought it to them, and so he says.

To the fifth question, he Declared that he knows, for having heard it say, that the inhabitants of said Islands obey a single Lord of them all and such a man sent a few years ago 100 caracoas or small vessels of theirs through said Islands in search of a brother of his who had disappeared, and that one of said vessels made a landfall in Caraga where said brother of the King lived, and was already a Christian. Although they [tried to] convince him to go back home, he refused to do so; therefore, said vessel returned without him, but the following year the King's brother disappeared, and it is believed that he went back home, and so he says.

To the sixth question, he Declared that, according to the notices that he got about these Islands over the last 22 years,¹ and according to the experience of the kindness of their natives, he is convinced that they can be reduced and converted to our Holy faith at an average cost to the Royal treasury of His Majesty, without the need for a large number of soldiers or many military supplies, although he thinks that a few will always be necessary as a prudent precaution, and so he says.

To the seventh and last question, he Declared that what he has already declared is for the most part public knowledge and notorious in these Philippine Islands, and many know that, who have seen in our times some of the same Indians as he has seen: all of which he says is the truth, made under the oath he took earlier, which he re-affirmed and ratified, and he declared that he was 46 years old, and affixed his signature with that of His Lordship the Most Illustrious Archbishop, my Lord, in faith whereof:

The Archbishop.

Andrés Serrano.

Before me, Francisco Santos de Oliveros, Secretary.

1 Ed. note: That is, since 1679. However, Fr. Serrano led a mission band that arrived in 1663 (HM4:223).

C3. Second witness, Captain Leonardo de Ayusso, 40 years old (in 1701)

Original text in Spanish.

...

A la primera pregunta: Dijo que tiene noticia que el año de seiscientos y noventa y dos siendo Alcalde mayor de la Provincia de Caraga el Capitan Don Antonio de Ortega difunto aportó á ella una embarcacion de Yndios desgaritados que segun á oydo dezir este declarante son naturales de unas Yslas que estan sitas entre la Marianas [y] dicha Provincia de Caraga y Leite y que á estos Yndios desgaritados los vio este declarante por los años del noventa y siete, y noventa y ocho, siendo Alcalde mayor y Capitan de guerra de dicha Provincia de Caraga de los quales tiene noticia cierta de que estaban ya catequisados y cristianos y que estando en el dicho oficio de Alcalde Mayor en su tiempo mesmo aportó á la dicha Provincia de Caraga otra embarcacion de otros Yndios que segun lo que dixeron los Ysleños antecedentes eran de otra nacion é yslas distintas de las suyas y que lo tubo por cierto este declarante respecto de que unos á otros no se entendian la lengua que hablaban; y que assi mesmo sabe por aber oydo dezir á los dichos Yndios desgaritados del año noventa y dos sus tierras no estan conquistadas por armas algunas ni otra nacion...

...

A la tercera pregunta: Dixo que sabe que los dichos Ysleños son de naturales pacíficos y nada belicosos, y corpulentos, los mas pintados por todo el cuerpo á su usanza, y que segun las noticias que tiene, muy faciles en reducirse á nuestra Sancta fee, como lo experimento en la conversion de diez que aportaron en su tiempo á dicha Provincia de Caraga que sin entender la lengua y solamente por señas en las cuales se les dio á entender el conocimiento del verdadero Dios. Todos murieron bautizados respecto de que el temperamento al parecer no le asento y enfermaron y en breve murieron habiendolos este declarante puestolos en diferentes casas para que fuesen doctrinados, y responde.

...

*A la quinta pregunta, Dijo que la noticia que tiene de los dichos Ysleños que aportaron á Caraga, es que siendo muchas sus Yslas y tierras entre unos y otros **suelen tener guerras**, y segun lo que entendio este declarante cada Ysla tiene su Cavezilla ó superior que lo gobierna y que esto lo colige de lo que dixeron los Ysleños del tiempo de noventa y dos quando aportaron en su tiempo de este declarante los otros porque aquellos de estos dijeron que eran contrarios, y responde.*

...

... Y porque las armas que usan, segun tiene noticias este declarante son lanzas de hueso, y piedras...

Translation.

To the first question, he Declared that he knows that in 1692, when Captain Don Antonio de Ortega, deceased, was Mayor of the Province of Caraga, a canoe with Indians on board drifted to it. According to what this declarant heard, they were natives of some Islands that are located between the Marianas [and] said Province of Caraga and Leyte, and that he personally saw these Indians in 1697 and 1698, when he was Mayor and Captain in charge of the army in said Province of Caraga. So, he knows for sure that they were then already indoctrinated and Christian and while he was there as Mayor, another canoe drifted to said Province of Caraga with other Indians. According to what the previous Islanders said, the newcomers belonged to another nation, from islands different from theirs, and this declarant knows for certain that one group could not understand the language of the other group.¹ Also he knows, because he has heard said Indian drifters of 1692 say it, that their islands have not been conquered by the arms of any other nation...

...
To the third question, he Declared that he knows that said Islanders are of a peaceful nature and not at all war-like, and corpulent, most of them tattooed all over their bodies in accordance with their custom, and that according to the information he has, they would be easily reduced to our Holy faith, as he had the experience of seeing the conversion of 10 of them who drifted in during his time to said Province of Caraga; in fact, it was without understanding the language and only through sign language that they were made to understand the knowledge of the true God. All died baptized, about which it appears that the climate did not suit them and they got sick and soon died, after this declarant had placed them in various houses to be indoctrinated, and so he says.

...
To the fifth question, he Declared that the information he has about said Islanders who drifted to Caraga, is that, since their Islands and lands are many, **they usually have wars among themselves** and, according to what this declarant understood, each island has its own chief or superior who governs it, and this information is inferred by this declarant, from what the Islanders who drifted in during his term in 1692 have told him about the others who were their enemies, and so he says.

...
... And because the weapons they use, according to the information gotten by this declarant, are bone-tipped spears, and stones...

1 Ed. note: One group probably spoke Carolinian and the other group either Yapese or Palauan.

C4. Third witness, Captain Francisco de Arriola, 36 years old (in 1701)

Original text in Spanish.

...
A la primera pregunta: Dixo que ... siendo Alcalde mayor el Capitan Don Francisco Fernandez del Castillo por los años de ochenta y quatro y ochenta y cinco aportó á la Ysla de Siargao con otros Ysleños sus compañeros en una embarcacion que habiendo salido á pescar segun oyo decir este declarante se desgitaron y fueron á dar á dicha Ysla y que no sabe acia que parte caen las dichas Yslas respecto de que no entiende de Piloteria.

Translation.

...
 To the first question, he Declared that... when Captain Don Francisco Fernandez del Castillo was Mayor, in 1684 and 1685, one canoe that had gone out fishing, according to what this declarant heard, became lost and drifted to Siargao Island. He does not know in which direction said Islands lie, because he knows nothing about navigation.

C5. Fourth witness, Juan Martín, a 35-year-old German (1701) who had served 13 years in the Marianas (as of 1701)

Note: This German soldier/sailor is called Juan Flamenco [=Flemish] by Fr. Bustillo in Doc. 1702A27. This is a proof, if any be needed, that Spaniards often lumped the Belgian Flemings and the Dutch with the Germans. Martin was from Marburg, a town in Hessen, on the Lahn River north of Frankfurt.

Original text in Spanish.

En la casa del Rio extramuros de Manila en treinta dias del mes de Marzo de mill setecientos y un años ante su Señoria Illustrisima el Arzobispo mi Señor parecio Juan Martín, natural de la Ciudad de Mardebu[rg] en el Imperio de Alemania, que hace dies y ocho años que vive entre Españoles, y de ellos los trece à estado con plaza de soldado en las Yslas Marianas, en donde es casado [con] Maria de Castro y al presente reside en la Ciudad de Manila...

[Boat drift from Guam via Ulithi in 1700]

A la primera pregunta: [Dijo] que no sabe si estos años pasados se an desgitarado ó no yndios de las Yslas que estan entre las Marianas y estas Yslas Philipinas algo azia el sur, pero que sabe y tiene noticia cierta de que las ay y que son muchas por haverlas

*visto, y haver pasado por muchas de ellas tirando algo hazia el sur. Porque el año pasado de setecientos por el mes de Junio aviendo aportado á dichas Marianas el Galeon **San Francisco Xavier Principe del Mar** para dejar el Real situado acostumbrado de aquellas Yslas aviendo ido en un barco por Piloto del, por orden del General Don Joseph Madrazo que entonces era Gobernador de dichas Marianas y de los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus Misioneros de ellas á sacar del dicho Galeon el dicho socorro, al bolver de dicha Nao para las Yslas Marianas no pudiendo cojerla por ser contrario el viento que entonces soplava, y haviendo forsejado por siete dias continuos, no las pudo coger y no pudiendo hazer otra cosa dejandose llevar del viento perdio de vista la tierra de dichas Marianas; que no obstante por otros quatro dias mas procuro con toda diligencia cojerla y no pudo con que se vio obligado á poner una vela y tirar para azia estas Yslas con alguna declinacion al sur, y á los dos dias de navegacion como á las tres de la tarde se hallo en un paraje de la grandeza de esta bahia de Manila en donde vio veinte y ocho Yslas pequeñas todas pobladas de cocos y de rimas que es fructa que sirven de Pan á los Ysleños y al parecer estaban pobladas de gente que vio en una de ellas mucha y de las dichas Yslas formavan en su situacion un caracol y causava hermosisima vista por su amenidad y buena disposicion; y que los Yndios de estas Yslas segun lo que vio son más corpulentos, y abultados que los naturales de las Marianas que comunmente son de grandes estaturas y que los que vio de dichas Yslas del sur son de pelo amulatado y que se pintan con tierra colorada la cara, los pechos y las piernas y que serian cincuenta y ocho hombres los que le siguieron en ocho embarcaciones pequeñas al modo de las de los Yndios de Marianas algo más altas de bordo y que no le dejaron hasta que este declarante fue dejando dichas Yslas. Distan de las Marianas como cincuenta y cinco leguas, y que son otras distintas de las que estan situadas enfrente de la Ysla de Caraga y de la de Leyte porque segun las noticias que ay de estas otras Yslas por los Yndios que de ella se han desgarrado á las Yslas de Leyte, Siargao, ó costas de Caraga, no pueden ser unas mismas. Y que dichas Yslas no estan conquistadas por las armas Españoles ni se ha predicado en ellas el Sancto Evangelio; aunque son y pertenecen á la Corona Real de Castilla, y responde.*

A la segunda pregunta: Dixo que aunque sabe por haverlo oydo decir, que son muchas las Yslas que estan enfrente de Caraga y de la de Leyte, pero que de estas no tiene tanta noticia como de las sobredichas veinte y ocho Yslas por donde passo y las vio con sus ojos, las quales les parece ál declarante que estan mas distantes de estas Yslas Philipinas y mas cercanas á las Yslas de Marianas como tiene dicho, y responde.

A la tercera pregunta: Dijo que de los naturales de las Yslas vecinas á Leyte y Caraga si son pacíficos ó belicosos y condicion de ellos no tiene noticia pero que colige de los que vio en las veinte y ocho Yslas que tiene referido es que no parecen usar de otras armas que piedras con que se defienden y que los Yndios que vio parecian en la trasa y condicion barbaros como otros Ysleños de este Archipiélago antes que entrara la fee, y el evangelio en sus tierras, y responde.

...

*A la septima y ultima pregunta: Dijo que lo que tiene declarado de dichas veinte y ocho Yslas no ha sido tan publico y notorio hasta aora que con la experiencia las vio y se ha sabido que ay muchas Yslas pobladas entre las Marianas y estas Philipinas las quales **tambien vieron veinte y un Yndios Marianos que venian con este declarante** todo lo qual dijo ser la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirmo y ratifico y declara ser de hedad de treinta y cinco años y lo firmo con su Señoria Illustrisima el Arzobispo mi Señor en su lengua Alemania por decir no saber escribir al modo de Castellano de que doy fee.*

Arzobispo.

Y luego se sigue una firma en letra y lengua Alemania.

Ante mi, Francisco Sanctos de Oliveros, Secretario.

Translation.

In the riverside residence outside the walls of Manila, on the 2nd of March 1701, before His Lordship the Most Illustrious Archbishop, my Lord, appeared Juan Martín, a native of the city of Marburg in the German Empire, and he has lived among the Spanish for 16 years, and he has spent 13 of those years filling the post of soldier in the Mariana Islands, where he is married to Maria de Castro and at present he resides in the city of Manila...

[Boat drift from Guam via Ulithi in 1700]

To the first question, [he Declared] that he does not know whether Indians from the Islands that are between the Marianas and these Philippine Islands and somewhat southward drifted in or not these past few years, but that he knows and has certain knowledge that they do exist and are numerous, because he has seen them, and has passed by many of them, by sailing somewhat southward. In fact, in the year 1700, during the month of June [sic],¹ the galleon **San Francisco Xavier Principe del Mar** having touched at said Marianas to leave the usual Royal subsidy of those Islands, he had gone out as pilot of a boat, by order of General Don José Madrazo who was then Governor of said Mariana Islands, and of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, missionaries there, to retrieve said succor from said galleon when, upon returning from said galleon for the Mariana Islands, he could not make it on account of the contrary wind that was then blowing. After trying continuously for seven days, he could not make land and could do nothing else but let himself be carried by the wind. He soon lost sight of the land of said Marianas; nevertheless, for four more days he tried desperately to make it but could not, and therefore was obliged to raise one sail and head toward these Islands with some declination toward the south. Within two days of sailing, at about 3 in the afternoon, he found himself in an area the size of this bay of Manila where he saw 28 small Islands green with coconut and breadfruit trees, which is the fruit that serves as bread for these Islands. And it seemed that they were inhabited by people, because he

1 Ed. note: It was in May 1700 (see HM10: 360).

saw many at one of the islands. Said Islands are laid out in the shape of a snail shell and they gave the appearance of a beautiful panorama, very pleasing to the eyes. The Indians of these Islands, according to what he saw, are more corpulent and stockier than the natives of the Marianas who are generally very tall, but the hair of those he saw in said southern islands is more negro-like and they paint their faces, chests and legs with colored earth. There would have been 58 men following him aboard 8 small canoes, which are made like those of the Indians of the Marianas but somewhat bigger, and they did not leave this declarant until he was leaving said Islands. That they are at a distance of about 55 leagues, and that they must be different islands from those that are facing the Island of Caraga and that of Leyte, because, according to the information about these other Islands gotten from the Indians who have drifted from them to the Islands of Leyte, Siargao, or the coasts of Caraga, they cannot be the same. And that said Islands have not been conquered by the Spanish arms nor has the Holy Gospel been preached there, although they belong to the Royal Crown of Spain, and so he says.

To the second question, he Declared that, although he has heard it say that the Islands facing Caraga and Leyte are numerous, he does not have as much direct information about them as for the above-mentioned 28 islands, because he passed by the latter and saw them with his own eyes, and they appear to this declarant to be more distant from the Philippine Islands and closer to the Mariana Islands, as he has already said, and so he says.

To the third question, he Declared that he has no information about the natives of the Islands neighboring Leyte and Caraga being peaceful or war-like, or their condition, but he infers from those he saw at the above-mentioned 28 islands that they seem to have no other weapons than stones, with which they defended themselves, and that the Indians he saw had the appearance and condition of being barbarous like other Islanders of this archipelago before the faith and the Gospel came into their lands, and so he says...

To the seventh and last question, he Declared that what he has said about the 28 islands has not been public knowledge and notorious until now, that he has had the experience of seeing them and that he has learned that there are many inhabited islands between the Marianas and these Philippines that **were also seen by 21 Mariano Indians who came with this declarant** [in 1700]. All of which he declared to be the truth, under the oath that he took, which he affirmed and ratified and he declared that he was 35 years old, and he signed with His Lordship, the Most Illustrious Archbishop, my Lord, in his German language, saying that he does not know how to write as the Spanish do,¹ in faith whereof:

The Archbishop.

And then follows a signature in German letters and language.

Before me, Francisco Santos de Oliveros, Secretary.

1 Ed. note: In other words, his handwriting was Gothic in style.

[The fifth witness, Captain Andrés García Fernandez, 28 years old, knew nothing other than what Martín had told him.]

C6. Sixth witness, Captain Juan García Infanzon, 29 [sic] years old (in 1701)

Note: This man must be the Juan García who was Mayor of the Province of Caraga in the 1660s. Therefore, his age must have been wrongly transcribed.

Original text in Spanish.

...

A la primera pregunta: [Dijo] que sabe que en tiempo que fue Alcalde Mayor de la Provincia de Caraga los mismos Yndios desgarrados le contaron el suceso de su arriuada á dicha Provincia y que las Yslas donde salieron no tenia noticia del Sancto Evangelio ni conquistados y que dichas Yslas pertenecen á la demarcacion de Castilla y estan segun lo á oydo dezir corren á la parte del sur, y responde.

A la segunda pregunta: Dijo que segun lo á oydo dezir á los mismos naturales de dichas Yslas sabe que son muchas y muy pobladas de gente, y responde.

A la tercera pregunta: Dijo que segun lo ha experimentado con los dichos Yndios desgarrados por haver tenido á unos de ellos en su casa y tratado con los demas que estaban en el pueblo son dociles de natural y asi mismo con facilidad se redusiran á nuestra Sancta fee por no ser nada belicosos y su traza de ellos son como los Yndios de estas Yslas, y responde.

A la quarta pregunta: Dixo que por lo que tiene experimentado de dichos Yndios desgarrados y la comunicacion que ha tenido con ellos sabe no tiene secta alguna, ni ser Ma[h]ometanos, mas que infieles, y solo la ygnorancia del verdadero Dios, y responde.

A la quinta pregunta: Dixo que por averles oydo dezir á los dichos Yndios desgarrados, sabe que no tienen ningun principe ni Señor que los gobierne, y responde.

A la sexta pregunta: dijo que al parecer de este declarante es dificultoso el que con poco costo se consiga la conbercion de dichos Ynfieles, pero el que con mucho no duda el que se consiguiera su conbercion respecto de ser muchas las Yslas, y responde.

A la septima y ultima pregunta: Dijo que todo lo que tiene dicho es publico y notorio y la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirma y ratifica y declaro ser de edad de veinte [sic] y nueve años y lo firmo con su Señoria Illustrisima de que doy fee.

Arzobispo.

Juan Garcia Ynfanson.

Ante mi, Francisco Sanctos de Oliveros, Secretario.

Translation.

...
To the first question, [he Declared] that he knows from the time he was Mayor of the Province of Caraga and heard from the mouths of the Indian drifters themselves the story of their arrival at said Province, and that the Islands from which they departed do not know about the Holy Gospel, nor have they been conquered, and that said Islands belong to the demarcation of Spain and are located, according to what he has heard, to the south, and so he says.

To the second question, he Declared that, according to what he has heard from the natives of said Islands, he knows that they are numerous and very populated with people, and so he says.

To the third question, he Declared that, according to the experience he has had with said Indian drifters (in fact, he has kept some of them in his own house and had contact with the others who were in the town), they are docile by nature and also could easily be reduced to our Holy faith, because they are not at all war-like and their appearance is like that of the Indians of these Islands, and so he says.

To the fourth question, he Declared that, based on the experience he has had with said Indian drifters and his contact with them, he knows that they have no religion at all, are not Mohammedans, but only heathen, as they are only ignorant of the true God, and so he says.

To the fifth question, he Declared that, for having heard it said by the Indian drifters themselves, he knows that they have no prince or Lord governing them, and so he says.¹

To the sixth question, he Declared that, in the opinion of this declarant, it is difficult to believe that the conversion of said heathen can be achieved at little cost, but that he has no doubt that their conversion can be achieved, given the large number of the Islands, and so he says.

To the seventh and last question, he Declared that all that he has declared is public knowledge and notorious and the truth, under the oath that he has made, and this he affirms and ratifies, and he declared that he was 29 [sic] years old and he signed it with His Lordship, the Most Illustrious Archbishop, in faith whereof:

The Archbishop.

Juan García Infanzón.

Before me, Francisco Santos de Oliveros, Secretary.

1 Ed. note: This formally contradicts the idea that Carolinian chiefs had strong control over their citizens.

C7. Seventh witness, General Miguel Martinez, 39 years old (in 1701), mixes up Philippines and Carolines

Original text in Spanish.

...

À la primera pregunta: Dijo que sabe que abra tiempo de treinta [sic] años poco mas ó menos que llegaron al Pueblo de Guiguan Jurisdiccion de la Provincia de Leyte, Samar e Ibabao á donde fue Alcalde este declarante el año de noventa y uno, y noventa y dos, llegaron por el tiempo que dice poco mas ó menos un Yndio y dos Yndias de las Yslas que miran á la parte del sur y estan enfrente de dicha Provincia que segun los desgarrados el viento haziendo la travesia de una Ysla á otra de las que ellos havitan, se hallaron al segundo dia de haver perdido la tierra de vista en la Ysla de Soloan [Suluan] que es y pertenecen al dicho Pueblo de Guiguan á donde sus naturales de el tienen su siembra de cocos de á donde sacan su aceite y conducen á esta Ciudad y de dichas Yslas fueron traydos al pueblo de Guiguan donde el Padre Ministro Doctrinero de el los catequizo y Bautismo sin que de parte de dichos Yndios ubiese repugnancia alguna, y que este declarante alcanso en dicho Pueblo á una de las dichas Yndias y que de ella supo que el modo que tiene y estilan entre sus naturales es reconocer en cada una de las Yslas uno por su caveza y caudillo, quienes les manda, y que tienen comunicacion unos con otros, con las Yslas cercanas pero que admitir que los unos pasen á vivir y morar con los otros no lo permiten los dichos principales que gobiernan, y que assi se mantienen en paz y quietud unos con otros. Y asi mesmo á oydo decir este declarante que por tiempos del año se suelen ver las Yslas desde la tierra de Caraga y que aunque no lo ha visto este declarante, tiene por casi lo cierto respecto del poco tiempo que tardaron estos Yndios en aver llegado á la tierra de dichas Yslas de Soloan. Y que sabe que no estan conquistadas dichas Yslas por las armas del Rey nuestro Señor ni que se halla [=aya] predicado en ellas el Sancto Evangelio, y responde.

...

À la tercera pregunta: Dijo que no sabe el natural de ellos ni su condicion y que segun la Yndia que vio en dicho pueblo de Guiguan le parece á este declarante que son los naturales de dichas Yslas de buena traza, altos y bien dispuestos y que segun lo que tiene declarado ynfiere que seran faciles de reducir á nuestra Sancta Fee, y responde.

...

Translation.

...

To the first question, he Declared that he knows that, about 30 years ago more or less [circa 1671], there arrived at the town of Guiguan, within the jurisdiction of the Province of Leyte, Samar and Ibabao, where this declarant was Mayor in 1691 and 1692, at the time that he says more or less, one Indian man and two Indian women from the Islands arrived from the Islands facing and south of said Province, that, according

to the drifters, they were crossing from one island to another among the islands they inhabit when the wind carried them off, and within two days of losing sight of land they found themselves in sight of Soloan Island, which belongs to said Town of Guiguan and where its natives have their plantations of coconut trees from which they get their oil which they bring to this City. And from said Island they were taken to the town of Guiguan where the Father Minister and missionary there taught them and baptized them, without any repugnance on the part of said Indians, and that this declarant met in said Town with one of the above-said Indian women, and from her he learned that it is their manner and style among said natives to recognize in each of their Islands one headman and leader, who orders them, and that they have contact among themselves and the neighboring islands, but that the chiefs in question do not allow the people of some islands to go and live with those of other islands, and that is the way they maintain peace and harmony among themselves. And this declarant has also heard that at certain times of the year, the Islands in question can usually be seen from the land of Caraga, and that even though this declarant did not personally see it, he thinks that it is probably true, based on the little time that these Indians took in making a landfall at said Islands of Soloan. And that he knows that said Islands have not been conquered by the arms of the King our Lord, nor is the Holy Gospel preached there, and so he says.

...

To the third question, he Declared that he does not know about their character or condition, but that, according to the Indian woman whom he saw in said town of Guiguan, it seems to this declarant that the natives of said Islands are of good appearance, tall and well disposed, and that, according to what he has declared, it can be inferred that they would be easily reduced to our Holy Faith, and so he says.

...

C8. Eighth witness, Fr. Pablo Clain, 49 years old (in 1701)

Note: His deposition is to be compared with his other official account of 1697 (Doc. 1697F).

Original text in Spanish.

...

A la primera pregunta: dijo que lo que sabe y puede declarar es, que por el mes de Febrero del año de mill seiscientos noventa y siete hallándose este declarante en el Pueblo de Guiguan en la Provincia de Leyte, de estas Yslas Philipinas con ocasion de acompañar como secretario al Padre Antonio Tuccio Provincial entonces de esta Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesús, en la visita de los collegios y residencias y misiones que la Compañia tiene en las Provincias llamadas de Pintados de estas Yslas hallo en el dicho Pueblo de Guiguan veinte y nueve Yndios naturales de unas Yslas que ellos llamaban de Pais que al parecer de este declarante son las contenidas en esta pregunta, los quales avian aportado desgaritados á dicho Pueblo el dia veinte y ocho de Diciembre de mill seiscientos noventa y seis en dos embarcaciones pequeñas muy parecidas en

el modo y forma á las que usan los naturales de las Yslas de Marianas y por medio de dos mujeres de su misma tierra y Islas antiguamente desgarradas y aportadas al mismo Pueblo de Guiguan y entonces ya vecindadas y casadas en él y entendidas en la lengua natural de los dichos desgarrados dieron noticia de las cosas y estado de dichas sus Yslas á los moradores de dicho Pueblo de quienes y su Ministro el Padre Francisco Prado de la misma Compañía de Jesús, supo este declarante las noticias que aqui dira.

*Assi mesmo declara haver conocido á otro Yndio llamado **Sava** assi mesmo desgarrado al parecer de las mismas Yslas muchos años antes aunque no pueden decir el año fixo sino que le parece seria cerca del año de mill seiscientos y ochenta; y en quanto á la situacion de las dichas Yslas juzga este declarante ser como se dize en la pregunta segun el concepto que hizo de la relación de dichos desgarrados como tambien de que dichas Yslas ni estan conquistadas por las armas del Rey nuestro Señor ni se ha predicado aun en ellas el Sancto Evangelio siendo perteneciente á la demarcacion de la Corona Real de Castilla y esto es lo que responde.*

A la segunda pregunta: dijo que no sabe el numero de dichas Yslas, y solo le oyo decir á un niño de aquellos desgarrados de hedad al parecer hasta doze años despues que ya supo algun tanto explicarse en el idioma Bisaya que las dichas Islas eran en numero de treinta y dos y de ellas las veinte y nueve pobladas cuyos nombres uno por uno declarava el niño; aunque este declarante despues hizo concepto que el niño solo declaró el número de las Yslas que él sabia porque estando ya este declarante en esta ciudad de Manila devuelto de la dicha visita con ocasion de aver el Alcalde Mayor de la dicha Provincia de Leyte remitidos aca algunos de los dichos desgarrados para que los viesse el Señor Governador de estas Yslas recibio este declarante el Mapa de dichas Yslas cuya copia aqui presente remitido á esta Ciudad por el dicho Padre Francisco Prado que se decía aver sido formado por los dichos desgarrados figurando y expresando el bogeno y situacion de ellas con unas piedrezuelas compuestas en la tierra por no saber algunos de ellos leer ni escribir; y assi mismo averse sabido de boca de ellos las advertencias que el dicho Mapa se ponen y en quanto si son ó no pobladas solo oyo decir este declarante que preguntados sobre ellos los dichos desgarrados cogieron un puño de tierra, ó arena mostrandole para dar á entender que tanta era la gente que las poblada y esto es lo que responde.

A la tercera pregunta: Dijo que por lo aqui ha visto, y rastreando del modo y gente de los dichos desgarrados juzga que sus pobladores son de naturales pacíficos y nada belicosos[,] dociles y tratables y á su parecer faciles para ser convertidos á nuestra Santa Fee, lo qual juzga assi por haver venido todos sin armas siendo los dies y seis de ellos hombres ya capaces de trata[r]llas; y porque en la comunicacion y trato de los dichos desgarrados assi con el Padre Ministro del dicho Pueblo de Guiguan como con el dicho Padre Provincial y este declarante y con los naturales moradores de dicho Pueblo se mostraban generalmente afables, tratables, cantando y baylando á su uso y hablando con afabilidad y sin esquives. Y assi mesmo de varias preguntas que este declarante, y otros hicieron al niño de susodicho á quien el Padre Provincial trajo consigo á esta Ciudad de Manila de vuelta de dicha visita quien preguntado si avia riñas y con-

tiendas entre los moradores de dichas sus Yslas, respondia que sí pero que sin arma alguna, porque solo se reducian á puñadas y golpes de manos y aunque en aquella forma, no pasaba muy adelante porque luego los circunstantes á media á pacificar á los reñidos, y responde.

A la quarta pregunta: Dijo que por falta de interpretes competentes, no pudo este declarante saver de cierto que genero de supersticiones tenian, aunque por lo que ha visto y reconocido en ellos y especialmente en el dicho niño que vivio mas tiempo en su compañía jusga no ser Ma[h]ometanos, ni otra secta pertinaz sino gentiles con algunas supersticiones al modo que tenian los naturales de estas Yslas Philipinas antes de haverse[s] predicado el Sancto Evangelio y por lo que toca al dicho niño á quien tubo en su compañía seis meses se admiraba varias veces este declarante que con averse criado sin la noticia del verdadero Dios no se le conocia rastro ó indicio alguno de algun mal vicio ó ynclinacion siniestra sobresaliente y esto responde.

*A la quinta pregunta: Dijo que por relacion de los mismos desgarrados, fecha á los naturales del Pueblo de Guiguan con quien moraban á oydo dezir este declarante, que todas las dichas Yslas las tienen un superior á quien todos obedecen como á Rey y cada Ysla ademas de esto tenia su principal que los governaba como caveza á quien llamaban **Tamol** sugeto y subordinado al Rey de todas las Yslas y segun se decía era uno de estas cavezas uno de los desgarrados; que el modo y trasa de su porte y en la forma de tener todo el cuerpo mas pintado ó labrado con varias rayas abiertas con espinas, y tiznadas con carbon; y assi mesmo por el porte y traje de su mujer y sus aretes á su modo de barbaro de un genero de piedrezuelas amarillas al modo de ambar amarillo y conchas pequeñas ensartadas y por el respecto que los demas le tenian se conocia tenia superioridad sobre los demas, y responde.*

...

Translation.

...

To the first question, he Declared that what he knows and can state is, that during the month of February of the year 1697, this declarant finding himself in the town of Guiguan in the Province of Leyte of these Philippine Islands, on the occasion of accompanying Father Antonio Tuccio, then-Provincial of this Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus, as his secretary, on a visitation of the colleges, residences and missions that the Society has in the Provinces of these Islands called Visayas, he found in said town of Guiguan 29 Indian natives of some Islands that they called Pais, which in the opinion of said declarant are those contained in this question. They had drifted to said town on 28 December 1696 aboard two small vessels very similar in design and shape to those used by the natives of the Mariana Islands, and through two women from the same country and Islands who had formerly drifted and made port at the same town of Guiguan and were then residing there as locally-married women and understood the native language of said drifters, who gave information on the things and state of their islands of origin to the residents of said town. From the latter and from their

Minister, Father Francisco Prado of the same Society of Jesus, this declarant learned the information which he will repeat here.

In addition, he declares that he has known another Indian named **Sava** who had himself drifted it seems from the same Islands many years before, although he cannot say which year exactly, but he thinks it would have been in about 1684; and with regard to the position of said Islands, this declarant thinks that they are as mentioned in the question, according to the idea that he gave in the story that he wrote about said drifters, and also that said Islands have not been conquered by the arms of the King our Lord, nor has the Holy Gospel yet been preached in them, their being within the demarcation of the Royal Crown of Spain, and so he says.

To the second question, he Declared that he does not know the number of said Islands, but that he has heard a child of about 12 from among those drifters say, after he had learned to speak the Visayan language a little, that said Islands are 32 in number, and 29 of those are inhabited and their individual names were given one by one by the child; although this declarant afterwards came to understand that the child had only declared the number of the Islands that he himself knew, because once this declarant had returned from said visitation to this city of Manila, on the occasion of the Mayor of said Province of Leyte having sent here some of said drifters so that His Lordship the Governor of these Islands could see them, this declarant received the Map of said Islands, whose copy here present had been remitted to this City by said Father Francisco Prado, which was said to have been created by said drifters by figuring and expressing the circumference and [relative] position of them with a few small stones laid out upon the ground, because some of them do not know how to read or write; and also from having learned from their own mouths whether or not the notes appearing on said Map are true or not, and whether or not they are inhabited, this declarant has only heard it say that when this question was asked of said drifters, they picked up a handful of earth, or sand, and showed it, thus giving to understand that there was as many people inhabiting them, and so he says.

To the third question, he Declared that by what he has seen here, and noted with regards to the behavior of the drifters, he thinks that their inhabitants are of a peaceful nature and not at all war-like, docile and sociable, and in his opinion easy to be converted to our Holy Faith; he bases this judgment not only on having noticed that the drifters did not carry weapons, although 16 of them were men already able to bear arms, and also because of the contact and dealings of said drifters, not only with the Father Minister of said town of Guiguan but also with said Father Provincial and this declarant, and with the native residents of said town, they showed themselves generally friendly, sociable, singing and dancing in accordance with their custom, and talking to them with a friendly manner and without gruffness. And in addition, through various questions that this declarant and others made to the above-mentioned child, whom the Father Provincial brought along to this City of Manila upon returning from said visitation, for instance, when he was asked if there were quarrels and disputes among the residents of his Islands, he answered that there were, but no weapons were used, be-

cause they were limited to fist fights and slaps with hands, and they did not progress much beyond that, because the people standing around them would intervene and pacify the fighters, and so he says.

To the fourth question, he Declared that for lack of competent interpreters, this declarant could not know for certain what type of superstitions they have, although by what he has seen and noticed in them and specially in said child who lived longer in his company, he thinks that they are not Mohammedans, and have no other pertinacious religion, but are heathen with a few superstitions of the type that the natives of these Philippine Islands had before they were preached the Holy Gospel. And with regards to said child whom he had in his company for six months, this declarant was amazed many times to realize that this child who had been raised without the knowledge of the true God showed no trace or gave no clue of having any bad vice or any outstanding and perverse inclination, and so he says.

To the fifth question, he Declared that, through the account given by the drifters themselves to the natives of the town of Guiguan, with whom they lived, this declarant has heard that all said Islands have one superior to whom all obey as to a king and every island has in addition its chief who governs as a headman and whom they call **Tamol**; he is subject to the King of all the Islands and according to what they said, one among the drifters was one of those headmen; that the manner and appearance of their behavior and their custom of having the whole body tattooed with various lines imprinted with spines and stained with carbon; and in addition by the behavior and clothes worn by his wife and her earrings worn in a barbarous fashion and made of a type of small yellow stones that look like yellow amber¹ and small inlaid shells, and by the respect shown him by the others it was recognized that he was their superior, and so he says.

...

C9. Ninth witness, Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios, discalced Augustinian, 50 years old (in 1701)

Note: This man was probably the third Recollect bearing that name, the one born in Málaga who arrived at the Philippines in 1683 (B&R 41:201).

Original text in Spanish.

...

A la primera pregunta: Dijo que sabe que han llegado Yndios desgarrados á los ministerios que su Religion tiene en la Ysla de Caraga, y que estos lo sabe porque en las dos ocasiones llegaron á pueblos donde administraba este declarante, y que tambien lo sabe por ser voz comun en dichos ministerios de que años antecedentes se han desgarrado otros muchos, y de los parages donde vinieron dichos Yndios desgarrados, no tiene ciencia el declarante; solo sabe por voz comun que vienen de unas Yslas de azia

1 Ed. note: A reference to Palau-type money.

el sur, que al parecer esta en la misma cordillera y graduacion que las Yslas Marianas y que tiene por cierto mediante dicha voz y de algunos principales de dichos ministerios que dichas Yslas no estan conquistadas ni en ellas tiene noticia de Nuestra Sancta Fee catholica, y responde.

A la segunda pregunta: dijo que á oydo decir á los Yndios de dichos ministerios de su orden que en dichas Yslas ay mucho numero de gente y que tocante al numero de ellas no se acuerda en especial aver oydo á Yndios que de dichas Yslas se avian desgariado con quienes comunicaba por vivir en sus Pueblos aunque con brevedad se huyeron otra vez á las mismas Yslas [de] donde vinieron, y responde.

...

Translation.

...

To the first question, he Declared that he knows that some Indians drifters have arrived at the ministries that his Order has in the Island of Caraga, and this declarant knows that because on two occasions they drifted to towns where he himself was the minister, and that he also knows, because it is public knowledge throughout said ministries, that on previous years many others have drifted in, and from the same vicinity as said Indian drifters, but the declarant has no knowledge, and knows only through hearsay, that they come from some Islands to the south, that it seems are part of the same island chain and longitude as the Mariana Islands. He also knows for certain, through the same public knowledge and from some chiefs of said ministries that said Islands have not been conquered, nor is there knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith there, and so he says.

To the second question, he Declared that he has heard the Indians of said ministries of his Order say that in said Islands there are many people, and regarding their number, he does not recall having heard any mention of it by the Indians who had drifted in and with whom he had contact because they lived in his towns, though briefly, because they fled back to the Islands whence they came, and so he says.

...

C10. Tenth witness, Fr. Tuccio, 60 years old (in 1701)

Original text in Spanish.

...

Á la primera: dijo que lo que sabe y puede deponer es, que hallandose este declarante por el mes de Febrero del año de mill seiscientos noventa y siete visitando como Provincial que entonces era de la Compañia de Jesus en estas Islas el Pueblo de Guiguan de la Jurisdiction de Leite en las Provincias de Pintados ó Bisayas halló en dicho Pueblo de Guiguan veinte y nueve Yndios naturales de unas Yslas que al parecer de este declarante son las expresadas en esta pregunta, los quales veinte y nueve Indios segun decia eran naturales de una de ellas llamada Pais y abian llegado á dicho pueblo

de Guiguan al parecer y segun se colige de lo que decian arrojados y desgarrados de los temporales que al pasar de una á otra de las dichas Yslas les sobrevinieron y tomaron Puerto en dicho Pueblo de Guiguan el dia veinte y ocho de Diciembre de mill seiscientos noventa y seis por la contra costa de el, y todos veinte y nueve Indios venian en dos embarcaciones pequeñas las quales [según] que vio este declarante en dicho Pueblo de Guiguan con la nocion que lleva dicha y segun las expies(?) y noticias que tiene de las embarcaciones que usan los Yndios naturales de las Yslas Marianas los dichos dos embarcaciones en que venian dichos veinte y nueve Yndios son muy semejantes en la hechura, velamen y gobierno á las que usan los Marianos y sabe assi mesmo que sirviendo de Interpretes las dichas dos mujeres que en tiempo y años pasados aportaron á dicho pueblo de Guiguan al parecer desgarradas y desde entonces estaban avecindadas en el y casadas con Yndios Bisayos naturales del mismo Pueblo de Guiguan, se supo y adquirio noticia que asi dichas dos mugeres como estas veinte y nueve personas eran de unas Yslas y Pueblos con cuya circunstancia y noticia é inteligencia de su lengua dichos veinte y nueve Yndios individuales [dieron] noticias á dichas dos mujeres de las dichas Yslas y estando de ellas dichas dos mujeres le participaron al padre Francisco de Prado de la Compañia de Jesus ministro entonces [de] dicho Pueblo de Guiguan y demas naturales y sugetos de el de quienes las tubo y adquirio entonces este declarante.

Y assi mismo añade y depone este declarante haver conocido otro Yndio llamado Sava que mucho años antes aporó de dichas Yslas al parecer desgarrado y arrojado á estas de los temporales y aunque no se acuerda fixamente el año en que llevo, dice que á su parecer sería el año de mill seiscientos ochenta, segun noticias que á avido del tiempo en que dicho Yndio llamado Sava llevo á estas Yslas Pilipinas [sic] donde lo conocio y trato este declarante por haver vivido como criado, y familiar dicho Yndio en el Colegio de San Ignacio de la Compañia de Jesus de esta Ciudad y demas de lo referido sabe y tiene noticia este declarante que en otras varias ocasiones an aportado á estas Yslas assi á los Pueblos de la Provincia de Leite adonde la Religion de la Compañia tiene la administracion espiritual y Doctrina de sus naturales diversos Yndios como tambien á la Provincia de Caraga donde administran los Religiosos descalzos del orden de San Augustin y segun el juicio que hace y colige de las noticias todo le parece han venido desgarrados, y que seran de las mismas Yslas sobre que se pregunta...

...

Á la quarta pregunta: Dijo que no tiene noticia cierta de supersticiones [que] sigan pero que se persuade no ser Ma[h]ometanos ó de otra secta pertinaz sino solamente gentiles faltos de noticias del verdadero Dios y Religion y dado á algunas supersticiones al modo de las que los naturales de estas Yslas Philipinas tenian y obserbaban antes de ser reducidos y se persuade á esto porque todo el tiempo que fue por un año que tubo en su compañía el muchacho dicho no le conocio el menor indicio ó señal de maldad ó inclinacion, antes bien reparó en el una buena aficion y aplicacion á las cosas de nuestra Religion y Fee...

Translation.

...

To the first question, he Declared that what he knows and can testify about is that, finding himself during February 1697 visiting, as the then-Provincial of the Society of Jesus in these Islands, the town of Guiguan in the Jurisdiction of Leyte in the Provinces of the Pintados or Visayas, he found in said town of Guiguan 29 Indian natives from some Islands that in the opinion of this declarant are those meant by this question. These 29 Indians said that they were natives of one of them named Pais and he thinks, and one can infer, that they had arrived at said town of Guiguan as a result of having been carried off by the storms that occurred as they were passing from one island to another within said Islands and they made a landfall on the coast opposite said town of Guiguan on 28 December 1696. All of the 29 Indians came aboard two small vessels which this declarant saw in said town of Guiguan; with the notion that he has gathered from them, and according to the explanations and information that he has of the canoes used by the Indian natives of the Mariana Islands, said two canoes used by the 29 Indians in question are very similar in their width, sail and handling to those used in the Marianas, and he also knows that, using as interpreters the above-said two women who had previously drifted in to said town of Guiguan, apparently lost, and since then had been residing in it and were married to Visayan Indians born in said town of Guiguan, he learned and acquired information that not only said two women but also these 29 persons came from some islands and towns with a common language; therefore, under such circumstances the 29 Indians gave detailed information to said two women from said Islands and these two women were present when they also told Father Francisco Prado of the Society of Jesus, then-Minister of said town of Guiguan and to the other natives living there, from whom this declarant subsequently acquired it.

And in addition this declarant adds and declares having known another Indian named **Sava** who many years before drifted in from said Islands, apparently lost, and carried off to these Islands by storms, and although he does not remember exactly what year he arrived, he says that in his opinion it would be in 1680—that is, according to information he found out, the time when said Indian named Sava arrived at these Philippine Islands—where this declarant met him and had dealings with him, because this Indian lived at the College of San Ignacio of the Society of Jesus of this City as a servant and member of the household. As for the rest, this declarant knows and has information about many other occasions when various drifters have made landfalls at these Islands, not only at the towns of the Province of Leyte where his Order of the Society has under its care the spiritual administration and religious education of its natives but also at the Province of Caraga where the discalced Religious of the Order of St. Augustine are the ministers. According to his judgment, one can infer from the information that they have all come as a result of drifting, and they would come from the same Islands, and so he says.

...

To the fourth question, he Declared that he has no sure information about the superstitions they follow, but that he is convinced that they are not Mahommedans or from another pertinacious religion, but only heathen lacking knowledge of the true God and Religion and given to a few superstitions in the style of those believed and observed by the natives of these Philippine Islands before they were reduced and he is persuaded of it because the whole time that he had the above-said boy in his company, that is, one year, he never noticed in him the least clue or sign of evil or inclination; rather, he noticed very well in him a good liking and application for the things of our Religion and Faith.

...

C11. Eleventh witness, Fray José de San Nicolas, 48 years old (in 1701)

Note: He had been Provincial of the Augustinian Recollects, and previously been Prior of the Convent of Tandag and Vicar Provincial of the Province of Caraga.

Original text in Spanish.

...

A la primera pregunta: Dijo que en veinte y tres años ha que asiste en aquellas Provincias en varias ocasiones han llegado varias embarcaciones desgarradas que segun la relación que han dado despues de aver tenido algun conocimiento del idioma de la tierra, vienen de unas Yslas que miradas de la parte de Caraga estan á la banda del este y como la costa de Caraga es muy prolongada han llegado dichas embarcaciones desgarradas á diversos parajes segun correspondencia de las Yslas que pertenecen á los parajes; y el año pasado de mill setecientos aporto una embarcacion desgarrada con ocho Yndios desnudos cuyo idioma no entendian los otros de las mismas [sic] Yslas que antecedentemente aportado á dichas Yslas de Caraga, y responde.

A la segunda pregunta: Dixo que el dicho Convento de Tanda[g] tiene tres Palaos que es el titulo que se les da á los naturales de dichas Yslas vien adiestrado[s] ya en el idioma de dichas Yslas de Caraga, de quienes informado tuvo las noticias siguientes: Que son muchas las Yslas explicandolo á su modo dan á entender tiran de norte á sur, y que ellas ay mucha gente, y responde...

Translation.

...

To the first question, he Declared that in the 23 years that he has spent working in those Provinces on various occasions various canoes have arrived with drifters, that according to the account they have given after they had become sufficiently fluent in the local language, they [said that they] came from some Islands that, in relation to Caraga, are located eastward. As the coast of Caraga is a very long one, said canoes of drifters have arrived at various places, in accordance with the corresponding latitudes of the

Islands of origin; and last year of 1700, one canoe with 8 naked Indians aboard drifted in, but their language was not understood by those from the same [sic] Islands who had drifted in to said Islands of Caraga previously, and so he says.

To the second question, he Declared that said Convent of Tandag has three Palaos, and that is the name given to the natives of said Islands; they are by now well versed in the language of said Islands of Caraga, and he was able to get the following information out of them: That the Islands are numerous, and from the explanation they gave, it could be understood that they are laid out from north to south, and that there are many people living there, and so he says...

C12. Twelfth witness, Captain Juan del Pozo y Bobadilla [rather Gatica], 49 years old (in 1701)

Note: On 23 April 1701, this royal accountant was interrogated, but he knew nothing much, except that, when he arrived as new Mayor of Caraga in 1682, he learned that one of the drifters had drifted there for the second time.

Original text in Spanish.

...
*A la septima pregunta: Dijo que lo que lleva declarado es su parecer publica voz y fama en estas Yslas y á lo demas que contiene la pregunta se remite á lo que lleva dicho á las primeras y añade que algunos de los Yndios que vio eran corpulentos y de buena estatura por cuya causa embio dos de ellos á esta Ciudad para que los viesen y que **los nombres de algunos de ellos Cain y Tamar** que por cosa particular lo noto este declarante y lo á guardado en la memoria...*

Translation.

...
 To the seventh question, he Declared that what the contents of his declaration is in his opinion public knowledge in these Islands and to answer the rest of this question, he refers to the answers he gave to the previous questions and he adds that some of the Indians he saw were corpulent and of a good height, and for this reason he sent two of them to this City so that they would be seen, and that **the names of some of them were Cain and Tamar** which for some private reason this declarant noted and remembers still...¹

¹ Ed. note: The latter name was probably Tamol instead.

 Document 1711D

Letter from Governor Ursúa to the King, dated Manila 30 June 1711

Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 177-180v; published in Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 3(1946): 1072-1074.

Original text in Spanish

El Governador de Philipinas, [Carta] N° 8.

Da cuenta à V.M. del suzeso que han tenido las dos embarcaciones que se despacharon al descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos, con testimonio n° 5.

Señor

*En carta de 18 de Junio del Año proximo passado de 1710 di cuenta à V.M. de quedar aprestados dos vajeles de mediano porte para despacharlos al descubrimiento de las Yslas de Palaos en cumplimiento de lo que V.M. tiene mandado por su real Zedula de 19 de Octubre de 1705; Y aora lo hago de que habiendo salido del Puerto de Cavite los dos referidos Vajeles[,] el uno nombrado el Patache la **Santisima Trinidad** y el otro la Balandra **San Miguel**, el dia 30 de Septiembre del año proximo passado[,] abiados de todo lo nesasario asi de gente como de bastimentos, armas y demas peltrechos de Guerra y con los mejores Pilotos, que se hallaron en estas Yslas[,] todo ello à la voluntad y satisfaccion del Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus[,] el qual se embarco en uno de dichos Vajeles, y prosiguiendo su viaje llegando à vista del Puerto de Palapa[g] Jurisdiccion de la Provincia de Leyte, una de estas Yslas la Balandra San Miguel dio en unos bajos y se perdio en ellos el dia 20 de Octubre de dicho año pasado pero la gente se escapo toda sin peligrar ninguna persona por estar cerca de tierra[,] por cuyo accidente el dicho Padre Serrano no prosiguió el viaje quedandose en aquella Provincia hasta que despues se volvio à retirar à esta ciudad pero dispuso que el Patache prosiguiese como prosiguió su viaje al descubrimiento referido saliendo de Palapa[g] el dia 12 de Noviembre en que fueron embarcados, dos Religiosos Sacerdotes y un Hermano Lego de la Compañia de Jesus y llevando la derota à la parte del Su[d]jeste del Cavo del Espiritu Santo à las 181 leguas de Navegacion con poca diferencia descubrieron el dia 30 del mismo mes de Noviembre dos Ysletas ó Yslas Pequeñas en altura de 5 grados y 24 minutos del Norte con pocos havitadores que son Yndios desnudos como los demas de este Archipiélago[,] de los quales salieron algunos en sus embarca-*

ciones pequeñas à recibir el Patache y llegando à bordo de el dieron muestras de alegría y cortejo con lo qual se determinaron à saltar en tierra los dos religiosos Sacerdotes llevando consigo otras 12 ó 14 personas mas y el Piloto mayor con las armas nesasarias para su seguridad y luego que se desatracaron para ir à tierra en la lancha del Patache[,] à este lo sotabentaron las corrientes y vientos contrarios y le pusieron en altura de 7 grados y 20 minutos donde encontraron con otras Yslas al parecer mucho mayor que las dos primeras y distantes de ellas como cosa de 46 leguas desde donde ayudados del viento que les dio favorable bolvieron à la primera Ysla donde quedaron los dos religiosos y demas gente[,] pero aunque estubieron à vista de ella no se les hizo ninguna seña de fuegos de noche ni ahumadas de dia por cuya causa y por no tener lancha que hechar en tierra y ser las corrientes y vientos contrarios sin haver puerto donde asegurarse determinaron el Cavo y demas gente del Patache volverse à estas Yslas como lo executaron arrivando à principios de Henero de este año à la Provincia de Caraga una de estas Yslas que es contigua y tierra firme con el Reino de Mindanao y desde alli prosiguieron su retirada al Puerto de Cavite donde llegaron con dicho Patache el dia 17 de este presente mes de Junio [1711].

[Four expeditions to the Carolines so far]

Señor

Quatro son con este ultimo los aprestos y despachos que se han hecho en busca de las referidas Yslas de Palaos y parece no ha querido Nuestro Señor que asta aora {no} se haya podido conseguir tan santo fin[,] el primero fue el año 1698 Governando estas Yslas Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora en que sin hazer gasto alguno de la Real Hazien-da se apresto una fragata à costa de la Religion de la Compañia y del mismo Governador que ayudo à ella con algunos reales de su caudal y habiendo salido de esta ciudad y llegado à la Provincia de Leyte donde se havia de embarcar un Religioso Sacerdote de la misma Compañia para yr al descubrimientof[,] dicha fragata se perdio en la misma Provincia con un temporal grande que le sobrevino ahogadose mas de 20 Yndios que estavan con ella con que no se logro fruto alguno.

El segundo fue el año de 1707 [rather 1708] governando estas Yslas Don Domingo de Zabalburu mi antecesor en que se despacho una Galeota à costa de la Real Hazien-da de V.M. y fueron embarcados en ella Religiosos Sacerdotes de la Compañia de Jesus y aunque el piloto que llevo dicha Galeota aplico todos los medios que el Arte Nautica enseña con asistencia y parecer de dichos Religiosos, sin embargo no se pudo conseguir el fin que se desea[,] pues al cavo de quatro meses de navegacion volvieron al puerto de Cavite sin haver logrado fruto alguno.

El tercero fue el año 1709 governando todavia Don Domingo Zabalburu en que se aplicaron mayores esfuerzos y mejores disposiciones à costa de la Real Hacienda de V.M. aprestando un Patache con otra embarcacion mas pequeña para llevar en su conserva y por Cavo de ellas se eligio al General Don Miguel de Elorriaga persona de grande actividad y esperiencia, con quien se embarcaron algunos Religiosos Sacerdotes de la Compañia y habiendo salido al viaje executo en el quantas diligencias caven en lo posi-

ble y en el Arte por conseguir el fin de dicho descubrimiento y tampoco se pudo lograr fruto alguno[,] con que le fue preciso bolverse à retirar à estas Yslas.

El quarto y ultimo viaje fue el que dejo referido haverse hecho en mi tiempo el año proximo pasado de 1710 de quenta de la Real Hacienda de V.M. en la forma y con el suceso que queda expresado[,] de todo lo qual se infiere que la situacion y grados en que se supuso estaban dichas Yslas de Palaos no deve ser cierta[,] pues al serlo parece era preciso haverse encontrado con ellas respecto de que los tres viajes que se han hecho en su busca[,] en el ultimo que fue el año pasado se hizo la derota à la parte del su[d]este dejando à la parte del ueste la derota del primer viaje y à la parte del leste la del segundo[,] haciendo en cada viaje nuevo y distinto camino.

Para que se prosiga el descubrimiento de las mencionadas Yslas de Palaos y especialmente para socorrer à los dos Religiosos y demas gente que quedaron en la Ysla pequeña mencionada[,] tiene pedido y solicita con Instancia el dicho Padre Andres Serrano que se haga nuevo apresto de embarcaciones sobre que tengo dado Vista al Fiscal de esta Audiencia para ejecutar lo que pareciere mas conveniente y conforme à lo que V.M. tiene mandado y para no omitir diligencia alguna que conduzca al fin de conseguir dicho{s} descubrimiento{s}[,] tengo dado orden al Cavo del patache que esta ocasion se despacha à las Yslas Marianas para que de vuelta de ellas haga los esfuerzos posibles porque se logre lo que tanto se desea[,] de todo lo qual en cumplimiento de mi obligacion doi quenta à V.M. para que haya noticia de ello en ese Real y Supremo Consejo.

*Nuestro Señor Guarde la C.Y.R.P. de V.M. como la Christiandad ha menester.
Manila y Junio 30 de 1711.*

El Conde de Lizarraga

[Note in margin:] *Consejo 1 de Junio 1713: Al Señor Fiscal.*

Translation

The Governor of the Philippines, [Letter] N° 8.

He reports to Y.M. about the outcome of the two vessels that were despatched to the discovery of the Islands of Palaos, with record of proceedings n° 5.

Sire:

In a letter dated 18 June 1710, I reported to Y.M. that two vessels of average capacity had been made ready to go to the discovery of the Palaos Islands, in compliance with what Y.M. has ordered by your royal decree dated 19 October 1705. And now I report that the two above-mentioned vessels, one named the patache **Santísima Trinidad** and the other the sloop **San Miguel**, fully equipped with everything necessary by way of men, food supplies, weapons and other military supplies, did leave on 30 September of last year, and with the best pilots who could be found in these Islands, and all of this according to the will and satisfaction of Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus. He himself boarded one of said vessels, and pursuing his voyage, upon arriving in sight of the Port of Palapag, in the jurisdiction of the Province of Leyte, one of these Islands, the sloop **San Miguel** ran aground on some shoals and was lost on 20

October of last year, but all the men escaped and no-one perished, because the land was near. On account of this accident, said Father Serrano did not pursue his voyage; he remained in that Province until he later returned to this City, but he arranged for the patache to go on, in pursuit of its voyage of discovery, leaving Palapag on 12 November. Aboard said vessel were two Religious priests and one Lay Brother of the Society of Jesus. By heading SE from Cape Espiritu Santo, after sailing for about 181 leagues, they discovered on the 30th of the same month of November two islets or small islands in a latitude of 5 degrees and 24 minutes north, with few inhabitants who are naked Indians like the others of this archipelago, a few of whom came off in their small craft to welcome the patache. Upon coming alongside, they gave signs of joy and courtesy. That is why the two religious priests decided to step ashore, taking along from 12 to 14 other persons and the chief pilot with the necessary weapons for their security. Then, as soon as they had separated from the patache to go ashore with the launch, the patache was pushed to leeward by contrary currents and winds, as far as the latitude of 7 degrees and 20 minutes where they ran into other Islands apparently much larger than the first two and distant from them about 46 leagues. Here they found a favorable wind to return to the first Island where the two religious and other men had remained, but, although they maintained themselves in sight of it, no sign of fires were seen at night and no smoke by day either; for this reason, and because there was no launch to go ashore, and the currents and winds were contrary, with no port in which to find shelter, the Commander and the other people of the patache decided to return to these Islands, which they did, arriving at the beginning of January of this year at the Province of Caraga, one of these Islands that is contiguous and the same mainland as the Kingdom of Mindanao. From there they pursued their return voyage to the Port of Cavite where they arrived with said patache on the 17th of the present month of June [1711].

[Four expeditions to the Carolines so far]

Sire:

Counting this last attempt, there have been four such outfittings and despatches for voyages of discovery of the above-mentioned Islands of Palaos, and it seems that Our Lord has not wished to see such a holy project be achieved so far. The first attempt took place in the year **1698**, when Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora was governing these Islands, when, at no cost to the Royal treasury, one frigate was made ready at the expense of the Order of the Society of Jesus and of the Governor himself, who contributed a few reals from his own pockets. Said frigate had departed this city and arrived at the Province of Leyte, where it was supposed to pick up one religious priest of the same Society to go to this discovery when it became lost at the same Province during a great storm that arose; more than 20 Indians who were aboard it were drowned, and nothing was achieved by it.

The second voyage took place in **1707** [rather 1708], when Don Domingo de Zabalburu, my predecessor, was governing these Islands. At that time a galliot was despatched at the expense of the Royal treasury of Y.M., with religious priests of the

Society of Jesus on board, but, although the pilot of said galliot made all the efforts that his profession teaches, with the assistance and opinion of said Religious, nevertheless, the desired end could not be achieved. Indeed, at the end of four months of navigation they returned to the port of Cavite, without achieving anything.

The third attempt took place in 1709 when Don Domingo de Zabalburu was still governing. Major efforts and better preparations at the expense of the Royal treasury of Y.M. were made to outfit a patache with another smaller vessel to go in its company. The overall commander was General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, a person of great activity and experience. Along with him were some religious priests of the Society. Having gone on their voyage, he carried out as many efforts as possible, using all the tricks of the trade to achieve the purpose of said discovery, but here also nothing was accomplished, and they were therefore obliged to return to these Islands.

The fourth and last voyage was the one I mentioned above as having taken place last year of 1710 at the expense of the Royal treasury of Y.M. in the manner and with the outcome already mentioned. The lesson that can be drawn from all this is that the supposed geographic position of said Islands of Palaos was not correct; indeed, if it had been, they would necessarily have run into them, since the routes taken in the three voyages of exploration had been chosen to be new, and distinct: on last year's voyage the direction was southeast, and west of it was the route taken on the first [rather second] voyage and east of it was the route taken on the second [rather third] voyage.

In order to proceed with the exploration of the above-mentioned Islands of Palaos, and specially to rescue the two Religious and other men who have remained at the small island in question, said Father Andrés Serrano has already requested with insistence that a new despatch of vessels be prepared, and I have forwarded the papers to the Fiscal of this Audiencia for consultation, to see what can best be done to conform with what Y.M. has ordered, and so as not to omit any effort that might lead to the accomplishment of the purpose of said exploration, I have given orders to the Commander of the patache that on this occasion is being despatched to the Mariana Islands to make all possible efforts on its return voyage, to achieve the desired end. Said news I have reported to Y.M. to comply with my duty, and in order for that Royal and Supreme Council of Y.M. be informed about it.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal Person of Y.M. as Christendom needs.
Manila, 30 June 1711.

The Count of Lizarraga.

[Note in margin:] The Council, 1 June 1713. To the Fiscal.¹

1 Ed. note: In a note dated Madrid 13 April 1714, the Fiscal did nothing more than summarize the above letter. See further Doc. 1714D2.

Documents 1711E

Fr. Serrano proposes a relief expedition to Sonsorol

Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4 and Fil. 8.

E1. Summary of Fr. Serrano's large brief on the necessity of exploring the Austral or Palao Islands

Title: Report addressed to the Most Illustrious Count of Lizarraga, Governor and Captain-General of these Islands and President of his Royal Audiencia regarding the naval expedition to the Austral or Palao Islands this year, 1711.

Part 1: As Vice-Provincial for the new Mission of the Austral or Palao Islands, he defines the imaginary borders of this area as follows: a straight line running from Cape Espiritu Santo in Samar to the meridian of the Island of Guam, then a line running south to the Tropic of Capricorn (south of the Equator), then a line running straight to Cape San Agustin in Mindanao, back up to the starting point. The area belongs to Spain, as granted by the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, and he reproduces part of this text, as it appears in Spanish translation in the book "Politica Indiana" by Solorzano.

Part 2: The Catholic Kings of Spain are therefore responsible for sending religious ministers to the lands and islands within their jurisdiction. He gives the example of Pope Adrian II who gave Henry II of England the Kingdom of Ireland, provided it were evangelized. He gives other examples involving Africa and Asia, quoting again from Solorzano and the papal bull.

Part 3: The Catholic Kings recognized the obligation of the propagation of the faith in the conquest of the Indies. Again he quotes from Solorzano, from the first line of the first law of the Code of Laws for the Indies, and the case of Ternate in Royal decree of 10 July 1648. Then he specifically refers to the recent Royal decree of 28 August 1705 in which Philip V orders the exploration of the Austral Islands, and the royal despatches dated 19 October 1705 to that effect.

Part 4: The islands discovered last year [1710] are part of this new enterprise, as there is no doubt about the positions of Sonsorrol and Palau. They are also part of the group of islands described by so many natives who have drifted in their canoes from the area. Moac and the other native Christians who acted as interpreters have also proven that fact at the arrival at Sonsorrol. The discovery of Palau that followed proves the diver-

sity in languages and customs within the area. Hence the small differences in the names of the islands reported by native informants. Some islands were previously discovered accidentally by European navigators and that is why they appear on some charts and are mentioned by some historians, such as Botero, and Herrera, specially in the case of the islands off the northern coast of New Guinea.

Part 5: On the importance of this exploration of the Palao Islands.—As declared by the King himself in his despatches, for reasons stated therein. He also refers to other discoveries made by Fr. Urdaneta and Captain Quiros, and also those of Captain Baez Torres (ref. Fray Juan de Torquemada's "Monarchia Indiana").

Part 6: The laws of the realm, i.e. "Recopilacion", or Code of Laws of the Indies, force the King to do certain things. For instance, Law 3 of Book 4, Title 4 forces him to send missionaries at his own expense. Law 38, Book 1, Title 14, called the Law concerning the Religious, forces ecclesiastical and secular authorities to foster missionization of newly-discovered territories. Law 2, Book 4, Title 2 makes it compulsory to use small boats to explore the bays and coasts during voyages of exploration. Law 4 of the same book and title states that two ships should go in company, for mutual protection and assistance. Law 5 says that the ships should go with ample supplies and spare equipment. Law 9 even mentions a supply of goods to barter with the natives for local food supplies.

Part 7: Other Provinces.—History has shown that the successful voyages of exploration did involve more than one ship. The Philippines were conquered by fleets, those of Magellan, Loayza, Saavedra, Villalobos and Legazpi. Other examples are Mendaña, and Quiros. The distress of the people left behind last year in Sonsorrol begs for a relief expedition. Law 6, Book 4, Title 4 states the government's obligation to provide such relief **within one year** when a priest or religious was left behind voluntarily in a foreign or strange land, or before, whenever possible. He quotes a letter from the King of Spain to the Prince of Esquilache,¹ dated 17 March 1619, in which it is stated that a sufficient military escort is always necessary, because the Spanish name will suffer if barbarian nations are allowed victories over Spanish arms. Lack of money in royal coffers is not a good excuse, specially when the Philippines have enough volunteers for the spiritual and temporal conquest in question; besides, some rewards are available, from God and the King. The Governor should not forget how effective is a direct order from a king to his vassals. Some residents of Manila are standing by for his orders in the name of the King. Besides, the King knows about the numerous galliots, frigates, and champans already available in the Provinces, and almost every mayor of provinces would be willing to build small boats, at moderate costs. Finally, the soldiers involved in this venture should be men of valor and desirous of fame, but willing to follow orders. Their leader could be appointed Lieutenant Governor of said area. Also, very experienced seamen are necessary, specially the pilots.

1 Ed. note: Francisco de Borja y Acevedo (1582-1658) was a classic Spanish writer. He was a grandson of St. Francis Borgia. He served as Viceroy of Peru from 1615 to 1621.

E2. Decree dated Manila 20 June 1711

Given the arrival on the 17th of this month at the port of Cavite of the Patache that went to the discovery of the Palaos, and given that its Captain and Pilot are present in this City, they are to be notified by the present Notary that they are to exhibit the Logbook of the voyage which they have kept and the chart showing the positions of the Islands that were discovered, and that, once they have been added to this case file, a Meeting of Pilots be called, as recommended by the Fiscal, at which said officers of said Patache are also to be present.

[Signed by the Count of Lizarraga]
Allanegui.¹

E3. Meeting of Pilots held on 1 July 1711

Summary.

The pilots who attended were: Captain Francisco Romero; and Eduardo Duarte de Barros, second mate of the pilot of the flagship galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**; José Somera, chief pilot of the Patache **Santísima Trinidad**.

The pilots who had been invited but could not attend were: Lieutenant José Martínez, chief pilot of the Patache **San Domingo [de Guzman]**, which was being made ready in Cavite; his mate, Bernardo de Eguí, and their second mate, Antonio Díaz Montaña.

The Governor opened the meeting and ordered that the royal decree of 19 October 1705 be read, as well as the letter from Br. Baudin, and the logbook by José Somera in their entirety. The chart was also examined. The recommendation of the pilots, which was accepted by the Governor, was that the Mariana patache should go to the recently-discovered islands on the return trip from Guam.

E4. Memorial of 26 July 1711

Source: Perhaps AGI Fil. 215 also; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 181-182v.

Note: The date of this memorial is quoted later, in the decree of 16 September (Doc. 1711G2).

Original text in Spanish.

Peticion del Superior de las Misiones de las islas Palaos sobre que se cumpla lo ordenado por S.M. que afecta à aquellas y autos sobre el descubrimiento de las mismas y viajes hechos por varios pilotos.—

Señor

El Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus Superior y Vice Provincial de las Misiones de las Islas Australes por otro nombre Pais, ó Palaos ante V. Señoria se presenta en la mejor via y forma que de derecho le combenga.—

1 Ed. note: The logbook of this voyage is reproduced as Doc. 1710H2.

*Y Dize, que la prinzipal providencia que el Rey nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) manda executar por su Real Zedula de dies y nueve de Octubre de mill setecientos y cinco, en orden al descubrimiento y pacificacion de las dichas Islas Australes de Palaos no se à executado este presente año; aunque la tiene pedida eficazmente en su anterior escrito: pues su Magestad manda que sin la menor omission disponga à V. Señoria que todos los años se prebenga embarcacion competente con todo lo necesario para que los Misioneros de la Compañia de Jesus vayan à dichas Islas y se mantengan en ellas, la qual embarcacion no se ha prevenido este año de la forma que el suplicante lo tiene pedido, dandose solamente para que el Patache (que lleva el situado de las islas Marianas) de buelta de Viage socorra à los Padres Misioneros y otros pocos Españoles, que el año passado quedaron en unas de dichas Islas por nombre **Sonsonrrol** ó de San Andres:*

Con cuio orden y providencia sola no se evacua lo mandado por su Magestad en la dicha Real Zedula: pues esta dispone como cossa mas principal, que la embarcacion que se deve dar à los dichos Misioneros vaya en derecha à las dichas Islas sin omission alguna; y para coadyubar el piadoso intento de su Magestad manda tambien, que el Patache de Marianas haga la misma diligencia de buelta del Viage à fin de que se exploren mas en breve todas las Islas de aquel Archipelago Austral por ser su Real animo y voluntad atender con todos los medios conduzentes à la consecucion de una empresa tan del agrado de Dios (que son palabras formales de la Zedula).

Y porque el Viage del dicho Patache es mui contingente y segun la practica del Viage passado y dictamen del Piloto mayor de el, no podrá arribar à los cinco grados de latitud, (en que estan las Islas de Sonsonrrol) sin exponerse à no poder coger despues el Cavo del Espiritu Santo à causa de los vientos nordestes, que soplan por el tiempo de su buelta à estas Islas: lo qual contingencia ha de obligar al Piloto de dicho Patache à no disminuir tanta altura si no subir desde los siete grados, en que esta la Isla grande de Panloc con que se frustra el prinzipal intento de V. Señoria de socorrer à los dichos Misioneros y Españoles. Y porque el Viage en derecha pretendido por el suplicante en el memorial antecedente no ha contradecido el Señor Fiscal, sino pedido solamente se suspendiesen hasta la venida del Patache de Palaos para que sabidos por su medio los rumbos, que se havian de seguir y la situasion de las dichas Islas se hisiese, con mas acuerdo, y certeza el Viage: la qual fue cautela prudente para el mayor acierto y seguridad del dicho Viage: y habiendo cumplido y purificado la condision pedida por dicho Señor Fiscal (pues el dicho Patache tomo puerto en Cavite à dies y seis de Junio) cesa la dicha suspension y se sigue deverse proceder el Viage sin omission alguna como lo manda su Magestad dandose por deserbido de lo contrario.

Y porque en este particular estava tan declarada la voluntad determinada de su Magestad de que se haga todos los años sin omission alguna el dicho viage por las dos partes contenidas en su Real Zedula, como se ha visto por una parte en diferentes juntas de la Real Hazienda (en que los Señores de ella encendidos del mismo Celo sancto de su Rey han favorecido esta empresa) y por otra parte tiene provado el suplicante con las gravissimas razones, textos y leyes que tiene alegados y citadas en su informe de nueve

*foxas en folio à V. Señoria las quales todas reproducen especialmente las que miran a la gravissima obligacion de justicia que tiene y reconose su Magestad de embiar predicadores evangelicos à las dichas Islas (que son de la Real demarcacion de su corona) y que para los descubrimientos vayan siempre à lo menos dos Vageles; y que los que se hisieren por via de Religiosos sean à costa de su Real hacienda[.] Y porque à mas del socorro por diferentes vias de dichos Misioneros y españoles (tan digno de la ynsigne charidad de su Magestad y de sus Ministros) el dicho viage es exequible, y facil y se vaya à cossa hecha por saberse ya donde demoran algunas de dichas Islas descubiertas el viage passado y por diligencia especial del general Don Miguel de Elorriaga coadyudado del Exselentissimo Señor Duque de Linares Virrey de Nueva España[.] Y porque es necesario que esta embarcacion busque puertos en la dicha Isla grande de **Panloc** ya descubierta y en las circumbesinas, con lo qual se adelanta este descubrimiento y se facilita para que el año siguiente se pueda yr mas de proposito à ellas à tomar posesion en nombre de su Magestad é introducir la verdadera fee de Jesucristo y su culto en aquellas naciones tan ciegas é ignorantes de la luz del Evangelio para cuia execucion y porque el suplicante desea cooperar en quanto pueda al alivio de las reales cajas y hacer pequeño servicio à su Magestad **ofrece desde luego comprar embarcacion, y el Viscocho necesario para este Viage**, aunque sea quitando su costo de los alimentos y vestuarios de los Misioneros; y de los altares en la Iglesia para los quales esta consignada la limosna de esta Mission; corriendo los demas gastos por su Magestad que no pueden ser sino moderados: **porque la embarcacion tiene poco que componer la gente de su dotacion** son treinta hombres, el viage, y socorro ha de ser solo para tres ó quatro meses. Por todo lo qual:*

A V. Señoria pide y suplica se sirva de mandar que se apreste prontamente la dicha embarcacion por estar ya entrado el tiempo de los vendabales (con los quales vientos se ha de hacer el viage) y todo lo demas necesario de armas; bastimentos de arroz[.] alguna carne etc. para mediado de Agosto, y que à su tiempo se socorra à los dichos treinta hombres por tres ó quatro meses, como à V. Señoria pareciere que en ello rezivira justicia y gracia de la grandeza de V. Señoria etc.

Jhs

Andres Serrano.

Translation.

Petition of the Superior of the Missions of the Palaos Islands for the execution of the orders given by His Majesty affecting them, and regarding the records of proceedings about their exploration, and the voyages made by various pilots.—

Sir:

Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Superior and Vice-Provincial of the Missions of the Austral Islands otherwise known as Pais, or Palaos, appears before Your Lordship in the best way and manner available to him by law.—

And Declares that the main provision made by the King our Lord (whom may God save), one whose execution he ordered in his Royal decree dated 19 October 1705, concerning the discovery and pacification of said Austral Islands or Palaos, has not been carried out this present year, although he has effectively requested it in his previous writ; indeed, His Majesty orders that without fail Your Lordship is to arrange every year the outfitting of an appropriate vessel with everything necessary for the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus to go to said Islands and maintain themselves there. The vessel in question has not been despatched this year in the manner that the suppliant had requested; indeed, only the patache (that takes the subsidy to the Mariana Islands) was ordered to rescue on its return voyage the Missionary Fathers and the few other Spanish who have remained last year on some of said Islands, whose name is **Sonsonrrol** or San Andrés.¹

What His Majesty has ordered in said Royal decree is not fully complied with, by the above order and provision only. Indeed, said decree stipulates, as its main provision, that the vessel that must be given to said Missionaries is to go straight to said Islands, without fail; and, to assist the pious plan of His Majesty, he also ordered that the Mariana patache do the same effort on its return voyage, so that all the Islands of that austral archipelago be explored as soon as possible, given that it is his Royal intention and will to make use of all the means leading to the accomplishment of an enterprise that is so agreeable to God (the formal words used in the decree).

And because the voyage of said patache is very urgent and, according to the practice of the last voyage and decision of its chief pilot, it might not be able to reach the latitude of 5 degrees (on which is situated the Islands of Sonsonrrol) without exposing itself to the risk of not being able to make Cape Espiritu Santo afterwards, due to the northeasterly winds that blow at the time of its return to these Islands. Such a contingency forces the pilot of said patache not to go down in latitude too much, but to get back up from 7 degrees, in which is located the big Island of **Panloc**, hence frustrating the main intent of Your Lordship of rescuing said Missionaries and Spanish companions. And because the direct voyage that the suppliant had requested in his previous memorial has not been contradicted by the Fiscal, who has only asked that it be suspended until the patache sent to Palaos had returned, in order to learn from it the courses that had to be followed and the position of said Islands, so that said voyage be undertaken with more certainty and safety; and the condition attached by said Fiscal having been complied with and set asides (indeed, said patache has returned to Cavite on 16 June), said suspension ceases and the voyage in question must proceed without fail, as His Majesty has ordered, otherwise he would consider himself badly served.

And because on this point the will of His Majesty is so manifest, to the effect that every year without fail said voyage be made, in the two parts contained in his Royal decree, on the one hand, as per the consultations held in various meetings of the Royal Treasury (in which the gentlemen members, fired with the same holy zeal as their King

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1712B.

have favored this enterprise), and on the other hand, the suppliant has already proven with very serious reasons, and references he made to specific texts and laws, cited in his 9-folio report to Your Lordship¹ and fully quoted, specially those that concern the very serious and just obligation that His Majesty recognizes as his own, of sending Gospel preachers to said Islands (which are within the Royal demarcation of his crown) and that at least two vessels always go together on voyages of exploration; and that those voyages made with missionaries be at the expense of his Royal treasury. And because, in addition to rescuing said Missionaries and Spanish companions (so worthy of the well-known charity of His Majesty and of his Ministers) said voyage is attainable, and easy to repeat because the course is already known and the position of some of the Islands has been determined in the last voyage, and through a special effort made by General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, assisted by the Most Excellent Duke of Linares, Viceroy of New Spain.² And because it is necessary that this vessel look for ports in the big Island of Panloc, already discovered, and at the neighboring islands, for the purpose of advancing this exploration work and to facilitate the planning for the following year when said islands would be taken possession of in the name of His Majesty and to introduce the true faith of Jesus Christ and his cult to those nations so blind and ignorant of the light of the Gospel. For said execution and because the suppliant wishes to cooperate as much as he can to the relief of the royal coffers and to make a small service to His Majesty **he then offers to buy a vessel, and the biscuit required for this voyage**, though it be at the cost of reducing the sum allocated to the food supplies and clothing of the Missionaries and to the altars in the Church, to which are assigned the alms of this Mission. The rest of the expenses would run on the account of His Majesty; they cannot but be moderate, **because the vessel can be manned with few men**, as 30 would suffice. The voyage would last only three or four months, and the succor for it accordingly. For all the above reasons:

He begs and beseeches Your Lordship to please order that said vessel be made ready quickly, since the season of the monsoon winds is approaching (the one whose winds are favorable to the voyage) and all the other necessities, e.g. weaponry, food supplies such as rice, some meat, etc. for the middle of August, and that said 30 men be succored adequately for a period of three or four months, as Your Lordship may see fit. Such favor would be gratefully accepted from the greatness of Your Lordship, etc.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano.

1 Ed. note: See E1 above.

2 Ed. note: See Binasa's voyage, Doc. 1711F.

E5. Memorial presented on 16 August 1711

Source: Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 186-189v.

Note: The date of this memorial is mentioned later, in the General Meeting that followed it.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

El Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus Superior y Vice Provincial de la Mision de las Yslas Australes que llaman de Pays o Palaos ante V. Señoria parece y dice que con vista de las Reales Zedulas de su Magestad hallara Vuestra Señoria y los señores de la Junta que sin embargo de la representación del Señor Fiscal se puede y deve hazer despacho con embarcacion prompta y quanto antes para buscar los Padres Misioneros[,] Pilotos y Soldados y Vasallos de su Magestad que quedaron en dichas Yslas a que obliga asi la Ley de la Caridad como la obligacion de justicia de su Magestad (que Dios guarde) en defender amparar y rescatar a sus Vasallos especialmente aviendo sido la ocasion de su peligro la misma voluntad Real y el descubrir la nueva Mision que su Magestad desea, y manda: ni embarasa para este fin el que se ayan hecho los anteriores gastos que presento el Señor Fiscal por haver sido ellos muy cortos y moderados: pues para el descubrimiento de las dichas Yslas no se a fabricado armada alguna de tres o quatro Vageles de linea ni aun fragatas de quarenta cañones ni se han alistado o socorrido soldados en numero o cantidad exsesiva, y solo se a reducido el gasto a la expedicion anual y apresto de una sola fragata muy pequeña, que en estos tres años antecedentes à costeadado la Real Hazienda sin mas gente que la sufre la pequenez de la dicha embarcacion.

Porque es cierto que el año de mill setecientos y ocho (en que se principiò este descubrimiento) la embarcacion que se despachò para él fue una Galeota vieja y pequeña, y tan maltratada, que haviendo de salir al golfo por el estrecho de San Juanillo, fue nesesario aderesarla y componerla en Catbalogan, y no bastò este aderezo para poder efectuar el viage: pues aviendo andado cinquenta ó sesenta leguas del golfo, fue necesario desistir del intento, y retirarse à la Isla de Mindanao para que no pereziese la gente por lo arriesgado, é incompetente del vagel.

El año siguiente de mill setecientos nueve se bolvio haser el viage en un Patachuelo de una sola cubierta à cargo del General Don Miguel de Elorriaga: el qual navichuelo no era de su Magestad sino del Señor Don Domingo de Zabalburu, que lo diò à esta Mision de Palaos; y los gastos que [en] esta expedicion se hisieron los costeó por la mayor parte el dicho General gastando en ellas mas de quatro mill pesos de su propio caudal.

El tercer viage se efectuo el año proximo passado de mill setecientos y diez con el mismo Patachuelo, dando el superior de la dicha Mission y entregando en las Reales caxas un mill pesos para su avio ayudando en esto à las dichas caxas añadiose el dicho año à costa de su Magestad una Balandrilla, que el señor Predecesor de V. Señoria embargò à un Alcalde mayor de una de estas Provincias, en cuios aderesos y pagamiento del agente gastó su Magestad algunos reales.

Y porque esta en una cortedad respecto de la Real magnificencia, y de los gastos que su Magestad hasia en estas Islas: pues es constante que de las dichas Reales caxas de esta Ciudad se mantenian y sustentava anualmente el Presidio de Terrenate en las Malucas: A donde se embiaban todos los años dose champanes cargados de bastimentos, y el dinero competente para el dicho Presidio de suerte que cotexado un año con otro era el gasto anual de las dichas caxas la cantidad de treinta mill pesos. Y habiendose informado à su Magestad por personas de igual zelo al del Señor Fiscal que era ynutil à su Real Corona el conservar el dicho Presidio por no resultar de el ningun principal emolumento, con todo eso siempre insistio su Magestad en que se llevase adelante este gasto porque no faltase la propagacion del Sancto Evangelio que era lo de mayor consideracion y el unico fin, à que se encaminaba los gastos y que por sola una alma daria por bien empleados mayores Thesoros, que todas son palabras de su Magestad en su Zedula à esta Real Audiencia de dies de Julio del año de mill seiscientos quarenta y ocho.

A que se añade que à muchos años que se cobran en estas Yslas la ganta [sic] que llaman de Zamboangan (que es cantidad muy considerable) el qual subsidio ó tributo, que siempre se a cobrado, se instituyo presisamente para la manutencion del Presidio y Mission que la Compañia de Jesus [tenía] en Zamboanga (que es en la Isla de Mindanao) contra las imbaciones del Moro de la dicha Isla, y de los olandeses del Maluco. Y habiendo cesado este Presidio y Mission desde la amenaza que hizo à estas islas el tirano de la China, Pumpuan, no se ha dejado de cobrar la dicha ganta, aunque seso el final y preciso motivo de este tributo sobre los Indios de estas Philipinas; bien que su Magestad daria por muy bien empleada su continuacion si no gastandose (como no se gasta en el dicho Presidio de Zamboanga) se aplicase à esta ó otra nueva Mission.

[Royal decree of 10 July 1709]

Y porque la obligacion de justicia, que su Magestad tiene por el Real Patronato de las Indias concedido por la sede Apostolica de propagar la Sancta fee y descubrir nuevas Misiones de infieles novisimamente la expresa, y encarga su Magestad en la ultima su Zedula fecha en Madrid à veinte de Jullio de mill setecientos y nueve dirigida à los Virreyes, Audiencias, Governadores[,] Arzobispos, Obispos, y Prelados de las Religiones, cuias palabras dignas de consideracion y de su Catholisisimo, y Real zelo, son como se sigue:

“Y no contiendandose sí deseo à lo particular de aquella Mission (habla de la Apolobamba en la Provincia de las Charcas) sino à lo general de todas las de Indias por el gravamen en que me hallo de la propagacion de la ley evangelica en aquellos dominios, à cuias causas son tan ynúmerables las recomendaciones, y mandatos, que en las leyes, y ordenanzas de Indias se hallan encaminadas todas à este tan alto fin, deseando cumplir en quanto pueda ser de mi parte con obligacion tan justa y precisa, y considerando quanto conduze à el logro de este intento el fomento y proteccion de dichas Misiones, he resuelto sobre consulta de los de mi consejo de las Indias dar la presente por lo qual encargo à mis Virreyes, y Governadores que cuiden muy particularmente

de la manutencion, y aumento de las Misiones que huvieren en sus territorios, aplicando à ello todo su maior desvelo en inteligencia de que este punto es el que mi Real Atencion tiene preheminentemente lugar sobre todas las importancias é intereses temporales de aquellos bastos dominios.”

Hasta aqui las palabras del Rey Nuestro Señor. Y por lo que mira à sus Reales Ministros añade lo siguiente:

“Fio de su zelo y aplicacion atenderá no solo por su obligacion, sino porque las que les impone la confianza, que hago de sus personas y empleos y de nuevo les encargo, con la qual descanza mis ancias impacientes de que mi Reynado se haga feliz, y señalado por el medio de que la noticia de nuestra sancta fe se extienda y radique en las mas remotas y distantes Provincias.” Y quiere su Magestad que se le avise de lo que en esto se dispusiere y adelantare para que de su parte y de la de su Consejo de las Indias se puedan aplicar las mas oportunas, y convenientes providencias à su logro “à que siempre (prosigue su Magestad) se inclina mi Real animo, anteponiendo este cuidado à todos los demas como queda insinado.”

Y porque de esta especial Mission de los Palaos consta del Real decreto de su Magestad expedido en veinte y siete de Agosto de mill setecientos y cinco al Real y supremo Consejo de Indias, que su Real Voluntad es, que se hagan las expediciones anuales à ella, y las diligencias necesarias hasta la efectiva conversion de estos Isleños, la qual conversion hasta aora aun no consta. Y en el mismo decreto (que esta en los autos autenticos) se ve el singularissimo empeño de su Magestad con esta Mission; no solo por la obligacion de justicia, en que se halla, professa tener, de dilatar la fee de Cristo en estos dominios sino tambien por los especialissimos encargos de ella que le haze el sumo Pontifice y el Rey Christianissimo su Abuelo.

Y porque los Indios de las dichas Islas Palaos, descubiertas el año passado, no consta por parte alguna, que sean de la calidad y condicion, que los describe el Señor Fiscal, inquieto[,] desapasible, y cassi de especie de caribes, ni que sea necesario para conquistarlos mucha gente, armas y dinero pues lo contrario consta de los autos, y de la experiencia y que de dichos Indios emos tenido en estas Islas en onze, ó doce vezes que se han desgaritado por providencia del cielo de sus Islas antes se ha visto en ellos una suma docilidad y facilidad en penetrar los Misterios de Nuestra Sancta fe Catholica. Y una grande humanidad y cariño para con nuestros españoles como lo experimentaron los Padres Misioneros y demas españoles, que quedaron en las Islas de Sonsonrol y toda la gente del Patache Trinidad, que son testigos de esta verdad. Y lo mismo consta de la relacion veridica que ha hecho el Capitan Bizente Vinaza de los Indios Palaos, que descubrió en quatro Islas entre Marianas y estas Philipinas entre siete y ocho grados de latitud septentrional por orden del Exelentissimo Señor Virrey de Mexico Duque de Linares y empeño y devocion del General Don Miguel de Elorriaga.

Y por lo que mira à que sea necesario grande aparato de armas y dinero, no se deja persuadir, por ser los dichos Indios desarmados (excepto unas pequeñas lanzas y saetas) sin fortificaciones ni uso de armas de fuego, desnudos sin politica ni gobierno; y con-

star que una sola arma de fuego gobernada de un soldado español es bastante para aventar muchos de estos Indios.

Y parece que el dicho Señor Fiscal padece equivocacion en la situacion de las Islas ya descubiertas pues dize que estan pasadas la linea equinocial en cinco y siete grados à la vanda del sur, siendo assi que como consta del diario y Mapa, que esta[n] en los Autos su verdadera situacion esta en cinco y siete grados de la vanda del Norte antes de passar la linea; y aunque se llaman Islas Australes, esto es respectivamente à estas Islas Philipinas, ó à las Marianas; y no absolutamente Australes, que para esto era necesario (segun buena geografia) que estubieran de la otra banda de la linea azia el Polo antartico. Tambien padece equivocacion el dicho Señor en poner en la medianía de las Islas descubiertas y estas Islas Philipinas, la de Mindanao, y Borneo con correspondencia à las Islas Malucas. Porque las dichas Islas descubiertas (como se ve por la carta geografica) son orientales respecto de estas islas, y estan en medio del golfo, que hacen con Marianas, y la Isla de Borneo es occidental, y de mui distante longitud respecto de las dichas Islas descubiertas, y con declinacion al sur respecto de las Philipinas; y la misma Isla de Mindanao, es una de ellas, con que no pueden estar entre las descubiertas de Palaos y estas Philipinas. Ni hasta aora se ha reconocido gran cercania de ellas à las Islas Malucas, como el Señor alega ni la necesidad de muchos Presidios, y soldados para mantenerlas con credito de las armas; fuera de que si es voluntad de su Magestad como al presente lo es, caso que fueran necesarios muchos gastos su Magestad diera providencia, como la dava en lo antiguo, y quando el situado de estas Islas era mucho mayor que al presente, para mantener Presidios, Religiosos, y Armadas en Terrenate. Y aun segun el dictamen del Señor Fiscal no pueden no ser bastantes para los dichos Presidios (que supone) las rentas de estas caxas de Manila pues segun tiene escrito à su Magestad y dandole à entender diferentes veces, no es necesario el situado de la Nueva España para mantener estas Philipinas, bastando lo que ella dan de sus frutos y comercio para su conservacion. De donde se colige sobrar el dicho situado y ver por demas y con el se podian mantener (en caso necesario) los dichos Presidios; los quales no ser necesarios de la forma que pondera el Señor Fiscal consta por ser notorio que los parages donde estan situadas las Islas de Palaos estan distantes y mucho de donde estan las factorias de los Olandeses, y mucho mas de Portugueses é Ingleses ni embarazan las providencias y ordenes dadas por V. Señoria al Cavo del patache de Marianas asi por su factibilidad como porque es voluntad expresa de su Magestad, y en sus Reales Zedulas que en toda forma y por todas vias se haga dicho descubrimiento y porque haviendose hecho assi hasta aora insta mas la dicha excursion para el amparo de dichas misioneros y españoles que quedaron ya en ellas.

Por tanto a V. Señoria pide y à los Señores de la Junta se sirvan de dar las providencias y hacer todos los gastos necesarios en execucion de dichos Reales Cedulas, y sin denegar su devido cumplimiento: pide justicia etc.

Jhs

Andres Serrano.

Translation.

Sir:

Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, Superior and Vice-Provincial of the Mission of the Austral Islands otherwise known as Pais or Palaos, appears before Your Lordship and declares that, in view of the Royal decrees of His Majesty, Your Lordship and the gentlemen of the Committee will find that, notwithstanding the representation made by the Fiscal, it is possible and obligatory to despatch a vessel quickly and soonest in order to look for the Missionary Fathers, pilots, soldiers and vassals of His Majesty who remained in said Islands, because the law of charity so demands, as well as the legal obligation of His Majesty (whom may God save) to defend, protect and ransom his vassals, specially since they were placed at risk when executing the very royal will and trying to discover the new Mission that His Majesty wishes, and orders. To this end, and contrary to what the Fiscal said, the expenditures made previously present no objection, because they have been very tight and moderate; indeed, for the discovery of said Islands, no fleet of three or four ships of the line have been built, not even frigates carrying 40 guns; neither has an excessively great number of men been enlisted or succored, but the expenditures have been restricted to the costs of a yearly expedition and to the outfitting of only one very small frigate, which have been charged these past three years to the Royal treasury, with only the few men that its small capacity allowed.

Because, it is certain that in **1708** (the year of the first voyage) the vessel that was despatched was an old, and small, galliot, so beaten up that, before hitting the high seas beyond the Strait of San Juanico, it was necessary to careen and repair it in Catbalogan, and this repair did not last the voyage; indeed, after about 50 or 60 leagues within the ocean, it became necessary to desist from the attempt, and turn back to the Island of Mindanao, so as not to endanger the lives of the people, on account of the inappropriateness of the vessel.

The following year **1709**, the voyage was once again attempted with a small patache with a single deck under the command of General Don Miguel de Elorriaga. Said small ship did not belong to His Majesty but to His Lordship, Don Domingo de Zabalburu, who gave it to this Mission of Palaos; as for the expenses of this expedition, when they were assigned, the greater of them were made by said General who spent over 4,000 pesos of his own money on it.

The third voyage was carried out last year **1710** with the same small patache. The Superior of said Mission contributed, and turned over to the Royal treasury, the sum of 1,000 pesos toward its outfitting, and said treasury contributed the rest. In addition, a small sloop was added that year at the expense of His Majesty; this sloop had been requisitioned by the predecessor of Your Lordship from the Mayor of one of these Provinces, and His Majesty spent a few reals in making it ready and in commissions paid to the agent.¹

1 Ed. note: This was the San Miguel, that ran aground near Palapag and did not make the voyage.

And because the expenditures are so much tighter in relation to the Royal largesse, and when compared with the expenses that His Majesty used to have in these Islands; in fact, it is well-known that said Royal coffers of this City maintained and sent yearly to the Garrison of Ternate in the Moluccas 12 champans full of food supplies, and the money corresponding to said Garrison, so that the average yearly sum taken out of said coffers amounted to 30,000 pesos. And after persons of equal zeal as that of the Fiscal had informed His Majesty that it was useless to his Royal Crown to maintain said Garrison, as there was no economic benefit in it, His Majesty had always insisted that such expenditures continue whenever the propagation of the Holy Gospel was at stake, as this was of greater importance and the sole purpose for which the expenditures were being made, adding that for just one soul he would consider even greater sums as well spent. The words just used are quoted directly from His Majesty's decree to this Royal Audiencia, dated 10 July 1648.

To which can be added that for many years in these Islands the so-called *ganta* of Zamboanga has been collected (which is a considerable sum); this subsidy, rather tribute, that has always been collected, was instituted precisely to maintain the Garrison and Mission that the Society of Jesus had in Zamboanga (which is in the Island of Mindanao) against the invasions of the Moor of said Island, and of the Dutch from the Moluccas. And, after this Garrison and Mission ceased operations, as a result of the threat that the Chinese tyrant, Pumpuan, made against these Islands, although the purpose and precise motive for this tribute upon the Indians of these Philippines ceased, His Majesty might well consider it a good idea to revive it and apply it (no longer to the Garrison of Zamboanga) to this and other new Missions.

[Royal decree of 20 July 1709]

And because of the legal obligation that His Majesty has, as a result of his Royal Patronage of the Indies granted to him by the Holy See for the propagation of the Holy Faith and the exploration of new Missions of heathen, has been very recently reiterated by His Majesty and entrusted to the Viceroys, Audiencias, Governors, Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates of Orders, in his last Royal decree dated Madrid 20 July 1709, whose words, worthy of consideration and of his very Catholic and Royal zeal, are as follows:

“And there is no question that I do wish, in the specific case of that Mission (that of Apolobamba in the Province of the Charcas [i.e. Bolivia]), as in the general case of all the missions in the Indies, on account of the moral obligation that I have to propagate the law of the Gospel in those dominions, in whose cause there have been so many recommendations, and orders given, that they have been reflected in all the laws and ordinances of the Indies, for this high purpose. So, I wish to comply as much as is possible on my part with such a just and necessary duty, and considering that the advancement and protection of said Missions lead to the attainment of this purpose, I have decided, after consultation with the members of my Council of the Indies, to give the present by which I entrust my Viceroys and Governors to take care to foster very specifically the

maintenance and increase of the Missions that might be in their territories, by applying their best efforts to it, with the understanding that this point is one that my Royal mind is continuously preoccupied with, and ranks above all of the material aspects and interests of those vast domains.”

End of quote of the King our Lord, but addressing himself to his Royal Ministers, he adds the following:

“I trust that you will apply your zeal [to it], not only because it is your duty, but also because my trust in your persons and offices imposes it upon you, and once again I entrust you. That is why the appeasement of my impatient anxieties depends upon you; I will not rest until my term as King be made happy, and made outstanding by the means, and the news received, that indeed our Holy Faith has been extended and taken root in the remotest and distant Provinces.” And His Majesty wished to be advised of anything that might be arranged and advanced in this wise, so that on his part and that of his Council of the Indies might be applied the most timely and appropriate provisions to make it the success “to which always (continues His Majesty) is inclined my Royal mind, by giving priority to this care before any other, as I have said.”

And because this special Mission to the Palaos was the object of the Royal decree of His Majesty issued on 27 August 1705 to the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, it is his Royal will that yearly expeditions be sent there, and that the necessary efforts be made until the conversion of these Islanders has been effectively obtained; said conversion has not yet taken place. And in the same decree (whose authenticated copy is part of this record) can be seen the very singular commitment of His Majesty with this Mission, not only on account of the legal obligation that he has, and admits having, of propagating the faith of Christ in these domains but also on account of the very specific assignments of it that the Supreme Pontiff and the Most Christian King his grandfather have given him.

And because the Indians of said Palaos Islands that were discovered last year do not appear at all to have the character and condition ascribed to them by the Fiscal, i.e. troublesome, unpleasant, and almost like cannibals, and also that it would not be necessary to conquer them to have many men, weapons or money—indeed, the opposite can be seen from the records, and from the experience that we have had with **said Indians who have drifted from their Islands to these Islands 11 or 12 times by special providence of Heaven**—rather, we have seen in them an extreme docility and ease of comprehension of the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith. And a great humanity and affection toward our Spanish, as the Missionary Fathers and other Spaniards have experienced who have remained at the Sonsonrol Islands, and all those aboard the patache **Trinidad** who were witnesses to this truth. And the same thing is stated in the truthful report made by Captain Vicente Binasa about the Palaos Indians whom he encountered on four islands between the Marianas and these Philippines, between 7 and 8 degrees of north latitude, thanks to the order of His Excellency the Viceroy of

Mexico, the Duke of Linares, and the commitment and devotion of General Don Miguel de Elorriaga.¹

And as far as the necessities are concerned, he is convinced that not too many military supplies or money will be required, because said Indians have no weapons (except for some small spears and darts), no forts, nor any firearms; they are naked and without a civilized government; the truth is that one single firearm handled by one Spanish soldier is enough to make many of these Indians flee.

And it appears that said Fiscal is mistaken in the position of the Islands already discovered, since he says that they are beyond the equatorial line, between 5 and 7 degrees of latitude south, whereas the logbook and the chart, reproduced in the record of proceedings, show their true position in 5 and 7 degrees of latitude north, on this side of the line. And although they are called Austral Islands, this is so in relation to these Philippine Islands, or the Marianas; they are not strictly-speaking austral, in the geographic sense, because they would then be necessarily located south of the line in the direction of the antarctic pole. Said gentleman is also mistaken when he places the neighborhood of the newly-discovered Islands with respect to these Philippine Islands, as Mindanao and Borneo are relative to the Moluccas, because said newly-discovered Islands (as can be seen on a geographic map) are east of these Islands, and located within the area of the ocean between them and the Marianas, whereas Borneo is west of them, and very far in longitude with respect to that of the newly-discovered Islands, and south of the Philippines in latitude; the same with the Island of Mindanao which is one of them, and so, they cannot be located between the newly-discovered Islands of Palaos and these Philippines. So far no close vicinity has been found between them and the Moluccas either, as the gentleman alleges, and no need for many garrisons and soldiers to maintain with credible weaponry; unless the will of His Majesty might be, as it is at present, in case many expenses might be necessary, that a special provision be needed, as he gave a long time ago, when the subsidy of these Islands was much greater than at present, to maintain garrisons, Religious, and fleets in Ternate. And even so, the coffers of Manila could not be unable to provide such garrisons (as supposed by the Fiscal), because as he has written to His Majesty many times and given to understand, the subsidy of New Spain (he says) is not necessary to maintain these Philippines, and their products and commerce are enough for their preservation. The obvious conclusion is that said subsidy is superfluous; let us see if said garrison could then be maintained with it (if the case become necessary). However, [the fact that] such garrisons are not as necessary as the Fiscal thinks, can be deduced from the notoriety of the fact that the neighborhood of the Islands of Palaos is very distant from the Dutch trading posts and even more distant from the Portuguese and English trading posts. Neither is there a need to change the provisions and orders given by Your Lordship to the Commander of the Mariana patache, not only in view of their ease of attainment but also because it is the express will of His Majesty, as stated in his Royal decrees, that in every manner and through

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1711F.

all means be carried out said exploration, and because it has already begun, the more urgent is the required expedition to go to the rescue of said missionaries and the Spanish who have remained behind there.

Consequently, he begs Your Lordship and the gentlemen of the Committee to please give the provisions and make all the expenditures necessary, in compliance with said Royal decrees, and without renegeing on their duty. He asks that justice be done, etc.

Jhs

Andrés Serrano.¹

1 Ed. note: The Fiscal answered this last memorial by protesting, among other things, that his understanding of geography was based on a “general map published in France in 1691” and he stubbornly insisted that, notwithstanding the logbook of the pilots, etc., the Palaos were situated south of the Line. His opinion was that the execution of the royal decrees should be suspended, meanwhile a progress report was submitted and a reaction awaited. There followed a General Meeting (see Doc. 1711G for follow-up).

Documents 1711F

The re-discovery of Ngulu Atoll, by Captain Binasa in 1711

F1. The narrative of Captain Binasa, dated Manila 14 August 1711

Sources: AGI, perhaps Fil. 215; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 189v-190.

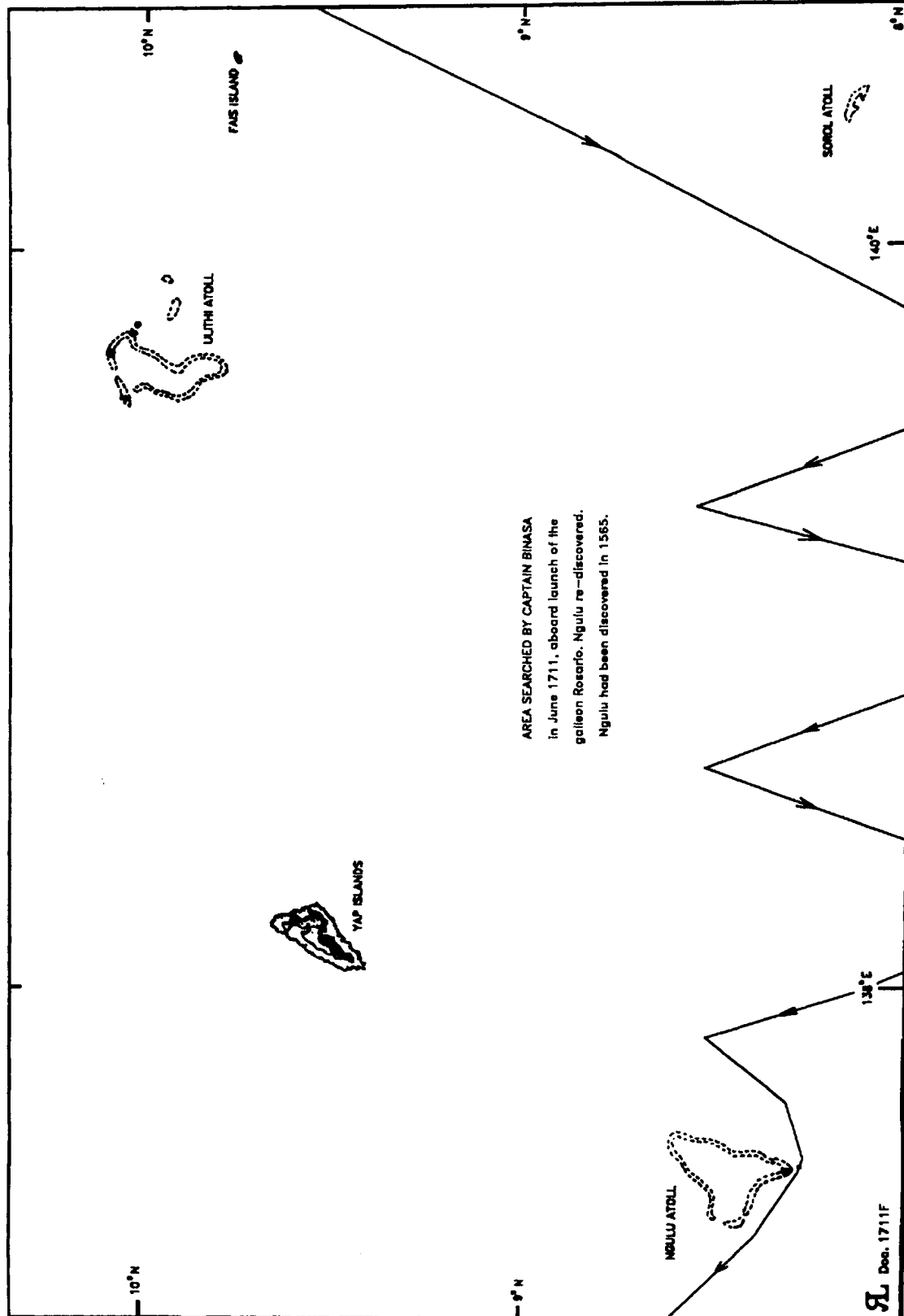
Notes: Fr. Murillo Velarde and Fr. Delgado (see Bibliography) say, under 1711, that the commander of the fateful voyage of the Santísima Trinidad that followed, i.e. Binasa, was the brother of the famous General Blas Lezo who had been in charge of Atlantic galleons and had died at Cartagena, in today's Columbia. Ngulu had first been discovered in 1565 (see HM2:204).

Original text in Spanish.

*El Capitan Don Vizente Binasa Piloto de esta carrera de Philipinas que viniendo de condestable del Galeon Capitana **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** del cargo del General Don Miguel de Elorriaga:*

Digo que habiendo avistado la Isla de Goan de Ladrones ó Marianas, dicho General me ordenó me embarcasse en una lancha que se hizo à bordo de dicho Galeon con su cubierta corrida con dies y seis compañeros, y passase en busca de las Islas de los Palaos, haciendo mi derrota hasta ponerme en altura de ocho grados.

*Y habiendo executado segun y como dicho General me ordenó hize diferentes rumbos por hallar dichas Islas y encontre **cuatro Islotillos mui pequeños circumbalados todos de arresifes que tasadamente puedan entrar y salir por un Canaliso sus banquetas, y entre los tres de ellas no hallé gente alguna y en el que era mayor halle unos Indios desnudos que binieron abordo de nuestra lancha en unas embarcaciones que son de porte y hechura de los de los Ladrones, y truxe de dichos Indios un sombrero, ó bonete texido de ojas de palma de coco (de que esta llena la Isla) y un señor ó faxa echo de bonete, que es la cascara del coco, y dicha Isla tendra de bogeo una legua y media poco mas ó menos, que corresponde à media legua de diametro, y esta en altura de ocho grados y seis minutos, i en longitud del Cavo del Espiritu Sancto para Leste dies grados, y proseguí mi viage arando la mar à diferentes rumbos sin que en todo el encontrase otra tierra alguna, hasta que entre por el embocadero de San Juanico, y desde alli hize mi derrota para el Puerto de Cavite en conformidad de las hordenes que me dió dicho General Don Miguel de Elorriaga.***



Y para que conste lo firme en Manila à catorce de Agosto de mill setecientos y onze años.

Vizente de Binaza

Translation.

I, Captain Vicente Binasa, a pilot of this Philippine run, who came as master gunner aboard the flagship galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** under the command of General Miguel de Elorriaga:

Do declare that, having sighted the Island of Guam in the Ladrones or Marianas, said General¹ ordered me to embark aboard a launch that was put together on board said galleon with a full deck and with 16 companions, in order to search for the Islands of the Palaos, steering in such a way as to place myself in the latitude of 8 degrees.

And, having executed the order given to me by said General, I made various tacks to find said Islands and I found **four very small islets, all of them surrounded by reefs that can evidently be broached by their canoes through a pass, and on three of them I did not find anyone but on the largest one I found a few naked Indians** who came alongside of our launch aboard some craft that are of the same capacity and construction as those in the Ladrones. From said Indians, I brought along one hat, or cap, woven with palm leaves from the coconut trees (the island is full of them), and one belt or sash made of *bonete*, which is coconut coir. The circumference of said island would be about one and a half leagues more or less, which corresponds to half a league in diameter, and **its position is 8°6' lat. [N.] and 10° East of Cape Espiritu Santo.**² I pursued my voyage, ploughing the sea on various courses without ever meeting with any other land, until I entered through the Strait of San Juanico, and from there I made my way to the port of Cavite, in accordance with the orders given to me by said General, Don Miguel de Elorriaga.

And in faith whereof, I have signed my name in Manila on 14 August 1711.

Vicente de Binaza

1 Ed. note: Elorriaga is reported elsewhere (in Appendix A, Vol. 10, under 1710) to have been replaced in Acapulco by Juan Luis Acosta as general, but this document proves that he retained his post.

2 Ed. note: This is a good estimate, as the actual position of the islet of Ngulu is 8°17' lat. N. and 137°30' long. E. of Greenwich, i.e. 12°10' from the Cape.

F2. Letter from Miguel Elorriaga to Francisco de Pagave, dated Manila ca. 1712

Source: Present location unknown; cited in B&R 53: 328 as having been in Karl W. Hiersemann's Catalogue n° 327, where it was item n° 1233.

Note: At press time, I have been unable to find the whereabouts of this document.

Editor's notes.

Hiersemann's Catalogue n° 327, published at Leipzig in 1906, was entitled: "A choice collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and periodicals on North-, Central-, and South-America, the West Indies, Philippine Islands, Moluccas." The material on the Philippines and the Moluccas was contained in pp. 139-147, but five other letters by Elorriaga, dated 1712-1718, are listed as part of Cardinal Tournon's collection of mss. in the appendix, pp. 199-234 (ref. B&R 53: 80).

This Spanish document was described in the above catalog as being one page on a large folio, in poor condition, although the contents were clearly discernible as dealing with the discovery of the Palao Islands, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. Since Captain Elorriaga himself looked unsuccessfully for the Carolines in 1709, his information came from other sailors based in Manila. Binasa may have been one contributor.

Documents 1711G

The unsuccessful second voyage of Captain Binasa in the Trinidad in 1711

Sources: AGI Fil. 215; copies in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 192-197, 204-204bis, 224-224bis.

G1. General Meeting of 22 August 1711

Original text in Spanish.

En la ciudad de Manila en veinte y dos dias del mes de Agosto de mill setecientos y onze años: su Señoria Conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi Cavallero del orden de Santiago del Consejo de su Magestad su Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia y Real Chancilleria que en ellas reside; combocó à Junta General de Hacienda à que asistieron los Señores Doctor Don Joseph de Torralba...

...

Fueron dando sus pareceses en la manera siguiente:

El dicho Sargento Mayor Don Juan Antonio de Ibarra factor veedor se conforma con el Voto y parecer que en esta junta diere el dicho Señor Oidor mas antiguo Doctor Don Joseph de Torralba. — El dicho Señor Fiscal, Licenciado Don Antonio de Cassa y Albarado: dixo que reitera lo que tiene dicho en su escrito y que de determinarse el despacho que se pretende se costee de los dos mill pesos entregados en las Reales cajas de Mexico para el fomento de esta Mission al Procurador de la dicha sagrada Compañia de Jesus y que de todos los Autos en la primera ocasion se de quenta à su Magestad con Testimonio à la letra. — El dicho Señor Oidor Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa Varreda fue de parecer y Voto que por aora se den por el Señor Presidente todas las Providencias conducentes y necesarias para el abiamiento y apresto del Patache ofrecido por dicho Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano sobre el biscocho que tambien ofrece dicho Padre. Y asi mesmo que dichas providencias se estiendan tambien en el concreto del mismo Patache à lo principal del cumplimiento de dicha Real Cedula sobre el descubrimiento de dichas Islas. — El dicho Señor Oidor Licenciado Don Augustin Miguel de Barrientos y Rivera fue de parecer y Voto que sin embargo de lo dicho por dicho Señor Fiscal por aora y admitiendo la oferta que hace el dicho Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano de la balandra y biscocho se aga despacho de esta para que se busque la

gente y dos Religiosos que el viage antecedente consta quedaron en la Isla de Sonsonrol a quienes los del Patache llamaron de San Andres para que de parte de su Magestad de los efectos que hubiere de su Real Hacienda en esta Real Caxa se concurrira con los demas gastos que fueren necesarios para dicho despacho en cuio viage se procurara hacer diligencia de las Islas de los Palaos de que su Magestad habla en sus Reales Cédulas dando dicho Señor Conde de Lizarraga Presidente Gobernador y Capitan General de estas dichas Islas Philipinas à quien toca todas las providencias que para que assi se logre parecieren convenientes con calidad de que mientras no ubiere caval y cierta noticia de estas no se buelva à hacer otro ningun gasto de la Real hacienda hasta tanto que su Magestad informado de todo lo hasta oy executado que se ara con testimonio de Autos en primera ocasion resuelva lo que tubiere por mas conveniente à su Real servicio.—El dicho Señor Oidor mas antiguo, Doctor Don Joseph de Torralba fue de parecer y Voto que se admita la oferta que hace dicho Muy Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano de que hace deuda estimacion y para el efecto su Señoria dicho Señor Conde de Lizarraga Presidente Gobernador y Capitan General parece deve conceder con el apresto de dicho Patache asi de gente y lo demas necesario para su gasto à costa de la Real Hacienda y en quanto à los hordenes y demas convenientes se rremite à lo que dicho Señor Presidente dispusiere à quien pertenece.

Que oido por su Señoria dicho Señor Conde de Lizarraga Presidente Gobernador y Capitan general de ellas se conformó en todo y por todo con el mayor numero de Votos de los de esta Junta para su execucion, y dichos Jueces oficiales Reales y el Contador de quantas y Resultas de dicha Real hacienda thome razon de ella para que de su parte den las providencias necesarias al apresto y avio de dicho Patache y lo demas necesario para su gasto y se le de quenta à su Magestad en la primera ocasion de todos los autos fechos desde ultimo despacho del presente año y lo firmo con dichos Señores Oidores, Fiscal y Juez oficial Real de que doi fee.

El Conde de Lizarraga

Doctor Don Joseph de Thorralba

Licenciado Don Augustin Miguel de Barrientos y Rivera

Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa

Licenciado Don Antonio de Cassa y Albarado

Don Juan Antonio de Ibarra

Ante mi Don Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

In the city of Manila, on 22 August 1711: His Excellency the Count of Lizarraga, Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, Knight of the Order of St. James, member of His Majesty's Council, his Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery located therein; called a General

Meeting of the Finance Council to which attended the following gentlemen: Doctor José de Torralba...¹

...

They presented their opinions as follows:

Said Sergeant-Major Juan Antonio de Ibarra, Factor and Inspector, is in agreement with the vote and opinion expressed in this meeting by said gentleman with the greatest seniority, Doctor José de Torralba.—Said Fiscal, Licentiate Antonio de Casa y Alvarado, declared that he reiterates what he has already stated in his written report and, should the despatch in question take place, then it should be costed out of the 2,000 pesos deposited in the Royal treasury of Mexico for the development of this Mission to the credit of the Procurator of said sacred Society of Jesus, and also certified copies of all the proceedings should be remitted to His Majesty at the first opportunity.—Said member of the Audiencia, Licentiate Gregorio Manuel de Villa Barreda, was of the opinion and vote that for now His Lordship the President should give all the necessary provisions to this effect for the outfitting and readiness of the patache offered by said Reverend Father Andrés Serrano, over and above the biscuit that said Father also offers. And, in addition, said provisions should also cover the material aspect of the patache itself, since it constitutes the most important factor in the execution of said Royal decree regarding the exploration of said Islands.—Said member of the Audiencia, Licentiate Augustin Miguel de Barrientos y Rivera, was of the opinion and vote that, notwithstanding what was said by the Fiscal for now, and accepting the offer made by said Reverend Father Andrés Serrano of a sloop and biscuit, said sloop should be despatched for the purpose of looking for the men and two religious who remained behind on the last voyage at Sonsorrol Island, which the men of the patache called St. Andrew Island, so that, as far as His Majesty is concerned, whatever cash might be found in his Royal treasury overhere should serve to pay for the other expenses that might be necessary for said despatch; now then, in this voyage, efforts should be made to find the Islands of the Palaos that His Majesty has mentioned in his Royal decrees, that is, His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga, President, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, should give all the provisions that he sees fit to achieve the purpose intended, with the condition that, as long as there is no acceptable or certain notice of these islands, no other expenditure should be made by the Royal treasury until His Majesty has been informed of everything that has been done so far, and that is to be done with certified copies sent at the first opportunity, and until he has decided what better suit his Royal service.—Said member of the Audiencia and its most senior member, Doctor José de Torralba, was of the opinion and vote that the offer made by said Very Reverend Father Andrés Serrano—for which he is grateful—should be accepted, and to this effect, it appears that His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga, President, Governor and Captain General, should approve the outfitting of said patache, with a crew and

1 Ed. note: The others were Barrientos, Villa Barreda, Casa y Alvarado, Ibarra (see below); the others did not attend for various reasons.

other necessities, to be charged to the Royal treasury and, as far as the orders and other arrangements are concerned, he leaves them to the discretion of His Lordship the President to assign them to whom they may concern.

The aforesaid, having been heard by His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga, President, Governor and Captain General of the Islands, he agreed with everything and in everything with the majority of the votes of the participants in this Meeting, to carry them out, and said the Royal official judges and Royal Accountant in charge of revenues and expenses are to take note of it, so that on their part they issue the necessary provisions to have said patache made ready and outfitted, and to look after other necessary expenses regarding it, and a report is to be sent to His Majesty at the first opportunity with certified copies of all the transactions made since the last despatch of the present year, and he signed it along with said gentlemen members of the Audiencia, the Fiscal and Royal official Judge, of which I vouch.

The Count of Lizarraga

Doctor José de Torralba

Licentiate Augustin Miguel de Barrientos y Rivera

Licentiate Gregorio Manuel de Villa

Licentiate Antonio de Casa y Alvarado

Juan Antonio de Ibarra

Before me, Miguel de Allanegui.

G2. Decree of 16 September 1711

Original text in Spanish.

Manila y Septiembre dies y seis de mill setecientos y onze.

*Aunque no ha tenido efecto el dar la embarcacion que el Reverendo Padre Andres Serrano ofrecio por su escrito presentado en veinte y siete de Jullio de este año cuio ofrecimiento se admitio por la Junta general antecedente, y se determino en ella, se repitiese este año hacer despacho al descubrimiento de las dichas Islas de Palaos, sin embargo para que no se deje de hacer dicho despacho y especialmente porque no queden desamparados (si acaso viven) los dos Religiosos, y demas gente, que el año proximo passado quedaron en la Isla de San Andres se despache este presente año el Patache nombrado **la Sanctisima Trinidad** que el año proximo passado se despacho al mismo descubrimiento y se haya surto y aderesado en la Rivera de Cavite para lo qual se nombrará y señalaran por este Gobierno el Cavo oficiales y demas gente que hubiere, de llevar de dotacion à quienes se mandara socorrer de la Real Caxa por el tiempo que fuere competente.*

Rubricado de su Señoria el Señor Conde de Lizarraga.

Allanegui.

Translation.

Manila, 16 September 1711.

Although the offer of a vessel that Reverend Father Andrés Serrano had made in writing and presented on 27 July of this year did not take place, said offer having been accepted by the above General Meeting, and therefore decided to repeat this year a despatch for the exploration of said Islands of the Palaos, nevertheless, so that said despatch will not fail, and specially because the two Religious and other personnel who were left last year at St. Andrew Island should not be abandoned (in case they still be alive), the patache named **Santisima Trinidad** is to be despatched this year, the same ship that was despatched last year to the same exploration, and is presently anchored and being made ready on the coast of Cavite. To this effect, this Government is to appoint and assign to it a captain, officers, and other personnel who might be required, and they are to be ordered paid by the Royal treasury for a suitable time period.

Original signed by His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga.

Allanegui.

G3. Instruction given to Captain Binasa, dated Manila 12 October 1711

Original text in Spanish.

El Conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi Cavallero del horden de Santiago del Consejo de su Magestad su Governador y Capitan general de estas Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia y Chancilleria Real que en ellas reside etc.

Instruccion que ha de guardar el Capitan Don Vicente Binasa Cavo superior y Piloto mayor del Patache nombrado la Sanctisima Trinidad que se esta apres-tando en el Puerto de Cavite para el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos dada por el Conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi Cavallero del horden de San-tiago del Consejo de su Magestad su Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas Phil-ippinas y Presidente de la Audiencia, y Chancilleria Real que en ellas reside etc.

1. Primeramente al entregarse y haverse cargo de dicho Patache, pasara muestra de la gente de guerra y mar y de la demas que lleva, y hara que antes de salir à la mar se confiesen y comulguen y que en todo el discurso del viage se escusen juramentos y ofen-sas à Dios nuestro Señor.

2. Llevara dicho Capitan y Cavo Superior en buena guardia y disciplina militar dicho Patache y gente y se haga à la vela en todo este mes, y procure encaminar su derrota sin perder ora de tiempo à dicho descubrimiento de dichas Islas Palaos que constan del Mapa y rumbo que se le entrega haciendo observacion de la derrota y rumbos, demar-cacion y Mapa de todas las Islas que se descubrieren del genero de gente que tienen, y de los Puertos mas seguros que rreconociere para surgidero de embarcaciones y co-municacion con estas islas como tambien de los frutos que en ellas ay.

3. Ha de procurar ir con toda advertencia y cautela reconociendo los vajos y Puer-tos con la chalupa, y que se llegen siempre à tierra con el cuidado y mesma advertencia

de no ser embadidos de enemigos en tierra y en su embarcacion precautelando qualquiera traycion ó (h)azechanza con andar siempre, juntos y en buena orden para librar-selos que se desembarcaren en tierra.

4. Salida del embocadero Navegue por el rumbo del sueste considerando estar dichas Islas Palaos al norte de la Nueva Guinea sin variar de rumbos como se acordo y se determinó en Junta de personas practicas Generales, y Pilotos de esa Carrera celebrada à los dies y seis de Abril del año proximo passado de mil setezientos y diez.

5. Ira advertido dicho Cavo Superior y Piloto Mayor que en altura de cinco grados y veinte y quatro minutos al rumbo de sur sud{u}este duzientas leguas de Cavo del Espiritu Sancto ay dos Islas pequeñas incognitas [sic] llamadas Sonsonrrol, y por otro nombre San Andres pertenecientes à las dichas Islas de Palaos donde se desembarcaron dos Padres de la Compañia de Jesus y demas gente que por todos fueron dies y seis personas[,] sabrá i ynquirira de ellos luego que llegue à ellas del paradero y estado que tienen y si an sido vien resividos y si à estendido nuestra sancta fee Catholica y en distancia de quarenta y dos leguas de las dichas Islas de San Andres ay siete Islas grandes en tierra alta y larga llamadas de Paloc y Palaos y de distancia de dicho Cavo del Espiritu Sancto [ciento]ochenta y una leguas, su situacion esta por los siete grados y veinte minutos de latitud Norte, ciento y cinquenta y tres grados y dies y seis minutos de longitud segun el meridiano de Tenerife[.] fuera de los dichos, ay un gran numero de Islas incognitas.

6. Hallando ocasion congrua y competente de quedarse en aquella Mision como se espera en Dios de las buenas noticias que se trugeron este presente año los que ultimamente han arrivado à estas Islas sea haziendo eleccion (en caso de descubrirse) de la que pareciere mas a proposito numerosa de gente y que tenga buenas tierras para sembrar[.] Puertos francos entradas y salidas libres de que hará todas las diligencias competentes y necesarias que de su zelo se espera antes de echar gente à tierra sondeando y reconociendo todos los Puertos que hallare eligiendo el mas seguro en donde dara fondo con dicho Patache, porque el desordenado Gobierno y mal dictamen no ocacione el desacierto del año passado dejando como se dexaron la rreferida gente desamparada entre barbaros con el pretexto de haverse desgaritado y si ay aguas dulces procurara tomar sitio competente y eminente donde pueda formarse alguna palisada ó terraplen en que se puedan plantar las piasas de Artilleria Pedreros y demas Armas y municiones que convinieren dexando en ellas para el resguardo y mayor seguridad de los Padres Misioneros y gente que quedare de su escolta mientras que con la noticia que se me trugere se den por este Gobierno otras mas eficaces y combenientes providencias para el mayor adelantamiento de aquella mission.

7. Procurara que los Soldados que à este fin llevan vivan Christianamente y con buen exemplo para que los naturales que se redugeren à su imitacion reciva mejor nuestra Sancta fee y Christianas costumbres, evitando en ellas, los juramentos blasfemias y todo genero de ofenzas à Dios que castigara con la cordura que el caso pidiere.

8. No permitira que dichos Soldados gente de mar y demas personas que lleva embarcadas anden desunidos y bagando de unas partes à otras por lo que puede resultar

de perjuicio en alguna ynopinada imbacion precautelando las trayciones y hazechansas que pueden ofreserse con andar siempre juntos y en buena orden en el numero que conbiniere.

9. Asistira à los Padres Misioneros con su gente para todo lo que se le ofreciere concurriendo à su conferencia en todas las ocasiones que conviniere resolver ó determinar alguna cossa para el mejor progreso y adelantamiento de la reduccion de aquellos naturales procurando (en quanto le fuere posible) ajustarse al dictamen y parecer del Padre Superior y Vice Provincial de dicha Mision.

10. Me rremitira el Diario que hiziere en todo el Discurso de la Navegacion quedando para sí una copia de el. Y en caso (de que lo que Dios no permita) por temporal arivada, ú otro qualquiera fragante Maritimo se hallaren necesitados en alguna Provincia de estas Islas de algunas cossas asi para sus personas como para dicho Bagel qualquier Alcaldes mayores y Justicias les darian todo lo que se necesitaren para su alivio poniendo por caveza del recivo este Capitulo para que lo pasen en Datta en la Quenta que dieren del Real haver de su cargo.

11. Traera, ó rremitira à este Gobierno relacion de todo lo que hubiere acaesido desde su entrada en aquellas Islas con noticia individual de los que se hubieren reducido y de la gente que las havita sus costumbres ritos y seremonias y si abraza con facilidad nuestra sagrada religion[,] la fertilidad y abundancia de cada una y los frutos y especies que producen con lo demas que le pareciere combeniente como quien tiene las cossas presentes para que con su noticia se pueda dar quenta à su magestad del estado y progresos de dicha reduccion y las providencias que convengan y procurara dicho Cavo superior y Piloto mayor executar lo mas propicio y faborable para conseguir el fin tan deseado para mayor honrra y gloria de Dios y servicio de ambas Magestades que assi me prometo de sus grandes experiencias assi maritimas como Militares[,] balor y practica y mayores obligaciones que le asisten como fuera de lo publico y notorio me consta en lo particular para el mismo intento.

Dada en Manila à doze de Octubre de mill setezientos y onze años.

El Conde de Lizarraga.

Por mandado de su Señoria, Don Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

The Count of Lizarraga, Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, Knight of the Order of St. James, member of His Majesty's Council, his Governor and Captain General in these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery therein, etc.

Instruction to be observed by Captain Vicente Binasa, Commander and chief pilot of the patache named Santísima Trinidad which is being made ready in the port of Cavite for the exploration of the Palaos Islands, given by the Count of Lizarraga, Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, Knight of the Order of St. James, etc.

1. Firstly, upon taking over command of said patache, he is to pass muster of the soldiers and sailors, and other people on board, and before sailing he is to make sure

that they have gone to confession and communion and that during the duration of the whole voyage they avoid swearing and offences to God our Lord.

2. Said Captain and Commander is to maintain said patache and men in good order and military discipline and he is to sail during this month, and try and pursue his course without losing a single hour to the exploration of said Palaos Islands, which appear on the chart that is being handed to him, along the course marked thereon, by making observation of the route and headings, outlining thereon all the islands that might be discovered, the type of people they have, and the safest ports that might be found to be anchorages for vessels and regular communication with these islands, as well as the products that they have.

3. He is to try and proceed with all due care and caution, by reconnoitering shoals and ports with the ship's boat, and he is to see that landings take place with the same care and caution, to prevent attacks by enemies ashore and aboard their boat, preventing any treachery or trap by always making those who might step ashore stay and walk together, in good order.

4. Once the Embocadero [i.e. mouth of the Strait of San Bernardino] has been passed, he is to sail on a southeast heading, considering that said Palaos Islands are north of New Guinea, without changing headings, as was agreed and decided in the Meeting of local pilots, Generals and Pilots of that Run, that took place on 16 April of last year 1710.

5. Said Commander and Chiel Pilot is to take note that, in a latitude of 5°24' along a SSE bearing at 200 leagues from Cape Espiritu Santo, there are two small unknown [sic] Islands named Sonsonrrol, and by another name San Andrés, belonging to said Islands of Palaos, where two Fathers of the Society of Jesus and other men have landed, all in all 16 persons. He is to enquire and learn from them, as soon as he gets there, about the whereabouts and condition of the islands, and if they have been well received and if our holy Catholic faith has been propagated. And, at a distance of 42 leagues from said Islands of San Andrés, there are 7 large islands made up of high and long islands called Paloc and Palaos, and located at a distance of [one hundred] and 81 leagues from Cape Espiritu Santo; their average position is 7°20' latitude North and 153°16' longitude [E] of the meridian of Tenerife. Besides the above-said, there is a large number of unknown islands.

6. If finding a suitable site and adequate opportunity to stay in that Mission, as is hoped from God's mercy, given the good notices that were received this year from those who have drifted to these Islands, one of them (in case of their discovery, of course) is to be selected, the one that is the most appropriate, and well populated, and it should have good arable land for cultivation, ports with approaches that are free of dangers. He is to make every suitable and necessary effort, as expected from his zeal, before he lets people step ashore, by sounding and surveying all the ports that he might find, and selecting the safest, where he will anchor with said patache, to prevent the occurrence of the mismanagement and bad judgment that took place last year, when the above-mentioned people were left among barbarians, with the pretext that they had drifted

off. And, if potable water be found, he is to try and settle on a suitable and prominent site [there], where he might build some palisade or terraplain upon which to set up some guns, mortars, and leave there other weapons and ammunition as might be appropriate for the defence and greater security of the Missionary Fathers and personnel staying behind as their escort, while news be brought to me and other more efficient and more appropriate orders be issued by this Government for the greater benefit of that mission.

7. He is to try and get the soldiers whom he might take along for this purpose to live in a Christian manner and give a good example, so that the natives to be reduced imitate them and receive our holy faith and Christian customs more easily, by avoiding there any swearing, blasphemies or any other type of offence to God, which he is to punish with the wisdom that each case will require.

8. He is not to allow said soldiers, sailors and other persons from the ship to go about disunited and wander everywhere, because of the possibility of some harm resulting from some unexpected attack, preventing the treacheries and traps that might happen by having them always walk together, in good order, and in as large a number as appropriate.

9. He is to assist the Missionary Fathers with his men whenever he can, by consulting with them in all the occasions that might offer to discuss and resolve some thing for the great progress and advancement of the reduction of those natives, by trying (whenever possible) to adjust his own judgment and opinion to that of the Father Superior and Vice-Provincial of said Mission.

10. He is to remit to me the original logbook that he might keep during the whole navigation, keeping a copy of it for himself. And, God forbid, should they end up in need of anything, due to a storm or any other maritime happenstance, at any province of these Islands, for the men as well as for said vessel, any provincial Mayor and Magistrate is to give them everything they might need for their relief, by referring to this heading at the top of any receipt before forwarding the report of the accounts under his care to the Royal treasury.

11. He shall bring, or remit, to this Government a narrative of everything that might have occurred since his arrival at those Islands, with a detailed account of those who might have been reduced and of the people who inhabit them, their customs, rites and ceremonies, and if they embrace easily our sacred religion, the fertility and abundance of every island and the fruits and spices that they produce with anything else that he might find suitable, as someone who is a good observer, so that proper notice may be reported to His Majesty of the condition and progress of said reduction and the efforts that might be required. Said Commander and Chief Pilot shall try and carry out what is most propitious and favorable to achieve such a desired purpose for the greater honor and glory of God and the service of both their Majesties, as such is my hope, considering his great experience of things nautical as well as military, the valor and practice and the greater duty that urge him, and is known about him publicly and in private, toward said purpose.

Given in Manila on 12 October 1711.

The Count of Lizarraga.

By order of His Lordship, Don Miguel de Allanegui.

G4. Decree of 1 June 1712 recognizing the loss of the Trinidad

Original text in Spanish.

Manila y Junio primero de mill setezientos y doze.

*Por presentados los recaudos que expressa el suplicante en el Memorial de enfrente y se acomulen à los autos fechos sobre el descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos[.] el presente Escrivano mayor ponga al final de ellos testimonio de ser publico y notorio en esta Ciudad averse perdido el Patache nombrado **la Santisima Trinidad** que por Octubre del año proximo passado de setezientos y onze se despacho para el dicho descubrimiento de dichas Islas para dar quenta à su Magestad este presente año desde el escrito que esta a foxa 358 haverse dado de las antecedentes.*

Rubricado de su Señoria el Señor Conde de Lizarraga.

Allanegui.

Translation.

Manila, 1 June 1712.

Let the notes enclosed by the suppliant in the Memorial on facing page¹ be added to the official proceedings regarding the exploration of the Islands of Palaos. The present notary should add at the end of it a cautionary note to the effect that it is a well-known and notorious fact in this City that the patache named **Santisima Trinidad** that went out to the said exploration of said Islands last October has been lost, in order to report to His Majesty this year, as of the writ that appears on folio 358, the previous ones having been reported already.

Original signed by His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga.

Allanegui.

G5. Letter from Governor Ursua to the King reporting the loss of the Santísima Trinidad, dated Manila 25 June 1712

Notes: A copy of this document was published in the Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 3 (1946): 1079-1080. Fr. Andrés Serrano, Fr. Ignacio Crespo, and Br. Baudin died in this shipwreck.

Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Manila à 25 de Junio de 1712.—El Governador à S.M. n° 27.—Da quenta de las nuevas diligencias hechas sobre el descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos,*

¹ Ed. note: A reference to Captain Egui having deposited the Logbook of his 1711 voyage from Guam (see Doc. 1712C).

y de averse perdido un Patache que se despacho à ellas el año de 1711 ahogandose todos sino dos personas que escaparon con la vida. Con testimonio à n° 26.

Señor

En carta de 30 de Junio de año proximo pasado di quenta à V.M. del subzesos que tubieron las dos embarcaciones que el año antecedente de 1710 despache al descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos en ejecucion de lo mandado por Real zedula de V.M. de 19 de Octubre de 1705 y como la una de dichas dos embarcaciones se perdió aun antes de salir de estas Islas, sin peligrar ninguna gente, de la que iba embarcada en ella, y que habiendo proseguido su viaje la otra embarcacion, llevo à descubrir dos Yslotes ó Islas pequeñas en altura de 5 grados y 24 minutos de la linea para el norte[,] avitadas de alguna gente donde saltaron en tierra dos Religiosos Sacerdotes de la Compañia de Jesus, y otras catorse personas de la misma embarcacion, la qual por no haver hallado donde dar fondo, fue desgarrada de las corrientes y bientos contrarios y llevo à descubrir otra Isla grande en altura de 7 grados, y 20 minutos, y aunque despues hizo las diligencias posibles por volver à cojer las referidas dos Islas pequeñas, no lo pudo conseguir, y assi se quedaron en ellas los dos religiosos, y demas personas mencionadas, volviendose dicha embarcacion de arribada à estas Islas segun mas por menor exprese en la citada del año proximo pasado.

*En esta doy asi mismo quenta à V.M. como habiendo instado el Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus, como Vice Provincial nombrado de dichos Palaos para que en cumplimiento de lo mandado por V.M. se hiciese nuevo apresto de embarcacion para repetir las diligencias del referido descubrimiento de Palaos[,] lo remiti à Junta General de Hacienda en la qual aunque con contradiccion del Fiscal de esta Real Audiencia, se determino se hiciese nuevo despacho como con efecto se hizo aprestando la misma embarcacion que consiguio viaje en el año antecedente de 1710 que fue el Patache nombrado la **Santísima Trinidad** el qual salio del Puerto de Cavite el dia **quinze de Octubre del año proximo pasado de 1711 y la noche del dia 18 del mismo mes se perdió con una tormenta que le sumergio en la mar hallandose entre las dos Provincias de Mindoro, y Tayabas**, à distancia de 35 ó 40 leguas de Manila sin que escapasen la vida mas que tan solamente un Indio que en un palo pudo cojer tierra en la Jurisdiccion de Tayabas, y otros dos hombres que en la misma forma arribaron à la de Mindoro[,] aunque el uno de ellos murio poco dias despues, havindose ahogado toda la demas gente que iba en dicho Patache, y entre ella el dicho Padre Andres Serrano con otro Religioso sacerdote y un lego de la misma Compañia de Jesus.—*

*Haviendo dado Instruccion y horden al cavo y Piloto maior del Patache que el año proximo pasado se despacho con el situado regular à las Islas Marianas para que en su tornaviage à estas Islas hiciese las diligencias posibles por el descubrimiento de dichos Palaos lo executo asi el Cavo y Piloto maior de dicho patache, arando la mar de una parte à otra en toda la distancia que ay desde las Islas Marianas hasta estas de Philipinas en cuió distrito llevo à descubrir como cosa de 40 Islotes ó Islas muy pequeñas excepto la una de ellas que es algo grande, llamada **Panlox** [sic] que segun su situacion*

parece es la misma que se descubrio el año de 1710 en 7 grados y 20 minutos, y todas ó las mas havitadas de gente[.] las unas estan en 10 grados, otras en 7, y otras en 5 grados, y ... minutos de las cuales trajo consigo, dicho Cavo y Piloto dos hombres, el uno que cojio de las Islas pequeñas, y otro de la grande, y entre las pequeñas se descubrieron las dos en que dicho año se quedaron los dos religiosos de la Compañia y demas gente que arriba se mencionan pero por no haver podido arribar à ellas dicha embarcacion respecto de no haver dado lugar los tiempos contrarios no se ha podido saver si viven ó si los mataron à todos.

*Estas son Señor las diligencias que de mi horden se han hecho en los dos años de 1710 and 1711, sobre el descubrimiento de las mencionadas Islas de Palaos en cumplimiento de lo mandado por V.M. sin que de ellas ni de las que hizo mi antecesor en los años de 1707 y 1709 se aya conseguido mas fruto que el que dejo expresado à que se añade que el Governador de Marianas el año proximo pasado despacho desde ellas una embarcacion al mismo descubrimiento[.] la qual arrivo à estas Islas sin haber conseguido nada; y el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga volviendo de tornaviaje de la Nueva España à estas Islas con el Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** de su cargo el mismo año proximo pasado despacho otra embarcacion pequeña desde las Marianas, con gente de toda satisfacion en busca de dichos Palaos, y solo descubrio quatro Islas pequeñas [i.e. Ngulu], de todo lo qual se puede inferir que las Islas de Palaos de que se le ha informado à V.M. se reducen à las que dejo dicho se han descubiertos, pues à haver otras en la parte y de la grandeza y gentio que se juzgo parece imposible se dejase de haver encontrado con ellas mediante las muchas diligencias que se han hecho[.] sobre que V.M. mandara lo que fuere de su maior agrado.*

C.C. y R.P. Guarde Dios como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Manila y Junio 25 de 1712.

El Conde de Lizarraga.

Translation.

[Endorsement:] Manila, 25 June 1712.—The Governor to H.M. n° 27.—He reports on the new efforts made regarding the exploration of the Islands of Palaos, and about the loss of a patache that was despatched to them in the year 1711, with the drowning of everyone on board, except two persons who escaped with their lives. With Certificate n° 26.

Sire:

In a letter dated 30 June of last year, I reported to Y.M. about the outcome that two vessels got last year 1710, which I despatched to the exploration of the Islands of Palaos, in accordance with the orders contained in your Royal decree of 19 October 1705, and how one of the two vessels in question was lost, even before it had left these Islands, but without the loss of any person on board, and how, the other vessel having pursued its voyage, it managed to discover two islets or small islands in 5°24' longitude north of the line, inhabited by some people, where two Religious priests of the Society of Jesus stepped ashore, with 14 other persons from the same vessel, which, on account of not

being able to find an anchorage, was pushed away by contrary currents and winds and managed to discover another large island in 7°20' latitude. And, although afterwards he made all possible efforts to return and make a landfall at the two above-mentioned small islands, he could not do so, and so, the two above-mentioned religious and other persons remained there, said vessel being forced to turn back to these Islands, as was described with more details in last year's report.

In the present report, I also report to Y.M. how, after Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, as appointed Vice-Provincial of said Palaos, had made a request for Y.M.'s orders to be carried out, i.e. to have another vessel made ready to repeat the efforts for the exploration of the Palaos in question, I referred same to a General Meeting of the treasury Council, in which, albeit with the objection of the Fiscal of this Royal Audiencia, it was decided to have another despatch. To this effect, the same vessel that performed the voyage in 1710, i.e. the patache named **Santísima Trinidad**, was made ready again and **it left the port of Cavite on 15 October of last year 1711 and on the night of the 18th of the same month it became lost in a storm that sank it while it was between the two provinces of Mindoro and Tayabas**, at a distance of 35 to 40 leagues from Manila. The only persons who survived were: one Indian who, on top of a mast, was able to reach the land in the Jurisdiction of Tayabas, and two other men who in the same manner reached the coast of Mindoro, although one of these died a few days later; all the other persons aboard said patache were drowned, and among them said Father Andrés Serrano with another religious, a priest, and one brother of the same Society of Jesus.—¹

Having issued an Instruction and order to the commander and chief pilot of the patache that was despatched last year with the regular subsidy to the Mariana Islands, to have it during the return voyage to these Islands make every effort possible to explore said Palaos, said Commander and Chief pilot of said patache did carry it out, by plowing the sea back and forth along the whole distance that exists from the Mariana Islands as far as these Philippines. In said search area, he managed to discover something like 40 islets or very small islands, except for one of them that is somewhat larger, named **Panlox** [sic] which, according to its position, appears to be the same as was discovered in 1710 in 7°20', and all or most of them are inhabited by people. The former are in 10°, the others in 7, and others in 5° and some minutes. Said Commander and pilot brought along one man whom he picked up at the small islands, and another from the big island, and among the small ones, the two islands where the two religious of the Society and other men mentioned before were sighted, but, since said vessel was unable to make a landing there, because the contrary weather did not allow it, it has not been possible to find out whether or not they were all killed.

These are, Sire, the efforts that were made as a result of my order during the two years 1710 and 1711, regarding the exploration of the above-mentioned Islands of Palaos, in compliance with what Y.M. has ordered, but unfortunately without more suc-

1 Ed. note: They were Fr. Ignacio Crespo and Br. Étienne Baudin.

cess than my predecessor had in the years 1707 and 1709. Furthermore, let me add that the Governor of the Marianas last year despatched from there a vessel to the same exploration, but said vessel ended up in distress at these Islands, having accomplished nothing;¹ and General Miguel de Elorriaga, when returning from New Spain to these Islands with the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** under his command, last year also, despatched another small vessel from the Marianas, with men who were completely satisfactory, in search of said Palaos, but it only discovered 4 small islands.² The general conclusion that can be drawn from all of this is that the Islands of Palaos that have been mentioned in reports to Y.M. are only those that I have just mentioned were discovered; indeed, if any more islands exist in the area, with the size and population that had been thought possible now seems impossible, as they should have been encountered by now through the many efforts that have been made. Nevertheless, Y.M. will order what might be of your greater pleasure.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 25 June 1712.

The Count of Lizarraga.

1 Ed. note: More details are given by a Frenchman visiting Guam when they were building this boat (see p. 398).

2 Ed. note: Ngulu Atoll (see Doc. 1711F).

Documents 1711H

The Council of the Indies learns of the re-discovery of Sonsorol in 1710

H1. Letter from Fr. Serrano to the Marquis of Mejorada de la Breña, dated Manila 10 June 1711

Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (formerly 68-5-29); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4; copy in Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 3(1946): 1074-1076.

Original text in Spanish

Muy Ilustre Señor

Muy Señor mio.

El año pasado de 1710 escrivi à Vuestra Señoria dandole la razon de mi partida à las Islas Australes por otro nombre Palaos para dar principio en el nombre del Señor tanto à su practico descubrimiento (de que solo avia noticias por la relacion de los Indios que repetidas vezes an venido desgaritados à estas Philipinas) quanto à la reduccion à nuestra Santa fee Catholica de sus Isleños Gentiles que son innumerables. Hizose la prevençion como entonzes dixè de dos pequeños vajeles que se juzgaron los mas idoneos para la consecucion de este fin[:] quales fueron un Patache y una balandra con todas las cosas necesarias asi de peltrechos como de matalotaje para una navegacion nueva y de tantas contingencias. La execuzion de la partida de ellos fue à fines de Septiembre del dicho año que se hizieron à la vela en el Puerto de Cavite[,] el uno pocos dias antes el otro, y con orden de juntarse en un puerto por nombre Palapag 100 leguas distante de Cavite para reaserse en el de agua y leña, frutas y [hole = carne?] fresca por ser el dicho Puerto de Palapag la ultima [hole = tierra en?] aquella parte que mira al oriente ó leste [de las] Islas Philipinas, y donde empieza el immenso [mar del] sur, cuyo golfo hasta 200 y aun 300 leguas [es ne]-cesario navegar à los rumbos del sueste [hole] y sursueste para dar con las Islas de este descubrimiento que se dilatan en gran numero [hole] y hasta ir por la costa septentrional de la Nueva Guinea, la qual es una tierra immensa ya conocida de mas de 100 leguas à esta parte sin haversele hallado termino y sin saverse aún si es Isla ó tierra firme, y asi esta tierra como las dichas Islas Australes todas son de la demarcacion de la Corona de Castilla y pertenecen à los dominios de nuestro Catholico Monarca.

*El dicho Patache cuyo nombre es la **Santissima Trinidad** salio del Puerto de Cavite quatro dias antes que la Balandra: esto es à 27 de Septiembre y tubo tan feliz viaje que aporto en 7 dias à Palapag, vencidas todas las dificultades del estrecho de Luzon que vulgarmente llaman Embocadero. La Balandra se detuvo en Cavite hasta el dia 30 de Septiembre por la noche à causa de diferentes aderesos que se le añadieron; los cuales concluydos y aviendome embarcado en ella con mi compañero el Padre Joseph de Bobadilla, y el Cavo de la gente de mar y Guerra de ambos vajeles el Sargento Mayor Don Francisco de Padilla, se dio à la vela ultimamente llevando consigo no se que oculto destino que le yba conduciendo el Infortunio y desgracia que despues sucedio. Porque siendo embarcacion mas ligera y la mejor para el intento à juicio de los hombres practicos del mar y llendo por su Piloto uno de los mejores mozos de este arte que an entrado en estas Islas[,] despues de 20 dias de trabajosa navegacion (por la adversidad de los tiempos y diferentes accidentes que lo sobrevinieron) se perdio infaustamente dos leguas antes de llegar al dicho Puerto de Palapag en los vajos que llaman de Tubac; que son unos arrecifes de piedra al modo de espongas; aunque muy duros los cuales ocultaban la marea crecida y se hallaron despues de aver sondado diez brazas de fondo; y en ellos se encajo tan fuertemente que por mas diligencias que se hizieron no hubo forma de sacarla. El Piloto era nuevo en la tierra é ignoraba estos parajes; la carta de marear por donde se gobierno no espresaba estos arrecifes[,] hombre practico que realmente lo fuera tal, y pudiera dirigir al Piloto en este tranze no se hallo por permission de Dios.*

Añadiose à este gran trabajo otro mayor en que pudieramos aver peligrado todos y perecido[,] si el Señor no nos hubiera asistido con su paternal providencia. Y fue el averse levantado de improviso un recio vendabal (que duro quatro dias) el qual impedia llegar à bordo las pequeñas embarcaciones de los Pueblos vecinos que se pudieron recoger para descargar la Balandra, y socorrer à los miserables naufragos; mas en algunas pausas que hacia el viento dio lugar à salvar las vidas y una pequeña parte de la carga[,] perdiendose lo mas[,] asi de lo que iba de quenta del Rey como de la Mission. Por este accidente tan impensado, y siendo preciso que prosiguiese sin dilacion su viaje el Patache solo por no perder la monson de los vientos favorables, que se iban ya acabando[,] fue necesario que nos detubiesemos en la Provincia de los Bisayas (donde sucedio el naufragio) mi compañero y io para diferentes providencias que ocasiono y resultaron de esta desgracia[,] especialmente en el amparo y asistencia à los que naufragaron y su conduccion hasta Manila.

Quanto sentimiento tubo mi corazon, y quan gravemente le hizo [hirio?] tanto infortunio por los atrasos que padecia la Mission[,] solo Dios que lo permitio por sus ocultos juicios sabe; con cuya santissima voluntad y disposicion conformandome en todo y por todo[,] hize que quanto antes saliesse del Puerto el dicho Patache en prosecucion de su jornada y derrota. Iban en el por Misioneros y precursor de la divina palabra dos Padres de nuestra Comp^a de Jhs[,] el uno de nacion flamenco que traje [conmi-]go desde España y ambos eran de insigne [hole] y sus nombres Jacobo Duberon y Joseph [Cortyl.] El primero fue en mi lugar, {y} por superior de la Mision [hole = Carolina?] y de el estava profetizado algun{os} [hole] avia de ser el que descubriese las

*Islas [de Palaos. A] 12 de Noviembre del susodicho año salio el Patache [del puerto] de Palapag que llaman Calamotan para el golfo del sur, y no siendo ya este mes de vendavales (y aun raro [hole] ver soplan en el de Octubre en que nos perdimos) luego al punto de llevarnos una colla de ellos, que en pocos dias condujeron al vaxel à las primeras Islas de los Palaos llamadas **Sonsonrrol** que descubrieron el dia de San Andres Apostol; à cuyo [h]onor los navegantes les pusieron su nombre apellidandolas Islas de San Andres. Despues andadas 42 leguas descubrieron 7 Islas grandes y de tierra alta pobladas al parecer todas, por lo que se pudo coligir de los Isleños Gentiles que estubieron à bordo del Patache; el qual tubo diversos sucesos que vera Vuestra Señoria por el papel adjunto sacada de la carta que me escrivio el Hermano Esteban Baudin de nuestra Comp^a que fue por compañero de los Padres y para cuidar de lo temporal de la Mission.*

Todas las cosas grandes padecen grandes contradiciones y las que miran al mayor culto de Dios mayor envidia del enemigo comun. Los dos primeros despachos para este descubrimiento efectuados por los años de 708 y 709 se malograron sin descubrir Isla alguna. El tercero que se efectuo el año pasado se logro sabiendose el paraje asia donde demoraban estas Islas, y aunque no se an descubierto todas[,] esta ya abierto el camino para su facil hallazgo[,] pues no distan mucho unas de otras hasta el numero de 87. Pero ya que el Señor dispuso el que tubieramos tan dichosa y tan deseada nueva[,] permitio dos azares para prueba de nuestra fee y paciencia cristiana. El uno la perdida de la Balandra en que estaba puesta toda la confianza del descubrimiento. El otro la quedada de los Padres tan Apostolicamente sin avio ni escolta[,] pendientes puramente de su paternal providencia que no les faltara como esperamos de su infinita bondad. Yo quedo rogando à la misma por la vida y salud de Vuestra Señoria que prospere dilatados años.

Manila y Junio 10 de 1711 años.

[In another handwriting:]

Vuestra Señoria haga que se repitan sedulas de su Magd. sobre este expediente; porque ay bien que hazer y la tierra es mucha y rica; y que se señale lo que se ha de gastar en el vaxel anual, y lo que se ha de dar à los soldados y que venga en cuenta aparte de Mexico; porque los Ministros Reales aca se cansan presto y es menester avibarlos.

Muy Ilustre Señor

B L m de V.S. su menor capellan y obligado siervo en {Jesu} Christo.

Andr[es Serrano]

M. Illo. Sor. Marquez de Mejorada [de la B]reña

Translation

Most Illustrious Sir:

My dear Sir:

Last year 1710 I wrote to Your Lordship, giving you the particulars of my departure for the Austral Islands, otherwise known as Palaos, in order to give a start in the name of the Lord, not only to their practical exploration (of which we had only notices from

the narrative of Indians who many times had come as drifters to these Philippines) but also to the reduction to our Holy Catholic Faith of their heathen islanders, who are numberless. As I said then, two small vessels were made ready because they were considered the most suitable to achieve this purpose; they were one patache and one sloop with all the necessary things, not only in equipment but also in sea supplies for a new voyage with so many potential unforeseen events. Their actual departure took place at the end of September of said year, when they set sail from the port of Cavite, one preceding the other by a few days, but with an order to join up in a port named Palapag, 100 leagues distant from Cavite, to resupply themselves there with wood and water, fruits and fresh [hole in paper = meat?], since said port of Palapag is the last [hole = port?] in that part that faces the orient or eastward from the Philippine Islands, and where the huge South [Sea] begins, whose expanse as far as 200 and even 300 leagues one must cross while heading SE and SSE to reach the Island[s] to be explored, that are spread all over in great number, even as far as the northern coast of New Guinea, which is a huge land, already known, of over 100 leagues in that direction but without its end having been found and without knowing whether it is an island or a mainland, and therefore this land, as said Austral Islands, are all within the demarcation of the Crown of Spain and they belong to the dominions of our Catholic monarch.

Said patache, whose name is the **Santísima Trinidad** sailed from the port of Cavite 4 days before the sloop, that is on 27 September and made such a successful voyage that it made port at Palapag in 7 days, having overcome all the difficulties of the Strait of Luzon which is commonly called Embocadero [i.e. Entrance Channel]. The sloop was detained in Cavite until the 30th of September at night due to various modifications that were made to it.¹ Once they were finished, I embarked with my companion, Father José de Bobadilla, and the Commander of marines of both vessels, Sergeant-Major Francisco de Padilla, and we finally set sail, taking along I don't know what occult destiny that was to lead it into the unfortunate and sorry disaster that it ran into afterwards. In fact, being a lighter vessel and the best for the purpose according to men knowledgeable in naval matters and having on board one of the best pilots who have ever come to these Islands, after 20 days of tough navigation (on account of the contrary weather and various accidents that occurred) it was unluckily lost two leagues before arriving at said port of Palapag upon shoals called Tubac,² which are some reefs made of stone that look like sponges, but very hard.³ Said stones were hidden by the high tide, and they were found after soundings had revealed the bottom at 10 fathoms. The sloop got wedged so solidly between them that no matter how many efforts were made, there was no way of getting it out of there. The pilot was new in this country and he did not know this neighborhood. The sea chart that he was following did not show

1 Ed. note: The name of this sloop was San Miguel (see Doc. 1711BB).

2 Ed. note: This is possible a transcription error for Libas (see p. 296).

3 Ed. note: A good description of coral, for a reader that has never seen any.

such reefs; a local pilot, who could be truly called such, one who could have advised the pilot in this situation, was not to be found, God permitting.

Added to this great hardship was another greater one in which we could all have been at risk and perished, if the Lord had not assisted us with His paternal providence. And it was that a stiff monsoon wind suddenly arose (that lasted 4 days), one that prevented the small craft that were found in the neighboring towns to come alongside to unload the sloop, and save the miserable shipwrecked people. However, during some pauses in the wind, there was an opportunity to save all souls and a small part of the cargo, although most of the latter was lost, from the supplies owned by the King and by the Mission equally. Because of such an unexpected accident, and because it was necessary for the patache to pursue its voyage without delay in order to take advantage of the favorable monsoon winds, that were then about to come to an end, it became necessary for me and my companion to remain in the Province of the Visayas (where the shipwreck occurred) to look after various operations made necessary as a result of this bad luck, specially to protect and assist those who were shipwrecked and [arrange for] their transportation back to Manila.

How sorry was my heart and how gravely such bad luck hurt it, on account of the delays that the Mission suffered, only God knows, He who permitted it through His occult wisdom, and in whose most holy will and decision I agree with completely in everything. I arranged for said patache to leave the port as soon as possible to pursue its voyage as planned. Two Fathers of our Society of Jesus were aboard it, as Missionaries and precursors of the divine word, one a Flemish whom I brought along with me from Spain, and both were of outstanding [hole] and their names are Jacob Dubéron and Joseph [Cortyl]. The former replaced me as Superior of the [hole] Mission and about him had been prophesied by some [hole] that he was to be the one to discover the Islands [of the Palaos. On] 12 November of the above-said year, the patache left [the port of] Palapag which they call Calomotan bound for the South Sea, and, that month no longer being part of the monsoon season (and even the month of October during which we got shipwrecked is seldom part of it), then all of a sudden a blast of such a wind enveloped us in such a way that within a few days the vessel was carried to the first Islands of the Palaos named **Sonsonrrol** which were discovered on the feast-day of St. Andrew, in whose honor the crew named them the Islands of San Andrés. After sailing for 42 more leagues they discovered 7 large islands, with high land and apparently all inhabited, from what they were able to grasp from the heathen islanders who came alongside the patache. Said patache met with various incidents that Your Lordship will read about in the enclosed paper, copied from a letter that I received from Brother Estevan Baudin of our Society, the man who was the companion of the Fathers and looking after the material aspects of the Mission.¹

All great projects suffer from great contradictions and the projects that deal with the greater cult of God are the special envy of the common enemy. The first two despat-

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1711BA1.

ches for this exploration carried out in the years 1708 and 1709 turned out badly, without any island being discovered. The third one that took place last year met with some success, in that it was learned what heading was to be followed to reach the neighborhood of these Islands, and although not all of them have been discovered, the way is now open that will lead to their easy discovery; indeed, they do not lie very far apart one from the other, up to 87 islands in all. However, the same God who arranged such lucky and desirable news, also allowed two mishaps, the better to test our faith and Christian patience. One is the loss of the sloop in which was placed our whole trust for the exploration work; the other is the fact that the Fathers who so apostle-like have remained behind, without supplies or escort, left dependent solely upon His paternal providence, which should not fail them, as we hope from His infinite kindness. I remain, praying to the same instance for the life and health of Your Lordship, that you may prosper for many more years.

Manila, 10 July 1711.

[In another handwriting:]

Your Lordship will please have the decrees of His Majesty re-issued, because there is good to be done and the land is large and rich. And let the annual amount to be spent on the vessel be specified, as well as the pay to be given to the soldiers, and let it be paid on a separate account out of Mexico, because the Royal ministers here get tired easily and it is necessary to push them a little.

Most Illustrious Sir,

Your minor chaplain and obliged servant in Christ, who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,

Andr[és Serrano]

[To] the Most Illustrious Marquis of Mejorada [de la B]reña.

H2. Royal consultation of 14 June 1714

Original text in Spanish.

Conde de Frigiliana.

Don Alonso Arazil.

Don Gonzalo Machado.

Don Joseph de los Rios.

Don Manuel de Mises.

Don Miguel Calderon.

Marques de Miana.

Don Juan de Otalora.

Conde de Adanero.

Don Fernando Arango.

Don Joseph Munibe.

Don Diego de Zuñiga.

Don Diego de Rojas.

Don Antonio Valcarcel.

Señor.

Con Decreto de 30 de Abril del año pasado de 1713 se sirvió V.Magd. remitir al Consejo una carta de Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus, que incluye una relacion de todo lo sucedido en el descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos, mandando V.M. se le consulte, lo que se considerare combeniente para el adelantamiento de la Religion, y que llegue à aquellas remotas Jentes havitadoras de dhas Islas la Luz del Evangelio.

*Refiere este Religioso, que havindose hecho prevencion de dos pequeños vajeles, que se juzgaron combenientes para el fin de este descubrimiento[,] salieron del Puerto de Cabite en fines de Septiembre del año de 1710 con todo lo que se consideró necesario, en cuyo viaje[,] antes de llegar al Puerto de Palapag, (que era desde donde havian de seguir el rumbo, para inquirir las Yslas de Palaos) hubo la desgracia de que varase con la fuerza del viento uno de los dos Navios, sin que la destreza del Piloto, ni las activas diligencias, que se aplicaron, vastasen à sacarle de las peñas, en donde naufragó, si bien se pudo conseguir libertar la gente, y salvar la carga: Pondera el dolor con que sintio tan infausto accidente, por considerar frustrada la mayor parte de tan importante fin; Y que havindole sido preciso quedarse en la Provincia de las Visayas (que fue en donde sucedio este contratiempo) para solicitar diferentes providencias, que resultaron de esta desgracia, siguió el otro Navio la principiada derrota, llevando por Misioneros dos Religiosos de exemplar virtud, y de prendas esclarecidas, haviendo logrado, que, siendo irregular en aquel tiempo el que soplasen los vendavales por ser en el mes de Noviembre se lebantase una colla de ellos, y favorablemente los condujese à la primera Isla de las Palaos, llamada **Sonsorrol**, y nombrada ultimamente San Andres por haber dado vista à ella el dia de este Santo Apostol en la qual hecharon la lancha con alguna gente para reconozarla, y haviendo descubierto, que la havitaban 800 Yndios, que manifestavan docilidad para la combersion, saltaron en tierra dos Religiosos sacerdotes, y hasta el numero de doze personas, las quales se quedaron en ella con la lancha, y el Navio continuo en aquellos rumbos la diligencia de descubrir la Ysla principal, pero no haviendo podido conseguirlo[,] volbio costeando a la que primero encontraron, y en donde quedó con la gente la lancha, y no siendo posible por falta de esta arrimarse a la Ysla el Navio, fue preciso se quedasen en ella los dos Religiosos, y el numero de personas expresado, bolbiendose la embarcazion al Puerto de Cabite.*

Este es el estado en que dize Andres Serrano quedava el descubrimiento de Palaos y concluye, representando la importancia de continuar las diligencias para encontrar la principal, y sus adjacentes, que componen el numero de 87 poco distantes las unas de las otras, lo qual considera menos dificultoso, respecto de saverse ya el paraje, à donde caen, y el camino que hasta aqui era la mayor imposibilidad hallar; y suplica à V.M. se sirva mandar, expedir nuevas hordenes, sobre esta materia, pues el territorio de dhas Islas, despues de ser grande ofreze abundancia en las riquezas, señalandose lo que ha de gastar en el vajel anual, que ha de ir, y lo que se ha de dar a los soldados, cuyo importe considera combeniente vaya de Mexico por quenta aparte.

Haviendose recebido tambien carta del Governador de Philipinas Conde de Lizaraga con fha de 30 de Junio de 1711 refiere sustancialmente el mismo suceso que participa en la antezedente Andres Serrano, y añade haverse executado en quatro ocasiones semejantes aprestos, para este descubrimiento, pagandose en las tres todo su importe de caudales de Real Hazienda[,] diziendo estava en animo de hazer nuevo apresto, y socorrer a los Religiosos, y gente, que quedó en la Ysla de San Andres, y que havia dado tambien orden al Cavo del Patache, que llevó el situado de las Islas Marianas, para que en el tornabaje hiziese todas las diligencias posibles sobre el descubrimiento de la Isla principal de Palaos.

En su inteligencia se dio vista de este expediente al Fiscal del Consejo, quien enterado de todo, respondió no se podia hazer determinado juicio asi en lo que habria resultado en la Ysla de San Andres como en la prosecucion del descubrimiento hasta que lleguen nuevas cartas de Philipinas, proponiendo el que se podria responder al Governador, dandole gracias por el cuydado, y aplicacion, con que solicitava socorrer a los Religiosos, y gente que quedo en la Ysla descubierta, y por el encargo que hizo al Cavo del Patache de las Marianas, para la diligencia de encontrar la capital de Palaos; pero al mismo tiempo considera el Fiscal deven merecer atencion los aprestos, que a costa de la Real Hazienda se han executado, siendo constante la inmensidad de Yslas de aquel Archipiélago, en que no sera facil, sino que sea por mero accidente descubrir la de Palaos, añadiendose à esto el que a cortas distancias de Manila, hay copioso numero de Yndios varbaros, à cuyas combersiones impele la misma obligazion con mayor facilidad, y menos gasto.

En este supuesto considera el Consejo, que por aora no se ofrezte, que hazer otra cosa, que responder al Governador en los terminos que propusó el Fiscal, hasta que en vista de las cartas y noticias, que se deven esperar de Philipinas, se pueda pasar à mayores providencias, dando quenta de ellas à V.M. respecto de que como materia de tanta gravedad, merece la mas especial atencion, quando se dirige à dilatar la Luz del Evangelio en partes tan remotas, y extender los Dominios de V. Magd. con la combersion de tanto ynfiel, como havitara aquellas islas; sobre cuyo asunto contemplara el Consejo el mas providente medio, quando se recivan las noticias del estado del descubrimiento, y solicitarà poner el mayor cuydado en discurrir el menos gasto con que se pueda lograr tan importante dichoso fin, dando quenta de todo à V.Magd. a su tiempo, para que entonzes como aora resuelva V.Mgd. lo que mas sea servido.

Madrid à 25 de Junio de 1714.

[Signatures of:]

Don Odayo Manuel Manzera de Lara

D. Alonso Pedro de Araciel

D. Gonzalo Machado

Don Manuel de Mieses y Arias

Don Miguel Calderon de la Barca

Marques de Miana

D. Juan de Otalora

El Conde de Adanero

Don Fernando Ignacio de Arango Queipo

Joseph de Munibe

Don Diego de Zuñiga

Vista.—D. Martin Josef de Miraval.

[Endorsement:]

Consejo de Yndias a 25 de Junio de 1714.

Pone en la Real noticia de V.M. el estado del descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos, y con este motivo representa à V.M. lo que se le ofrezte como se sirvio mandarlo.

[The King's minute:]

Quedo enterado[.] esta bien.

[Minute:]

Publicada en 2 de Jullio.

Don Diego de Morales.

Translation.

Count of Frigiliana.

Don Alonso Araciél.

Don Gonzalo Machado.

Don Joseph de los Rios.

Don Manuel de Mieses.

Don Miguel Calderon.

Marquis of Miana.

Don Juan de Otalora.

Count of Adanero.

Don Fernando Arango.

Don Joseph Munibe.

Don Diego de Zuñiga.

Don Diego de Rojas.

Don Antonio Valcarcel.

Sire:

By a Decree dated 30 April of last year 1713, Your Majesty was pleased to remit to the Council a letter from Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, which included an account of everything that happened during the exploration for the Palaos Islands, and Y.M. ordered us to counsel you on whatever may be appropriate for the progress of religion, so that the light of the Gospel may reach the inhabitants of said remote islands.

This Religious reports that, after two small vessels had been made ready, of the type judged to be appropriate for exploration purposes, they left the port of Cavite at the end of September 1710 with everything considered necessary. During the voyage, before they reached the port of Palapag (which is where they had to take their departure

toward the Palaos Islands) there happened the disaster that one of the two ships was grounded by the force of the wind, in spite of the skill of the pilot and the active efforts made to get it off the reefs, upon which it was wrecked, although the people were saved, and the cargo as well. He adds that he was very sorry about such an unfortunate accident, because he thought that the larger part of such an important purpose had become nullified. And, he was forced to stay behind in the Province of the Visayas (where this mishap occurred) in order to make various arrangements as a result of this shipwreck. The other ship pursued the planned voyage, with two Missionaries of exemplary virtue and recognized qualities on board; it was able to do so with a blast of monsoon winds, unusual ones for the month of November, but favorable ones to push the ship as far as the first island of the Palaos, named **Sonsorrol**, and recently re-named San Andrés, because it was sighted on the feast-day of this Sainly Apostle. There they lowered the launch and some men went to reconnoiter it and, having discovered that it was inhabited by 800 Indians who showed themselves docile enough to be converted, there stepped ashore two Religious priests and up to 12 persons; they all remained there, along with the launch, while the ship continued in that neighborhood the effort of exploring the main island. However, they were unable to achieve it, and returned to coast by the first island that they had found and where the men had remained behind with the launch. However, the ship was unable to anchor near the island, so that the two Religious and the other above-mentioned persons were forced to remain there, while the vessel returned to the port of Cavite.

This was the status of the exploration of the Palaos, says Andrés Serrano, and he concludes by representing the importance of continuing the efforts to find the main island, and others in its vicinity, that make up the number of 87, not too distant from one another, something which he considers less difficult, now that the area where they lie is already known, and the route to get there (the main difficulty up to now) has been found. He begs Y.M. to please order the issuance of new orders about this matter; indeed, the territory of said Islands, in addition to being large, offers an abundance of riches. The orders should state the amount to be spent on the vessel that should go there yearly, and what should be given to the soldiers, and he thinks that it would be proper for it all to come from Mexico under a separate account.

A letter from the Governor of the Philippines, Count of Lizarraga, was also received, and it is dated 30 June 1711. In it, he refers to the same event, more or less in terms similar to the above-mentioned Andrés Serrano, but he adds that similar endeavors have taken place four times before, and three of these voyages of exploration have been completely supported by funds from the Royal treasury. He says that he was of a mind to make another ship ready, to go to the succor of the Religious and men who remained in the Island of San Andrés, and that he had also given an order to the Commander of the Patache that took the subsidy to the Mariana Islands, so that it would make all possible efforts during its return voyage to find the main Island of the Palaos.

As a result thereof, this file was passed to the Fiscal of the Council. After he had taken knowledge of it, he answered by saying that he could not make a definite judg-

ment about it, not only about what might have happened at the Island of San Andrés but also about the on-going exploration work, until new letters came from the Philippines. However, he recommended that a letter should be sent to the Governor, giving him thanks for the care and attention that he had shown in trying to succor the Religious and the men who remained in the island discovered, and for the order he had given to the Commander of the Mariana Patache, in order to find the main island of the Palaos. However, at the same time the Fiscal considers that attention should be paid to the outfittings of ships made at the expense of the Royal treasury; indeed, the islands of that archipelago are numerous and it will not be easy to randomly explore the Palaos. He points out that, on the other hand, there are located at short distances from Manila large numbers of barbarous Indians whose conversion is also a duty, but an easier one to fulfill, with lower expenses.

In this wise, the Council considers that, for now, the only thing that can be done is to write to the Governor, in the terms recommended by the Fiscal, and then to wait for other letters and news that can be expected to come from the Philippines, when it might be possible to make greater provisions and report same to Y.M., given the great importance of such a subject matter, that requires special attention, because it deals with the propagation of the light of the Gospel in such remote parts, and the extension of the domains of Your Majesty, with the conversion of the heathen people who must inhabit those islands. Therefore, the Council will take care to study this matter and propose the appropriate means, whenever news are received concerning the status of the exploration work, and it will look to discuss the least expenditure to be made in order to achieve definite success in this important project, while reporting about it all to Your Majesty in due course, so that Y.M. may be informed then as now about the best way to achieve your greater service.

Madrid, 25 June 1714.

[Signatures of:] Don Odayo Manuel Macera de Lara [i.e. Count of Frigiliana].

Don Alonso Pedro de Araciél.

Don Gonzalo Machado.

Don Manuel de Mieses y Arias.

Don Miguel Calderon de la Barca.

Marquis of Miana.

Don Juan de Otalora.

Count of Adanero.

Don Fernando Ignacio de Arango Queipo.

José de Munibe.

Don Diego de Zuñiga.

Seen.—Don Martin José de Miraval.

[Endorsement:] The Council of the Indies, 25 June 1714.

Brings to the attention of Y.M. the status of the exploration of the Palaos Islands, and for this reason represents to Y.M. what actions can be taken, as you were pleased to order them to do.

Documents 1711I

The French ship *Solide*, Captain Raguienne, in Guam in January 1711

Sources: Ms. 4JJ129, 3ter in ANP; formerly in SHM, Div. 30, n°32; mentioned in Madrolle's book, pp. 277-287 (see Bibliography under 1711).

Note: The Moncourant manuscript appears to be a copy, because of its many small inconsistencies in transcription.

Introductory note by Dahlgren.

Le Solide of Port-Louis; 44 guns, 201 men. Capt. Guillaume de Raguienne, Lord of Mareuil; ship-owner: Jean-Maurice Lambrosse.

Departed Port-Louis on 6 January 1709. In Buenos Aires from 15 May to 15 November. Concepción from 29 January to 20 February 1710. Coquimbo from 21 February to the end of April. Arica from 3 May to 5 June. Landed afterwards at Ilo and at Pisco, and finally left for China on 15 November 1710. **At the Island of Guam from 25 to 31 January 1711.** Reached the mouth of the Canton River on 17 February. Stayed at Canton from 2 March until the month of August 1711. When leaving the river, the ship was caught in a typhoon and demasted. To repair the damage and wait for the favorable season, they remained at the island of Shang-Tshuang (Sancian) for 10 months. Arrived at Valle de Banderas [Mexico] on 6 November 1712. Coquimbo from 28 March to the month of April 1713. Ilo from 21 May to 5 September. Paraca and Pisco, 10-21 September. Arrived at Callao to careen ship on 24 September. Ilo from 26 May to 10 June 1714. Again at Callao at the beginning of December of the same year and arrived, after a side-trip to Chile, at Ilo on 15 May 1715. Paraca, 12-15 June. From there to Callao, where, on 23 October, the log says that the ship was "ready to go home." During the return voyage, they were forced to make port at Bahia [Brazil], at the end of April 1716. There the ship was inspected, found to be unseaworthy, disarmed, dismasted and beached near the fort, there to be burned, in order to recover the iron. The Captain and crew took passage to Lisbon, where they arrived in October 1716. From there they returned to their homeport, Port-Louis, where part of the crew arrived in January 1717 aboard a chartered boat.

II. The narrative of the supercargo and pilot, Mr. Moncourant

Original text in French.

Le Vaisseau Le Solide 1710. Commandant De l'Île de Formigas Côte du Perou, aux Îles Mariannes à Canton.—Journal de Moncourant.

...
[Janvier 1711]¹

Du Samedi 24ième

[Lat. obsée. ... 13°24']

[Long. arr. 163°19']

[Variation obs. 9°0' NE]

[Veü des Baleines.]

Depuis hier-midy, Jusqu'aujourd'huy midy, les vents ont refi]gnés du NE1/4. de N. à ENE. bon frais, la mer belle, avons gouverné à O1/4 de SO. Jusqu'a 5 heures du soir, que nous avons cargué nos basses voiles, et couru sous les 2 huniers sur le ton, Jusqu'a 5 h. du matin, que nous avons fait servir á toutes voilles, pour reconnoître la terre, pour moy je me fais a terre [sic] ce matin, á 8 heures nous avons chassé Jusqu'a midy, que ne voyant rien, J'ay trouvé hauteur; et trouvé que La route m'a vallû Le Ouest, 1° Sud, fait 37. Lx: [=lieues] nous ne voyons point d'oiseaux blanc; doute q'ils volent sous le vent, J'ay fait gageure, ce matin, que nous verrions La terre demain sans faute.

Du Dimanche 25.

[Veü de là terre]

[Isla de Satpana]

Depuis hier-midy, Jusqu'aujourd'huy midy, les vents ont Esté du NE, à ENE, bon frais. gouverné á O1/4SO. pendant La nuit, nous avons courû sous les 2 huniers sur Le ton, Jusqu'a 5 heures du matin, que nous ávons courrû á toutes voilles, Le temps fort Embrumé, avec quantité de grains de pluye, Et vent, á 11 heures du matin, nous avons veü La terre, au NO1/4. de O. 3° Ouest, distante de 8 lieues, que nous ávons pris pour l'Isle de Guam.

Suite du Dimanche, 25.

La ditte Isle, me paroissant haute, sur le costé du Sud, allant en diminuant Jusqu'a La pointe du nort, qui me parroissoit tres basse, Et fort vive; mais Là coste du Sud peut paroistre facilement de 12 lieues.

[Lat. est. 13°27']

[Long. arr. 161°48']

[Variation obs. ... 8°40' NE]

1 Ed. note: What is in square brackets here was originally in margin, or left-hand column of the journal.

À midy, n'ayant pû observer hauteur, a cause que Le temps Estoit fort embrûmé, Et plein de pluye, J'ay Estimé Là route à L'ouest, 2° Nord fait 31 lieues, nous àvons tenu le vent, pour passer au vent de là d. Isle, Et md. [=méridien?] d'arrivee, pour aller chercher le mouillage, qu'on dit Estre dans L'ouest de L'Isle, ou Sous le vent.

Du Lundy 26.

[Remarques.]

Depuis hier midy, Jusqu'aujourd'huy midy, Les vents ont Esté du NE, á ENE, bon frais, hier sur les 6 heures du Soir, voyant Là pointe du Nord á O1/4SO. 3 lieues, lá pointe du Sud au SO. 2 lieues lá plus proche terre, 2 lieues, sur Le costé du Sud, il nous paroissoie une montagne, presque au milieu de L'Isle, qui Estoit platte Sur le haut, et unie, comme une table, En voyant que nous ne en pouvions gagner le mouillage avant La Nuit, nous avons mis sous les 2 basses voilles, Et àvons Louvoyé bord sur bord, pour nous entretenir au vent de L'Isle, Jusqu'à 4 heures du matin, que nous àvons veu une grosse pointe, au SSE, 5 lieues, nous àvons mis Le cap su SE, pour nous àpprocher de là terre á 5. heures 1/2 nous avons veu une grosse pointe au Sud 1/4. SE. qui nous paroissoit une Isle, avec une maniere de table En platte-forme Sur le haut, paroissant, comme une Citadelle: Et dans l'Est de Là d. pointe, une terre basse, que nous ne pouvions pas bien voir, par rapport á lá brume, Et des grains fort fréquents, que nous recevions, chargés de pluye, nous avons approché lá terre, Jusqu'a ce qu'enfin, que nous avons reconnú, que lá d. pointe Estoit contigue á La terre;

En estant distant àlors d'une lieue 1/2 au S. 1/4 SO. pendant Lá nuit, Ils nous ont fait des feux. A Six heures du matin, nous àvons veu une pirogue, qui partoit de cette basse terre, qui est venue á bord, avec un Espagnol et quelques Indiens de L'Isle, pour conduire lá pirogue, qui est faite a balantier, et pas plus large dans son milieu d'un pied 1/2, en arrivant á bord, Il nous á appris que lá d. Isle n'estoit point L'Isle de Guam, mais L'Isle Satpana, distance de 10. lieues au nord de lá d. Isle de Guam, ou Marianne, Le d. Espagnol qui est Pilotte; nous á dit qu'il y àvoit mouillage icy, dans cette basse terre, dont Je viens de parler, et qu'il y àvoit de L Eau, mais dans des pays [sic], lá quelle n'Estoit pas bonne, au nord de lá d. pointe, que nous àvons rangés á 1/2 lieue, sans danger, c'est encore une terre basse, qui vat vers l'Est, ou Il y a mouillage; le bord de la mer m'a parû beau sable blanc, et l'Isle Est couvere de bois, qui Sont tous Cocotiers, le d. Pilotte nous á appris qu'il y àvoit 200 Indiens, qui pêchoient quantité de poisson, et qu'il y àvoit des coctions [=cochons], avec quoy ils se nourrissent, Il y á 2 perres de La Compagné Jesus, pour Instruire les d. Indiens dans nôtre relligion, en quoy Ils font de grands progrès, ces Indiens, et mesme les Espagnols, commencent [sic = commercent] avec les autres, Isles voisines, avec leurs pirogues, lesquelles Isles dépendent de celle de guam, ou Il y á un Gouverneur Espagnol envoyé du Roy, les d. Pilottes Estant obligé de Nous mener á l'Isle de Guam, ou Ils nous á assuré, qu'il ne manquoit rien[.]

[fait route, pour L'Isle de Guam, ou Marianne.]

[Veü de L'Isle de Guam.]

[Lat. obs. ... 13°43']

à 8 heures du matin, nous avons mis Le Cap au Sud, pour aller à là d. Isle, à 8 heures 1/2 près de 9 h., nous trouvant Est, et S. ouest de là pointe du ouest, de L'Isle Satpana, sur là quelle Il paroît une maniere de Citadelle, comme J'ay dit cy devant, nous avons découvert l'Isle de Guam; nous restant au S. et S1/4SE 10 lieues, nous avons gouvernés au SO 1/4 S. Et au SSO, Jusqu'a midy, que cette pointe me restoit au Nord 5 lieues, ou Il paroît, comme une Citadelle, là pointe là plus a l'Est au NN[E] 6 Lx. et là pointe du SE de l'Isle Marianne, au S. 5 lieues, celle du ouest, au SSO, mesme distance[.]

[Janvier, 1711]

[le milieu de L'Isle]

[de Satpana au N1/4NE,]

[5 L. 1/2 Et le milieu de]

[l'Isle de Guam, au S1/4SO.,]

[5 [sic] lieues.....]

[variation obs. ... 8°30' NE.]

[Suivant ma l'attitude]

[de midy, le milieu de l'Isle]

[Satpana, E[s]t par 13°58']

[Et le milieu de Marianne]

[par 13°28']

là d. Isle m'a parû fort unie et non pas si haute, que Là précédente. J'ay observé hauteur, étant en dette situation, avec ces Isles, par là quelle, Je reconnû, que J'estois 44 lieues de L'avant du Vaisseau, ce qui n'est pas considerable; dans une si longue route, Estant d'ailleurs beaucoup meilleur d'Estre de l'avant, que de L'arrière, ainsy Je ne puis pas dire, de quel costé au juste, sont les courens, sinon, qu'a Là veu de ces Isles vers le Nord, les courens portent au NO., suivant le rapport du pilote Espagnol, à quoy J'adjoutte foy, nous Estant cette Nuit trouvé beaucoup plus au NO., que nous ne croyons.

[Tout cecy sont de bonnes remarques]

Nous avons fait le SSO, Jusqu'a 3 heures, que nous Estions est, et ouest, [=E—W] avec Là pointe de NO. de L'Isle, là quelle pointe se nomme de Retilla, et qui est fort basse; nous l'avons ranger à une portée de Canon de 4. [livres] toute là cotte Est tres seine, Jusqu'a Là ville, ou village nommé [blank], ou demeure le gouverneur, nommé oeana [or Ocana = Agaña], qui est 6 lieues au Sud de la d. pointe, nous avons rangé cette Coste a discretion, Il y à plusieurs pointes, dont là plus remarquable, pour sa hauteur, et par la rapidité, dont là mer bat au pied, se nomme Là pointe de faac [sic = Fafac], Eloignée de acoña, 2 lieues, entre Là d. pointe, ou morne de cette Isle, ou vilage, I y à un petit Islot, et terre, qui parôit dans une embouchure de baye de Sable, au Large du quel, Il y á une barre de Roche, qui coure le Long de la Coste, vers le SO. ou SO 1/4.S. Jusqu'a une petite Isle, nommée àpapa, qui est un peu séparée de Là terre, Là ditte Isle, Est distante de là ville, ou village, d'une lieue 1/2 au milieu, Il y à un rocher noié, ou Isles -- là d. Isle de Apapa, à 1 lieue 1/2 de Long. NE, et SO et fait une grande baye à terre delle, ou au SE, ainsy quaisy N., Et S. de là d. pte., on Compte 8. lieues au mouillage, ou sont les Vaisseaux Espagnols, qui vont de Guapulco, à Manille, Et ou

*fut II, Il y à 2 ans, le Vaisseau françois, nommé le **Saint-Antoine**, Commandé par mr. de frondat, qui est le premier vaisseau de Nostre nation, qui ayt fait ce voyage d'aller du Perou, à la Chinef.]*

[avons touiours]

[Cotoyé la Coste]

[a la distance]

[d'une portée de Canon]

[de 4. à une de 8.]

Cet endroit, ou est le mouillage, S'appelle aumata, qui est une petite habitation D'Indiens, Estant donc N, Et S. de cette Isle Apapa, là lère pointe, qu'on voit, qui paroît coupée par le bout presque comme Là pointe de Sarpana, S'apelle Là pointe Dorota [sic], Entre L'Isle Apapa, Et cette pointe Orota Il y à une basse de roche, ou Là mer brise fort, sur lá pointe du ouest de cette basse, Il y à 14 brasses à terre de cette basse, Il y à une tres belle Baye, qui met à L'abry de tous vents, Il y à de l'Eau, et du bois, et de tout, comme à la ville.

[Remarques.]

Là Route depuis là pointe, La plus Nord de ce Costé, de l'Isle, Jusqu'à là pointe Orata, à Esté depuis le SSO, Jusqu'à OSO. 8. Lx de Là pointe D'Orata, au mouillage, à Esté au SSE. 6. lieues, suivant le rapport du Pilote, N. Et S. de là pointe Dorata, 8 lieues, Il y à un banc de Roche, d'une 1/2 lieue de long, Est, et Ouest.

À Six heures Estant sud Est, et nord, ouest de la d. pointe d'Orata, En lá doublant, nous Sommes venues au Sud 1/4 de SE, et au SSE, on découvre un Islot, à 6 lieues delà, sur le quel on peut gouverner, regeant là Coste à discretion, Il n'y a de dangereux; que quelques basses à terre, sur les quelles la mer brise, L'on voit aussy une petite Isle au Nord de celle là qui est toutte à terre, l'on voit aussy le fond, quoy qu'on passe à 5 braces à l'Eau, presque tout à terre,

[lieu ou L'on fait L'Eau.]

Estant donc presque ENE. et SSO. avec cet Islot, qui est [h]aché, et Sans verdure, l'on vient au Lof Jusqu'au SE, Et SE1/4E, pour Entrer dans là Baye du mouillage, dont cet Islot fait le Costé du NOrd, et là première grosse pointe, que l'on voit qui fait la Coste du Sud de Là Baye, Est Eloignée d'une lieue, de l'Islot, et dans l'Est; Il y à un grand Enfoncement, ou Il y à quantités d'arbres, qui est, ou les vaisseaux font l'Eau, a moins qu'ils ne là ve[su]jillent faire à la poblacion d'Indiens, qui Se nomment auMata, qui est a 3/4 de lieues de là,

[Mouillage]

comme J'ay dit cy devant, nous avons mouillés par 12 braces, fond de Sable, alors le petit Islot, qui fait un Costé de là Baye, reste au N, et N1/4 de NO. une grosse 1/2 L.] la pinte qui fait le Costé Sud, à E1/4NE. et ENE à une porté de Canon de 4, L'Isle de Cocos au S1/4SE distance de 2 lieues 1/2, cette Isle Est tres basse, et unye Eloignée de terre, 1 Lieue, Et entr'Elle, Et là terre Sont des Cayes de roches, là plus part Sous l'Eau.

[avertissement pour]

[L'Isle des Cocos.]

J'advertis aussy qu'à La pointe du SO. 1/40. ou pointe du large de là d. Isle des Cocos, Il y à un banc de Roche, qui Coure au SO. 1 lieues au Large, ou Anciennement S'est perdû un Vaisseau Espagnol, Il y à 21 ans, Et le d. Vaisseau s'appelloit le Saint Joseph [sic].

Le Village, ou l'on va prendre des vivres; nommé Aumata, ou Il y à pareillement mouillage; Es à la d. pointe, Nous restant au SE 3/4 de lieues, J'en parleray dans Là Suite plus amplement, nous ávons Esté fort bien receus de Gouverneur, qui est venû de Là ville, à nôtre arrivée, Il Se nomme Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, et Est venû de Manille, ou il Estoit Cy d[evant] Lieutenant General D'Artillerie;

[Rafraichissement,]

[qui Se trouvent]

[dans L'Isle...]

Il nous à donné tous les rafraichissements qui se sont trouvés dans l'Isle, dont Elle Est fort abondante, comme cocos, Bananes, oranges, citrons, patates, et autres, nous y avons eu aussy de tres bons boeufs, que nous avons payes 10 ps. et les Cochons 5 ps. mais Ils sont petits; Et ne Sont pas bons; nous y ávons eu aussy quelques peu de ris, nous luy avons donnés en présens quelques farines, vin, et Eau de vie, dont l'Isle est entièrement dépourveu, Il nous à presté une grande Barque pour faire du l'Est [= lest], et nôtre Eau plus facilement, Il y á dans ce Village, ou à la demeure du Gouverneur, près de 200. Soldats blans, entretenus du Roy, dont quelques uns Sont marié avec des Indiennes, Il y à aussy un Père Jesuite qui est de première mission, qui y soit venue, il y à 43 ans, qu'il y est, Ils ne Sont, que 2. dans toute l'Isle, restant de cette première mission, une partie des autres ont Esté martitizés par les Indiens, Il y à, à présent de répandus dans l'Isle, 11 Jésuites, et 4 frères, demeurants tous à certaines distances les uns des autres, dans des poblations d'Indiens, qui Sont dans l'Isle, de 14. à 1500, presque tous Catholiques, présentement Il y à un petit fort à la ville Docona, demeure du Gouverneur, qui à 11 Canons.

[Preparatifs

[pour une découverte]

ce Gouverneur, fait batir une barque, plus grande que celle qu'il à, pour aller à la découverte de quelques Isles qui Sont dans le Sud de celles cy: le pilotte, qui nous á amenés, nommé Don Lorenzo Lopez, doit y aller avec un pilotte hauturier, Resté icy d'un Vaisseau Espagnol, Ils doivent partir à la fin de fevrier[.]

Au Nord de La Satpana, 23 lieues, Il y à une Isle aussy grande, que celle cy, de 35. à 40. lieues, de tout [sic = tour] nommée, Bona vista, ou dans l'ouest de là d. Isle, on dit qu'il y à un tres bon mouillage, Et ou L'on trouve de L'Eau; Et des Bestiaux, il y à aussy des Indiens soumis aux Espagnols.

[Nouvelle de trois]

[Vaisseaux Anglois, qui ont]

[pris lamirante]

[De la Hourque, Et]

[se Sont battus longtems]

[avec le Cap. Mr....]

Nous àvons àppris, que dans le mois de fevrier dernier, Il Estoit venû Icy 3 Vaisseaux Anglois, qui àvoient fait là Course au pérou, et passant le Long de là coste de Californye, ont pris lamirante de Aquapulco, venant de Manille, Làquelle Estoit séparée de Là Commandant, qu' Ils rencontrerent, quelques Jours après, mais qui Se déffendie si bien, que ces Anglois aaprès un Si long combat, furent obligés de Se retirer, avec grande perte de leurs Gens, ces Vaisseaux n'estoient venus, que 2 au perou, mais en prirent un aux Espagnols, qui alloient à Panama, qui Estoit un Vaisseau françois, vendû aux Espagnols par monsieur des Antons, qui avoit 24. canons, ils avoient armé En course, Et tous les 3 àvoient pris lamirante, qu'ils ont amenés icy, et se Sont fait donnes des vivres par force, Et delaa, après 11. Jours de demeure, Ils y ont pris le Chemin des Indes, pour retourner en Europe; ces Batiments Sont Extraordinairement riches.

Du mardy 27.

[Variation observée]

[icy ... 8°30']

[NE]

Au Jourdhuy, nous àvons Commandé [sic = commencé], à faire Nostre Eau.

Du mercredi 28.

Le Gouverneur est venû àbord, ou on l'a bien regalé, ayant eu des boeufs, Et d'autres rafraichissements de terre, et on à tiré force coups de Canons, é lLa Sante des 2. roys, et de toutte Là famille Royale.

Du Jeudy 29.

Ce matin nous àvons mis le Vaisseau à La bande, on L'a bien frotté, et nettoyé, Monsieur De Raguene, Et quelqu'autres Officiers, àvons Esté diner Chez le Gouverneur, qui nous à bien regalés, et on à tiré plusieurs coups de fusils, à la Santé de Leurs majestés.

Du Vendredy 30.

[Cable Noeuf]

[Rompû]

Au Jourd'huy, sur les 9 heures du matin, les vents estant gros, et venant de dessus les Montagnes, ce que J'ay remarqué estre hordinaire(?) Joy, et la mer toujours belle, le vent venant, que par rafalle, nôtre Cable à manqué, on en à aussytôt mouillé un autre, ayant levé celui qui àvoit manqué, nous avons Reconnû, que c'estoit une roche, qui L'avoit coupé, c'est que nous estions mal mouillés, a cause des roches, qui sont au fond.

[Bon mouillage]

[De l'Isle de]

[Guam]

Le meilleur mouillage, selon les Espagnols, est au Village D'aumata, dont J'ay parlé cy devant, d'autant que comme J'ay desia dit, il y à aussy de tres bonnes eaux, et vous

avez pour marque du mouillage, léglise, qui parrôit au NE, avec là m[ais]on ou demeure le Gouverneur, quand Il y vient, ce qui n'arrive, que lorsqu'il vient quelques batiments, et mesme on y débarque, à sauter à terre à Sec, c'est là ou nous àvons Embarque tous nos rafraichissements, avec tres grande facilité, Estant tout Sable, celà fait un bel enfoncement, NE, et SO., et large SE., et NO. de là portée D'un bon fusil, sur le nord duquel il paroist quelques maisons, les Vaisseaux anglois, dont J'ay cy d[evant] parlé, Estoient mouillés au d. mouillage; à 25 brasses, fond de Sable 1/3 de lieues au large, qui vault mieux, que ou nous sommes.

Au Jourd'huy nous avons achevés de faire nôtre Eau, Et d'Embarquer tous nos vivres, ainsy nous Comptons partir demain, des le matin.

[Changement des]

[Vents dans cette Isle.]

Ce que J'ay àppris de là Variation des vents En cette Isle, Est telle depuis Janvier, Jusqu'en mars, les vents sont du Nord, au NE, depuis avril, Jusqu'en Juin, de l'Est au SE, Et depuis Juillet, Jusqu'En 8bre. du SSO. au NO. par le ouest, Et 9bre. et debre. calme, Et variant autour du Compas.

[Du Samedy 31.]¹

[partance de guam,]

[pour Canton]

Au Jourd'huy, à 5 heures du matin, nous àvons appareillé de là d. Isle de Guam, ou Marianne, les vents Estant à ENE, bon frais, nous àvons mis le Cap à O1/4 de NO. Et à ONO. dirigeant la route Est, le ESE. 2° E sur lequel Il faut faire 445 lieües, à 8 heures du matin, le milieu de l'Isle, me restoit à ESE 6. lieues, là pointe Orotu, a E1/4.NE me paroissant separée, comme un Islot, faisant là mesme démonstration que celle qui m'a parû Estant au NE D'Elle, L'Isle du Sud, mà parû plus haute, qu'Elle N'Est, du Costé du Nord, venant de l'Isle Serpana; a midy ayant observé hauteur,

[Lat. obs. 13°12']

[Long. Est. ... 162°44']

[Variation Estimée ... 8°30' NE]

J'ay pris mon point de partance, et là route depuis 8 heures, m'a Vallû le ONO. 4° O. fait 8 lieues, et me fait distant de la plus proche terre de l'Isle de 16 lieues, Et Je prends là longitude de l'Isle, qui Est 163°30' Et le plus Nord de l'Isle par 13°30' le plus Sud, d'ou nous partons Est par 13°.

...

1 Ed. note: This date is obviously missing from the copy.

Translation.

The ship Le Solide, 1710. Commanded by [blank] From Hormigas Island on the coast of Peru to the Mariana Islands and to Canton.—Journal of Mr. de Moncourant.

...

Saturday 24 January 1711.

(Observed lat. 13°24', estimated long. [E of Tenerife] 163°19', variation 9°0' NE. Whales seen).

As of noon yesterday until noon today, the prevailing winds were NE1/4N and ENE, fresh, the sea nice. I have steered W1/4SW until 5 p.m. when we have lowered our bottom sails and run with the 2 topsails on the masthead until 5 a.m. when we have used full canvas, in order to make the land. As for me, I expect to be on top of the land by this morning at 8 a.m. We have looked out for it until noon but seen nothing. I observed the sun and found that the distance covered [along the course] W 1° S, made 37 leagues. We do not see white birds; [I] doubt that they fly on the lee side. I have made a bet this morning that we would see the land tomorrow without fail.

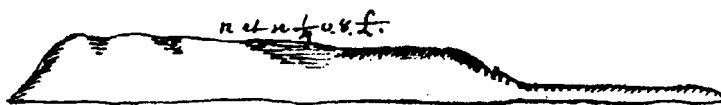
Sunday 25.

(Land sighted.)

(Isla de Satpana [sic].)¹

As of noon yesterday until noon today, winds have been NE to ENE, fresh, heading was W1/4SW. During the night, we have run with the 2 topsails on the masthead until 5 a.m. when we have run with full canvas. Weather very foggy with many squalls, with rain and wind. At 11 a.m. we saw land, bearing NW1/4W, 3°W, 8 leagues away, that we have taken for the Island of Guam.

(Estimated lat. 13°27', est. long. 161°48', obs. var. 8°40' NE)



Sunday (cont'd).

Said island appeared to me to be high on the south side, reducing gradually to the northern point, that appeared to me to be very low but with cliffs. However, the southern coast could easily be seen from 12 leagues away.

At noon, not having been able to observe the sun because the weather was very foggy and full of rain, I estimated the distance covered, along W 2° N, as 31 leagues. We have kept to windward of said island and heading in to seek an anchorage that they say is on the west, or lee, side of the island.

¹ Ed. note: This note in Spanish was later added when they were informed by the Spanish pilot that the island was Sarpana, i.e. Rota, and not Guam.

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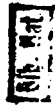
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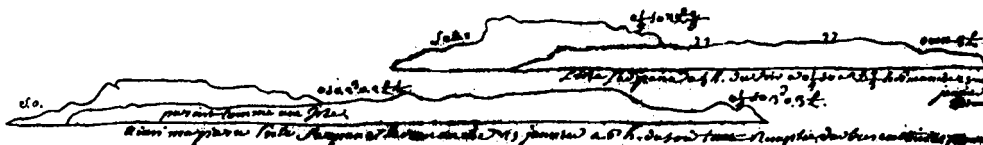
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(Facing page:) **Different views of Rota Island, by Mr. Moncourant.** *These profiles of Rota Island were drawn by Mr. de Moncourant, aboard the French ship Solide. They bear the correct date of Sunday 25 January 1711. This drawing had remained unidentified in BNP Cartes et Plans for centuries when I chanced upon it in 1984. I then effectively tied it to its logbook in the ANP. Both documents used to be in the SHM. (From BNP Cartes et Plans—SHM 175, Div. 11, p. 3).*

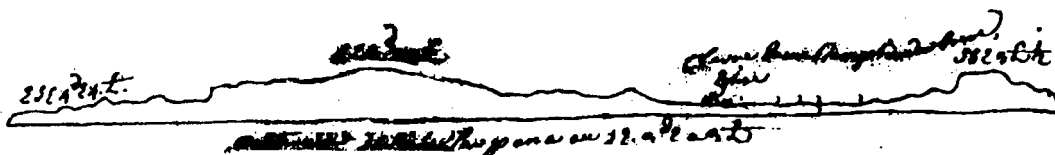


Views of Rota Island at 5 p.m. and at 6 p.m., 25 January. *The ship was then cruising on the north side of the island.*

Monday 26.

(Remarks.)

As of noon yesterday until noon today, the winds have been NE to ENE, fresh. Yesterday, at about 6 p.m., seeing the northern point bearing W1/4SW, 3 leagues, the southern point bearing SW, 2 leagues, the nearest land, 2 leagues. On the south side, it looked to us like a mountain almost in the center of the island,¹ that was flat on the top like a table. Seeing that we could not reach the anchorage before nightfall, we have used only the 2 bottom sails and tacked back and forth to keep ourselves to windward of the island until 4 a.m. when we saw a large point to the SSE, 5 leagues. We changed the heading to SE to approach the land. At 5 a.m. we have seen a large point to S1/4SE that appeared to be an island with a sort of table as a platform on top,² a lowland that we could not see well on account of the fog and the very frequent squalls loaded with rain that we received. We approached the land until we finally recognized that the said point was attached to the land.



The west side of Rota Island, with Taipingot on the right. *Note the site of the Jesuit church (marked "Église") where the village of Sosa is still located. Many coconut trees were seen in the low-lying land between the church and Taipingot.*

1 Ed. note: Mount Saguapagupagu, 1,358 feet in altitude.

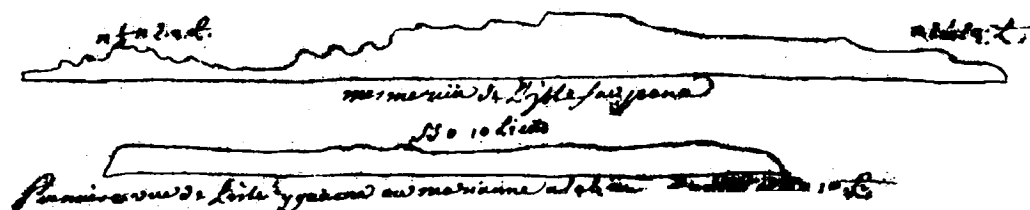
2 Ed. note: Mount Taipingot, 469 feet in altitude. When Magellan first came to this island, Pigafetta also mistook Taipingot Peninsula for an island (see HM1:201).

During the night, when we were 1-1/2 leagues from it, S1/4SW, they made fires for us. At 6 a.m., we saw a canoe leaving this low-lying land. It came alongside with a Spaniard and some Indians from the island to man the canoe that is made with an outrigger and not wider in its center than 1-1/2 feet. When he arrived on board, he told us that the island was not Guam but the Island of Sarpana, lying 10 leagues north of the Island of Guam, or Mariana. Said Spaniard who is a pilot, told us that there is an anchorage here,¹ at this lowland that I have just talked about, and that there was water, but inland, which was not good, north of the said point that we have skirted at 1/2 league, without danger. There is also a lowland on the east side where there is an anchorage.² The seashore appeared to me to be made of nice white sand. The island is covered with trees, that are all coconut trees. Said pilot told us that there were 200 Indians who caught lots of fish, that there were pigs; with this they maintained themselves. There are two Fathers of the Society of Jesus to teach our religion to said Indians and they are making great progress in it. The Indians, and even the Spanish, trade with the other neighboring islands with their canoes. Said islands depend upon that of Guam where there is a Spanish Governor sent by the King, said pilot having to take us to the island of Guam where he assured us that nothing lacked[.]

(Headed for the Island of Guam, or Mariana).

(Sighted the Island of Guam. Lat. obs. 13°43').

At 8 a.m. we headed south to go to the said island. Between 8:30 and 9 a.m., while we were east—west with the said western point of the Island of Sarpana, upon which there appeared as if there was a sort of citadel, as I said before, we discovered the Island of Guam bearing S and S1/4SE, 10 leagues. We headed SW1/4S and SSW until noon when this point remained N, 5 leagues, where it appears like a citadel, the point more to the east was NN[E], 6 leagues, and the southeast point of Mariana I. was S, 5 leagues, that of its western point was SSW, same distance.



Rota (top) and Guam (bottom) seen from a point between them.

1 Ed. note: Sosanlago Bay.

2 Ed. note: Sosanjaya Bay.

(**January 1711.**—The center of the Island of Sarpana bore N1/4NE, 5-1/2 leagues, and the center of the Island of Guam S1/4SW, 5 [sic] leagues; observed variation 8°30' NE. According to my latitude at noon, the center of Sarpana Island is at 13°58' and the center of Mariana Island is at 13°28'.)¹

Said island appeared to me to be very flat and not so high as the previous one. I made an observation while at that position with [respect to] these islands, and by which I noticed that I was out by 44 leagues ahead of the ship [i.e. of the actual longitude], which is not a great difference over such a long voyage [from the coast of Peru]. Anyhow, it is better to be ahead than behind. I cannot say exactly which way are the currents except that, when in sight of these islands, in the north, the currents run to the NW, according to the report of the Spanish pilot, for which I vouch, as we were last night much more NW than we thought we were.

(What follows are good remarks.)

We have sailed SSW until 3 p.m. when we were east—west with the NW point of the island, which is called Retilla [i.e. Retillan, or Retidian] and which is very low. We passed by it within range of a 4-pounder. The whole coast is free of dangers.—

As far as the town or village called ocana [i.e. Agaña], where the governor resides, that is 6 leagues south of said point, we followed the coast at discretion. There are many points, the most remarkable of which, for its height and steepness, with the sea breaking at its feet, is called Faac [=Fafac] Point, distant 2 leagues from acoña [sic]. Between said point or cape of this island and the village, there is a small islet or land that appears in the mouth of a sandy bay² where offshore there is a rocky bar running along the coast, towards SW or SW1/4S as far as a small island called Apapa [or Cabras] which is separated a little from the land. Said island is 1-1/2 leagues from the town or village. In the center, there is a flat rock or islet. Said island of Apapa is 1-1/2 leagues long, [runs] NE—SW, and forms a large bay inland or SE of it, as well as N, and S of the said island.³ There is an estimated 8 leagues to the anchorage where the Spanish ships from Guapulco to Manila come and where came also, 2 years ago, the French ship named **Saint-Antoine**, commanded by Mr. Frondat, that is the first ship from our nation to have made this voyage from Peru to China.

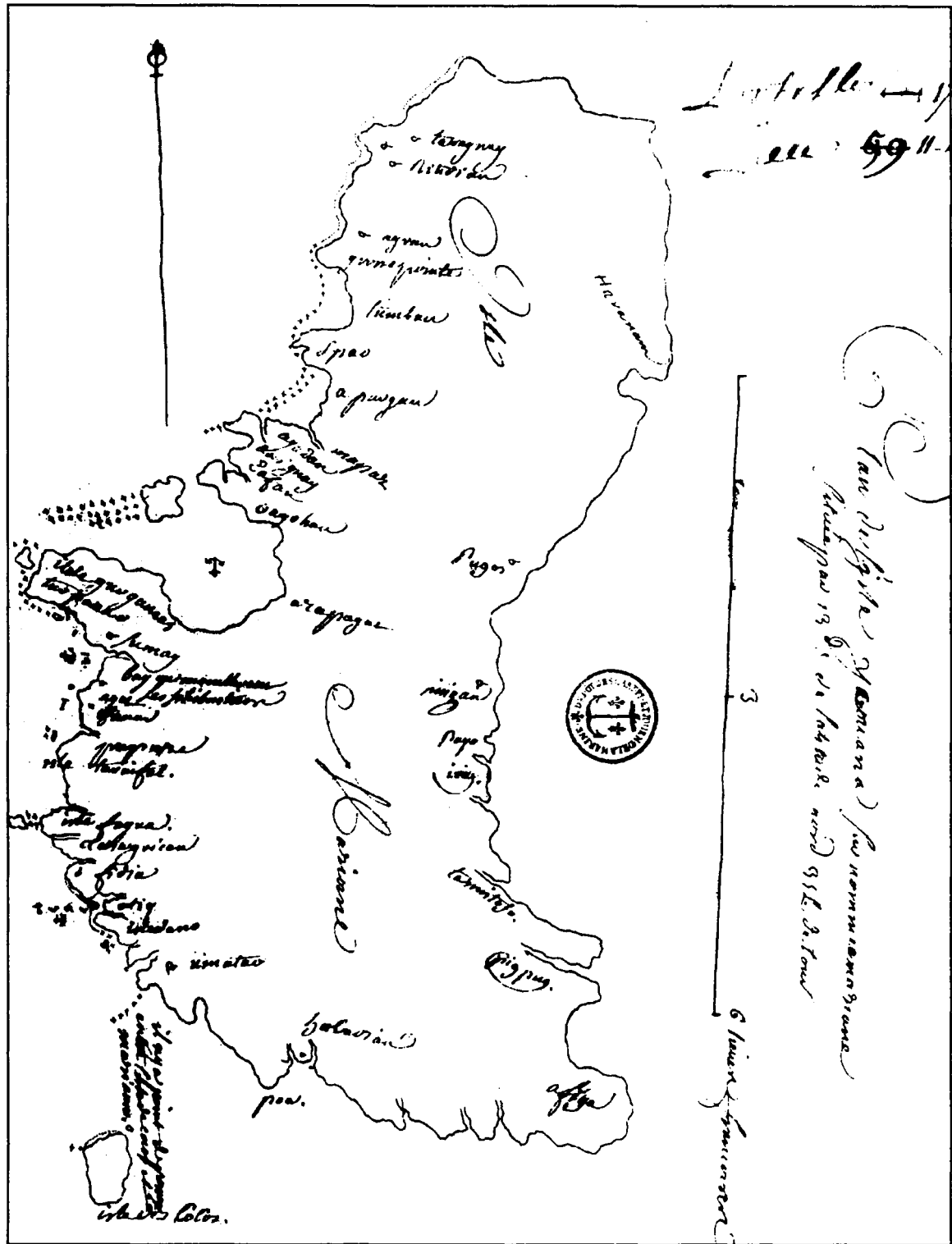
(Have always followed the coast at gun range, from a 4-pounder to an 8-pounder.)

This place, where the anchorage is located, is called aumata [Umatac], a small Indian village. When, therefore, N—S of this island of Apapa, the first point one sees, that appears cut at the end almost like the point [Taipingot] in Sarpana, is called Orota Point. Between Apapa Island and Orota Point, there is a rocky shoal where the sea breaks strongly. On the western edge of this shoal, there is [a depth of] 14 fathoms inland from this shoal (and one of 18). There is a very beautiful bay that is sheltered from all winds. There is water, wood and everything as at the town.

1 Ed. note: He was only about 10' in error.

2 Ed. note: This is Alupat Island, off Dungca Beach.

3 Ed. note: He describes Apra Harbor, and the islet where Fort Santa Cruz was located..



Map of Guam drawn by Frenchmen in 1711. For explanations, see Doc. 1711J. (From *BNP Cartes et Plans—SH Port. 175, Div. 11, p. 4.*)

(Remarks.)

The route from the northernmost point on this side of the island to Orota Point has been from SSW to WSW, 8 leagues; from Orota Point to the anchorage has been SSE, 6 leagues. According to the report of the [Spanish] pilot, N—S of Orota Point, 8 leagues, there is a rocky bank [running] E—W for 1-1/2 leagues.

At 6 p.m., while we were [tacking] SE—NW with the said Orota Point, after doubling it, we changed to S1/4SE and SSE, where we saw an islet, 6 leagues from there towards which one can steer, while following the coast at discretion. The only dangers are some shallows near the land upon which the sea breaks. There can be seen also a small islet north of the other, which is very near the land.

(Watering place.)

Being then ENE—SSW with this islet, which is rocky and bare of vegetation, one comes to luff as far as SE and SE1/4E, in order to come into the bay with the anchorage. On its northern side is this islet. The first big point that is seen on the southern side of the bay is 1 league from this islet, and to the east there is a large inlet where there are many trees. That is where the watering place is, unless the ships want to take water where the Indian village is, whose name is aumata and at 3/4 league from there, as I said before.

(Anchorage.)

We anchored in 12 fathoms, sandy bottom where the islet on the north side of the bay bore N and N1/4NW, and at 1/4 league from the point that makes the south side, bearing E1/4NE and ENE within range of a 4-pounder. The Island of Cocos bore S1/4SE, 2-1/2 leagues. This island is very low, and bare, separated 1 league from the land; there are rocky keys, mostly underwater, between it and the land.—

(Warning for Cocos Island.)

I give notice also that at the SW1/4W point of said island of Cocos, there is a rocky bank running SW, 1 league out to sea, where some time ago a Spanish ship was lost. That was 21 years ago and the said ship was called San José.¹

The village where supplies are obtained, called Aumata, where there is also an anchorage, is at said point that bore SE 3/4 league. I will talk about it more fully later. We have been very well received by the Governor, who came from the town when we arrived. His name is Mr. Juan Antonio Pimentel, and he came from Manila where he was formerly Lieutenant-General of Artillery.

(Refreshments available at this island.)

He gave us all the fresh supplies that were found in quantity in the island, like coconuts, bananas, lemons, potatoes and others. We also got some very good cows for which we have paid 10 pesos each, and pigs 5 pesos each, but they are small and not good; we also got some rice. We made him a gift of some flour, wine and brandy, of which none can be found on this island. He loaned us a large bark, to make ballast and take on water more easily. There are in this village, or where the Governor resides, more than

1 Ed. note: Not the San José, but the patache Pilar, in 1690.

200 white soldiers, supported by the King, some of whom are married to Indian women. There is also a Jesuit Father who remains from the first mission band that came 43 years ago; that is how long he has been here. There are but 2 of them in the whole island who remain from the first mission.¹ Part of the others have suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Indians. There are presently 11 Jesuit [priests], and 4 brothers, all living at certain distances from one another in Indian settlements. The Indians are between 1,400 and 1,500 in all, almost all Catholics nowadays. There is a small fort in the town of Ocona, residence of the Governor; it has 11 guns.²

(Preparation for a voyage of exploration.)

This Governor is having a bark built, larger than the one he has, to go to the discovery of some islands that are south of here; the pilot who has brought us, whose name is Mr. Lorenzo Lopez, is due to go with a deep-sea pilot who has remained here from a Spanish ship. They are to leave at the end of February.

[Long-horn white cattle already on Tinian Island in 1711]

At 23 leagues north of Sarpana, there is an island as large as this one, of 35 to 40 leagues in circumference called Bonavista [i.e. Tinian] where, on the west side of said island, they say there is a very good anchorage, and where water can be found, as well as cattle. There are also some Indians submitted to the Spanish.

(News of three English ships that have taken the *Almiranta* of the galleon. They fought with the flagship for a long time with her Captain, Mr.)

We have learned that, last February, three English ships have come here. They had been on the Peru run and while passing by the coast of California, they took the *Almiranta* of Aguapulco [sic] coming from Manila,³ as she had separated from the flagship. The latter they met a few days later and she defended herself so well that these Englishmen, after such a long combat, were obliged to withdraw, with a great loss of their men. There were only 2 of these ships when they came to Peru, but they took one from the Spanish who were on their way to Panama. This latter ship was a [former] French ship that had been sold to the Spanish by Mr. des Antons; she had 24 guns.⁴ They refitted her for combat and all three together had taken the *Almiranta* that they brought here and they forced the people to give them provisions and from here, after a stay of 11 days, they took the route of the Indies to return to Europe. These ships are extraordinarily rich.

Tuesday 27.

(Observed variation here at 8°30' NE).

1 Ed. note: He refers to Fr. Cardeñoso and Fr. Bustillo.

2 Ed. note: A likely reference to Fort San Rafael.

3 Ed. note: It was the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*, alias *Desengaño*, taken by Woodes Rogers.

4 Ed. note: The name of this French ship was originally *La Vierge de Grâce* [i.e. Our Lady of Grace] that had left the port of St.-Malo for the west coast of South America in 1707, as reported by Dahlgren (ref. Ymer, p. 398). The English pirate Woodes Rogers captured her in front of Paita on 16 April 1709, and soon renamed it the *Marquis*.

Today, we have begun to take on water.

Wednesday 28.

The Governor has come aboard for dinner. He has been well entertained, having eaten beef and other fresh food from the land. We fired many guns to the health of our two kings and of the whole royal family.

Thursday 29.

This morning we have careened the ship. It has been well scraped and cleaned. Mr. de Raguene and a few other officers, have been to dinner at the Governor's place. He entertained us well and many musquets were fired to the health of their Majesties.

Friday 30.

(New cable broken.)

Today, at about 9 p.m., the winds being strong, and coming from over the mountains, what I have noticed to be the ordinary rule, the sea always nice, the wind coming in gust, our [mooring] cable failed. We have at once put another one out. After lifting the cable that had failed, we noticed that it was a rock [i.e. coral head] that had cut it, because we were anchored at the wrong place, on account of the rocks that are at the bottom.

(Good anchorage at the Island of Guam.)

The best anchoring place, according to the Spanish, is at the above-mentioned village of aumata, all the more so because, as I have said already, there is excellent water to be gotten there. To mark the anchoring place, you have the church that bears NE with the house where the Governor stays when he comes here. He comes only when some ships come in. To disembark, one simply steps ashore on dry land. It is there that we loaded up all our fresh provisions, with extreme ease, as all is sand. This is a beautiful inlet, bearing NE—SW, its width SE—NW is the range of a good musket. On the north side, there are a few houses. The English ships that I mentioned above were anchored at said anchorage, in 25 fathoms, sandy bottom, 1/3 league from the shore; it is better than where we were.

Today we have finished taking on water and loading all our food. Thus we plan to leave tomorrow morning, early.

(Wind patterns at this Island.)

What I have learned about the variation of the winds at this island, is as follows: from January to March, the winds are northerlies to northeasterlies; from July to October, SSW to NW by W, and in November and December, calm and varying around the compass.

[Saturday 31.]

(Departure from Guam, bound for Canton.)

Today at 5 a.m., we have gotten under way from said Island of Guam, the winds being ENE, fresh, heading W1/4NW and WNW making our course to the east [sic], ESE 2° E [from Canton] along which we must make 445 leagues. At 8 a.m., the center of the island bore ESE 8 leagues, Orotá Point E1/4NE appearing to me separated like an islet, giving the impression as the one that is NE of it. The southern [part of the]

island appeared to be higher than it is [when viewed] from the north side coming from Sarpana Island. At noon, I took the sun.

(Observed lat. 13°12' N., Est. long. 162°44' E., var. 8°30' NE.)

I took my departure point and the route for the past 8 hours has taken me WNW 4° W over 8 leagues and that makes my distance to the nearest part of the island 16 leagues. I make the longitude of the island 163°30', and where we departed from, 13° [lat. N].

...

I2. Claim by the owners of the Solide against the China Company

Source: ANP Marine B1/4, folios 248v-249, 342-342v.

Original text in French.

Les Armateurs du Vaisseau Le Solide commandé par le Sr. de Raguienne.

La Compagnie de la Chine a surpris une Sentence des Requestes de L'hotel le 15. Avril 1715. qui lui permet de faire saisir plusieurs vaisseaux qui ont passé de la mer du Sud a la Chine dont le Solide est du nombre sous pretexte qu'ils ont estés dans ses concessions.

Ils representent que cette Compagnie n'a que le droit exclusif de faire le commerce de la France a la Chine et non pas des Indes d'Espagne a la Chine ny de ce dernier royaume a la mer du Sud[.] ce commerce est etranger pour elle et ne regardent que le Roy d'Espagne.

Que le Solide ne peut estre dans le cas de la confiscation a moins qu'il n'apporte en France des marchandises de la Chine.

Ils supplient de leur accorder un arrest qui deffende a cette compagnie de saisir ce Navire a son retour en France et de la debouter de sa pretention.

[Note in margin:] *Veriffier ce qui a esté fait par le Conseil touchant la Compagnie de la Chine, et pourquoy les Requestes de l'hotel ont rendu sentence sur cette affaire.*

Translation.

The Owners of the ship Le Solide under the command of Mr. Raguienne.

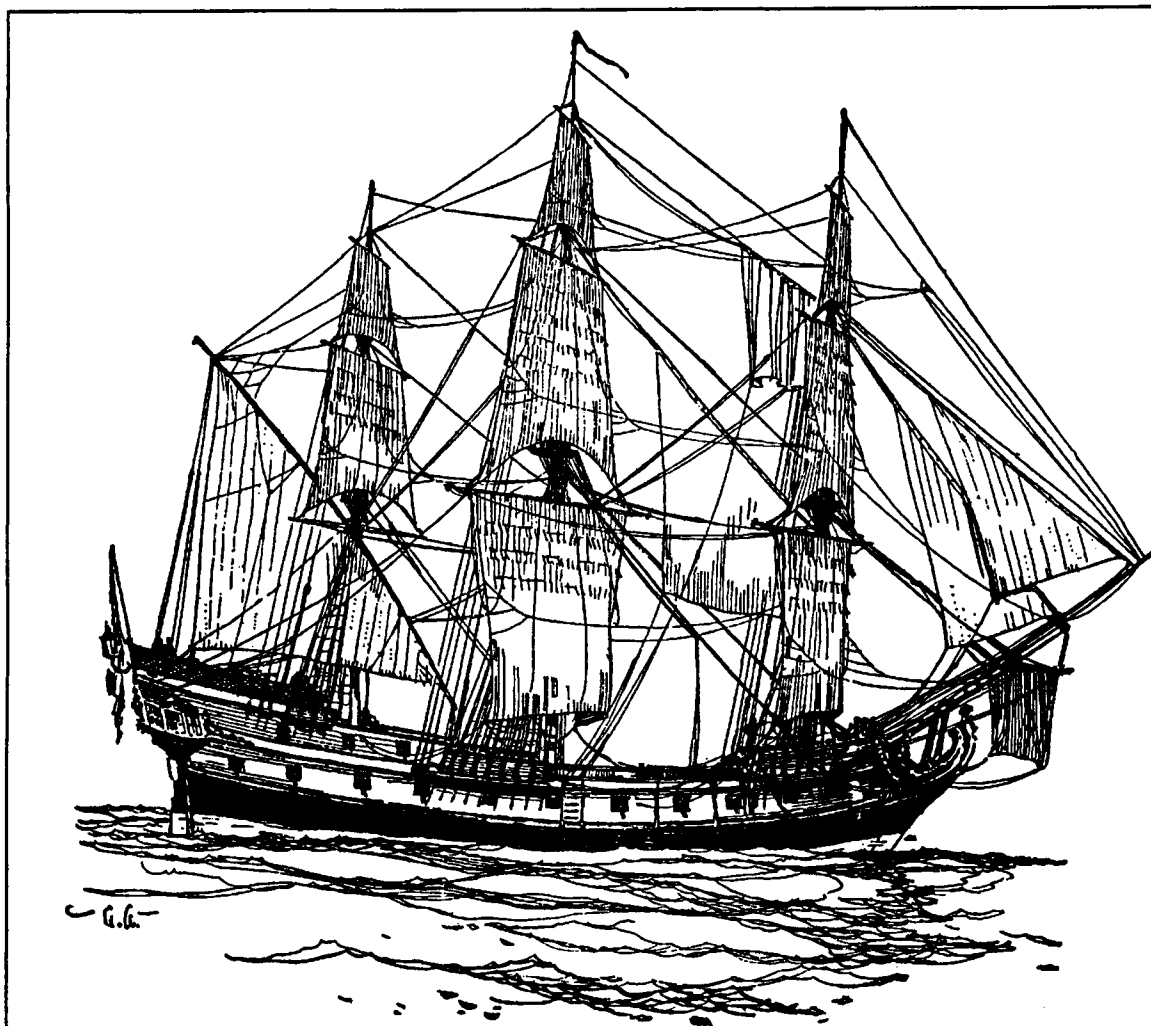
The China Company has obtained a judgment from the Municipal Court on 15 April 1715, that allows it to seize many vessels that have gone from the South Sea to China, one of which is the Solide, under the pretext that they have visited their concessions.

They declare that this Company has only the exclusive right of trading between France and China, and not between the Spanish Indies and China, and not between China and the South Sea either. This trade is foreign to them, and concerns only the King of Spain.

That the Solide could be subject to confiscation only if it brings to France goods from China.

They beg to be granted an injunction forbidding this Company from seizing this ship upon its return to France and to undeceive them of their pretention.

[Note in margin:] Check what was done by the Council regarding the China Company, and why the Municipal Court has rendered a verdict in this matter.¹



An 18-th century European frigate. *Ships built in Europe at the beginning of the 18th century, which had a continuous platform running from end to end without a break, were called frigates. (From Hendy B. Culver's *The Book of Old Ships* (NY, 1925), page 172).*

¹ Ed. note: When the petition came back to the Navy Council, explaining that the China Company had letters-patent that give them such rights, the Council decided not to intervene but to let the normal courts take care of the case. Details as to the abandonment of the Solide in Brazil were brought to the attention of the Navy Council in January 1717 (ref. ANP Marine B1 14, fol. 152-153).

Document 1711J

The French ship *Découverte*, Captain Dubocage

Source: ANP Marine 4JJ47, n° 6; formerly in SHM, Carton 47, pièce 6.

Introductory note about this 9-year voyage, by E. W. Dahlgren.

The *Découverte* of Dunkirk, 28 guns, 80 men, Captain Michel Dubocage; ship-owner: Piécourt...¹

Left the port of Dunkirk on 28 August 1707 and its outer harbor on 7 September. Was in the roadstead of Havre from 6 September to 15 October. Arrived at Brest on 21 October, whence it departed on 19 March 1708, as part of Mr. Bénac's squadron. Forced back to Brest the next day, it left again on 22 March. At Santa Cruz of Tenerife [Canary Is.], from 26 April to 27 July. Sighted Ascension Island on 2 October. Arrived on 6 November at Maldonado in the mouth of the River Plate, where it stayed until 31 December 1709. Arrived at Concepción [Chile] on 4 March 1710. Left this port on 17 March. Arrived at Valparaiso on 24 March, at Arica on 26 April, at Ilo on 4 July. After visiting the ports of Peru many times, **it left Huacho for China on 8 March 1711 in company with the ship *Princesse*.**

Returned with this ship, on 28 March 1713, to Coquimbo, whence it left on 19 April. At Copiapo on 24 April. At Ilo, from 14 May 1713 to 24 March 1714. At Pisco, from 30 March to 11 May. At Coquimbo, from 24 June to 12 August. At Arica, on 4 November. At Ilo, from 10 November 1714 to 4 October, 1715. At Pisco, 10-22 October. At Callao, from 23 October 1715 to 9 January 1716. At Arica and Ilo, 8-20 March. At Pernambuco on 15 June. Arrived at Havre on 23 August 1716.

Original text in French

Journal de navigation fait par Monsieur Dubocage commandant la frégate La Découverte 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713.

Au nom de Dieu soit commencé le voyage de Dunkerque à l'Amérique, la mer du Sud et aux découvertes. Dans la frégate La Découverte montée de vingt huit canons commandée par Mr. Michel Dubocage sous les ordres de Monsieur de Benac Directeur

¹ Ed. note: In the historical map of Clipperton Island, included with Doc. 1711L, reference is made to this Mr. Piécourt.

et commandant de la frégate *La Princesse*, *La Diligente*, *L'Aurore*, et *La Découverte*.

...

***Du Lundy 2e Arrivée au Callao.*—**

...

Nous avons mis en panne et j'ai envoyé *La Diligente* mouiller dans la dite rade du Cailleaux avec les autres vaisseaux Espagnols qui étoient bien au nombre de 30 gros et petits entre lesquels étoit le vaisseau *Les 2 Couronnes* de St. Malo et comme notre vaisseau *La Diligente* étoit vendue aux Espagnols et que nous la devons livrer en ce lieu...

...

Nous avons fait route avec le mesme vent de S, SE, bon frais étant NE, et SO de la dite isle du Callao autrement appelée St. Lazaro singlant au N1/4NO, jusqu'à 2 h. du mardi matin 3e...

...

Du Jedy 14e

Depuis hier midi aujourd'hui midi la route estimée nous a valu l'ouest en chemin ayant pris hauteur nous nous sommes trouvés par la latitude N. de 13°20' et par la longitude de 156°39'.

[Note in margin:] *Vue la terre de l'isle de Gouane.*—

Le vent à l'ENE, sur les 6 heures du soir nous avons vu la terre qui étoit le N. de l'isle de gouan au ONO. de nous 8 à 9 L[ieues.] le chemin que nous avons fait depuis midi jusque à la vue de terre qui font 17 L. qui vaille 53 m[in.] la longitude du midi est de 159°39'. La longitude que je trouve l'isle de gouane 155°46 suivant mon estimé qui me vaille 8°11' de différence de longitude et qui vaille 156 L. que je me trouve en erreur suivant pitagos [sic].

Nous avons fait petite voile jusqu'à minuit que nous avons mis à la cape en attendant le jour. Sur les 5 heures du matin nous étions à la pointe du Nord de l'isle. Nous avons fait voile au SSE pour chercher le mouillage d'icy [=d'Aty?] &.

Du Vendredi 15e

[Note in margin:] *Mouillage à l'isle de Gouane.*—

A midi nous longeames le long de la terre au Sud pour aller chercher le mouillage d'icy [=d'Aty?]. Sur les 4 heures *la Princesse* a mouillé à la dite rade son ancre de terre à 12 brasses et nous avons mouillé à 5 heures après midi[.] nous avons esté obligé de louvoyer deux bordées plus qu'elle[,] ce qui nous a retardé; notre ancre de terre étoit par 17 brasses et celle du large par 30 brasses, fond de sable à un quart de lieue de terre. Monsieur Martin a envoyé saluer le gouverneur qui étoit au village daty [sic] sis à unò(?) de nous, c'est-à-dire au O. [rather E?] de nous un quart de lieue. Il a fait beaucoup donner fetez(?) à notre officier, et a dit que nous étions les bienvenus; il a envoyé de présent à bord de *La Princesse* quelque piments et quelque melons d'eau avec des oranges aigre. Il avait envoyé un canot à bord du commandant dest [=dès] la pointe du NO. de l'isle avec un adjudant. Le même adjudant il est aussi venu faire le même compliment

*de la part du gouverneur et faire offre de tout ce qu'il avait sur son isle. Il s'y trouve du riz, du maïs, des oranges aigres & bananes, patates, des ignames, limons, cocos, du fruit a pain, des toreaux [sic], vaches, cochons, quelque cabritte, poules & canards, Du depuis que le **St. Antoine** leur a lessé de la rasse. Ils n'ont point de dindons. Je leur en ai donné un avec deux femelles pour peupler ladite isle.*

Du Samedi 16e

Sur les 10 a 11 heures du matin nous fumes saluer le gouverneur, Monsieur Martin et moi, qui nous reçû fort bien et nous arêta à diner. M. Martin le pria a diner pour le lendemain. Nous fesions pendent ce temps-là embarquer ce que nous avions de besoin.—

Du Dimanche 17e

Le gouverneur est venu diner chez Monsieur Martin avec cinq a 6 de ses capitaine et toute sa suite qui était assez belle et nombreuse pour un gouverneur dans si peu de conséquence. Il y a encore a deux autres isles au N. de celle-cy qui sont peuplés d'indiens et de pères Jésuites. Dans une, il y peut avoir 800 hommes, dans l'autre 1500 hommes et dans celle de Gouan 4000 hommes et deux cent españoles a la paye du roi d'Espagne. Ils ont dépeuplé toutes les autres isles voisines pour mettre les indiens sur les trois isles ci-dessus dîtes. Ils disent que sur l'isle de Gouan seulement il y avait autrefois plus de 3000 [sic] Indiens mais qu'ils se sont détruits eux-mesmes en partie et les autres sont morts par maladie quoique fort robustes. Il en meurt a present beaucoup comme étant fort sujets à une lèpre qui les rent tous hideux. Il y a bien la moitié de l'isle qui est empoisonnée de ce mal;

Sur les cinq heures et demie le gouverneur s'en est retourné à terre, Monsieur Martin l'ayant salué de cinq coups de canon, &.

Du Lundi 18e

[Note in margin:] *Appareillage.—*

Ayant embarqué toute l'eau et les rafraichissements que nous avions de besoin sur les 7 heures du soir nous nous sommes appareillez de la rade daty avec un petit frais de vent d'est nordest pour chercher le Cap d'Engaño, &.—

...

Translation

Journal of a voyage made by Mr. Dubocage, commanding the frigate *Découverte*, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713.

In the name of God let us begin the voyage from Dunkirk to America, the South Sea and to discoveries. Aboard the frigate ***Découverte***, of 28 guns, commanded by Mr. Michel Dubocage, under the supervision of Mr. de Bénac, Director and commander of the frigates ***Princesse***, ***Diligente***, ***Aurore***, and ***Découverte***.

...

From Monday 2nd [March 1711]. Arrival at Callao.—

...
 We hove to, and I have sent the **Diligente** to anchor in the said harbor of Callao with the other Spanish vessels that were there, about 30 in number, big and small, and among which was the ship **Deux Couronnes** of St-Malo. As our ship **Diligente** had been sold to Spaniards, this is where we had to deliver it.

...
 We have sailed off with the same S and SE wind, moderate, being NE—SW of the said Island of Callao, otherwise known as San Lazaro Island, heading N1/4NW until 2 a.m. on Tuesday 3rd...

...
 [The ship went to the port of Huacho, north of Callao, then northward, crossing the equator, and discovering a new island, which they baptized **Isle de la Passion**, since known as Clipperton Island, but still a French possession, and onward to the Mariana Islands.]

...
From Thursday 14th [May 1711]

Since yesterday noon until today noon, our estimated run was W. Along the way we took the sun and found ourselves at 13°20' lat. N. and 156°39' [E. of Tenerife].

[Note in margin:] Sighted the land of the Island of Gouane.—

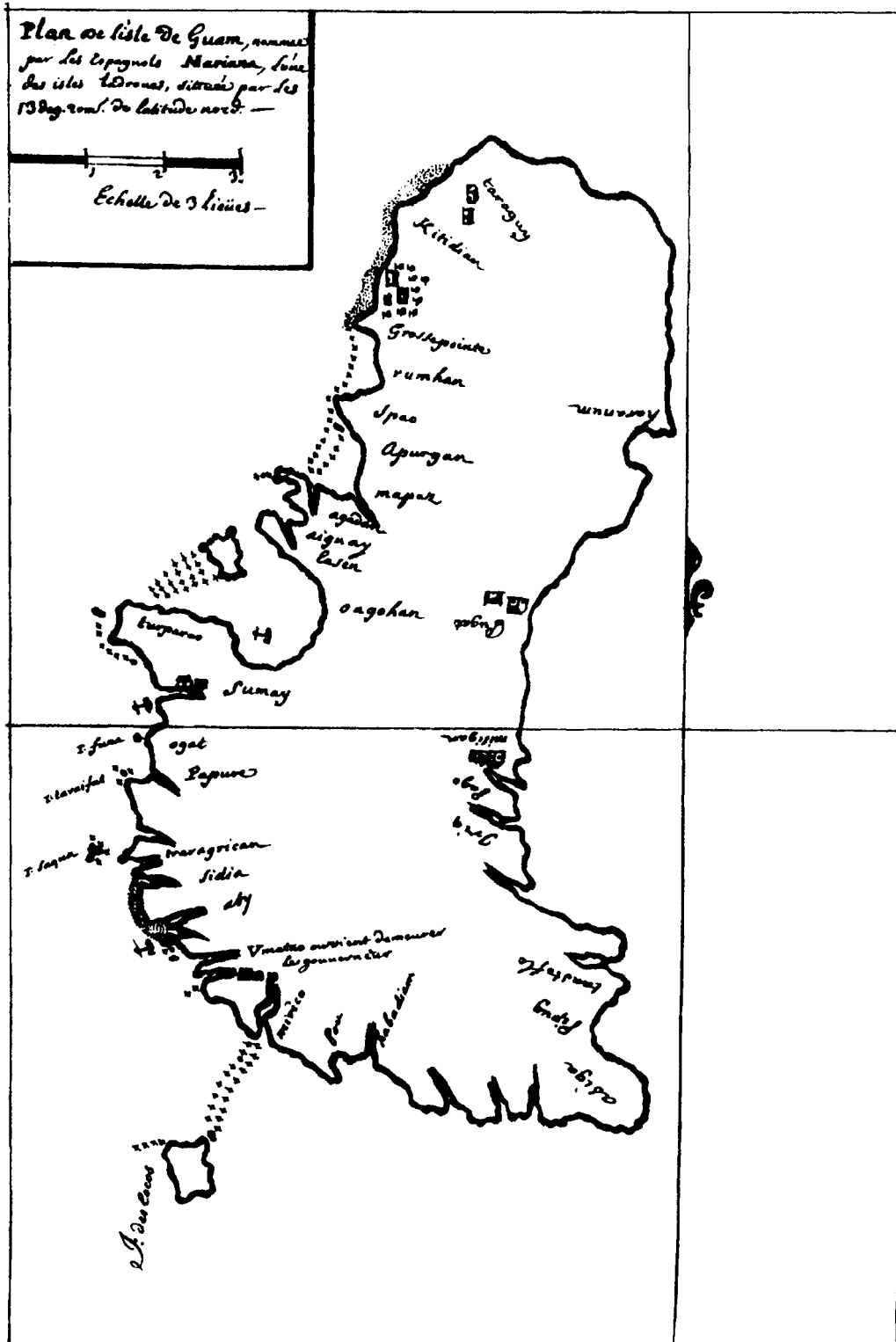
The wind being ENE, at about 6 p.m. we sighted the land that was the north part of the Island of Guan to the WNW 8 to 9 leagues from us. The distance run since noon until we saw the land was 17 leagues, which makes 53 minutes. The noon longitude is 159°39'. The longitude of the Island of Guan, according to my estimate, is therefore 155°46' and that is 8°11' of difference in longitude, i.e. 156 leagues, that I find myself at odds with the chart of Pieter Goos. We have sailed under short canvas until midnight when we stalled until daybreak. By 5 a.m., we were at the northern point of the island. We sailed toward SSE in order to seek the anchorage here [or of Aty], etc.

From Friday 15th

[Note in margin:] Anchored at the Island of Guan.—

At noon we began to follow the coast southward to seek the anchorage here [or of Aty]. At about 4 p.m., the **Princesse** dropped her bower anchor in said roadstead in 12 fathoms, and we anchored only at 5 p.m., because we were forced to do two more tacks than her, hence the delay. Our bower anchor was in 17 fathoms and the kedge anchor in 30 fathoms, sandy bottom at 1/4 league from shore. Mister Martin sent someone to say hello to the Governor [i.e. Pimentel] who was at the village of Aty¹ located at one ... from us, that is W [rather E?] from us 1/4 league. He gave a great reception to our officer, and said that we were welcome. He has sent as a present to the **Princesse** a few peppers and some watermelons, along with sour oranges. He had sent a canoe alongside the flagship, as early as the NW point of the island, with an Adjutant. The same

1 Ed. note: What he calls Aty was in fact Umatac (see next document).



Second map of Guam drawn by Frenchmen in 1711. (From *BNP Cartes et Plans—SH Port. 175, Div. 11, p. 5*).

Adjutant also visited us to render the same compliment on behalf of the Governor and to offer everything available on his island. The items available are rice, corn, sour oranges, lemons, coconuts, breadfruit, bulls, cows, pigs, a few goats, chickens, and also ducks, ever since the **St-Antoine** left this race of animals with them. They have no turkeys, but I have given them three, one male and two females, in order to be raised in said island.

From Saturday 16th

At about 10 or 11 a.m., Mister Martin and I went off to say hello to the Governor. He received us very well and retained us for dinner. Mr. Martin begged him to have dinner on board tomorrow. We were having the men load what we needed in the meantime.—

From Sunday 17th

The Governor came to dine at Mister Martin's place with 5 to 6 of his captains and his whole retinue, which was rather beautiful and numerous for a governor stuck in such an unimportant place. There are two other islands to the north of this one that are populated with Indians and Jesuit Fathers. In one of those, there could be 800 inhabitants and in the other 1,500 inhabitants.¹ In this one Island of Guan there are 4,000 inhabitants and 200 Spaniards in the pay of the king of Spain. They have depopulated all the other neighboring islands to place the Indians upon the three above-mentioned islands. They say that in the past, only on the Island of Guan, there were over 3000 [rather 30,000] Indians, but that they have partly destroyed themselves, and they have partly died of sicknesses, although they were very robust. At present many still die, as they are very susceptible to a leprosy that makes them hideous. There is at least half of the island affected by this plague at present.

At about 5 p.m., the Governor went back ashore, after Mr. Martin had saluted him with 5 guns, &.

1 Ed. note: Tinian probably had the 800 and Rota the 1,500.

(Facing page:) Explanations concerning the 1711 maps of Guam.

Title of this particular map, in French: "Plan de l'isle de Guam, nommée par les Espagnols **Mariana**, l'une des isles Ladrone, sittiée par les 13 deg. 20 m de latitude nord."— Translation: Map of the Island of Guam, called **Mariana** by the Spanish, one of the Ladrone Islands, located in 13°20' latitude North.—

Editor's comments: They were mistaken about the name Mariana applying only to Guam, rather than as a substitute for Ladrone. These maps show that they were copied from a model then on Guam, probably Father LeGobien's book, that shows a map derived from Fr. Lopez' map of 1670 (see HM5:382-387). The only differences in place names are: Fafac Point now called Grosse Pointe; Dano I. now called Cocos I.; Umatac is "where the Governor comes to reside." There are many obvious misprints in other place names. The same wrong placement of many of the old settlements is also evident.

From Monday 18th

[Note in margin:] Sailing.—

Having taken on board all the water and the refreshments that we needed, at about 7 p.m. we sailed from the harbor of Aty with a light ENE wind, bound for Cape Engaño, &.—

...

Notes on the rest of the voyage.

The two ships went on to China, reaching Amoy on 27 June. On 27 October, they heard that the **Solide** had visited the Island of Sancian. The ships left Amoy on 13 July 1712. While crossing the North Pacific, they sighted an island, which they called “Isle zudel(?)”,¹ one of 4 small islands at the southern end of Japan. They saw no land until they reached California. This logbook ends with the ship being in Peru. Anchored then at Callao were the following French ships:

- Philippeaux;
- Solide, ready to leave for France (it left in November);
- Dauphin, Capt. des Saudrais, which left for China on 5 January 1716;
- Laurette [sic], Capt. Delaage, ready to leave for China (exact date of departure was 15 October 1715).

1 Ed. note: That is, Zuider, or South I., on the Dutch chart by Pieter Goos (see next page).

Document 1711K

The French ship *Princesse*, Captain Martin

Source: ANP, Marine, 4JJ129, n° 3 quater; formerly in Service Hydrographique de la Marine.

*Note: This ship was in fact the flagship of a squadron, travelling in company with the frigate *Découverte* (previous document). Her original captain, Mr. Bénac, was later replaced by Captain Mathieu Martin de Chassiron.*


Introductory note about this 7-year voyage, by E. W. Dahlgren.

The *Princesse* of Dunkirk, 400 tons, 42 guns, 210 men, Captain Benoît de Bénac, and after his death Mathieu Martin de Chassiron; ship-owner: Piécourt.¹

Departed Brest on 22 March 1708. At Santa Cruz of Tenerife on 27 April. Arrived at Maldonado, on the River Plate, in November. Remained in that river to give time to the crew, suffering from scurvy, to recover, until 31 December 1709. During this stay, Mr. de Bénac, after he had first tried to cut his own throat, threw himself into the sea, out of madness or despair. In the Strait of Lemaire in January 1710. Doubled Cape Horn on 11 February. Arrived at Concepción on 4 March. Visited many ports on the coasts of Chile and Peru. Left Huacho on 8 March, 1711. Discovery of Passion [i.e. Clipperton] Island on 3 April. **At Guam from 15 to 18 May.** At the Babuyan Islands on 4 June. At Amoy from 15 June 1711 to 13 July 1712. During its return voyage across the Pacific, saw on 8 August the Island of “Zudellane” [i.e. Zuider Eiland], situated at the southern tip of Japan. On 13 October the coast of California was sighted, at 34°55' lat. N. The islands of Tres Marias were seen on 29 October. At Valle de Banderas from 1 November to 3 December. Equator crossed at 286°41' longitude on 15 January 1713. Sighted Juan Fernandez Island on 13 March. Arrived at Coquimbo on 28 March and at Pisco on 4 April 1713, where the ship still is on 30 September 1714, probably after visits to other ports. At Ilo, 5-24 March 1715, at which date it departed to return home without a stop. Arrived at La Rochelle on 7 September 1715.

¹ Ed. note: In the historical map of Clipperton Island, included with Doc. 1711L, reference is made to this Mr. Piécourt.

Journal de Route de
La Forty du Caillau
Pour le port de Nouij
de Sachines



Cover page of the logbook kept by Mr. Prudhomme.

Journal kept by Mr. Prudhomme, ship *Princesse*

Original text in French.

Journal de Routes de La Sorty du Caillau Pour Le port de Mouÿ A Lachine.

...

Jeudy 14 May 1711

De Puis hier midy Jusques a Ce midy le Vent a ENE Singlé a OSO. Jusques a 6 heures Et puis a O1/4SO La Route ma Valu le

O1/4SO. 4d. O. 24 L.

Latt. observée 13d. 23.

Long. 160d. 44.

*qui Tout adjouté me donne 59. L. 40 m de lavan du Navire on a observé Ce jour 8d. de Variation abord de la **decouverte** Suivant Cela Et le Journal du **St-Anthoine** nous devrions Voir La terre aujourd'huy[.] nous avons Continué Nostre Route au O1/4SO. Jusques a Soleil Couché que nous avons Veue la terre a ONO de Nous distance de 8 L. qui me donne a midy Cette Terre a O1/4NO 2.d. ouest Chemin 15 L. 30 [m] adjouté avec 59 L. font 74 L. 30 m derreur a ouest que Je donne au Courans qui nous ons porté Et lorsque nous Trouvions des differences Nord[,] Car je Croy que lisle Est tres bien marqué dans la Carte de Pitre Gosse par 163d. 50 m de Longitude Et 13d. 30 m de latitude Nord me paroissant que Cest la pointe la plus nord de lisle qui Nous Reste a ONO.;*

Du Vendredy 15 May 1711

*De puis hier au Soir apres avoir fait les Signaux a la **decouverte** de la terre Nous mesme En traver Et luy parlame[.] on convin de faire la Route du NO. Jusques a minuit ou Nous fimmes Environ 7 L. Et puis nous avons mis En traver Jusques a 3 heures que Nous Re[s]tions qua Environ une demye Lieux de terre; Les Courrans nous ayant porté de fons Et Comme il faisoit Clair Et quon distingoit for bien Toute la terre Et le bout de lisles qui forme 3. pointes dont la derniere Est la plus basse nous avons fait de la Voille Et au point du Jour nous nous Somme trouvé a la pointe la plus Nord de lisle a distance dune petite lieües ou un pilotte que nous avons Eu du **St. Anthoine** La reconnu pour lisle de mariane Nommée Sur Les Cartes agoupagan [sic] dont Voicy le plan Cy Contre.*

Aterissage de Lisle de Mariane

Nous Lavons Cotoyé a demy Lieües du Costé du ouest apres 2. ou 3. Bord nous avons mouïllé Ver les 3. heures de la prais midy devant Umataó par 13 brasses a 3. Cablures de terre font de sable Noir Et Coquillage Et avons porté un ancre aget [= à jet] pour la fourché dans le OSO par 25 Brasses Le mesme font [.] En Cotoyant il Est Venu plusieurs bateaux du paye a bord avec des Espagnoles[.] il a paru quantité de Ces bateaux qui aloint Et Venoint le lon de la Coste[.] ils Sons fait dune construction toute particulier mais Ce nest Rien de les Voir Sur le papier[.] nous fumes Tous Estonné de Voir la Vi-

tesse dont ils Vonts Et avec quelle aisance il Ce manœuvre[.] Jassure bien quils auroint double deux fois nostre Sillage[.]

Mr. Martin Escrivit au gouverneur par Lequel il le prioit de nous faire ramasser quelques rafraichissement[.] Le bateaux partit Et LEspagnole qui Etoit Venu dedans nous dit quil failloit tirer un Coup de Canon pour faire Connoistre au gouverneur que nous Estions françois[.] Ce qui fut fait[.] le petit bateaux fut bientost rendu a Umatao ou Etoit le gouverneur qui Envoye Son adjuden a bort peu de temps aprais Complimenter Mr. Martin Et puis Envoye quelques Melons D'Eau; Mr. Martin Envoya le Canot a terre avec un officier Et un petit present pour le gouverneur Consistant dans une botte de Vin[.] une d'Eau de vie Et un Sac de farine qui Sont des Choses for rares pour Eux qui N'en Resoive que lorsque le Navire de Capoulco Relache yCy En allant a manille qui Vient tous les ans lorsque les Vent de oïest Regne.

Il y a des beuf En assé bonne quantité; beaucoup de Cochons quelques Cabrits Et de La Volaille[.] ils prennent aussy du poisson ainsy Ils Viens assé bien[.] le gouverneur se Nomme Don Thomas Pimentel [sic] fils naturel dun vice Roy du Perou Estably du pays [sic = depuis] longtemps a Manille[.] il y a Sur Cette Isle Environ 150 Blanc portant les armes; mariés avec les Indiennes du pays qui Certainement ne sont pas Jolie non plus que les hommes[.] ils on tous yeux fort petit le Nés Ecrazé Et les levres fort grosses[.] ils Sonts dune taille assé haute mais la plus part Sont lepreux[.] il y a 14. ou 15. Jesuites qui les Entretiennent dans la Religions[.] ils ne Sauroint Rien faire Sans L'ordre du gouverneur Et pour ainsj dire Sont tous Esclaves Car les pauvres gens ne Sauroint pas vendre une poule que au dit a bon Comptef[.] les Indiens nous En ont vendu a 2. Piastres Et luy les faisoit une piastres Vendre par Son adjudent Et ainsj de toutes autres Choses.

Du dimanche 17 May 1711

Des Ce matin nous avouns donné bande[.] Le gouverneur Est venu diner a bort avec tous Ces officiers[.] on luis à fait bonne Chere Et Salué de 5. Coups de Canons.

En Sortant le lundy 18, Nous avons Embarqué 10 Beuf, quelques Cochons Et autres rafraichissement Et ver les 6. heures du Soir nous avons apareillé dun petit vent de l'Est. Et avons fait la Route du ONO:

Partance de Mariane

Mardy 19. de puis hier 6 heures du Soir que nous apareillame de mariane Jusques a aujourd'huy Je fais mon depart de Cette mesme Isles du moüillage ou Nous Etions qui Est par la lattitude de 13d. 24 m Et par La longitude de 164.d. Suivent toujours la Carte de pitre Gosse[.] Ce matin nous avons Veus lisle de mariane Et le Relever de puis le SE1/4E a ESE: distance de 8. a 9. Lieux toute la Nuit petit frais Et Ce jour Singlé a ONO. Jestime

*La Route au NO1/4O. 4 d. O 20 L.
Latt. observée 13 d. 56 m
Long. 163 d. 7 m.
Variation observée 7 d. NE.*

Translation.

Logbook of the voyage as of the departure from Callao, bound for the port of Mouy in China.

...

Thursday 14 May 1711

As of yesterday noon until noon today, wind at ENE, we have sailed WSW until 6 [p.m.] and then W1/4SW. The distance covered was:

W1/4SW 4° W 24 leagues

Latitude observed 13°23'

Longitude 160°44'

which, when all are added up, gives me 59 leagues 40 m ahead of the ship. A variation of 8° was observed today aboard the **Découverte**. According to this, and to the log of the **Saint-Antoine**, we should see land today. We have continued our route to W1/4SW until sunset when we saw land to WNW at 8 leagues from us.

At noon, that gives me this land at W1/4NW 2° W, distance 15 leagues 30 m, added to the 59 leagues makes an error of 74 leagues 30 m westward, that I ascribe to the currents that have carried us northward, when we found such differences, because I believe that the island is well marked on the [Dutch] map of Pieter Goos at 163°50' longitude and 13°30' latitude north, and it appears to me that it is the northernmost point of the island that bears WNW.

Friday 15 May 1711

As of yesterday evening, after we gave the signal of Land to the **Découverte**, we hove to and spoke to them. It was agreed to head NW until midnight, and we made 7 leagues, and then we hove to until 3 a.m. when we were about 1/2 league from the land, the currents having brought us upon it. It was bright [by moonlight] and we could see the land very well and the tip of the island that forms 3 points, the last of which is the lowest. We set sail and at daybreak we found ourselves at the northernmost point of the island at less than 1 league away, which was recognized by a pilot that we got from the **Saint-Antoine** as Mariana Island, called Agoupagan [sic] on the charts, and whose sketch appears attached.¹

Landing at Mariana Island

We followed the west coast at 1/2 league; after 2 or 3 tacks, we anchored at about 3 p.m. in front of Umatao [sic] in 13 fathoms, at 3 cable lengths from the shore, bottom of black sand and shells. We let go a mooring anchor which settled to WSW in 25 fathoms. The same day, while coasting, there came alongside many local boats with Spaniards aboard them. Many such boats could be seen coming and going along the coast. They are made of a very particular construction, but it is nothing to see them on paper;

1 Ed. note: This name for Guam was on the chart by Pieter Goos. The name of the pilot from the Saint-Antoine is not given, but he could have been a Mr. Giovo; it could not have been Mr. Moirie, because he stayed with his ship. The map that was attached to this manuscript may be one of the two maps made by Frenchmen in 1711 (see earlier documents).

we were all astonished to see the speed at which they go and with what ease they are maneuvered. I assure you that they would have made a double circle around us.

Mr. Martin wrote to the governor [a letter] in which he requested him to have a few fresh provisions gathered for us. The boat left and the Spaniard who had come aboard told us that we had to fire one gun to let the governor know that we were Frenchmen, which was done. The small boat was soon at Umatao where the governor was. A short time later, he sent his adjutant aboard to present his compliments to Mr. Martin and to bring him some watermelons. Mr. Martin sent the canoe ashore with one officer with a little gift for the governor, consisting of one small jug of wine, another of brandy and one sack of flour that are very rare things for them. They only get them when the Acapulco ship makes a stopover here on the way to Manila every year when the westerly [sic] winds prevail.

There are cows in fairly good quantity, many pigs, a few goats and fowl. They fish also and they live fairly well this way. The name of the governor is Mr. Thomas Pirmentel [sic], the natural son of a [former] Viceroy of Peru, long established at Manila. There are approximately 150 white men bearing arms who are living on this island; they are married to local Indian women, who certainly are not pretty, no more so than the men. They have very small eyes, a flat nose, and very big lips. They are fairly tall but most of them are lepers. There are 14 or 15 Jesuits who look after their religious needs. They would not know what to do without an order from the governor and, in a manner of speaking, they are all slaves, because the poor people would not know how to sell one hen, except to him for very little money. The Indians sold them to us at 2 pesos each, but he, through his adjutant, had them sell them to us at 1 peso each, and so on with the other things.

Sunday 17 May 1711

Early in the morning, we have careened the ship. The governor came to have dinner on board with all his officers. We served him a good fare and saluted him with 5 guns.

On the way out, on Monday 18th, we have taken on board 10 cows, a few pigs and other fresh food. At about 6 p.m. we got under way with a light breeze from the east and steered WNW.

Departure from Mariana Island.

Tuesday 19. As of yesterday at 6 p.m. when we sailed from Mariana Island, until noon today, I make my departure [point] from the said island, from the anchorage where we were that is in 13°27' lat. and 164°, always according to the chart by Pieter Goos. This morning we have seen Mariana Island bearing from SE1/4E to ESE, distant 8 to 9 leagues. All night the wind was almost fresh. Today, we headed WNW. I estimate:

Distance covered NW1/4W 4° W	20 leagues
Latitude observed	13°56'
Longitude	163°07'
Variation observed	7°NE...

 Documents 1711L

Notes on the discovery of Clipperton Island by two French ships in 1711

L1. Extract from the journal of the *Découverte*, Captain Dubocage

Source: ANP Marine 4JJ47, n° 6.

Original text in French.

...
Mars. — Du Dimanche 8e — 1711
Depart de Gouacho.

...
Suivant la carte de Pitre Gos de laquelle je me serts pour aller en Chine passant par Lisle de gouana ou Mariane l'une des Isles des Larons, son milieu est suivant la carte cy-dessus par la Latt. N. de 13 d. 20 m. et par la longitude 164 d. lieu ou nous devons coucher pour y reprendre de leau et des rafreschissements et de la continuer notre voyage de Chine.] La d. Isle est abitée par les Espagnols et il y a quelques Missionnaires qui font leur Mission alegard [=à l'égard] des Insullaires. Dans le remplacement de mon Equipage lon ma donné les nommez Guerrier et Le Comte Malade.

...
 [Crossing of the equator]
Du Vendredy 20e...
Latt. au N. de 35' et par la Longitt. de 283 d. 20'

...
Avril — Du mercredy 1e
... 10 d 27 m... longitude de 266 d 15 m...
Du Jeudi 2e
... 10 d 30 m... longitude de 265 d 2 m...

Du Vendredy 3e
*Depuis hier midy aujourd'hui, midy, la route estimée ma vallue le OI/4NO... 24 L.
 Ayant pris hauteur je me suis trouvé arme [sic] par la latt. N. de 10 d. 28 m.
 Et par la longitude de 263 d 50 m*

Et suivam la corection la routte ma vallu le O. 2 d S. en chemin ... [blank] ce qui nous donne a connoitre que les courans porte au Sud &.

Decouverte dune Ile que nous avons nommée [sic] Ile de la passion.

Sur les deux heures dapres midy jay moy meme decouvert un gros rocher sous la ralingue de la grande toile qui nous restoit au O1/4SO. [en]viron 5 Lieux.

Jay fait faire le signal de terre a Monsieur Martin qui nous a repondu un moment apres. Cetoit un gros rocher escarpé et dentelé[.] nous avons fait routte dessus. Sur les 4 heures apres midy nous avons decouvert que ce rocher etoit sur la pointe du sud dune Isle fort platte qui pouvoit avoir dans sa plus grande longueur [en]viron 3 Lieux autant comme je lay peu [=pu] juger S.E. et NO. et [en]viron une lieüe et demi a deux lieux de large. Sur les cinq heures du soir nous nen etions pas a plus dune demie Lieue au NE de Lisle[.] de notre costé Lisle etoit de sable avec quelques brussailles et un arbre secq sur la pointe du NE. Cedit costé de lest netoit quune langue de terre fort étroitte[.] Le milieu de Lisle etoit un gran lacq qui se conduisoit dun bout a laute de Lisle[.] Le costé du O. nous a paru avec quelque petite Brusaille et de terre et quelque petite roche mais fort bas cependant um peu plus haut que le costé de l'E. Je trouve que cette Isle dans son milieu est par la Lattitude Nord de 10 d 25 m et par la longitude du Meridien de Pitregos ou de Van Keulen de 263 d 35 m. Nous avons peché le longt de cette Ile sis gros marsouins[.] nous avons parlé a Mr Martin qui nous a attendu apres etre doublez la pointe du Nord.

[Note in margin:] *Pris des marsouins.*

Ils ont aussy peché plusieurs marsouins[.] Nous avons sondé a 1/2 lieüe de lisle sans avoir peu y trouver de fond &.

Avril. — Du Samedi 4e — 1711

Depuis hier midy jesque aujourd'hui midy

la route estimée ma vallu le O1/4NO. 3 d N 34 L.

Ayant pris hauteur nous nous sommes trouvez par la latt. N de 11 d.

Et par la longitude de 265 d. 43 m.

Les vents ont régné du N. au NNE. bon frais 7.

...

Translation.

...

March 1711.—From Sunday 8th

Departure from Huacho.

...

According to the chart of Pieter Goos, which I use to go to China by way of Guam or Mariana Island, one of the Islands of the Ladrões, its center lies in 13°20' lat. N according to this chart and 164° long., which is the place where we must stop to take on water and refreshments, and from there continue our voyage to China. Said Island is inhabited by Spaniards and there are a few missionaries who have their missions to look

after the Indians there. Among those I was given as crew replacements, there is a man named Guerrier and another named Lecomte, sick...

[Crossing of the Equator]

From Friday 20nd

At 0°35' lat. N and 283°20' longitude...

April.—From Wednesday 1st

... 10°27' lat. N ... 266°15' long.

From Thursday 2nd

... 10°30' ... 265°2' long.

From Friday 3rd

As of yesterday noon until today noon, the estimated route was W 1/4 NW ... 24 leagues.

Having observed the sun's elevation, I found myself in 10°28' lat. N and in 263°50' longitude.

And, after applying the correction, my resultant route bore W 2° S ... which lets us know that the currents make us drift southward, etc.

Discovery of an island that we have named Isle de la Passion.

At about 2 p.m., I have myself sighted a big rock under the bolrope of the main-sail, and it bore W 1/4 SW from us, about 5 leagues.

I ordered the signal for land to be fired for Captain Martin who answered us a short time later. It was a big steep and ragged rock. We headed straight for it. At about 4 p.m. we have discovered that this rock was at the southern point of a very flat island that could be about 3 leagues in its greater dimension, i.e. SE—NW it seemed to me, and about 1-1/2 leagues in width. At about 5 p.m. we were within half a league NE of the island. On our side the island was sandy with a few bushes and one dead tree at the NE point. This eastern side was but a tongue of very narrow land. The center of the island was a great lagoon that occupied the whole island. The western side appeared to us to have a few bushes and some land and a small rock but very low-lying; however, it was higher than the eastern side. I find the center of this island to be in 10°25' lat. N and 263°35' with respect to the meridian of Pieter Goos or van Keulen.¹ We have caught six big dolphins along this island. We spoke Captain Martin who had waited for us after he had doubled the northern point.

[Note in margin:] Dolphins caught.

They had also taken many dolphins. We have sounded at half a league from the island and were unable to find bottom, etc.

April 1711.—From Saturday 4th

From yesterday noon until today noon, the estimated route was W 1/4 NW 3° N ... 34 leagues.

1 Ed. note: Pieter Goos, an Amsterdam publisher of sea-charts first published his *Zee-atlas* in 1666. Johannes Van Keulen issued his own *Zeefakkel* in 1680.

Having observed, we have found ourselves to be at 11° lat. N and 265°43' longitude. The prevailing winds were from N to NNE, fresh 7.

...

Summary remarks as far as Guam.

Sunday	5 11°30' & 259°33'
Monday 6	12°12' & 257°17'
Tuesday 7	12°30' & 254°32'
"The main-mast was repaired; it was an old break just then noticed. Three twins (poles) were tied around the old mast. One more dolphin was caught."	
Wednesday 8	12°52' & 252°21'
Thursday 9	12°14' & 250°23'
Friday 10	13°54' & 247°54'
Saturday 11	13°58' & 245°41'
Sunday 12	13°58' & 242°57'
Monday 13	13°58' & 239°45'
Tuesday 14	13°58' & 236°29'
Wednesday 15	14°15' & 233°3'
Thursday 16	14°30' & 229°51' Variation observed at sunset 4° NE.
Friday 17	14°48' & 226°46'
Saturday 18	15° & 223°9'
Sunday 19	15°20' & 220°18' Variation observed at sunset 5° NE.
Monday 20	15°38' & 217°27'
Tuesday 21	15°33' & 214°42'
Wednesday 22	15°27' & 212°10' Variation at sunset 10° NE.
Thursday 23	15°19' & 209°47'
Friday 24	15°14' & 207°18'
Saturday 25	15° 8' & 204°43'
Sunday 26	15°1' & 201°46'
Monday 27	15°1' & 198°8'
Tuesday 28	14°24' & 194°56'
Wednesday 29	13°48' & 191°48'
"At about 4 p.m., we spoke to Mr. Martin who was in good health as well as his crew. His estimated position was 2°30' further west than ours."	
Thursday 30	13°29' & 189°16'
Friday 1 May 1711	13°41' & 186°51' Variation observed at sunset 13° NE.
Saturday 2	13°25' & 184°17'
Sunday 3	13°25' & 180°56'
Monday 4 latitude not mentioned; longitude 177°38'	
"At about 4 p.m., we spoke to Mr. Martin. He estimated his position 4°38' further west than ours."	
Tuesday 5	13°18' & 174°36'

Wednesday 6	13°16' & 172°2'
Thursday 7	13°24' & 169°28'
Friday 8	13°25' & 167°15' Variation observed at sunset 11° NE.
Saturday 9	13°32' & 165°54' Variation observed at sunset 11° NE.
Sunday 10	13°32' & 162°46' Variation observed at sunset 9° NE.
Monday 11	13°24' & 160°58' Variation observed at sunset 9° NE and at sunrise 8°
Tuesday 12	13°20' & 159°26'
	“This evening we spoke to Mr. Martin who has observed a variation of 7°30’”
Wednesday 13	13°20' & 158°18' Variation observed 8° NE.
Thursday 14	13°20' & 156°39' Seen the land of the Island of Goïane.

...

L2. Extract from the journal of Mr. Prudhomme, aboard the *Princesse*, Captain Martin

Source: ANP 4JJ129, n° 3 quater.

Original text in French.

...

Du Vendredy 3 avril 1715 [sic]

Depuis hier midy a aujourd'huy le vent au N. toute la nuit[.] gouverna a O. Et O.NO. Jestime la route a O-4d vers le N.

Chemin fait 20 L

Lattitude estimee ... 10 d 38.

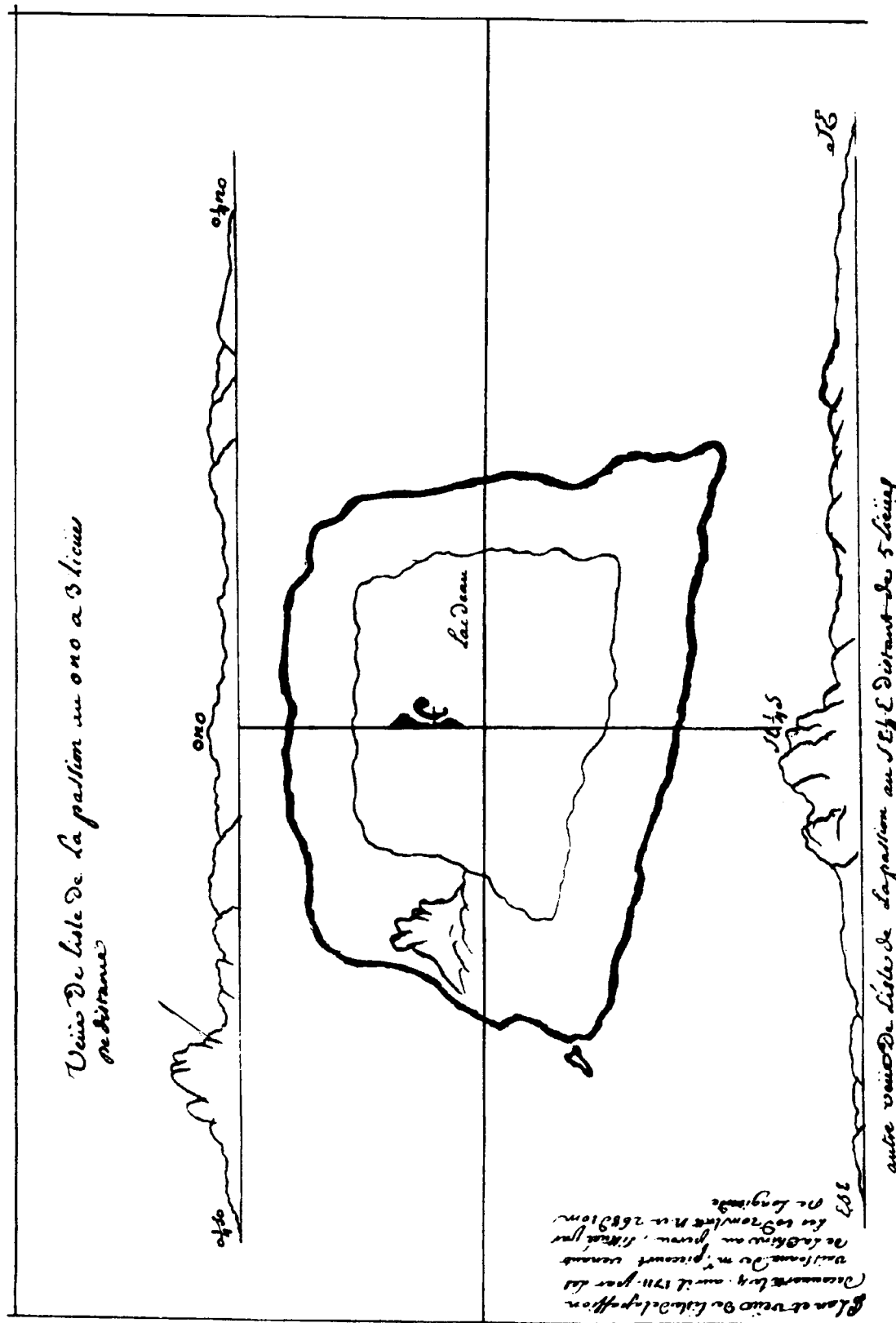
Et par ma hauteur je trouve 18 m. de difference S. nayant observé que 10d20m ce qui me fait croyre que les courans portent et charge au S. Et que la route a Esté le O 1/4 SO Et le Chemin 25L

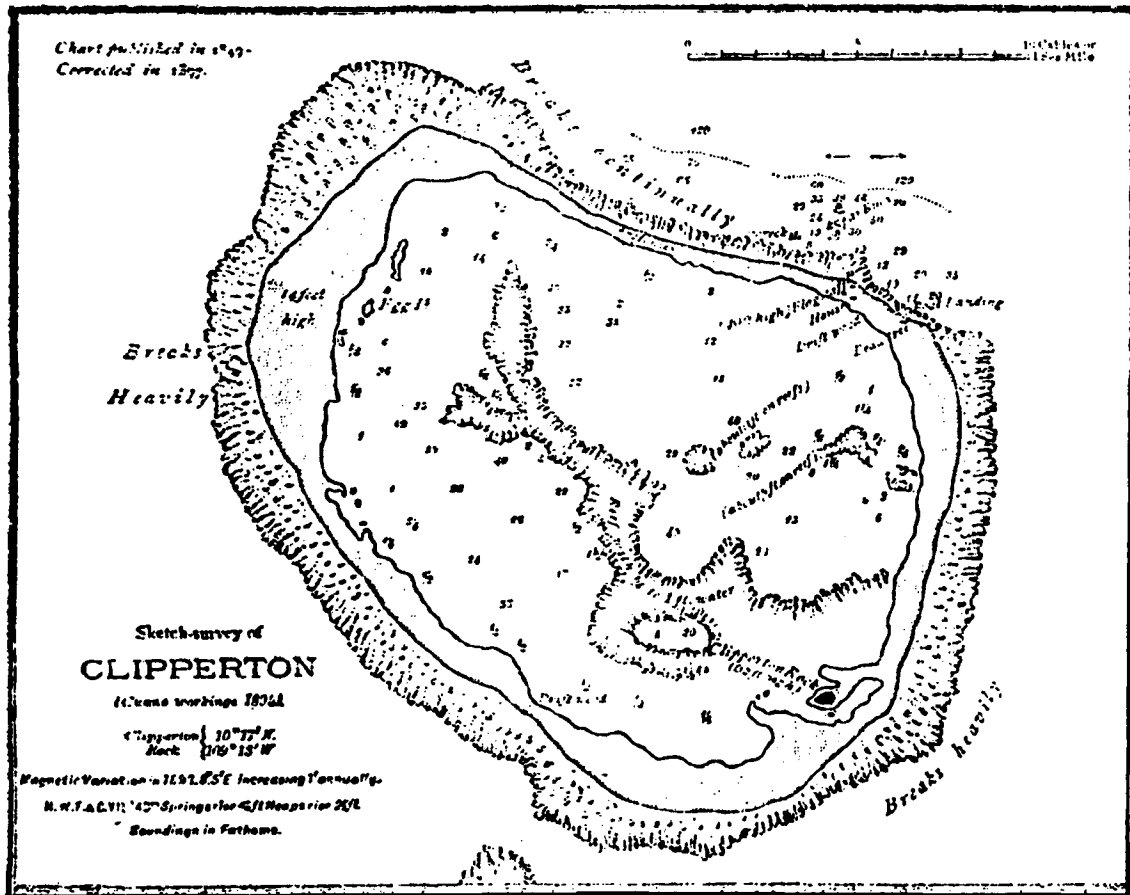
Longitude 268 d 29

Nous avons veüe passer plusieurs tortues le lon[g] du bors Et beaucoup doiseaux que certainement marque laproche de quelques Isles aussi bien que le changement des courans.

Du Samedy 4 avril 1715 [sic]

*Depuis hier midi Jusques a aujourd'huy midy. Le vent variable du N. au NE. assez bon frais. La mer belle[.] hier a 1 heure apres midy nous avons veüe une Isle assé élevé a O. Et a O 1/4 SO de nous distance denviron 6 Lieux que me juger cette Isles par la latitude de 268 d. 11 m. Nous fummes le O 1/4 NO pour passer au vent et en laprochant les courans nous enlevoient si fort sur le SO. quil faillu gouverner au NO. et au NO 1/4 O pour la doubler le longant sur le NO par une terre fort basse de sable environ 9 Lieux comme il paroist dans la plan cy joint[.] **Nous avons nommé cette Isles l'Isle de la passion** restant pas marque sur les cartes et layant decouverte hier Jour de la Passion de nostre Seigneur et nous la plongeames a demy Lieux sans trouver de fon. Nous apersumes que tout ce terrain plat ne forme quene Lagoune. Nous ne vimes aucummes ap-*





Modern map of Clipperton Island. (From the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, 1898, published by Dahlgren in Ymer, 1900).

(Facing page:) **Map of Clipperton, or Passion, Island, discovered by French ships on 4 April 1711.** The main caption, in French, reads: “Plan et veüe de lisle de la passion decouverte le 4. avril 1711. par les vaisseaux de mr. piécourt venant de la Chine au perou. Située par les 10 d 10 m latt. N. et 268 d 10 m de longitude,” and translated, as follows: “Map and profile of Passion Island, discovered on 4 April 1711 by the ships owned by Mr. Piécourt, coming from China to Peru. Situated at 10°10’ lat. N. and 268°10’ long. [E. of Tenerife].” This caption was obviously added later on to the original manuscript map by someone who had not read the logbook carefully. “Lac d’eau” means “lagoon.” The top caption reads: “Profile of Passion Island, bearing WNW distant 3 leagues.” The bottom caption reads: “Another profile of Passion Island, bearing SE 1/4 E distant 5 leagues.” The latitude is given as accurately as in the modern survey (above). The longitude was actually quite good; the pilots were following the chart published by the Dutchman Pieter Goos religiously. In fact, the actual position is 109° W of Greenwich = 251° E of Greenwich = 267°40’ E of Tenerife, instead of 268°10’. (From BNP, *Cartes et Plans*, Port. 475, Div. 11, p. 5).

parence que cette Isles put estre habiteé ny paroissant dautre bois que quelques boisons fort bas comme des raquettes et quelques arbres Fer sur le bord de la mer comme si fust esté qui les y eusse jetees[.] nayant aucune esperance dy trouver de l'Eau et quil ventoit bon frais nous primes le party de faire nostre route gouvernant a O. Chemin 46 L.

Lattitude estimé 10 d. 43 m Lattitude observée ... 10 d. 44 m

Longitude 266 d. 9 m.

Hier au soleil couchant L'Isle nous restoit au SE. 4 d Sud 4 Lieux.

...

Translation.

...

From Friday 3rd April 1715 [rather 1711]¹

From yesterday noon until today noon, the wind was N during the whole night. Headed W and WNW. I estimate the route to W 4° N.

Daily run ... 20 leagues.

Estimated latitude ... 10°38'

But by my observation, I find a difference of 18' S, having measured but 10°20' which makes me believe that the currents run southward and consequently, the resultant was W 1/4 SW 25 leagues.

[Estimated] longitude ... 268°29'

We have seen many turtles swimming alongside and many birds that certainly indicate the nearness of some islands, in addition to a change in the currents.

From Saturday 4 April 1715 [sic]

From yesterday noon until today noon, the wind was variable from N to NE, rather fresh, the sea nice. Yesterday at 1 p.m., we have seen a rather high island bearing from W to W 1/4 SW from us, at about 6 leagues, such that I judge this island to lie in a latitude of ... [words missed in transcribing, I think] and in 268°11' of longitude. We headed W 1/4 NW to pass to the windward of it but in coming close the currents pushed us toward the SW so strongly that we were forced to steer NW and NW 1/4 W in order to round it, along a very low-lying land, sandy, about 9 leagues [in length], as appears on the attached map.² **We named this island Isle de la Passion** because it is not shown on charts and we discovered it yesterday, on the day of the Passion of Our Lord [i.e. Good Friday]. We sounded at half a league from shore without finding any bottom. We observed that the whole of the interior is but a lagoon. We saw no sign that this island could be inhabited, and there was no other vegetation than a few low bushes, like some "raquettes" and a few iron-trees along the shore, as if they had washed ashore

1 Ed. note: Only one page, this one, bears the wrong year, 1715, instead of 1711, for some strange reason. It is obviously a copy, not the original, perhaps made in 1715.

2 Ed. note: The chart was obviously sketched by Captain Prudhomme.

there. Not having any hope of finding any water there, and because the wind blew strong and steady, we took the decision of pursuing our voyage, heading W, 46 leagues.

Estimated latitude ... 10°43' Observed latitude ... 10°44'

[Estimated] longitude ... 266°9'

Yesterday at sunset the island bore SE 4°S from us, [distant] 4 leagues...

L3. Claim by Mexico decided in favor of France

Source: Appendix 5 of the following book by Antonio Gomez Robledo: "Mexico y el arbitraje internacional," (Mexico, Porrúa, 1965).

Note: The decision taken by the King of Italy, acting as Arbiter, effectively summarizes the whole story, as follows.

Original text in Spanish.

Isla de la Pasión.—Decisión del Arbitro.

Nos Vittorio Emanuele III,

por la gracia de Dios y por la voluntad de la Nación, Rey de Italia.

Vista la Convención suscrita en la ciudad de México el 2 de marzo de 1909, en la cual el Gobierno de la República Francesa y el de la República de México han deferido a Nuestro juicio arbitral la resolución de la controversia surgida entre las Altas Partes acerca de la soberanía de la Isla de Clipperton;

Teniendo presente Nuestra aceptación, que fue participada a las Altas Partes por Nuestro Ministro Secretario de Estado de Negocios Extranjeros, por nota del 21 de agosto de 1909;

Leídas todas las memorias presentadas por las Altas Partes en la forma y términos por Nos establecidos; y examinados los documentos comunicados por Ellas;

Hemos deliberado y pronunciamos la presente sentencia:

*Hechos: Se afirma que el 17 de noviembre de 1858, el Lugarteniente de Navío Victor Le Coat de Kerwégen, Comisario del Gobierno Francés, viajando a una distancia aproximada de media milla de Clipperton, redactó a bordo del navío mercante **L'Amiral** una acta, en la cual, según las órdenes que le habían sido transmitidas por el Ministro de la Marina, proclamó y declaró que la soberanía de la Isla misma, a partir de aquel día, pertenecía a S. M. el Emperador Napoléon III y a sus herederos y sucesores. Durante el viaje fueron efectuados diligentes y minuciosos levantamientos geográficos; una embarcación logró, después de muchas dificultades, desembarcar algunos hombres de su tripulación; y la tarde del 20 de noviembre, después de una segunda tentativa no lograda para tomar tierra, la nave se alejó sin dejar en la Isla ninguna señal de soberanía.*

Del cumplimiento de su misión, el Lugarteniente De Kerwéguen dio noticia oficial al Consulado Francés de Honolulu; éste, a su vez, hizo análoga comunicación al Gobierno de Hawaii; y, además, por gestión del mismo consulado, en el periódico "The

Polynesian” de Honolulu, del 8 de diciembre, fue publicada en inglés la declaración por la cual ya había sido proclamada la soberanía francesa sobre Clipperton.

En seguida, y hasta fines de 1897, no es de recordarse ningún acto positivo y aparente de soberanía, ni de parte de Francia ni de parte de otra Potencia. La Isla permaneció sin población, por lo menos estable, y no llegó a organizarse ninguna administración; no se llevó a efecto la concesión para el aprovechamiento de los yacimientos de guano que allí existían, y que había sido aprobada por el Emperador el 8 de abril de 1858 en favor de un señor Lockart, y que había dado lugar a la expedición del Lugarteniente De Kerwéguen; ni tal aprovechamiento tuvo lugar por parte de ningún otro súbdito francés.

Hacia fines de 1897, y precisamente el 24 de noviembre de ese año, Francia vino a comprobar, por intermedio del Jefe de la División Naval del Océano Pacífico, a quien se había encargado de la inspección, que tres personas se encontraban en la Isla para recoger el guano por cuenta de la “Oceanic Phosphate Company” de San Francisco, y que éstos, al aparecer la nave francesa, habían enarbolado la bandera americana. De ello fueron pedidas explicaciones al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, y éste respondió que no había otorgado concesión alguna a la Compañía mencionada y no pretendía alegar ningún derecho de soberanía sobre Clipperton (28 de enero de 1898).

*Aproximadamente un mes después del acto de vigilancia realizado por la Marina Francesa y mientras se desenvolvía la acción diplomática cerca de los Estados Unidos, México, que ignoraba la ocupación alegada por Francia y sostenía que Clipperton formó antiguamente parte de su territorio, envió a aquel lugar un cañonero, el **Demócrata**, impulsado por la noticia, que resultó después inexacta, de que Inglaterra tenía miras sobre la Isla. El destacamento de oficiales y marineros desembarcados de esa nave el 13 de diciembre de 1897, encontró a las tres personas que allí residían desde el precedente arribo de la nave francesa. Les hizo arriar la bandera americana y en su lugar izó la mexicana; de los tres individuos mencionados, dos consintieron en abandonar la Isla y el tercero declaró su deseo de permanecer, y de hecho permaneció, no se sabe hasta cuándo. Después de lo cual, el **Demócrata** partió el 15 de diciembre.*

El 8 de enero, Francia, teniendo conocimiento de la expedición mexicana, hizo presente a esta Potencia sus derechos sobre Clipperton. Siguió después una larga discusión diplomática que se prolongó hasta que, con la Convención del 2 de marzo de 1909, los dos Gobiernos acordaban deferir la decisión de la controversia acerca de la soberanía de la Isla a Nuestro juicio arbitral.

Derecho: *Es de tomarse ante todo en consideración la tesis sostenida por México, en su punto principal, de que la Isla de Clipperton perteneció a este Estado antes que Francia proclamase sobre ella su soberanía; si tal tesis resultase fundada, debería deducirse la ilegitimidad de la ocupación por parte de Francia.*

Según México, la Isla de Clipperton, que habría tomado el nombre del conocido aventurero inglés que, a principios del siglo XVIII, solía refugiarse en ella, no sería otra que la Isla de la Pasión, llamada también Médano o Médanos.

Esta Isla habría sido descubierta por la Marina Española, y en fuerza del derecho entonces vigente, establecido por la Bula de Alejandro VI, habría pertenecido a España, y después, a partir de 1836, a México como Estado sucesor del español.

*Pero en el estado actual de los coconimientos, no resulta probado que la Isla, de cualquier modo que hubiera sido denominada, haya sido efectivamente descubierta por navegantes españoles. Que éstos la hayan conocido antes que los diarios de navegación de las naves francesas **La Princesse** y **La Découverte** la identificaran y describieran en 1711, es una conjetura más o menos probable, de la que no puede sacarse ningún argumento decisivo.*

Por lo demás, aun admitiendo que el descubrimiento hubiera sido hecho por súbditos de España, para que la tesis de México pudiese tener buen fundamento, sería necesario probar que no sólo tuvo España el derecho potencial de incorporar la isla en sus dominios, sino que tal derecho fue efectivamente ejercitado. Pero también de esto falta la demostración precisa. México presenta, como prueba de su tesis, una carta geográfica impresa, tomada del archivo de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, en la cual figura la Isla como comprendida en los "Gobiernos políticos y militares de España de la América septentrional." Pero no se puede afirmar el carácter oficial de tal carta, ya porque no resulta que haya sido ejecutada por orden o por cuenta del Estado, ya porque no contribuye a su valor la nota manuscrita, que en ella se lee, de que sirvió para el uso del Real Tribunal del Consulado de México.

A más de esto, la prueba de un "derecho histórico" de México no está apoyada en una manifestación cualquiera de su soberanía sobre la isla, soberanía que, hasta la expedición de 1897, nunca fue ejercitada. Y la simple convicción, así sea general y antigua, de que se trata de un territorio perteneciente a aquella República, es irrelevante.

*Por consecuencia, debe admitirse que cuando en noviembre de 1858, proclamó Francia su soberanía sobre Clipperton, ésta se encontraba en la condición jurídica de **territorium nullius**, y, por ende, susceptible de ocupación.*

*Surge entonces la cuestión de si Francia procedió a una ocupación efectiva, cumpliendo con las condiciones requeridas por el derecho internacional para la validez de dicho modo de adquisición territorial. De hecho México, subsidiariamente a la tesis principal que ha sido examinada, sostiene la invalidez de la ocupación francesa, y por ende su derecho a ocupar la isla, que en 1897 debía seguir considerándose como **nullius**.*

Respecto a tal cuestión, debe sobre todo considerarse que es incontestable la regularidad del acto por el cual, en 1858, Francia manifestó de modo claro y preciso su voluntad de considerar la isla como su territorio.

De la parte contraria se disputa que Francia haya tomado posesión efectiva de la isla, y se sostiene, en cambio, que en ausencia de tal toma de posesión que tenga el requisito de la efectividad, la ocupación debe considerarse como nula y no efectuada.

*Está fuera de duda que, por una costumbre muy antigua que tiene valor de norma jurídica, es elemento necesario de la ocupación, a más del **animus occupandi**, la toma de posesión material y no ficticia. Consiste ésta en el acto o serie de actos por los cuales*

el Estado ocupante reduce el territorio a su disposición y se pone en condiciones de hacer valer su autoridad exclusiva. Por regla general y en los casos ordinarios, esto no sucede sino cuando se establece en el territorio mismo una organización idónea para hacer respetar los derechos del ocupante. No obstante, esto no es, propiamente, sino un medio para proceder a la toma de posesión, y, por tanto, no se identifica con ésta. Casos puede haber en que no sea necesario recurrir a tal medio. Así, por el hecho de hallarse un territorio completamente deshabitado, resulta, desde el primer momento en que hace allí su aparición el Estado ocupante, la completa y no disputada disposición del mismo, la toma de posesión debe considerarse desde ese momento cumplida, y con esto queda perfeccionada la ocupación. No es de invocarse la obligación establecida en el artículo 35 del Acta de Berlín de 1885, de asegurar en los territorios ocupados la existencia de una autoridad suficiente para hacer respetar los derechos adquiridos, y cuando fuere el caso, la libertad de comercio y de tránsito en las condiciones que fuere estipulada. Tal Acta, siendo posterior a la ocupación francesa de que se trata, refiriéndose solamente a los territorios en la costa de Africa, y no obligando sino a los Estados signatorios, entre los que no está México, en sus relaciones recíprocas, no podía tener valor en el caso presente. Y, por lo demás, el artículo 35 no contempla propiamente la toma de posesión, sino que introduce una obligación que presupone una ocupación ya efectuada y ya válida. La regularidad de la ocupación francesa ha sido puesta en duda por el hecho de que no fue notificada a las demás potencias. Pero debe observarse que la obligación precisa de tal notificación fue introducida por el artículo 34 de la citada Acta de Berlín, la cual, como se ha dicho, no puede aplicarse al caso presente. Debe recordarse que anteriormente era suficiente la notoriedad que en cualquier forma se diese al acto, y esta notoriedad la obtuvo Francia mediante la publicación del acto mismo del modo señalado.

*De estas premisas resulta que la isla de Clipperton fue legítimamente adquirida por Francia el 17 de noviembre de 1858. Y no hay ningún motivo para admitir que Francia haya perdido posteriormente su derecho por **derelictio**, ya que no tuvo jamás el **animus** de abandonar la Isla, y el hecho de no haber ejercitado en sentido positivo su autoridad, no implica la caducidad de una adquisición perfeccionada ya de modo definitivo.*

P. Q. M. (por cuyos motivos) decidimos como Arbitro, que la soberanía sobre la isla de Clipperton pertenece a Francia desde el 17 de noviembre de 1858.

Roma, 28 de enero de 1931.

VITTORIO EMANUELE.

Translation.

Passion Island.—Decision of the Arbitrator.

We Vittorio Emanuele III,

by the grace of God and the will of the nation, King of Italy.

In view of the Agreement signed in Mexico City on 2 March 1909, by which the government of the French Republic and the government of the Republic of Mexico have deferred to our arbitral judgment the resolution of the controversy that arose between the High Parties regarding the sovereignty of Clipperton Island;

Keeping in mind that our acceptance, which was announced to the High Parties by our Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a note dated 12 August 1909;

Having read all of the petitions presented by the High Parties in the manner and terms by us established; and having examined the documents that were communicated by them;

We have deliberated and pronounced the present sentence:

The facts: It is stated that on 17 November 1858, Navy Lieutenant Victor Le Coat de Kerwégen, commissioned by the French Government, was travelling at an approximate distance of half a mile from Clipperton when he wrote aboard the merchant ship *L'Amiral* an affidavit, in which, in accordance with the orders that he had received from the Ministry of the Navy, he proclaimed and declared that the sovereignty of said island, as of that day, belonged to H.M. the Emperor Napoleon III and to his heirs and successors. During the voyage some diligent and detailed geographical observations were made; one boat succeeded, after many difficulties, to land some men from its crew; and on the afternoon of 20 November, after a second attempt was made, that was not successful, the ship left without leaving any sign of sovereignty on the island.

Lieutenant De Kerwégen gave official notice of the accomplishment of his mission to the French Consulate in Honolulu; it in turn gave similar notice to the Government of Hawaii and, afterwards, as a result of actions taken by the same Consulate, a notice, in English, was published in the newspaper "The Polynesian" of Honolulu, of December 8th, stating that French sovereignty had been proclaimed regarding Clipperton.

Thereafter, and until the end of 1897, there is no record of any positive or apparent act of sovereignty having been taken, neither by France or by any other Power. The Island remained uninhabited, at least not inhabited in a stable manner, and no administration whatsoever was established there; there was no effective follow-up to a concession for the exploitation of the *guano* deposits that exist there, that had been granted by the Emperor on 8 April 1858 in favor of a Mister Lockart, and that had given rise to the expedition of Lieutenant De Kerwégen; nor was there any exploitation on the part of any other French citizen.

At about the end of 1897, and precisely on 24 November of that year, France came to find out, by means of the Chief of Pacific Ocean Branch of the Navy, who had been charged with the inspection, that three persons were living at the island and recovering *guano* on behalf of the Oceanic Phosphate Company of San Francisco, and that they,

at the appearance of the French ship, had raised the U.S. flag. The Government of the United States was asked for an explanation, but it answered that it had not granted any concession to the above-mentioned company and had no intention of alleging any right of sovereignty over Clipperton (28 January 1898).

Approximately one month after the act of inspection carried out by the French Navy, and while diplomatic action was taking place with the United States, Mexico, that ignored the occupation alleged by France and claimed that Clipperton previously formed part of its territory, sent a gun-boat named **Democrata** to that place, pushed as it were by the news, false as it turned out, that England intended to take possession of the island. The detachment of officers and sailors who stepped ashore from that ship, on 13 December 1897, found the three persons who were residing there since the preceding visit by the French Navy. They forced them to bring down the U.S. flag and in its place they raise the Mexican flag. Out of the three individuals mentioned, two agreed to abandon the island but the third one declared his desire to stay, which he did, and it is not known until when. After which, the **Democrata** left, on 15 December.

On 8 January, France, having heard about the Mexican expedition, let this Power know of its rights over Clipperton. There then followed a long diplomatic discussion that continued until, by the Agreement of 2 March 1909, the two Governments agreed to defer the decision of the controversy regarding the sovereignty of the Island to our arbitral judgment.

The law: What is at stake here above all is the thesis sustained by Mexico, in its main point, that is, that Clipperton Island belonged to this State before France proclaimed its sovereignty over it; if that thesis should turn out to be correct, then one would have to deduce that the occupation by France is illegitimate.

According to Mexico, Clipperton Island, which came to be named after the known English adventurer who, at the beginning of the 18th century, used to take refuge there, would be no other than Passion Island, also called Médano, or Médanos.¹

This island is supposed to have been discovered by the Spanish Navy, and by international law then existing, as established by the Bull of [Pope] Alexander VI, it would have belonged to Spain, and afterwards, beginning in 1836, to Mexico, as the State that succeeded the Spanish one. However, in the actual state of knowledge, it is not proven that the island in question, under any name, had been effectively discovered by Spanish sailors.² That they would have known about it before the French ships **Princesse**

1 Ed. note: Which means Sandbank Island. Clipperton did not even land there, at the only time that he passed by it, which took place at the beginning of 1721 (see Doc. 1721A).

2 Ed. note: During my many years of research about Ships Through Micronesia, I have found no proof of any Spanish involvement with this island. Clipperton Island is indeed located SW of Acapulco, and the galleon route passed close to it, but enough west of it that it was never sighted by any Spanish ship before Mexican independence. Only once did a ship come close enough to see it, but they failed to make a positive identification; as a matter of fact, the report from the topmast was interpreted as just another cloud.

and **Découverte** identified it and described it in 1711, is simply conjecture, more or less probable, from which cannot be deduced any decisive argument.

On the other hand, even if one admits that the discovery could have been made by Spanish subjects, in order for Mexico's thesis to have a good basis, it would be necessary to prove, not only that Spain had a potential right to incorporate the island in its dominions, but also that Spain had effectively exercised that right. However, here also, there is no clear exhibit. Mexico presents, as proof of its thesis, a printed map taken from the archives of the Mexican Society for Geography and Statistics, upon which the Island is said to belong to the "politico-military governments of Spain in North America." However, the official nature of such a map cannot be affirmed, either because it was not drawn as a result of an order by, or on behalf of, the State, or because the handwritten note therein adds nothing to its value, even though it was used by the Royal Tribunal of the Consulado in Mexico.

Furthermore, the proof of an "historic right" of Mexico is not supported by any demonstration of its sovereignty whatsoever over the island, a sovereignty that, until the expedition of 1897, had never been exercised. Besides, the simple conviction, though generalized and ancient, that it is part of the territory belonging to that Republic, is irrelevant.

Consequently, one must admit that when, in November 1858, France proclaimed its sovereignty over Clipperton, it was then in the legal condition called *territorium nullius*,¹ and, therefore, free to be occupied.

Then there arises the following question: was French occupation an effective one, complying with the required conditions under international law for the validity of said manner of acquiring territory? In fact, Mexico, in a subsidiary clause deriving from its main thesis, one that has [already] been examined, claims that French occupation is invalid, and therefore, its own occupation of 1897 is valid, considering that it was still a no man's land then.

Regarding this question, one must above all consider that the French action of 1858 in undoubtedly regular, because its intention to consider the island as its territory was manifested in a clear and precise manner.

On the other hand, it is asserted by the contrary party that, though France did take effective possession of the island, its contention is that, in the absence of an effective occupation that would make this possession effective, the occupation should be considered null and ineffective.

It is beyond doubt that, through a very old custom that has value as a legal standard, the physical, and non fictitious, taking of possession is a necessary element of an occupation, beyond the simple *animus occupandi*.² This act, or series of acts, by which the occupying State places the territory at its own disposal, and begins imposing conditions for exercising exclusive authority. As a general rule, and in ordinary cases, this

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "no man's land."

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "intention to occupy."

happens only when an ideal organization is established inside the territory in question in order to enforce the rights of the occupying forces. However, this is in fact only a means to carry out the taking of possession and, therefore, one that is not necessarily tied to it. Indeed, there may be cases in which it is not necessary to have recourse to such a means. For instance, when a territory is found to be completely uninhabited, as of the first moment when the occupying State makes its apparition and carries out the taking of possession, unopposed, the result is that it can then completely dispose of same, as the occupation is perfect. It is not admissible to invoke Article 35 of the Act of Berlin of 1885, stating that it is necessary in occupied territories to have sufficient authority in place to force the respect of acquired rights, and, should it be so, freedom of commerce and transit might still be subject to stipulated conditions. The Act in question, being posterior to French occupation considered here, refers only to the territories on the coast of Africa, and besides, only obliged the signatory States, of which Mexico is not a party, in their reciprocal relations, and cannot apply in the present case. And, furthermore, Article 35 does not really deal with the taking of possession; rather, it introduces a new obligation when an occupation is already effective and valid. The regularity of the French occupation has been placed in doubt by the fact that the other Powers were not notified. However, the precise obligation for observing such a notification was introduced by Article 34 of the above-mentioned Act of Berlin, which, to repeat, cannot be applied to the present case. One must keep in mind that, previously, it was sufficient for the act in any form to be made known, and this publicity was obtained by France through the publication of the act itself in the already-stated manner.

From the above premises, it follows that Clipperton Island was lawfully acquired by France on 17 November 1858. And there is no admissible reason by which France might have subsequently lost its right through *derelictio* [i.e. abandonment], since it never had the *animus* [i.e. intention] of abandoning the island, and the fact of not having exercised its authority in a positive manner does not make a perfect acquisition null and void, when such was already definitive.

Therefore, as Arbiter, we decide that the sovereignty over Clipperton Island belongs to France, as of 17 November 1858.

Rome, 28 March 1931.

VITTORIO EMANUELE.

Documents 1711M

Four letters from the Inquisition to Fr. Bustillo in 1711 and 1712

Source: AGN Inquisición 650, folios 236v-239, 243-244, 246v-247.

M1. Letter dated 9 March 1711

Original text in Spanish.

Al mismo Comisionario en orden informe sobre Comisario y remitiendole despachos para que lo que mira de poder absolver.

En este Tribunal se rezibio su carta de V.P.Rda. de 18 de noviembre del año pasado de 1695: se alla executafn]do en esas Yslas Marianas y que por su crezida edad y no aber persona nombrada por este Tribunal, que suzeda en la Comisaria es nezesario dar la probidencia combeniente no estante de estar nombrado el Padre Antonio Cundari por [no] allarse este misionero; y con vista de dha carta a parecido dezir a V.P.Rda proponga los sugetos mas benemeritos que alle y ubiere en esas Yslas para el ministerio de tal Comissario para que mandemos despacharles nombramientos; y por lo que toca a la facultad de poder absolver del crimen de la herigia en esas Islas emos resuelto expedir el despacho que es adjunto para que segun su contenido se observe y guarde la providencia que por el se previese(?) en los casos que ocurrieren haziendo se pongan en el archivo de esa Comisaria para que en todo tiempo conste en el de esta facultad.

Guarde Dios a V.P.Rda &c^a

Inquisicion de Mexico a Marzo 9 de 1711.

Sres. Inquisidores Garzason y Palazio. Ante el Secretario Rambo.

El despacho.

Nos los Inquisidores contra la heretica pravedad y apostasia en esta Ciudad y Arzobispado de Mexico y en todos los Reynos y Provinzias de esta nueva españa, guathe-mala, Islas Philipinas sus distritos y Juridiziones por auctoridad Apostolica &c^a

Por quanto se nos a representado por parte del Rdo. Pe. Lorenzo de Vustillo de la Compañia de Jesus nuestro Comissario en las Yslas Marianas ser nezesario que por este Santo Oficio se conzeda facultad a personas de su mayor satisfazion para que por lo que a el toca pueda absolver de el delicto de la heregia en aquella[s] Islas por la im-

*posibilidad de ocurrir a este Tribunal las personas que incurrieren en el de que puede seguirles grave daño á sus conzienzas y para ebitarle y dar la combeniente providenzia en materia de tanta ymportanzia; attendiendo a la referida representazion en virtud de la Autoridad Apostolica a nos conzedida (de que en esta parte usamos) por el thenor del presente conzedemos facultad la que por derecho se requiere a dho Rdo. Pe. Lorenzo de Bustillo nuestro Comissario en dhas Islas Marianas y a otro qualquiera nuestro Comissario que por nos fuere nombrado para exerzer este ministerio en ella para que a qualesquiera personas que incurriesen en el Crimen de la erejia compareziendo personalmente ante dho nuestro Comissario y habiendoles rezivido judicialmente por ante notario de este dho Santo Oficio las demonstraciones espontaneos de el delito o delitos de que se acusaren y no de otra manera; las pueda absolver y absuelva **in foro concientie tantum** de la censura o censuras en que hubieren incurrido impuniendoles las penitencias saludables y presebanbas [sic] que juzgare combenientes; y en quanto al fuero exterior remitira a este Tribunal las Denunziaciones originales que hizieren o testimonio autentico de ellas para que vistas en el se de la probidenzia combeniente; en testimonio de lo qual mandamos dar y dimos el presente formado de nuestros nombres sellado con el sello de este Santo Oficio y refrendado del infraescrito Secretario del Secreto de el en la Ciudad de Mexico y Sala de nuestra Audiencia en nueve dias del mes de Marzo de mill setezientos y onze años.*

Lizenziado Don Francisco de Garzaron;

Dr. Don Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo;

Por mandado del Santo Oficio Don Benito Nuñez del Rambo, Secretario.

Translation.

To the same Commissioner, for him to inform about a Commissioner and re-mitting to him despatches concerning the matter that could be absolved.

A letter from Your Reverend Paternity, dated 18 November of last year, was received in this Tribunal: you are presently administering in those Mariana Islands but on account of your advanced age and of the fact that no-one has yet been named by this Tribunal to succeed as Commissioner, it is necessary to take the required step, in spite of Father Antonio Cundari being named, because this missionary is [not] present.¹ In view of said letter, it has seemed appropriate to tell Your Reverend Paternity to come forward and propose the individuals who are most deserving who might be found there in those Islands for the ministry of such a Commissioner, so that we may then despatch credentials. And, as far as the matter of the ability to absolve the crime of heresy in those Islands is concerned, we have decided to issue the despatch (enclosed) so that, in accordance with its contents, be observed and kept the procedure that is foreseen in it for the cases that might occur, by placing same in the archive of that Commission, so that at any time in the future it be available for this purpose.

¹ Ed. note: It appears that Fr. Cundari left the Marianas circa 1705; I have been unable to find the exact year of his departure.

May God save Your Reverend Paternity, etc.
Inquisition of Mexico, 9 March 1711.

The despatch.

We the Inquisitors against heretic depravity and apostasy in this City and Archdiocese of Mexico and in all the Kingdoms and Provinces of this New Spain, Guatemala, Philippine Islands, their districts and jurisdictions, by Apostolic authority, etc.

Whereas it has been represented to us by Reverend Father Lorenzo de Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, our Commissioner in the Mariana Islands, that it is necessary for this Holy Office to grant power to persons of its greater satisfaction to enable them, in cases concerning it, to give absolution for the crime of heresy in those Islands, given the impossibility of referring to this Tribunal the persons who might incur it, with the result that their consciences may be gravely affected, and in order to avoid this situation and, to give the appropriate measure in a matter of such importance, given the application in question, by virtue of the Apostolic Authority bestowed upon us (of which we make use here) by the present we bestow the power, as required by law, to said Reverend Father Lorenzo de Bustillo, our Commissioner in said Mariana Islands, and to anyone else acting as our Commissioner duly named by us to exercise this ministry overthere, so that anyone who might incur the crime of heresy might also appear before our Commissioner and, after having been examined juridically before a notary of this Holy Office and spontaneous depositions made about the crime or crimes of which he be accused and not in any other manner, he might then absolve them and absolve *in foro conscientiae tantum*¹ of the censure or censures which they might have attracted upon themselves, by imposing upon them the salutary and exemplary(?) penances that he might judge suitable; and as far as the exterior justice of men is concerned, he will remit to this Tribunal the original copies of the Denunciations that were made or certified copies thereof, so that, once they have been seen in it, the appropriate provision may be given.

In faith whereof, we have ordered the present to be issued and we issue it with our names appended, sealed with the seal of this Holy Office and countersigned by the under-mentioned confidential Secretary in the City of Mexico and Court of our Audiencia, on the 9th of the month of March 1711.

Licentiate Francisco de Garzaron

Dr. Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo

By order of the Holy Office, Benito Nuñez del Rambo, Secretary.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "As far as conscience is concerned."

M2. Letter dated 10 March 1711

Original text in Spanish.

Al Comisario de las Islas Marianas, el Rdo. Pe. Lorenzo Bustillo.

Con esta remitimos a V.P.Rda. el edicto adjunto para que luego que lo reziva haga que el Notario de este Santo Oficio lo lea y publique en la Yglesia prinzipal de esas Yslas en un dia festivo del ofertorio de la misa mayor despues de el evangelio y que fecho lo fixe en la puerta prinzipal de dha Yglesia[,] de cuia le[c]tura y fixazion nos remittira testimonio y encargamos a V.P.Rda que pasados ocho dias de la publicazion de dho edicto haga que el notario vea y reconozca si en el cuerpo de dha Yglesia se an puesto los confesonarios segun y en la forma que se manda y no haviendose executado se notificara al Cura que luego y sin dilazion alguna los ponga con aperzebimiento de que por este Santo Oficio se prozedera contra el a lo que habiere lugar y de lo que en esta razon executare nuestro Comissario nos dara quenta.

Guarde Dios a V.P.Rda &c.

Inquisicion de Mexico y Marzo 10 de 1711.

SS. Inquisidores Garsaron y Palazio. Ante el Sro. Rambo.

Translation.

To the Commissioner in the Mariana Islands, Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo.

By the present we remit to Your Reverend Paternity the enclosed edict so that, as soon as you receive it, you will arrange for the Notary of this Holy Office to read it and publish it in the main church of those Islands on a major holiday at the time of the offertory of the main mass after the gospel and that, once this was done, to fix same on the main door of said church. You are to send us confirmation that such a reading and posting took place and we entrust Your Reverend Paternity, once 8 days have elapsed since the publication of said edict, to have the notary check and confirm that the confessionals in question have been installed in the body of said church in the stipulated manner and form and, should this not be done, the curate is to be notified to install them without delay, with the warning that this Holy Office will proceed against him if required, and our Commissioner is to report to us in detail about the actions he has taken.

May God save Your Reverend Paternity etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 10 March 1711.

Gentlemen Inquisitors Garsaron and Palacio. Before Rambo, the Secretary.

M3. Letter dated 16 February 1712

Original text in Spanish.

Rdo. Padre Lorenzo Bustillo de la Compañia de Jesus Comisario en las Islas Marianas en los Autos acerca de Pedro de Sandobal por otro nombre Joseph por casado dos vezes.—

*En vista de la carta del Rdo. Padre Lorenzo Bustillo de la Compañia de Jesus nuestro Comisario de las Islas Marianas su fecha 31 de Mayo del año proximo pasado de 711: en que nos da quenta de aber rezivido dho dia por mano del Capellan del barco **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** una Certificazion dada por fr. Manuel de Soto del orden de San Augustin y Procurador de su convento de la Ciudad de Oaxaca en que denunzio a Pedro de Sandobal (por otro nombre Joseph) de oficio erero [i.e. herrero]. Lo que siendo casado en dha ciudad de Oaxaca y viviendo su muger se abia buuelto a casar segunda vez en esas Islas Marianas.—Y que con esta relacion havia prozedido á segurar su persona para remitirla á este Tribunal.*

*Emos mandado abisar a nuestro Comisario del recivo de dha carta y de la copia de dha zertificazion prebiniendole que hizo mal en prozeder con tan lebe fundamento á la captura del dho Pedro de Sandobal, pues esta se lo tubiera lugar con las zirconstancias que se probiessen al numero 16 de la Instruzion de comisarios pero reconociendo que al tiempo que reziva esta ya este dho Pedro de Sandobal vendra caminando para esta Nueva España segun el contexto de la citada carta y que con ella no se da por entendido de hazer aberiguazion en forma y segun estilo de el Santo Oficio del matrimonio que el susodho parece á consumido en esas Islas; emos mandado asimismo que luego que dho Rdo. Pe. Lorenzo Bustillo reciva esta (y por su falta, ausencia ó indisposition el Rdo. Pe. Ygnacio de Ybarguen asimismo nuestro Comisario) por ante notario de este S. Oficio prezeda áberiguar en toda forma y segun estilo del dho matrimonio, exsaminando al Parroco que asistio a su zelebrazion y a los padrinos y testigos instrumentales que hubiesen sido de dho casamiento haziendoles que digan y expusen la edad, naturaleza, oficio, y señas personales de el dho Pedro de Sandobal, y tanto tiempo á que se caso, el nombre de su muger, y si an tenido algunos hijos. Y que otras personas se [h]allaron presentes a dho casamiento a los que les exsaminara asimismo y en la misma conformidad haziendo á unas y a otras que digan y declaren si saben que el susodho aya usado otro nombre que el de Pedro de Sandobal y fhos dichos exsamenes pasados tres dias ratificara a los testigos **ad perpetuum rey memoriam** ante las personas [h]onestas contra el dho Joseph alias Pedro de Sandobal segun se prebiene en la Instrucion de Comisario á los numeros 19 y 20. Y asimismo ara nuestro Comisario que el Notario reconozca el libro ó libros de la Parroquia donde se ubiere zelebrado dho matrimonio y saque testimonio á la letra de la partida de el. Y que notifique al de el Juzgado eclesiastico le exciva [=exhiba] y entriegue la informazion de libertad ó solteria que el dho Pedro de Sandobal ó Joseph hubiese dado para contratar dho matrimonio; la qual nos remitira (original) con dhos exsamenes ratificaciones y partida de casamiento en primero ocasion quedandose con testimonio autentico para remitirlo en otra oca-*

sion posterior que se ofresca, que para todo lo referido y lo á ello anexo y dependiente le damos poder y facultad quan bastante de derecho se requiere y es nezesario.

Guarde Dios &a.

Inquisicion de Mexico y febrero 16 de 1712 años.

Sres. Inquisidores Lizenciados Don Joseph de Cienfuegos, Garzaron y Dr. Don Francisco de Palazio y del Hoyo. Ante el Secretario Peñas.

Translation.

Rev. Father Lorenzo Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, Commissioner in the Mariana Islands in the case concerning Pedro de Sandoval, alias José, for having been married twice.—

In view of the letter from Rev. Father Lorenzo Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, our Commissioner in the Mariana Islands, dated 31 May of last year 1711: in which he reports to us that he had received from the hand of the Chaplain of the ship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** a Certificate issued by fray Manuel de Soto of the Order of St. Augustine and Procurator of his convent in the City of Oaxaca, in which he denounced Pedro de Sandoval (alias José), a blacksmith by trade, to the effect that, being married in said city of Oaxaca and his wife still living, he had again married for a second time in those Mariana Islands.—And, as a result of this report, he had proceeded to arrest this person in order to remit him to this Tribunal.

We have ordered that our Commissioner be advised of the receipt of his letter and of the copy of said certificate, warning him that he did wrong in proceeding with such a light basis to the capture of said Pedro de Sandoval; indeed, this should have taken place only after the circumstances had been proven, in accordance with n° 16 of the Instruction to commissioners. However, recognizing that, by the time he receive this letter, said Pedro de Sandoval would already be on his way to this New Spain, from what can be gathered from the above-mentioned letter, and that said letter does not give to understand that a proper investigation took place, in accordance with the customary procedure of the Holy Office, regarding the marriage that said person seems to have consumed in those Islands, we have ordered that, as soon as said Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo receive the present (and in his absence, or indisposition Rev. Fr. Ignacio de Ibarguen who is also our Commissioner) to proceed before a notary of the Holy Office to investigate in the customary manner said marriage, by examining the parish priest who performed the ceremony and the godfathers and witnesses who signed the marriage certificate, making them declare and expose the age, hometown, trade, and personal marks of said Pedro de Sandoval, and how long he has been married, the name of his wife, and if they have had any children. And what other persons were present at said marriage, and he is to question those as well and in the same manner, by making both declare if they know that the above-mentioned had ever used another name than that of Pedro de Sandoval. Once these interrogations have been completed, three days later he

shall have said witnesses ratify their depositions *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*¹ before honest persons against said José alias Pedro de Sandoval, in accordance with numbers 19 and 20 of the Instruction to Commissioners. And in addition our Commissioner shall have the notary check the book or books of the parish where said marriage was celebrated and make a literal copy of the entry in question. And he shall notify whom-ever may be concerned in the church tribunal to exhibit and deliver a report on the freedom or bachelorhood that said Pedro or José de Sandoval might have given to contract said marriage; of which he is to remit the original copy to us with said interrogations, ratifications and marriage entry at the first opportunity, while retaining for himself a certified copy in order to remit same on another future occasion eventually, and for all the actions in question and others connected with them, we give him sufficient power and authority under the law, as required.

May God save, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 16 February 1712.

Gentlemen Inquisitors Licentiate José de Cienfuegos, Garzaron and Dr. Francisco de Palacio y del Hoyo. Before me, Secretary Peñas.

M4. Letter dated 9 March 1712

Original text in Spanish.

[Nota:] *Cartas que escribieron a Philipinas en el Galeon nombrado Nuestra Señora de Begonia este año de 1712. Está antes otra carta para Marianas y remetida en este galeon.*

Al R.P. Lorenzo Bustillo Comisario en las Islas Marianas.—

Con esta remitimos al R.P. Lorenzo Bustillo de la Comp^a de Jesus nuestro Comisario en las Islas Marianas los tres nombramientos adjuntos de Comisario de este Santo Ofizio en esas Islas á favor de los sugetos que en carta de 18 de Mayo del año proximo pasado nos propuso para dho empleo,² a los quales se los entregará luego que reziva esta, y los rezivirá los Juramentos de fidelidad y secreto acostumbrado, como en ellos se previene; Y no hallandose en estado de poder continuar en este ministerio entregará al de el primer lugar las Instrucciones, edictos, y demas papeles que en su poder pararen pertenezientes á este ofizio para su instruccion y gobierno. Y caso que el de el primero lugar haya fallezido ó ausentadose de esas Yslas executará esta diligencia con el de el segundo lugar, haziendo imventario de dhos papeles que le entregue, y remitiendonos testimonio autentico de el, por duplicado en los primeras ocasiones que se ofrezieren, entregandole juntamente este despacho para que le sirva de instruccion, para executar lo mismo con el que le hubiere de suzeder en dho cargo.

Guarde Dios &^a

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: “for the record, now and forever.”

2 Note in margin: 1° lugar, el Padre Ygnacio de Ybarguen.— 2° lugar el Padre Joseph Bloar [sic].— 3° lugar el Padre Joseph Grimaltos [sic].

Inquisicion de Mexico y Marzo 9 de 1712 años.

Sres. Inquisidores Cienfuegos, Garzaron, y Palazio, Peñas Secretario.

Translation.

[Note:] Letter written to the Philippines aboard the galleon named **Nuestra Señora de Begoña** this year of 1712. There is also another letter above, for the Marianas, sent aboard this galleon.

To Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, Commissioner in the Mariana Islands.—

With the present we remit to Rev. Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, our Commissioner in the Mariana Islands, three appointments (enclosed) as Commissioner of this Holy Office in those Islands in favor of the individuals whom he proposed to us in a letter dated 18 May of last year for said employment,¹ to whom he is to deliver same as soon as he receives them, and he shall accept their oaths of fidelity and the customary secret, as mentioned therein. And, should he become unable to continue in this ministry, he is to deliver to the first substitute the Instructions, edicts, and other papers that are in his possession and belonging to this office for his instruction and guidance. And in case the first substitute should have died or be absent from those Islands, he shall execute this step with the second substitute, making an inventory of said papers delivered to him, and remit a certified copy of such handover, in duplicate, at the first opportunities that might present themselves, delivering to him as well the present despatch so that it may serve him as an instruction, for him to do the same with the person who might eventually succeed him in said post.

May God save, etc.

Inquisition of Mexico, 9 March 1712.

Gentlemen Inquisitors Cienfuegos, Garzaron, and Palacio. Peñas, Secretary.

1 Note in margin: "First place to Father Ignacio de Ibarguen; second place to Father José Bloar [sic]; and third place to Father José Grimaltos [sic]." Ed. comment: There is no confirmation, anywhere that I could find, to the effect that a Fr. José Grimaldo, or Grimaldos, or Grimaltos, ever lived in the Marianas in 1711, except that there was indeed a fourth, unnamed, priest who arrived at Guam in 1709 (see p. 514).

Documents 1711N

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1711

N1. Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 30 October 1711

Sources: AGI Fil. 119; copy in Ultramar 561.

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrey de N^a Esp^a

Da quenta à V.Mgd del socorro que hizo al Presidio de las Islas Marianas y à los Religiosos de la Comp^a de Jhs que asisten en ellas para combersion de los Gentiles.

Señor.

Atendiendo al cumplimiento de lo que V.Mgd. tiene mandado para que se socorra el Presidio de las Islas Marianas, y Missioneros de la sagrada Religion de la Compañia de Jhs. que asisten à la combersion de aquellos Gentiles, y enseñanza de la doctrina, expedí las ordenes que incluye en el adjunto testimonio, remitiendoles vey[n]teiun mil trecientas, y setenta, y cinco de socorro, conforme la situacion de las Plazas, que ally existen, y asi mismo nueve mil trecientos y setenta y nueve pesos quatro tomines, y cinco granos, para los extipendios de Religiosos Misioneros, conducidos estos caudales en la Nao de Phelipinas y à cargo de su General Don Miguel de Elorriaga, la puntualidad de su entrega à aquel Gobierno [Gobernador], y pareziendome digno lo referido de la Real noticia de V.Mgd., cuya C.R.P. de V.Mgd. guarde Dios como la Xptandad ha menester.

Mexico y Octubre 30 de 1711.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain

Reports to Y.M. about the succor that he sent to the garrison of the Mariana Islands and to the Religious of the Society of Jesus who work at the conversion of the heathen there.

Sire:

Concerning the accomplishment of what Y.M. has ordered toward the despatch of succor to the garrison of the Mariana Islands and to the missionaries of the sacred Order of the Society of Jesus who work at the conversion of those heathen and the teaching

of the doctrine, I issued the orders that appear in the enclosed record of proceedings, to remit to them 21,375 pesos of succor, in accordance with the effective strength of the garrison overthere, and also 9,379 pesos 4 tomins and 5 grains for the stipends of the Religious missionaries. These funds were carried aboard the Philippine galleon, and the timeliness of their delivery to the Governor there was entrusted to her commander, General Miguel de Elorriaga. This news seemed worthy of being brought to the Royal attention of Y.M. I use this opportunity to wish that God will save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Cristendom needs.

Mexico, 30 October 1711.

N2. Memorial of Captain Castillo, agent in Mexico City

Source: AGI Ultramar 561—Colección de la Secretaría de Nueva España... 1638 á 1721.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor.

El Capitan Don Juan del Castillo, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago, poder habiente de D. Juan Antonio Pimentel, Gobernador y Capitan General en propiedad de las Yslas Marianas, puesto á los pies de V.E. dice:

Que me parece del pie de lista y memoria de la gente que aquel Presidio y Real Campo se hallan guarnecidas sus compañías con los Capitanes, Alférez, y Oficiales mayores y menores, é infantes de su ereccion de que resulta existencia del numero de plazas de su dotacion, á que acompaña fé de vida comprovada que verifica el actual exercicio de Gobernador de dicho mi parte, de que se halla aposesionado que uno y otro instrumento demuestra en debida forma para que servido del agrado de V.E. en su virtud y en la de estar resuelto por S.M. por distintas Reales ordenes, se les socorref,] libre y pague anualmente sin demora alguna los sueldos y situado acostumbrado, que monta veinte mil, quinientos y cincuenta pesos incluso en ellos el correspondiente á mi parte, y para que lo perciban, y el suplicante logre tiempo suficiente á diligenciar la compra de lo que se le ordena en memoria misiba que se compone de armas de fuego, azero, fierro, y otros instrumentos de milicia de que carecen los almacenes de dicho Presidio, medicinas y diversas cosas de botica para curacion de enfermos, y otros distintos generos precisos para vestuarios de sus infantes, de que los hallo exhaustos en un todo para su remedio y abrigo, y que no padezcan las calamidades que se consideran de semejantes carencias, y sirva cada individuo el empleo de su cargo con fiel amor, sobre que la real voluntad tiene hecho graves encargos al puntual efectivo socorro, á la gente de este Presidio, para que su debido cumplimiento tenga el efecto que pide, á V.E. suplica sea servido tener por demostrados dichos instrumentos.

Y en su consecuencia mandar á Oficiales Reales de esta Corte, le libren, paguen y entreguen los dichos veinte mil, quinientos y cincuenta pesos que monta el situado de una de dichas Yslas Marianas sin que necesite de nueva orden para la paga, incluyendola el mandamiento que se despachare para justificacion del libramiento segun tubo

corriente, y practica observada fundado en justicia que asi lo espera conseguir por merced de la grandeza de V.E. &

Don Juan del Castillo.

Translation.

Most Excellent Sir:

Captain Juan del Castillo, Knight of the Order of St. James, authorized agent for Juan Antonio Pimentel, officially-appointed Governor and Captain General of the Mariana Islands, bows before Your Excellency and Declares:

That it appears to me, from the roll and list of the personnel serving in that garrison and royal camp, that its companies are indeed provided with Captains, Lieutenants, senior and junior officers, and infantrymen in accordance with the number of positions contained in its establishment. Their actual existence is duly certified by the Governor, my party, as available to him. Both instruments show in due form what is required to satisfy the pleasure of Y.E. and the resolutions of H.M. through various Royal orders, to the effect that they should be succored yearly and paid without any delay whatever their salaries and the usual subsidy, which amounts to 20,550 pesos, including what corresponds to my party, and in order for this sum to be collected, early enough for the suppliant to make arrangements for the purchase of what he has been ordered to buy in a private letter addressed to him, such as firearms, steel, iron, and other military equipment that are needed in the warehouses of said garrison, plus medicines and various pharmaceutical articles for the care of the sick, and other special articles for the clothing of its infantrymen, of which they are said to be completely devoid, for their protection, so that they will not suffer the calamities that are brought by deficiencies of such materiel, and to encourage every individual to serve with faithful love. Since it is the royal will, under severe penalties, that the personnel of this garrison be succored in an efficient and timely manner, and in order for due compliance to have the desired effect, he begs Y.E. to please accept the presentation of said instruments.

And, consequently, to order the Royal officials of this City to release, pay out and deliver said 20,550 pesos which represent the subsidy of one of said Mariana Islands, without the need for a separate order for the payment, by including it in the papers for the justification of the release of funds, in accordance with the current practice. It is hoped that this request, being founded on justice, can be obtained from the mercy and largesse of Y.E., etc.

Don Juan del Castillo.¹

1 Ed. note: The Viceroy issued a decree on 8 January 1711, asking for a report from the Royal Officials. On 20 January, they answered, saying that the memorial was justified. The Viceroy agreed in a decree dated 26 January.

N3. Memorial of Fr. Borja, Procurator in Mexico City

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor.

Francisco de Borja y Aragon de la Compañia de Jesus Procurador general en esta Corte de su Provincia de Filipinas y Apoderado de D. José de Quiroga y Losada, Sargento Mayor del Presidio y Campo de Marianas.

Dice que como consta de las dos Certificaciones que con la solemnidad necesaria presente existen en las Misiones de aquellas Yslas diez y ocho Padres los catorce sacerdotes y cuatro coadjutores empleados en la predicacion del Santo Evangelio, adelantamiento de la Cristiandad, y aumento de nuestra Santa fé, en servicio de la Divina Magestad y del Rey Nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) un Seminario donde los niños Marianos son instruidos de costumbres Cristianas y políticas al cuidado de los referidos Padres; nueve sagrarios donde está colocado el Santisimo Sacramento con toda decencia posible.

Y el expresado Sargento Mayor exerciendo su empleo para cuya mantencion la Real piedad y magnificencia tiene asignado en esta Real Caxa lo menesteroso, y respecto de lo adelantado del tiempo y otros motibos urgentes á la recaudacion de lo perteneciente á este año de setecientos once á V.E. rendidamente suplica que habiendo por presentadas las dichas certificaciones, se sirva de mandar á Oficiales Reales, se lo libren y satisfagan: sin embargo del orden general de V.E. prohibitivo de pagas de la Real Caxa, que en ello recibirá la merced que espera de la grandeza y justificazion de V.E.

Francisco de Borja y Aragon.

Translation.

Most Excellent Sir:

Francisco de Borja y Aragon of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General in this City for his Province of the Philippines and agent for Don José de Quiroga y Losada, Sergeant-Major of the Garrison and Camp of the Marianas.

Declares that, as shown in the two Certificates which he presents with due solemnity, there exist in the Missions of those Islands 18 Fathers, 14 of whom are priests and 4 are coadjutors, employed in preaching the Holy Gospel, advancing the cause of Christianity, and the propagation of our Holy Faith, in the service of His Divine Majesty and of the King our Lord (whom may God save), plus one Seminary where Mariano children are being taught Christian and civilized customs in the care of the above-mentioned Fathers, and 9 sanctuaries where the Most Holy Sacrament is placed with all the decorum possible.

And the above-mentioned Sergeant-Major exercises his functions in said post, for which he expects the required salary that the Royal mercy and largesse had assigned payment thereof from this Royal treasury. Given the shortage of time and other urgent

reasons for the quick collection of what corresponds to this year 1711, he humbly begs Y.E., in view of said certificates, to please order the Royal officials to release said funds, notwithstanding the general order from Y.E. prohibiting payments from the Royal treasury, as he hopes to receive this favor from the greatness and sense of justice of Y.E. Francisco de Borja y Aragon.¹

N4. Extract from the subsidy accounts

Source: AGN AHH 1733, folios 40-41.

Original text in Spanish.

Situado.—Gastos sobresalientes del Situado.

...

Religion de la Comp^a de Jesus.

De dos mil pesos, pagados desta Real Caja, á los Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus de esas Yslas, para poder costearse, y pasar á las de gentiles, que son entre las Philipinas, y Marianas á la parte Austral nombradas Palu, ó Palaos, mui pobladas de gente de dozil natural, y sin especie de ydolatria, dispuesta á recibir la verdad Catholica, y luz del evangelio, á predicarle y propagarle, como su Magestad tiene dispuesto, y es de su Real Voluntad 2,000 pesos

...

Presidio, y Misiones de las Yslas Marianas.

Y de treinta mil, setecientos, y cinquenta, y quatro pesos, quatro tomines, y cinco granos, pagados desta Real Caja. Los veinte y un mil, trescientos, y setenta y cinco pesos, de ellos, por los sueldos tocantes á este año, de Governador, Sargento mayor, y sesenta soldados de la dotacion del Presidio y Real Campo de las Yslas Marianas. Y los nueve mil, trescientos, y setenta, y nueve pesos, quatro tomines, y cinco granos restantes, por los estipendios de diez y ocho Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus Misioneros de las referidas Yslas, catorze sacerdotes, y quatro Coadjutores, situado del seminario en que los niños Marianos al cuidado de los Padres son instruidos de costumbres Christianas y políticas; y por el valor del vino y azeite de Castilla para celebrar el santo sacrificio de la misa, y alumbrar delante de nueve sagrarios al Santísimo sacramento del altar 30,754 p 4t 5g

...

Guarde Dios á V. M. muchos años.

Mexico á 4 de Marzo de 1711.

Anttonio Gomez Lobato.

Ygnacio Joseph de Miranda.

Manuel Jimenez de los Cobos.

Cristoval de Medina.

¹ Ed. note: On 21 January, the Viceroy asked the Royal Officials for their comments. They recommended payment that same day. The next day, the Viceroy gave his approval.

Translation.

Subsidy.—Expenditures beyond the Subsidy.

...

Order of the Society of Jesus.

The sum of 2,000 pesos paid out of this Royal treasury to the Religious of the Society of Jesus of those Islands, so that they may defray their expenses and go on to the Islands of heathen that are between the Philippines and the Marianas and toward the south, named Palu, or Palaos, very populated by people with a docile nature, and without any trace of idol-worship, disposed to receive the Catholic truth, as such is the Royal will 2,000 p

...

Garrison, and missions of the Mariana Islands.

And 30,754 pesos 4 tomins and 5 grains paid out of this Royal treasury, 21,375 pesos of which are for this year's salaries of the Governor, Sergeant-Major, and the 60 soldiers on the establishment of the Garrison and Royal camp of the Mariana Islands, and the remaining 9,379 pesos 4 tomins and 5 grains are for the stipends of 18 Religious of the Society of Jesus, missionaries in the above-said Islands, 14 priests and 4 coadjutor brothers, the subsidy of the seminary where the Mariano children in the care of the Fathers are taught Christian and civilized customs; and for the value of the wine and oil from Spain in order to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the mass, and to keep a flame burning before the most holy sacrament of the altar in 9 sanctuaries 30,754 p 4t 5g

...

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 4 March 1711.

Antonio Gomez Lobato

Ignacio José de Miranda

Manuel Jimenez de los Cobos

Cristobal de Medina.

N5. Manifest of goods shipped aboard the galleon Rosario

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Original text in Spanish.

Testimonio de rexistro de las piezas que se embarcaron el año de 1711 para Filipinas, y Marianas.

*Yo, Don Juan de Salazar y Villego, escrivano de su Mgd. y su receptor de la Real Audiencia y Chancelleria de esta Nueva España doy fee que oy día de la fha el Capn. Don Juan Francisco de Guevara Maestre de la Nao Capitana de Philipinas **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** surtta en la Vaya de este Puerto que esta de proximo para hacer su torna viaje a ellas; registro en el que se ba formando de su Carga por partte de Don Joseph Juarez de Olate encomendero de la Ciudad de Mexico en nombre del Reverendo Padre Francisco de Borja y Aragon de la sagrada Compañía de Jesus procurador*

general de la Provincia de Philipinas y misiones de Marianas cinquenta y quatro piezas marquadas con la primera marca del margen[,] que acompañan dos zurrone y tres cajas de attercia[,] quatro barriles de vino de Castilla cubierto, y siete zurrone de cacao encerados desde numero primero siguiettes hasta el de Zinquenta y quatro, y ocho cajones digo siete y un tercio de cacao guatemala con los numeros siguiettes desde primero a ocho marcados con la segunda marca que uno y otro a de entregar en dhas Yslas Marianas al Reverendo Padre Antonio Mundari [sic = Cundari] de dha Compañía de Jesus Vice provincial de las misiones della ò a otro qualquiera de los Padres que primero viniere abordo que es por quenta del Situado del Colejio y Seminario de dhas Yslas[,] de lo qual dho Maestre se dio por entregado y declaro thener en dho Galeon devajo de cubierta[,] obligado a la entregar en la forma dicha de que otorgo por mi testimonio partidas de Rexistro en forma como mas largamente consta dello que en dho rexistro por aora queda en mi poder a que me refiero y para que conste donde convenga de pedimiento de dho Don Joseph Ulate doy el presente en la Ziudad y Puerto de Acapulco a dix y seis de Marzo de mill settecientos y onze años, siendo testigos Alonso Firido(?) y Aversacas Estedelim(?), Don Andrés Sanz[,] Don Juan Canca, y Pedro de Robles residentes de este Puerto.

*Hago mi signo [rubric] en testimonio de verdad
Juan de Salazar, escribano y receptor.*

Translation.

Certificate of the registration of the pieces loaded in 1711 for the Philippines, and Marianas.

I, Don Juan de Salazar y Villega, royal notary and receiver of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery of this New Spain, do certify that on this day Captain Juan Francisco de Guevara, Master of the Philippine galleon and flagship **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, anchored in the bay of this port and about to sail on her return voyage to them, registered as part of the cargo being loaded aboard her, on behalf of Don José Juarez de Olate, a landlord of the City of Mexico, representative of Rev. Father Francisco de Borja y Aragon of the sacred Society of Jesus, Procurator general of the Province of the Philippines and Missions of the Marianas, 54 pieces marked with the first mark shown in margin,¹ which accompany 2 pouches and 3 half-loads, 4 covered barrels of wine from Spain, and 7 pouches of cacao wrapped in oil-cloth, numbered from n° 1 to n° 54, and 8 crates, rather 7 crates, and 1 half-load of cacao from Guatemala with the following numbers, n° 1 to n° 8, bearing the second mark in margin.² He is to deliver both in said Mariana Islands to Reverend Father Antonio Mundari [sic = Cundari] of said Society of Jesus, Vice-Provincial of the missions there, or to any other Father who might first get alongside, as it is on the account of the subsidy of the College and Seminary of said Islands.

1 Ed. note: The usual MAR. P.P.

2 Ed. note: The usual MAR. C.C.

Said Master acknowledged having received the above and declared that he has them stored below deck aboard said galleon and was obliged to deliver them as stated above. I therefore certify that such are indeed valid extracts from the full manifest that remains in my possession, to which I refer, and for whom it may concern, at the request of said Don José Olate, I give the present in the City and Port of Acapulco on 16 March 1711, in the presence of the following witnesses: Alonso Firido(?), Aversacas Estedelim(?), Don Andrés Sáenz, Don Juan Canca, and Pedro de Robles.

In faith whereof, I affix my signature:

Juan de Salazar, notary and receiver.

Documents 1712A

Aftermath of the visit by English pirates in 1710

Note: These documents are the follow-up to Doc. 1710D.

A1. Letter from Governor Ursúa to the King, dated Manila 8 July 1711

Source: AGI Fil. 168.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de Philipinas,

12

Da quenta a V.M. del estado, en que queda la causa que se ha prozesado contra el Gobernador de Marianas, por haver admitido en ellas, sin ninguna resistenzia a los enemigos, que apresaron el Navio Almiranta de aquellas yslas Philipinas, con testimonio a n° 9.

Señor

*En carta de 17 de Junio del año proximo pasado, dí quenta a V.M. de haver apresado en las costas de la nueva España, los enemigos yngleses, el Navio Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnazion**, que el año antezedente de 1709 se despachó destas yslas, con el permiso de los vezinos de ellas, y de como dhos enemigos llegaron con tres vajeles, y la Almiranta apresada a las yslas Marianas, donde tomaron Puerto, y fueron Proveidos de todo lo que nezesitaron por el Gobernador de ellas, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, sobre lo qual el fiscal desta Real Audiencia pidio se rezibiese ymformazion. Como se rezivió, y con vista de ella, hizo nuevo pedimiento para que se prozediese criminalmente contra dicho Gobernador por haver dejado saltar en tierra a dhos enemigos, y Proveidoles de Bastimentos, sin hazerles oposizion alguna, y haciendolo remitido por voto consultivo al Real Acuerdo, se proveyo en el, que dejando en su fuerza, y vigor, los Autos hechos en dha razon, se prozediese por mi con parecer de un Ministro togado desta Audiencia, a sustanziar mas en forma dha causa, de todo lo qual remití a V.M. testimonio con la referida del año proximo pasado.*

Y habiendo proseguido, despues, en las diligenzias, por el Oydor Don Joseph de Torralba, a quien dí comision para ello, paso a rezivir nuevas ymformaciones, y se dio Traslado de ellas, al apoderado del dho Gobernador Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, a

quien se oyeron sus descargos, y conclusas las dichas diligencias, hize remision de todos los Autos al Real Acuerdo, por voto consultivo, para tomar la Providenzia mas combeniente, y conforme a justia, y por el que se me dio, se determino en el, deberse dar vista de dhos Autos al fiscal, y por no haver tiempo para su ultima resoluzion, antes de la salida del Galeon, que se despacha a la nueva España, que en el estado en que estan, se saquen compulsas de ellos, y se dè quenta a V.M. en cuya conformidad lo hago así, remitiendo el Testimonio adjunto de dhas diligencias, para que conste, de su estado, en ese Real Supremo Consejo.

Nuestro Señor guarde la C. y R.P. de V.M. como la Christiandad hà menester.

Manila y Julio 8 de 1711.

El Conde de Lizarraga.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

Reports to Y.M. about the status of the case against the Governor of the Marianas, for having admitted there, without any resistance, enemies who captured the almiranta of those Philippine Islands, enclosing Record of proceedings n° 9.

Sire:

In a letter dated 10 June of last year, I reported to Y.M. that English enemies had captured, on the coast of New Spain, the Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** that had been despatched from these Islands the previous year 1709, with the permitted cargo of their residents, and how said enemies arrived with three vessels, and the captured Almiranta, at the Mariana Islands, where they anchored and were supplied with everything they needed by their Governor, Juan Antonio Pimentel. The Fiscal of this Royal Audiencia requested an investigation, which was carried out, after which said Fiscal made another request for a criminal case to be opened against said Governor, for having let said enemies step ashore, and having supplied them with food, and not made them the least resistance. The matter was referred to the Royal Audiencia for a consultative vote; the resulting decision was to let stand the report of the investigation in full force, and to have me proceed, following an inquiry to be held by a legal member of this Audiencia in order to substantiate said cause further, about which I remitted a record of proceedings to Y.M. with the above-mentioned letter of last year.

And after steps were taken in this case by the Audiencia member, Don Joseph de Torralba, to whom I had issued a commission in this regard, he proceeded by investigating further, and a copy of his report was given to the attorney for said Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel; his explanations were received. Then, at the conclusion of said steps, I forwarded the whole file to the Audiencia for a royal decision, by consultative vote, in order to take the most appropriate resolution, in accordance with law. The decision taken was to refer the case file to the Fiscal for his opinion, but, there being no time for its final resolution before the departure of the galleon that is leaving for New Spain, a transcript was to be made of the file in its present state and sent to Y.M. To

this effect, I am doing so, remitting said Record of proceedings, attached, the better to inform that Royal Supreme Council as to its present status.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 8 July 1711.

The Count of Lizarraga.¹

A2. Letter from the King to the Audiencia, dated Buen Retiro 24 July 1712

Sources: AGI Fil. 332, libro 11, fol. 386-392, pp. 839-851; copy in Fil. 105.

Note: He orders them to prosecute those responsible for the loss of the almiranta to the English in 1710, and to investigate why the Governor of the Marianas welcomed them and gave them supplies. The same text is repeated to the Governor of the Philippines, in a letter of same date, in Fil. 105.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

A la Audiencia de Manila para que proceda contra los que resultaren culpados en la perdida de la Almiranta que apresaron Ingleses el año de 1710 y que sustancie y determine la causa del Governador de Marianas por haverles admitidos dando bastimentos en aquellas Islas.

Presidente y oydores de mi Audiencia en las Islas Philipinas.

*El Conde de Lizarraga mi Governador y Capitan General de ellas en carta de 17 de Julio del año pasado de 1710, me ha dado cuenta de que habiendo despachado el año antecedente por su antecesor Don Domingo de Zabalburu dos Navios de Capitana y Almiranta al Puerto de Acapulco con el permiso de los vezinos de esas Islas y à conducir el situado de ellas la Capitana, nombrada **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** à cargo del General Don Francisco de Angulo, y la Almiranta nombrada **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnazion** à cargo de Don Juan Presbertí de nacion franzes, fue apresada esta con toda su carga el dia 2 de Henero del mismo año, por tres fragatas Inglesas que encontro en le Cabo de San Lucas en las costas de N^a Esp^a sin que su Capitana la huviese podido favorecer, por haver llegado tres dias despues, à la qual procuraron apresar tambien, los mismos Ingleses, peleando con ella dos dias enteros, pero que despues se retiraron los enemigos con perdida de mucha gente que les hirieron, y mataron; con lo qual prosiguió la Capitana su viage para Acapulco sin haver recibido daño alguno: cuiá noticia le partizipo el Governador de las Islas Marianas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel el dia 3 de Mayo del referido año, por haverla adquirido de los propios Ingleses que con sus tres fragatas y la Almiranta apresada llegaron à aquellas Islas el dia 22 de Marzo donde estuvieron algunos dias, dados fondo, haziendose de bastimentos y aguada de*

¹ Ed. note: Before this letter reached Madrid, however, the Council of the Indies had already taken some action, based on an earlier letter (see Doc. 1710D). Upon receipt of the present letter, on 6 June 1714, the Council decided to tell the Audiencia of Manila that they were awaiting the follow-up despatch (see A8 below).

*que yban muy necesitados, y dejaron algunos de los prisioneros que llevaban de la Almiranta, los quales remitió a esa Ciudad el referido Gobernador, habiendo proseguido su viage los enemigos, sin saverse con certidumbre à donde le encaminaron; y que luego que tubo la referida notizia comboco Junta de Guerra por si fuese necesario dar algunas providencias, asi para la seguridad de la espresada Capitana **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** (que se aguardava de tornaviage de la N^a Esp^a) como para el resguardo del Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que estava para despacharse al mismo reyno, y se determino que à este ultimo se le aumentasen sobre su dotazion 40 soldados mosqueteros con todas las armas prezisas, y que al General del referido Galeon, se le diesen las Instrucciones convenientes para su defensa y seguridad: lo qual se ejecuto, disponiendo al mismo tiempo que esa Ciudad y comercio concurriesen con 4,500 pesos para los sueldos y demas gastos que havian de ocasionar los referidos 40 mosqueteros; y que esta cantidad se sacase en Acapulco del carguio del referido Galeon, para introducir la de buelta en mis Cajas Reales de esa Ciudad.*

Que habiendose dado vista al fiscal de esa Audiencia de la carta del Gobernador de Marianas, y de lo determinado en la Junta de Guerra, pidio se reziviese informazion sobre la forma y parage en que havia sido apresada la referida Almiranta: a cuiu fin fueron examinados los prisioneros que se remitieron de Marianas (segun el interrogatorio que havia formado el fiscal y otras preguntas que el referido mi Gobernador mando se hiciesen) de que se volbio à dar vista al referido fiscal y pidio (entre otros puntos) se procediese criminalmente contra el Gobernador de Marianas por haver dado puerto en aquellas Islas à los enemigos que apresaron la Almiranta dejandolos saltar en tierra, y proveiendoles de bastimentos, sin haverles hecho oposizion alguna; y que despues de haverse visto lo pedido por el fiscal, con los demas autos, en Junta que combocó, compuesta de la Junta de esa Audiencia, de los Capitulares de la Ciudad y su comercio, y de los Cavos militares, lo remitió por voto consultivo à ese Acuerdo por lo que mirava al Gobernador de Marianas: en el qual se determinó que dejando en su fuerza, y vigor los autos en lo que huviese lugar de derecho, se prozediese, por el referido mi Gobernador (con parecer de un Ministro togado de esa Audiencia) a sustanciar mas en forma la referida causa, y que en concluiendola, volviese a ese Acuerdo: lo qual no se havia podido ejecutar por estar tan proximo à salir el Galeon que se despachava à esa N^a Esp^a pero que se ejecutaria con la maior brevedad, que fuese posible.

*Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la referida carta con el testimonio de autos que la acompaña, y lo que al mismo tiempo escribe el Gobernador de Marianas, y consultadome sobre ello, como quiera que por despacho de este dia se extraña, y reprehende mucho al referido D. Domingo de Zabalburu el nombramiento que hizo de la expresada Nao **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** en el mencionado Don Juan Presverti, en quien concurría la notoria nulidad que previenen las leies, asi por ser estrangero, y no poder recaer en el este empleo como por su imperizia y falta de esperienzia, à que virtualmente se deve atribuir el origen de la desgracia y perdida de la Almiranta. He resuelto ordenaros (como lo hago) que luego que rezivais este despacho, paseis a sustanciar, y determinar esta causa, prozediendo contra los que resultaren culpados en*

ella, a lo que huviere lugar en derecho, y que remitais al referido mi Consejo copia de los autos de todo lo que sobre esta materia huviereis ejecutado; previniendoos, quedo muy a la mira de ello, y que no paso à tomar otras resoluciones mas severas contra el referido Don Domingo de Zabalburu, por reservar para quando se vea su residencia la determinazion que se tuviere por conveniente sobre este caso.

Y por lo que mira à lo tolerado y permitido por Don Juan Antonio Pimentel Governador de la Islas Marianas en la llegada que hizieron à ellas los enemigos dando fondo en sus Puertos y franqueandoles con tanta liberalidad todo lo que necesitavan para su socorro quando savia los daños y perjuicios que havian ejecutado, sin haverles hecho oposizion alguna, pretextandolo con la falta de polvora, y armas con que se hal-lava; os ordeno y mando asimismo procedais, sustanzieis, y determineis esta causa conforme à derecho, dandome quenta de lo que resultare en este particular, para que en vista de todo se puedan dar las providenzias que se tuvieren por mas convenientes a mi maior servicio.

Fha en Buen Retiro à 24 de Julio de 1712.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Bernardo Jinagro(?) de la Escalera.

Translation.

The King

To the Audiencia of Manila for it to proceed against those who might be guilty in the loss of the Almiranta that was seized by Englishmen in the year 1710 and for it to substantiate and decide the case against the Governor of the Marianas for having welcomed them, giving them food supplies in those Islands.

President and members of my Audiencia in the Philippine Islands:

The Count of Lizarraga, my Governor and Captain General there, in a letter dated 17 July of last year 1710, gave me a report to the effect that, two ships, a flagship and an almiranta, having been despatched the previous year by his predecessor, Don Domingo de Zabalburu, to the port of Acapulco with the permitted cargo of the residents of those Islands and for the flagship, named **Nuestra Señora de Begonia**, under the command of General Francisco de Angulo, to bring back the subsidy of the Islands, the Almiranta, named **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** under the command of Don Juan Presberti, French by nationality, was captured with her full load on 2 January of the same year by three English frigates that she met at Cape San Lucas on the coasts of New Spain, without her flagship being able to intervene in her favor because she arrived [on the spot] three days later. The same Englishmen tried to capture her also, fighting with her for two whole days, but the enemies then withdrew with many casualties, wounded and killed, on their side. After that, the flagship pursued her voyage to Acapulco without having received any harm. This news was passed on to him by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, in a letter dated 3 May of

the year in question,¹ since he had acquired this information from the Englishmen themselves who, with their three frigates and the captured *Almiranta* arrived at those Islands on 22 March, where they stayed for a few days, coming to an anchor, getting food supplies and taking on water which they sorely needed, and where they left some of the prisoners they had made in the *Almiranta*, who were subsequently sent to that City by said Governor, after the enemies had pursued their voyage, although it is not known for certain where they were going. And, after he received the news in question, he called a War Council to decide whether it might be necessary to take some actions, not only for the security of said flagship **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** (which was expected to return from New Spain) but also for the protection of the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that was about to be despatched to the same kingdom, and it was decided to reinforce latter's crew with 40 musketeers with all the necessary weapons, and that the General of the galleon in question be given appropriate Instructions for her defence and security, which was done. And at the same time it was decided to have that city and commerce concur with 4,500 pesos for the salaries and other expenses that would have to be made in relation with the 40 musketeers. This sum was to be collected in Acapulco out of the cargo of merchandise of the galleon in question, to reimburse the same amount to my Royal treasury of that city.

That, after the fiscal of that Audiencia had seen the letter of the Governor of the Marianas, and what the War Council had determined, he requested that an investigation be opened about the manner and neighborhood in which the *Almiranta* in question had been captured. To this effect, the prisoners who had been forwarded from the Marianas were interrogated (in accordance with the questionnaire prepared by the fiscal and other questions that my Governor ordered be made to them) the result of which was a review of the file and another request by the fiscal (among other points) for criminal proceedings against the Governor of the Marianas for having let the enemies who had captured the *Almiranta* make a stopover at those Islands, letting them step ashore, and providing them with food supplies, without making any opposition to them whatever. After he had seen the requests of the fiscal, with the other papers, in a Meeting that he called, consisting of a quorum of that Audiencia, plus the chapters of the city, its board of trade, and the military chiefs, he referred the matter to a consultative vote in that Tribunal in the case of the Governor of the Marianas. The Tribunal decided to allow my Governor to continue with the legal proceedings (with a professional attorney of that Audiencia acting as his counsel), to substantiate said cause further, and that once this was concluded, it be referred back to the Tribunal; however, these last steps had not yet been done by the time the galleon was about to be despatched to that New Spain, but it was supposed to have been carried out as soon as possible.

And his letter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the record of proceedings accompanying it, and what the Governor of the Marianas also writes, and they having given me their opinions, as will be seen in a despatch of this date, the

1 Ed. note: In A3 below, the date is given as 13 April 1710.

former Governor, Don Domingo de Zabalburu, is chastised for having appointed said Don Juan Presverti as commander of said galleon **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, because he had made short shrift of the laws that prevented such an appointment, not only because the man in question was a foreigner, but also because he did not deserve such a post, for his lack of expertise and lack of experience, to which can be virtually attributed the cause of the misfortune and loss of the Almiranta. Consequently, I have decided to order you (as I do now) that, as soon as this despatch is received, to effectively substantiate and determine this case, by proceeding against those who might be guilty in it, in whatever point of the law, and to remit to my Council a copy of the records of all the proceedings that you might have carried out, but I advise you that I remain on the lookout for more information and that I will not take other more severe decisions against Don Domingo de Zabalburu until the result of his *residencia* [i.e. audit report about his term of office] may indicate any other suitable course of action on my part.

And, as far as what was tolerated and permitted by Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of the Mariana Islands, is concerned, when the enemies were allowed to make a stopover there, anchoring in their ports and he allowed them so much freedom, everything that they needed for their succor, when he knew the damages and prejudices that they had done, without having shown them any opposition, on the pretext of a lack of gunpowder and weapons with which he found himself, I order you also to proceed, substantiate, and determine this case in accordance with law, giving me a report of the eventual result of this matter so that, in view of everything, such provisions as may be convenient to my greater service may be decided upon.

Made in Buen Retiro, on 24 July 1712.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Bernardo Jinagro de la Escalera.

A3. Letter from the King to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated Buen Retiro 24 July 1712

Sources: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 20-27, pp. 96-110; copy in Fil. 105.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de N^a Esp^a participandole las noticias que ha dado el Governador de las Islas Marianas y ordenandole remita à Philipinas en la primera ocasion la gente armas y muniziones que se expresan. Fha con duplicado.

Duque de Linares, Primo, mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General de las Provincias de N^a Esp^a y Presidente de mi real Audiencia de la Ciudad de Mexico ó, a la persona, ó, personas a cuio cargo fuere su gobierno.

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel Governador de las Islas Marianas, en carta de 13 de Abril del año pasado de 1710, da quenta de que el dia 22 de Marzo antecedente, se avisaron en las cercanias del Puerto de Humata, que es el principal de ellas quatro Navios

*de alto bordo con banderas de Borgoña, y que discurriendo fuesen cof[r]sarios, ó, piratas, despacho luego zentinelas por todas partes que observasen sus movimientos para prevenir los daños que pudiesen ocasionar, y aberiguar que gente conduzian, y qual era su designio; y que habiendo tenido la noticia de que se encaminavan al referido Puerto recogio la poca gente de situacion que tiene aquel campo, y salio con ella azia el parage donde podian hacer su arrivo; y al mismo tiempo comboco à Junta de Guerra a los oficiales, y reformados, proponiendoles, si seria comveniente pasar al expresado Puerto, ó, esperar en aquel sitio nuevos avisos de los exploradores que por todas partes havia despachado; y que habiendosele partizipado que los referidos Bageles havian surgido en el expresado Puerto de Humata, mudando las Banderas de Borgoña, y poniendolas blancas en señal de Paz, no dio credito à esta noticia y despacho luego, en una banquilla à un flamenco, diestro marinero, para que reconoziese de que nazon eran, y que gente llevavan, por no haverse atrevido a saltar en tierra; y que informados por el mismo flamenco de la cercania en que se allava el Governador le escribieron los quatro cabos principales de los referidos bageles una carta, cortesana, y politica con el Ayudante general expresandole que la necesidad de bastimentos los havia conduzido à aquel Puerto pidiendole los proveiese de frutos de la tierra, y asegurando su puntual satisfazion, y que no harian hostilidad alguna en ella, y que por la relacion que le hizo el referido ayudante supo que, a principios de Julio de 1708 havia despachado la reyna de Inglaterra [sic] dos fragatas de Guerra con 750 hombres escogidos para que corriesen las costas del Peru y N^a Esp^a en que havian apresado 21 bageles de todos portes y saqueado la Ciudad de Guayaquil; y que habiendose retirado al Cabo de San Lucas costa de esa N^a Esp^a cerca de la enseñada de las Californias à esperar (en virtud à la orden de su reyna) las Naos de Philipinas avistaron, el dia 2 de Henero de 1710 la Almiranta nombrada **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, y cargando sobre ella, y abordandola con sus dos fragatas y otra que havia quitado à unos franceses, a la primera carga que le dieron de Artilleria, y escopeteria, mataron al Piloto mayor y su acompañado, y otros siete u ocho sugetos, quedando erido el Almirante de ella, que hera frances, el qual viendose indefenso, mando arriar el estandarte en señal de rendimiento; con lo qual pasaron à dha Almiranta 100 Ingleses que la condugeron à la enseñada, esperando hacer lo mismo con la Capitana; pero que habiendola descubierta a los tres dias, la hallaron tan bien dispuesta, y fortificada que no lo pudieron conseguir en el discurso de quarenta y ocho oras que tuvieron de combate habiendoles rendido los arboles de sus fragatas, eridoles, y muerto mucha gente, y que por el rezelo de perderse, se havian retirado, sin quererse persuadir a que el General Don Fernando de Angulo fuese Español, sino extranjero, por el gran valor, y gallardia que mostro en la defensa de su Capitana.*

Que con estas noticias, y la prevenzion que el Maestre de la Almiranta, Don Antonio Gutierrez (à quien con otros pasajeros havian puesto en libertad) le hizo, de que no se acercase a los enemigos, por el mucho poder que llevavan ni se fiase de su palabra; respondió a la carta que le havian escrito los quatro Cabos principales con la misma urbanidad, ofreciendoles los frutos del pais; para cui provision, se detuvieron doze dias en el referido puerto, y salieron de el muy gustosos, y aficionados a la Isla,

dando à entender era buena para su reyna, y que dentro de dos años volverian à ella con mayor poder; y refiere el referido Governador que si esto intentan, no duda lo lleguen à conseguir, por la poca resistencia que se les puede hacer con 130 plazas que tiene aquella Isla, repartidas entre compañías las dos de infanteria Española, y la otra de naturales Philipinos, en que entran los oficiales de las primeras planas, cuio numero es muy corto para defender aquella tierra de enemigos Europeos bien diciplinados maiormente quando sus naturales no viven muy gustosos con el suave yugo de nuestra sagrada religion, devriendose reselar de ellos que allando ocasion oportuna se unan con nuestros enemigos, como tambien por no haver fortaleza alguna para hacerles opozision; pues aunque se pudiera fabricar un castillo en el referido puerto de Humata, por ser el surgidero de todos los bageles, se alla sin artilleria con que guarnecerlo: supplicandome sea servido ampliar el numero de las plazas, y la situacion de Reales, al que fuere de mi mayor agrado, para la defensa de aquellas Islas por ser antemurales de las Philipinas, cuias Naos peligraran continuamente si los enemigos se apoderan de ellas, y hacen escala para sus insultos y que asimismo le mande proveer de arcabuçes, y mosquetes vizcaynos de que ay mucha falta en aquellas Islas, estando la mayor parte de la gente sin armas, por haverse perdido muchas quando se lebantaron todos aquellos Pueblos, y rebentadose otras, por haverlas sobrecargado los visoños.

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias la expresada carta, y consultadome sobre su contenido, he resuelto ordenaros (como lo hago) que enterado de este suceso, procureis en la primera Nao que saliere de Acapulco, remitir la polvora, y municiones que os pareziere necesarias, y hasta 200 mosquetes, ó fusiles, con el destino preziso de que el Governador de Philipinas los remita a las Islas Marianas para la defensa de ellas, procurando tambien embiar en la misma ocasion los mas forzados que pudiereis de los que se suelen rematar, y remitir à aquellas Islas, para que el Governador de Philippi- nas embie à las Marianas los que tuviere por mas conveniente, y a proposito para ellas, como se le previene por despacho de la fha de este, encargandole asi mismo el preciso desvelo, y cuidado, y vigilancia que deve tener siempre en la maior puntualidad de los socorros, y providenzia para la mejor defensa, seguridad, y conservazion de aquellas Islas como tan importantes: à cuio fin espero de vuestro zelo a mi servicio, y de las muchas obligaciones que corresponden à vuestra persona, y empleo, os aplicareis con la maior atenzion, y puntualidad al cumplimiento de esta, mi resolucion, y de haverlo ejecutado, me dareis quenta, por ser asi mi voluntad.

Fha en Buen Retiro à 24 de Julio de 1712.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Bernardo Jinagro de la Escalera.

Translation.

The King

To the Viceroy of New Spain, to let him know of news reported by the Governor of the Mariana Islands and to order him to send to the Philippines at the first opportunity the soldiers, weapons and ammunition mentioned therein. Made in duplicate.

Duke of Linares, Cousin, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Mexico, or to the person or persons in whose care their government may be.

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of the Mariana Islands, in a letter dated 13 April of last year 1710,¹ reports that on the previous 22 March, four sea-going ships flying the flag of Burgundy were spotted in the neighborhood of the port of Umatac, which is the main port there, and that assuming that they might be corsairs, or pirates, he then despatched spies everywhere to observe their movements to prevent damages that they might cause, and find out what men they were, and what was their intention; and that, after he got the news that they were headed for said port he collected the few men he has in that camp, and went out with them toward the neighborhood where they might actually stop; at the same time he called a War Council of the officers, active and retired, to ask for their opinion as to whether it would be appropriate to pass to said port, or wait on that site for new reports from the scouts whom he had despatched in many directions; and that, once he had been advised that the above-mentioned vessels had anchored in said port of Umatac and replaced their Burgundian flags with white flags as a sign of peace, he did not believe this news and then despatched, aboard a canoe, a skilful Flemish sailor² for him to find out what nationality they were, and what men were aboard, since they had not dared step ashore. Once they were informed by said Flemish of the nearness of the Governor, the four captains of said vessels plus the Adjutant General wrote to him a courteous and civilized letter, to express the fact that their need for food supplies had led them to that port, and begging him to supply them with local products, and assuring him of a prompt payment, and that they would not show any hostility while there, and that, according to the account given by the above-mentioned Adjutant, he learned that at the beginning of July 1708 the Queen of England had despatched two war frigates with 750 chosen men to cruise on the coast of Peru and New Spain, where they had captured 21 vessels of every tonnage and sacked the city of Guayaquil; and that, having withdrawn to Cape San Lucas on the coast of that New Spain near the bay of the Californias there to await (by order of their Queen) the Philippine galleons, they sighted, on 2 January 1710, the Almiranta named **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, and attacking her and boarding her with their two frigates and another ship which they had taken from some Frenchmen, at the first discharge of their guns and muskets they killed the Chief pilot and his mate, and 7 or 8 other individuals, with the Admiral, who was a Frenchman, being wounded as well; when he saw himself defenceless, he ordered the standard taken down as a signal of surrender, upon which 100 Englishmen boarded said Almiranta and took her to the bay, hoping to do the same with the flagship. However, after they sighted her three days later, they found her so well prepared, and fortified that they were unable to capture

1 Ed. note: The date of this letter was given earlier as 3 May.

2 Ed. note: He was probably the same German sailor, Juan Martin, alias Flamenco, who drifted to the Philippines in 1700.

her during the course of the 48 hours that the battle lasted, with the masts of their own frigates broken, many of their men being either wounded or dead, and so, for fear of losing it all they retired, but refused to believe that the General, Don Fernando Angulo, could possibly be a Spaniard, rather than a foreigner, on account of the great courage, and gallantry shown in the defence of his flagship.

That with such news and the warning given by the Master of the *Almiranta*, Don Antonio Gutierrez (whom they had released with other passengers), to the effect that he should not go near the enemies, on account of the power they brought, nor trust their word, he answered the letter that the four main captains had written to him, with the same politeness, offering them local products. To provide themselves with same, they spent 12 days in said port, and they left it very pleased, and fond of the Island, letting it be known that it would be good for their Queen, and that within two years they would return there with a greater force. And said Governor mentions that if they try to do that, he does not doubt that they will achieve it, because of the little resistance that can be offered them with only 130 positions that the Island has, spread among three companies, two of which Spanish infantry, and the other made up of Filipino natives, including in their higher ranks, which number is very small to defend that land from European enemies who are well disciplined, but the more so when the natives there are not very fond of the sweet yoke of our sacred religion, and one must fear that they might, at the opportune moment, unite with our enemies, specially since we have no fortress whatever to oppose them; indeed, although a fort could be built at said port of Umatac, given that it is the port for all kinds of vessels, he finds himself without cannon to garrison it, and so he begs me to be pleased to increase the number of positions, and the cash subsidy, as I see fit, for the defence of those Islands, since they are the first line of defence of the Philippines, whose galleons would continuously be in danger if the enemies were to get their hands on them [i.e. the Islands], and turn them into a base for further attacks, and so he begs to be provided with arquebuses and muskets from Biscay, of which there is a great lack in those Islands, the majority of whose men are without a firearm, because many have been lost when those towns arose in rebellion, and others having exploded when the fresh recruits overloaded them with powder.

And the above-mentioned letter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, and having consulted me about its contents, I have decided to order you (as I do now) that once you have taken notice of this event, you are to try and remit, aboard the first galleon to leave Acapulco, the powder and ammunition that might seem necessary to you, and up to 200 muskets, or rifles, for the precise purpose of having the Governor of the Philippines send them to the Mariana Islands for their defence. At the same time, you are to send as large a number of conscripts as possible from those whose sentence is lifted when they are remitted to those Islands,¹ for the Governor of the Philippines to

1 Ed. note: With proper hindsight, this turned out to have been a wrong decision, to send convicts to act as soldiers in Guam. Within a few short years, they were to create enough trouble to make the King regret this decision.

send to the Marianas as many of them as he sees fit, and appropriate for them—a despatch of this date advises him of this,¹ entrusting him with the necessary prudence, care and vigilance that he must always have by a timely despatch of the succors, and in providing for the best defence, security and preservation of those Islands, given their [relative] importance. To this end, I trust that your zeal for my service, and in the performance of the duties corresponding to your person, and office, you shall give your best attention, and quick observance of this, my decision, and, once you have carried it out, you are to give me a report about it, as such is my will.

Made in Buen Retiro, on 24 July 1712.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Bernardo Jinagro de la Escalera.

A4. Letter from the King to Governor Zabalburu, about Admiral Presverti

Source: AGI Fil. 105.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey.

Maestro de Campo Don Domingo de Zabalburu.

En carta que escrivateis desde Philipinas siendo Governador de aquellas Islas con fecha de 20 de Julio de 1709, disteis quenta de que habiendoois participado Don Juan Presverti Director de la factoria francesa que estava en Canton los agravios que recevia de los Chinos, y el deseo que tenia de retirarse á la Europa, pidiendoois lizencia para pasar á aquellas Islas, respecto de no haver Naos francesas que le condugesen, sela concedisteis, para que lo ejecutase en una embarcazion que salia al Comerzio regular de aquel Reyno; y que habiendose embarcado en ella, dió al traves en un vajo en el Puerto de la Isla de Luson con perdida de todo lo que llevaba, y que en esta considerazion, y la buena correspondencia que por repetidas zedulas tengo mandado, se observe con la Nacion francesa, le conferisteis la plaza de Almirante de las dos Naos que aquel año despachavais á la N^a España, para que en alguna manera pudiese resarzir su perdida; esperando fuese de mi Real agrado esta eleccion.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Yndias, con lo que escriven los Governadores actuales de Philipinas, y el de las Islas Marianas, sobre haver apresado los Yngleses la referida Almiranta, el día 2 de Henero de 1710 en el Cabo de San Lucas costa de la N^a España, sin haver hecho la defensa que se requeria; y consultadome sobre ello:

He resuelto deziros la suma estrañeza, y desagrado que me ha ocasionado el que hubieseis nombrado por Almirante de la referida Nao al expresado Don Juan Presverti, por concurrir en el la notoria nulidad que previenen las Leyes, así por ser extranjero, y no poder recaer en él aquel empleo, como por su imperizia, y poca practica, á que vir-

¹ Ed. note: This letter, in AGI Fil. 105, contains the same basic information.

tualmente se deve atribuir la desgracia y perdida de la Almiranta; Cuyos motivos deviais haver tenido presentes, para haver escusado el referido nombramiento excluyendo a las personas en quien legitimamente deviera recaer el empleo de Almirante sin ocasionar los graves perjuzios que se han experimentado, ni la gran displicencia con que quedo de este desgraziado suceso y sus circunstancias.

Buen Retiro a 24 de Julio de 1712.

Translation.

The King.

[To] Master-of-camp Domingo de Zabalburu.

In a letter dated 20 July 1709 which you wrote from the Philippines, when you were Governor of those Islands, you reported that Don Juan Presverti, Director of the French Trading Post in Canton had let you know about the wrong treatment he was receiving from the Chinese, and his wish to return to Europe, and requesting permission from you to pass to those Islands, since there were no French ships to take him. You granted him permission, and to satisfy his wish, you let him travel aboard a vessel that was leaving [Canton] on the regular trading voyage to that Kingdom. However, having embarked, said vessel ran aground upon a shoal in a port of Luzon Island and he lost everything that he carried. Upon learning of this, and in view of the friendly relations that I have repeatedly ordered everyone to maintain with the French nation, you conferred upon him the post of Admiral of both galleons that you despatched to New Spain that year, so that he might recoup his losses in this manner, and you expressed the hope that your selection would suit my royal pleasure.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with the letters written by the actual Governor of the Philippines, and that of the Mariana Islands, regarding the capture by English pirates of the above-mentioned Almiranta, on 2 January 1710, at Cape San Lucas on the coast of New Spain, without having put up the necessary defence; and having taken counsel about it:

I have decided to tell you that I was very surprised, and displeased, to learn that you had appointed as Admiral of said galleon the above-mentioned Juan Presverti, because such a practice is notoriously forbidden by existing laws, not only because he is a foreigner, and cannot hold such a post, but also because of his lack of expertise, and little experience, to which one must virtually ascribe the mishap and loss of the Almiranta. Such reasons should have been considered enough for you to refuse said appointment, one that is exclusively reserved for persons who can lawfully hold the job of Admiral, thus avoiding the serious damages that have been experienced, and the great displeasure that such an unfortunate event and its circumstances have caused in me.

Buen Retiro, 24 July 1712.

A5. Letter from Governor Ursúa to the King, dated Manila 8 July 1712

Source: AGI Fil. 168.

Notes: Certified copies of the charges, dated 27 July 1712, are attached.

Original text in Spanish.

El Governador de Philipinas.

22.

*Da cuenta à V.M. del estado en que queda la causa actuada contra el Governador de Marianas, por haver admitido en ellas, y bastimentado sin ninguna resistencia, à los enemigos que apresaron el Navio Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnazion** que el año de 709 se despachó de estas Yslas, para la Nueva España, con Testimonio a n° 19.*

Señor

*En carta de 17 de Junio del año pasado de 710 dí cuenta a V.M. de haver apresado en las costas de la Nueva España los enemigos Yngleses el Navio Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnazion** que el año antecedente de 709 se despachó de estas Islas, con el permiso de los Vecinos de ellas, y de como dhos enemigos llegaron con 3 vajeles, y la Almiranta apresada a las Islas Marianas donde tomaron Puerto, y fueron proveidos de todo lo que nezesitaron por el Governador de ellas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, sobre lo qual el fiscal de esta Real Audiencia pidio se reziviese Informazion como se rezivio, y con vista de ella hizo nuevo pedimento, para que se prozediese criminalmente contra dho Governador, por haver dejado saltar en tierra a dhos enemigos, y proveidoles de bastimentos, sin haçerles oposicion alguna, y haviendolo remitido por voto consultivo al Real Acuerdo se proveyo en el, que dejando en su fuersa y vigor los autos hechos en dha razon se prozediese por mi con parecer de un Ministro togado de esta Audiencia a sustanciar mas en forma dha causa, de todo lo qual remití a V.M. Testimonio con la referida del año de 710.*

Y haviendose proseguido despues en las diligencias por el Oydor don Joseph de Torralba a quien dí comision para ello, paso a rezivir nuevas Informaciones, y se dio Traslado de ellas al Apoderado del dho Governador Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, a quien se oyeron, sus descargos, y conclusas las diligencias, hize remision, de todos los autos al Real Acuerdo, por voto consultivo, para tomar la providencia mas combeniente, y conforme a Justicia, y por el que se me dio se determino en el deverse dar vista de dhos autos al fiscal, que fue en tiempo proximo antes de la salida del Galeon, que se despacha, para la nueva España, con que por no haver avido tiempo para su prozecucion, dí parte a V.M. entonces de dha causa en el estado ultimo referido.

Y haviendose dado vista al dho fiscal segun lo determinado, por el dho voto del Real Acuerdo Insistio en sus pedimentos hechos en dha causa sobre la criminalidad del dho Governador de las Marianas, en orden a prozesarsele, y prozederse a su castigo, y haviendose dado traslado de dho pedimento fiscal a la dha parte del Apoderado del dho Governador de Marianas Insistio tambien en sus defenzas, pidiendo ser relevado de la

invectoria del dho fiscal, a que aviendolo remitido yo al dho oydor Don Joseph de Torralba, me dio por parecer que suspendiese la determinacion de dha causa, hasta tanto que V.M. se sirviese de mandar lo que fuese de su Real agrado, respecto de haverse dado quenta, por la gravedad que incluye.

No obstante esta resolucion, paso el dho fiscal a alegar que no se devia suspender dha su determinacion. Sino que devia prozeder a ella, segun los meritos de la causa: Por cuiu representacion y pedimiento la remití al Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa oydor asimismo de esta Real Audiencia respecto de estar ausente el dho oydor Don Joseph de Torralba, visitando la tierra, que fue el Acesor declaró que no obstante el decreto de suspenscion de esta causa proveido con el parecer del dho oydor Torralba se remitiese a esta Real Audiencia para los efectos que combiniere, citadas las partes sin embargo de apelacion, ni otro recurso[,] en el qual estado quedan ultimamente dhos autos al tiempo del presente despacho proximo del Galeon para la nueva España de que doi parte a V.M. remitiendo el testimonio adjunto de todos los dhos autos.

Nuestro Señor guarde la C. y R.P. de V.M. como la christiandad ha menester.

Manila y Julio 8 de 1712.

El Conde de Lizarraga.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

22.

Reports to Y.M. on the status of the case brought against the Governor of the Marianas, for having admitted there, supplied with food, and not having resisted at all, the enemies who captured the Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** that was despatched from these Islands to New Spain in 1709, enclosing Record of proceedings n° 19.

Sire:

In a letter dated 17 June of last year 1710, I reported to Y.M. the capture on the coast of New Spain by English enemies of the Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación** ...

[He repeats the letter appearing in A1 above, adding:]

And after said Fiscal reviewed what had been determined by said vote of the Royal Audiencia, he insisted on his earlier requests for prosecution under criminal law of said Governor of the Marianas, until his eventual punishment. After I passed the transcript of said request from the Fiscal to the Attorney for said party, representing said Governor of the Marianas, he insisted also in his pleas, and begged to be relieved of the accusations of said Fiscal. I referred the matter to Audiencia member, Don José de Torralba, who recommended to me that the case be suspended, until Y.M. be advised of same, and be pleased to order what would be of your Royal pleasure, since you had already been informed about it, and because of the gravity of its contents.

Notwithstanding this resolution, said Fiscal reiterated his allegation that his decision should not be suspended, but, on the contrary, the case should proceed, according to its merits. Because of his representation and request, I remitted it to Licentiate Gregorio Manuel de Villa, another member of this Royal Audiencia, in the absence of said José de Torralba, who was visiting the country, with the outcome being that his legal recommendation was that, notwithstanding the decree of suspension of this cause provided by said member Torralba as a legal opinion, it should be forwarded to this Royal Audiencia for the effects that might be appropriate. The parties were cited, in spite of the appeal, and other recourses. Such is the ultimate state of affairs in said cause, at the time of the present despatch of the galleon that is about to leave for New Spain, of which I inform Y.M. by remitting all of the records of proceedings, attached.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.
Manila, 8 July 1712.

The Count of Lizarraga.¹

A6. Letter from the Audiencia of Manila, dated 17 July 1712

Source: AGI Fil. 168.

Original text in Spanish.

La Audiencia de Manila

Da cuenta à V.M. con compulsa de autos de continuarse en ella los que se principiaron en el Gobierno sobre las noticias de lo obrado por el Governador de Marianas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, con los enemigos Piratas Yngleses el año passado de 710 que aportaron a aquellas Yslas con la Presa de la Nao Almiranta que se havia despachado el año antecedente de estas por el Real Zituado a la Nueva España. Con autos de Numº 20.

Señor

*Por el Conde de Lizarraga, Vuestro Governador y Capitan General de estas Yslas, se a dado à V.M. de los Auttos, fechos en el Gobierno hasta 8 de Julio proximo pasado, en razon de lo obrado por el Governador de las Yslas Marianas Don Juan Anttonio Pimentel, el año pasado de 710 con los enemigos, Pirattas Yngleses, que apresaron la Nao Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion** que se despacho por el Real Zituado de estas Yslas al Reyno de la Nueva España el de 9, y aportaron con ella a las dichas Yslas Marianas.*

Y haviendose remittido por Decreto Acessorio, del Gobierno de 8 de Abril de este presente año a la Audiencia, visto lo alegado por Vuestro fiscal, y pedido por la parte de dicho Don Juan Anttonio Pimentel, hasta 13 del Corriente, se acordo, el que con la maior Brevedad se proceda maior Averiguazion secreta por uno de los Oidores, para que en su vista se puedan tomar las Providenzias que pide la gravedad de la materia y

¹ Ed. note: This letter was seen by the full Council of the Indies only 3 years later, on 8 July 1715, but the case file was still incomplete, thus the case inconclusive.

ayer 16 de el nombró Vuestro Presidente al Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa en cuio estado queda este negocio, y Vuestros Ministros con el cuidado de determinarlo en Justicia con la mayor brevedad como mas convenga al servicio de V.M. dando quenta con compulsa de Autos.

Cuia C.R.P. guarde la Divina como la Christiandad ha menester.

De los Estrados de esta Audiencia de Manila y Julio 17 de 1712.

El Conde de Lizarraga

Licenciado D. Augustin de Barrientos y Rivera.

Licenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.

Translation.

The Audiencia of Manila

Reports to Y.M., along with an certified transcript of records, about the continuance of the case undertaken by the Government about the news of what the Governor of the Marianas, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, had done with the English enemies in the past year of 1710, i.e. the pirates who made port at those Islands with the Almiranta as a prize, the galleon that had been despatched the previous year from these Islands to New Spain to get the Royal subsidy. With Transcript bearing n° 20.

Sire:

The Count of Lizarraga, your Governor and Captain General of these Islands, has remitted to Y.M. the records of proceedings within the Government as of 8 July last, concerning the behavior of the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, in 1710 with the enemies, English pirates, who had captured the Almiranta galleon, **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, that had been despatched from these Islands to New Spain to get the Royal subsidy in 1709, as they made port with her at said Mariana Islands.

And this file having been remitted to the Audiencia by accessory Decree from the Government, dated 8 April of the present year, in view of the allegation of your Fiscal, and the request by the party representing Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, as of the 13th of this month, it was agreed that a further inquiry should be carried out secretly by one of the Audiencia members, in order to use the result to take the provisions that the seriousness of the matter requires, and yesterday, the 16th, your President appointed Licentiate Gregorio Manuel de Villa. This is the present status of this affair, and your Ministers remain concerned with its just determination as soon as possible, as required by the service of Y.M., and they report same, enclosing a certified record of proceedings.

May His Divine Majesty save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

From the Courtroom of this Audiencia of Manila, 17 July 1712.

The Count of Lizarraga.

Licentiate Augustin de Barrientos y Rivera.

Licentiate Gregorio Manuel de Villa.¹

A7. Letter from the Audiencia of Manila, dated 27 July 1713

Source: AGI Fil 168.

Original text in Spanish.

La Audiencia de Manila

Da quenta a V.M. de haver pasado a ella los autos procesados en el Gobierno sobre lo obrado por el Governador de Marianas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, con los Piratas que apresaron la Almiranta el año pasado de 710 que aportaron a dhas Yslas para determinarse en Justicia con la mayor Brevedad. Con autos de numº 4.

Señor

*En carta de 17 de Julio passado de 712 dio quenta a V.Magd. esta Audiencia de haver pasado a ella los Autos que el Conde de Lizarraga formó sobre lo obrado por el Governador de Marianas Don Juan Antonio Pimentel con los enemigos Piratas Yngleses que apresaron la Almiranta nombrada **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnazion** el año passado de 1710.*

Y habiendose mandado proseder à mayor averiguacion para determinar la caussa en Justicia no ha paresido en esta çudad, y sus contornos ni en el Puerto de Cavite y Pueblo de San Roque, persona a quien poder examinar sobre el casso como consta de la copia de las diligencias fhas en esta razon, y quedan Vuestros Ministros en determinar este expediente con la mayor brevedad, de que darà quenta a V.Magd. con la compulza en forma.

Nuestro Señor G.L.C.Y.R.P. de V.Magd. como la Christiandad ha menester.

Sala de Acuerdo, y Julio 27 de 1713.

El Conde de Lizarraga

Dor. Joseph Torralba

Lizenciado Don Gregorio Manuel de Villa.

¹ Ed. note: This letter arrived in Spain aboard the advice boat in December 1714 and was seen by the Council on 23 February 1715. They passed it to the Fiscal for comments. He said that he could not say anything until the expected letter from the Governor, with the case file attached to it, did show up.

Translation.

The Audiencia of Manila

Reports to Y.M. that the case undertaken by the Government against the Governor of the Marianas, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, for what he did with the pirates who had captured the *Almiranta* in 1710 and stopped at said Islands with her, has been turned over to them, along with the case file, for its determination according to law as soon as possible. With Record of proceedings number 4.

Sire:

In a letter dated 17 July of last year 1712, this Audiencia reported to Y.M. that they had received the case file that the Count of Lizarraga had opened regarding the actions of the Governor of the Marianas, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, with the enemies, English pirates who had captured the *Almiranta* named **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, in the past year 1710.

And, after an order was issued to proceed with a deeper investigation in order to determine this case according to law, not one person was found to appear in this city, or its vicinity, nor in the port of Cavite and town of San Roque, as a suitable witness in the case, as can be seen in the copy of the efforts made to this effect, and your Ministers remain with the obligation to close this file as soon as possible, in order to report same to Y.M. with the proper case file.

May Our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Courtroom, 27 July 1713.

The Count of Lizarraga.

Doctor José Torralba.

Licentiate Gregorio Manuel de Villa.¹

A8. Letter from the King to the Audiencia, dated Pardo 6 July 1714

Source: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 120v-121, pp. 296-297.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

A la Audiencia de Manila diciendola se espera noticia de haver sustanciado y determinado la causa del Governador de Marianas en cumplimiento de ordenes expedidos a este fin.

Presidente y Oydores de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Philipinas.

El Governador de ellas, Conde de Lisarraga en carta de 8 de Jullio del año pasado de 1711 da quenta del estado que tenia la causa processada contra el Governador de

¹ Ed. note: Reached Spain aboard the advice boat of December 1714 and was seen by the Council on 25 January 1715. The decision was to repeat the order given previously.

las Islas Marianas sobre haber admitido en ellas sin ninguna resistencia a los enemigos que apresaron el Navio Almiranta de esas Islas.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo pleno de Indias, respecto que (en virtud de resolucion mia) se expidio otra en despacho de 24 de Jullio del año pasado de 1712 para que este negocio se substanciase y determinase por vuestra parte, ha parecido deciros se queda esperando noticia de haverse cumplido y ejecutado todo lo que previene en el.

Fha en el Pardo a 6 de Jullio de 1714.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Belasco.

Señalado de los Señores del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Audiencia of Manila, telling them that he is waiting for advice that the case against the Governor of the Marianas has been substantiated and determined in compliance, with orders issued for this purpose.

President and Members of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

Their Governor, the Count of Lizarraga, in a letter dated 8 July of last year 1711 reports on the status of the suit against the Governor of the Mariana Islands for having admitted there without any resistance the enemies who had captured the Almiranta of those Islands.

And the matter having been seen in my full Council of the Indies, in view of the fact that (following my decision) another despatch had been issued on 24 July 1712 so have this affair substantiated and determined on your part, I have decided to tell you that I am still waiting for advice that everything that I had ordered therein has been complied with and carried out.

Made at El Pardo, 6 July 1714.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the Gentlemen of the Council.¹

¹ Ed. note: This same message was repeated on 6 July 1716, but without reply until the matter was picked up again in Manila in 1720 (see Doc. 1720G) and continued at the time of the arrest of Governor Pimentel (see Doc. 1721D).

Documents 1712B

Instructions given to Captain Aguirre of the patache Santo Domingo for returning via the Carolines in 1712

Source: AGI Fil. 215; copy of B1 in Colección Pastells, Fil. 4.

Introductory note.

On 1 July 1711, the Governor of the Philippines called a meeting of pilots (see Doc. 1711E3) then in Manila to consider the best route to reach the newly-discovered islands and rescue the missionaries. They were in agreement with the recommendation made by the Fiscal, i.e. to have the regular yearly patache to the Marianas return by way of the Carolines.

B1. Recommendations of the Meeting of Pilots regarding the route to follow from Guam to reach Palau and Sonsorol, dated 1 July 1711

Original text in Spanish.

Derrota que deve executar el Piloto del Patache que se despacha à las Islas Marianas de este presente año de mill setecientos y onze:

*Y este se deve entender de su tornabuelta para esta Isla de Manila para el reconocimiento de las nuevamente halladas por el Sargento Maior Don Franzisco de Padilla y su Piloto mayor Don Joseph de Somera[.] las Islas descubiertas por el Sargento mayor son dos pequeñas[.] la una contigua la otra[.] las quales llaman de **San Andres**, y la situacion por latitud norte de cinco grados y veinte y quatro minutos y su Meridiano vista del que pasa por el Cavo de Espiritu Santo siete grados y quarenta y cinco minutos para el oriente; otra grande que se llama **Panlog** zituada caveza meridional con siete grados veinte minutos tambien latitud norte con diferencia longitudinal con el dicho Cavo de nueve grados para el oriente unas y otras distantes del Cavo como ciento y ochenta leguas[.] el angulo de las mas meridionales de quarenta y cinco grados entre el sur y el leste y angulo de la grande desde el dicho Cavo de sesenta y siete grados y trein-*

ta minutos entre el sur y el leste; debajo de estas advertencias se seguira la derrota siguiente.

La salida de la Isla de Gacagar [=Guahan] y por otro nombre Iguan que es la capital de las Marianas que su paralelo dista trese grados de la equinocial para el norte y su Meridiano corta à equinocial en dies y seis grados longitudinales contando desde el meridiano que passa el Cavo del Espiritu Santo para el oriente.

De esta pues dicha Isla se saldra passado el mes de Diciembre porque ya habra perdido la furia los vientos nortes y desde esta Isla se gobernara al oeste quarta al norueste distancia de veinte y cinco leguas, para montar los bajos de Santa Rosa y desde este parage se gobernara al sur si el viento diere lugar hasta ponerse por altura de siete grados, y treinta minutos y es de advertir que en esta distancia se deve llevar Guardia en los topes por si se descubriere algun bajo ó Isla nueva advirtiendo que luego que biniere la noche apague el paño y no navegue que assi se executa cuando se va à emprender nuevos descubrimientos por dos razones[.] la primera y mas esensial es porque no se pierda sobre algun bajo é Isleta tan pequeños que solo estando sobre ellos se puedan conocer[,] la segunda porque puede pasar cerca de alguna Isla y no berlas por ser de noche y se malogra el fin que se pretende.

Puesto en lo dicha latitud de siete grados, y treinta minutos gobernara al oeste teniendo especial cuidado de observar de dia el sol, y de noche las estrellas para guardar rectamente el dicho paralelo llevando gran vigilancia en que la guardia de los topes registren toda la mar y abisen de lo que vieren bolviendo à intimar que luego que llegue la noche prepare solo con el trinquete la gavia sobre el soco con la caveza para el norte y passada la media noche cambiara la caveza para el sur orsando lo que pudiere que de este modo quando amanesca otro dia se hallara en el propio paraje que anocheio el antecedente porque es natural en tiempo de brisas correr el agua para el occidente, y si se queda sin vela sotabentarse cinco ó seis leguas que es lo bastante para perderse en un bajo ó empeñarse en una Isla que la tarde antes no pudo alcanzar haver [= a ver].

Y por esta dicha altura gobernara à el oeste con el cuidado referido que si es verdad, segun lo que refieren los Indios que ay Palaos no puede dejar de encontrarse por esta altura con ellos; y doy por casso que haviendo navegado por esta dicha altura como nueve grados para el occidente y no hubiere descubierto ninguna Isla soy de sentir que desde dicho paraje gobierna derecho à el sur hasta ponerse en latitud de cinco grados y treinta minutos que es la altura de las Isletas de San Andres y si por esta altura no la descubriere soi de parecer que no se sotabentee mas porque no cojera el embocadero si vientan mucho las brisas y assi desde este paraje gobernara à el norueste, con la vigilancia y guardia referida no navegando de noche hasta ponerse en altura de doce grados, y treinta minutos procu[rando] no sotaventarse del dicho rumbo del norueste por la razon que dejo referida y hallandose por dicha altura gobernando al oeste ni le podra faltar el Cavo del Espiritu Santo.

Preveniendo que para executar este viaje es nesasario que lleven mas anclotes y calabrotos que las que regularmente suelen llevarse porque si se descubren nuevas Islas se

pueden ofrezar dar fondo en algunos parajes que sin poderlo remediar se pierdan algunas amarras.

Otro si deven llevar una buena lancha con su prevencion de velas, y no largarla si no fuere en casso mui pressiso por no aventurarse el casco ni la gente.

Tambien se ha de advertir que à de llevar mas bastimentos que los regulares por la dilatada que puede ser la vuelta assi por la detencion que puede tener si descubren nuevas Islas, como por no navegarse de noche por las razones que deyo referidas.

Y sobre todo encargo las beridicas demarcaciones de lo que nuevamente se descubriere sin omitir diligencia perteneciente al Arte Nautico.

Esto es mi sentir sobre los rumbos que se deven executar y sobre los reparos que se deben hacer para el maior asierto y logro de este descubrimiento.

Manila y Jullio primero de mill setecientos y onze años.

Francisco Diaz Romero.

Yo el piloto Joseph Somera me conformo en todo y por todo con el derrotero de arriba segun y como en el se contiene por ser la verdad y alcanza mi leal saver y entender segun el Arte que profezo y por verdad lo firmo en esta Ziudad de Manila en primero de Jullio de mill setecientos y onze años.

Joseph Somera.

Yo de Piloto Eduardo Duarte de Barros me conformo en todo y por todo con el derrotero de este pliego segun y como en el se contiene, por ser la verdad y lo que alcanza mi leal saver y entender segun el arte de mi profecion y para que por verdad conste de esta mi conformidad lo firmo en esta Ciudad de Manila en dos del mez de Jullio de mill setecientos y onze años.

Eduardo Duarte de Barros.

Translation.

Route to be followed by the pilot of the patache being despatched to the Mariana Islands this year 1711:

And it is to be understood that only its return voyage to this Island of Manila is concerned here, for the exploration of the islands newly-found by Sergeant-Major Francisco de Padilla and his chiel pilot, José de Somera. The islands discovered by the Sergeant-Major are: two small ones, one right next to the other, which are called **San Andrés**, and their position is 5°24' lat. N. and, with respect to the meridian passing by Cape Espiritu Santo, 7°45' E; one large one named **Panlog** whose southern point is in 7°20' lat. N. also, and 9° E. of said Cape. Either group is about 180 leagues from the Cape, the southernmost group along a heading forming 45° between S and E [i.e. SE] and the large group form an angle of 67°30' from S toward E [i.e. ESE]. Other than these notices, he is to follow the following route.

The point of departure will be from the Island of Gacagar [rather Guahan], also called Iguan, which is the capital of the Marianas, whose parallel lies 13° north of the

equator and its meridian crosses the equator at 16° of longitude E. of the meridian that passes by Cape Espiritu Santo.¹

Well then, the departure from said Island is to take place after the month of December, because the northerly winds will then have lost their fury and from this Island the heading should be W 1/4 NW for a distance of 25 leagues, in order to bypass the Santa Rosa Bank, and from this neighborhood the heading should be south, if the wind allows it, until a latitude of 7° 30' is reached, and it is important to point out that during this run, a good lookout should be kept at the topmasts, in case some shoal or new island be discovered. Another warning has to do with nighttime navigation; as soon as nightfall comes, the canvas is to be furled and sailing stopped. This is what is done during a voyage of exploration for two reasons: the first and more important reason is so as not to become shipwrecked upon some shoals or islets, that are so small that their presence cannot be detected only when one is on top of them; the second reason is so as not to pass by some island in the night and not see it, which would in effect frustrate the purpose.

Once in said latitude of 7°30', he is to steer due west, taking special care to observe the sun during the day and the stars at night to stay on the correct parallel, and keeping a great watch with lookouts in the topmasts constantly looking out over the whole sea to warn of anything they might see. Once again it is repeated that preparations should be made to sail, by nightfall, with only the foresail, the topsail being furled, and the bow pointing north until midnight, then changing the bow to point south, while luffing to windward as much as possible, so that by daybreak he will find himself in the same neighborhood as at nightfall the previous day, because it is natural in the trade-wind season for the current to run westward, and if one were to run with bare poles, he would drift to leeward from 5 to 6 leagues, and that would be enough to become lost upon some shoal or to crash upon an island that could not have been spotted on the previous afternoon.

And along this latitude he should steer due west with the above-mentioned care because, if it be true what the Indians have said about the Palaos, he cannot but meet with them on this latitude. For example, I am of the opinion that once he has sailed westward on said latitude for about 9° and he still do not discover any island, then he should steer south from said neighborhood until he has reached the latitude of 5°30', which is the latitude of the islets of San Andrés, and if at that latitude he should not discover them, my advice is that he should stop sailing downwind, as otherwise he would miss the Embocadero if the tradewinds are blowing strong; so, from this neighborhood, he should steer northwest, with the same good watch and watchfulness, not sailing at night until he has reached the latitude of 12°30', trying not to fall to leeward from said northwest heading for the reason I have mentioned and, once at said latitude he should steer due west; this way he cannot miss Cape Espiritu Santo.

1 Ed. note: The actual difference in longitude is at least 3° more than that.

Warning: to accomplish this voyage, it is necessary to take along more kedge-anchors and stream-cables than are usually taken along during a normal voyage, because if new islands are discovered they might have occasion to anchor in some neighborhoods that are such that the loss of a few mooring cables is inevitable.

In addition, a good launch must be taken along with some spare sails, and not to cut it loose except in the very precise case of saving the ship and its crew.

Also, he should be warned to take along more food supplies than usual because of the length of the return journey, as well as for the additional detention if new islands be discovered, and the lack of sailing at night, as I have explained earlier.

And above all I urge him to take true readings of the positions of anything discovered that is new, without omitting any of the steps known to nautical science.

This is my opinion about the courses that must be followed and about the cautionary measures that must be taken to increase the possibility of success of this exploration.

Manila, 1 July 1711.

Francisco Díaz Romero.¹

I, José Somera, pilot, am in agreement with everything stated in the above-mentioned sailing directions, and the procedures stated therein, because they are the truth and my loyal understanding is that they are the best that our profession can offer, and in faith whereof I affix my signature at this City of Manila, on 1 July 1711.

José Somera.

I, Eduardo Duarte Duarte de Barros, pilot, am in agreement with everything stated in the sailing directions contained in this file, and the procedures stated therein, because they are the truth and my loyal understanding that they are the best that our profession can offer, and in faith whereof, the better to prove my agreement, I affix my signature at this City of Manila, on 2 July 1711.

Eduardo Duarte de Barros².

1 Ed. note: This Díaz was then employed aboard the departing Mariana patache Santo Domingo.

2 Ed. note: This Duarte was then employed aboard the departing galleon Begonia.

B2. Official instruction issued by Governor Ursúa, dated 17 July 1711

Source: AGI...; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 197-200.

Original text in Spanish.

El Conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi Cavallero del orden de Santiago del Consejo de su Magestad su Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas y Presidente de la Audiencia y Chancilleria Real que en ellas reside etc.

Horden é Instruccion que ha de observar y hazerse guarde y cumpla el Capitan Don Juan Bautista de Aguirre Cavo Superior del Patache Sancto Domingo que este pressente año se despacha con el socorro à las Islas Marianas para la infanteria y Padres Misioneros que en ellos asisten à la propagacion de nuestra Sancta fee Catholica[,] en el discurso del viage de ida esta y de buelta ó à Don Bernardo de Egui, Piloto mayor de dicho Patache por falta de dicho Capitan y por la de ambos à Francisco Dias Romero, Piloto acompañado de ella, lo qual es en la manera siguiente:

1. *Primeramente hara que toda la gente de mar y guerra y demas personas que fueren y vinieren embarcados en dicho Patache se confiesen y comulgen cumpliendo con las obligacion de christianos y de haverlo hecho, antes que lo haga luego que se de à la [vela] y lo mismo en el discurso del viage, cuidara que no ayga Bandas[,] disenciones ni se jure el Sancto Nombre de Dios en bano, ni de su bendita Madre ni ofender la Magd. divina castigando al que lo hiziere[,] los dias que el tiempo diere lugar se dirá Missa y las Salves {y} por las tardes con todo la reverencia y devocion que es posible que haziendolo assi se conseguira muy buen viaje y felices susesos.*

2. *Pasara muestra à. toda la gente de mar y guerra que fueren en dicho Patache haziendo lista de todos y no permita passe ni se embarque en ella perssona alguna de qualquier estado ni condizion que sea si no fuere con lizenzia de Gobierno por escrito y los que en dicha muestra se hallaren sin ella los prendera y con informacion de ello me los remitira pressos y à buen recaudo.*

3. *Aviendo salido del Puerto de Cavite hara safar y que baya Marinera dicho Patache y prevenida en toda forma para el manexo de las Armas defenza y ofenza del enemigo en qualquiera ocasion que se ofresca encontrarle para que no les coga desapersevidos señalando los puestos y dando à los Cavos de ellos por escrito la orden de lo que en la ocasion han de obrar con la gente de su cargo para que esten advertidos de ello.*

4. *Hara se tenga todo cuidado con el fuego de los fogones y que los tavacos se chupen en ellos y no consentira aya luzes ensendidas si no fuere en la Bitacora y si se llevare debaxo de la escotilla sea con Linterna y por perssona de satisfaccion porque el descuido no ocasione alguna desgracia.*

5. *Si encontrare à la ida é buelta qualquier Navio de enemigos que le pretenda hazer algun daño se defendera procurando hazer su viaje sin perder lo posible usando de astucias para safarse del peligro divirtiendolos mudando derrota con el amparo de la noche, y despues volvera à seguirla de su viaje y de no poder se defenderia sin rendir,*

ni entregar dicho Patache hasta morir, y que no quede hombre vivo cumpliendo con su obligacion obrando en lo uno y lo otro con valor y maña y como quien à de tener el casso pressente.

6. Hordenara al despensero que las raciones señaladas que se dieren à la Ida esta y de vuelta, sea con medida atendiendo à que no le falte el Bastimento.

7. Habiendo desenbocado por San Bernardino dirigira su viaje à la Isla de Guan ó à la Sarpana Grande y llegando aquel quiera de ellas entregara al Governador de dichas Islas Marianas el socorro que lleva para la infanteria y Padres Missioneros de la Compañia de Jesus que ellas asisten y fecho procurara reconoser y sondear los Puertos que hubiere en una y otra Isla ó en la parte que se hallare mas aproposito para surgir qualquier Vagel de su Magestad poniendolo en derrotero con claridad de su fondo y demarcaciones assi à la entrada como dentro y a que vientos tiene resguardo con toda individualidad y especificacion.

8. Haviendose informado del estado de aquellas Misiones asi en lo espiritual como en lo temporal de que traera razon y luego que ayga tiempo aproposito para navegar pasara muestra à toda la gente y se bendra al Puerto de Cavite no consintiese embarque ningun Soldado Oficial ny otra persona qualquiera de dichas Islas sin Lizencia por escrito del Governador de ellas pena de duzientos pesos en que le doy por condenado y luego que conste haver embarcado en dicho Patache algunas personas de las referidas exsento algun Religioso de la dicha Mission theniendo Lizencia del Reverendo Padre Vize Provincial de ella estando siempre à las hordenes del Governador de dichas Islas interin que no tubiere tiempo para salir de ellas.

*9. I por quanto en cumplimiento de la Real Zedula su fecha en Madrid à los dies y nueve de Octubre del año passado de mill setezientos y cinco se determinó por Junta de Pilotos selebrada el dia primero de Jullio de este año que dicho Patache llegado el tiempo de su transporte desde dichas Islas Marianas à esta de Manila, y en consideracion del nuevo reconocimiento que ha hecho el Sargento mayor Don Francisco de Padilla de dos Isletas que llaman las de **San Andres** que la situan por cinco grados y veinte y quatro minutos de latitud Norte, y otra mayor que llaman **Panlog**, que la situan por siete grados y veinte minutos latitud tambien Norte, pasen dicho Cavo, y Pilotos à reconocer dichas Islas, ú otras qualquiera cercanas à estas haziendo rigurosa zituacion de ellas para ver si combienen con lo que hasta aqui se a executado por dicho Sargento mayor, ordeno y mando à dicho Capitan Don Juan Bautista de Aguirre Cavo Superior de el y por su falta à Don Bernardo de Egui Piloto de dicho Patache que luego que entre el mes de Henero salgan de la Isla de Iguan para dicho reconocimiento de dichas dos Islas nuevamente halladas por dicho Sargento mayor Don Francisco de Padilla y su Piloto mayor Don Joseph de Somera respecto de que ya abran perdido la furia los vientos Norte, governando al oeste quarto al norueste distancia de veinte y cinco leguas para montar los bajos de Sancta Rossa y desde este parage se Governara à el sur si el viento diere lugar hasta ponerse por Altura de siete grados, y treinta minutos y es de advertir que esta distancia sea de llevar guardia en los topes por si se descubriere algun baxo ó Isla nueva advirtiendo que luego que sierre la noche apage el Paño y no*

navege que assi se executa quando se va à emprender nuevos descubrimientos por dos razones[,] la primera y mas esensial es porque no se pierda sobre algun baxo ó Islota tan pequeños que solo estando sobre ellos se puede conocer[,] la segunda porque pueda pasar cerca de alguna Isla y no verlas por ser de noche y se malogre el fin que se pretende.

10. Puesto en la dicha latitud de siete grados y treinta minutos gobernara àl oeste teniendo especial cuidado de observar de dia el sol y de noche las estrellas para guardar rectamente el dicho paralelo llevando gran vigilancia en que la guardia de los topes registren toda la mar y avisen de lo que vieren[,] bolviendo à intimar que luego que llegue la noche prepare solo con el trinquete y la gavia sobre el soco con la caveza para el norte y pasada la media noche cambiara la caveza para el sur orsando lo que pudiere que de este modo quando amanesca otro dia se hallara en el propio paraje que anoche cio el antecedente porque es natural en tiempo de brisas corre el agua para el occidente y si se queda sin vela sotaventarse cinco ó seis leguas [que es] lo bastante para perderse en un baxo ó empeñarse en una Isla que la tarde antes no pudo alcanzar a ver.

11. I por esta dicha altura gobernara à el oeste con el cuidado referido que si es verdad segun lo que refieren los Indios que ay Palaos, no puede dexar de encontrarse por esta altura con ellos y en caso que habiendo navegado por dicha altura como nueve grados para el occidente y no aviendo descubierto ninguna Isla desde dicho paraxe gobernara derecho al sur hasta ponerse en latitud de cinco grados y treinta minutos que es la altura de las isletas de San Andres y si por esta altura no la descubriere no se sotavente mas porque no se ponga à la contingencia de no poder coger el embocadero si vientan mucho las brisas y assi desde este parage gobernara à el norueste con la vigilancia y guardia referida no navegando de noche hasta ponerse en altura de doze grados y treinta minutos procurando no sotaventarse del dicho rumbo del Noroeste por la razon referida.

12. I si las dichas Islas descubiertas otras algunas encontraren se acercará á ellas por la parte que le pareciere mas segura y con todo cuidado las reconocera su demarcacion el rumbo à que demora y su altura y si esta avitada de gente de que calidad, que costumbres y ritos ubieran de que se mantienen si tienen alguna politica su modo de Gobierno y si se rreconossen ellos ser de natural docil ó agreste y Barbaro, y siendo posible procurara algunos de aquellos Isleños haciendoles todo agasajo, y observara todas las demas cosas que le[s] pertenecieren dignos de noticiarse poniendolo todo por escripto con claridad y distincion y reconocera asimismo si ay algun Puerto en que parte su fondo demarcacion assi à la entrada como dentro de el y à que vientos tiene resguardo y si subsediere el aver de saltar en tierra como es preciso para inquirir lo que ba referido lo hara con la precision necesaria cautelando de los avitadores y no permitira que ninguno de los que le acompañe se aparte de su compañía sino que todos esten con las armas prebenidas y con toda vigilancia para lo que se pudiera ofrecer porque el descuido no ocasione algun desacierto que no se pueda remediar, y que en caso de encontrarle la Isla donde se quedaron los Padres Provinciales y quisieren venirse los trayga.

13. Y sobre todo encargo las viridicas demarcaciones de lo que nuevamente se descubriere sin omitir diligencia perteneciente à el Arte Nautico; y tambien de que à qual-

quiera paraje que llegare el Patache y necesitare de algunos bastimentos ó gente para su avio ó qualquiera cossa que le falte de providencia luego qualquiera Alcalde mayor ó otro qualquiera Justicia de qualesquiera parte.

14. La qual dicha Instruccion à de observar y guardar el dicho Capitan Don Juan Bautista de Aguirre y por su falta qualquiera de los dos arriva mencionados en el discurso del viage de la yda para dichas Islas Marianas y buelta para esta Ciudad.

Dado en Manila à dies y siete de Jullio de mill setezientos y onze años.

El Conde de Lizarraga.

Por mandado de su Señoria, Don Miguel de Allanegui.

Translation.

The Count of Lizarraga, Don Martín de Ursúa y Arismendi, Knight of the Order of St. James, member of His Majesty's privy council, his Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and President of the Audiencia and Royal Chancellery established therein, etc.

Order and Instruction that must be observed and obeyed by Captain Juan Bautista de Aguirre, senior commander of the patache Santo Domingo which is being despatched to the Mariana Islands to resupply the infantry and the missionary Fathers who work to propagate our holy Catholic faith overthere, during the course of this round-trip voyage, or, failing said Captain, by Don Bernardo de Egui, chief pilot of said patache, and failing both of them, by Francisco Díaz Romero, pilot's mate on board, as follows:

1. Firstly, he is to make sure that all the sailors and marines and other passengers on board said patache go to confession and communion, to comply with their duty as Christians, and then, before and after sailing and also during the course of the voyage, he is to take care that they do not form bands, dissensions, nor take the holy name of God in vain, nor that of His blessed Mother, nor offend the divine Majesty, by punishing those who might do so. On the days when the weather might allow it, mass is to be said as well as the Salve [sung] in the afternoon with as much reverence and devotion as possible, because to do so will guarantee a very good voyage and real success.

2. He shall pass muster of all the sailors and marines on board said patache, by making a list of all of them and not allow any person of whatever status or condition to pass or embark, unless they have written permission from the Government. He is to seize anyone found without a permit during this muster and to send them to me as prisoners along with an investigation report, and under a good escort.

3. After leaving the port of Cavite, he is to have the decks cleared to make said patache ready for action and give room for the handling of all defensive and offensive weapons against the enemy on any occasion that might offer of encountering him, so as not to be caught unprepared, by assigning posts and giving written instructions to their officers, as to what they must do with the men under their command, to have them ready for any eventuality.

4. He is to make sure that proper care is taken with the fire in the cooking stoves and that cigar stubs be gotten rid of there, and he is not to admit any open flame except in the binnacle and if light be needed below the hatch, let it be done only with a lantern and by a trustworthy person, to prevent a mishap caused by carelessness.

5. If any enemy ship be encountered that should try and do him some harm on the outbound or return leg of the voyage, he shall defend himself, by trying to continue his voyage as fast as possible, by making use of tricks to avoid the danger and to shake them loose, by changing headings under the protection of darkness, and afterwards he is to return to his proper route, but if he cannot escape, he shall fight without surrendering, or giving up said patache until his own death, and that of every other man on board, always doing his duty, either defending himself or attacking with the same courage and skill, as someone who is always aware of what is going on.

6. He shall order the steward to dispense the rations allotted for the outbound leg and return leg with measure, making sure that the food supplies will last.

7. After leaving the Strait of San Bernardino, he is to direct his course to the Island of Guan or that of Big Sarpana and, upon arriving at any of the Mariana Islands, he shall deliver to their Governor the succor that he carries for the infantry and the Missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus who work there, and that done, he is to try and survey, with soundings, the ports that might exist in either island or in the area that might be more appropriate for the anchorage of any vessel of His Majesty, and writing the details down in a clear manner in the form of sailing directions, for example, the signs to recognize the entrance, as well as the depths both there and inside, and against what winds it offers a shelter.

8. Having informed himself as to the condition of those Missions, in spiritual and temporal matters, about which he is to bring a report, and then, when the weather for sailing becomes suitable, he is to pass muster of everyone on board and return to the port of Cavite, refusing to take on board any soldier, officer or any other person from said Islands without a written permit from their Governor, under a fine of 200 pesos that I allow him to levy upon condemnation of any person discovered on board said patache later on, except for any Religious of said Mission, who should have permission of their Reverend Father Vice-Provincial. He remains always at the orders of the Governor of said Islands, until such time as the weather becomes good enough to sail.

9. And, in compliance with the Royal decree dated Madrid 17 October 1705, in a meeting of pilots that took place on 1 July of this year, it was decided that said patache, at the time of making its return voyage from said Mariana Islands to that of Manila, and considering the fact that the new survey made by Sergeant-Major Francisco de Paddilla of two islets called **San Andrés** places them at 5°24' lat. N., and another larger one called **Panlog** is situated in 7°20' also lat. N., said Captain and Pilots should survey said Islands, or any islands in their vicinity, accurately recording their position to see whether they match what was done so far by said Sergeant-Major. I order said Captain Juan Bautista de Aguirre, senior commander of said patache, and failing him Don Bernardo de Eguí, its pilot, to leave the Island of Iguan at the beginning of the month

of January, to go to said survey of the two islands in question newly-discovered by said Sergeant-Major Francisco de Padilla and his chief pilot, José de Somera, because the northerly winds will then have lost their fury and from this Island the heading should be W 1/4 NW for a distance of 25 leagues, in order to bypass the Santa Rosa Bank, and from this neighborhood the heading should be south, if the wind allows it, until a latitude of 7° 30' be reached, and it is important to point out that during this run, a good lookout should be kept at the topmasts, in case some shoal or new island be discovered. Another warning has to do with nighttime navigation; as soon as nightfall comes, the canvas is to be furled and sailing stopped. This is what is done during a voyage of exploration for two reasons: the first and more important reason is so as not to become shipwrecked upon some shoal or islet, that are so small that their presence cannot be detected only when one is on top of them; the second reason is so as not to pass by some island in the night and not see it, which would in effect frustrate the purpose.

10. Once in said latitude of 7°30', he is to steer due west, taking special care to observe the sun during the day and the stars at night to stay on the correct parallel, and keeping a great watch with lookouts in the topmasts constantly looking out over the whole sea to warn of anything they might see. Once again it is repeated that preparations should be made to sail, by nightfall, with only the foresail, the topsail being furled, and the bow pointing north until midnight, then changing the bow to point south, while luffing to windward as much as possible, so that by daybreak he will find himself in the same neighborhood as at nightfall the previous day, because it is natural in the trade-wind season for the current to run westward, and if one were to run with bare poles, he would drift to leeward from 5 to 6 leagues, and that would be enough to become lost upon some shoal or to crash upon an island that could not have been spotted on the previous afternoon.

11. And along this latitude he shall steer due west with the above-mentioned care because, if it be true what the Indians have said about the Palaos, he cannot but meet with them on this latitude. Once he has sailed westward on said latitude for about 9° and he still do not discover any island, then he shall steer south from said neighborhood until he has reached the latitude of 5°30', which is the latitude of the islets of San Andrés, and if at that latitude he should not discover them, he shall stop sailing downwind, as otherwise he might find himself with the eventuality of not being able to make the Embocadero if the tradewinds are blowing strong; so, from this neighborhood, he shall steer northwest, with the same good watch and watchfulness, not sailing at night until he has reached the latitude of 12°30', trying not to fall to leeward from said northwest heading for the above-mentioned reason.

12. If, once the said Islands have been discovered, they should meet with a few others, he is to approach each one on what seems to him to be its safest side and survey it carefully, noting the courses leading to it, its latitude and if it is inhabited, [and if so] by what kind of people, the customs and ceremonies they might have, how they maintain themselves, if they are civilized, [and if so] what manner of government, and if their nature is thought to be docile or aggressive and barbarian, and if possible, he is to procure

a few of those islanders, favoring them in all ways, and he is to observe all the other things that are connected with them and worth noting, writing everything down clearly and in detail. Also, he is to check to see if there are other ports, their location, depth, sailing directions to enter and anchor within them and against what winds they offer protection. And should the need arise to step ashore, as might be necessary to acquire the above-mentioned information, he is to do so with the necessary precision, being on his guard against the inhabitants and not permitting anyone of his companions to separate from the group; rather, they should all stay close with weapons at the ready and keeping their eyes open for any eventuality, to prevent that the lack of watchfulness might cause some mishap that cannot be remedied. And in case they should find the island where the Fathers from the Province have remained, and they wish to come back, he should bring them back.

13. And above all, I insist that truthful sailing directions be recorded for any new island, not omitting any effort known to nautical science. Also, at any place that the patache might end up and/or be in need of food supplies or men for its outfitting or anything it might lack, I hereby give authorization to any provincial Mayor or any Magistrate anywhere to provide same.

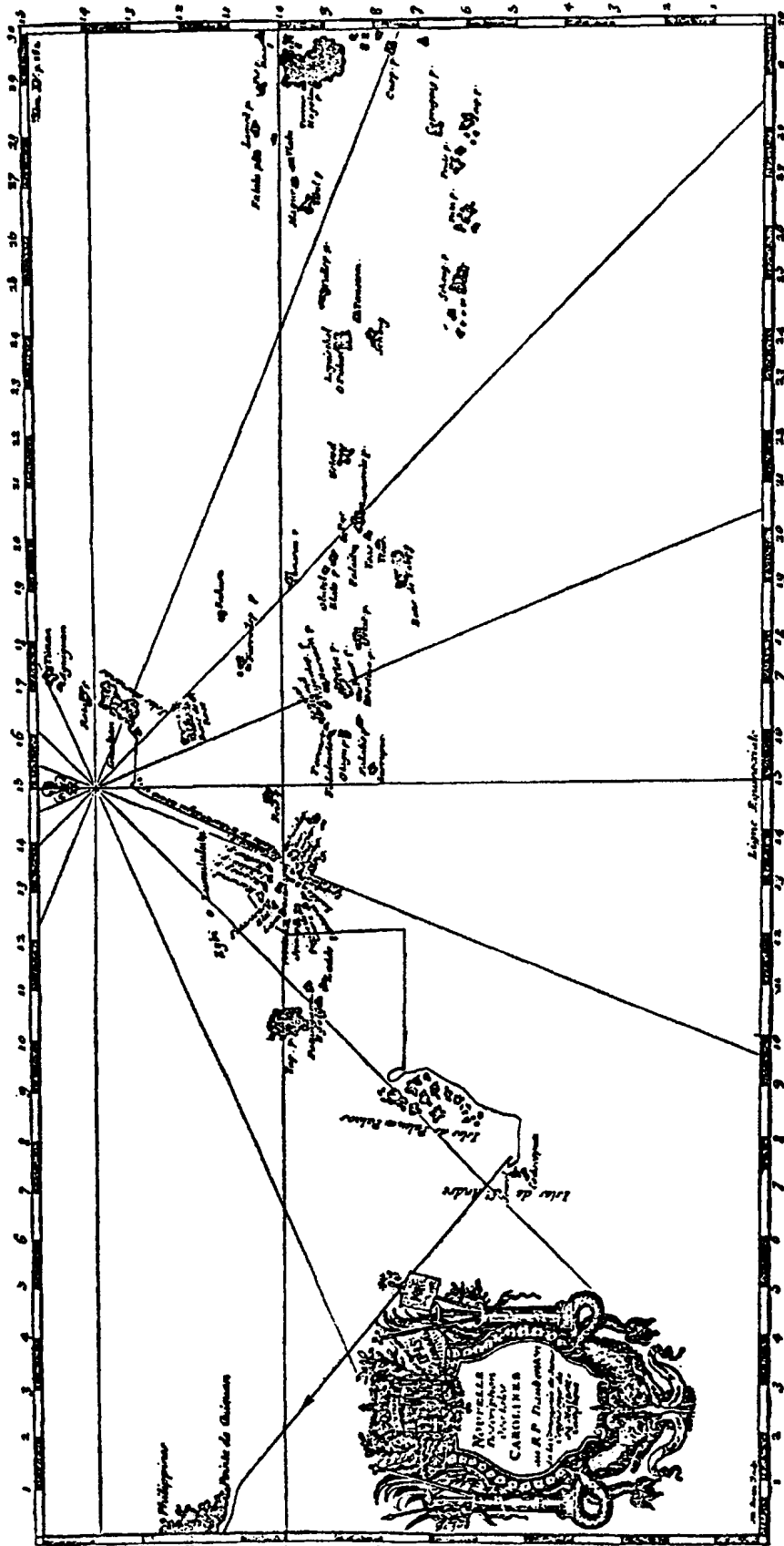
14. The aforesaid Instruction is to be observed and obeyed by said Captian Juan Bautista de Aguirre and, failing him, by the two others above-mentioned, during the course of the outbound leg to the Mariana Islands and return trip to this City.

Made at Manila on 17 July 1711.

The Count of Lizarraga.

By order of His Lordship, Don Miguel de Allanegui.

(Facing page:) **Father Cantova's map of 1722 showing the track of the patache Santo Domingo, Captain Eguí, returning from the Marianas to the Philippines in January and February 1712.** *The vignette reads: "Nouvelle Description des Isles CAROLINES au R. P. Daubenton, confesseur de sa Majesté catholique." Translation: "New description of the CAROLINE Islands, to Rev. Fr. Daubenton, confessor of His Catholic Majesty." See also Doc. 1722D. (From Fr. Le Gobien's "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses").*



Documents 1712C

Expeditions to the Carolines—Accounts of the voyage of the patache Santo Domingo, returning from Guam in 1712

Sources: AGI Fil. 215, the logbook is in fol. 43-102; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, journal in fol. 227-230v, and logbook in fol. 200-223v; copy of journal in Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 3 (1946): 1089-1093; both documents published by Thilenius, editor of the report of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition of 1908-10.

Notes: Bernardo de Egui acted as both commander and chief pilot on this return voyage to the Philippines. Captain Aguirre, along with Lieutenant José Martínez, may have remained in Guam. Fr. Bernardo Mexía, Jesuit, was on board acting as chaplain.

C1. Journal of the return voyage of the Santo Domingo de Guzman, by Captain Bernardo de Eguí

Original text in Spanish.

Relación de la tornabuella de Marianas del Patache Santo Domingo, que paso à reconocer la[s] Islas de Panlog y San Andres.

Sabado 30 de Henero de 1712 como à las dies y media del dia salio el Patache Santo Domingo del Puerto de Merizo en la Isla de Guahan, y aviendo navegado 25 leguas al oeste, segun la estimativa del Piloto mayor y Cavo[,] Capitan Don Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga, puso la proa al sur para disminuir altura, al qual rumbo se navego hasta el Savado 6 de Febrero al medio dia, que descubrió tierra por la proa, y à poco rato se vieron hasta ocho Islitas pequeñas; acercose mas el Patache à ellas, y se mantubo aquella primera noche à barlobento de todas.

[Visit to Ulithi Atoll]

La mañana siguiente luego que aclaro el dia se contaron desde el tope 28 Islas, todas ellas tierra muy rassa y la mayor no llega à tener dos leguas de bogeo; pero con ser tierra tan vaxa, esta muy poblada de grandes cocales. Luego que los moradores de dichas Islas vieron cerca el Patache (que estaria como una media legua de una Isla que parecia la maior) fueron muchos à el en sus embarcaciones, llegaron cerca y antes de arriarse al patache estuvieron arriados [or parados] con sus velas arriadas; y aviendo reconocido el navio y la gente que de el [les] hacia señas para que llegasen, mostran-

doles varios generos de Ropa, se arrimaron por la banda de barlobento tres de dichas embarcaciones, à las quales siguieron otras muchas. Decianles que subiesen al Navio; pero respondieron por señas que si bajaba uno de los nuestros à sus embarcaciones, subirian ellos à la nuestra. Vaxo luego uno de los del Patache, y inmediatamente se arroxaron al mar hasta 16 ó 18 de ellos y subieron al alcazar del navio: à todos ellos mando el Capitan y Cavo agasagar con algunas cosas de comer, y algunos clavos de hierro, que es lo que mas ellos estiman: tambien se les dio algun vino para que tomando {se} de el quedasen algunos en el Patache; pero no tubo efecto mas que en el viejo que à venido, y aunque se pudiera {n} por violencia hacer quedar algunos mozos; no quiso el cavo que se les hiciese por no exasperarlos.

El dia siguiente 10 de dicho mes de Febrero, navegando el Patache cerca de dichas Yslas la buelta del sur, salio de unas de ellas una banca la qual llevo [a] alca[n]zarnos como à la una del dia; luego arrio su vela y se arrimo al navio; pero pidieron siete Indios que avia[n] en ella, que baxase {n} uno à su banca para que ellos subiessen al navio, como se les desia. Bajo el mismo que el dia antecedente y con un cavo que de bordo le echaron amarro la barca, y luego subieron los Indios à nuestro bordo à cambiar sus paños tejidos de yerbas y pintados de varios colores y labores y algunos ceñidores de coco y piedrecillas labrado[s], como lo avian hecho el dia antes. Tenia ydeado el Cavo coger uno ó dos mozos y largar el viejo que avia quedado el dia antecedente bordo, para lo qual mando que la lancha que estaba à la banda de babor pasasse à la de estribor à juntarse con la banca, pero assi que lo advirtieron se hecharon al mar los que estaban en el Patache y fueron à desamarrar su banca; el nuestro que estaba en ella defendia su amarra y al mismo tiempo inconsideradamente uno de nuestro {a} bordo disparo una escopeta con lo qual espantado[s] mucho mas se fueron todos à soltar la amarra, diole uno de ellos un repugon al nuestro que la guardaba con que le echo al mar, à donde otro de los Indios le dio un golpe con la esquina de uno de sus remos, que le partio la caveza. Los marineros viendo tan mal herido à su compañero precipitadamente echaron mano {s} à las armas y dispararon 6 ó 8 escopetas de los quales tiros hicieron efecto tres, uno de ellos fue en un muchacho de hasta 12 años de edad à lo que parecia, los otros dos fueron en dos Indios hombres ya de edad. Con el espanto de las armas (para ellos cosa mui nueva) quedaron pasmados cerca del Patache, y advirtiendo el Cavo que no levantaban su arbol ni mareaban su vela mando esquifar la lancha, y que fuese en seguimiento de dichos Indios los quales, luego que la vieron ir, se animaron los que no estaban heridos y mareando su vela se pusieron en fuga, y no fue posible darles alcance.

[Description of the Carolinians]

Son estos Indios de buena disposicion, por lo general altos y gruesos de cuerpo[;] unos tienen el pelo amulatado, otros largo y lacio como Indios y todos se lo amarran atras con gallardia, y se dexan crecer la barba mui larga y poblada. Los naturales (si no lo fingian) son mui alegres y desde que llegaron la primer vez al Patache nos hicieron

grandes instancias à que fuésemos à tierra. Estan estas Yslas en 10 grados de latitud boreal y 14 [13?] grados y 34 [32?] minutos de longitud al leste del Cavo del Espiritu Santo.

[Palau Islands]

Haviendo sucedido la desgracia dicha, no hizo el Cavo del Patache mas diligencia {s} por mantenerse en dichas Yslas ni buscar surgidero en ellas, como antes se havia pretendido, y assi aproandose al sur navego hasta ponerse en 7 grados 30 minutos de latitud paralelo de las Yslas de Panlog y por esta altura andubo hasta el dia 15 de dicho mes de Febrero, que à las 7 de la mañana se descubrió tierra por la proa, la qual es alta y mui montuosa. Luego que se vio dicha tierra orzo el navio para montarla por la banda del norte, y aviendo llegado cerca de la punta à medio dia (donde se observo el sol) y reconociendo que de tres Yslotos ó peñascos que ay en dicha punta salia un baxo, subio el piloto maior al tope, desde donde reconoció que dicho baxo salia acia el norte mas de una legua y se tendia lo ancho de el a[] oeste mas de dos leguas, por lo qual nos vimos imposibilitados de montar dicho baxo por el recio nordeste que corria y nos arimaba demasiado à tierra y nos obligo à virar con presteza para ir costeano, y montar la por la banda del sur.

A este tiempo vimos que iban saliendo de la Ysla unas 10 ó 12 embarcaciones que venian hacia nosotros[,] pero como vieron que ibamos saliendo algo mar [mas?] à fuera, algunas de ellas desistieron de su intento y se volvieron. Como à las 4 de la tarde llego à darnos alcance una, y aviendole echado un cavo para que se assiessen de el, y amarassen la embarcacion, lo tomaron y dieron una vuelta falsa con el a un palo ó assiento, y empezaron à hacernos señas que fuésemos à su Ysla; pero no quisieron subir al navio por mas instancias que se le hicieron. Assi estubieron un buen rato mirando con mucha atencion el navio hasta que cansados de aguantar su embarcacion amarrada y las grandes mares que avia, se desamarraron y fueron para su Ysla. Dentro de brebe rato llego otra vanca, y aviendole tambien dado Cavo que se amarrasen, los recibieron los Yndios y dieron otra buelta falsa como los otros, aunque estos se arrimaron al Patache con alguna mas confianza; pero no quisieron subir al navio aunque fueron instados, y desde abajo tiraban algunas raizes y ceñidores de piedrecillas y cocos labrados à que les correspondieron los nuestros con algunos clavos, genero mui precioso para ellos; dioseles algun biscocho que ellos examinaban mucho antes de comerlo mostrando algun recelo. Con esto largaron su amarra y se quedaban ya por [nuest]ra popa, quando vieron que otra banca à toda diligencia se acercaba à nosotros y aviendo llegado cerca de ellos, [h]ablaron con los que venian de nuevo y cambiando su vela se volvieron otra vez al Patache conduciendo a la otra banca y quizas movidos del interes de si podian adquirir algunos clavos mas. De la ultima banca subieron al navio dos Yndios[,] uno como de 26 ó 28 [28 à 30?] años de edad, robusto y dispuesto, otro un mancebo como de 16 à 18 años de edad cascado [rather desnudo?] de pies à cabeza, vizco-[so?] y feo (como lo son casi todo[s] los de esta Ysla). A estos dieron algunos clavos, un cuchillo à cada uno y dulce[,] biscocho y vino, lo qual tomaron y ya iban à echarse al mar

quando fueron àsidos, cada uno seis hombres de los nuestros, que bien fueron menester especialmente con el maior [para] sujetar sus grandes fuerzas. Bajaronlo abajo del alcazar [y] amarraronle al maior las manos y pies porque no avia modo de sujetarlo. Los otros que estaban en las bancas viendo lo que pasaba se apartaron luego del Patache y por la popa daban grandes gritos, y golpeaban sus cuerpos contra las mismas bancas, mostrando el sentimiento que tenian de aver perdido sus dos compañeros, los quales daban no menores voces que aturdian à cuantos avia en el Patache haciendo señas que les havian de cortar la caveza, y no avia forma de disuadirles por mas que se les decia que no cortabamos cavezas, ni comiamos carne humana, como parecen que lo hacen ellos. Despues para asegurarlos los pusieron de pie[s] en el cepo, y toda aquella noche no durmieron nada por el gran miedo que tenian de que les avian de quitar la vida.

El Patache se mantubo frente del medio de la Isla, y la mañana siguiente se acerco mas à la tierra para irla costeano. Como à las 7 del dia salio un marinero del timon, y con poca cordura se lleo al Indio maior y le hizo señas de que le avian de quitar la caveza de lo qual se enfurecio tanto que pasando junto à el un muchacho con dos bolos ó machetes para partir unos cocos, juzgando que eran para su sacrificio le dio un rempujon y se los quito[:]el uno puso debaxo de si, y con el otro en la mano empezó à jugar contra todos: llegose uno à quererselo quitar y le dio un recio golpe en una pierna[,] luego empezó à cortar el cepo; por lo qual fue preciso darle con [un] espeque ó garrote en los brazos, con que lo largo de la mano.

A este tiempo ibamos costeano su Isla, y para ver si decia alguna cosa particular sacaron del cepo al Indio mas mozo que parecia estaba con mas confusion y miedo viendo lo que le avia pasado à su compañero. Este pues dijo por señas que algunas Yslitas que se iban descubriendo junto à la grande comian carne humana y tenian guerra con los de su Ysla y los de otras Yslitas mas al sur, pero tambien inmediatas à la Ysla grande, eran buena gente y amigos suyos. Pasado todo esto el Yndio que estaba en el cepo empezó à llorar y acer señas que lo sacassen: el Cavo no queria pero hubo algunos que le hicieron tantas instancias, diciendo que ya estaba manso y arrepentido, que contra su voluntad lo mando sacar del cepo y vestirlo. El empezó à fingir estaba gustoso para mejor executar el mal intento que tenia, como lo hizo aquella tarde como à las cinco y media que aviendo ido al bordo del Patache, se quito los calzones y se arrojò al mar y apartado de dicho Patache como 6 ó 8 brazas se volvió à la gente que le miraba y le hizo señas que le fuessen à quitar la caveza, y esto hecho empezó à nadar contra mares y vientos mui recios à donde le demoraba la tierra (de la qual estabamos apartados mas de 10 leguas). Viro el Patache en demanda suia; pero oscurecio la noche, y no fue posible {verlo}.

La mañana siguiente su compañero quando lo echo [de] menos empezó à dar grandes muestras de sentimiento y hubiera executado lo mismo que el otro de echarse à la mar desesperadamente que se advirtio y lo pusieron otra vez en el cepo con que mudo de dictamen.

Está esta Ysla la punta que mira al Norte en 7 grados 47 [27?] minutos de latitud boreal y en 8 grados 45(?) minutos de longitud al leste del Cavo del Espiritu Santo y tendra de largo mas de 15 à 16 leguas. Junto à ella por la parte que mira al sur se contaron otras 14 Yslitas todas ellas peñascosas y que hacen estrechos en que no pueden dexar de ser muy rapidas las corrientes, y por esto [y] los baxos que las cercan [hacen] dificil {el} navegar entre ellas. En la grande reconocio desde el tope el piloto acompañado, que en la parte que mira al sueste hay dos ensenadas bastante{-mente} capaces.

[Visit to Sonsorol in 1712]

Desde estas Islas se puso la proa al sur hasta llegar à cinco grados 38 [28?] minutos de latitud paralelo de las Islitas de San Andres, à la qual altura llegamos el dia 17 de dicho mes de Febrero à medio dia y por ella navegamos hasta el dia 19 à las 3 de la tarde en medio de un gran cerrazon de nublados y lluvia se descubrio tierra y aviendonos acercado à ella por su barlovento, reconocieron los Pilotos ser las dichas Islas de San Andres. Como à las cinco de la tarde llegamos à pasar por distancia de ellas como una legua con poca diferencia, y porque ya era tarde para llegarnos à buscar puerto en ellas aquel dia, dimos un bordo al norueste hasta la media noche con intento de mantenernos a barlovento. De la media noche para al dia fuimos de otro bordo con la proa al sueste en demanda de dichas Islas; pero la mucha fuerza de corrientes, y el abatimiento que el navio tenia con el recio nordeste nos sotaventaron tanto, que aunque proseguimos con el dicho bordo hasta medio dia, no pudimos ver tales Islas, la qual causo en todos grave sentimiento por ver que no podiamos lograr noticias de los Padres y sus compañeros y mas aviendo obsservado que con aver llegado tan cerca de dicha[s] Isla[s] no vimos embarcacion ninguna, ni un fuego ni otra señal de que hubiese alli gente, siendo caso en que todas las otras partes luego que nos descubrian, salian embarcaciones, y hacian fuegos en varias partes. Estan estas Islas en 5 grados 18 [38?] minutos de latitud boreal y 7 grados y 5 minutos de longitud al leste del Cavo del Espiritu Santo. La maior parece que no alcanza à 3 leguas de vogo [=boxeo], y la menor tendra lo mas una legua de vogo, estan apartadas una de otra como un quarto de legua.

Viendose pues el Piloto maior imposibilitado de cojer dichas Islas, se puso en camino para el Cavo de Espiritu Santo el dia 20 de Febrero al medio dia, y aviendo navegado hasta el dia 27 de dicho mes como à las seis y media de la mañana se descubrio tierra la qual algunos juzgaron ser el Cavo del Espiritu Santo pero era la contra costa de la punta de Guiguan. Dimos un bordo la mar afuera hasta medio dia y aviendo virado despues acia tierra, llegamos como à las cinco de la tarde, dos leguas à sotavento de donde aviamos dado el bordo. Volvio el piloto à dar otro bordo y salio de una vez al mar para hacer diligencia de ganar barlovento y embocar por San Bernardino pero no fue posible: porque aunque andubimos siete dias haciendo todo lo que se pudo el dia 4 de Marzo como a las tres de la mañana nos hallamos barados en una Islita que esta como tres leguas mar [mas?] afuera de la punta de Guiguan, del qual fue causa el no estar dicha Isla puesta en las cartas y la mucha fuerza de corrientes que hay en aquellos parajes.

Alli estuvimos haciendo alguna aguada y cogiendo algunos cocos hasta el día 12 de dicho mes que salimos para pasar por el estrecho de San Juanico, por ser imposible respecto de los vientos que avia al embocar por San Bernardino.

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Translation.

Narrative of the return voyage from the Marianas of the patache Santo Domingo, that passed to reconnoiter the Islands of Panlog and St. Andrew.

On Saturday, 30 January 1712, at about 10:30 a.m., the patache **Santo Domingo** left the port of Merizo in the island of Guam, and having sailed 25 leagues westward, according to the estimate of the chief pilot and commander, Captain Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga, it headed south to reduce latitude. This heading was followed until noon Saturday, 6 February, when land was sighted ahead, and within a short time, as many as eight small islets. The patache got nearer to them and maintained itself overnight to the windward of them.

[Visit to Ulithi Atoll]

The following morning, after daybreak, as many as 28 islands were counted from the masthead, all of them very low land, and the largest not reaching two leagues in circumference, but even if low-lying, it is full of many groves of coconut trees.¹ As soon as the inhabitants of said islands saw the patache nearby (it would have been about 1/2 league from what appeared to be the largest island)² many came to it in their boats. They came near, and before coming alongside the patache, they stopped and lowered their sails. Having looked over the ship and the people in it who were making signs to them to come near and showing them various articles of clothing, three of said boats came along the windward side and they were followed by many others. They were told to come up on deck, but they answered by signs that if one of our people went down to their boats, they would come up to ours. One man from the patache went down then, and immediately 16 to 18 of them threw themselves into the sea and came up to the ship's quarterdeck. The captain and commander had all of them presented with a few things to eat and some iron nails that are what they most appreciate. Also they were given some wine in order that some of them would remain on board after taking it, but it did not have any effect except with an old man who had come. Even though some lads could have been made to stay by violent means, the commander did not wish to do that so as not to exasperate them.

1 Ed. note: Ulithi Atoll indeed has 27 islets with an area larger than 0.01 square mile.

2 Ed. note: This was Falalep, which is three times as big as any other islet of the atoll. The Spanish may have also collected the names of 9 or so islands at this time (see Cantova map of 1721 at the beginning of this chapter, or else they came from the Clain map of 1697); if so, Fr. Delgado has recorded their names thus: Falalep, Hosor [=Asor], Sagaley [Sogoloi, now Sorlen], Mocmoc [=Mogmog], Mantagaros [=Potangeras], Lamo [=Lam], Groaylen [=Sorenleng], Soon [=Song], Galaylay [=Pigelele], and Bataray [=Fassarai].

The next day, 10 February, while the ship was sailing near the islands on the southern tack, a canoe came out of one of them and managed to overtake us by 1 p.m. It then lowered its sail and came alongside, but the seven Indians in it asked that someone go down into their canoe, in order for them to come up into the ship as they were told. The same man as the day before went down, and with the rope thrown from aboard, he tied the canoe and then the Indians came aboard to exchange their clothes woven with grasses and ornamented with various colors and designs, and some belts decorated with coconut [shells] and small stones, as they had done on the previous day. The commander had the idea to seize one or two young men and to release the old man who had remained on board the day before. For this, he asked that the launch that was on the port side be transferred to the starboard side next to the canoe. Our man who was in it defended the mooring cable. At the same time, one of our people inconsiderately fired a shotgun which scared them so much that they all went to untie the rope. One of them gave our man a shove which made him fall into the sea where another Indian hit him with the edge of one of their oars that split his skull. When the sailors saw that their companion had been so badly wounded, they immediately grabbed the weapons and fired 6 to 8 shotguns, three shots of which had an effect; one of them was a boy of perhaps 12 years of age, as it appeared, the other two were adult Indian men. With the surprise created by the weapons (for them something very new) they remained stunned near the patache. When the commander noticed that they did not raise their mast nor raised their sail, he ordered the launch to be manned and to pursue said Indians. The latter, when they saw it sail off, those who were not wounded took courage, raised their sail and sped off. It was impossible to catch up with them.

[Description of the Carolinians]

These Indians have a good disposition, and in general they are tall and fat. Some have negro-type hair, others have it long and straight like Indians, and all tie it behind [the neck] with elegance. They let their beard grow very long and thick. The natives (unless they feign it) are a very happy lot, and when they first came to the ship, they made many requests for us to go ashore. These Islands are located at 10° latitude north and 14 degrees and 34 minutes of longitude east of Cape Espiritu Santo.¹

[Palau Islands]

After said mishap had occurred, the commander of the patache did not want to remain at said Islands, nor look for a port there, as he had originally intended. Thus heading south he sailed as far as 7°30' which is the parallel of the Island of Panlog, and at that latitude he sailed until 15 February when, at 7 a.m., land was seen ahead, high and very hilly. After seeing said land, he luffed the ship to bypass the island on the north

1 Ed. note: Very good estimate: the actual difference is exactly that, for the top of the atoll.

side, but having reached the [northern] point at noon (where the sun was observed) and recognizing that from the three islets or rocks that are at said point,¹ there begins a shoal, the chief pilot climbed to the mast-head, from where he noticed that sail shoal ran northward for more than one league and westward by more than 2 leagues. For this reason, we saw ourselves unable to sail past said shoal on account of the strong northerly that blew and was pushing us too much toward the land, and obliged us to turn quickly to follow the coast and to double it on the south side.

At this time we saw some 10 to 12 boats coming from the island ahead of us, but as they saw that we were going farther out to sea, some of them changed their mind and turned back. At about 4 p.m. one succeeded in overtaking us. One rope was thrown to them for them to grab and moor their boat. They took it and made a slip knot in tying it to a mast or seat, and they began by sign language to invite us to their island, but they did not want to climb aboard, disregarding the entreaties we made to them. They stayed put for awhile, looking carefully at the ship, until they got tired of keeping their boat moored and of the high seas around us; they untied and went towards their island. A short time later, another canoe arrived and when also given the rope with which to moor themselves, the Indians received it and made a slip knot like the others had done, although this particular canoe came alongside the patache with somewhat more trust. However, they did not want to come on board ship even though invited, and from below they threw some roots and belts adorned with small stones and coconut [shells]. Our men responded with some nails, a type of goods very precious to them. They were given some biscuit that they examined at length before eating, showing some distrust. At that moment, they let go of the rope and were already behind our poop when they saw that another canoe was making an all-out effort to reach us. When they got near to each other, they spoke with those coming to the patache, and changing their sail, they came back to the patache, leading the other canoe, and perhaps moved by the interest to see whether they could get a few more nails. From the last canoe, two Indians came up on deck, one about 26 to 28 [or 28 to 30?] years of age, robust and with good proportions, the other a lad of about 16 to 18 years of age, broken [or naked?] from head to foot, covered with slime(?) and ugly (as most of these islanders are).² They were given a few nails, one knife each, and candy, biscuit and wine, which they took. When they were about to jump overboard, each of them was grabbed by 6 of our men, which were indeed necessary, specially for the older one, to subdue their great strength. They were brought under the quarter-deck and tied up, the older one hands and feet, because there was no [other] way to subdue him. When the others who had remained in the canoes saw what was happening, they moved away from the patache and from behind the poop they were shouting loudly and they were beating their bodies against the canoes, to show the sorrow they had about having lost their two comrades. The latter shouted as

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- 1 Ed. note: The three islets off the northern tip of Bablethuap Island are, from south to north: Ngarekeklaun, Ngaregur, and Hmagel.
 - 2 Ed. note: It seems as if this Palauan suffered from an unusual skin disease.

loudly, stunning all in the patache and making signs that they were expecting to have their head cut off. There was no way to dissuade them even if they were told that we do not cut heads nor eat human flesh as it appears that they themselves do. Later on, the better to secure them, they were placed in irons. All night long, they did not sleep, on account of the great fear they had of us taking their life.

The patache tacked off the center of the island during the night and, in the morning, got closer to shore in order to coast along it. At about 7 a.m., a sailor coming from the helm, with little wisdom, approached the older Indian and made signs as if to cut off his head. The latter became so mad that, when a boy came walking by with two bolos or machetes to split some coconuts, he judged that the hour of his sacrifice had come; so, he gave him a push and took away the two knives. He placed one under his buttocks and started to brandish the other one against everyone. One man approached him to try and take the knives away from him, but he received a hard blow on one leg. Later, he began to cut his shackles off; therefore, it became necessary to hit him on the arms with a peg, or pole,¹ to make him let go.

At this time we were following the coast of this island, and in order to see if he said anything specific about it, they took the younger Indian out of his shackles; he appeared very confused and fearful after seeing what had happened to his companion. He then said in sign language that in some islets that we were discovering next to the big one, they ate human flesh and were at war with those of his island, and that the people of the other islets more to the south but quite close to the big island were good people and friends of theirs.² After all this had passed, the Indian still in irons began to cry and make signs to be released. The commander did not wish to, but there were some men who made so many requests, saying that he was already tame and repentant, that, much against his will, he had him released, and given some clothes. The Indian began to fake being pleased, the better to execute the bad design that he had, as he did that afternoon when, at about 5:30 p.m., he went to the rail of the patache, removed his pants and dove off. Having moved away by 6 to 8 fathoms from the patache, he turned around to face the people looking at him and invited them by signs to come over and cut his head off [if they could]. This done, he began to swim against high seas and very strong winds to-

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- 1 Ed. note: Two different things from shipboard equipment, both wooden. The Spanish words used, *espeque*, i.e. "espiche", and *garrote*, suggest that tools, one used in caulking and the other for tightening tourniquets when strapping. A more modern sailing ship crew would have used either a belaying pin, or a spoke from a windlass for the same purpose.
 - 2 Ed. note: It seems that, years before Captain Wilson became shipwrecked at Palau in 1783, the people of the east coast of Babelthuap were already at war with those of Koror, but we learn here that they were friendly with those further south (Peliliu and Angaur). The last two islands are indeed detached, but still part of the group, and not to be confused with the two Sonsorol Islands.

wards the land (from which we were then separated by more than 10 leagues). The patache turned about to look for him, but night fell and it was not possible to see him.

The following morning, his companion, when he missed him, began to give great signs of sorrow and he would have thrown himself into the sea desperately as the other had done, but he was warned and placed once more in irons to make him change his mind.¹

The northern point of this Island [i.e. the northern tip of Babelthuap] is in 7°47' [27'?] lat. N and in 8°45' longitude east of Cape Espiritu Santo, and would have a length of from 15 to 16 leagues.² Next to it on the south side were counted another 14 islets, all of them rocky and separated by straits in which the currents must be very fast; for this reason, and the fact that shoals make it difficult to sail among them. The pilot's mate from the mast-head reported that toward the SW there were two embayments, fairly large ones.³

[Visit to Sonsorol in 1712]

From these islands, the heading was set southward until arriving at 5°38' [28?] lat., the parallel of the small Islands of St. Andrew, at whose latitude we arrived on the 17th of said month of February at noon. We then sailed toward them until the 19th when, at 3 p.m., in the middle of a heavy cloud cover and rain, land appeared. We approached it on its windward side. The pilots recognized that they were indeed said Islands of St. Andrew. At about 5 p.m. we came within about one league from them, or close to that. Because it was already late to look for a port in them that day, we tacked to NW until midnight with the intention of keeping to windward. From midnight until daybreak, we went the other way heading SE toward said Islands, but the currents were so strong and the drifting of the ship with the brisk northeasterly kept us so much to leeward that, even though we pursued on that course until noon, we could not see the islands. Everyone was deeply affected by this turn of events, given that we could not get any news from the Fathers and their companions. Furthermore, having observed that, even though we came so close to the island, we did not see any boat, nor a fire, nor any sign of people living there. Normally, in all the other places which we later visited, as soon as we were spotted, boats would come out and fires made at various places. The position of these islands is 5°18' [38?] lat. N and 7°05' longitude east of Cape Espiritu Santo. The bigger island is at most 3 leagues in circumference, while the smaller one is at most 1 league in circumference. They are about 1/4 league apart.

When the chief pilot saw himself prevented from reaching said Islands, he set out for Cape Espiritu Santo, at noon on 20 February. After sailing until the 27th, at about 6:30

1 Ed. note: Fr. Delgado, in his *Historia general*, says that two Indians were brought as far as Cavite, and that their names were Peyegu and Tagonan. One was the old man from Ulithi (Tagonan?), and the other the young man from Palau (Peyegu?).

2 Ed. note: The length of Babelthuap is about 30 miles, not 45.

3 Ed. note: He may have spotted Koror Harbor and the bay fronting Urukthapel, as I doubt that he could have seen Malakal Harbor on the west side.

a.m., land was sighted. Some men thought it was Cape Espiritu Santo, but it was the coast opposite the point of Guiguan [i.e. Guivan]. We tacked seaward until noon, and having turned back toward the land, we arrived at about 5 p.m. only 2 leagues to windward of where we had been previously when we turned about. The pilot turned again on another tack and went completely out to sea to make an effort to get to windward in order to make it to the Strait of San Bernardino, but it was not possible. Even though we tried repeatedly for seven days, on 4 March at about 3 a.m., we found ourselves aground on an islet that is about 3 leagues off Guivan Point, the reason being that this island did not appear on the maps of this area, and the great strength of the currents in that neighborhood.¹

There we remained, to take on wood and water and to collect a few coconuts, until the 12th of said month when we went off and sailed through the Strait of San Juanico, because it was not possible to make it into through the Strait of San Bernardino on account of the winds.

...

C2. The logbook of Chief Pilot Bernardo de Eguí

Original text in Spanish.

Diario que yo Don Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga, Piloto mayor del Pattache nombrado Santo Domingo de Guzman en el nombre del Glorioso Patriarcha San Joseph hago de la salida de esta[s] Islas Philippinas para las Marianas, Yendo con el Real zituado de su magestad, para ellas y de torna viaje, a reconocer las Islas de Panlox y San Andres, con orden para ello del señor conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, cavallero del orden de Santiago, Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas y adelantado del Reyno de Itaa, por cuiá disposicion sali con dicho cargo.

Y se entiende dicho Diario en la forma siguiente.

V[ie]rnes] 8 de Jullio [1711]

A las cinco de la tarde nos lebamos del Pozo con el viento leste bonancible, governando al Ueste norueste. Commo cossa de legua y media de aqui puse en derrota a la boca chica de Mariveles, governando al Uest quarta del sudueste, y como a las onze de la noche me halle desembocado por la banda del sur de la Monja al Uest sudueste; de aqui governe al Ueste quarta al sudueste, a enmarmos hasta el amanecer.

...

[The logbook of the voyage to Guam is omitted]

1 Ed. note: They ran aground on Suluan Island, says Fr. Murillo Velarde and Fr. Delgado.

...

S[abado] 6 [Febrero 1712]

Amenecemos con el viento por el lesueste bonansa, con el Gobierno al sur y a sota-viento, por causa que el viento no dava mas lugar.—

Hoserve el sol en diez grados onse minutos de latitud. Andube de distancia para mi derrota, treinta y nueve minutos, por el arco de diez y ocho grados veinte y cinco minutos entre el sur y Ueste, con dicho viento de Arriva; diferencia en latitud, treinta y siete minutos, y en longitud, trese minutos. Y vengo á quedar en catorse de longitud, y por mi punto me hallava bordeando con una Isla de mi carta, quando gritaron del tope “tierra” que a la verdad jusgue era esta. Nos fuimos asercando y se reconocieron hasta ocho Islitas. De Abajo se beya una Islita que nos demoraba al sur sudueste como cosa de cinco leguas, y por tener poco dia cambie de caveza al norte y fuy de esta buelta hasta las diez de la noche, con el viento lesnordeste galerno, y a estas oras cambie la caveza al sueste al sur, y le doy este resguardo por lo que conoçido sobre estas Isletas corren las aguas al Ueste.—

D[omingo] 7 [At Ulithi Atoll]

Amanecemos con el viento leste bonancible. Y viene a recalar por la mañana al medio de las Isletas, y me atraque a una de ellas como media legua. E[c]hemos el escandal[l]o y no hallamos fondo. De aqui se reconosieron hasta veinte y ocho Isletas y por la frente que nos hazercamos estan tendidas de punta lesueste y Uesnorueste en distancia de siete leguas, aunque en el medio hazen saco para dentro; ellas son muy razas y pobladas de Cocales y arboleda. Y a mi sentir, la que mas distancia tendra una legua corta, y de boxeo como dos leguas y media. Ymbie la lancha [a] tierra, prebenida de gente y armas, a una Isletilla que me parecio ser la mas comoda para surgir el navio, que biesen si [h]al-laban surgidero para que el Navio pudiese llegar a dar fondo; y se bolvieron de medio camino con disculpa que avia mareta y se {h}anegaban, por ser la lancha tan ruinissima. Se dexo de lograr el buscar surgidero; yo no me dispuse a buscarlo con el navio, por no ser embar[ca]cion al proposito para estas diligencias; para lo qual hize la diligencia que refiero arriva, aun que no sirvio de nada.

A este tiempo vinieron unas seis Banquillas de Indios barbones, y habiendo[se a]sercado al Navio, no se querian atracar á vordo, por Instancias que les habiamos, nos dieron a entender, que uno de los nuestros fuese a sus Banquillas, quando inmediatamente uno de los nuestros se arrojó al agua y fue a sus Banquillas, quando ellos se arrojaron al agua los mas y fueron suviendo hasta dies y ocho o veinte á Bordo. Los agasajamos con dulce y otras cosillas. Y cambalachearon unos zefidores texidos de abaca y labrados medianamente, como tambien cambalacheaban unos sinchos compuestos de cuentecillas blancas de conchillas de la playa y otras quentecillas de concha de turtuga y de coco. Ella es gente muy tratable y dozil al pareser; no les vimos cosa de que se alimentasen; [son] desnudos, esep]to tapadas sus partes, muy solisitos a qualquiera cossa de fierro.

Y al tiempo que se fueron muy contentos por el agasajo que hallaron en nosotros, de ningun modo se queria quedar alguno, la mayor causa porque no nos entendiamos si no era por señas. Me dispuse a dejar uno a bordo que estava debajo de[] Alcazar; bevio un traguito, y quando los demas se embarcaron, este no los vido. Las Banquillas sestubieron manteniendo serca de abordo, gritando al que teniamos abordo, y visto que no parecia, se fueron para tierra; y al tiempo que se fueron nos abonanso el viento y cambie la caveza al norueste quarta al nordeste y al nornordeste hasta las onze de la noche que volvi a virar al sur con el viento lesueste muy bonanza. —

L[unes] 8 de Febrero

Amanesimos con el viento lesueste muy bonanza sobre la Isletilla de mas al norte. A medio dia hoserve el sol, lesueste con esta Isleta cassi en dies grados y doce minutos de latitud, quando vimos una Banquilla que venia a barlobento a nosotros con la confianza que si fueros gente conosida, y sin hazer muchos reparos se atraco á Bordo a cambalachear unos señidores texidos de abaca medianamente labrados. Quisimos pasar nuestra lancha a la banda de estribor a donde estava la banquilla, y quando ellos vieron la lancha, se abisaron; quisieron desamarrarse y uno de los nuestros que estava en la Banquilla les impidio. Ellos rezelaron que los querian coger, arrojaron al nuestro al agua y le dieron dos o tres palos en la caveza, aunque no fue cosa de cuidado; de a bordo se les disparo un pedrero que no hizo mella alguna.

Y ellos con los canaletes se desatracaron de a bordo, quando nuestra lancha ynmediatamente salio de a bordo esquifada, para cogerla. Por no ser [pr]en[di]dos, con un soplo de viento que ubo, hizo su velita la banquilla y dexo a nuestra lancha como a una posma. Son estas Banquillas al modo de las de Mariana[s], con poca diferençia. De adonde salio esta Banquilla tienen otra demarcación las Isletas; corren nornordeste susudueste, en distançia de nueve leguas, aunque no estan en cordillera: unas estan mas adentro y otras mas afuera. Estan en altura de nueve grados y treinta y dos minutos hasta dies grados y dies minutos, y de longitud de catorze grados hasta treze grados y quinze minutos. Lo mas de este dia [h]emos estado en calma; anochesimos con la caveza al nornordeste y al nordeste, casi calma. [Con] el poco viento sueste de esta buelta estuvimos hasta las dos de la mañana, que entro un poco de viento por el lesnordeste, que cambiamos la caveza al sueste y al sueste quarta leste.

M[artes] 9

Amanesimos con el viento lesnordeste bonansible, unas cinco leguas al norueste de las Isletillas que anochezimos, y por lo que e visto que hemos descaído para el norueste; y aunque e navegado de las dos de la mañana al dia al sueste y al sueste quarta leste, estoy que abra hecho el navio el camino del sur para el sudueste. Hoserve el sol en dicho dia: dies grados y dies minutos de latitud. Y me hallo de la Isleta de mas al norte como quatro leguas al sur sudueste, y del parage de la hoservación del dia sabado seis [de] este mes hallo como onze leguas para el ueste. Y ajustada mi cuenta desde el dia sabado, me hallo en treze grados y diez y seis minutos de longitud. Y al poner del sol ape-

nas se beyan las Isletas Ultimas que estan al sursudueste, y despues que anochesio cambie la caveza al norueste hasta media noche, que bolbi á cambiar la caveza al sursueste con el viento lesnordeste galernito.

M[iercoles] 10

Amanesimos con el viento lesnordeste bonansible, caveza al sueste quarta al sur. No bimos mas las Isletas. Hozerve el sol en nueve grados y dies y seis minutos de latitud. Andube de distancia cinquenta y ocho minutos por el arco de veinte y un grado y veinte y seis minutos entre el sur y ueste, con el viento lesnordeste galerno, y emos governado esta singladura al sur surueste[,] sueste quarta al sur y al sueste. Por lo mucho que se a conosido que descae el Navio, diferencie en la latitud cinquenta y quatro minutos, y en longitud veinte y un minutos; y ajustada mi quenta quedo en dose grados cinquenta y cinco minutos de longitud, y boy baxando altura hasta siete grados y treinta minutos que me {h}ordena la Instrucción. Y despues que anochesio cambie la caveza al norte con el trinquete amurado y la gavia sobre el foco hasta media noche que cambie la caveza a' sursueste, que la doy este resguardo por lo mucho que el navio decae; y las aguas corren para el ueste; y con el dia largue todo el paño con el viento por el nordeste. Esta mañana marqué el sol: apartado de leste para el sueste, dies grados y treinta minutos; tenia de amplitud ortiba catorze grados y treinta y seis minutos; beo que n[uestra] d[iferencia] [es]: quatro grados y seis minutos.—

J[ueves] 11

Amanesimos con el viento por el nordeste algo fresquito. Hoserve el sol en ocho grados y treinta y cinco minutos de latitud; andube de distancia quarenta y un minutos, camino del sur; por mi hoservación diferencie en latitud quarenta y un minutos, y Vengo a quedar en la misma longitud de ayer, dose grados cinquenta y cinco minutos. Y despues de anochezido cambie la caveza al norueste quarta norueste [sic], y al norueste, porque el viento no daba mas lugar, hasta media noche que cambie la caveza al sueste, para ser nuestro camino del sur con el viento nordeste algo fresco.—

V[ienes] 12

Amanecimos con el viento nornordeste algo fresco, y con el dia mareamos nuestro paño, con la proa al sursurueste. Y para llegar al paralelo de siete grados y treinta minutos me faltan sesenta y cinco minutos, por la hoservación de ayer, y por la corredera tengo a[n]dados a las dies del dia sesenta y ocho minutos, a mi sentir, camino del sur. A estas oras puse en derrota al ueste, las g[u]ñadas para el sudueste, en el nombre del glorioso San Ignacio de Loyola, en demanda de la Isla de Panlox.

Hoserve el sol en siete grados y veinte y tres minutos de latitud; aqui mande governar al ueste, las guñadas por yqual para aumentar los siete minutos con el viento nornordeste y nordeste fresco, e andado de distancia, quando puse a esta derrota, setenta y dos minutos camino del sur; e diferenciado en altura setenta y dos minutos; bengo a quedar en dose grados cinquenta y cinco minutos de longitud. Y despues que anoche-

sio cambie la caveza al nornorueste, con el trinquete amurado y la gavia sobre el foco, con el viento nordeste fresco, hasta media noche, que cambie la caveza al sueste, con dicho viento y dicho aparejo, hasta el dia. Esta noche a balanseado el navio muy lindamente, por el marullo que se [havia] armado del nordeste y coxernos atrabesados.

S[abado] 13

Amanecemos con el viento nordeste fresco; con el dia mareamos nuestro paño, y con todo el paño largo valanzea estupendamente. Hoserve el sol en siete grados y quarenta y tres minutos de latitud; e andado de distancia noventa minutos por el arco de setenta y siete grados y dies minutos entre el ueste [y] norueste, con dicho viento nordeste fresco; diferencie en latitud veinte minutos—y por esta diferencia es ebidente corren las aguas al norueste—y de longitud ochenta y ocho minutos; y ajustada mi cuenta quedo en onze grados y veinte y siete minutos de longitud. Y quedo gobernando al ueste, las guiñadas para el sudueste, y despues de la salve cambie la caveza al nornorueste, con los dos papaygos y la mesana, por ocasion del grande marullo y no podernos mantener con el trinquete y la gavia sobre el foco, por lo que valanzea el navio. A media noche cambie la caveza al sueste, con dicho aparejo, y al romper del dia mareamos el paño y puse en derrota al ueste, las guiñadas por igual, con dicho viento nor{u}este fresco.—

D[omingo] 14

Amanesimos con el viento nordeste fresco, y mareado nuestro paño y puesto en la derrota que refiero arriva, hoserve el sol en siete grados quarenta y siete minutos. E andado de distancia a nuestra derrota noventa minutos por el arco de ochenta y siete grados y veinte y siete minutos, entre el ueste y norueste, con el dicho viento; diferencie en latitud quatro minutos—y por la navegacion que emos echo estaba yo á ver desm[in]yudo de la altura de ayer, y beo al contrario, de donde infiero que las aguas continuan al noroeste—y en longitud noventa minutos: y ajustada mi cuenta, he quedado en nueve grados y cinquenta y siete minutos de longitud. Y quedo gobernando al ueste, las guiñadas para el sudueste; despues de la salve cambie la caveza al nornorueste, con los dos papaygos y la mesana, con bastante marullo; á media noche cambie la caveza al sueste quarta leste.—

L[unes] 15 [Arrival at Palau]

*Y al romper del dia mare[aj]mos nuestro paño, puestos en derrota al ueste, las guiñadas para el sudueste, el tiempo serrado. Y como a las ocho de la mañana gritaron del tope tierra; aclaro un poco, y se ha visto de abajo dicha tierra o **Isla de Panlox** que nos demoraba por la proa. Estaremos de ella como quatro leguas y media. Haze las señas que siguen como se be, a or[l]lamientos hasta el nornorueste. Y llegamos a la caveza del norte a medio dia, que me demoraba al ueste quarta al sudueste. La letra **B** es la caveza del norte; corre con la punta de la letra **A** sursueste nornorueste, en distancia de dies y media leguas, aunque en esta distancia ase saco para dentro. De la letra **B**, caveza del norte, salen tres Islotitos hasta la letra **C**, en distancia de tres quartos de legua. Al no-*

rueste, una legua mas adentro de la letra B, punta del norueste, empieza una restinga de piedras apartada de la costa como un cuarto de legua, y ba a rematar como legua y una quarta al nordeste de la punta del norueste. Al nordeste de esta punta del norueste, en distancia de tres leguas, se haya un baxo que [se lev]ntaba ygual, casi, con el agua sobre esta caveza del norte. **Hoserve el sol en siete grados y quarenta y siete minutos de latitud**; andube en distancia setenta y dos minutos, y por mi hoservacion hize camino del ueste; y ajustada mi quenta vengo a quedar en **ocho grados y quarenta y quatro minutos de longitud**.

Intente pasar por esta caveza del norte para boxear la Isla, pero el viento no dio lugar a rebasarla, por havernos abonansado el viento, y fuera de esto vide yo mismo desde el tope al uesnorueste, norueste y nornorueste un pedazo de mar berde a modo de un placer de arena con m[ful]chas rebentasones esparsidas en distancia de tres leguas a la mar. Yo estava como dos media[na]s leguas al este de la caveza del norueste, y biendo los inconvenientes para nuestro intento, no me esp[ul]se a la contingencia de berme empeñado sobre algun baxo de los que teniamos a la vista [por se]r el Barco malisimo bolinero.

Nos abonanso el viento nordeste; cambie la caveza como a las cinco y media de la tarde a lesueste; el tiempo serrado, y el cariz de bentar. Y bide algunas Banquillas que salieron de tierra; por la mucha mareta que avia arrivaron algunas y llegaron a bordo tres, y de ningun modo querian subir arriva, siempre sobresaltados. De la ultima que vino subieron arriva dos con la codisia del fierro que los enseñaban, jugando no lograr otra ocasion de que viniesen [las] Banquillas a bordo. Estos dos Indios que subieron arriva, que de otro modo no era posible que quedasen, los quales los metimos [en] el cepo por berlos emperrados. Esta es una gente de natural muy agrieste y poco tratables, pues siempre los vimos muy desconfiados en lo que vimos en ellos; pues de sus Banquillas cambalacheaban unas rayses que llamaban **sunay** y unos zinchos de cuentesillas compuestos como los de la[s] Islas pequenas, a trueque de qualquier fierro viejo, platos y [c]osill[a]s, y por agasajo que les hasiamos de darles dulces y vino, siempre con la desconfianza de no querer subir arriva. Ellos andan en queros, eseto sus partes tapadas con unas [h]ojas, limpio[s] de barba, muy melenudos; unos tienen la melena amulatados y otros de lindo cavello. Y de esta vuelta de lesueste fuimos hasta que rindio el cuarto grande, que cambie la caveza para tierra al nornorueste, con el viento norueste [nordeste?] fresco, y caris de ventar. Quando amanesio, nos hallamos como quatro leguas afuera.—

M[artes] 16

Amanesimos con el viento lesnor[d]jeste, quatro leguas al este del medio de la Isla, con muy mal caris de bentar y bastante marullo. Me atra[qu]e a ella, distante de media legua; y al medio de la Isla haze ensenada, y al pareser no tiene arresife la costa en este parage. Y temiendo del mal cariz, [l]a fui costeando hasta la punta de [leste?]; de esta punta corre otro pedaso de costa sursudueste y nornordeste quarta de norueste sur [?], distancia de tres media[na]s leguas, y haze estas señas: Este pedaso de costa sigue a la

de la vuelta; la letra D [sic] corresponde a la letra A [sic]. La punta del sur por la parte de este es la letra E; tiene arresife, y al pareser a modo de ensenada—que por el mucho viento y mar no nos atracamos para tierra. De este remate de la punta del sur, que es la letra E, corre la frente del sur normordeste susudueste, distancia de ocho leguas, que al pareser era toda una tierra.

Y quando nos pusimos al sur de esta frente, vide que hazia dos diviciones angostas, y por adentro algunas Isletillas, y haze la frente esta figura: El numero uno es la punta del sur por la parte de leste: corresponde a la letra E de la figura de la vuelta. El numero dos corresponde al numero tres, el numero quatro corresponde al cinco, que haze la frente del sur de dicha Isla. Los nueve Islotillos que estan en las dos linias de abaxo desde numero siete á quinze, punta del sur por la parte del ueste, Unos al uesnoroeste, y ban siguiendo hasta el sur en distancia de tres media[na]s leguas. Los dos numeros [...] son aberturas que haze esta frente del sur.—

No hoserve el sol, por estar el cielo toldado; estara esta caveza del sur en seis grados y quarenta y quatro minutos de altura. Le he dado a esta singladura de distancia cinquenta y seis minutos, y de longitud doze minutos. Y sigo la navegacion al sursueste, por desvariarme [=desviarme] de estos Islotes que [estoy] refiriendo agora. Y como a las cinco de la tarde se nos salto a la mar un Indio de los que cogimos ayer, estariamos de tierra como siete leguas; el navio no quiso tomar por delante, viramos en redondo, y en este medio lo perdimos de vista. Navegue toda la noche hasta rendir el quarto grande, con bastante viento que me obligo a rizar las gaviyas; y a las dos ampolletas del quarto del alba cambie a la caveza al nornoroeste y al noroeste, con dicho viento nordeste fresca[ch]on, marullo, hasta que amanesio.

M[iercoles] 17

Amanecio el viento nordeste fresco, con la proa al sur sueste; no hoserve el sol, por estar el cielo toldado. Andube de distancia para mi derrota, cinquenta y seis minutos, a mi sentir, por el angulo de cinquenta y seis grados y quinze minutos entre el sur y el este, con dicho viento fresco, con una mar atrabazada del nordeste que a trabaxado el navio a balanzas estupendamente. Y desde las quatro de la tarde hasta la oraçion nos dieron tres turbonadas de razonable viento y agua muchisima por el nordeste; a estas oras cambie la caveza a lesu[d]este sobre los dos Papaygos, por hallarse el navio mas escorado. Y como a las seis ampolletas del quarto grande nos dio una turbonada por el lesnordeste de muchisimo viento y aguas que nos obligo [a] cargar la mayor y quedar con el trinquete amurado, y por no hazer mucha navegacion para desminuir altura, por no aver oserbado estos dos dias ni haver estrellas y no pasar de nuestra altura, cinco grados y treinta minutos que hordena la Instruccion, cambie la caveza al nornoroeste y al noroeste, y me mantube de esta buelta, con muchisimo viento, con el trinquete amurado, hasta que amanecio, y proseguí hasta medio dia que hoserve.—

J[ueves] 18

Hoserve el sol en cinco grados y treinta minutos de latitud.

...

Translation.

Logbook that I, Don Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga, Chief Pilot of the Patache named Santo Domingo de Guzman, in the name of the Glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, make from our departure from these Philippine Islands bound for the Marianas, taking the royal subsidy of His Majesty overthere and, on the return voyage, to reconnoiter the Islands of Panlox and St. Andrew, in accordance with the order received from His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga, Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, Knight of the Order of St. James, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and frontier governor of the Kingdom of Itaa, by whose disposition I set out in said capacity.¹

Said Logbook reads as follows:

Fri. 8 July [1711]

At 5 p.m. we came out of the Basin [i.e. Cavite] heading WNW, with a moderate easterly wind. At about 1-1/2 leagues from here, I changed course toward the smaller strait of Mariveles, heading W 1/4 SW, and at about 11 p.m., I found myself out of the strait on the south side of Monja Island, WSW of it. From here, I headed W 1/4 SW and we went off to the high sea until daybreak.

...

[The part about the voyage to Guam and departure from Guam is omitted]

...

Sat. 6 [Feb. 1712]

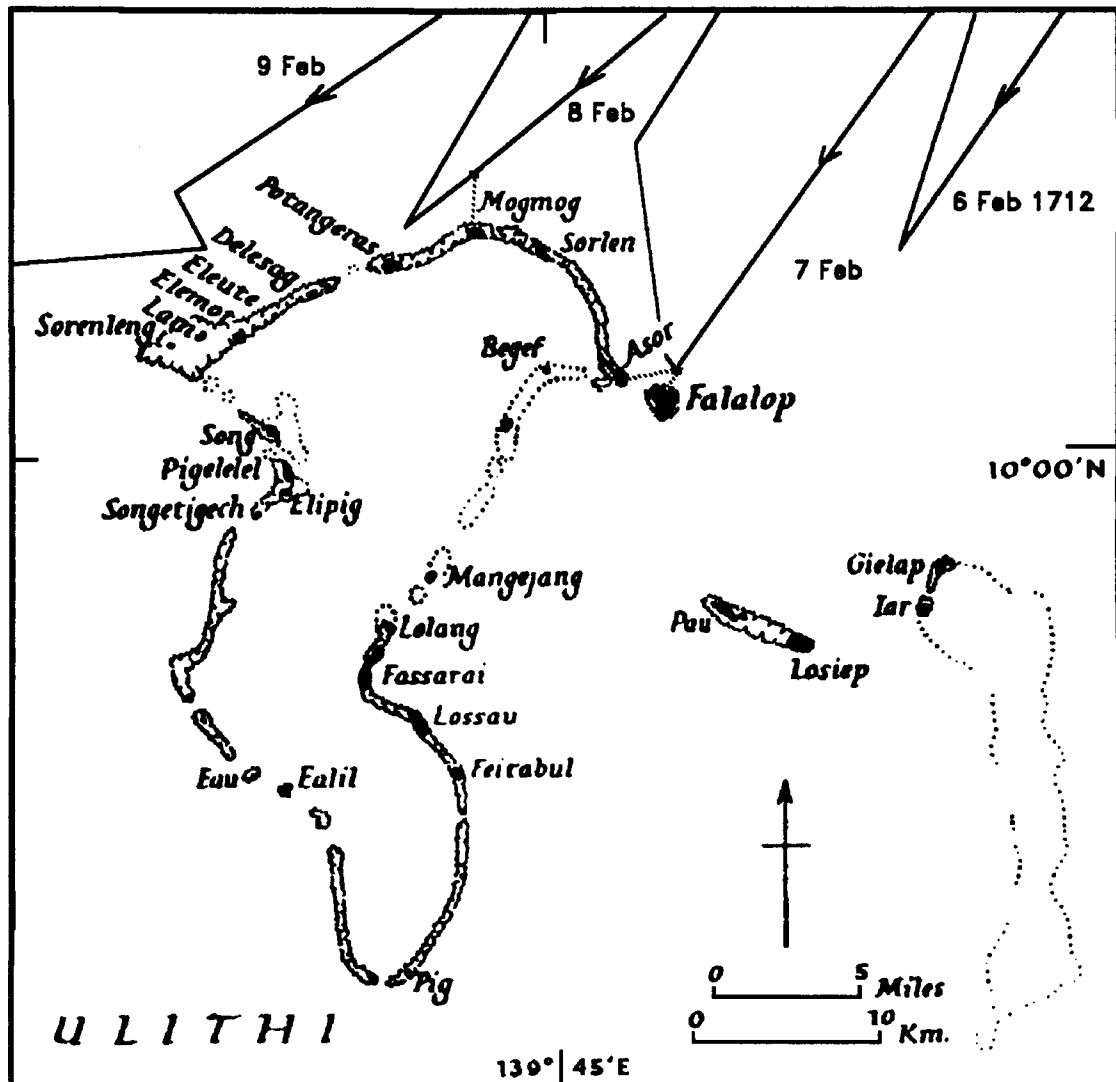
The day began with a moderate wind from ESE, and trying to make headway southward, that is, to leeward, but the wind did not help much.—

I observed the sun in 10°11' lat. [N]. I covered a distance along my course of 39', along an angle of 18°20' W from S, with the above-mentioned wind. And I end up in 14° of longitude, and my position was near an island on the chart, when they shouted from the mast-head "land ho!" and in truth I judged it to be the island in question. As we got nearer we recognized up to 8 islets. From the deck we could see one islet to SSW about 5 leagues away. Since there was not much daylight left, I veered northward and kept that course until 10 p.m., the wind blowing from the ENE, and at that time I tacked back to SW by S, and I give the following warning, that it was discovered that the current runs westward near these islets.

Sun. 7 [At Ulithi Atoll]

By daybreak we had a moderate easterly wind. And by morning I approached the middle of the islets, and I went close to one of them, about half a league from it. We sounded but found no bottom. From this point up to 28 islets were counted and on the side that was near to us, they were lined up for 7 leagues along a ESE-WNW line,

¹ Ed. note: I was unable to find a reference to this kingdom of Itaa. Perhaps Egui was referring to Ituy, a province of the Philippines, that was not fully conquered. Perhaps it is a misprint for Siao.



although they form a pocket on the inside; they are very low-lying and support thick groves of coconut and other trees. In my opinion, the one that has the most distance [rather length] would be slightly less than 1 league, and in circumference about 2-1/2 leagues. I sent the launch ashore, supplied with men and weapons, to an islet which seemed to me to have the most suitable anchoring place for the ship, in order for them to find out if there was an anchorage for the ship to come to an anchor. However, they went only half-way and turned back, with the excuse that the sea was becoming choppy and too much water was coming into the launch, on account of its very rotten condition. Thus we did not succeed in finding an anchorage. As for me, I was not prepared to seek one with the ship, because it is not a suitable boat for this kind of effort. That is why I had done the above-mentioned effort, though it came to nought.

At this time came about 6 canoes with bearded Indians, and having come near the ship, they did not wish to come alongside, in spite of the invitations that we made to

them. They made us understand that one of us should go to their canoes. As soon as one of our men dove into the water and went to their canoes, most of them immediately threw themselves in and up to 18, or 20, in all came on deck. We made them welcome with sweets and other small things. And they bartered a few belts, woven with abaca and not specially well made. They also traded some girdles made with small white shells from the beach and others made with small pieces of turtle shell and coconut shell. These people are easy to deal with and apparently peaceful. We did not see anything that they use as food. They are naked, except for their private parts, and very fond of anything made of iron.

And when they went away very contented, on account of the good reception they received from us, none of them wanted to remain, most probably because we could not communicate, except by sign language. I resolved to keep one who was below the quarterdeck; he drank a little [wine], and when the others went off, this man did not see them.¹ The canoes then stayed alongside, shouting to the man we had on board, but when he did not appear, they went home. And at the time that they went away, the wind grew stronger and I changed course to NW 1/4 NE [rather N], and to NNE until 11 p.m., when I tacked back to S with a ESE wind, very fresh.

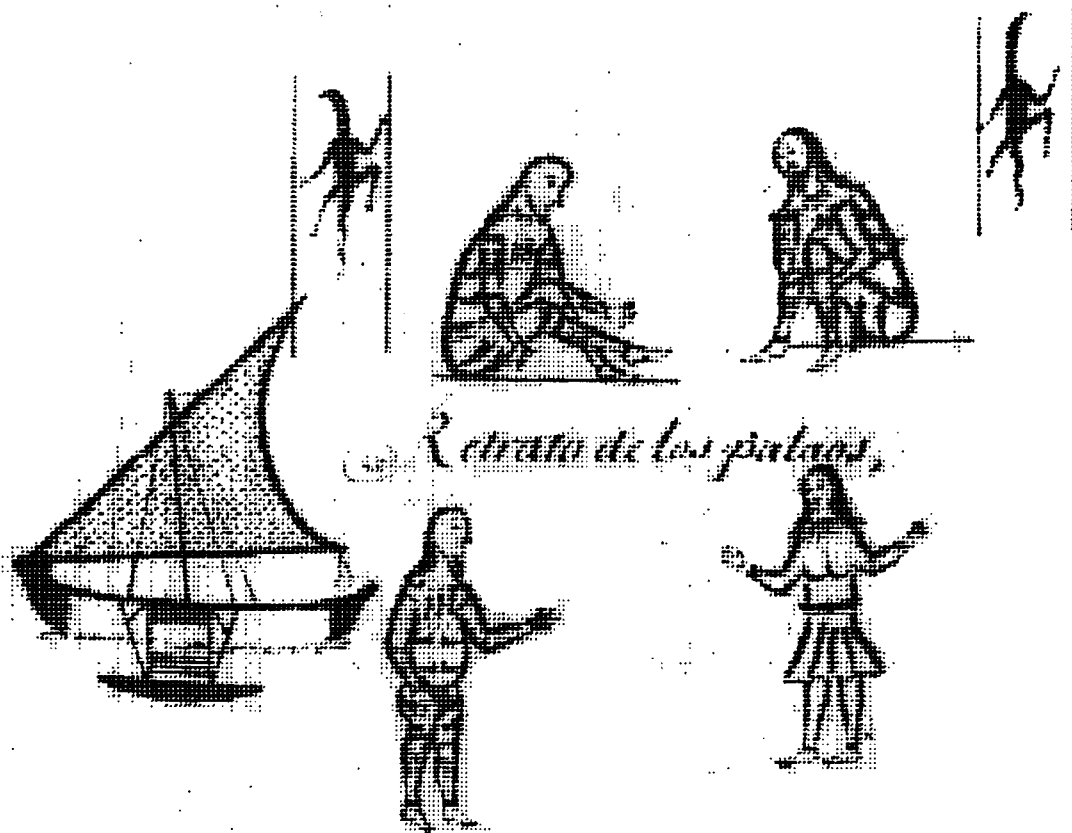
Mon. 8 February.

At daybreak the wind was ESE, very fresh, and we were upon the northernmost islet. At noon, I observed the sun, when this islet was ESE, and it was almost 10°12', when we saw one canoe that was coming toward us on the lee side, so steadily that it seemed as if they knew us, and without any hesitation, it came alongside to barter a few belts woven with abaca indifferently crafted. We wanted to have our launch go over to the starboard side where the canoe was; when they saw the launch, they shouted a warning and wanted to untie the canoe, but one of our men who was aboard it prevented them from doing so. They became suspicious that we wanted to make them prisoners, and threw our man overboard and gave him two or three blows upon the head, although they did him no serious harm. From on board, a mortar was fired at them, which did no harm whatever.

They immediately pulled away from the ship with their paddles, when they saw that our launch was manned and about to capture their canoe. In order to escape capture, as the wind was just then gusting, the canoe raised its small sail and left our launch behind like a drone. These canoes are shaped like those of the Marianas, with little difference. From where this canoe came from the islets have another trend; they run along a NNE—SSW line, over 9 leagues, although they are not in a continuous chain; some are further in and some further out. Their latitudes are from 9°32' to 9°10' and their longitudes from 14° to 13°15' [E of Cape Espiritu Santo]. For most of today, we were becalmed; by nightfall, we were heading NNE and NE, almost becalmed.

1 Ed. note: This old man was most likely from Falalep and his name possibly Tagonan (see footnote on p. 489).

del lado q mira para el Sueste y no Espolida

Sketches of the inhabitants of Palau and their canoes. *The artist was Pilot José Somera, who first made these drawings in 1710. (Part of AGI MP Fil. 17-1).*

Demonstracion de las tierras que Existo



Esta punta al Suruest quarto a ouest a 6 Leguas de distancia.

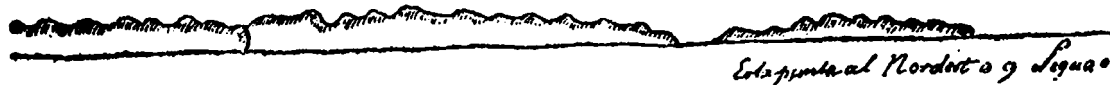
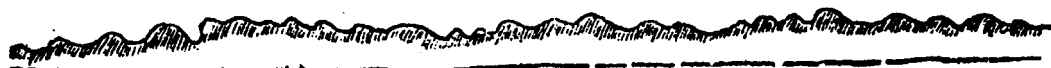
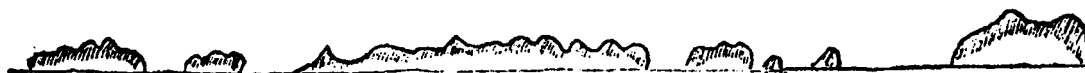
de panlog Isla Mayor de los palaos,



del Lado que mira para el Sueste y no Expodido



prosegir mas por ser los Vientos Contrarios,



Esta punta al Nordost a 9 Leguas

Profile of the east coast of Palau, by Bernardo de Eguí, 1712.

Demonstracion de las tierras que [h]e visto de Panlog, isla mayor de los Palaos, del lado que mira al sueste y no [h]e podido proseguir mas por ser los vientos contrarios.

“View of the lands that I have seen of Panlog, the largest island in the Palaos, and its coast that faces southeast, and I have not been able to do more on account of contrary winds.” The top left note says: “This point bore SW1/4W 6 leagues away.” The bottom right note says: “This point bore NE 9 leagues away.”

Tue. 9

At daybreak, the wind being ENE, moderate, we were about 5 leagues to the NW of the islets of the previous nightfall and, by my estimation, we have lost ground toward the NW, and although I have sailed from 2 a.m. until daybreak in the SW [SE?] direction and SE 1/4 E, I conclude that the ship has been drifting southward, to SW. I observed the sun on said day in $10^{\circ}10'$ lat., and I find myself SSW about 4 leagues from the northernmost islet, and relative to the neighborhood where I observed on Saturday 6th of this month, I find that I am about 11 leagues further west. And, making my corrections since Saturday, I find my longitude to be $13^{\circ}16'$. And by sunset, the last islets that lie further to SSW could hardly be seen. After nightfall, I changed course to NW until midnight, when I tacked back to SSE with the light ENE breeze.

Wed. 10

When daylight came we had a moderate ENE wind, heading SW 1/4 S. We could no longer see the islets. I observed the sun in $9^{\circ}16'$ latitude. I covered a distance of 58' along an angle of $21^{\circ}26'$ W of S, with the wind ENE, moderate, and in this daily run we have steered SSW, SW 1/4 S, and SW. According to what has been learned so far about the drifting of this ship, I judged the change of latitude to be 54' and the change in longitude to be 21' and, after applying my corrections I am left with a longitude of $12^{\circ}55'$ and will go on reducing my latitude until I reach $7^{\circ}30'$ as per my Instruction. After nightfall, I steered N with the foresail pulled tight and the main topsail taut also, until midnight when I tacked back to SSW, taking into account the drifting tendency of this ship, and the current running westward. At daybreak I lowered the canvas, the wind being NE. This morning I took the sun's amplitude: the angle from E toward SE was $10^{\circ}30'$, and the [true] amplitude was $14^{\circ}30'$; [therefore] I see that our difference is: $4^{\circ}06'$.

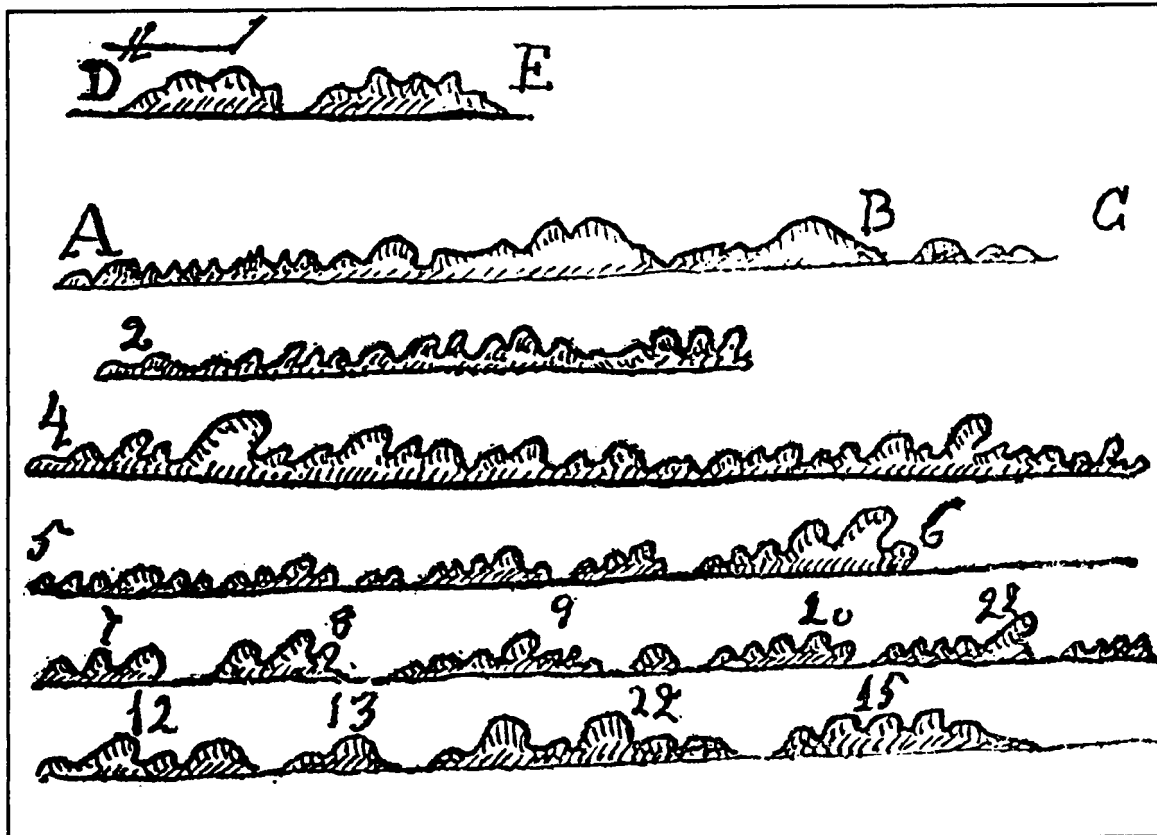
Thu. 11

At daybreak, the wind was NE, somewhat fresh. I took the sun's elevation at $8^{\circ}35'$ lat. I covered a distance of 41' due south; by my observation, I got a difference in latitude of 41' and I end up with the same longitude as yesterday, $12^{\circ}55'$. Shortly after nightfall, I steered NW 1/4 NW [sic = W], and NW because the wind did not give anymore, until midnight when I tacked to SW, because we were making our way southward, with the wind NE, somewhat fresh.—

Fri. 12

At daybreak, the wind was NNE, somewhat fresh, and we set our canvas, with the bow pointing SSW. Before I reach the $7^{\circ}30'$ parallel, I am missing 65', by yesterday's observation, and according to the daily run I had made, by 10 a.m. I estimated I needed to lose 68' southward. At this time, I steered W, yawing SW and, in the name of the glorious St. Ignatius of Loyola, bound westward for the Island of Panlox.

I took the sun at $7^{\circ}23'$ latitude; here, I had the heading changed to W, the yawing the same, in order to regain the [excess] 7', the wind blowing from NNE and NE. When



I set this course, I had covered a distance of 72' southward; my latitude changed by 72' and I end up with a longitude of 12°55'. After sunset, I changed the heading to NNW, with the foresail pulled tight and the jib on, the wind being NNE, fresh, until midnight when I veered to SE with the same wind and rig, until daybreak. This night the ship has rolled very nicely, on account of the swell that had built up from the NE and was hitting us broadside.

Sat. 13

At daybreak, the wind was NE, fresh. With daylight, we set our canvas, and with all the large canvas out, she rocks beautifully. I observed the sun at 7°43' latitude; I have covered a distance of 90' at an angle of 67°1' between W and NW, with said wind NE, fresh; my difference in latitude is 20' and because of this difference, it is evident that the current runs NW, and my difference in longitude is 88'. After corrections, I am at 11°27' longitude. I had the heading kept W and yawing to SW, and after the Salve, I changed the heading to NNW, with the two top-gallant sails and the mizzen-sail set, on account of the great swell and that we could not maintain ourselves with [only] the foresail and main topsail, on account of the ship rocking as it does. At midnight, I changed the heading to SE, with the said rig, and at daybreak we set our canvas and I set the course to west, yawing the same, with said wind NE, fresh.—

Sun. 14

At daybreak, the wind was NE, fresh, and we set our canvas and continued on the above course. I observed the sun at 7°47'. I have covered a distance along our course of 90', at an angle of 87°27' between W and NW, with said wind. My difference [i.e. gain] in latitude is 4'—and, in this daily run I had expected to see the latitude decrease, but I see that the opposite happened, from which I infer that the current runs to the NW—and my difference in longitude is 90' so that, after corrections, I got 9°57' in longitude. I had the heading kept W, with yawing to SW, and after the Salve I changed the heading to NNW, with the top-gallant sails and the mizzen sail set, on account of the noticeable swell; at midnight, I changed the heading to SE 1/4 E.—

Mon. 15 [Arrival at Palau]

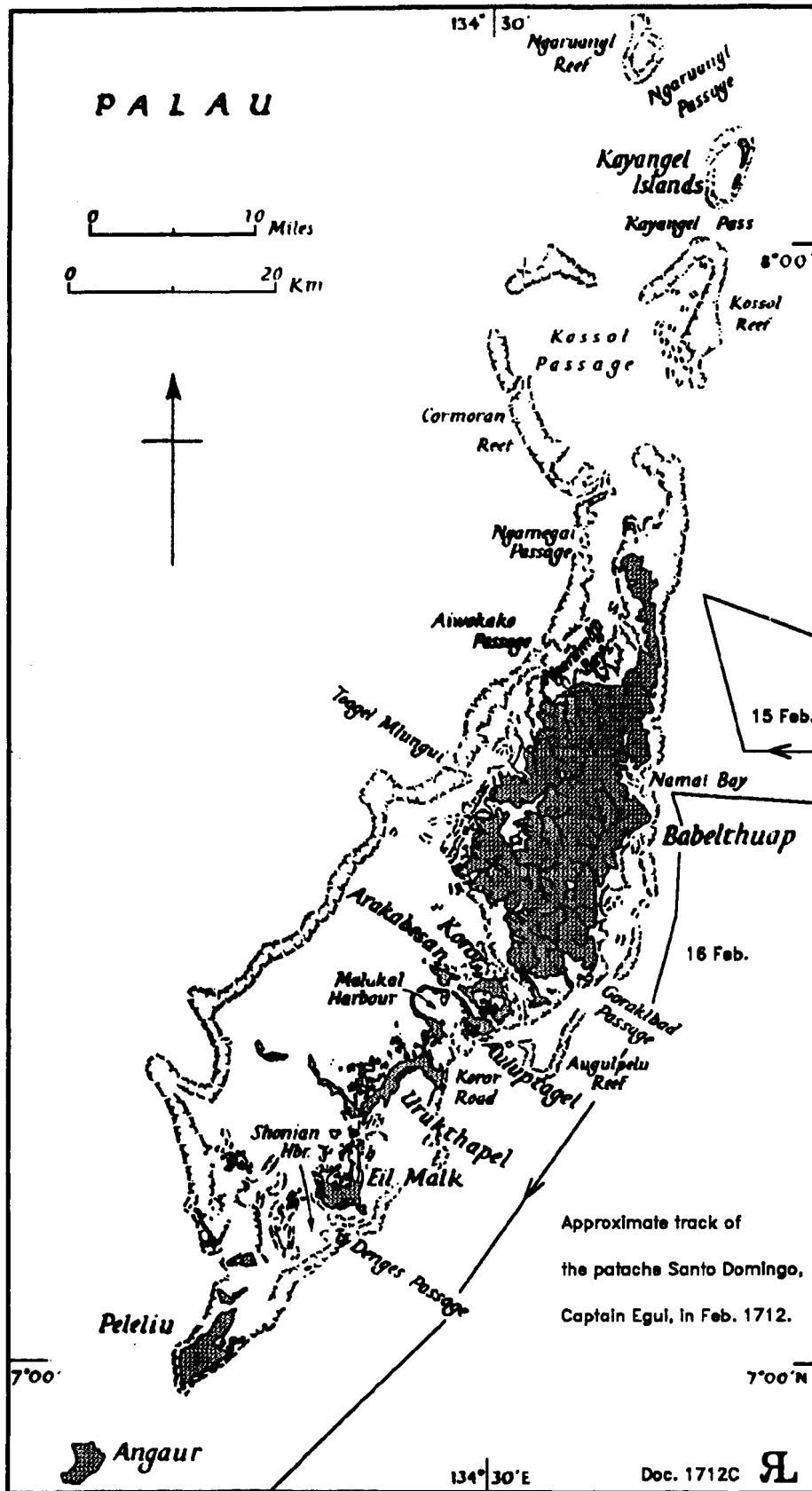
At daybreak, we set our canvas, with the course due west, yawing to SW, the weather closed in. At about 8 a.m., they shouted "Land ho!" from the mast-head. The weather had cleared a little, and the said land or **Island of Panlox** was seen from the deck, straight ahead; we were about 4-1/2 leagues from it. I drew the following indications, as can be seen, of the coastlines as far as the NNW. At noon, we arrived at the northern point that bore W 1/4 SW. The letter **B** is the northern headland;¹ it runs NNW—SSE to the point marked with the letter **A** for a distance of 10-1/2 leagues, although within this distance it embays inward. From the letter **B**, the northern headland, three small islands come out as far as the letter **C**, over a distance of 3/4 league. One league NW of the letter **B**, the northern headland, there begins a barrier reef that runs a distance of about 1/4 league off the coastline, and finally ends up at about 1-1/4 leagues at a point NE of the NW point. NE of this northwestern point, at a distance of 3 leagues, there is a shoal² upon which the water broke almost as high as on this northern headland. **I observed the sun in 7°47' latitude.** I covered a distance of 72' and, by my observation, westward; so, after corrections, I end up with **8°44' of longitude.**

I intended to pass beyond this northern point in order to circumnavigate the island, but the wind was not suitable to sail past it, on account of it having moderated, and besides I myself saw from the mast-head, lying to the WNW, NW, and NNW a piece of green sea like a shallow lagoon, with many breakers over a distance of 3 leagues out to sea. I was then two regular leagues away east of the northwest point, and seeing the disadvantages for our design, I did not expose myself to the contingency of seeing myself run aground upon some shoal, such as those that were in sight, on account of the ship being so bad at tacking.

The wind was NE, moderate; I changed the heading to ESE at about 5:30 p.m. There was a cloud cover and the sky looked as if the wind would increase. And I saw some canoes that came from the land; on account of the existing heavy seas, some returned to port but three came alongside. They positively refused to climb aboard, and remained

1 Ed. note: The northern tip of the Arekalong Peninsula, on Babelthup Island.

2 Ed. note: It is called the Kossol Reef.



always overly jumpy. Out of the last canoe to arrive, two [men] climbed aboard, out of greed for the iron that we showed them, as [otherwise] we thought we would not succeed in getting the canoes alongside. As for these two Indians who climbed aboard, they would not have done so otherwise; since there was no other way to make them stay, we placed them in irons, on account of their acting like mad dogs. These people are a very wild lot and hard to deal with; indeed, we always saw them very distrustful. As a matter of fact, [it was] from their canoes [that] they bartered a few roots that they called **sunay**¹ and a girdles made with small beads, like those of the small islands [i.e. Ulithi], in exchange for any old iron, plates and small things. In spite of our offer of some sweets and wine, they kept being distrustful and refused to come up. They go about naked, except for their private parts, which are covered with a few leaves.² They have no beards, but their hair is long; some have their mane fuzzy like negroes, while others have beautiful [long] hair. And we sailed on this SSE course until the end of the midnight watch, when I changed the heading to NNW back toward the land, with the wind NW [rather NE], fresh, and the sky looking stormy.—

Tue. 16

At daybreak, the wind was ENE. We were 4 leagues east of the center of the Island [i.e. Babelthuap], and the sky looked foreboding, and the sea rather choppy. I approached it within half a league. In the middle of the island, there is a bay, and it seems that there is a break in the reef in this neighborhood.³ Meanwhile, weary of the ominous sky, I went along the coast as far as the ... [eastern?] point; from this point runs another bit of coastline SSW—NNE 1/4 NW S [sic],⁴ for a distance of 3 average leagues, and it looks like this: This piece of coastline follows that shown on the previous page: the letter D [sic] corresponds to the letter A [sic]. At the southern point on the east side is the letter E; it has a reef, and, it appears, a sort of bay, which we did not dare approach too closely, on account of the strong wind and heavy sea. From this tip of the southern point, which is the letter E, runs another piece of coastline from the south NNE—SSW.

And when we came up southward of this piece, I saw that it made two narrow divisions, and on the inside a few islets, and this front looks as follows: The number 1 is the southern point on the east side; it corresponds with the letter E of the profile on the previous page. Number 2 corresponds with Number 3, and Number 4 with Number 5, that makes up the southern part of said Island. The 9 small islets that are shown on the last two lines below, from Number 7 to Number 15, the southern tip on the west side, some

-
- 1 Ed. note: So called by those on board, I think, with reference to the Chamorro word “suni,” a type of yam.
 - 2 Ed. note: This is in sharp improvement over the people of Angaur two years before.
 - 3 Ed. note: This is probably Namai Bay, where there is indeed a break in the reef and a channel leading to the important town of Melekiok.
 - 4 Ed. note: The original is similarly confused. The copyist did not do a good job.

to WNW, and they are laid toward the south over a distance of 3 average leagues. The two numbers [blank] are openings into this southern front.—

I did not observe the sun, because the sky was completely overcast. However, the southern point would be in $6^{\circ}44'$ of latitude. I have estimated this daily run to cover a distance of 56', and in longitude 12'. And I continue sailing SSW, in order to avoid these low islets that I am now talking about. And at about 5 in the afternoon, one of the Indians whom we captured yesterday jumped overboard; we were about 7 leagues from the land then. The ship refused to come to; so, we turned about, but during this maneuver, we lost sight of him. I sailed the whole night until the end of the midnight watch, with enough wind that obliged me to furl the topsails. And after two hour-glasses during the dawn watch, I changed the heading to NNW, and to NW, with said wind NE, rather fresh, and heavy swells, until daybreak.

Wed. 17

At daybreak the wind was NE, fresh, the heading SSE. I did not observe the sun, on account of the sky being completely covered. I covered a distance along my course of 56', in my estimation, along an angle of $56^{\circ}15'$ between S and E, with said wind remaining fresh, with a perpendicular sea running from the NE, which made the ship rock beautifully. And from 4 p.m. until the prayer, we were hit by 3 squalls of a reasonable wind but with much rain from the NE. At that time, I changed the heading to ESE, with top-gallant sails on, because I had found the ship's side offering too much resistance. And after 6 hour-glasses during the midnight watch, a squall hit us from the ENE with very strong wind and rain, which obliged us to furl the main-sail and pull the fore-sail tight, in order not to cover much distance or lose [too much] latitude, on account of not having been able to observe the sun over the last two days, and not seen any stars, not to run past the latitude of $5^{\circ}30'$ as ordered by the Instruction. [Therefore,] I changed the heading to NNW and then to NW, and kept on that course, with a very strong wind, the foresail tight, until daybreak, and then I continued until noon when I observed.—

Thu. 18

I observed the sun in $5^{\circ}30'$ latitude.

...

Documents 1712D

Letters from Fr. Van Hamme quoting letters from Fathers Bouwens, Cruydolf and Mexía

Source: P. Visschers' Onuitgegeven Brieven van eenige Paters der Societeit van Jesus (Arnhem, 1857), pp. 44+, 55+, 96+ and 115+

D1. Letter from Fr. Van Hamme to Fr. Janning, dated Peking 14 January 1703

Original text in Latin.

Reverendo in Christo Pater

P. C.

Quanto me solatio affecerit ultima Ræ Væ Epistola (scripta 23 Januarii 1700, et mihi tradita 18 Octobris 1702) hinc colliget R^a V^a, quod jam ter responderim Ræ Væ, et hæc sit quarta mea epistola, qua gratias ago pro novis mihi scriptis.

...

Mense Octobri [1702] misi Ræ Væ relationem, quam mihi miserat ex insulis Marianis P. Gerardus Bouwens jam prope septuagenarius, sed tam robusta valetudine, ut interdum sex aut septem leucas pedes conficiat, et quoscumque alios missionarios infatigabiles suo zelo confundat (uti ad me scribit P. Antonius Tuccius jam Rector Collegii Manilani, et olim Provincialis Philippinarum).

...

Rogo denique Ram. Vam. ut meo nomine salutare dignetur Patres mihi notos, ubi opportunum fuerit, et in SSmis. suis sacrificiis me Deo commendet.

Pekini 14 Januarii 1703.

Ræ Væ Servus in Christo,

Petrus van Hamme.

Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ

Peace of Christ!

What consolation was brought to me by the last letter from Y.R. (written on 23 January 1700, and delivered to me on 18 October 1702). I gather from Y.R. that,

although I have written three times to Y.R., and this is my fourth letter, I am thankful that you have finally written to me.

...
 In October 1702, I sent to Y.R. a report that Fr. Gerardus Bouwens had sent to me from the Mariana Islands. He is already an old man in his seventies, but still in such robust health that he can accomplish walks of 6 to 7 leagues, and confound the other untiring missionaries by his own zeal (so wrote to me Fr. Antonio Tuccio, formerly the Provincial of the Philippines, and now the Rector of the College).¹

...
 Finally, I pray Y.R. to please give my regards to the Fathers who know me, whenever there is an opportunity, and to commend me to God in your sacrifices.

Peking, 14 January 1703.²

D2. Letter from Fr. Van Hamme to Fr. Janning, dated Peking 20 January 1706

Original text in Latin.

Reverendo in Christo Pater

P. C.

Ultimas meas scripsi Ræ Væ 15^a currentis mensis via Manilana...

...
Gratias ago Ræ Væ pro synopsi illius tomi 3ii junii, qui ultimus editus est de Actis Sanctorum. Unum exemplar hic tradidi Patribus Gallis videndum et exhibendum Dn^o Patriarcha, et Episcopo Pekinensi, qui modo hic sunt: alterum exemplar hodie mitto in insulas Marianas ad P. Gerardum Bouwens, legendum etiam Manilæ. P. Gerardus mihi scribit, itinere trium dierum ab insulis Marianis detectas esse aliquas insulas novas [i.e. Carolines], et in una (ad quam accesserunt) inventos esse incolas, qui corpora sua variis coloribus, præsertim rubro, depingunt, et utuntur idiomate proprio, plane distincto ab idiomate insularum Marianarum: sed illi incolæ signis et minis prohibuerunt descensum in terram; et sic navis redire coacta fuit. Gubernator Marianarum videtur iterum missurus ad easdem insulas cum majori apparatu, etc.

De Dn^o Patriarcha, aliaque scriptu digna videbit R^a V^a in aliis meis præcedentibus: nunc tantum breviter respondeo Ræ Væ quia dum has accepi, meas jam dimiseram Cantonem; spero tamen, hasc assecuturas esse præcedentes, et simul via Manilana perventuras ad manus Ræ Væ. Jam scripsi P. Antonio Tuccio Manilæ habitanti, me statim scripturum esse Patribus Belgis, si qui Manilam pervenerint. Denique rogo Ram. Vam. ut dignetur has communicare Rd^o P. Liberto De Pape, et P. Francisco Van Callenberghem, meique in SS^{mis}. suis sacrificiis meminisse.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Tuccio finished his first term as Provincial in 1699, but was to begin a second term in 1707.

2 Ed. note: The letter was to be forwarded to Fr. Daniel Papebroch in the absence of Fr. Janning.

*Pekini 20 januarii 1706.
Ræ Væ Servus in Christo,
Petrus van Hamme.*

Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ
Peace of Christ!

The last letter that I wrote to Y.R. was on the 15th of this month, via Manila...

...

I thank Y.R. for the synopsis of the tome of 3rd of June, which is the last volume published of the Acts of the Saints. I have made a copy here for the French Fathers to read and to show to the Archbishop and to the Bishop of Peking, who also live here. I am sending another copy today to the Mariana Islands to Fr. Gerardus Bouwens, to be read also in Manila. Fr. Gerardus has written to me about a three-day voyage made from the Mariana Islands to explore for some new islands [i.e. Carolines], and in one (reached by them) some inhabitants were found who wear various colored drawings on their bodies, specially in red, and they speak their own language, completely different from the language of the Mariana Islands. However, these islanders used sign language and threats to prevent them from stepping ashore, and so, the ship was forced to go back. The Governor of the Marianas is considering sending another expedition to those islands, with better equipment, etc.

About the Lord Archbishop and others, Y.R. has already read about them in my previous letters. Now I will answer Y.R.'s letter, though briefly, the one that I received at Canton, when mine had already been mailed from there. Nevertheless, I hope that this letter of mine will catch up with the previous ones, and will also reach the hands of Y.R., as the others that went by way of Manila. I have already told you that Fr. Antonio Tuccio lives at Manila, and I will immediately write to the Belgian Fathers, if they ever reach Manila.

Finally, I beg Y.R. to please pass this letter to Rev. Fr. Libertus de Pape and to Fr. Francis van Callenberghe, and to remember me in your most holy sacrifices.

Peking, 20 January 1706.

D3. Letter from Fr. Van Hamme to Fr. Daniel Papebroch, dated China 10 October 1713

Original text in Latin.

Reverendo in Christo Pater

P. C.

Litteras Ræ Væ scriptas 10^a Januarii 1712, accepi 1^a Sept. 1713.

...

*Post ultimas meas Ræ Væ scriptas, accepi 19^a Januarii præsentis anni litteras a P[atr]e Petro **Cruyldolf** Gaudensi, scriptas mihi ex insulis Marianis die 13^a Novembris 1711, in quibus mihi scribit sequentia:*

*“In hasce autem Marianas veni a biennio. Ad Philipinas, vel potius Palaos dictas, cum uno Flandro et quatuor Gallo-Belgis sociis me destinaverant Superiores. Huc ap-
pulsus, audivimus, insulas Palaos nondum esse detectas (nam anno dumtaxat proxime
elapso a sociis meis Jacobo **Dubéron** Gallo et Josepho **Cortyl** Flandro-Belga Bellio-
lano [= from Bailleul] sacerdotibus una ex Palaos inventa est, inventoribus, ut com-
munis opinio est, perditis). De hisce ad Ram. Vam. procul dubio P[ate]r Gerardus
Bouwens quare Superior meas P[ate]r Andreas Serrano vir insignis inopinato, attonitis
omnibus, me monuit, in hasce Marianas me reciperem. Feci promptus et alacer. Eodem
die jussu ejusdem P[atr]is Serrano tres alii me secuti sunt sacerdotes, ex quibus unus
Gallo-Belga P[ate]r Josephus **Bloart**, eo fine ut ego, quod mox ad me relatum est, ad
Carolinam mitterere. Carolina prægrandis insula est hic vicina, quæsita sæpe, visa sub-
inde, occupata numquam. Ergo nova hoc anno adhibita est diligentia: ivit ipsemet P.
Gerardus Bouwens; dolendum! nihil. A mense redux mecum hic iterum Zeypanenses...
Spes de Carolina aucta potius quam abjecta. Fortunes Deus!” Hactenus P. Petrus Cruy-
ldolf.*

*De PPbus. Jacobo du Béron et Josepho Cortyl multa scripsi anno præterito, quæ ac-
ceperam Manila ex litteris P[atr]is Francisci Janssens et aliorum. Sed hoc anno 19^a
Januarii accepi partim ex Marianis, partim ex Philippinis varias relationes de recenti
detectione Insularum Palaos, etc. Sed nihil hactenus rescire potuerunt de duobus PPbus.
Belgis cum aliquot sociis Hispanis in una illarum insularum nuper relictis. Dictæ rela-
tiones valde fusæ sunt, et omnes idiomate Hispanico conscriptæ, ideo illas non mitto.
Scribam tamen aliqua, quæ P. Philippus Bernardus **Mesna** [sic],¹ Soc[ie]tatis Jesu
Manila mihi scripsit 25 Junii 1712, et accepi 19 Januarii hujus anni 1713. Hic Pater of-
ficio sacellani functus fuit in illo navigio Manilano, quo detexerunt multas insulas ig-
notas, et tamquam testis oculatus mihi scribit valde fuse.*

*Præterea accepi mappam, in qua delineatæ sunt quadraginta quinque insulæ ma-
jores, propriis nominibus distinctæ, propter multas alias, quibus nomina non sunt ap-
posita. Hæc navis Manilana sub finem anni 1711 Manila solvit in insulas Marianas;
cumque P. Gerardus Bouwens Antverpiensis quæsitis insulis Carolinis, et non inventis
vi ventorum dejectus fuisset in unam ex insulis Philippinis, et hanc navem in Marianas
navigantem inveniret, Manilam (licet non multum distaret) pergere renuit, et hanc oc-
casionem nactus charissimam suam missionem Marianam repetiit; quo dum pervenit,
paulo post ægrotare cæpit, partim ex laboribus in illis navigationibus toleratis, partim
ex magnitudine zeli apostolici, et vehementi dolore concepto, quod insulam Carolinam
non invenisset, et illorum gentilium conversionem differri videret; ac tandem placuit
Deo coronare (uti confidimus) labores ipsius apostolicos 24^a Januarii 1712, ætatis anno
79, ingressus Societatis 56^o, Professionis 4 votorum 36^o, et missionis Marianæ 40^o.*

1 Ed. note: His last name should have been transcribed as Mexia.

Socius illi a Superiore Marianarum assignatus erat P. Petrus Cruydf. Elogium P[atr]is Gerardi Antverpiensis (manu ipsius Superioris Marianarum mihi amicissimi conscriptum, et ad P[atr]em Provinciale Philippinarum missum) mihi postea transmissum est, quod non mitto, quia amplum est, et lingua Hispanica conscriptum: tantum hic exprimo verba pauca in eo contenta, quæ sunt sequentia:

“Nimis breve esset magnum volumen ad describendas tam multas et excellentes virtutes Patris Gerardi, et tot tantaque, quæ passus est et egit in his insulis, etc.”

Redeo igitur ad Epistolam P[atr]is Philippi Bernardi Mesna [i.e. Mexía] sacellani, qui perscripta etiam morte P[atr]is Gerardi, transit ad sequentia:

[The re-discovery of Ulithi, Palau and Sonsorol at the beginning of 1712]

“Et quia (inquit) non dubito, quin notitia detectionis insularum Palaos allatura sit magnum solatium zelo apostolico Ræ Væ, et tenero ejus amori erga Matrem nostram Societatem Jesu, non erit extra propositum indicare Ræ Væ, quomodo 30^a Januarii 1712, redeuntes ex Marianis ad Philippinas, nono scilicet Rhombo minoris latitudinis borealis (animo quærendi insulas Palaos) Deo dante, die 6 Februarii 1712, octava die navigationis nostræ detexerimus archipelagum triginta et aliquot insularum, quas ex navi nostra conspicati sumus, et numeravimus trium vel quatuor dierum tempore, quo inter illas navigavimus. Pleræque sunt valde parvæ; aliquæ diametraliter continent tres quatuorve leucas; omnes tamen sunt incolis plurimis refertæ, densisque arboribus coronatæ. Sitæ sunt in latitudine boreali 10 graduum, distantque tribus circiter gradibus longitudinis a meridiano Insulæ Guajan (quæ est capitalis Marianarum) versus Occidentem. Unus ex plurimis Indis, qui conscenderunt navem nostram, nos comitatus est Manilam. In 8^o gradu latitudinis vidimus multa signa terræ vicinæ, videturque illac protendi series insularum. In 7^o gradu cum dimidio latitudinis, et 7^o longitudinis (sive distantie occidentalis a dicto meridiano Guajan) invenimus magnam et altam insulam die 15^a Januarii [sic]: prætervecti sumus a parte orientali, ejusque latus extenditur ad 18, vel 20 leucas circiter: unus ex plurimis ejus incolis barbaris nos etiam comitatus est Manilam. A parte Africi et Zephyri istius insulæ succedunt continuæ insulæ, et multæ, quarum aliquæ sunt prægrandes; sed neque numerare eas potuimus, neque finem videre tam extensæ, habitatæ et montosæ terræ, quam constituunt illæ insulæ; a parte occidentali vidimus bonus portus, sed non sumus ausi ingredi, ac navem alicui periculo exponeremus.”

“19^a Februarii in 5^o gradu latitudinis deteximus duas parvas insulas S[anc]ti Andreae (sive Sonsorol) detectas 30^a Nov. 1710; sed tam infelices fuimus, ut propter magnum ventum et maris fluxum ejicere anchoram non potuerimus, neque in terram descendere, ut succurreremus nostris fratribus, P[at]ri Jacobo Dubéron, et P. Josepho Cortyl Gallo- et Flandro-Belgis, qui cum 12 vel 14 sociis sæcularibus remanserunt derelicti in illis insulis, quando fuerunt detectæ: nec scivimus, an etiamnum vivant, vel eos comederint barbari, quia neque ullus ex insulis ad navem nostram venit, aut venire potuit, ut informationem acciperemus. Itaque Manilam redivimus cum summo animi mærore, quod consequi non potuerimus præcipuum finem, propter quem hoc Rhombo naviga-

vimus. Denique mense Aprili, Deo dante, Manilam pervenimus post multos labores, ac naufragii pericula centum et aliquot personæ, qui illo navigio vecti fuimus.” Hactenus Pater Mesna [sic].

Hæc sufficiunt pro hac vice: si tamen adhuc alia notatu et scriptu digna occurrant, statim scribam: et sine dubio (si Deo placuerit) via Manilam scribam iterum mense Januario proxime sequenti. Humillimam salutem adscribo RRdis. Patribus Papebrochio, Baertio, Callenberghe, De Baenst, coeterisque mihi notis. Heri vidi epistolam ex Germania scriptum, in qua legi, omnes Religiosos sacerdotes ex Hollandia ejectos esse, non tamen clericos; et ill[ustrissim]um Sebastenum (olim Vicarium Apostolicum) in Hollandia obiisse pertinacem in sua hæresi Janseniana. Goa etiam scribitur, duos clericos Romæ incarceratos esse in castello S[anc]ti Angeli propter Jansenismum, et ill[ustrissim]um D[omin]um Carolum Maigrot ante incarcerationem cum illis valde frequenter et cum magna cautela et secreto egisse.

SSmis. Ræ Væ sacrificiis humillime me commendo.

Ex Imperio Sinensi 10 Octobris 1713.

Ræ Væ Servus humillimus in Christo,

Petrus van Hamme.

Translation.

Reverend Father in Christ¹

Peace of Christ!

I received Y.R.'s letter dated 10 January 1712 on 1 September 1713.

...

After my last letter to Y.R., I received on 19 January of the present year a letter from Fr. Petrus **Cruyldolf**, the man from Ghent, which he wrote in the Mariana Islands on 13 November 1711, in which he wrote to me the following:

“However, I came to these Mariana Islands two years ago. The Superiors had meant for me to go to the Philippines, or perhaps the said Palaos, with one Fleming and four companions from the Gallo-Belgian Province. Upon arriving here, we heard that the Palaos Islands had not yet been found (though they were the following year by my companions, Jacob **Dubéron**, Gallo-Belgian, and Joseph **Cortyl**, a Flandro-Belgian from Bailleul,² both priests, discovered one of them, but it is the common opinion that the discoverers have been lost). I do not doubt that Fr. Gerardus **Bouwens** would have told Y.R., why my Superior, Fr. Andrés Serrano, an illustrious man, unexpectedly, at the surprise of everyone, advised me that I was to remain at the Marianas. I was will-

1 Ed. note: The letter was to be forwarded to Fr. Jacob Baert, in the absence of Fr. Papebroch.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Cortyl was also from the Gallo-Belgian Province but he was Flemish and wrote in that language; that is why he is said by this author (and Fr. Poncelet in his Necrology) to have been from the Flandro-Belgian Province.

ing and ready. On that same day, three more of my companions who were priests followed me, by order of Fr. Serrano, one of whom is a Gallo-Belgian, Fr. Joseph **Bloart**, and he too is supposed to go with me to Carolina Island.¹ Carolina Island [i.e. Yap] is a large island near here, often searched for, since sighted, but never occupied. Therefore a new effort was made this year; Fr. Gerardus Bouwens went himself, but unfortunately, nothing. Within a month, he returned with me to Saipan... The hope to go to Carolina is postponed rather than abandoned, God helping!" Unquote Fr. Petrus Cruy-dolf.

I wrote much regarding Fathers Jacob du Béron and Joseph Cortyl last year, that came to me from Manila, in letters from Fr. Francis Janssens and others. But this year, on 19th January, I received various reports, some from the Marianas, some from the Philippines, saying that the Palaos Islands have recently been discovered, etc. But nothing so far could be found out about the two Belgian Fathers who were stranded on one of them with some Spanish companions. Said reports are often detailed, but all of them are written in the Spanish language; that is why I am not sending them. Nevertheless, I will quote from a letter that was sent to me by Fr. Felipe Bernardo **Mexía** of the Society of Jesus, from Manila on 25 June 1712 and received by me on 19 January of this year 1713. This Father was serving as chaplain aboard that Manila ship that discovered many unknown islands, so that what he writes to me in detail comes from an eyewitness.

Besides, I received a chart in which 85 greater islands are shown, all with their distinctive name, because there are many more whose name is not indicated. The Manila ship in question left Manila for the Mariana Islands at the end of 1711; and with Fr. Gerardus Bouwens, from Antwerp, went out to search for Caroline Islands, but did not find it;² the strength of the wind made him drift to one of the Philippine Islands, and this ship returned to the Marianas (although it was much closer to Manila), and by the same occasion he went back to his dearest Mariana mission. Shortly after he got there, partly from the hardships that he suffered during his recent voyage, and partly from the magnitude of his apostolic zeal, and from the blow received at not finding Carolina Island, and the postponement of the conversion of those heathen, it pleased God to crown his apostolic hardships (so we hope) on 24 January 1712, when he was 79 years

1 Ed. note: Therefore, 4 Jesuit priests arrived at Guam in 1709; Fathers Cruydolf, Ibarguen, and Bloart are well known. The fourth member had to be the obscure Fr. José Grimaldo, or Grimaltos, first mentioned in Doc. 1711M4.

2 Ed. note: Error, as Fr. Bouwens used a Guam-based boat, not the patache Santo Domingo.

old, having joined the Society 56 years earlier, made his profession of 4 vows 36 years earlier, and spent 40 years in the Mariana Mission.¹

His companion, assigned by the Superior of the Marianas, was Fr. Petrus Cruydolf.² A eulogy of Fr. Gerardus of Antwerp (in the handwriting of the Superior of the Marianas himself³ was most amicably forwarded to me, and sent to Fr. Provincial of the Philippines) and afterwards passed on to me, but I am not sending it, because it is quite long, and written in Spanish.⁴ Let me just quote a few words here, which are as follows:

“Briefly, a large volume would be necessary to write down the many excellent virtues of Fr. Gerardus, and so many of them he exercised here in these Islands, etc.”

Therefore, I go back to the letter of Fr. Felipe Bernardo Mexía, the chaplain, who, after telling me also about the death of Fr. Gerardus, goes on to say the following:

[The re-discovery of Ulithi, Palau and Sonsorol at the beginning of 1712]⁵

“And because (says he) I do not doubt, that some news of the Palaos Islands will bring much pleasure and be a great consolation to the apostolic zeal of Y.R., and because I must do so for the sake of our Mother the Society of Jesus, it would not be an extra burden for me to indicate to Y.R. how, on 30 January 1712, on the return voyage from the Marianas to the Philippines, in fact, after going down to 9 degrees lat. north (while searching for the Palaos Islands) God willed that on 6 February, on the 8th day of our voyage, we discovered an archipelago of over 30 islands that we were able to see and count from our ship during the two or three days that we sailed among them. Most of them are tiny; some measure from 3 to 4 leagues in length. They are all thickly populated and covered with thick wood. They are located in 10° latitude north, and distant about 3° in longitude west of the meridian of the Island of Guajan (which is the capital of the Marianas). One of the many Indians who had come aboard, accompanied us as far as Manila. In 8° latitude we saw many signs that islands were in the vicinity, and it seems that a series of islands lies there. In dropping to 7° in latitude and by 7° in longitude (i.e. west of the said meridian of Guajan) we found a large and high island on 15 January [rather February]. We coasted along its eastern side, which extends for anywhere from 18 to 20 leagues. One of its many barbarian inhabitants accompanied us to Manila. To the south and north of this island are a succession of islands, many of them, some of which are very large, but we could not count them all, nor see the end of such extensive, inhabited and mountainous lands, that these islands are made of. On the

1 Ed. note: Fr. van Hamme was relying on Fr. Muscati's eulogy (next document) for Fr. Bouwens' year of birth. However, all the official records in Belgium mention his birthdate as 23 September 1634, which means that he was 77 years old when he died.

2 Ed. note: After Fr. Bouwens' death, Fr. Cruydolf continued to serve in Saipan for at least 10 more years.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Muscati (from Malta) was then Superior; his eulogy is Doc. 1712E.

4 Ed. note: He did translate it into Latin later on, and sent it to Belgium. That is how it was saved for posterity (see Doc. 1712E).

5 Ed. note: In the patache Santo Domingo de Guzman, Captain Bernardo Egui, as narrated by Fr. Mexía in this eyewitness report.

western side, we saw a good port, but we did not dare enter it, and expose the ship to some danger.”

“On 19 February, at 5° latitude, we found the two small islands of San Andrés, or **Sonsorol**, [formerly] discovered on 30 November 1710. However, we were so unlucky as to be prevented from casting our anchor by the violence of the wind and the currents, and from stepping ashore to succor our brothers, Fathers Jacques **Dubéron** and Joseph **Cortyl**, Gallo- and Flandro-Belgian [respectively] who had remained there with 12 or 14 civilian companions at the time of the discovery. We did not even learn if they were still alive, or if the barbarians have eaten them, because not one Indian from those islands came (or could come) to the ship, to give us some information. We therefore went back to Manila with sadness in our heart, because we had failed to accomplish the main objective that had brought us to that neighborhood. Finally, during the month of April, God willed that we arrived at Manila after many hardships, and at the risk of drowning on the part of 100 or so persons, the number of us aboard that ship.” End of quote of Father Mexía.

The above news will suffice for now. However, if something else happens that is noteworthy, I will write at once. And without a doubt (God willing) by way of Manila I will write again next January. I send humble greetings to Rev. Fathers Papebroch, Baert, Callenberghe, De Baerst, and others known to me. Yesterday I saw a letter written from Germany, in which I read that all the Religious priests have been expelled from Holland, but not the Diocesan priests; and the famous Sebastenus (formerly Vicar Apostolic) of Holland has died without renouncing the heresy of Jansenius. It is also written by way of Goa that two diocesan priests in Rome have been imprisoned in Fort Santo Angel because of Jansenism, and the famous Don Carlos Maigrot was seen frequently with them before they were imprisoned and said to have acted very cautiously and secretly.

I commend myself to Y.R.'s most holy sacrifices.

From the Empire of China, 10 October 1713.

Y.R.'s very humble servant in Christ,

Petrus Van Hamme.

Document 1712E

Eulogy of Fr. Bouwens by Fr. Muscati, dated Agaña 12 May 1712

Sources: Latin translation, by Fr. van Hamme, of the original Spanish of Fr. Muscati, as published in P. Visschers' Onuitgegeven Brieven (Arnhem, 1857), pp. 96-107; French translation in Kieckens' Précis historiques XIV (Brussels, 1865), pp. 109-118.

Letter from Fr. Muscati to Fr. Provincial in Manila, copied by Fr. van Hamme, announcing the death of Fr. Bouwens

Original text in Latin.

Epistola R. P. Philippi Mariæ Muscati, data Agadnæ 12 maij 1712, de laboribus apostolicis R. P. Gerardi Bouwens, Antverpensis, e Provincia Flandro Belgica Soctis. Jesu, missionarii per annos 40 in insulis Marianis, defuncti in insula Seipan die 24 Jan. 1712.

In Insula Seipan anno 1712, 24 Januarij, qui tunc fuit dies Dominicus, mane ad medium 7æ placuit divinæ Majestati compensare, et coronare (uti pie credimus) apostolicos labores, et virtutes religiosas R. P. Gerardi Bouwens ætatis anno 78, quatuor mensibus et uno die; Religionis anno 56, Professionis quatuor votorum 40, et totidem circiter missionarii Mariani. Mortem ei attulit peracuta et molesta diarrhea, orta partim ex labore indefesso, quem in ultima expeditione susceperat inquirendi et pervestigandi insulam Carolinam, partim ex dolore, quem hausit, dum ardentia sua vota frustrarentur spe consequendi tam nobilem partem. Hinc paucis post reditum diebus animam reddidit suo creatori post suscepta tempestive Ecclesiæ subsidia inter repetitas morientium preces. Mortem ejus excepit communis omnium mæror, tum nostrorum, qui amittebant tam insignem operarium, exemplar et normam apostolici zeli; tum exterorum, qui destituebantur suo Patre, et unico solatio in suis afflictionibus; tum etiam Indorum, qui, etsi omnis sensus expertes, tamen indoluere morti sui instructoris, et benévoli protectoris. Unde omnium hæc fuit vox: "obiit Sanctus Pater" (hoc enim illi nomen adhuc viventi pepererant heroicæ virtutes).

Natus fuit P. Gerardus Bouwens Antverpiæ 1633, 23 Septembris. De parentibus et gestis primis annis nihil nobis umquam innotuit, cum sollicite celarit quidquid cedere posset ad suam laudem. Anno 22 ætatis admissus fuit in Societatem, et ingressus novi-

tiatum Mechliniæ. Absolutis studiis dum in Europa tum docendo, tum laborando pro Gloria Dei et Salute animarum totus occupaabatur, evocatus fuit a Deo et destinatus apostolus Insularum Marianarum: cui vocationi et dispositioni divinæ mox paruit, contempto et se privando plausu et honore, quem sua scientia, acri ingenio, et aliis dotibus naturæ gratiæque consequi et mereri potuisset in sua Patria. Appulit ad istas insulas ipso eodem mense, quo vitam et sanguinem pro Chro. dederat Venerabilis P. Didacus de Sanvitores; in quo apparet summa et ineffabilis Dei providentia, qui voluit exsiccare lacrymas istius teneræ et novellæ missionis, destitutæ suo Patre, et 1° fundatore, substituendo in ejus locum P. Gerardum, in quo repererunt et animum et affectum vere paternum ipsius missionis, uti reipsa patuit ex innumeris laboribus quos pro incremento et incolumitate illius sustinuit. Postquam annum commoratus fuisset in insulis Marianis, Superiores, qui noverant insignem ejus solertiam, et spiritum et zelum, adeoque minime dubitantes de felici successu, miserunt eum Manilam, ut ageret et obtineret res magni momenti in bonum missionis. Istic eum invasit morbus valde periculosus, qui dicebatur esse cancer, ex quo sustinuit sine querimonia, summa cum animi patientia, avidus plura pro Deo patiendi, acutissimos dolores, cujus beneficio brevi sibi restitutus est. Anno insequenti [1674] navem conscendit, petiturus Acapulco, itinere 7 mensium et octo dierum; in qua tam longa et tam tetrica navigatione erat solatio sanis, et ægris subsidio et auxilio, quibus diu noctuque aderat instar solliciti medici suppetias tam corpori quam animo ferentis. Hinc transiit ad urbem Marianam, ubi obtinuit a Pro-Rege Archiepiscopo quidquid petierat pro bono et incolumitate Marianarum. Rebus itaque ex voto peractis, reversus est ad suas insulas, ubi reperiit litteras, quibus creabatur Superior. Admisit titulum eo avidius, quo major dabatur occasio omnibus inserviendi, et pro omnibus laborandi, non tantum in spiritualibus, sed etiam in corporalibus. Ipse enim obibat servorum officia, ipsemet suis manibus in sporta asportabat lapides, terram et alia necessaria ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, quam dedicavit SSmo. nomini Mariæ, non permittens ut aliquis e nostris manum vilibus illis et laboriosis ministeriis admoveret quæ sibi soli reservabat. Majores tamen labores et molestias sustinuit in exorta seditione aliquorum rebellium, qui diu noctuque ipsum circumstabant mortem minitantes. Inter hæc tædia et pericula unico ei solatio erat Chrus. crucifixus, cujus imaginem gestabat inter ulnas, eam ardentibus precibus et suavissimis colloquiis identidem exosculans et interpellans. Huic ejus pietati et fidei attribui debent et tranquillitas, quæ subsequuta est, et victoriæ variæ quas reportarunt Christiani. Hac tempestate jam exigebantur residentiæ pro majori commodo incolarum. P. Gerardus unam absolvit spatium duorum annorum, camque instituit tum in spirituali, catechizando, baptizando, instruendo, quibus in ministeriis impendebat totam diem, et magnam partem noctis, perfusus sudore, tantisper quiescebat; tum in materiali, uti ecclesia et domo, quæ ædificata ipso die, quo imposita fuit ultima manus, erecta fuit. Non destitit propterea, sed resumptis animis aliam ædificavit quæ cum pene absoluta esset, flammis absumpta est. Cognovit Pater id provenire ex inveterato odio et malevolentia communis hostis modestis progressibus invidentis. Ædificavit itaque tertiam, eludens sua constantia technas et conatus inimici invidentis progressibus novelli gregis. Rebus hic ita stabilitis,

missus fuit a superioribus ad insulam de Rota ubi non minori labore quam fructu idem præstitit tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporatibus.

Interim dum occupanretur in hac insula tum ædificando, tum instruendo, accepit literas, quibus creabatur Superior totius missionis: in qua mirabili dispositione eluxit divina providentia et miseratio, quæ providit isti missioni opportunum subsidium et solatium in afflictione, quæ ipsi impendebat ex communi conspiratione, quæ accidit anno sui regiminis [1684]. In hoc tumultu tris vulnera accepit in capite, femore et brachio, mox flexit genus, vitam pluribus et repetitis ictibus offerens, et mortem obiisset pro Xto, si ab aliquo christiano vi extractus non fuisset præsentis periculo. Verbis explicari non potest, quid non fecerit et passus fuerit hoc die, et quanta cum alacritate, ablitus sui et dolorum quos patiebatur, sine metu periculorum, sanguine fluente ex vulneribus, accurrebat ad opem et solatium suorum subditorum, tum sanorum, tum sauciorum, hos adjuvando et curando, illos adhortando, omnes animando ad mortem et constantiam in fide, in amplexu Chris crucifixi, quem suavissimis verbis alloquebatur, et a crucis aspectu oculos numquam avertibat.

Elapso hoc primo insultu se subdlexerunt ad aliquod fortalitium. In hoc incommodo et stricto receptaculo circumcessi fuere 20 mensibus, subinde egredientes cum custodis militum ad administranda sacramenta, visendos ægros, et baptismi aquis lustrandos parvulos, quibus in ministeriis primus erat P. Gerardus, qui etiam suam charitatem extendebat ad miseros milites, sublevando eorum labores et vigiliis eorum loco subeundo, ut defessa membra tot incommodis attrita aliqua remissione tantisper conquiescerent. Ex tot laboribus, et loci humiditatis intemperie, nam aquis insidebat, contraxit morbum valde periculosum, cui proculdubio succubisset, nisi pietas Gubernatoris providisset de meliori et magis commoda habitatione. In isto morbo omnis ejus cura erat agere cum solo Deo, in continua contemplatione et ardentibus ad coelum suspiriis præparando se ad felicem mortem. Placuit tamen divinæ pietati ei reddere sanitatem, de qua omnes desperabant, et continuo dum primum licuit, se contulit ad templum, redditurus Deo gratias pro sua incolumitate, et in genus profusus ante imaginem Chri. Dni., erupit in tantam lacrymarum copiam, et in tot suspiria, ut videretur anima a velii a corpore, et si præfectus sanitatis non intervenisset, et cum amovisset ab eo loco, spiritus succubisset vi sui fervoris.

*Elapsit quatuor annis defunctus est officio, et a successore eum omni submissione et resignatione petiit, ut sibi liceret curam habere epibatarum, quorum salutem in itinere ipse capellanus curaverat, ut facilius conquiesceret ex laboribus tam longæ navigationis. Hinc profectus est in Agadna opem laturus istis incolis, et brevi ejus adventus innotuit vicino pago **Tirna**: inter quos novellos christiianos excitavit tantum fervorem, et talem amorem erga ea, quæ concernebant fidem, et ita immutavit eorum mores et vitas, ut toti essent in observatione novæ legis, procinendo sacros rithmos et litinias, absque eo quod ab eo pio exercitio etiam non desisterent in itineribus et inter opera quotidiana.*

*Anno 1695 oblata fuit opportunitas conquiendi insulas septentrionis; hujus autem expeditionis fuit pars non minima P. Gerardus, in qua innumeros sustinuit labores tum mari, tum terra inter præsentissima vitæ pericula. In conquisitione insulæ de **Aguiguan***

*ipse primus magna alacritate conscendit inaccessam et molestam rupem inter lanceas et lapides quæ e superiori parte mittebantur. Conscenco cacumine mox se adjunxit ipsis inimicis, eos protecturus adversus furorem militum, volentium vindicare pertinacem eorum audaciam. Eos tam ferventi sermone allocatus est, ut statim consecutus fuerit fructum sui laboris et zeli, sacris nudis lustrando varios infantes, quos ipsimet parentes ultro offerebant in signum et pignus sinceri sui doloris. Inde transiit in **Seipan**, et ad alias insulas de **Pani**, in quibus iisdem laboribus et periculis infra memoratis obtinuit id, quod ex ejus zelo omnes expectaverant, scilicet plenam conversionem. Aquis baptismi infantes intiuxit, adultos instruxit, et omnes reduxit ad gremium. S. R. ecclesiæ, quorum omnium curam tamquam providus Pater suscepit, ut hoc pacto in suscepta Fide melius conservarentur, et facilius alerentur sacræ doctrinæ et sacramentorum pabulo.*

Ipse verum substitit in Insula Seipan, ubi per aliquot annos solus curam gessit illarum Christianorum magno cum fructu et progressu animarum. Sed ardens ipsius zelus, et desiderium convertendi totum mundum, jam se non continebant intra limites Marianarum, quare ultro sese obtulit ad detegendas insulas Carolinas, et hujus expeditionis gratia, cupidus plura patiendi navem conscendit anno 1711, et post varios errores, et inutiles ad insulam appulsus, tandem vi ventorum delata fuit navis ad insulas Visayas, quo casu frustrata fuerunt ardentia ejus vota, et corpus debilitatum incommodis tam longæ et periculosæ navigationis. Hinc et multo magis ex mærore, quod differetur conversio tot animarum, redux in Seipan, oppressus fuit molesta diarrheæ, et licet tunc temporis (prout lecuit) allatum ei fuerit aliquod subsidium, tamen distantia loci, impetuositatis maris, et venti contrarii obstitere, quo minus certiora, quæ aliunde adhibebantur adminicula tempestive adessent, et ei vitam, et nobis solatium adferrent. Ex variis indiciis visus fuit præscivisse diem et horam suæ mortis; nam cum reverteretur ex insula Viscayas in Seipan, dixit nobis audientibus: "in nidulo meo moriar," et pridie sui obitus cum Pater, qui ei aderat, vellet recitare ordinarias agonizantium preces, edixit, nondum est tempus: mane hora 5^a erit tempus; rem eventus probavit: non paululum plus hora, quam prædixerat, efflavit animam, quam sine dubio cupiebat morientium suffragis immediatius juravi.

*Non sufficeret volumen ad describendas multiplices et eximias virtutes P. Gerardi, multa, quæ fecit, et passus est in istis insulis. Sed ne omnia silentio præteream, aliqua solummodo attingam ex brevitate, quam epistola exigit. **Obedientiam** semper suspexit tamquam animam Soctis., semper præsto, semper alacer ad minimos nutus Superiorum, sine ulla animi repugnantia, in rebus difficillimis et contrariis indoli, et naturæ imbecillitati, uti erat navi iter conficere, propter nauseam et vomitus, quos patiebatur in mari. Accidit ut aliquis Superior scriberet, ut acceptis iis litteris, quas ad eum destinabat, se statim aliquo conferret; has autem accepit hora 1^a nocturna, et statim se accinxit itineri, et mandatum eadem hora executus fuisset, nisi socius, cui non minori animi demissione parebat, obstitisset, benignius interpretatus mentem hujus Superioris. Sui cura, et exterior compositio satis insinuabant et prodebant internam et Angelicam animi **puritatem**. Nullam noverat feminam de facie, et quando cum illis agere opus*

erat, semper fegebat oculos in terra. In expeditionibus numquam se subduxit, aut separavit a consortio et conspectu militum sui custodum, quod attribui debet sollicitudini, qua vitare nitebatur objecta minus tuta, et periculis magis obnoxia. Paupertas non fuit dissimilis puritati et obedientiæ. Vestibus, breviarium, et pauci libelli, quæ erant tota ejus supellex, erant ex magis attritis et vetustis totius missionis, ita ut post mortem nemo fuerit, qui quidquid ex omnibus appetierit, nisi quia ipsius fuissent. Familiaritas et colloquia cum Deo, quem præsentissimum semper habebat, erant frequentissima; ante diem se dabat orationi, quam protrahebat per totam diem, etiam in itineribus, summa cum ædificatione incolarum, qui eum semper videbant vel volventem globulos peccatoris, vel lectitantem pios libellos. In expeditionibus, cum subsisterent milites, statim in genus procumbebat sua exercitia prosecuturus, cum vero procederent, incedebat et ipse pie in sacris occupationibus absorptus, et totus unitus cum Deo. Ex hac intima unione cum Deo oriebatur ardens desiderium, ut omnes se unirent Summo illi bono, ejusque perfectiones agnoscerent, ferventissimo zelo anhelando ad salutem animarum, et promulgationem Evangelii, sine metu periculorum, nec ipsius mortis. Verba faciebat pro concione tanto cum ardore et energia verborum, vitia denigrans, et excitans ad virtutes, ut locum, in quo concionatus fuerat, sæpissime replere spiritu, quo animos, etiam maxime vagos et distractos, colligebat, et ad attentionem cogeat. Tempore, quo solus commoratus est in Seipan (et fuerunt plures anni) mane celebrabat, addebat brevem exhortatiunculam, prælegebat aliquas preces, aures dabat illis, qui ipsum conveniebant, et mox in sudore adibat alteram ecclesiam duabus leucis inde distantem, sæpe terra et per pluvias, ubi obibat eadem ministeria, quibus non nisi hora 12^a finem imponebat, et hoc (quod mirum est) in tam provecta ætate, septuagenario major.

Constans patientia inter tot tamque graves exantlatos labores fuit stupenda. Invicti certe animi fortitudinem satis ostendit tum in combustione tot ecclesiarum, in tam continuis mortis periculis, in tempestibus maris, in fame, siti, æstu solis, pluviis et aliis incommodis toleratis; tum in variis itineribus mari confectis, in quibus plurimum patiebatur ex eo quod aversaretur omnem cibum, nec ad sustentandam vitam aliud alimentum sumere poterat quam paululum vini, et frustulum panis bis cocti; quo parco alimento subinde contentus fuit diebus et noctibus, sedens in scamno naviculæ, totus madefactus a capite usque ad calcem tam ex undis maris, quam ex imbribus coelo delapsis. Numquam æstimavit sua mala, numquam conquestus est de suis doloribus, cum tamen is, quem patiebatur ex hernia, ex qua sæpissime effluebant viscera, esset acutissimus. Quis verbis exprimat auctoritatem et rigorem, quo corpusculum sat aliunde exhaustum morbis et laboribus, tractabat et affligebat. Quotidie se flagris coedebat; cilicia, quibus utebatur, erant aspera; et tempore, quo vacabat annuis exercitiis, cingebat pectus et scapulas usque ad umbilicum sacco ex hispidis pilis confecto, cujus vel aspectus horrore erat, hunc diu noctuque gestabat, nec eo exuebatur nisi absoluta sacra illa exercitatione: lectus erant duræ tabulæ, solummodo stratæ mappa aliqua straminea, et sæpissime nudum solum, cui pileus pro pulvinari inserviebat. Nunquam vestibus se exuit quietis causa, quam lasso corpori indulgere tenebatur, nisi obedientia compulsus in infirmitate. In penuria et incommodis, quæ per multos annos passa est

hæc missio, cum non haberet sedem, præter tempus, quod flexis genibus impendebat in piis commentationibus, in legendis horis canonicis, psalmis poenentialibus, officio defunctorum, et recitando magno numero precum, etiam de genibus, multas horas consumebat conscribendis letteris, et expediendis negotiis.

*Anno 1685 supremus legionis instructor (Sargento major) Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada profectus est ad conquiendas insulas de Tinian y Seipan, ei comes fuit P. Gerardus, qui pro felici successu hujus expeditionis promisit se nihil cibi aut potus gustaturum, donec eo appulissent: stetit promissis, et integrum diem et noctem (id enim fuit tempus navigationis) traduxit in rigido jejunio, continua oratione, et intima cum Deo unione avulsus a reliquis sociis. **Abstinentia**, quam totis 4. annis missionis Marianæ constanter tenuit, fuit singularis et sine interruptione.¹ Nam exceptis ultimis annis, idque obedientia compulsus, mane nihil sumebat; cæna autem erant crudæ radices, vel aliqui terræ fructus, et quando plusculum sibi indulgebat, elixæ herbæ: totis item 40 annis abstinuit vino, aqua vitæ et simili potu, nec adduci poterat, ut eo uteretur, nisi in mari, idque parce, quando aliud alimentum sumere non poterat.*

***Charitas** tum erga nostros, quam externos, fuit stupenda, quæ potissimum se effundebat erga ægros, in quorum gratiam buccellam, ut ita dicam, ex ore proprio detrahebat, et conferrebat in eos, se libenter privando omni eo, quod sibi ad vescendum concessum fuerat; hos sæpius invisebat, paterne solabatur, et benigne curabat omni, quo poterat, modo.*

Non dubito quin pientissimus Deus præmium et coronam martyrii jam concesserit in coelo ei, qui suam vitam toties et tam libenter obtulit eoram et in consortio eorum, qui suam profuderant pro Christo. Nam præter pericula et labores supra memoratos, præter varia vulnera, uti jam diximus, in odium Fidei suscepta, sæpissime expositus fuit præsentissimo mortis periculo, quam etsi non subiit, voluntas tamen non defuit, sed unice id attribui debet affectui et amori quo eum prosequerentur Indii uti patuit in aliqua occasione, dum iter faceret duobus militibus stipatus. In via eis occurrit turma barbarorum lanceis armata, quæ irruit in socios, eosque confodit, admonito prius Patre, ut recederet ab eis, ne eorum periculo involveretur, cujus mortem non intendebant. Iis peremptis, ipse collegit eorum arma et exuvias suis humeris impositas retulit ad præsidium tristis infortunii.... Prætereo profundam ejus animi demissionem, ejus constantiam tot annis probatam, in uno eodemque modo et tenore vitæ inter tot molestias et austeritates; hæc et similia prætereo, ne nimis longus sim, conservans in aliud tempus magis particularia, prout sibi vindicant releigiosæ viri virtutes, et quamvis propter ea quæ hactenus dicta sunt, mihi persuadeam, cum jam frui præmio, quod ei promeruerit tot facta vere apostolica, tamen rogo Ram. Vam., dignetur solito Soctis. nostræ suffragis indicere in suo sancto collegio, et mei meminisse in SSmis. suis sacrificiis.

Agadña 12 Majj 1712.

1 Ed. note: This was the 4 years that preceded the arrival of Fr. Cruydolf who joined him in Saipan, i.e. perhaps between 1705 and 1709.

Translation.

Letter from Rev. Fr. Muscati regarding the death of Fr. Bouwens.

In the island of Saypan, on 24 January 1712, his divine Majesty has been pleased to crown, as we piously believe, the apostolic labors and the eminent virtues of Rev. Fr. Gerard Bouwens, who died in the 78th year of his life, the 56th as a religious and the 40th since he professed his fourth vow and about as many as a missionary in the Mariana Islands.¹ What led him to the grave was a cruel illness contracted as a result of long labors that he endured during the last expedition undertaken to discover the Caroline Islands, and out of the sorrow he felt at seeing himself frustrated in his generous efforts. Thus, it was a few days after his return that he gave up his last breath, having received the last sacraments of the Church. The news of his death was the signal for a universal mourning, not only on the part of our religious, who had lost in him a distinguished worker and a true model of apostolic zeal, but also on the part of the population, who found themselves without their father and their consolation in hard times. The Indians themselves, accustomed not to show any emotion, did shed tears at the death of their teacher and tender protector. All had only one voice in saying: "The holy Father is dead." That was the name that they gave him already while he was still alive, so numerous had been his heroic virtues.

[Short biography]

Fr. Gerard Bouwens was born at Antwerp on 25 September 1633 [sic]. We never were able to learn anything about his parents or his first years, thanks to the care he took in hiding what could be called praiseworthy. At the age of 22, he was admitted into the Society of Jesus and joined the novitiate of Malines.

After he finished his studies and having devoted himself completely to either teaching or to other works of his holy ministry, he was called to the foreign missions, and destined to mission work in the Marianas.² He instantly obeyed the call of Providence and generously give up the potential honors and glory that his scientific knowledge, his thoroughness and his other natural talents could have brought him, had he remained in his native land. He arrived at the Mariana Islands the same month that Ven. Fr. Diego de Sanvitores shed his blood there for Jesus-Christ.³ This coincidence caused God's limitless goodness to be blessed, because, in order to dry the tears of this young Christian community, so cruelly tried at the loss of their father and first founder, had sent a replacement in the person of Fr. Bouwens. The Mission was to find in him a second founder, not any less devoted than the first. He was to merit this title fully by his numberless works that were awaiting him in order to enlarge this budding Christian community and make it prosper.

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- 1 Ed. note: Official records in Europe record the year of his birth as 1634, so that he was over 77 years old when he died.
 - 2 Ed. note: Not right away. He was chosen for the Indies, and he thought he was going to the Philippines, and then maybe China.
 - 3 Ed. note: Not the same month, but 2 months later.

After he had spent one year in the Mariana Islands, his superiors, having witnessed his skill and his zeal, sent him to Manila to negotiate an important affair regarding the mission. He was struck with a pernicious illness while there, diagnosed as a cancer and that made him suffer terribly, but did not change, even for one moment, the invincible patience of this man of God, always ready to suffer some more for his good Master.

Heaven soon caused his health to return and, the following year [1674] our missionary was able to embark for Acapulco; he got there only after 7 months and 8 days. During this long and arduous voyage, he was loved by all and particularly by the sick toward whom he played the role of the devoted physician; he provided day and night all the attentions that were required by the bodies and the souls. From Acapulco, Fr. Bouwens went on to Mexico City where he got from the archbishop-viceroy everything that he asked for on behalf of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands.

Having thus completed his business as he had wished, he went back to his dear mission [in 1675] where he found letters that appointed him superior. He willingly accepted this duty, because he saw in it the opportunity to be the servant of everybody else. Indeed, he was seen to work like the last of the workers, carrying stones with his own hands or in baskets, bringing earth and all the materials necessary to build the church which he was to dedicate to the holy name of Mary; however, he would not allow any of his companions to be employed at such vile and rough tasks which he kept for himself. What did bother him even more was the ill-will shown by a few rebels who surrounded him night and day; they threatened him with death. Amid such hardships and dangers, his sole consolation was to be with Jesus-Christ crucified, whose image he always wore upon his chest, kissing it often and addressing the most tender prayers to it. It is to this piety and his faith that one must ascribe the tranquility which succeeded this temporary storm, as well as the various victories won by the Christians.

Already at this time it became necessary to think of establishing a greater number of residences for the benefit of the inhabitants. In the space of two years, Fr. Bouwens built one which he meant for catechism lessons, for the administration of baptisms and the instruction of the faithful. He devoted himself with such zeal to these various ministries that he spent whole days and even part of the evening at them, so much so that he could hardly find a few hours to rest his tired limbs made wet with perspiration. The house which he had others build at the same time as the church collapsed on the very day that it was completed. Without losing courage, the Father had another built and this one was engulfed by flames before it was even finished. Persuaded as he was that those disasters were the work of the devil, who was irritated by the steady progress of the new christian community, he began for a third time. The persistence of Fr. Bouwens did win in the end over the rage of hell.

After having completed these tasks, he was sent by his superiors to the island of Rota where his tireless zeal confronted him with the same hardships and successes. While he was busy, in this new theater, with building and teaching, and spending the rest of his time with other apostolic works, he received the letters that appointed him [a second time] as superior of the mission. This arrangement had been made by divine Providence

who had reserved for him the task of consoling a mission about to go through another stormy period that began the same year that Fr. Bouwens began his administration, as a result of the revolt of the islanders against Spanish rule. In the disorder [of 1684], he received three wounds, one to the head, the others to a thigh and one arm. In this condition, he bent his knees in order to receive as a devout victim all the blows of his assailants. He would have suffered death for Jesus-Christ, had not a Christian intervened to withdraw him from this imminent danger. No word can express all that he did and suffered on that day. How can one describe the abnegation with which he forgot his own pain, while blood flowed from his own wounds, to seek and give help to his subordinates, encouraging those who had escaped injury up to that time, caring for the wounded and urging them all to give their life generously for Jesus-Christ whose image he kept clutched in his hands!

Once this first attack was over, the Europeans withdrew inside a fort where they found themselves trapped for the space of 20 months and reduced to extreme distress. The missionaries went out from time to time, protected by an armed guard, to administer the sacraments, to visit the sick and baptize the small children. Nothing, however, could equal the zeal of Fr. Bouwens. He extended his charity to the soldiers themselves, going so far as to replace them on guard during the night, so that they could get some rest. So many hardships, plus the humidity of the swampy ground, caused him to catch a very dangerous illness, of which he would have died, no doubt, if the governor had not been so kind as to provide a more comfortable house for him. During his illness, his whole occupation was to unite himself with God through the exercise of a continuous contemplation, in the hope that death would open the door to a happy afterlife. However, divine kindness saw to it that his health returned, much against all expectations.

As soon as his strength returned, Fr. Bouwens went to church to thank God for his cure. There, on his knees before the image of Jesus-Christ, he shed tears with such volume that it seemed as if his soul wanted to get rid of its links with the body. Had not the one responsible for the health of the personnel intervened and made him go back to his room, he might just have been the victim of his fervor.

He was mission superior for 4 years.¹ When his time as superior was over, he begged his successor to let him take care of the soldiers of the fleet, among whom the new superior had up to that time served as chaplain.² This way Fr. Bouwens hoped to relieve the latter of the hardships that he had suffered during his long navigation. After that he went to Agaña to provide the inhabitants with the services of his ministry. Soon the people of Tirna, a neighboring village, flocked to hear the preaching of the man of God.³ Such was the fervor and the liveliness of these new Christians that, after a little time, they completely changed their conduct. Imbued as they were with the observance

1 Ed. note: From 1684 to 1688.

2 Ed. note: I think that this was Fr. Zarzosa returning to Guam, via Acapulco.

3 Ed. note: So written in the Latin text, but not recognizable as a village near Agaña. It is most probably a misprint for Fiña.

of the new law, they were even heard to sing the litanies and sacred hymns while engaged in their daily tasks.

In 1695, the opportunity presented itself to go to the conquest of the northern islands. Fr. Bouwens took a very active part in this expedition, and had to contend with numberless hardships at sea and ashore, amid very great dangers. During the assault upon **Aguiguan** Island, he was first to climb a very steep cliff, facing a rain of spears and rocks that the islanders threw at their assailants. Once on top of the cliff, he joined the people under attack himself, in order to defend them against the fury of the soldiers who burned to take revenge upon those who had dared to resist. His evangelical fervor triumphed over the fury of the Spaniards. His ascendancy over the unhappy islanders was such that he was able to baptize a large number of infants brought in by their own parents, by way of atonement for their resistance.

From there, the missionary moved over to **Seipan** and the neighboring **Pani** Islands.¹ Everywhere, although at the cost of very great hardships and a thousand risks, he managed to get what everyone had expected from his zeal: the full conversion of the islanders. He baptized the children, instructed the adults and brought them all into the shelter of the Church. Not content with such happy beginnings, he took charge, as a benevolent father, of these new Christians and continued to feed them the bread of the doctrine and the sacraments. He settled himself in Seipan, and for many years administered alone this mission at the great advantage of the souls.²

The ardent zeal of Fr. Bouwens, that encompassed the whole world, was suffering within the confines of the Mariana Islands. He volunteered to go to the discovery of the Caroline Islands and, for that purpose, which shows very well his love for suffering, he embarked in 1711. After many detours and vain efforts to get to those islands, the object of his desires, he was pushed by violent winds toward the Visaya Islands. Thus he was frustrated in his noble ambition, and his body succumbed at last to the hardships of a long and perilous navigation.

These hardships, and even more so the sorrow at not seeing the conversion of so many souls postponed, affected him to such a degree that he had hardly returned to Seipan when he was attacked by a bothersome diarrhea. The circumstances did not allow the sick one to receive all the remedies that his situation warranted and that might have preserved the precious life of the missionary and, in so doing, a good example and powerful help to us. Various indications point at the fact that he had predicted the day and time of his death, because, when he returned to Seipan after the fruitless expedition to the Caroline Islands, he said in our presence: "It is in my little nest that I will die." On the eve of his death, when one of the Fathers was about to recite the prayers for the dying, he told him: "It is not time yet; let us wait until 5 in the morning." The event confirmed his prediction: it was a little after 5 that he gave up his last breath. It

1 Ed. note: I presume that Fr. Muscati wrote Gani, but that the early editor (basing himself on Fr. Garcia's practice) changed it to Pani.

2 Ed. note: Not continuously between 1695 and his death in 1712, since he was called to Guam in 1698 and did not return until about 1705 (4 years before the arrival of Fr. Cruyldolf).

seems as if he had wanted to enjoy the prayers for the dying much closer to the time that the first sacrifice [of the mass] is celebrated.

[Fr. Bouwens' virtues]

A whole book would not suffice to describe the rare virtues that adorned the soul of Fr. Bouwens and to narrate everything that he undertook and suffered in the Mariana Islands. In order not to ignore everything, let us just mention what can be mentioned within the format of a letter.

Since **obedience** is the soul of our Society, he was always attentive to the least indication of the will of his superiors, volunteering without any repugnance for the most difficult things and the most opposite to the tendencies of his character; for instance, he never took into account the seasickness that his weak constitution made him go through at sea. Very late one evening, he received a letter in which his superior ordered him to leave right away; he decided to obey and would have left immediately, had not his companion, for whom he had much deference, not intervened to interpret in a more benign way the intention of the superior.

His whole exterior reflected his angelic **chastity**; he never recognized any woman by sight alone, since he always kept his eyes downwards whenever he had to deal with a person of the opposite sex. During the whole course of his expeditions, he never left his escort, no doubt to avoid the sight of anything that might offend his purity. His **poverty** took no back seat to his chastity or obedience. His clothing, his breviary and a few small books that comprised his baggage, were the most worn-out things among the objects belonging to the mission. That is why, no-one would have thought of asking to use any of them, if a man of God had not made them venerable.

He always walked in the presence of God and never ceased to talk with Him in a familiar fashion. Much before daybreak, he would begin his prayer, which exercise he was busy with all day long, even while travelling, at the great edification of the inhabitants who were seeing him always busy, either saying the rosary or reading some pious book. When he accompanied the soldiers in their expeditions, every time the latter called a halt, Fr. Bouwens would fall on his knees to continue his prayer; and, when they moved forward once again, he followed them, absorbed in God and in holy conversations [with Him].

In this intimate union with God arose his ardent desire to see all men joined to this sovereign goodness and to recognize the divine attributes. Hence his burning zeal for the salvation of souls and this thirst to spread the empire of Jesus-Christ, in the face of the greatest dangers and even death. He preached with so much devotion and energy that he would catch the attention of the most distracted listener. During the time that he remained alone in Seipan, that is during many years, he said mass early in the morning, then gave a short instruction, recited certain prayers to which the faithful answered,

heard the confessions of those who would come forward for them, then he would go, bathed in sweat, to another church situated two leagues away.¹ He would normally cover this distance on foot, even when it was raining. Once at this new theater of his zeal, he would repeat the same ministries and would finish only about noon—a wonderful thing, considering his advanced age, since he was over 70 years old.

His **patience** was beyond the greatest hardships. Not even the burning of so many churches, nor the almost-constant dangers that plagued his active career, or even his weak stomach which, during voyages did not let him accept more than some biscuit dipped in wine, nor the heat of the climate, the storms at sea—nothing was capable of altering the peace of his soul. The man of God never complained about his infirmities, although a terrible hernia would make him suffer atrocious pain.

Who could tell the rigor with which he treated his body, exhausted as it was by labors and illnesses? Each day he would practice discipline upon his body; he always wore the cilicium [hair shirt] and, during the annual retreat, he wrapped his shoulders and chest with a fur coat whose sight alone made others shiver and which he did not remove until the end of the exercises. His bed was made up of two boards covered with a straw mattress, and oftentimes he would sleep on a bare surface. In order to rest, he would undress only during a time of illness, and upon the strict order of his superiors.

[**Abstinence.**] In 1685, Commander Don José de Quiroga y Losada had decided to make the conquest of the islands of Tinian and Seipan. Fr. Bouwens who accompanied him promised, to ensure the success of the expedition, not to take anything to eat or drink until they had landed there. He strictly followed his promise and, during the 24 hours that the journey lasted, kept a complete fast and spent all this time in prayer. Besides, he spent many years in the Marianas without taking anything in the morning. His supper consisted of raw roots or local fruits. For 40 years, he did not drink wine, brandy or any other liquor. One could not make him accept any of them, unless it were at sea where he was not able to hold anything else.

What to say about his **charity** towards strangers, towards our people, and above all towards the sick, for whom he would even give up his own food? His very happiness consisted of visiting them often, to console them and to provide them with all the treatments that he was himself able to give.

I do not doubt that merciful God has already granted him the reward and the martyr's crown to one who, so many times, exposed his life at the side of his brethren who did shed their blood for Jesus-Christ. Over and above the works already mentioned, besides the wounds he received, as we have said, on account of hate for the faith, many times he saw himself on the point of dying. If he escaped death, one must ascribe this only to the love that he had for the Indians. One day, among others, as he was traveling with two soldiers, he met with a troop of barbarians armed with lances. The soldiers were attacked and massacred, but the murderers had first told the missionary to

1 Ed. note: From his residence at Fatiguan (now Chalan Kanoa), Fr. Bouwens had built another church at Anaguan, now Garapan.

leave his companions, so that their blows would not reach a head that they wished to spare. After the massacre, the Father gathered up the weapons and the remains of the victims and brought them back to the Spaniards....

I do not mention his deep humility, or his constancy so long tested in the face of so many reverses and so much suffering. I am afraid that I would be too long, and I will bide my time in order to write something more later on about the eminent virtues of this man of God.

Although I am persuaded that he already enjoys the reward that his apostolic labors have earned for him, I nevertheless beg Your Reverence to order that the ordinary prayers of the Society be recited for his soul, and not to forget me in your holy sacrifices.

Agaña 12 May 1712.

Document 1712F

Sailing directions upon nearing Acapulco, by Professor Sanchez

Source: Ms. 1450 in Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, entitled: "Derrotero y descripcion de las costas de Mar del Sur desde el Cabo de San Jorge hasta el estrecho de Magallanes y de ay, al estrecho a dentro hasta el fin del Veste Cabo de la Victoria. De todas las costas de Nueva España y el Peru, sus Puertos, Bahyas, y Ensenadas, y las Latitudes, y Longitudes de ellos: Comentado por Don Joseph Sanches: Professor del Arte Nautico y de la mathematica: En el Año del Señor de 1712."

Note: Among other things, this is an important rutter for sailing from Upper California (42°) down to Acapulco (17°).

Original text in Spanish

Nearing Acapulco from the north.

...
Se vee una sierra alta que haze una mesa por encima hechada de Nordeste Sudueste que desde lexos pareze Ysla[.] Acercandose a ella pareze otra tierra mas baxa arrimada hacia la banda del sudueste[.] navegando hazia ella[.] la punta que mas sale de toda la tierra que tambien pareze Ysla, es el Puerto del Marques que esta a la banda del Sueste del Puerto de Acapulco: luego pareze otro cerro pequeño que es Ysla Redonda, que por la parte del Norte de ella por entre ella, y la tierra firme, se pareze entrar[.] aqui es la Canal angosta[.] es mui segura[.] llamase Ysla de los Chivos; Luego pareze al Nordeste una playa grande, y se [h]a de proar a ella hasta descubrir las Cassas, y si fuere el viento Norueste, [de-]tenerse y dar fondo donde alcanzare sin recelo[.] Advierto que la sierra grande, que esta sobre Acapulco se llama la Sierra de Sitala, y está este Puerto en altura de 17 grados escasos.

Nearing Acapulco from the south.

...
Este puerto de Acapulco esta con el Marques Nordeste Sueste cosa de una legua[.] Este puerto de Acapulco tiene su entrada a la banda del Veste, y Norueste[.] es buen puerto, y tiene como 20 brazas de fondo[.] las señas de este puerto son estas: esta en altura de 17 grados escasos[.] es tierra alta, y peñascos a la mar[.] tiene un cerro redondo

la tierra à dentro mas altas [sic] que estas de enfrente del puerto: arriva o encima de este cerro ha de haver algunas piedras blancas, y coloradas que parecen carneros buzcalos: se llama Cerro la Brea[.]es mui buen Puerto, y abrigado de todos vientos[.] cuidado con la Ysla por no pasar al Puerto [que] esta a la banda del Norueste, y Sueste[.] todo es peñascos que coge como legua y media, y a una banda y otra es playa: En la medianía de estos peñascos esta el Puerto de Acapulco: Advierto si caes por barlovento de este Puerto tiene 25 leguas de playa con algunas arboledas de palmas: Si caes a zotabento ay 7 leguas de playa que es donde estan las Pesquerías, esta el Puerto en medio de estas dos playas, ó arenales[.] si vinieres de la mar à fuera por altura verrás quales son los peñascos muy altos que tiene la Costa, y verrás un cerro que tiene como dos tetas que llaman las Tetas de Juaquos ó de Coyacas [como] le nombran otros: trayendo estas al Norte podras entrar en la tierra y vendras a dar con el mismo Puerto de Acapulco.

...

Translation

Nearing Acapulco from the north.

...

A high mountain can be seen which is flat on top, is aligned NE—SW and which appears like an island from afar. Upon getting nearer to it, another, lower, land appears which extends from it toward the SW. By sailing toward it, the point that comes out the most from the land, and also looks like an island, is actually the Port of Marquez, situated SE of the Port of Acapulco. Later one, another hill appears, which is a round island. It is north of it, between it and the mainland that the narrow channel is located; it is very safe. The name of this island is Chivos. Then, a wide beach can be seen toward the NE, and you should head for it until the houses can be seen, and if the wind be northeasterly, you should stop and anchor in the farther spot you can reach without fear. I give notice that the big mountain, which rises above Acapulco, is called Mount Sitala, and this port is in almost 17 degrees.

...

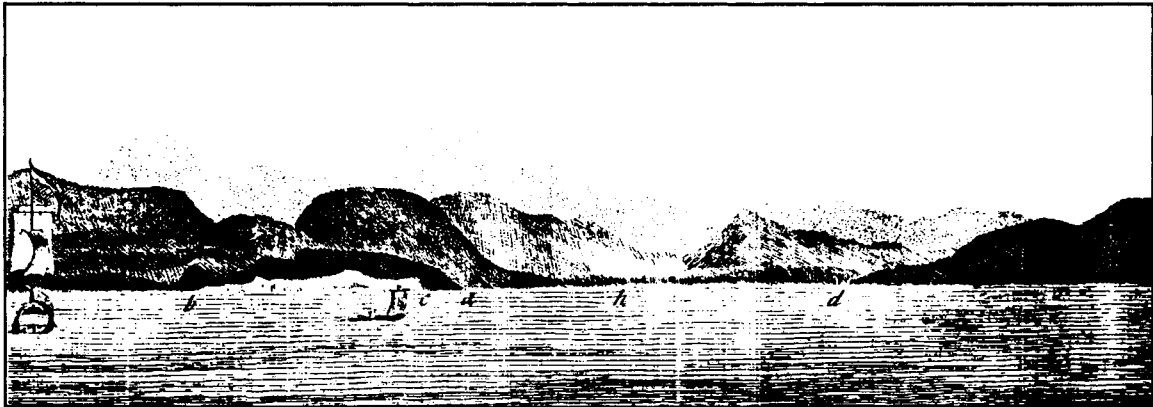
Nearing Acapulco from the south.

...

This port of Acapulco is NE—SW with respect to that of Marquez, about 1 league. This port of Acapulco has its entrance on its WNW side. It is a good port, with its bottom at about 20 fathoms. The signs to make this port are as follows. It is in almost 17 degrees of latitude. It is high land with crags in the sea. There is a round hill inland, higher than those in front of the port; up and on top of this hill, there should be some stones, white and red, that look like some lost sheep; it is called Cerro la Brea [=Tar Hill]. It is a very good port, sheltered from all winds. Look out for the island, so as not to miss the port, which is NW—SE. There is a series of crags for about one and a half leagues, with a beach on both sides. Halfway up these crags is the Port of Acapulco. I

give notice that if you fall to windward of this port, there are 25 leagues of beaches with palm trees; if you fall to leeward, there are 7 leagues of beach which is where the fisheries are located. The port is located between these two beaches, or sand dunes. If you should approach from the high sea, at the [right] latitude, you should look for higher crags along the coast, and you should see a hill that has two peaks that look like teats, which some call the Tetas de Juaquos and others say Tetas de Coyacas; by placing these toward the north, you will go inland and end up in the very port of Acapulco.

...



The entrance to the port of Acapulco. *Part of a sketch made by RN Lieutenant Peirce Brett of the Anson Squadron in 1742: h indicated the entrance channel, a and d are the west and east points of the harbor respectively, b-c is an islet.*

Document 1712G

Notes on the Grand-Dauphin, the first French ship around the world, not just once, but twice

Sources: E. W. Dahlgren's Voyages français, n° 80 and n° 128, where a few documents from ANP are cited.

Note: This same ship, captained by a relative of this Captain Dufresne, made a second voyage around the world (see below).

Introductory note on the first voyage, by Dahlgren.

The **Grand-Dauphin** (or simply Dauphin) of Saint-Malo. Captain: [Sébastien(?)] Dufresne, Lord of Saudrais; then Michel-Guillaume Collet, Lord of Portail(?); ship-owner: Guillaume Rouzier.

Departure from Saint-Malo on 17 January 1711. This Mr. Dufresne des Saudrais died at Canton, whence the ship departed on 28 January 1713. It arrived back at Saint-Malo on 28 July 1713. Almost nothing is known about the actual voyage of this vessel, the first French ship around the world. Most of the French documents in the archives have to do with the efforts made by French authorities, firstly to prevent its departure, and then to the legal proceedings against the shipowners after its return.

Editor's notes.

There is a strong possibility that this ship went **via Guam**, just like all the other French ships of the period that crossed the Pacific, following the trail of Captain Frontat, but in the absence of a logbook, I have not found a Spanish reference either. On the one hand, the logbooks were probably destroyed, or hidden, so that the details of the voyage would not become known at the trials (and they were then lost). On the other hand, Governor Pimentel of Guam would not report to Manila the passage of any foreign ship, after he was severely criticized and tried for having aided enemy ships, those of Woodes Rogers in 1710.

However, one should make an effort to look for clues as to the track across the Pacific, for confirmation of a visit to Guam, in the following letters written after the ship returned to France. The Guam visit, if any, would have occurred in April 1712.

—ANP, Marine, B2 235: Letters from Pontchartrain¹ to Lempereur, dated 9, 16, 23, 30 August, and 6, 13, 20 September 1713;

—ANP, Marine, B3 212: Letters from Lempereur to Pontchartrain, dated 30 July, 13 and 20 August 1713;

—ANP, G2 1698: Letters from Boutillier to Desmaretz, dated 25 and 28 October, 8 and 19 November 1713; and 14 February 1714;

—ANP B3 221: Letter from Lempereur to Pontchartrain, 19 August 1714.

Introductory note on the second voyage, by Dahlgren.

The **Grand-Dauphin** of Saint-Malo; 350 tons, 24 guns, 83 men. Captain Louis-Hervé Dufresne, Lord of Saudrais; ship-owner Guillaume Rouzier.

Departed Saint-Malo on 3 September 1714, to go to Cadiz “whence it sailed off to go to the coast of Brazil to sell the goods that it was unable to sell at Cadiz, and whence it sailed bound for China by way of Peru.” Was at Callao on 16 August 1715, whence it departed to go to China on 5 January 1716.² Set sail from Canton on 17 November 1716. “While bound for Europe, being at 5°8’ lat. S. and 126° long., the ship ran aground, on 6 December 1716, upon two shoals, called Las Dos Hermanas, on the charts. It was stuck there for about 8 hours.” That is why it had to seek the port of Batavia, where it arrived on 9 December 1716, whence it departed on 25 January 1717. Arrived at Cadiz on 12 August and at Ostende on 7 October 1717. The goods were there sold at auction, from 13 to 19 December; gross revenue from the sale was 900,000 guilders.

Editor’s note.

It would be desirable to check the following document for further information:

—Archives départementales, Rennes (formerly at the Port of Saint-Servan, under C4 329): Declaration of the Captain, made on 22 December 1717.

1 Pontchartrain was then Minister of the Navy.

2 If it stopped at Guam, as I suspect, it was probably in March 1716.

Document 1712H

One more small band of Jesuits

Source: AGI Fil. 105.

Letter to the House of Trade, dated Madrid 11 July 1712

Original text in Spanish.

A la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla para que degen embarcarse en la proxima flota una Mision de ocho Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs, que pasan à Philipinas.

El año pasado de 1699 se concedio lizencia para que pasasen a las Misiones de Philipinas que estan à cargo de la Comp^a de Jhs sesenta sugetos, de los quales se embarcaron 32 en la flota que salio para la N^a Esp^a el año de 1706 y 20 en la que pasó al mismo Reyno el de 1708 y aora Juan Basilio Lochi de la misma Provincia de Philipinas, ha representado que faltando todavia ocho Religiosos para el cumplimiento de los 60 que estan concedidos para aquellas Misiones los tiene Juntos para conduzirlos en la proxima flota que se està aprestando para el referido Reyno de la N^a Esp^a suplicando sele diese aprobacion de ellos, y el despacho que se acostumbra para que puedan embarcarse en la referida flota, à cuyo fin à presentado una lista de sus nombres y naturalezas, que son como se siguen.

—El referido Juan Basilio Lochi, Superior de la Mision que vino de Philipinas natural de Yglesias Arzobpdo de Caller de edad de 51 años.

—Phelipe Frutos, su Compañero Coadjutor natural de Cantalejo, Obpdo de Segovia de edad de 34 años.

—Manuel Villar de Quiñones, Sacerdote, natural de Villagarcia, Obpdo de Palencia de edad de 25 años.

—Manuel Alonso Arguelles Quiñones, natural de la Mota de Toro, Obpdo de Zamora de edad de 24 años.

—Francisco de la Barreda, natural de Granada y su Obpdo de edad de 23 años.

—Antonio de Benavides natural de Malaga y su Obpdo de edad de 22 años.

—Martin Garcia natural de Cordova y su Obpdo de edad de 23 años.

—Diego de Asensio natural de Cadiz y su Obpdo de edad de 23 años.

—Pedro de Cabrera, Natural de Murzia y su Obpdo de edad de 20 años.

—Francisco Escalisi, Coadjutor, natural de Palermo y su Obpdo de edad de 30 años.

Y habiendo visto en el Consejo à aprobado los ocho Religiosos referidos, y ordena a V.S. y esos Señores les den el despacho nezesitado para que asi ellos, como el expresado Juan Basilio Loche y su Compañero se puedan embarcar en los Navios de la flota que esta para hacer viage a la N^a Esp^a sin ponerles en el embarazo ni impedimento alguno.

*Dios guarde a V.S. y esos Señores muchos años.
Madrid y Julio 11 de 1712.*

Translation.

To the House of Trade in Seville for them to let a mission band of 8 Religious of the Society of Jesus, who are going to the Philippines, embark aboard the next fleet.

In the past year of 1699, a license was granted for 60 subjects to pass to the Philippine missions of the Society of Jesus. Out of those, 32 boarded the fleet that left for New Spain in the year 1706, and 20 went to the same Kingdom with the fleet of 1708. Now Juan Basilio Lochi of the same Province of the Philippines has represented that, as yet, there are 8 Religious to go to make up the complement of the 60 who were granted for those missions, and he has them ready to board the next fleet that is being made ready for the above-mentioned Kingdom of New Spain. He begs to be given permission for them, and the usual despatch, to enable them to board said fleet, for whose purpose he has presented a list of their names and hometowns, as follows:

—Said Juan Basilio Lochi, Superior of the mission band going to the Philippines, born in Iglesias in the Archdiocese of Caller, 51 years old;

—Brother Felipe Frutos, his companion, born in Cantalejo, Diocese of Segovia, 34 years old;

—Manuel Villar de Quiñones, priest, born in Villagariña, Diocese of Palencia, 25 years old;

—Manuel Alonso Argüelles Quiñones, born in Mota de Toro, Diocese of Zamora, 24 years old;

—Francisco de la Barreda, born in Granada, Diocese of Granada, 23 years old;

—Antonio de Benavides, born in Málaga, Diocese of Málaga, 22 years old;

—Martin García, born in Córdoba, Diocese of Córdoba, 23 years old;

—Diego de Ascensio, born in Cádiz, Diocese of Cádiz, 23 years old;

—Pedro de Cabrera, born in Murcia, Diocese of Murcia, 20 years old;

—Francisco Escalini, Coadjutor brother, born in Palermo, Diocese of Palermo, 30 years old.

And this matter having been seen in the Council, the above-mentioned 8 Religious have been approved, and Your Lordship and the Gentlemen there are ordered to give them the required despatch, in order for them, as well as the above-mentioned Juan Basilio Lochi and his Companion, to embark aboard the ships of the fleet that is about to make the voyage to New Spain, without them being bothered or impeded in any way.

May God save Your Lordship and the Gentlemen there for many years.

Madrid, 11 July 1712.

Document 1712I

Expeditions to the Carolines, as of 1712

Letter from Governor Ursúa to the King, dated Manila 25 June 1712

Source: AGI Fil. 215.

Notes about this file: The 102-folio case file that was attached to this letter is entitled: "Testimonio de los Autos concernientes à la Real Zedula sobre el descubrimiento y reduccion de las nuevas Yslas de Pais o Palaos." It contained 4 original drawings, now labelled MP Fil. 181, 182A, 182B, and 183 by AGI, the first of which is Apra Harbor in Guam (see p. 547), and the other 3 are profiles of Palau and one islet named Salvan, i.e. Suluan. The file begins with a decree dated 1 March 1712 and is immediately followed by a petition by Fr. Serrano. It is a different case file from the one bearing a similar title, that accompanied the Governor's letter dated 18 June 1710, which also begins with a petition by Fr. Serrano (following a decree dated 7 January 1710) and is the source for MP Fil. 14; this one is a massive 539-folio document.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de Philipinas.

27.—Da quenta a V.M. de las nuevas diligencias que se han hecho sobre el descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos, y de haverse perdido un Patache que se despacho a ellas el año pasado de 1711, ahogandose toda la gente exsepto dos personas que escaparon con la vida. Con Testimonio a n° 26.

Señor

En carta de 30 de Junio del año proximo pasado di quenta a V.M. del subzesos que tubieron las dos embarcaciones que el año antecedente de 1710 despache al descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos en ejecucion de lo mandado, por Real çedula de V.M. de 19 de Octubre de 1705, y como la una de dhas dos embarcaciones se perdio aun antes de salir de estas Islas, sin peligrar ninguna jente de la que yba embarcada en ella, y que habiendo proseguido, su viaje la otra embarcacion, llevo a descubrir dos Islotes, o, Islas pequeñas en altura de 5 grados, y 24 minutos, de la Linea para el norte avitadas de alguna jente donde saltaron en tierra dos Religiosos, sazerdotes de la Compania de Jesus, y otra catorçe personas de la misma embarcacion, la qual, por no haver hallado, donde dar fondo, fue desgaritada, de las corrientes y Bientos contrarios, y llevo a descubrir otra Isla Grande en altura de 7 grados, y 20 minutos, y aunque despues hizo las diligencias posibles, por volver a cojer las referidas, dos Islas Pequeñas no lo pudo conseguir,

y así se quedaron en ellas, los dos Religiosos, y demas personas mencionadas volviéndose dha embarcacion de Arrivada a estas Islas segun mas por menor, expresè en la zitada del año proximo pasado.

*En esta, doy así mismo, quenta a V.M. como habiendo ynstado el Padre Andres Serrano de la Compañia de Jesus, como Vize Provincial nombrado de dhos Palaos para que en cumplimiento de lo mandado por V.M. se hiçiese nuevo apresto de embarcacion para repetir, las diligencias del referido descubrimiento de Palaos, lo remiti a Junta General de hacienda, en la qual aunque con contradición del fiscal de esta Real Audiencia, se determino se hiçiese nuevo despacho como con efecto se hizo aprestando la misma embarcacion, que consiguio viaje, el año antecedente de 1710 que fue el Patache nombrado la **Santisima Trinidad** el qual salio del Puerto de Cavite el dia 15 de Octubre del año proximo pasado de 1711, y la noche, del dia 18, del mismo mes se perdio, con una tormenta que le sumerjio en la mar hallandose, entre las dos Provincias de Mindoro; y Tayavas, a distancia de 35 u 50 Leguas de esta Ciudad de Manila sin que escapasen, la vida mas que tan solamente, un Indio, que en un Palo pudo cojer tierra en la Jurisdición de Tayavas, y otros dos hombres, que en la misma forma arrivaron a la de Mindoro[,] aunque el uno de ellos murio, pocos dias despues, haviendose ahogado toda las demas jente que yba en dho Patache, y entre ella el dho Padre Andres Serrano con otro Religioso sazerdote, y un Lego de la misma Compania de Jesus.*

*Haviendo dado Ynstrucion, y horden al cavo y Piloto maior, del Patache que el año proximo pasado se despacho con el Situado regular, a las Yslas Marianas, para que en su torna viaje a estas Yslas hiçiese las diligencias posibles, por el descubrimiento de dhos Palaos lo executo así el cavo y Piloto maior de dho Patache, arando la mar de una parte a otra en toda la distancia que ay desde las Islas Marianas, hasta estas de Philipinas en cuio distrito, llego a descubrir como cosa de 40 Islotes o Islas muy pequeñas exsepto la una de ellas que es algo grande, llamada **Pan Lox**, que segun su situacion, parece es la misma que se descubrio el año de 1710, en 7 grados, y 20 minutos, y todas, o las mas havitadas de jente las unas estan en 10 grados, otras en 7, y otras en 5 grados, y minutos [sic] de las quales trajo consigo, dho cavo, y Piloto dos hombres, el uno, que cojio de las Islas Pequeñas, y otro de la grande, y entre las pequeñas se descubrieron, las dos en que dho año se quedaron los dos Religiosos de la Compania, y demas jente que arriava se mencionan pero por no haver podido arrimar a ellas dha embarcacion respecto de no haver dado lugar los tiempos contrarios no se ha podido saver si viven o, si los mataron a todos.*

*Estas son (Señor) las diligencias que de mi horden se han hecho en los dos años de 1710, y 1711, sobre el descubrimiento de las mencionadas Islas de Palaos en cumplimiento de lo mandado por V.M. sin que de ellas ni de las que hizo mi Antecesor en los años de 1707, y 1709, se aya conseguido mas fruto que el que dejo expresado[,] a que se añade que el Governador de Marianas el año proximo pasado despacho desde ellas, una embarcacion al mismo descubrimiento, la qual arrivo a estas Islas sin haver conseguido nada; y el General Don Miguel de Elorriaga volviendo de torna viaje de la nueva España a estas Islas con el Galeon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** de su cargo el*

mismo año proximo pasado despacho otra embarcacion pequena desde las Marianas, con jente de toda satisfacion en Busca de dhos Palaos, y solo descubrio quatro Islas pequenas, de todo lo qual se puede ymferir que las Islas de Palaos de que se le ha ymformado a V.M. se reducen a las que como dejo referido se han descubierta, pues ha, haver otras en la parte, y de la grandesa y jentio que se juzgó parece ymposible, se dejase de haver encontrado con ellas mediante las muchas diligencias que se han hecho, sobre que V.M. mandara lo que fuere de su maior agrado.

*C.C. y R.P. guarde Dios como la Cristiandad ha menester.
Manila y Junio 25 de 1712.*

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

27.—Reports to Y.M. about the new attempts that have been made to explore the Palaos Islands, and about the loss of a patache that was despatched overthere in the past year 1711, that resulted in the drowning of all those on board, except two persons who escaped alive. Enclosing Record of proceedings n° 26.

Sire:

In a letter dated 30 June of last year, I reported to Y.M. about the outcome of the voyage of two vessels which I despatched to the exploration of the Palaos Islands in the previous year 1710, to comply with the Royal decree of Y.M. dated 19 October 1705, and how one of said two vessels was lost, even before leaving these Islands, but without any loss of life on the part of those aboard it. The other vessel pursued its voyage and managed to discover two islets, or small islands, in latitude of 5°24' north of the Line, inhabited by some people, where two Religious, priests of the Society of Jesus, stepped ashore, along with 14 other persons from the same vessel. However, said vessel, being unable to find a place to anchor, was carried off by contrary currents and winds, and managed to discover another large island in latitude 7°20' and, although it later made all possible efforts to return and touch at the two above-mentioned small islands, it could not do so. That is why the two Religious, and the other persons referred to above, have remained there, while said vessel arrived back at these Islands. Further details were given in the above-mentioned letter of last year.

In the present, I also inform Y.M. about the petition presented by Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus, in his capacity as the officially-appointed Vice-Provincial of said Palaos, to obtain the accomplishment of Y.M.'s order, by having the despatch of another ship, to repeat the attempt at exploring the Palaos. I passed it on to the General Meeting of the Treasury, in which it was decided, in spite of the objection of the Fiscal of this Royal Audiencia, to make a new despatch. This was done, and the same vessel that had made the previous voyage in 1710, that is the patache named **Santísima Trinidad**, left the port of Cavite on 15 October of last year 1711, and on the evening of the 18th of the same month, it was lost during a storm that made it founder while it was between the two Provinces of Mindoro and Tayabas, at a distance of 35 or 50 leagues from this City of Manila. Everyone on board lost their life, with the excep-

tion of one Indian who reached the shore of the Province of Tayabas on top of a mast that he had gotten hold of, and of two other men who reached the shore of Mindoro the same way, although one of them died a few days later. All of the other people who had been aboard said patache died by drowning, and among them were Father Andrés Serrano, with another priest, plus one brother of the same Society of Jesus.

Having given an Instruction and order to the Commander and Chief Pilot of the patache that was despatched to the Mariana Islands with the regular subsidy last year, for it to make all efforts possible during its return voyage to these Islands to explore said Palaos, said Commander and Chief Pilot of said patache did so, and plowed the seas as far as these Philippine Islands. In-between he managed to discover something like 40 islets, or very small islands, except for one of them that was somewhat larger, named **Pan Lox**, which, according to its position, seems to be the same one that was discovered in 1710, in 7°20'. All, or most, of them are inhabited by people. The first group is in 10°, the others in 7°, and still others in 5°, give or take a few minutes. Said Commander and Pilot picked up two men and brought them along; one was from the small islands, and the other from the large island. Among the small islands visited were included the two where the two Religious of the Society, and other men who were mentioned previously, had been marooned, but said vessel was unable to touch at them, on account of the contrary weather, and so, they could not find out if they are alive, or if they were all killed.

Such are, Sire, the attempts that have been made as a result of my order in the two years 1710 and 1711, to explore the above-mentioned Palaos Islands, in compliance with what Y.M. has ordered, and not more has been accomplished by them than what I have just mentioned, even in the attempts made under my predecessor in the years 1707, and 1709. I may add that the Governor of the Marianas despatched a vessel from there last year to go to the same exploration, but said vessel arrived at these Islands without having achieved anything. Last year also, General Miguel de Elorriaga, upon returning from New Spain to these Islands in command of the galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, despatched another small vessel from the Marianas with trustworthy men in search of said Palaos, but it only discovered four small islands [i.e. Ngulu]. In conclusion, one can infer that the only Palaos are the islands that have been discovered so far, but there must be many more in that area, although it seems impossible that they be larger, with more people, than have been seen already through the many attempts that have been made so far. Regarding which, Y.M. will order what you please.

May God save your Catholic and Royal person, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 25 June 1712.

Document 1712J

Expedition to the Carolines by an unnamed boat from Guam in 1711

Letter from Governor Pimentel to the King, dated Umatac 23 January 1712

Source: AGI Fil. 168 (formerly 68-4-17).

Original text in Spanish.

Señor.

*Haviendo surgido en este Puerto de Umata la Nao Capitana **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** del cargo del General Don Miguel de Eloriaga el dia 31 de Mayo de torna buelta de Nueva España para Philipinas saque de ella un Piloto, y nueve Marineros alabados de dho General, y Piloto mayor de ella para proseder al descubrimiento de las Yslas de los Garbanzos como por Carta de dho dia tengo dado quenta a V.M. y haviendo abiado el Barco que fabrique a mi costa y mencion con los viveres[,] peltrechos, y municiones, que parecieron ser super abundantes lo despache dia del Glorioso precursor San Juan Bautista y quando my prometia un mapa copiosso de Yslas descubiertas por la parte del poniente sudueste, y sur, vino la valandra **Santo Domingo de Guzman** con el Zituado que de dos a dos años se trae de dhas Yslas Philipinas para la manutencion de esta Ynfanteria y en ella el Padre Capellan de dicho Barco, y la mayor parte de la Gente de Mar y guerra, que yba para su manejo con noticia de haverse desgarrado, y arribado al Puerto de Bagatao de donde no puede bolver a estas Yslas por ser dificil vencer contrarios vientos y corrientes sin evidente peligro, y porque desde el punto que recevi el Real despacho de Merced de este Gobierno propuse a la Divina Magd. hazer de mi parte quantas diligencias cupiesen en la pocibilidad umana en orden al descubrimiento de las Yslas Carolinas, y Garbanzos, quedo entendiendo en la fabrica de otro Barco de veinte codos de quilla para continuar lo comensado luego que llegue la nao **Nuestra Señora de Vegofia** que el año proximo passado de 711 se despacho de Philipinas para Nueva España de donde se espera el presente año para sacar otro piloto, y Marineros expertos que voluntariamente quieren embarcarse para dho descubrimiento.*

*En dicha Balandra tube à aviso de mis deudos, y Podatario General Don Joseph de Oscorta [sic], de que los Pricioneros de la Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion**, que rescate de los Piratas Yngleses quando llegaron a este Puerto de Umata por Marzo de 710 y otros tres ó quatro que por inquietos desterre de estas Yslas a las Philipinas en el Barco en que di aviso de dhos Piratas al Conde de Lizarraga su Governador y Capitan General havian depuesto de mi quanto su deprabada Yntencion les havia instimulado sobre que se formaron Autos en Manila recibiendo a dhos desterrados, y pricioneros sus declaraciones en que me cargan de omiso, y cobarde por no haver hecho opossicion a dhos Piratas, quando consta Judicialmente por los Ynstrumentos adjuntos, que al punto que llegue al Pueblo de Agat conboque a Junta de Guerra a todos los Capitanes, Ayudantes, y Alferezes vivos, y reformados que me siguieron à dho pueblo, a quienes propusse lo que por dicha junta se vera, y ba resolucion, que de comun acuerdo se tomo por hallarnos faltos de gente diciplinada con pocas Armas, y Polbora en una total indefencion[.] a cuya defensa salio dicho General Don Joseph de Oscortta [sic] como mi Apoderado General dando prueba en mi abono con numero cresido de testigos de mayor suposicion[.] calidad y credito, que los abversarios[.] provando la ninguna resistencia, que se les pudo hazer en esta Ysla, a dhos Piratas por las razones espresadas en dicha Junta, y que si se les dieron bastimentos de los frutos, y raizes que produze la tierra en rescate de la Santisima Virgen Titular de dha Almiranta, de muchos cruzifixos, relicarios, medallas, Rossarios, estampas, y Pricioneros, como por librar de ultrajes, insendios é yrriesiones los templos, Basos, y cosas sagradas de estas misiones, y de esclavitud a los Ministros Evangelicos, y naturales de la tierra y de que se apoderasen de ella para hazer escala donde esperar las Naos de Philipinas de buelta de nueva España[.] pareciendo a todos los Ecclesiasticos, y seculares de esta Ysla menor inconveniente el de proveer a dhos Piratas de los pocos frutos y raizes que da el Paiz, que esponerlo todo à conocida ruina de estas Marianas, y Philipinas con la pressa, que pudieran hazer todos los años de sus Naos, mayormente quando las despachan tan sobre cargadas, y embalumadas, que de milagro consiguen el viaje de nueva España.*

*La Carta que escrivi à dho Conde de Lizarraga dandole aviso de dichos Piratas y la derotta, que seguian me escriven haverla puesto por Caveza y fundamento de los Autos por lo que en ella Digo de los bastimentos, en que se podra conoser mi Lizo, y llano proceder sin occultar nada de lo acaesido[.] en la occacion quando en otras dos llegaron a esta Ysla piratas que abian apresado varios vajeles del Peru siendo la primera el Patache nombrado **El Tigre**, que surgio en este Puerto, y fue en el proveydo de los viveres[.] agua y leña, que necesita[va] pagandolo todo muy bien. Y el año de 86 aportaron a esta Ysla otros dos Pataches de Piratas, y no hallandose con fuerzas bastantes para combatirles el Theniente General Don Damian de Esplana, y sabiendo que esperaban à la Nao **Santa Rossa** del cargo del General Don Francisco Gonzales Sorrilla, que venia de buelta de nueva España[.] dho Theniente General Esplana tubo forma de avisar à dho General Sorrilla de los enemigos que le aguardaban, para combatir, y apresar su Nao con el qual mudo de rumbo, y fue a barar al bajo que pucieron por nombre Santa Rossa, que dizen esta en medio de esta Ysla, y la Carolina. Y si a uno, ni a*

*dos Pataches no se les pudo hazer resistencia, y se les dio todo el avio que huvieron menester[,] como querian mis adversarios que pugnase contra quatro Navios de alto bordo, y que no les diese provision[,] si en ello Herre[,] Señor[,] me acojo a la Real clemencia pidiendo misericordia. Unos y otros Ynformes se remitieron a V. Mgd el año pasado de 711 en dha Nao **Vegoña**.*

*El dho Sargento mayor Don Antonio Villamor Badillo Governador en interin [de] estas Yslas remitio a su amo el Maestre de Campo Don Domingo de Sabalburu Governador y Capitan General que a la sason era de las Philipinas toda la Artilleria, que se saco de la nao **Concepcion** que se perdio el año de 1635 [sic] en la quinta Ysla de estas Marianas nombrada Zeypan que por Zedula de V.Mgd su fecha en Madrid à 30 de Marzo de 1686 años aplico y apropio V. Real Persona al fuerte que fabrico el Maestre de Campo Don Antonio de Sarabia primer Governador de estas Yslas, que se hallan al presente en una total indefension[;] por cuya razon escrivi a dho Conde de Lizarraga a quien embie tanto Juridico de dha Real Zedula pidiendole la restitucion de dha Artilleria, y me responde lo siguiente:*

Y por lo que mira al Artilleria traídas de esas Yslas a estas, y recompensa que V.mrd. pide en varios cañones, y Pedreros, Digo que lo que se necesita del Genero para las fortificaciones de estas plazas, y armamento de las Naos de esta carrera apenas ay lo necesario por cuya razon por lo presente no puedo hacer la remision, que V.mrd. me pide del Genero.

Sobre cuya repuesta dara V. Mgd. la providencia que jugare mas conveniente para la seguridad, y defensa de estas plazas.

*Al Capitan Carlos Joseph, que vino por Cavo de dha valandra el año que pase a estas Yslas[,] hallandolas con muy poca polbora[,] le pedi 24 @ de la mucha que traiya de provision para dha valandra, de que le di Recivo para su descargo en Philipinas[,] olbidosele echarla en tierra y llevosela consigo a aquellas Yslas sobre que escrivi à dho Conde de Lizarraga ponderandole la escases, que padesia del genero y que me lo remitiese en el primer vajel, que viniese de aquellas a estas Yslas y quando jusgue, que me la embiase en dha valandra el año passado de 711 me debolbio el recivo sin proveerme de polbora y preveniendo el Cavo saquè de la Nao **Nuestra Señora de Vegoña** el año de 710 que aporto a este de Umata de buelta de nueva España 12 @ de polbora, y dos serradas [rather cerradas] por los quales me cargan Oficiales Reales de Philipinas 101 pesos 4 tomines como si la pidiera yo para mi servicio, y no para el de V.Mgd. mayormente quando el soldado no esta obligado a comprar con su sueldo Armas, polbora y Balas por ser esto de la Real Provicion, por lo que suplico a V.Mgd. se sirva de mandar a los Governadores de Philipinas, que al presente son, y adelante fueren, que provean a los de estas Yslas cada dos años con 24 @ de Polbora a lo menos, y con las Armas que representaren necesitar para la defensa de estas Yslas, y para tener con que diciplinar la Ynfanteria tirando al blanco, por si llegare la occacion, en todo espero tener favorables despachos de V.Mgd. cuya Catholica, y Real persona guarde Dios dilatados años, para bien de la Cristiandad.*

Umata y Henero 23 de 1712 años.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.

Translation.

Sire:

As the flagship galleon **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, under the command of General Miguel de Elorriaga, anchored at this port of Umata on 31 May [1711] during her return voyage from New Spain to the Philippines, I took out a Pilot and 9 seamen from her, men praised by said General, and her chief pilot, to go to the exploration of the Chick-Pea Islands, as I have already reported to Y.M. in a letter of the above date.¹ Having outfitted a boat that had been built at my expense with food supplies, equipment and ammunitions that seemed excessive, I despatched it on the feast-day of the glorious precursor, St. John the Baptist,² but when I was expecting a map full of newly-discovered islands to the southwest, and south, there came the sloop **Santo Domingo de Guzman** that comes from said Philippine Islands every two years with the subsidy for the maintenance of this Infantry. There also came the chaplain of said boat,³ and most of its seamen and soldiers who had gone aboard it to handle it, and they brought the news that it had been carried off, to the port at Bagatao, from where it could not come back to these Islands on account of the difficulty of overcoming contrary winds and currents without running into obvious danger. Now then, ever since I received the Royal despatch addressed to this Government, I made the promise to His Divine Majesty to try my best and make as many attempts as possible to explore the Caroline, and Chick-Pea, Islands. Therefore, I got busy and began the construction of another boat with a keel of 20 cubits in order to continue the enterprise already begun, as soon as the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begonia** arrives; she was despatched last year 1711 from the Philippines for New Spain, whence she is expected this year, in order to take out one more pilot, and expert seamen, who would voluntarily embark for said exploration work.

With said sloop, I received notice from my relatives, and from my general agent, Don José de Oscorta, that the prisoners from the Almiranta **Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación**, whom I ransomed from English pirates when they arrived at this port of Umata during March 1710, and three or four other men, rebellious ones, whom I exiled from these Islands aboard the boat that carried the news of said pirates to the Philippines, and to the Count of Lizarraga, their Governor and Captain General, had made depositions against me, pushed by their depraved minds. Some proceedings were started in Manila, and said exiles as well as the [ex-]prisoners were heard as witnesses. In their declarations they accused me of negligence and cowardice for not having opposed said pirates, when it is on record (as per the enclosed transcripts) that, as soon

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- 1 Ed. note: This letter seems to have been lost, and with it, whatever information on the visit of French ships that he might have given.
 - 2 Ed. note: That is, on 24 June 1711.
 - 3 Ed. note: This was Fr. Bouwens, who made this last trip, before returning to Saipan to die.

as I reached the town of Agat, I convened all the Captains, Adjutants, and Lieutenants, serving or retired, who had followed me to said town, to a War Council. Then I placed before them the agenda that will be seen in said transcript, as well as the resolution that was taken unanimously, and that is, that we found ourselves short of trained troops, with few weapons, and powder, and thus completely defenceless. To my defence arose said General José de Oscorta, as my general agent, giving proof on my behalf, by calling on a number of witnesses of greater standing, rank, and credit, than my adversaries, thus proving that it had not been possible in this Island to offer them any resistance to said pirates, for the reasons expressed in said Council, and that if they were given food supplies, out of local products, such as the root vegetables that the country produces, to ransom the [statue of the] Blessed Virgin Mary that was the patron saint of said Almiranta, the many crucifixes, reliquaries, medals, rosaries, images, and the prisoners, not only to free those from insults, and [possible] burnings and desecrations of the churches, sacred vases and things belonging to these mission stations, but also from slavery the Gospel Ministers and the natives of this country. This was also done to prevent them from conquering it and turning it into a way station from where they could lie in wait for the Philippine galleons returning from New Spain. All of the church and lay personnel of this Island were of the opinion that it was a minor disadvantage to provide said pirates with local fruits and vegetables rather than to expose all of these Marianas to an obvious ruin, and expose the Philippines to having their galleons captured every year, specially when they are despatched so overloaded and overstuffed that it is a miracle that they make it to New Spain.

The letter that I wrote to said Count of Lizarraga, to let him know about said pirates and the route they planned to take, I have been told that he used it to begin proceedings by placing it at the top of the record, because I had made mention therein of the food supplies. It will, in fact, show my honest, above-board manner of proceeding, without hiding anything that took place. At the time when two other [groups of] pirates came to these Islands, after they had captured various ships in Peru, the first one of which was the patache named **El Tigre**, that anchored in this port,¹ it was supplied with food, water and wood that it required, and paid for it all very well. And in 1686, two other pataches with pirates stopped by this Island and, when Lieutenant-General Damian de Esplana found himself with insufficient strength to fight with them, and when he learned that they were waiting for the galleon **Santa Rosa** commanded by General Francisco Gonzalez Zorrilla returning from New Spain, said Lieutenant-General Esplana found a way to let said General Zorrilla know of the presence of the enemies waiting for him, in order to attack them, and capture their ship, but he just changed course and went to run aground upon the shoal that now bears the name of Santa Rosa, which they say lie between this Island and Caroline [i.e. Yap] Island. If resistance was offered to neither of those groups of pirates, and they were given all of the supplies they needed, how can my adversaries pretend that I could have fought with

1 Ed. note: A reference to the Nicholas, Captain Eaton, in 1685.

four ships of the high seas, and not have given them provisions? Sire, if I have erred, I rely upon your Royal clemency, and beg for mercy. Reports about both incidents were remitted to Y.M. last year 1711 aboard said galleon **Begoña**.

Said Sergeant-Major Antonio Villamor Badillo, the former interim Governor of these Islands, remitted to his boss, Master-of-camp Domingo de Zabalburu, the then-Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, all the cannon that came out of the galleon **Concepción** that was lost in the year 1635 [rather 1638] at the fifth island of these Marianas, named Zeypan, which, by Decree of Y.M. dated Madrid 30 March 1686, your Royal person applied and assigned to the fort built by Master-of-camp Antonio de Saravia, the first [official] Governor of these Islands, which is now completely devoid of defensive means. That is why I wrote to said Count of Lizarraga, to whom I sent a certified copy of said Royal decree, and asked him for the restitution of said cannon, but he answered me in the following terms:

“And as far as the cannon brought from those Islands to these Islands are concerned, and the gift requested by Your Grace for various guns, and mortars, I Declare that what is needed here for the defence of our forts, and the armament of the galleons of this run, can hardly be found available, and that is why I cannot for now make such a shipment, of the type which Your Grace has asked for.”

Based on this reply, Your Majesty will please give the order that you may judge appropriate for the security and defence of these posts.

As far as the request for 24 arrobas of powder that I made to Captain Carlos José, who came as commander of said sloop, the year that I came to these Islands [i.e. 1709], when I found them with very little gun-powder, while he had much of it in said sloop, I gave him a receipt for said amount to serve as his discharge in the Philippines, he simply forgot to leave them ashore and took them back to those Islands. That is why I wrote to said Count of Lizarraga to explain our shortage of this article, asking him to send me some by the next vessel coming from there to these Islands. However, when I was expecting it to come aboard said sloop of last year 1711, he simply sent back my receipt, without giving me any powder. However, I had foreseen this and in 1710, I talked the Commander of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Begoña**, that anchored in this port of Umata when returning from New Spain,¹ into letting me have 12 arrobas of powder, and two “serradas”,² for which the Royal officials in the Philippines charged me 101 pesos 4 tomins, as if I had requested same for myself, and not for the royal service. Since when is a soldier supposed to buy with his salary the weapons, powder and balls that he needs for the Royal service? That is why I am begging Y.M. to please order that the Governors of the Philippines, present and future, provide the Governors of

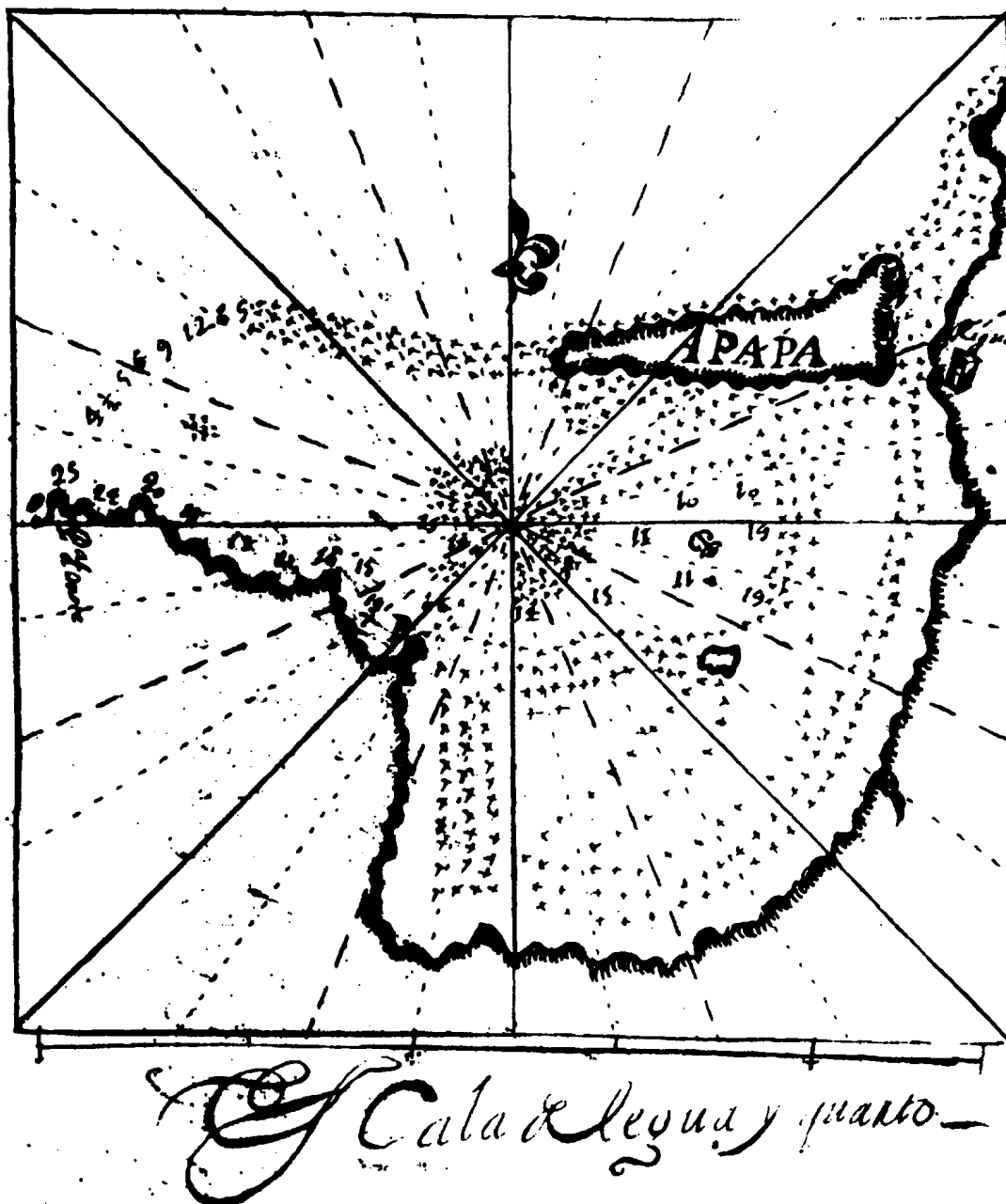
1 Ed. note: There is something odd here. This galleon went by way of Saipan, to avoid Woodes Rogers (see HM10:675). Perhaps Pimentel is referring to the patache Santísima Trinidad instead.

2 Ed. note: Probably the same as “cerradas.” Based on O’Scanlan’s dictionary, I think that they were special plugs for pumps. Pimentel was building boats in Guam, and would have needed those essential, manufactured, items to construct pumps, although they were made of leather; the local hides could be used for the body and hoses of such pumps, I think.

these Islands every two years with 24 arrobas of powder, and with the weapons that they might need for the defence of these Islands, in order to train the Infantry in target practice and be prepared for any eventuality. In everything I hope to get favorable despatches from Y.M. whose Catholic and Royal person may God save for very many years, for the good of Christendom.

Umatac, 23 January 1712.

Juan Antonio Pimentel.



Documents 1713A

More French ships visited Guam in February 1713

Note: Three French ships visited Guam together between 1 to 7 February 1713. They were the Grande-Reine-d'Espagne, the Saint-Louis, and the François. Their logbooks are not extant, but there exists an extract from the journal of their voyage around the world, by a Mr. Brunet.

A1. The ship Grande-Reine-d'Espagne, Captain Brunet

Introductory note, by Dahlgren.

The **Grande-Reine-d'Espagne** of Saint-Malo, 280 tons, 24 guns, 80 men; Captain Jacques Brunet; ship-owner Julien Bourdat.

Departed St. Malo on 16 January 1711. Stopped at Cape Frio and Santa Catarina Island. At Buenos Aires from 18 May to 12 June. At St. Gabriel Islands from 12 June to 6 October. Hermit I. sighted on 28 October. Diego Ramirez I. sighted on 29 October. Forced to turn back, it anchored in Good Success Bay on 8 November. Again at Diego Ramirez I. on 15 November. Arrived at Concepción on 7 December. At Valparaiso from 2 January to 1 July 1712. At Arica on 31 July. At Ilo on 2 September. After a visit at Pisco, arrived at Callao on 4 November. Left this port for China on 16 November. **At Guam, 1-7 February 1713.** At Manila, from 23 February to 17(?) March. At Canton, from 31 March to 22 November. In the Strait of Malacca on 16 December. At Achin on 27 December. At Mauritius I. on 3 February 1714. At Bourbon I. on 15 February. At San Miguel (Azores) on 2 June. At Cadiz, from 21 June to 18 September. On 30 August, the captain left his ship to return to Saint-Malo overland, having left his mate, Mr. Pottier Desormes, in charge. The latter visited Lisbon from 26 September to 7 October. Both the captain and his ship arrived back at Saint-Malo on the same day, 23 October 1714.

(Overleaf:) **Chart of Apra Harbor, 1712, by Captain Bernardo de Eguí, Chief pilot of the patache Santo Domingo.** *Note Apapa Island, later called Cabras, the town of Rigua [sic] (now Piti), and Orote Point. The harbor itself was later baptized San Luis de Apra. The horizontal scale, or E-W width of this bay, is marked as 1-1/4 leagues. The anchor symbol marks the anchoring place in the inner basin. (From AGI MP Fil. 181, from Fil. 215, copied by Engineer Tomás Sanz in 1783).*

Original text in French.

Source: ANP Marine 2JJ58, n° 12, formerly in SHM as n° 115 XIII, Mss. Delisle, 12.

Extrait du journal de M. Brunet autour du monde en 1711.12.13 & 14...

...

Du 31 au 1er Fevr. 1713 etonné de n'avoir pas diminué les 45' de variation que nous avoions de trop pour être à l'Isle Mariane ou de Gannes [sic] qui n'est que par les 8 d. de Variation enfin à 6 h 1/4 du matin nous la vîmes au O1/4NO 7 L qui étoit le bout du Nord, pour passer par le N. je fis 7 L 1/2 ONO alors la pte. la plus N restoit au S 2/3 de L. suivant cet atterrage je me mouvay de l'avant de 80 L en effet quoique Pitergos marque cete Isle par 164-30' plusieurs cartes ne la marquent qu'à 162 que je crois meilleure.

La variation est ce qu'il y a de plus certain l'ayant obs. en découvrant la terre de 8-1' NE.

J'ai mis icy la Carte de cete Isle de Mr. Frondat qui est bone.

Lat. obs. 13-34' Je continuai les routes depuis 10 au OSO[,] SE et SE1/4E le fond du mouillage Umata est bon et non celui d'Atty.

Le 5 à Atty je vis le Gouverneur.

Cette Isle à 11 ou 12 L du N au S et 3 L de l'E à l'O les Crioles du país sont des Indiens forts et robustes basanez et tres laids aussi bien que leurs femmes dont la peau est toute brulee par leau de mer et le soleil ayant seulement une espece de jupe & les hommes un morceau de linge de coton pour se couvrir, leur nourriture favorite est le poison le ris[,] mahis [=maïs] et quelques racines en forme de patates, l'isle est tres absente en tous rafraichissements.] les Espagnols les retiennent avec beaucoup de dureté et les chatient severement.

Le Roy d'Espagne entretient plusieurs missionnaires Jesuites un Gouverneur un Sergeant major & quelques compagnies de soldats. Il ny croit ny pain ny vin, les galions leur enportent de la nourriture d'Espagne.

Du 6 au 7 je partis de l'Isle de Marianne.

Prenant mon point de départ de l'ance d'Umata par 13-15' lat. et par 164 d. long. selon Pitergos. Toute ONO 5d. O. 49 L 1/3 lat. obs. 14 d. long. 161-35'

...

J'ai une Carte du Gouverneur de Mariane qui met l'Embocadere au Cap de Spir. Santo par 13-25' N. cod. aussi une aux Carte[s] MS. que j'ay.

...

Translation.

Extract from the journal of Mr. Brunet around the world in 1711, etc.

...

From the 31st [of January] to 1 February 1713, we were surprised that the [magnetic] variation had not decreased by 45' as expected before we reached Mariana or Gannes [sic] Island, which has only 8° of variation. In any case, at 6:15 a.m. we saw it to the W1/4NW 7 leagues and that was its northern tip. To round the north end of it, I made 7-1/2 leagues WNW, and then its northernmost point lied S at 2/3 league. According

to this approach, I found myself [i.e. my longitude] to be ahead by 80 leagues. Indeed, although Pieter Goos shows this island in 164°30', many charts only show it at 162°, something I think is better.

The variation is a sure thing, because I have observed it when I sighted the island; it is 8°01' NE.

I have inserted here the map of this island that Mr. Frondat made, which is a good one.¹

Lat. obs. 13°34' I continued my route, changing my headings from W to WSW, SE and SE1/4E until I reached the inner anchorage at Umata, which is a good one, and not that of Aty.

On the 5th, I met the Governor at Aty.

This island is from 11 to 12 leagues in length, North-South, and 3 leagues from East to West. The natives of this country are strong and robust Indians who are sun-tanned and very ugly, and their women too, whose skin is entirely burned by sea-water and the sun, and wearing only a kind of skirt; the men used only a piece of cotton to cover themselves. Their favorite food is fish, rice, corn and a few roots shaped like potatoes. The island is very devoid of any refreshments. The Spanish hold them back with harshness and punish them severely.

The King of Spain maintains many Jesuit missionaries, one Governor, one Sergeant-Major, and a few companies of soldiers. Neither bread nor wine is produced. The galleons bring them some food from [New] Spain.

From 6th to 7th, I departed Mariana Island.

I took my departure from the cove of Umata at 13°15' lat. and 164° longitude according to Pieter Goos.

...

I got a chart from the Governor of the Marianas which places Cape Espiritu Santo at the Embocadero at 13°25' N which agrees with other manuscript charts that I have.

...

[The ship reached the Strait of San Bernardino on 15 February 1713.]

Other documents pertaining to the Grande-Reine-d'Espagne:

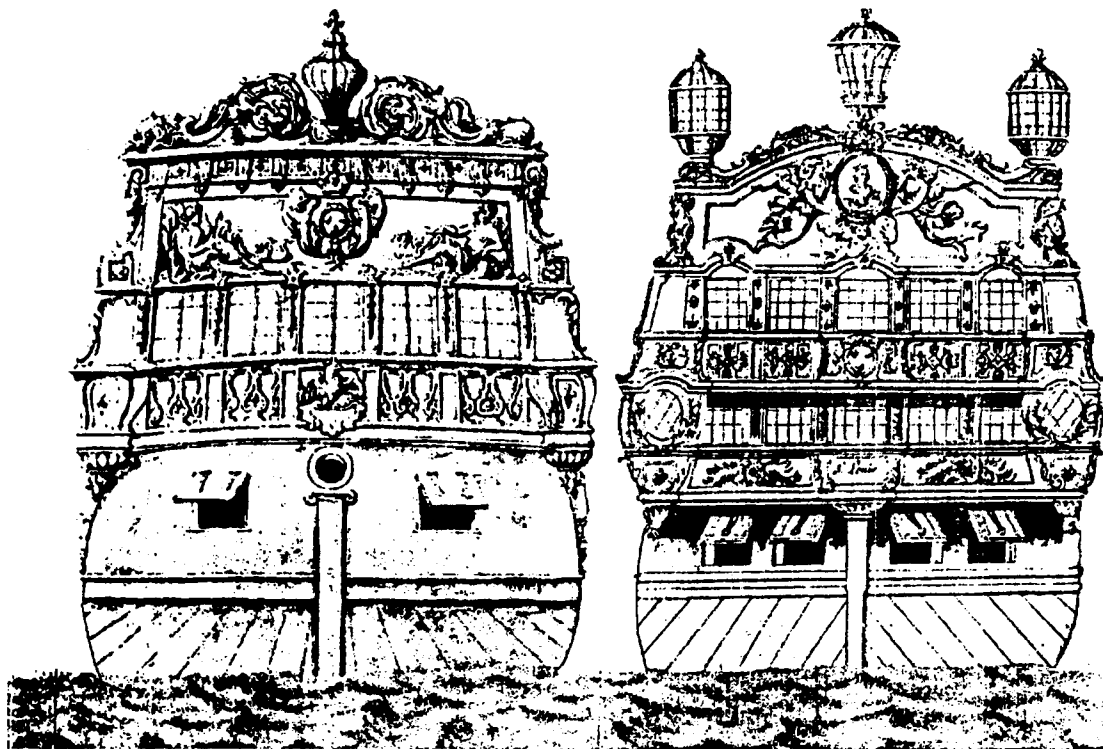
Source: Ms. formerly at the port of Saint-Servan, next to Saint-Malo, under #C4 326, but present whereabouts unknown, perhaps at Brest.

Note: File C4 does not exist at ANP. File CC4 with the same number 326 exists, but deals with 1827, not 1714.

—N° 1: Declaration of the Captain, dated 24 October 1714.

—N° 2: Declaration of the Mate, Joseph Pottier, Lord of Desormes, dated 24 October 1714.

1 Ed. note: Not filed with the manuscript.



Poop designs of the French ships François and Saint-Louis. *It is quite possible that these represent French Navy ships rather than the two privately-owned ships of the same names, mentioned in this chapter. (Drawn by Cafferi, taken from Charles de La Roncière's Histoire de la Marine Française, Paris, Plon, 1932).*

A2. The ship Saint-Louis, Captain Bouynot, and the François, Captain Le Cocq

Introductory note, by Dahlgren.

The **Saint-Louis** of Port-Louis, 222 men, Captain Henri Bouynot, later Augustin de La Rue, Lord of Bernapré; ship-owners: Crozat, Du Moulin and De Laye.

Departed Port-Louis¹ on 26 April 1711. Forced back by bad weather on 2 May, left this port again on 30 May, and La Rochelle on 9 June. Stopover at Gorée I. [Sénégal], 5-28 July, and at Ilha Grande from 15 October to 22 November. Arrived at Concepción on 2 February 1712. After visits to Arica, Ilo, Pisco and Callao, left the last port for China on 22 November 1712. **Stopover at Guam, 1-5 February 1713.** Arrived at Manila on 26th of same month, leaving there on 12 April to cruise. During this cruise, took 4 prizes, to wit: 1 Portuguese ship on 24 June, 1 Chinese ship on 4 July, 1 ship from Batavia on the way to Canton, on 22 July, and 1 English ship on 4 August. Returned

¹ Ed. note: BNP Ms. fr. 8975 says that both ships left from the port of Lorient instead, but these two towns share the same bay.

to Manila on 10 August, with all the prizes. Left this port on 30 December. While coming out of the Strait of Malacca, where it had arrived on 26 January 1714, it attacked a Portuguese ship; the battle lasted for two days, but the Portuguese was not taken. Arrived at Pondichéry on 25 February, where the King's order to arrest the captain¹ was executed, on 13 March. Bouynot, embarked as a prisoner aboard the royal ship **Mercur**, left Pondichéry for Balasore(?) on 14 June, but then died aboard this ship at Bengal on 7 September 1714.²

The **Saint-Louis**, whose cargo had been stored in the fort at Pondichéry, shipped out on 14 October 1714,³ under the command of Mr. de Bernapré. Stopovers were made at Bourbon I., at the Cape of Good Hope, and at St. Helena. Arrived at the roadstead of Penmarch on 12 May 1715.⁴ The legal proceedings between the ship-owners and the officers of this expedition, pursued by their heirs, were still going on in 1761.

The **François** of Port-Louis; 133 men, Captain [René] Le Cocq; ship-owners: Crozat, Du Moulin and De Laye.

Departed Port-Louis on 26 April 1711 in company with the former, which it accompanied as far as their arrival at Pondichéry, on 25 February 1714. This vessel, after having been declared unfit for further service, was sold in that port for 13,700 pounds.

A3. Notes made from the file of the lawsuit, by R. L.

Source: BNP mss. fr. 8975-8977, entitled: "Recueil de pièces relatives aux procès auxquels a donné lieu l'armement des vaisseaux le Saint-Louis et le François."

—Ms. #8975 = Vol. I dealing with the outfitting of the St-Louis and François.

These two ships had been bought at Paimboeuf. Once armed and outfitted, they cost about 400,000 pounds Their original cargo was worth 300,000 pounds.

The voyage as far as Peru is described in the same terms used by Dahlgren above. However, when mentioning the arrival at the Mariana Islands, it states that they "had been formerly called Ladrones."

During the interrogation of Mr. Marc Antoine de Gouville, alias Govello, who had been an officer aboard the **Saint-Louis**, made at Brest on 19 August 1715, a few facts came out, as follows: he said that the first mate had been a Mr. De Malthot, who died at Cavite on 14 August 1713. The second mate was a Mr. De la Roche. The Boatswain was an Englishman named Henry That [= Tate?] and his mate Henri Boisseau.

The first mate aboard the **François** was also interrogated. This man, Thomas de la Salle, had become captain after Captain René Le Cocq died, soon after leaving the Philippines, on 16 April 1713.

—Mss. 8976 & 8977 have nothing of interest to Pacific historians.

1 Ed. note: Dated 11 January 1713 (ms. to be found in ANP Marine B2 233).

2 Ed. note: BNP Ms. fr. 8975 says that Mr. Bouynot died off Chadranagar on 27 August instead.

3 Ed. note: BNP Ms. fr. 8975 gives the date of departure as 18 October.

4 Ed. note: Penmarch, or more properly, Penmaneck, is a headland halfway between Brest and Lorient. However, BNP Ms. fr. 8975 says that on that date, the ship made it to its destination: Lorient/Port-Louis.

A4. Another file of possible interest concerning the Saint-Louis and François.

Declarations regarding the Saint-Louis, dated May 1715.

Source: ANP Marine B3 230, specially folios 182-191, 220-222v, 254-255 (Mr. Galleran), 268-270v (Mr. Grenier), 320-330v (Mr. Pellerin).

A certain Mr. Clairambault was then Ordonnateur de la Marine, i.e. Navy Regulator, at the port of Lorient in Brittany. Part of his job involved investigations regarding disputes among sailors, captains, and owners, as well as claims by the public. The Saint-Louis is reported in this file as having made a circumnavigation, "a thing that does not occur very often." The ship was suspected of having made a few secret stops before officially arriving at the Island of Groix. No evidence was found on board of merchandise taken from their Chinese prize. What was found was 579 bundles of goods from the coast of Coromandel and Pondichéry, including some pepper and some sapan wood (a red wood to make dyes), some of which had come from the François. There was no sign of any diamonds that the owners had accused the late Capt. Bouynot of having purchased for himself at their expense. More than 40 members of the crew of the Saint-Louis had died during the voyage, including Mr. Chabant, the surgeon.

Declaration of Mr. Pellerin, clerk aboard the Saint-Louis, dated 21 June 1715.

Source: Also in ANP B3/230, folios 321-330v.

Original text in French.

...

Isle Marie Anne.

Que les Vaisseaux Le Saint Louis et Le François étant mouillé à l'ysle Marie Anne le Gouverneur envoya sur le bord de la mer quantité de bestiaux boeufs, et cochons qui furent repartis entre les d. deux Vaisseaux et la Reine d'Espagne en telle abondance qu'il ny est point de matelot qui n'eut ses petits rafraichissements en particulier outre ceux du Vaisseau on étoit mesme obligés d'en faire tuer parce qui [=qu'ils] s'étouffoient l'un et l'autre[.] Ces dépenses on [sic] été payées par Mr. Darquibel en argent et autres effets restant de la cargaison qui n'avoient pu estre vandues au Perou.

...

Translation.

...

Mariana Island.

When the ships Saint-Louis and François were anchored at Mariana Island, the Governor sent to the shore a quantity of cattle and pigs that were distributed between said two ships, and to the [Grande]-Reine-d'Espagne, such a large quantity of them that there was not a single sailor who did not get his own little refreshments, specially when it became necessary to kill some that were in excess of the need of the ship, before they

would suffocate one another. Such expenses were paid by Mr. Darquibel with cash and with other merchandises that remained from the cargo that could not be sold in Peru.

...

Épilogue.

In folio 374v of the same file, it is said that many foreigners had been crewmen aboard the St-Louis, and that they had not been paid upon their arrival at Lorient. They remained there for months, dying of hunger, as is said in a letter in which the theft from a church is also reported...

In a letter written by General Hébert and dated Pondichery 15 February 1716, and other notes contained in ANP Marine B1 14, folios 13-17v, 25-102v, the whole story of what happened to Bouynot and the above two ships is effectively summarized.



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Documents 1713B

Another French ship, the *Éclair*, Captain Boisoré, stopped at Guam in May 1713

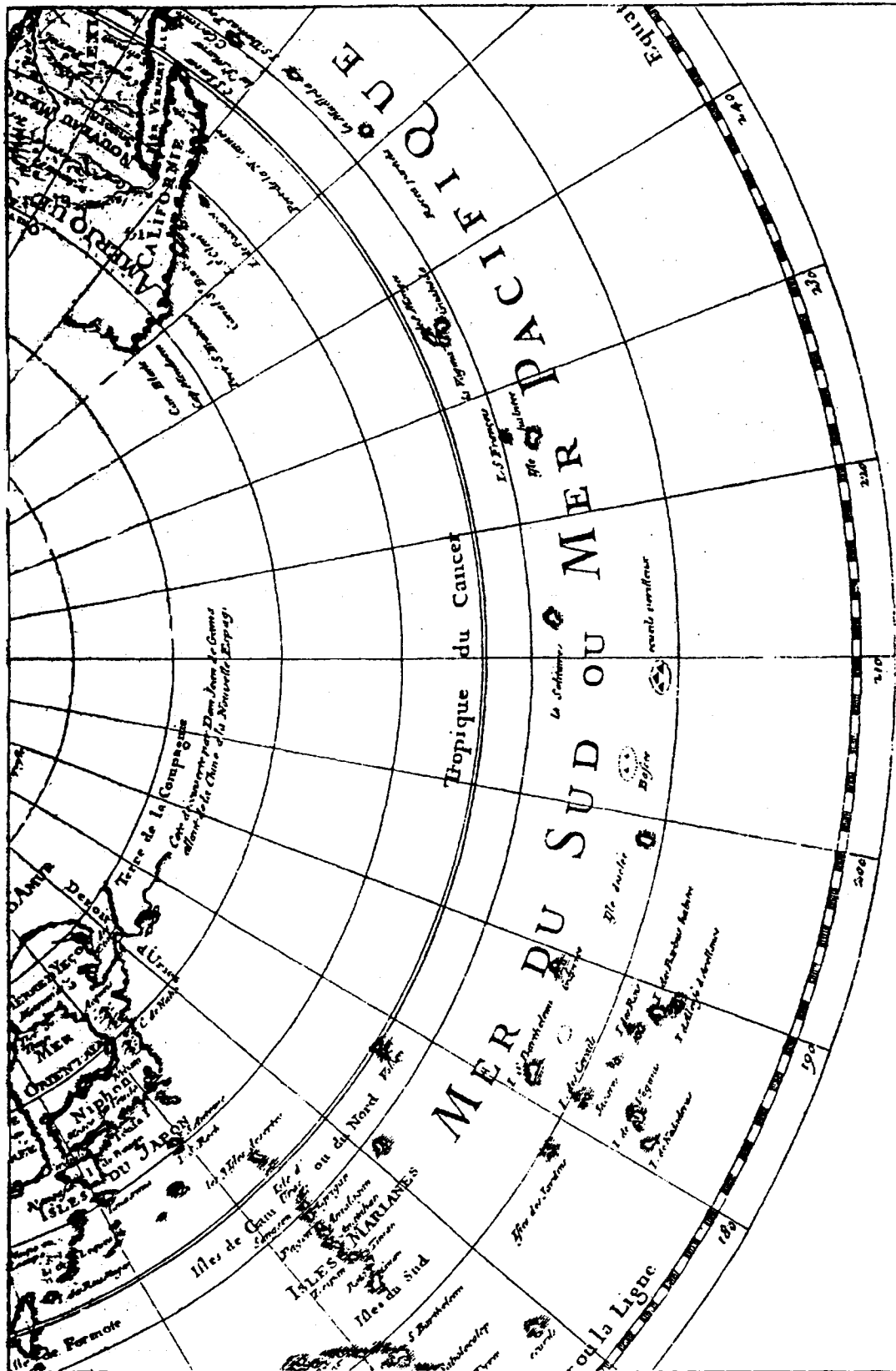
Editor's notes: For the narrative of Fr. Joseph Labbe, Jesuit, who was a passenger from France to Chile, see below. For the narrative of Fr. Florentin Bourges, Capuchin, who was a passenger aboard this ship from Peru to Guam, see Doc. 1713C. The name of this ship means "Lightning". It was eventually seized in the Philippines, and temporarily referred to as the "Relámpago" which means the same thing. By 1719, it bore the name of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, and made an unsuccessful run back to Guam (see Doc. 1719D). The legal claim files involving this ship are enormous. For follow-up stories, see Doc. 1714A, 1717F, 1721J to L, 1725C, and 1728E.

Introductory note, by Dahlgren.

The *Éclair* of Port-Louis, 300 tons, 30 guns, 140 men. Captain Jean de Boisoré; ship-owners: Menan du Plessis, Guillois and Jourdan.

Departed from Brest on 12 October 1710. Forced back by a storm to return to port, left again on 8 November. At Tenerife, from 30 November to 15 December. While at this island, the captain of a Spanish brig asked for help against a French-style tartane named **Sainte-Anne**, Captain Juan Torana, that had attacked him near the port of Santa Cruz while on the way to Bayonne. Boisoré sent him 4 boats with 80 men. The tartane was forced to surrender and was declared a fair prize. The islands visited on the coast of Brazil were Espiritu Santo, Santa Ana, Ilha Grande and Santa Catarina. Was in the River Plate from 10 April to 25 September 1711. In the Strait of Lemaire on 1 November. In the port of Good Success, 1-8 November. Rounded Cape Horn on 15 November. Arrived at Concepción on 21 December. Visited Valparaiso, Arica, Pisco and Callao, whence it left for China on 1 March 1713. **Stopover at Guam** and at Canton, whence it left for Peru when they heard that the Chinese wanted to arrest the Captain. Forced by a gust of wind, on 25 November 1713, to seek port at Iollossole, "that is at 17°25' lat. N. in the province of Ilocos," Luzon,¹ it was seized by two Spanish ships that took it to Manila. The ship was confiscated in Cavite on 22 October and the captain placed in jail, where he still was in 1717. In 1718, the Navy Council in Paris ordered the French ambassador in Madrid to continue petitioning in favor of the ship-owners.

1 Ed. note: Rather Solotsolot, now part of Ilocos Sur.



B1. Narrative of Fr. Joseph Labbe, S.J.

Source: BNP Ln27, 32320: Labbe de Champgrand, priest, "Le P. Joseph Labbe S.J., Missionnaire en Chine, 1677-1745." (Bourges, 1880). The narrative is reproduced verbatim in appendix, under the title: "Voyage du P. Joseph Labbe de France au Chili, raconté par lui-même, 1712."

Original text in French.

...
Le départ n'eut lieu que le 15 septembre 1710. Le P. Joseph fut embarqué sur l'Éclair commandé par M. de Boisloré; c'est lui-même qui donne ces détails dans une longue lettre qu'il écrivit sous la date du 8 janvier 1712, de la Conception au Chili, où le navire, après quatorze mois de navigation, avait abordé le 26 décembre 1711. Cette lettre est adressée au P. Labbe, son parent et fut insérée dans le recueil des Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, où on peut la lire (tome 8, in-12 de l'édition imprimée à Paris en 1781.) Mais comme les éditeurs y ont fait quelques changements, des suppressions, des modifications de style, nous la reproduirons textuellement à la fin de cette notice, d'après l'original appartenant aujourd'hui à M. Georges de Champgrand, et nous nous bornerons à en donner ici une analyse.

...
Nous ne savons pas à quelle époque le P. Joseph arriva à la Chine, ni les particularités de son voyage; si les conjectures qu'il exprime à la fin de la lettre que nous venons d'analyser, se sont réalisées, ce fut vers la fin de l'an 1712, ou au commencement de 1713, qu'il mit le pied sur cette terre [de Chine], objet de tous ses vœux...

Translation.

...
 His departure only took place on 15 September 1710. Fr. Joseph boarded the ship *Éclair*, Captain Boisloré. These details are given by him in a long letter which he wrote on 8 January 1712 from Concepción in Chile, where the ship, after 14 months at sea, had arrived on 26 December 1711. This letter is addressed to Fr. Labbe, his relative, and was included as one of the letters in the series entitled *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, published in Paris in 1781. However, as the publishers have made some changes, including some omissions, and style modifications, we have reproduced it verbatim at the end of this booklet, after the original text which is now [i.e. in 1880] in the possession of Mr. Georges de Champgrand; we will only give a synthesis of it.

We do not know at what time Fr. Joseph reached China, nor the details of his voyage thither [from Chile]. If the plans that he stated at the end of the letter of his that we have just synthesized proved right, it was only at the end of 1712, or at the beginning of 1713 that he managed to step ashore in the country that he had long desired...

(Facing page:) **Part of the Northern Hemisphere by Guillaume Delisle, 1714.**
(From E. W. Dahlgren's book on the Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands).

B2. Summary in Spanish of Captain Boisloré's logbook

Source: AGI Escribanía 405B—1721 copybook n° 5.

Note: The logbook is in fol. 37-44v. The original in French was not preserved.

Original text in Spanish.

Jornada comenzada en nombre de Dios y de la Virgen Sanctissima por Monsiur de Buislore Capitan General Guarda Costa para el viage del Mar del Sur, y de alli a la China, y venir al Mar del Sur el año de mill setecientos y diez[.]

A primero de Junio; la carena.

Salida de Port-Louis.

Yo salí de Port-Louis a trese de Septiembre con la fregata llamada Relampago de porte de trescientas toneladas poco mas o menos, ciento y treinta hombres y treinta cañones cabalgados con pasaporte del Rey para la China, y mis Comiciones, en Guerra, y Mercancias tratado con la Comp^a Real de la China mediante un diez por ciento.

Septiembre.

El día veinte y tres de Septiembre de dicho año dieron fondo en Brest.

Octubre.

El día doze de Octubre de dicho año salieron de Brest.

Noviembre.

El día treze del mes de Noviembre de dicho año hizieron una presa de una embarcacion ynglesa de quarenta y cinco toneladas, y cargado de trigo, y corambre.

El día veinte y dos de dho mes el Capitan Comandante descubrió una barca luenga ynglesa y la apreso.

El día veinte y cinco de dicho mes se apartaron de dicho Capitan Comendante, y prosiguieron su viage.

El día veinte y nueve de dho mes y año dieron vista a las Islas las Bage [sic].

El día treinta de Noviembre dieron fondo en Tenerife y encontraron dos Navios franceses de Guerra y sacaron el mapa de dicha Isla y Ciudad de Tenerife.

Diziembre.

El día cinco del mes de Diziembre de dicho año llegó una tartana al dicho Puerto de Tenerife, embarcaron Gente adentro y Armazon, Botte, y Barca y fueron à apresar una embarcacion ynglesa, y la hallaron cargada de malbaçia y con doze Piezas de Artillería.

El día siete de dicho mes salieron del dicho Puerto y prosiguieron su viage.

El día quinze de dicho mes dieron vista a la Isla del Fuego y prosiguieron su viage.

Año de 1711.

Febrero.

El día diez y ocho de Febrero de mill setecientos y onze dieron vista al Cavo del Espiritu Sancto.

*El día veinte y uno de dicho mes y año dieron fondo en la Bahía de Nasarett, y apresaron un Navio Portuguez llamada **Nuestra Señora de la Conzeption, y Sancta***

Guítana con catorze cañones, y treze descabalgados de tres libras de bala; y dicho Navio, es de ciento y cinquenta toneladas cargado de agua ardiente y vino.

El dia veinte y seis de dicho mes, y año apresaron una barca pequeña en dicha Baya.

Marzo.

El dia primero de Marzo de dho año apressaron otra barquita con algunas mercancías.

El dia siete [de] dicho mes y año hizo desquartizar un bergantin para hazer leña.

El dia nueve de dicho mes salió de dicha Baya.

El dia quinze del dicho mes dio fondo en la Isla de Sancta Cathalina, y el dia veinte y seis de dicho mes se lebo de el.

Abril.

El dia onze del mes de Abril de dho año entraron en el Rio de la Plata en Buenos Ayres y dieron fondo en el.

Junio.

El dia doze de Junio de dicho año salieron de Buenos Ayres para el Puerto, o Isla de San Gabriel y en dicho dia llegaron a dicha Isla a las quatro de la tarde.

Septiembre.

El dia veinte y dos de Septiembre se lebaron de San Gabriel. Y el dia veinte y cinco de dicho mes dieron fondo en Monte Bridrios [sic].

Octubre.

El dia primero del mes de Octubre de dicho año salieron del Rio de la Plata.

En veinte y quatro de dicho mes dieron vista al Cavo Blanco.

Noviembre.

El dia primero de Noviembre de dicho año entraron en el Estrecho de Mayre y en dicho dia arrivaron en la Baya de Buen Suçeso en dicho Estrecho.

El dia cinco [de] dicho mes salieron de dicha Baya, y bolvieron a entrar en dicho estrecho.

El dia siete de dicho mes salieron de dicho estrecho.

El dia ocho de dicho mes volvieron à el; y el dia siguiente salieron de dicho estrecho por la parte del Sur.

Diziembre.

El dia veinte y dos de Diziembre de dicho año de mill setezientos y onze dieron fondo en Santa Maria. Y en dho día a la siete de la noche entraron en la enzenada de la Conzepcion.

Año de 1712.

Henero.

El dia siete de henero de mill setecientos y doze dieron fondo en frente de la Ziudad de la Conzepcion en donde compraron viveres, y asienta que apenas pudo en dicha Ziudad pagar sus costos.

Y el dia siguiente ocho de dho mes embarco algunos pasajeros para llevarlos à Balparaiso, y se hizo a la vela para dicho Balparaiso.

El día veinte y quatro de dicho mes, y año dieron fondo en Balparaiso, y hacienda que por no hallar venta con gana[n]ciales se paso con dos de sus oficiales el Capitan, a Santiago para solicitar cient mill piastras haver si los podia hallar dicha cantidad prestados con ganancias aunque fuese empeñando la carga de su Navio, y pasar a emplear a la China lo qual no pudo conseguir, ni el [de] desembarcar su ropa pagando el seis por ciento que no se lo quizo permitir el Presidente de Chile que hera un Viscayno llamado Don Juan Andres Ustarriz verdadero mercanchiple [rather mercachifle], y que no hera para otra cossa[.] en dicha Ziudad estuvo un mes por causa de una enfermedad.—à foxas cinquenta y una pone la deschripcion de dicha Ziudad, y hacienda asimesmo que estuvieron en dicho Puerto Balparaiso seis mezes.

Marzo.

El día seis de Marzo de dicho año vendieron su presa a otro Capitan franzes la qual fue vendida en la cantidad de diez mill quinientos y cinquenta y cinco piastras y quatro reales, y rezivio la paga en las Mercancias siguiente: Bretañas angostas; Roan florete; Roan mari; Baqueta de Inglaterra; Zempiterna de Inglaterra; Cruzadillo; Añascote blanco y negro de Inglaterra; Coletillo de Inglaterra; Medias de Zeda.

Agosto.

El día tres de Agosto de dicho año salieron del Puerto de Balparaiso para el de Coquimbo ha ver si podia expender algunas mercancías.

Venta de 4,000 piastras en la Ziudad de Coquimbo.

El día veinte y quatro de dicho mes, y año dio fondo en la Baya de Coquimbo, y en la Ziudad de el, açienta que vendio como quatro mill piastras, y que si hubiera querido hubiera vendido mas.

Septiembre.

El día dos del mes de Septiembre de dicho año de mill setecientos y dose salieron de Coquimbo, y el día veinte y seis de dicho mes y año dieron fondo en el Puerto de Morne de Coquimbo.

Octubre.

El día diez del mes de Octubre de dicho año salieron de Coquimbo para la Caldera; y el día siguiente onze dieron fondo en dicha Caldera, y salieron de ella el día doze.

El día diez y siete de dicho mes y año fueron à dar fondo à Toviara.

Noviembre.

El día nueve de Noviembre de dicho año salieron de dicho Puerto de Toviara.

El día catorze de dicho mes y año dieron fondo en el Puerto de Arica.

Venta hecha en Arica de los generos que saco en Franzia.

El día diez y ocho de dicho mes y año vendió cantidad de veinte y cinco piastras.

Ytten otra partida que vendió asimesmo en dicho Puertto de Arica en quinze mil piastras; La primera partida los vendio a tres sugetos cuios nombres no mençiona; y la segunda a Don Juan Landayata, y lo restante de su carga la vendio a Don Jorge Negro-rof,] a Don Pedro Quiroga, y Don Francisco Portocarrero y Nacarí y açienta que acabo de vender toda su carga dando las graçias a Dios, y que ya se halla en estado de poder salir para la China.

Año de 1713.

Henero.

El dia diez y ocho del mes de henero del año de mill setezientos y treze salieron del Puerto de Arica.

El dia veinte de dicho mes dieron fondo en el Puerto de Asloor [sic].

El dia veinte y quatro de dicho mes salieron de dicho Puerto, y el dia veinte y nueve de dicho mes dieron fondo en Apisco [sic = Pisco] y en el embarco sesenta botijas de vino.

Febrero.

El dia veinte y dos del mes de Febrero de dicho año salieron del Puerto de Apisco.

El dia veinte y cinco de dicho mes de Febrero dieron fondo en el Callao.

Marzo.

El dia primero de Marso de dicho año salieron del dicho Puerto del Callao.

Mayo.

*El dia veinte y seis del mes de Mayo de dicho año dieron vista à las **Islas Marianas**, y consta del dicho diario el Mapa de dichas Islas, y dieron fondo en ellas en catorze brazas y hacienda que estando a la vista de dichas Islas, le embio el Governador que se llamava Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, un Capitan de Ymfanteria a ofreserle quanto hubiere menester de Baca, Puerco[,] Frutas, Arros[,] Mais, Gallinas, y que se entienda por su Dinero y hacienda que compro las Bacas a seis pesos, los Puercos unos a quatro y otros a seis, el Arros a quatro pesos la fanega, el Mais a dos pesos, y las Gallinas a quatro reales.*

Junio.

El dia primero de Junio de dicho año salieron de las dichas Islas Marianas.

El dia ultimo de dicho mes y año dieron fondo en la Boca del Tigre en frente de Macao.

Julio.

El dia dos del mes de Jullio de dicho año dieron fondo en el Puerto de Canton.

Noviembre.

El dia cinco de Noviembre de dicho año salieron del Puerto de Canton.

El dia onze de dicho mes asienta el dicho Capitan en su Diario que propuso a sus oficiales diferentes puntos, y entre ellos dezirles diesen por escrito sus pareceres si qual hera mejor pasar por el estrecho de Malacca, o vien esperar cinco meses para aguardar la monson, y volver al Peru, y se hallan siete pareceres concordes, que devian pasar por el estrecho de Malacca; y al pie asienta dicho Capitan lo siguiente:— Apruevo los pareceres de cada uno atento a la variedad de los vientos, y ser principio de monson, sin embargo aguardaré quatro o cinco dias para ver si puedo ganar Babuyanes que podra ser que a la menguante se muden los vientos.— Y aqui siguen dos Abreviaturas que no entendemos que fuera bastante[.]

Onze de Noviembre de mill setezientos y treze.

Firmado: Boislore.

Noviembre.

El dia onze de dicho mes de Noviembre se hizo a la vela.

El dia dies [y ...] de dicho mes y año de mill setezientos y treze dieron vista a estas Islas, y açienta que embio a sondear una ensenada cuió nombre no pone y luego dio fondo en ella.

El dia veinte de dicho mes (de Junio) Digo se hizo a la vela[,] volvió a dar fondo en el Puerto de Sinaesí [sic], y en el, le embio el cura à su Hermano para que le sirviese de Piloto, ofreçiendole quanto hubiese menester y acienta asimesmo que los Alcaldes fueron abordo haverle que se ha de entender ser el actual y el pasado, y que el les dio un oficial de los suiós en regenes para la seguridad de que no era enemigo; el dia siguiente viente y uno de dicho mes salio de Sinaesí para yr a Corimao y arrivo.

El dia veinte y tres de dicho mes se hizo à la vela, y volvió a dar fondo en el mismo Puerto, y en dicho dia llego el Alcalde con mucha Gente de el Pais Armado de lanzas y flechas, y Creiendo que venian a ofenderla se puso en defenza y el Alcalde mayor con el Vicario General fueron abordo, y a su buelta para tierra les mando saludar con cinco cañones, en cada uno de ellas un Viva el Rey, y el Vicario se quedo en su bordo tres dias.

Hasta aqui el diario del Capitan Don Juan de Boislore trasumptado por maior escusando las cosas que acienta por menor de todo lo que a obrado en el discurso de su viage y no son del casso.

Translation.

Voyage begun in the name of God and the Most Holy Virgin by Mister de Boisloré, Captain General in the Coast Guard, bound for the South Sea, and from there to China, to return by way of the South Sea, in the year 1710.

1 June: careening.

Departure from Port-Louis.

I departed from Port-Louis on 13 September with the frigate named **Éclair**, of 300 tons more or less, carrying 130 men and 30 guns, with a passport from the King to go to China, and my Commissions, for war and trade, negotiated with the Royal China Company by virtue of a 10% take.

September.

On 23 September of said year, they anchored at Brest.

October.

On 12 October of said year, they departed from Brest.

November.

On 13th of said month and year, they captured an English boat of 45 tons, loaded with wheat and hides.

On the 22nd of said month, the Captain Commander spotted an English long boat and captured it.

On the 25th of said month, they separated from said Captain Commander, and pursued their voyage.

On the 29th of said month and year, they sighted the Las Bage [sic] Islands.¹

On the 30th of November, they anchored at Tenerife and met with two French war-ships and they made copies of the map of said Island and City of Tenerife.

December.

On the 5th of the month of December of said year, a tartane arrived at said port of Tenerife. They placed armed men aboard her, and with a boat and a launch went to capture an English ship, and they found it loaded with Malmsey wine, and with 12 guns.

December.

On the 7th of said month, they departed said port and pursued their voyage.

On the 15th of said month, they sighted Fuego Island [in Cape Verde Is.] and they pursued their voyage.

Year of 1711.

February.

On the 18th of February 1711, they sighted Cape Espiritu Santo [in Brazil].

On the 21st of said month and year, they anchored in the Bay of Nazareth [i.e. Salvador], and they captured a Portuguese ship named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción y Santa Guitana** with 14 guns, plus 13 more not mounted, three-pounders. Said ship was of 150-ton capacity and loaded with brandy and wine.

On the 26th of said month and year, they captured a small boat in said bay.

March.

On the 1st of March of said year, they captured another small boat with a few trade goods.

On the 7th of said month and year, they dismantled a brig to get some fire-wood.

On the 9th of said month, he left said bay.

On the 15th of said month, he anchored at Santa Catarina Island, and on the 26th of said month, he departed from there.

April.

On the 11th of the month of April of said year, they entered Rio de la Plata at Buenos Aires and they anchored there.

June.

On the 12th of June of said year, they left Buenos Aires for the Port and Island of San Gabriel, and that same day they arrived at said Island at 4 in the afternoon.

September.

On the 22nd of September, they left San Gabriel. And on the 25th of said month, they anchored at Montevideo.

October.

On the 1st of the month of October, they departed from Rio de la Plata.

On the 24th of said month, they sighted Cabo Blanco.

November.

¹ Ed. note: Misprint for Salvage Islands, Portuguese islets north of the Canary Islands.

On the 1st of November of said year, they entered the Strait of Le Maire and on said day arrived at the Bay of Buen Suceso in said strait.

On the 5th of said month, they departed from said bay, and re-entered said strait.

On the 7th of said month, they left said strait.

On the 8th of said month, they returned to it, and the next day they left said strait by the southern exit.

December.

On the 22nd of December of said year of 1711, they anchored at Santa Maria. And on said day, at 7 in the evening, they entered the bay of Concepción [in Chile].

Year of 1712.

January.

On the 7th of January of 1712, they anchored before the City of Concepción, where they purchased food supplies, and he reports that he had a hard time to meet his expenses in said city.

And the next day, the 8th of said month, he took aboard some passengers to take them to Valparaiso, and he sailed for said Valparaiso.

On the 24th of said month and year, they anchored at Valparaiso, and he reports that, since he was unable to make a profit on his sales, he travelled with two of his officers to Santiago to solicit 100,000 pesos and see if he could find someone to lend him said sum against the eventual profits to be made in China, and he was ready to mortgage the cargo of his ship to get it, but he was unable to get any money, not even the permission to unload his textiles, by paying a tax of 6%; he was denied this permission by the President of Chile who was a Basque named Don Juan Andrés Ustariz, "a real peddler," and it was for no other reason. He spent one month in said city, because of an illness.—On folio 51, he describes said city, and he also reports that they were in said port of Valparaiso for 6 months.

March.

On the 6th of March of said year, they sold their prize to another French captain for the sum of 10,555 pesos and 4 reals, and received the following merchandise in payment: short Brittany cloth; *florete* serge; marine blue serge; English *baqueta*; English *sempiterna*,¹ *cruzadillo*,² English white and black *añascote*,³ English *coletillo*,⁴ and silk stockings.

August.

On the 3rd of August of said year, they departed from the port of Valparaiso for that of Coquimbo to see if he could sell some merchandise.

He sold for 4,000 pesos in the city of Coquimbo.

1 Ed. note: This too is a kind of serge, according to an old dictionary.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps worsted, or an error for *cuajadillo*, as sort of silk gauze.

3 Ed. note: Perhaps Scottish woolens.

4 Ed. note: Coletillo was perhaps buff, for jackets.

On the 24th of said month and year, he anchored in the bay of Coquimbo, and in the city, he reports that he sold goods for about 4,000 pesos, and that if he had wanted to, he would have sold more goods.

September.

On the 2nd of the month of September of said year of 1712, they departed from Coquimbo, and on the 26th of said month and year, they anchored in the port of Morro de Coquimbo.

October.

On the 10th of the month of October of said year, they departed from Coquimbo for Caldera, and the next day 11th, they anchored at said Caldera, and they departed from it on the 12th.

On the 17th of said month and year, they went to anchor at Tobiera.

November.

On the 19th of November of said year, they departed from said port of Tobiera.

On the 14th of said month and year, they anchored in the port of Arica.

Sale made at Arica of goods brought from France.

On the 18th of said month and year, he made a sale worth 25 [thousand] pesos. Then another entry where he says that at same port of Arica he sold 15,000-peso worth of goods. The first sale was made to three men whose names he does not give; the second sale was to Don Juan Landayata, and the rest of his cargo he sold to Don Jorge Negro-ro, Don Pedro Quiroga, and Don Francisco Portocarrero y Nacarí, and he reports that he finished selling all of his cargo, giving thanks to God for it, and that he then found himself ready to depart for China.

Year of 1713.

January.

On the 18th of the month of January of 1713, they departed from the port of Arica.

On the 20th of said month, they anchored in the port of Asloor [sic = Ilo, or Islay].

On the 24th of said month, they departed said port, and on the 29th of said month, they anchored at Apisco [sic = Pisco], and here he took on board 60 jars of wine.

February.

On the 22nd of the month of February of said year, they departed the port of Apisco [sic].

On the 25th of said month of February, they anchored in Callao.

March.

On the 1st of March of said year, they departed from said port of Callao.

May.

On the 26th of the month of May of said year, they sighted the Mariana Islands. His logbook shows a map of said Islands. They anchored there in 14 fathoms, and he reports that, while he was still in sight of said islands, the Governor, whose name was Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, an infantry captain, sent someone to offer him as much as he needed in the way of cows, pigs, fruits, rice, corn, chickens, and that his money would be accepted. He reports that he

bought the cows for 6 pesos a piece, the pigs from 4 to 6 pesos each, rice at 4 pesos the bushel, the corn at 2 pesos, and the chickens at 4 reals each.

June.

On the 1st of June of said year, they departed from said Mariana Islands.

On the last day of said month and year, they anchored in Boca Tigre before Macao.

July.

On the 2nd of the month of July of said year, they anchored in the port of Canton.

November.

On the 5th of November of said year, they departed from the port of Canton.

On the 11th of said month, said Captain reports in his logbook that he held a council with his officers to discuss various points, and among them, to ask for their opinions in writing, as to whether it was better to pass by the Strait of Malacca, or to wait five months in order to catch the monsoon winds, and return to Peru. There are recorded seven opinions, unanimous, to the effect that they should pass by the Strait of Malacca, and the Captain wrote at the end of them, as follows:

“I agree with the opinions of everyone, given the variability of the winds, and the beginning of the monsoon; nevertheless, I will wait for 4 to 5 days to see if I can reach the Babuyanes. It is possible that by the waning of the moon the winds will turn.—There follow two abbreviations which we do not understand, perhaps that it was enough, 11 November 1713.¹

Signed: Boisloré.

November.

On the 11th of said month of November, they sailed.

On the 1xth of said month and year 1713, they sighted these Islands, and he reports that he sent men to take soundings in a bay whose name he does not give, and later he anchored there.

On the 20th of said month, he made sail, and returned to anchor in the port of Sinaesi [sic = Sinait]. While he was there, the local Father sent him a Brother who would act as coast pilot, and offering him whatever supply he needed. He reports also that the local Mayors visited the ship—he understood them to be the former Mayor and the present one—and he gave them one of his officers as a hostage, to prove to them that they were not enemies. The next day, the 21st of said month, he left Sinaesi to go to Corimao, but he put back.

On the 23rd of said month, he set sail and returned to the same port, and on said day, the Mayor arrived with many local men armed with spears and arrows; believing himself about to be attacked, he placed himself on the defensive, but the Mayor along with the Vicar General went on board. When they left, he had five guns fired as a sa-

1 Ed. note: The Belgian Jesuits in Manila who translated this logbook did not have an easy job, so that my English translation of their Spanish translation is not always precise.

lute, each one accompanied with a Long live the King! The Vicar remained on board for three days.

Thus ends the logbook of Captain Juan de Boisloré, with the translation covering only the main actions that he has reported; the rest of the narrative of the voyage are minor details that do not bear on the case.

B3. Request from Captain Boisloré to the French Navy Council

Source: ANP Marine B1 4, entitled: "Ponant. Enregistrement des Extraits portez au Conseil de Marine et des Deliberations du Conseil, pendant les six premiers mois 1716." Folios 259-259v refer.

Original text in French.

Le Sr. de Boisloré commandant le Vaisseau l'Esclair a Manille le 18 Novembre 1714.

*Sur l'avis qu'il eut a Canton que les Chinois vouloient le faire arrester parceque le Sr. Bouinot avoit pris et pillé des Navires de cette nation, mis a la voile et relascha dans un Port a 150. lieues de Manille pour restablir son Equipage[,] le Gouverneur de cette derniere ville le fit sommer d'y mener son Navire ou de sortir et sur le refus qu'il en fit a cause du mauvais Estat ou il estoit il le fit enlever par deux Vaisseaux qui le conduisirent a Manille le 20. fevrier 1714. il a esté mis en prison au pain et a l'eau, Son bâtiment et la cargaison ont esté confisquees et les procedures envoyées a Madrid, on doit le retenir en prison en attendant les ordres du Roy d'Espagne, ce Gouverneur a fait rendre a l'Equipage de ce navire ce qui leur appartenoit en leur donnant la moitié de la Solde qui leur estoit duee et leur a permis de se retirer, plusieurs se sont embarquez sur le Vaisseau le **Francois** d'argouge(?) [sic = de Mr. Lecocq] de St. Malo qui est parti de Manille le 18. 8bre. 1714.*

Il suplie de lui procurer sa Liberté et de lui faire rendre justice.

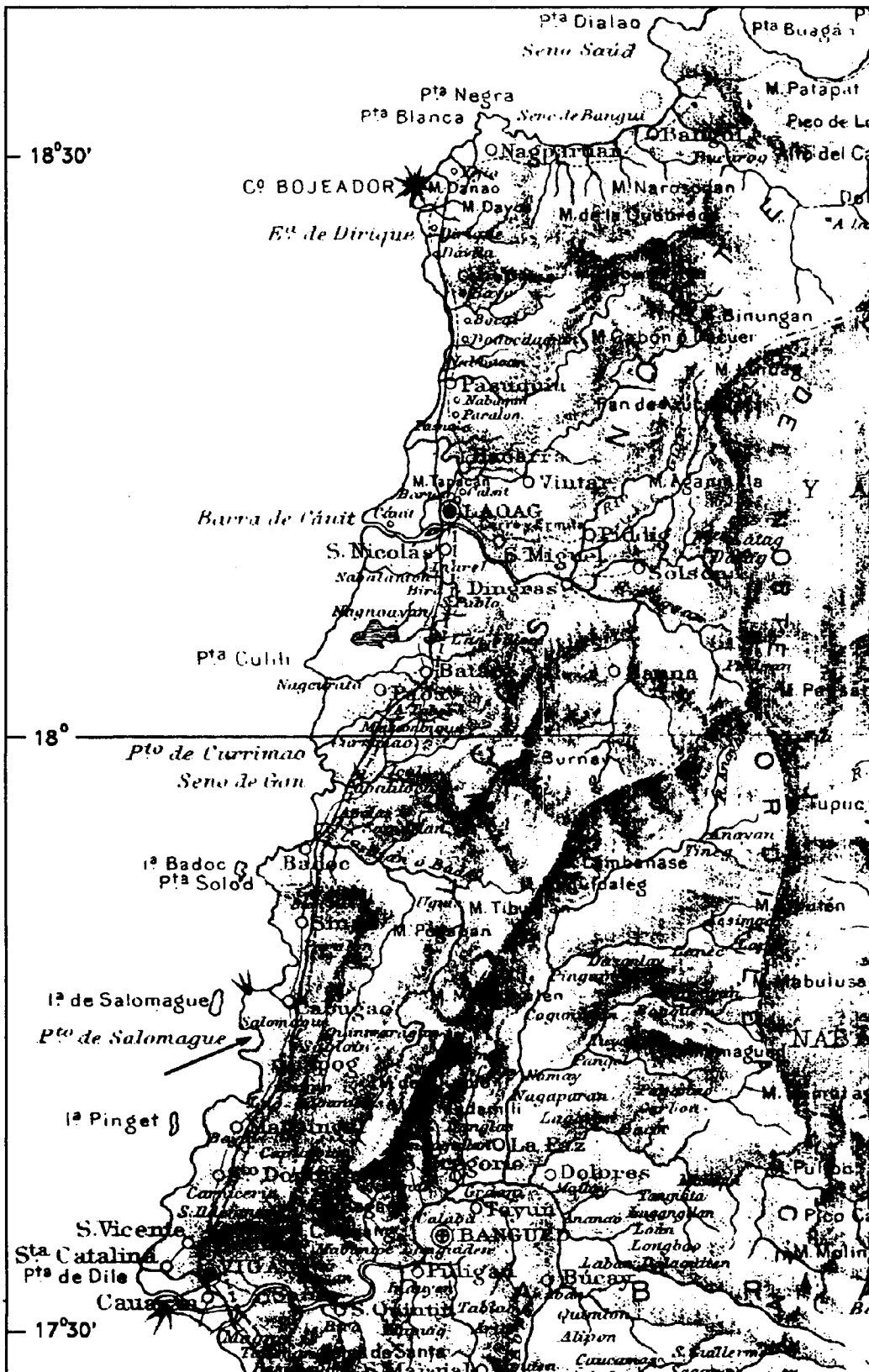
[Note in margin:] *Il a esté sans permission a la mer du Sud et a la Chine, il est accusé d'avoir pillé lui mesme des Batimens chinois, il y a des ordres dans les ports pour l'arrester a son retour[,] il estoit Garde de la marine[,] on l'a cassé. Néant.*

Fait et arrêté par le Conseil de Marine tenu au Louvre le 9. Avril 1716.

Translation.

Re: Letter of Mr. Boisloré, Commander of the ship Esclair, dated Manila 18 November 1714.

Based on the advice that he got at Canton that the Chinese wanted to have him arrested, because Mr. Bouynot had captured and plundered some ships belonging to that nation, he sailed off and made a stopover at a port located 150 leagues from Manila in order to give a rest to his crew. The Governor of this latter city sent an order for him to repair to said city with his ship and, because he refused on account of its bad condi-



(Facing page:) **Northwest coast of Luzon, where Captain Boisloré anchored in 1713-1714. The port of Solotsolot is in the Bay of Salomague. The village of Solotsolot is slightly northwest of the town of Lapog.** (From Fr. José Algué's Atlas de Filipinas, 1899).

tion, the Governor had two ships seize it, and take it to Manila, on 20 February 1714. He was sent to prison with only bread and water. His vessel and its cargo were confiscated and the record of proceedings sent to Madrid. He apparently will remain in jail until orders are received from the King of Spain. This Governor has ordered the release of the crew of this ship, with half of their salaries and permission to withdraw. Many have signed aboard the ship **François**, Captain Lecocq(?), from St-Malo.

He begs us to intercede to get him freed and given justice.

[Note in margin:] He has gone to the South Sea without permission and to China. He is accused of having robbed the Chinese ships himself. There are orders in our ports for his arrest upon his return. He was a coast guard, but he has been fired. Nil.

Made and decided by the Navy Council held at the Louvre on 9 April 1716.

B4. Second petition in favor of Captain Boisloré

Source: As above, folios 290v-291v.

Original text in French.

Le Sr. Boislore y commandant le Vaisseau l'Eclair retenu a Manille.

Il partit du Port Louis au mois de 7bre. 1710. pour aller a la Chine avec passeport du Roy, il apprit a Canton qu'on meditoit de l'arrester parceque le Sr. Bouynot avoit pris et pillé des bâtimens Chinois ce qui l'obligea d'en partir et de relascher peu de temps après dans un Port de l'isle de Lussion pour retablir son Equipage.

Le Gouverneur de Manille y envoya un Vaisseau Armenien et un Anglois qui l'arrestèrent et le menerent en cette ville sous pretexte qu'il estoit forban et que ses expeditions estoient fausses[.] son navire a esté pillé et la cargaison estimée a 450 m # confisquée par Sentence du 22.8bre. 1714. dont il envoya Copie.

Je supplie de lui faire rendre justice par la Cour d'Espagne et de lui procurer sa liberté.

[Note in margin:] *Le Conseil a desja décidé qu'il ne vouloit point prendre connoissance de cette affaire. Rien a changer.*

Fait et arreste par le Conseil de Marine tenu au Louvre le 26. Avril 1716.

Translation.

Re: Mr. Boislore y, captain of the ship *Éclair*, held at Manila.

He departed from Port-Louis in September 1710 to go to China with the King's passport. He learned at Canton that the Chinese were planning to arrest him because Mr. Bouynot had captured and plundered some Chinese ships, which forced him to leave

Canton and to make a stopover a short time later in a port of the Island of Luzon in order to refresh his crew.

The Governor of Manila sent an Armenian ship and an English ship overthere to arrest him and they took him to that city, under the pretext that he was a pirate and that his papers were false. His ship has been plundered and the cargo, estimated at 450,000 pounds was confiscated by a sentence rendered on 22 October 1714, a copy of which he enclosed.

I beg to have justice done him by the Spanish Court and to ask for his release.

[Note in margin:] The Council has already decided that it would not hear this case. Nothing is to be done.

Made and decided by the Navy Council held at the Louvre on 26 April 1716.

B5. Third petition by the owners of the ship *Éclair*

Source: As above, folios 325-325v.

Original text in French.

Les armateurs du Vaisseau l'Éclair.

Le Sr. Boisloré qui commandoit ce navire partit du Port Louis en 1710 pour aller a la Chine avec passeport du Roy, Il apprit a Canton qu'on meditoit de l'arrester parce que le S. Bouynot avoit pris et pillé des Bastimens Chinois ce qui l'obligea d'en sortir et de relacher peu de temps apres a Lussion port desert pour retablir son Equipage, Le Gouverneur de Manille y envoya deux vaisseaux avec pavillon Espagnol qui l'arrest-erent et le menerent en cette ville sous pretexte qu'il estoit forban, que ses expeditions estoient fausses et qu'il vouloit aller au Perou et a Buenosayres pour y vendre des marchandises de la Chine[.] Ce navire a esté pillé et la cargaison estimée 450 m # confis-quée par sentence du 22 octobre 1714.

Ils supplient de faire reclamer par l'ambassade du Roy a la Cour d'Espagne la per-sonne du S. Boisloré avec le Vaisseau et les marchandises offrant de les faire passer en pays etrangers en cas quelles arrivent en France[.] Ils demandent aussy que sa Majesté Catholique leur accorde un dedommagement pour le deperissement du Bastiment et de la cargaison depuis le temps qu'il a esté retenu injustement.

[Note in margin:] *Le Sr. Boisloré y a esté a la mer du Sud[.] de la a la Chine sortoit de ce dernier pays au Perou lorsqu'il a esté arrêté. Le Conseil a desja repondu a un pareil memoire. Verifier et avoir attention a ne point remettre au Conseil sans necessité des memoires desja reponus. Rapporter le premier Extrait.*

Translation.

The ship-owners of the ship *Éclair*.

Mr. Boisloré who was in command of this ship left Port-Louis to go to China with a passport from the King. He learned at Canton that plans were being made to arrest him because Mr. Bouynot had captured and plundered some Chinese ships, which forced him to leave and to make a stopover a short time later at Luzon, a deserted port [sic] in

order to refresh his crew. The Governor of Manila sent two ships under a Spanish flag to arrest him and they took him to that city, under the pretext that he was a pirate, that his papers were false and that he wanted to go to Peru and to Buenos Aires to sell his Chinese merchandise there. This ship has been plundered and its cargo, estimated at 450,000 pounds confiscated by a sentence rendered on 22 October 1714.

They beg for an order to be sent to the King's ambassador at the Spanish Court to claim the person of Mr. Boisloré with the ship and the merchandise, and to propose to have the latter shipped to foreign countries, in case they show up in France. They also request that His Catholic Majesty grant them their claim for damages for the depreciation of their ship and cargo, as of the time that it was unjustly taken.

[Note in margin:] Mr. Boisloreay has gone to the South Sea, and from there to China, and he had just come out of the latter country and was bound for Peru when he was arrested. The Council has already answered such a petition. Please check and take care not to needlessly remit to the Council petitions already dealt with. Bring forward the first extract.

B6. Declaration of General Hébert, dated Pondichery 15 February 1716

Source: ANP Marine B1 14, file entitled: "Ponant. Enregistrement des extraits portez au Conseil de Marine & des Deliberations du Conseil pendant les six premiers mois de l'Année 1717," folios 17v-18.

Original text in French.

Le Sr. Boisloré Commandant le Vaisseau l'Eclair estant sorty de la Chine pour retourner a la Mer du Sud fut obligé de relacher a Islocos a 60. Lieux au nord de Manille ou les Espagnols outrés de ce Commerce qui reste le seul qui les fasse subsister l'ont fait arrester et conduire en cette Ville; ce navire a esté confisqué avec sa cargaison. le S. Gargan Directeur de cet armement y est resté pour assister a la vente des marchandises, et doit se rendre ensuite a Pondichery pour repasser en France avec 50. hommes de l'Equipage, le S. de Boisloré doit estre retenu a Manille jusqu'a la reception des ordres du Roy d'Espagne.

[Note in margin:] *Le S. Boiloré est effectivement retenu dans ces prisons[,] il y a aparance qu'il n'en sortira de longtems.*

Translation.

Mr. Boisloré, Commander of the ship *Éclair*, having left China to return to the South Sea, was forced to make a stopover at Ilocos, 60 leagues north of Manila where the Spanish, vexed by this trading which is the only one that ensures their existence, had him arrested and taken to that city. This ship has been confiscated along with its cargo. Mr. Gargan, supercargo representing the owners, stayed behind to be present during the sale of the merchandise, and might come to Pondichéry afterward, in order to make

his way back to France with 50 crewmen. Mr. Boisloré might be detained at Manila until the receipt of orders from the King of Spain.

[Note in margin:] Mr. Boisloré is indeed being kept in those prisons. It appears that he will not get out of them for a long time.

Other French documents of possible interest concerning the *Éclair*.

—ANP ... (ex-Saint-Servan C4 328): Declaration made by Étienne Roquet, former clerk aboard the *Éclair*, dated 3 October 1716;

Note: This file is not the same as ANP CC4 328.

—ANP id.: Declaration made by Jacques Lactier Delisle, supercargo of the *Éclair*, dated 5 July 1717;

—ANP: possible information, or correspondence with the Spanish, about the *Éclair* and Captain Boisloré's imprisonment: check also ANP Marine, B2, 233, 239, 241. Said documents were not available for consultation in 1997, due to their bad condition.¹

¹ Ed. note: For continuation of this story, see Doc. 1714A next.

 Documents 1713C

The French ship *Éclair*—Narrative of Fray Florentin de Bourges

Sources: Du Halde, Fr. J. B. (ed.), Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus. XIII. Recueil, Paris, 1718, pp. 216-299; cited in Streit & Dindinger VI, p. 50, n° 166; one paragraph quoted by Astráin, VII, 763.

C1. Covering letter by Fr. Bouchet

Original text in French.

Lettre du Père Bouchet, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus: Au Pere J. B. D. H. de la même Compagnie.

A Pontichery ce 14. Février 1716.

*Mon Reverend Pere,
La paix de N.S.*

La Relation que je vous adresse m'a paru singulière, & j'ai cru vous faire plaisir de vous la communiquer. Elle est du R. P. Florentin de Bourges, Missionnaire Capucin, qui arriva à Pontichery vers la fin de l'année 1714. La route extraordinaire qu'il a tenuë pour venir aux Indes, les dangers & les fatigues d'un long & pénible voiage, le détail où il entre de ces florissantes Missions du Paraguay, qui sont sous la conduite des Jesuites Espagnols, & qu'il a parcouruës dans sa route; la certitude avec laquelle il m'a assuré qu'il n'avance rien dont il ne se soit instruit pas ses propres yeux; tout cela m'a paru digne de l'attention des personnes qui ont du zele pour la conversion des Infideles. C'est son original même que je vous envoie: il a eu la bonté de m'en laisser le maistre pour en disposer à mon gré. Je suis, &c.

Translation.

Letter from Father Bouchet, Missionary of the Society of Jesus to Father J.-B. du Halde of the same Society.

Pondichéry, 14 February 1716.

My Reverend Father,

Peace of Christ!

The narrative that I am sending you seemed to me to be special, and I believed that it would please you if I forwarded it to you. It is from Rev. Fr. Florentin de Bourges, a Capuchin missionary who arrived at Pondichéry toward the end of the year 1714. The extraordinary route that he followed to come to the Indies, the dangers and the hardships of a long and difficult voyage, the details that he mentions about those flourishing Missions in Paraguay, which are under the care of Spanish Jesuits, and that he has crossed along his route, plus the certainty with which he has assured me that he does not record anything that he did not see with his own eyes: all of that seemed to me to be worthy of the attention of those who are zealous for the conversion of the heathen. The copy that I am sending you is the original; he was good enough to let me have it to do what I please with it. I am, etc.

C2. Narrative of Fray Florentin de Bourges, Capuchin.

Original text in French.

[Fr. Du Halde's Introduction]

Voyage aux Indes Orientales par le Paraguay, le Chili, le Perou, &c.

Ce fut du Port-Louis le 20. Avril de l'année 1711. que le R. P. Florentin mit à la voile pour les Indes. Il raconte d'abord divers incidens qui le conduisirent à Buenos-ayres; & comme c'est là que commence cette route extraordinaire, qu'il fut contraint de prendre pour se rendre à la Côte de Coromandel, c'est-là aussi que doit proprement commencer la Relation qu'il fait de son voiage. Tout ce qui suit, sont ses propres paroles qu'on ne fait ici que transcrire.

...

À mon arrivée à Buenos-ayres, je me trouvai plus éloigné du terme de ma Mission, que lorsque j'étois en France; cependant j'étois dans l'impatience de m'y rendre, & je ne sçavois à quoy me déterminer, lorsque j'appris qu'il y avoit plusieurs Navires François à la côte du Chili & du Perou. Il me falloit faire environ sept cens lieüs par terre pour me rendre à la Conception ville du Chili, où les Vaisseaux François devoient aborder. La longueur du chemin ne m'effraoit point, dans l'esperance que j'avois d'y trouver quelque Vaisseau, qui de là feroit voile à la Chine, & ensuite aux Indes Orientales.

Comme je me dispois à executer mon desein, deux gros Navires que les Castillans appellent Navios de registro, aborderent au Port; ils portoient un nouveau Gouverneur pour Buenos-ayres, avec plus de cent Missionnaires Jesuites, & quatre de nos Soeurs Capucines, qui alloient prendre possession d'un nouveau Monastere qu'on leur avoit fait bastir à Lima. Je crus d'abord que la Providence m'offroit une occasion favorable d'aller au Callao, qui n'est éloigné que de deux lieuës de Lima: c'est de ce Port que les Vaisseaux François vont par la Mer du Sud à la Chine, & il me sembla que j'y trouverois toute la facilité, que je souhaitois pour aller aux Indes. Mais quand je fis réflexion aux préparatifs qu'on faisoit pour le voyage de ces bonnes Religieuses, à la lenteur de la voiture qu'elles prenoient, au long séjour qu'elles devoient faire dans toutes les Vil-

les de leur passage, je revins à ma première pensée, & je résolus d'aller par le plus court chemin à la Conception... vers la fin du mois d'Août de l'année 1712...

...

J'étois cependant toujours occupé de mon voyage au Chili, où j'espérois trouver quelque vaisseau François, qui allant à la Chine passeroit aux Isles Mariannes, où j'attendrois le Galion qui va de la nouvelle Espagne à Manille, d'où je pourrois me rendre aisément à la Coste de Coromandel. Il y a deux routes pour aller de Mendoza à Santiago...

La Conception estoit autrefois la Capitale du Chili; c'est une petite Ville située dans le fond d'une grande Baye, où les vaisseaux sont en seureté. Une Isle que la nature a formée au milieu de la Baye, les met à l'abri de la fureur des flots & des vents. Je trouvai dans le port les trois vaisseaux dont on m'avoit parlé; mais comme ils ne faisoient que d'arriver, ils n'estoient pas si tost prest de remettre à la voile. C'est ce qui m'engagea à aller à Valparayssou, où l'on m'assura qu'il y avoit un Navire, qui estoit sur son départ pour le Perou. Si j'avois esté bien instruit lorsque j'étois à Santiago, je me serois épargné bien des fatigues, car Valparayssou n'est est éloigné que d'environ vingt lieuës, & j'en fis deux cens pour m'y rendre. J'y trouvai effectivement le vaisseau déjà tout chargé & qui se préparoit à partir.

*Lorsque nous fûmes à quarante lieuës de ce Port, une chaloupe qui sortoit de la rade de Pisco, vint droit à notre bord: elle étoit envoyée par le Capitaine d'un navire François, appelé le **Prince des Asturies**, qui avoit mouillé dans cette rade. J'appris d'un Officier qui estoit dans la Chaloupe qu'un vaisseau François nommé l'**Éclair** commandé par M. Boislorée [sic], devoit incessamment se rendre à Pisco, d'où il passeroit au Callao pour aller ensuite à Canton; c'est ce qui me porta à aller à Pisco pour l'y attendre; il arriva quelques jours après & m'ayant promis de me faire donner avis à Lima du jour de son départ du Callao, je m'embarquai dans un petit bastiment Espagnol qui faisoit voile pour ce Port.*

Le Callao est le principal & le plus fameux Port de toute l'Amérique méridionale...

Aussi-tost que j'y arrivai, j'allai rendre mes devoirs au Vice-roi. C'étoit l'Evêque de Quito, qui en faisoit les fonctions: Le Viceroi estoit mort, aussi-bien que l'Archevêque de Lima qui est Viceroi né, quand celui qui a esté établi par la Cour d'Espagne vient à mourir... Il me permit d'aller loger chez les PP. Jesuites, dont il me fit de grands éloges. Outre le College que ces Peres ont au Callao, ils ont encore quatre maisons à Lima...

Je choisis la maison du Noviciat...

J'achevois ma retraite lorsque je reçus une Lettre de M. Boislorée qui m'apprenoit son arrivée au Callao, je me rendis aussi-tost à son bord, & dès le lendemain on mit à la voile. C'étoit le premier jour de Mars de l'année 1713. Nous eusmes trois mois d'une navigation très-douce; les vents alizez qui regnent sur cette Mer, nous porterent très-commodément aux Isles Mariannes. Comme le Galion d'Espagne que je venois chercher, n'avoit pas encore paru, je résolus de l'attendre dans l'Isle de Guahan où nous avions mouillé.

A peine estois-je à terre que les RR. PP. Jesuites, qui sont les seuls Missionnaires de ces Isles, vinrent audevant de moi accompagnez d'une troupe d'enfans; ils me conduisirent en procession à leur Eglise, au milieu d'une multitude de fideles qui s'estoient rendus en foule au rivage. L'air retentissoit des louanges du Seigneur que chantoient ces Enfants avec une devotion qui m'attendrissoit jusqu'aux larmes. La prière finie, les Peres me menerent dans leur maison qui est assez mal bastie: ils n'oublièrent rien pour me marquer leur affection, & pour dissiper l'ennui qu'on ne peut guères éviter dans un Pays [sic] si sauvage.

Il n'y a qu'un zele ardent pour le salut des ames, qui ait pû porter ces hommes Apostoliques à entreprendre la conversion de ces Barbares, & à consacrer le reste de leur vie dans ces Isles séparées du reste de l'Univers, & qui peuvent passer pour un exil affreux. Cependant ils me paroisoient plus contens que s'ils eussent esté dans la plus riante contrée d'Europe. Leur douceur, leur union, la paix interieure qu'ils goustoient, & qui se répandoit jusques sur leur visage, me firent comprendre que ce n'est pas dans les Missions les plus laborieuses, & les plus destituées des commoditez de la vie, que les Ouvriers Evangéliques sont le plus à plaindre. Dieu sçait les dédommager par l'onction de sa grace de toutes les douceurs de la vie, dont ils se sont privez pour son amour. Tous ces Insulaires sont maintenant soumis à l'Evangile. Dans la principale de ces isles qu'on appelle Agadagnna [sic], il y a un Séminaire fondé & entretenu par les Rois Catholiques, où les Missionnaires élevent avec grand soin la jeunesse.

Il y avoit douze jours que j'estois dans cette Isle, lorsque le Galion arriva. Le Capitaine me prévint obligeamment & m'offrit le passage que je souhaittois sur son bord. Je m'y embarquai, & après douze jours de navigation, nous découvrîmes les premières Terres des Isles Philipines, & nous mouillâmes à l'Embocadero: c'est ainsi que les Espagnols, appellent l'entrée du Canal. On a un grand nombre d'Isles à passer avant que d'arriver au Port de Cavite, qui est à trois lieuës de Manille. Les basses, les rochers, & les courans qui sont très rapides, rendent le passage de ce Canal très difficile, & très dangereux. La mousson avoit changé, les vents qui estoient au Sud-Ouest nous estoient contraires, & nous fusmes plus d'un mois & demi à faire 80. lieuës dans ce Canal. Les Officiers estant résolus d'attendre la mousson favorable pour conduire seurement le Galion au Port, je pris le parti, ainsi qu'avoient fait d'autres passagers, de me jeter dans la Chaloupe, & de prendre terre à l'Isle de Luçon, d'où je me rendis en trois jours à Manille.

Cette Ville située dans l'Isle de Luçon, est bastie au fond d'une Baye, qui a plus de dix-huit lieuës de circuit: c'est la Capitale de toutes les Isles qu'on appelle Philipines: elle est environnée d'une bonne muraille, & a un Chasteau bien fortifié. Le Roi d'Espagne y entretient une garnison de 500. hommes. Elle a un Gouverneur, une Cour de Justice, un Archevêque, un Chapitre, & plusieurs maisons Religieuses: Toutes les Eglises y sont belles, & richement ornés. On compte dans ces Isles près de 800. Paroisses, qui sont partagées pour la conduite entre les Prestres seculiers & Réguliers. Cette nombreuse Chrestienté est cultivée avec beaucoup de soin, & est parfaitement instruite de nos mysteres.

Une maladie violente dont je fus attaqué à Manille, me réduisit à l'extrémité. On désespéroit absolument de ma guérison, lorsque j'eus recours au grand Apotre des Indes, saint François Xavier. Ma prière ne fut pas plustost achevé, que je me sentis beaucoup mieux, & deux jours après, je fus en estat de célébrer le saint Sacrifice de la Messe. Ceux qui après m'avoir vû au lit deux jours auparavant, me voyoient à l'Autel, ne douterent pas qu'une guérison si soudaine, ne fust l'effet de la puissante protection du saint que j'avois invoqué.

*Je partis de Manille le 15. de Février de l'année 1714. sur la **Sainte Anne** Vaisseau Armenien, qui alloit à la Côte Coromandel. Une furieuse tempeste qui nous surprit entre l'Isle de la Paragua & le Paracel, nous mit plusieurs jours dans un danger continuel de faire naufrage; nos mats, nos voiles, & le gouvernail furent emportez; ce fut par une espece de miracle que nous abordâmes à Malaca, où je trouvai un Vaisseau Danois prest à faire voile pour Trancambar: c'est une place située sur la Côte de Coromandel qui appartient aux Danois. La **Sainte Anne** estant hors d'estat de se mettre en Mer, je demandai passage au Capitaine Danois, qui me l'accorda avec beaucoup de politesse.*

La saison qui estoit déjà avancée, nous retint près de trois mois dans une traversée, qu'on fait au temps de la mousson en moins de trois semaines. La maladie se mit dans l'équipage: nous perdîmes le Capitaine qui mourut entre mes bras, avec de grands sentimens de piété. Enfin après bien des fatigues, nous arrivâmes à Trancambar. Je repassai de-là à Madras, d'où je me rendis aisément à Pontichery, qui estoit le lieu de ma Mission, & le terme de mon voyage.

Translation.

[Fr. Du Halde's Introduction]

Voyage to the East Indies by way of Paraguay, Chile, Peru, etc.

It was from Port-Louis on 20 April 1711 that Rev. Fr. Florentin set sail for the Indies. He first narrates various incidents that took place when he was on his way to Buenos Aires and, given that it was here that his extraordinary travels began, that were to take him as far as the coast of Coromandel, it is also from this point that we must properly reproduce the narrative of his voyage. Every word that follows is his; I have but transcribed his own text.

...

At my arrival at Buenos Aires, I found myself farther away from my intended mission station than when I was still in France; however, I was impatient to get there but had problems deciding how best to do so, when I learned that there were many French ships along the coast of Chile and Peru. I had to made my way overland for about 700 leagues to reach Concepción, a town in Chile, where the French ships had to make a stopover. The long distance of the trip did not frighten me, in the hope that I had of finding there some ship that would sail for China, and then to the East Indies.

As I was ready to execute my plan, two big ships that the Spaniards call *Navios de registro* [registered cargo ships] arrived at the port; they were bringing a new Governor for Buenos Aires, with over 100 Jesuit missionaries, and 4 of our Capuchin Sisters who

were on their way to take over a new monastery that had been built for them in Lima. At first, I thought that Providence was offering me a favorable opportunity to go to Callao—which is distant but 2 leagues from Lima—and it is the point of departure for French ships that go to China by way of the South Sea. I seemed to me that I had found the best means that I hoped for to reach the Indies. However, when I learned of the preparations that were being made for the voyage of these good sisters, of the slowness of the coach that they would be using, of the long delays they would make in every city along the way, I went back to my earlier plan, and decided to go as directly as possible to Concepción... toward the end of the month of August 1712...

...

I was, however, still busy with my voyage to Chile, where I hoped to find some French ship going to China, by way of the Mariana Islands, where I would wait for the galleon that goes from New Spain to Manila, where I would be able to easily find transport to the Coast of Coromandel. There are two ways to go from Mendoza to Santiago...¹

Concepción was formerly the capital of Chile; it is a small city located at the bottom of a large bay, where ships are in safety. An island that nature has placed in the middle of this bay offers a shelter to them from the waves and the winds. In this port I found there the three ships that I had been told about; however, as they had just gotten there, they were not yet ready to set sail. That is why I took the decision to go to Valparaiso, where I was told that there was a ship that was about to leave for Peru. If I had been well informed when I was still at Santiago, I would have saved myself many hardships, because Valparaiso is distant from it by only about 20 leagues, and I travelled 200 leagues to get there. As it turned out, I did find the ship there, already loaded and making ready to leave.

When we were 40 leagues from this port, a launch coming from the roadstead of Pisco was heading directly toward us; it came alongside. It had been sent by the Captain of a French ship named **Prince des Asturies**, that was anchored in that roadstead. I learned from an officer who was in the launch that a French ship named **Éclair**, commanded by Mr. Boislorée [sic], was on the point of going to Pisco, whence it would go to Callao and then go to Canton. That is why I went to Pisco to wait for it there; it arrived a few days later. After I received the promise that it would let me know of its exact date of departure from Callao, I boarded a small Spanish vessel that was sailing for that port.

Callao is the main and most famous port in the whole of South America...

As soon as I arrived there, I paid a courtesy visit to the Viceroy. The Bishop of Quito was then acting as Viceroy, since the officially-appointed Viceroy had died, and also the Archbishop of Lima, who naturally replaces the Viceroy appointed by the Spanish Court when he dies... He gave me permission to seek room and board with the Jesuit

1 Ed. note: By the way, what has been transcribed as “Jaccra” in this source book, was in fact the Incan word “chacra”, which means “hacienda,” or farmstead.

Fathers, whom he praised to me very greatly. Besides the college run by these Fathers at Callao, they have four other houses in Lima... I chose the Novitiate...

I had just finished my retreat when I received a letter from Mr. Boislorée, who was announcing his arrival at Callao. I immediately went on board and, the very next day, we sailed. The date was 1 March 1713. We enjoyed a pleasant crossing of three months, as the tradewinds that prevail in that sea took us very comfortably as far as the Mariana Islands. As the Spanish galleon that I was seeking had not yet passed, I decided to wait for it at the Island of Guahan, where we had anchored.

As soon as I stepped ashore, the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, who are the only missionaries in those islands, come to meet me in company with a crowd of children. They took me along in a procession to their church, amid a crowd of faithful who had flocked to the beach. The air was filled with praises to the Lord which these children were singing with a devotion that moved me to tears. When the prayer was over, the Fathers led me to their residence which is rather badly built. They forgot nothing to mark their affection for me and to chase away the boredom that is hard to avoid in a country as wild as this one.

There is but a deep zeal for the salvation of souls that could have brought these apostolic men to undertake the conversion of these barbarians, and to consecrate the rest of their life in these islands, separated from the rest of the universe, and could be judged as an awful place of exile. However, they seemed to me happier here than they would have been in the most pleasant country in Europe. Their sweetness, their union, the interior peace that they enjoyed, which could be seen even on their faces, made me understand that it is not in the more difficult missions, and those that are most devoid of comforts, that Gospel workers should be pitied the most. God knows how to compensate them for their well-earned merits in their lack of comforts in the kind of life they have chosen for His love. All of these islanders are now subjects of the Church. In the main island named Agadagnna [sic], there is a Seminary founded and maintained by the Catholic kings, where the missionaries educate the youth with great care.

I had been 12 days in this island when the galleon arrived.¹ The Captain kindly let me know that I was welcome on board. I embarked and, after 12 days of sailing, we sighted the first land of the Philippine Islands, and we anchored at the Embocadero: that is the name given by the Spanish to the entrance of the channel. There are a great many islands that one must pass before arriving at the port of Cavite, which is located at 3 leagues from Manila. Shoals, rocks, and swift currents make this channel very difficult and very dangerous [for sailors]. The monsoon had shifted, the winds that were southwesterly were now contrary, and it took us more than a month and a half to cover 80 leagues within this channel. The officers having decided to await favorable monsoon winds, in order to take the galleon safely to its destination, I took the resolution to join other passengers aboard the launch and to step ashore on Luzon Island, whence I made it to Manila in 3 days.

1 Ed. note: The Santo Cristo de Burgos, Captain Bernardo Aysoain.

This city is situated on Luzon Island. It is built at the bottom of a bay which is over 18 leagues in circumference. It is the capital of all of these islands, that are called Philippines. It is enclosed by a good wall and its fortress is well fortified. The King of Spain maintains there a garrison of 500 men. In this city there reside a Governor, a court of justice, an archbishop, a municipal chapter, and many Religious institutions. All of its churches are beautiful and richly decorated. All in all, there are almost 800 parishes in these Islands, which are shared among secular and regular priests. This large Christian community is well taken care of, and is perfectly taught the religious doctrine.

A violent illness took hold of me while I was at Manila, and became life-threatening. My attendants despaired of my survival, when I decided to invoke the great Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier. My prayer was hardly finished when I immediately felt much better. Two days later, I was in good enough a condition to say mass. Those who had seen me in bed two days before, and now saw me at the altar, no longer doubted that such a sudden recuperation could not have been anything but the effect of a powerful protection from the Saint whom I had invoked.

I departed from Manila on 15 February 1714 aboard the **Santa Ana**, an Armenian ship that was going to the coast of Coromandel. A furious storm hit us by surprise between the Island of Paragua and the Paracel Islands; it caused us to be in a continuous danger of being shipwrecked during many days afterward. Our masts, our sails, and the rudder were blown off; it was almost by miracle that we made it as far as Malacca, where I found a Danish ship ready to sail for Trancambar—a place on the coast of Coromandel that belongs to the Danes. The **Santa Ana** being in a condition that made it impossible to go to sea, I asked the Danish Captain to take me in and he accepted very politely.

The season was so advanced that it took us three months to make a crossing that would normally take less than three weeks during the monsoon. Illness struck the crew, and we lost the Captain, who died in my arms, with great feelings of piety. Finally, after many hardships, we arrived at Trancambar. From there I went to Madras, where I easily embarked for Pondichéry, the site of my mission station, and the destination of my voyage.

Document 1713D

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1713

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Acknowledgment by the ship master of goods shipped from Acapulco

Original text in Spanish.

Conocimiento de lo que se remitió a Marianas este año de 1713.

*Digo, el Capn. Don Francisco Carriedo, y Peredo, Maestre que soy de la Nao Capitana **Sancto Cristo de Burgos, San Juan [sic] Tadeo, y las Animas**; de proximo para hazer viage a las Islas Philipinas que es verdad que he rrezevido de Don Juan Saenz de San Pedro, quatro caxas y quatro varriles de vino de n° 1 a 8, con la quarta marca del margen, los que les van en partida de recivo como situado Real a entregar al Padre de la Comp^a que saliere al Galeon. Rezevi asimesmo dos caxoncitos rrotulados a los Padres Diego de Zarzosa, y Ygnacio de Ybarguen, y se an de entregar a dho Padre que saliere al Galeon en Marianas, todo lo qual entregaré en la forma dha para que conste lo firme siendo testigos el R.P. Juan Basilio Lochi, Don Juan de Arlegui y Don Thomas Pheyln.*

Acapulco y Marzo 31 de 1713.

Son 4 caxas 4 varriles 2 caxoncitos todo lo dho remite el Reverendo Padre Francisco de Borxa y Aragon, Procurador General de Philipinas en este Reyno.

Fho re supra. Y de este thenor firme dos el uno cumplido que el otro no valga.

Francisco Carriedo y Peredo.

Translation.

Bill of lading of what was remitted to the Marianas this year 1713.

I, Captain Francisco Carriedo y Peredo, Master of the flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Juan [sic] Tadeo, y las Ánimas**, about to sail to the Philippine Islands, do declare that that it is true that I have received from Don Juan Sáenz de San

Pedro 4 boxes and 4 barrels of wine, numbered n° 1 to n° 8, and bearing the fourth mark in margin,¹ which are listed on the entry of the receipt as Royal subsidy to be delivered to the Father of the Society who might come alongside the galleon. In addition I received 2 small crates addressed to Fr. Diego de Zarzosa, and Fr. Ignacio de Ibarquen, and those too are to be delivered to said Father who might go out to the galleon at the Marianas, all of which I will deliver in the said manner. In faith whereof, I have affixed my signature in the presence of the following witnesses: Rev. Fr. Juan Basilio Lochi, Don Juan de Arlegui and Don Thomas Pheylyan.

They are 4 boxes, 4 barrels, and 2 small crates, all of which is being sent by Reverend Father Francisco de Borja y Aragon, Procurator General of the Philippines in this Kingdom.

Date as above. And I have signed two copies, one being the original and the other a duplicate.

1 Ed. note: The mark consists of the usual superimposed letters M and A, plus the letter S on top, the letter R on the right (meaning Marianas), followed by the letters P.P. (meaning Fathers).

Documents 1714A

Captain Boisloré—Part 2

A1. Letter from the Governor of the Philippines to the King, dated Manila 21 July 1714

Source: AGI Escribanía 405C, fol. 432-435.

Original text in Spanish.

El Gobernador de Philipinas.

26.

Da cuenta à V.M. del arrivo de un Navio Frances a la Provinzia de Ilocos del cargo de Don Juan Boylorè [sic] cargado de ropa y generos de la China, y quedar embargado, oyendose al Capitan, al Director, y Escribano en justicia. Con testimonio 26.—

Señor.

El Alcalde maior de la Provincia de Ylocos Don Pedro Piñera me aviso por carta de 22 de Noviembre de 713 haver arrivato al Puerto de Solocoloc en aquella Provincia cien leguas de esta Ciudad, un Navio de quien se deçia Capitan Don Juan Boylorè, y ser frances que venia de Canton del trato, y comercio, y que los malos tiempos le havian obligado arrivar à aquella Provincia nesecitado de reparar el Navio; y estando para verse en el Acuerdo con quien lo consultè me repitio el Alcalde segun aviso en Carta de 3. de Diziembre partisipandome haver savido con alguna indibidualidad que dho Navio havia salido tres años antes de Francia para el Perú donde havia estado bastante tiempo, y que de allí havia pasado al Puerto de Canton del Reyno de la China, y comprado las mercaderias que acostumbran, con designios de bolver al Perú, Cuyas noticias me comunicò tambien por otra del mismo dia Don Gabriel de Urquiso, pasagero del mismo Navio, que se havia embarcado en Canton, y que el Capitan y su gente estavan en animo de esperar la monson para salir, para seguir su viage, que discurrían seria por el mes de Abril: Con cuyos motivos, y con el de no haver dado razon el Capitan frances, à este Gobierno de su arrivo, teniendo presentes las ordenes de V.M. que prohiven la entrada de semejantes Navios mercantiles en estos Puertos, despachè orden a dho Alcalde mayor para que hiçiese notificar al Capitan saliese de dho Puerto, ó viniese por lo que huvièsse menester al Puerto de Cavite, donde sin faltar al cumplimiento de Vuestra Real voluntad seria asistido de lo que neçesitase para su avio; y que en caso de no

executarlo procurase con sagacidad cogérle en tierra, ó al factor, y con buena guardia me lo remitiese a esta Ciudad, ordenándole, que si tratavan de poner en tierra la carga del Navio, no les permitiese bolverla à embarcar;

Y bisto todo en el Acuerdo me previnieron que por resultar sospechosa la llegada de dho capitan, y su Barco a estas Yslas devia yo continuar las Providencias neçesarias para su aseguracion, y con lo que resultase bolviere al Acuerdo. Y en su conformidad habiendo esperado para nuevas providencias la resulta de la zitada orden, y constado de las diligencias que hizo el Alcalde que dho Capitan se substraia de ejecutarla pretextando lo maltratado de su vagel para haçerse a la vela; Que informò el Alcalde y certificò su escribano estar sufiçientemente acondicionado, y lo depuso tambien judicialmente un Ayudante de este Campo que despachè al Alcalde con la zitada orden, y estuvo en dho Navio donde oyò a la gente del que su buelta era derechamente al Perú: Despachè segunda al Alcalde para que por todos los medios posibles le embarzase el embarque de la carga que hubiese echado en tierra haciendole saver (para ocurrir al fraude que podia hacer al comercio de Vuestros vasallos, si pretextando que salia de dho Puerto para esta Ciudad en cumplimiento de mi orden seguia su viage al Perú) que en casso de querer cumplirla viniendo, fuese por tierra, y no de otra manera; y le previne que no obedeciendo estas ordenes no le asistiese, ni permitiese, que en lo de adelante se le diese cossa alguna que necesitase: Y aunque se le intimò por primera, segunda, y tercera vez para que viniese[,] no tubo efecto.

En cuyo estado el Cavildo de esta Ciudad, y su comercio se presentaron en este Gobierno pidiendome que en atencion a los conocidos perjuicios que de seguir su viaje a la America dho Capitan, y su Barco se havian de seguir a estas Yslas, y su Comercio contra las ordenes de V.M. continuase yo en su cumplimiento en dar las mas virgorosas providencias, por mar y tierra, hasta asegurar dho Navio, a cuyo fin ofrecieron servir a V.M. para los gastos de estas disposiciones en caso de no conseguirse la Captura, con 3 mil pesos, a cuya suplica condesendí azeptando el servicio, y dispuse con toda brevedad se aprestasen dos Navios de particulares que surgian en Cavite, y con efecto los despachè à cargo del General Don Bernardo de Ayoaín, y Almirante Don Joachin de Ursua, con orden de que llegados que fuesen a dho Puerto, ó ensenada de Solocso-loc, se le hiziesen al Capitan françes, y su gente por el Escrivano que remiti para autenticar las diligencias que executasen, los requirimientos necesarios para que manifestase las Patentes, y Lisencias de V.M. y del Señor Rey Christianissimo, u otras con que se hallase, en cuya virtud hubiese pasado a estas partes, y que constando no traer las necesarias conforme à Vuestras Leyes le requiriesen se entregase preso con su Barco, y gente; Y por ser in obediencia (pretextándole los daños que se pudiesen seguir en perjuicio de la buena correspondencia, y union de las dos Coronas) procurasen impocibilitarle la salida del Puerto, y rendirle (no pudiendo de otra manera) con las Armas como a delinquente, y reo transgresor de las Leyes, y Ordenes de V.M. a cuyo uso no fue necesario llegar, porque dho General, y Almirante le impidieron la salida del Puerto donde estava surto de modo que puestos a la capa a la voca del, le pudieron haçer los requirimientos prevenidos en la Instruccion, y no darle lugar a su fuga aunque la intentò des-

pues de haver exivido una Patente, o Lizencia del Señor Rey Christianissimo fecha en Bersalles, à 22. de Noviembre de 709 para pasar con dho Navio a los Puertos de Canton, ó Limpo del Reino de la China, al trato y comerçio, prohiviendosele en los Mares del Sur, pena de confiscazion del vagel, y mercançias, y multa de 50 mil Libras françasas; y otra del grande Almirante de Françia, para dho viage en corso, y mercançia. Y por no haver constado de despachos de V.M. lo aprehendieron y trageron con su Barco, y gente al Puerto de Cavite, segun, y en la forma, que se previno en la Instruccion:

Que visto en el Acuerdo con un Imbentario de los Libros, y Papeles que se le recogieron al Capitan, factor ó Director, y escrivano del Navio, por donde resultava mas comprovacion de ser la buelta de su viage al Perú se me dio por voto consultivo deverse declarar por bien aprehendida la perssona de dho Capitan Don Juan Boylorè[,] su Barco, y gente, y continuar su aseguracion pasando a su Ymbentario, y reconocimiento de su carga, con asistencia de un oficial Real, y Citacion del fiscal, y fecho se recibiesen las declaraciones del Casso al Capitan y oficiales del Navio, especialmente al Piloto, mandandosele que exiviese el Diario, ó Derrotero desde Europa, a estas partes, y que se tradugesen en nuestro Idioma dhos Libros, y Papeles.

*Y conformandome con este voto nombrè para su execucion al oydor Don Gregorio de Villa y en su virtud con zitacion de Vuestro fiscal, y asistencia de Don Juan Antonio de Ybarra, oficial de Vuestra Real Hacienda, pasò al Puerto de Cavite al cumplimiento de la Comicion, por cuyas diligencias parece que este Navio nombrado **El Relampago** lo armaron particulares en francia, con lizencia para la China, y designio para el Perú, y su porte 43 codos de quilla, 30 cañones, y la gente que ha traido 85 personas en plaza, y al dho Don Gabriel de Urquiso que iba de pasagero: Que la carga principal que sacò de Françia se componia de fierro, acero, çera, castores, liensos, papel, ropa de lana, y otras cosas que importavan de 36, a 37 mil pesos: Que desde que salieron de Brest, siguieron la derrota derechamente al Perú, en cuyas costas vendió toda su carga, y assi mismo una Presa Portuguesa cargada de vino, y agua ardiente que apresò en las costas del Brasil, en cantidad de 13 mil pesos que redugeron a mercaderias de Françia, y vendieron tambien en dho Reyno: Que el principal producto de la carga importò 50 mil pesos poco mas o menos, con cuya cantidad pasaron en las mercancias imbentariadas con que arrivo a estas Yslas, generos todos gastables en el Peru, en donde otorgaron algunos conocimientos de cortas cantidades que suponen la buelta de China al mismo Reyno del Peru, y Chile, y otros adminiculos que lo compruevan de que se dio vista al fiscal de esta Audiencia quien pidio se llevase el espediente à Junta de Guerra, para que en ella se estimase, si a dho capitan se le devia guardar la buena correspondencia prevenida por Cédulas de 31 de Diziembre de 700, 11 de Henero de 701, y 12 de Junio de 703. Y aviendose formado fueron todos los que la compuçieron de parecer que estandose ventilando como se ventilava en Justicia con voto del Acuerdo no hallavan que el examen del cumplimiento o contravencion à Vuestras ordenes, sobre los comerçios de Vuestros Dominios tocasse a Junta de Guerra, y aunque se insistio por el fiscal que expresasen sus pareceres sobre su pedimiento sele debolvieron à el los Autos con voto del Acuerdo, para que usase del derecho que huviese lugar, y respondió que*

se determinase con el voto del Acuerdo lo mas combeniente: que visto en el Acuerdo se me dio por voto consultivo deverse declarar por bien preso a dho Capitan Boylorè, y executar la misma pricion en el Factor de dho Barco[,] Don Nicolas de Gargan, y Escribano Esteban Roquet, y que por el Oydor entendiendose en estas diligencias se les hiciesen la culpa, y cargo que resultava de ellas, y tomase sus confesiones como se executò, y en su vista dijo el fiscal seles oyese, en Justicia, y que despues hallando meritos deduciria las acciones que tubieren lugar, y con voto consultivo del Acuerdo mando dar traslado a los referidos; y cada uno de ellos para que usasen de su derecho, dentro de terçero dia y pasado recibir la causa, a prueba, conter... [2-cm hole] que por estarse sacando las copias [2-cm hole = y despues?] dar quenta a V.M. en esta ocasion ... estan corrientes, no habiendose podido adelantar mas este negocio, por el largo tiempo que ocupò la traduccion de los Libros, y Papeles franceses que pareçio neçesaria para instruir mas plenamente el concepto.

Quedo en concluirlo con la brevedad que se requiere determinandolo en Justicia, y guardando la buena correspondencia que V.M. manda a los que no resultasen culpados de que en la primera ocacion darè à V.M. aviso como lo ordenan los rescritos del caso.

*Nuestro Señor G.L.C.Y.R.P. de V.M. como la Christiandad ha menester.
Manila y Julio 21 de 1714.
El Conde de Lizarraga.*

[Minute:]
Consejo

Respondida por el Sr. fiscal en 5 de Mayo de 1717 à continuacion de un Decreto de S.M. de 25 de Noviembre de 1716 con que remitió al Consejo un ofizio del Embajador de Francia Duque de St. Aignan con memorial de M. Menan Duplessis y Coquelin sobre lo contenido en esta carta.

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines:

Reports to Y.M. about the arrival of a French ship to the Province of Ilocos, under the command of Mr. Juan Boisloré, and loaded with Chinese cloth and goods, and which remain under an embargo, while the Captain, the Supercargo, and Clerk are being processed through the courts. Enclosing record of proceedings n° 26.

Sire:

The Mayor of the Province of Ilocos, Pedro Piñera, advised me by letter dated 22 November 1713, of the arrival at the port of Solocsoloc in that province, at 100 leagues from this city, of a ship whose Captain said that his name was Juan Boisloré, and his nationality French, that he came from trading at Canton, and that bad weather had forced him to seek port in that province in order to repair his ship. When the matter was about to be seen in the Audiencia, which I consulted, the Mayor repeated to me,

in another letter dated 3 December, that he had learned with some details that said ship had left France three years ago to go to Peru where it had been for a while, and that from there it had gone to the port of Canton in the Kingdom of China and had bought the usual merchandise, and had plans to return to Peru. The same news were communicated in another letter of same date by Don Gabriel de Urquiso, a passenger aboard said ship, who had embarked at Canton, saying that the Captain and his men planned to wait for the monsoon to leave, and pursue their voyage, that they were talking about the month of April. For these reasons, and the fact that the French Captain had not reported to this government upon his arrival, keeping in mind the orders of Y.M. that prohibit the entrance of such trading ships in these ports, I despatched an order to said Mayor for him to notify the Captain to leave said port, or to come to the port of Cavite for whatever he needed, and where he would be assisted with what he might need for his outfitting, without infringing Your Royal will. In case he refused, the Mayor was to try and trick him, or his supercargo, ashore, and seize him; then, under a good escort he was to remit him to this city, ordering him, if he should place the ship cargo ashore, not to put it back on board.

And everything having been seen in the Audiencia, they advised me that, since the arrival at these Islands of said Captain and his ship appeared suspicious, I should continue to take the necessary steps to have him arrested, and return to the Audiencia with the results. So, I agreed but, before taking new steps, I waited for the result of the above-mentioned order. When I learned that the steps taken by the Mayor had resulted in the Captain's refusal, under the excuse that his vessel was too damaged to sail, but that the Mayor stated that it was sufficiently seaworthy, as certified by his notary, and further substantiated by an Adjutant from this Camp whom I had despatched to the Mayor with the above-mentioned order, and who had visited said ship and heard its crew saying that they would return directly to Peru, I despatched a second order to the Mayor to use all the means possible to prevent the re-loading of the cargo that might have been placed ashore, and to let him know (in case he would perpetrate a fraud against the commerce of Your vassals, by pretending that he was leaving said port to come to this city, to comply with my [first] order, but then pursue his voyage to Peru) that, if he wished to comply, he now had to do so overland, and in no other way; and to warn him that if he did not comply with these orders, he was not to assist him, nor allow anyone to give him anything he needed in future. And, although he was ordered, not just once, but a second and third time to come, it had no effect.

In the meantime, the municipal council of this city, and its trade representatives, made a representation to this government, asking me, in view of the known damages to these Islands and their commerce that would result if this voyage to America was pursued by said Captain and his ship, against the orders of Y.M., to please continue to make vigorous efforts, by sea and overland, to capture said ship. To this effect, they offered to serve Y.M. by paying the expenses of such arrangements, up to 3,000 pesos, in case they did not result in a capture. I agreed with their petition and accepted the service, and arranged for two private ships that were anchored at Cavite to be made ready

as soon as possible. In fact, I despatched them under the command of General Bernardo de Aysoaín, and Admiral Joaquin de Ursua, with an order for them, as soon as they reached said port, or bay of Solocoloc, to order the Frenchman and his crew, in writing, through the notary whom I also sent to make every step they were to take official, to exhibit the patents, and permissions of Y.M. and of the the Most Christian King [of France], or other licenses he might have, by virtue of which he had come to these parts, and in case he did not have the legal papers required by Your Laws, he was to be ordered to deliver his ship, and crew. And, should he be in order (but protesting about the potential harm to the good relationships, and unity of the two Crowns) they were to try and prevent him from leaving the port, and if necessary make use of force to treat him like a common criminal, one who had infringed the Laws and Orders of Y.M. In fact, it was not necessary to use such tactics, because said General and Admiral, upon arriving on the scene, blocked his exit from the port where he was anchored, so that he was forced to stall his ship and they were able to serve their papers, in accordance with their Instructions, and they prevented the escape which he attempted after he had exhibited a Patent, or License from the Most Christian King, dated Versailles 22 November 1709, to go to the ports of Canton, or Limpo, of the Kingdom of China, to trade, but prohibiting him from the South Sea under penalty of confiscation for his ship, and cargo, and a fine of 50,000 French pounds. Also, he had letters of mark from the Great Admiral of France for a cruising, and trading voyage. However, since he did not have the despatches of Y.M., they seized him and brought him in along with his ship, and crew, to the port of Cavite, in accordance with, and as stipulated in, their Instructions.

This case was seen in the Audiencia, along with an inventory of the books and papers seized from the Captain, supercargo or Director, and clerk of the ship, that provided more proof that the return voyage was to Peru. In a consultative vote, they told me that I had to declare as legitimate the arrest of said Captain Juan Boisloré and his crew, and the capture of his ship, and to continue holding them while an inventory and survey of its cargo was carried out, in the presence of a Royal official, and the fiscal was to be asked to open the case by noting the declarations of the Captain and officers of the ship, specially the pilot, ordering them to exhibit the logbook, or journal, from Europe to these parts, and that said books and papers be translated into our language.

Agreeing with this vote, I appointed the Audiencia member, Don Gregorio de Villa, to carry it out and, by virtue of the citation issued by Your fiscal, and the assistance of Don Juan Antonio de Ibarra, the official of Your treasury, he proceeded to the port of Cavite to comply with his Commission. The result of this commission showed: that this ship named **Relámpago** [i.e. *Éclair*] had been outfitted in France, with permission to go to China, but a plan to go to Peru; its capacity was indicated by its 43 cubits of length of keel, its 30 guns, and had 85 crewmen on board, plus said Don Gabriel de Urquiso who came as passenger; that the main cargo taken from France consisted of iron, steel, wax, beaver [hats], canvas cloth, paper, woolens, and other things whose value totalled from 36 to 37 thousand pesos; that after leaving Brest they followed a course leading them to Peru, on whose coast they sold all of their cargo, and also one Portuguese prize

loaded with wine and brandy which they had captured on the coast of Brazil, for a sum of 13,000 pesos, which they converted into merchandise from France, and also sold in said Kingdom; that the revenue from the sale of the main cargo was 50,000 pesos more or less. Then, they proceeded to inventory the merchandise brought to these Islands, all goods saleable in Peru; some bills of lading were shown to be understated in quantity, which supposes a return voyage from China to the same Kingdom of Peru, and Chile. Other small papers added further proof, enough to turn over the file to the fiscal of this Audiencia, who requested that the file be forwarded to the War Council, to decide whether or not said Captain ought to come under the terms of the good relations covered by Decrees dated 31 December 1700, 11 January 1701, and 12 June 1703. All members of this Council having been convened, they all agreed that, since the case was already before the Audiencia, they were of the opinion that an examination of the accomplishment or contravention of Your orders regarding trade and commerce within Your Dominions was not a matter to be decided by the War Council. Although the fiscal insisted on them to express their opinion about his petition, the record of proceedings was simply returned to him, with the advice of the Audiencia, for him to apply the law. He answered that the opinion of the Audiencia should be sought and followed as best as possible. The Audiencia in turn gave me their consultative vote, by which they recommended that I should declare as legitimate the imprisonment of said Captain Boisloré, and should order the similar arrest of the Supercargo of said ship, Don Nicholas de Gargan, and of the Clerk Étienne Roquet, and let their cases follow the proper legal proceedings, with the member of the Audiencia who took part in them charge them and receive their confessions. This was done, and in view thereof, the Fiscal said that their case should be heard and then action be taken, based on the merits of their case. The matter was referred to the Audiencia for another consultative vote, by which it was ordered that each and everyone of the accused summoned to appear was to avail himself of his right, within three days, past which the proofs would be presented. Also they ordered that a full transcript was to be made to report to Y.M.

Such a full transcript is presently being remitted to Y.M., in its actual state, because it was not possible to conclude this affair in time, given the delays caused by the translation of the French documents, that appeared necessary in order to fully present the cases.

I remain with the obligation to see the case concluded before the court as soon as possible, keeping in mind the good relations that Y.M. orders be kept with those who are not guilty. I will report further to Y.M. at the first opportunity that I will have, as ordered by the rescripts included in the case file.

May our Lord save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.
Manila, 21 July 1714.

The Count of Lizarraga.

[Minute:]

The Council.

This was answered by the Fiscal on 5 May 1717, following a Decree of His Majesty dated 25 November 1716, that accompanied a note from the Ambassador of France, the Duke of St-Aignan, along with a memorial from Messieurs Menan Duplessis and Coquelin concerning the contents of this letter.

A2. Petition of the ship-owners to the King of France

Source: AGI Escribania 405C.

Note: The petition bears no date, but it was printed at the beginning of 1716.

Original printed text in French.

AUROY et a Nosseigneurs de Son Conseil de Marine.

SIRE

LES ARMATEURS DU NAVIRE L'ECLAIR, Remontrent tres-humblement à VOSTRE MAJESTÉ qu'au mois de Novembre 1710 ils armerent ce Navire du port de 350. tonneaux 32. Canons & 140 hommes d'équipage sous le commandement du Sieur Boisloré, chargé de Marchandises avec les Passeports de VÔTRE MAJESTÉ & commission de M. l'Amiral pour faire le voyage de la Chine sous la permission de la Compagnie.

Le Capitaine Boisloré faisant sa route donna chasse à un Vaisseau Portugais qu'il prit, dont la valeur avec sa Cargaison lui parut assez considerable pour l'amariner, mais ayant besoin des gens de son équipage qu'il étoit obligé de mettre sur cette prise, il ne pût se dispenser de la conduite d'abord à Buenas Aires, comme le lieu le plus proche pour tâcher de la vendre & continuer son voyage à la Chine, où il se rendit avec grand nombre de malades dans son bord & dans une occurrence des plus fâcheuses pour la liberté de son commerce & de la traite qu'il devoit faire.

VÔTRE MAJESTÉ a été informée des pirateries que le nommé Bouynot a faites dans ces Mers du Levant, où il prit un Vaisseau Chinois venant de Batavia, & qu'il pilla encore dix à douze autres Bastimens Chinois, ce qui avoit causé un grand derangement dans leur commerce, alarmé toute la côte & irrité cette Nation contre les François, en sorte que Boisloré arrivant peu de tems après ces desordres, fut regardé comme le pirate Bouynot & comme un sujet propre à servir de represaille & de vengeance.

Boisloré averti du dessein des Chinois se trouva embarassé, il avoit déjà commencé à traiter pour son chargement, il couroit risque par le retard de tout perdre avec sa liberté, & pour ne pas s'exposer par un long sejour, il fut obligé d'acheter les Marchandises telles qu'il les put trouver promptement, sans examiner si elles étoient convenables ou non, pour se tirer au plutôt de ce pays-là.

Quoique la plûpart de son équipage fut malade, & que la saison de partir fut contraire, il ne laissa pas de risquer sa sortie quelque temeraire qu'elle fut & filant ses cables, il se déroba insensiblement de la riviere de Canton pour prendre la mer au mois de Novembre 1713. malgré la rigueur de la saison.

Il ne pouvoit pas tenter avant les mois de Fevrier ou Mars le passage du détroit de Malaca, sur tout dans le desordre où il étoit & ayant tout à craindre à cause que ce passage étoit occupé par des Navires qui vouloient surprendre Bouynot.

Boisloré pour éviter tous ces inconveniens donna dans le Canal de l'Isle de Lusson, Isle presque deserte & sans commerce, dépendante des Philippines, éloignée de 150. lieuës de Manille.

Dans cette navigation il fut battu d'une tempête qui dura onze jours, au bout desquels il reconnut la terre de l'Isle de Lusson, il y aborda tout ayveux [sic] & delabré par les coups de vent qu'il avoit souffert, il y mouïlla dans le Port de Solot, où il appliqua ses premiers soins à mettre à terre ses malades qui étoient en grand nombre, & à faire travailler au radoub de son Vaisseau tres endommagé.

Boisloré ayant mis ordre à tout envoya trois Lettres de suite au Gouverneur de Manille, pour lui donner avis de sa relâche au Port de Solot & des raisons qu'il avoit eu de se retirer promptement des mains des Chinois, qui par represailles vouloient se venger des pirateries de Bouynot; ce Gouverneur au lieu d'envoyer du secours à Boisloré & de répondre à ses lettres, l'envoya sommer par un Ayde-Major d'emmener son Vaisseau à Manille ou de continuer sa route.

Ces ordres paroissans à Boisloré aussi déraisonnables l'un que l'autre, étant dans l'impossibilité de tenir la mer dans la saison & en l'état où il se trouvoit, répondit selon toutes les apparences un peu brusquement à cet Officier qui en fit encore un plus mauvais rapport au Gouverneur.

L'Isle de Lusson étant presque deserte & sans commerce, ainsi qu'on l'a dit cy-devant, le Gouverneur de Manille ne pouvoit se faire aucun ombrage de la relâche du Navire l'Eclair dans cette Isle où le Capitaine Boisloré séjourna deux mois vingt jours, pendant lequel temps il fut informé que le pirate Bouynot étoit à Manille où il vendoit les prises qu'il avoit fait sur les Chinois, & que craignant que Boisloré ne fit des plaintes contre lui de ses pirateries, il avoit persuadé au Gouverneur de faire arrêter Boisloré comme un Forban.

Cette imposture mit le Capitaine Boisloré au desespoir, persuadé qu'il n'auroit pas raison du Gouverneur, il attendoit avec impatience le tems & l'occasion de se venger de ce pirate, la saison commençant à devenir favorable, ses malades un peu rétablis, & le Navire en état, il mit à la voile le 21 Fevrier 1714.

Il ne fut pas plustost sorti du Port de Solot qu'il fut contraint de relâcher dans celui de Salamagre, d'où peu d'heures après il vit venir à lui deux Navires: il appareilla & se mit en estat de deffense, les croyant Portugais, mais ayant reconnu le Pavillon Espagnole, il les attendit, & à la portée de la voix on lui fit commandement d'amener ses Voiles.

Boisloré vit bien que c'étoist ouvrage de Bouynot, mais n'ayant rien à craindre, il obéit à ce commandement, on lui demanda à voir ses passeports & commission qu'il envoya dans le moment; il fut mandé à bord de la part de Sa MAJESTÉ CATHOLIQUE, il y alla sans aucune resistance, mais il fut bien surpris quand les Officiers Espagnols de ces deux Vaisseaux, lui dirent que ses passeports & commission estoient faux, & sans

autre raison l'arrestèrent prisonnier avec mauvais traitemens, saisirent son Vaisseau, ses marchandises, tous ses papiers, & envoyerent par terre l'équipage à Manille.

Ces Officiers avec leurs Vaisseaux demeurèrent deux jours dans le Port de Salamagre pour piller plus facilement le Vaisseau l'Eclair, qui fut ensuite conduit au Port de Cavitte, où le Castillan vint à bord pour faire cloüer & mettre les sceaux sur les écoutes, Boisloré fut mis dans le Chasteau prisonnier, & quelques jours après Dom Gregorio de Villa vint de Manille avec ordre de faire décharger les marchandises & d'égréer le Navire, ce qui fut executé & Boisloré transferé aux prisons de Manille.

Le Gouverneur ne trouvant pas lieu d'accuser Boisloré de piraterie, & voyant qu'il pourroit tomber dans des dommages & interests, pour colorer sa faute & sa violence, l'accusa d'avoir dessein d'aller vendre ses marchandises dans les Royaumes du Perou, Chily ou Bouenas Aires, parce que la plupart estoient des soyries.

Les Supplians ont representé à VOSTRE MAJESTÉ les raisons que Boisloré avoit eu de charger à Canton ces sortes de marchandises, comme les plus promptes & les plus faciles à favoriser sa retraite à cause des pirateries de Bouynot, & la crainte de représailles dont il estoit averty: ce qui l'a empêché de faire sa traite meilleure, & l'a forcé de prendre ce qu'il a pû pour ne pas perdre tout le fruit de son voyage.

Il s'ensuit de là que l'accusation formée contre Boisloré est d'un crime de volonté sans execution, d'un dessein imaginé qu'on lui impute gratuitement. Le Gouverneur de Manille n'estoit pas competant pour juger de cette volonté, il devoit en laisser le jugement aux Gouverneurs du Pérou ou du Chily, s'il avoit executé aux Manilles ni dans l'étendue de ce Gouvernement, on l'a voulu traiter comme Forban, il a montré ses passeports & commission, sur quoy le Gouverneur n'a pas insisté. Tout son crime se réduit donc à dire qu'il a été dans l'impossibilité de se retirer de l'Isle de Lusson sur le commandement qui lui en a été fait, à cause de la mauvaise saison & de l'estat de son équipage, puisqu'il n'a fait aucun commerce dans les Isles Philippines tout le temps qu'il a esté dans celle de Lusson, & qu'on ne l'en accuse pas, ce Gouverneur n'a pas même osé risquer ses Vaisseaux pour envoyer saisir celui de Boisloré pendant pres de trois mois qu'il a esté à Lusson: & quand il apprend qu'il se dispose à partir, parce que la saison & la mer le permettent, il l'envoie arrester. Quelle perfidie contre le droit d'hospitalité, entre deux Nations confederées!

On prend pour pretexte de cette violence que ses passeports sont faux, on l'arreste, on le traite de Forban, on le pille; dans la suite on reconnoist la méprise; on ne veut pas avoir le dementy de cette mauvaise procedure, on fait entendre des Matelots, gens mercenaires, ausquels on promet vingt mois d'apointement qu'on leur a payé pour sortir du Pays. On fait une procedure pendant huit mois qui ne finit que le 22. Octobre 1714. par une Sentence que le Gouverneur fait rendre par laquelle on declare malicieuse & affectée l'arrivée du Vaisseau l'Eclair aux Isles Philippines, pour aller ensuite dans les Royaumes du Perou, Chily & Bouenas Aires, & introduire dans ces royaumes les soyries & autres, marchandises de la Chine, contrevenant en cela aux Loix & aux Ordres de MAJESTÉ CATHOLIQUE, & parce que ledit Boisloré, se trouve coupable en cela, par consequent ledit Navire doit estre confisqué avec sa charge, ledit Boisloré restant

prisonnier, & lesdites marchandises se vendant publiquement à l'encan, taxant auparavant leur juste valeur en la façon ordinaire, & mettant le produit dans le trésor Royal, réservant l'imposition de la peine convenable que merite ledit Boisloré, au Royal & Suprême Conseil des Indes; & pour ce qui est des sieurs Gargan & Roquet, on les doit déclarer libres & déchargés, &c.

Signé le Comte de Lizarague President Gouverneur. Le Docteur Joseph Touralava [sic], & le Bachelier, Dom Gregoire Manuel de Villa.

Il paroît, SIRE, par cette Sentence qu'il n'y a aucune preuve que Boisloré ait voulu faire ni qu'il ait fait aucun commerce aux Isles Philippines, ce qui eût été le cas de prononcer la confiscation: mais il y a plus, le Fiscal ou Procureur de Sa MAJESTÉ CATHOLIQUE n'a pris aucune conclusion ni requis aucune chose dans ce procès; c'estoit pourtant la seule partie capable de requérir, & ne trouvant pas de Justice dans tout le procedé du Gouverneur, il s'est lui-même opposé à tout ce qu'on a fait, il a même empêché l'execution de cette Sentence, & n'a pas voulu consentir la vente de ses marchandises: ce qui prouve assez que tout cela n'a été ainsi conduit par le gouverneur, que pour profiter injustement d'un bien mal confisqué, par des vues d'interests que l'on passe sous silence, & à l'instigation de Bouynot; & fait prendre la liberté aux Supplians de se jeter aux pieds de VÔTRE MAJESTÉ pour implorer très-humblement sa protection.

A CES CAUSES, SIRE, attendu que Boisloré a été injustement arrêté, & le Vaisseau, marchandises & cargaison mal confisquées, n'ayant fait aucun commerce dans les Isles Philippines, suivant que la Sentence le justifie, il plaise à VÔTRE MAJESTÉ de faire réclamer par son Ambassadeur près le Roy d'Espagne la Personne de Boisloré avec le Vaisseau l'Eclair & les marchandises qui étoient dans son Bord, telles & en l'estat qu'elles estoient lors qu'elles ont été saisies, dont l'achat montoit à quatre cens cinquante mille livres, lesquelles auroient produit plus d'un million, aux offres que les Supplians font de les faire passer en pays étrangers, en cas qu'elles arrivent en France; & comme depuis un si long temps le Vaisseau sera déperi, & les marchandises beaucoup endommagées, dont les Supplians, depuis deux ans que ce Vaisseau devoit estre de retour, souffrent des pertes considerables, il vous plaise, SIRE, obtenir de Sa MAJESTÉ CATHOLIQUE un dédommagement convenable, & les Supplians continueront leurs vœux & leurs prieres pour la santé & prospérité de VÔTRE MAJESTÉ.

Signé Menand du Plessis & V. Coquelin, Armateurs.

M. GUILLARD, Avocat.

De l'Imprimerie de J. CHARDON, ruë du Foüarre.

Translation.**TO THE KING and to their Lordships in His Majesty's
Navy Council****SIRE:**

THE OWNERS OF THE SHIP *ÉCLAIR*, very humbly represent to YOUR MAJESTY that, in November 1710 they outfitted this 300-ton ship carrying 32 guns and manned with 140 men under the command of Mr. Boisloré, loaded with merchandise, and carrying passports from YOUR MAJESTY and a commission from Your Admiral to make a voyage to China with the permission of the Company.

Captain Boisloré along the way chased and captured a Portuguese ship, whose value he judged to be worth enough money to place a crew aboard it, but since he needed these crewmen, he was forced to seek the port of Buenos Aires at first, it being the nearest one where he would try and sell it and then pursue his voyage to China, where he did go, with a large number of sick crewmen on board and in the midst of an unfortunate incident that impeded the freedom of the trade that he was carrying out there.

YOUR MAJESTY has no doubt been informed of the piracies that a certain Mr. Bouynot has perpetrated in the Eastern Seas, where he captured a Chinese ship coming from Batavia, and plundered anywhere from 10 to 12 other Chinese vessels, something that had caused great damage to their trade and commerce, alerted the whole coast and badly influenced this nation against the French, so that Mr. Boisloré, arriving on the scene a short time after these disorders, was looked upon the same way as Bouynot the pirate, and as a fit person against whom to retaliate and avenge themselves.

Boisloré being warned of the plan of the Chinese, was much bothered, because he had already begun to deal with them for his cargo; if he delayed his proceedings, he ran the risk of losing everything, including his freedom. So, in order not to expose himself to a long stay, he was forced to buy the goods that he could acquire quickly, without taking the time necessary to find out if they were suitable or not, in order to depart from that country as soon as possible.

Although most of his crewmen were sick and that the season for departure was contrary, he did not hesitate to risk a departure, no matter how risky it was, and, letting go of his cables, he left the river of Canton without being noticed, in order to reach the high sea, during the month of November 1713, in spite of the roughness of the season.

He could not attempt a crossing of the Strait of Malacca before the months of February or March, specially on account of the disorder on board and the fear he had of being mistaken for Bouynot by the many ships lying in wait overthere to capture the latter.

Boisloré, to avoid all of those disadvantages, headed for the channel of the Island of Luzon, an island almost uninhabited and without trade, a dependency of the Philippines, and distant 150 leagues from Manila.¹

1 Ed. note: This comment was obviously written without reference to a map.

During this crossing he was beaten by a storm that lasted 11 days, at the end of which he sighted the coast of the Island of Luzon, where he approached in his battered condition due to the blasts of wind that he had suffered from, and he anchored in the port of Solot, where his first care was to land his sick people, who were numerous, and to have his very damaged ship repaired.

Boisloré, having set everything in order, sent three letters one after the other to the Governor of Manila to report his stopover at the port of Solot and the reasons he had had for having quickly withdrawn from the hands of the Chinese, who wanted to get revenge for the piracies of Mr. Bouynot. This Governor, instead of sending some help to Boisloré and answering his letters, sent him a summons delivered by an Adjutant, for him to take his ship to Manila, or to pursue his voyage.

These orders, which seemed to Boisloré to be rather unreasonable either way, since it was impossible to stay at sea during this season and in the condition that he was in, answered a little roughly, it seems, to this officer, who in turn wrote a very adverse report to the Governor.

As the Island of Luzon being almost uninhabited and without commerce, as we have already said, the Governor of Manila could not have seen a threat in the stopover of the ship *Éclair* at this island where Captain Boisloré stayed for 2 months and 20 days, during which time he learned that Bouynot the pirate was in Manila where he was selling the prizes that he had taken from the Chinese, and who, fearing that Boisloré would make official complaints against his piracies, had someone persuade the Governor that Boisloré should be arrested as an illegal trader.

This hoax led Captain Boisloré to despair; persuaded as he was that he would not get justice from the Governor, he was waiting for the right time and the opportunity to revenge himself against this pirate. Meanwhile, the season becoming favorable, his sick men a little restored to health and his ship to a good condition, he set sail on 21 February 1714.

He had no sooner left the port of Solot when he was forced back into that of Salamagre, where a few hours later he saw two ships coming in; he set sail and placed his ship on the defensive, believing them to be Portuguese, but having recognized the Spanish flag, he waited for them and, within shouting range, he was ordered to lower his sails.

Boisloré then recognized the work of Bouynot, but having nothing to fear, he obeyed this order. He was asked to produce his passports and commission, which he sent over immediately; he was ordered on board, by order of HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY. He went over without the least resistance, but he was very surprised when the Spanish officers aboard these two ships told him that his passports and commission were false, and without another reason they made him prisoner with bad treatments, they captured his ships, his merchandise, all of his papers, and they sent the crew overland to Manila.

These officers with their ships remained two days in the port of Salamagre in order to plunder more easily the ship *Éclair* which was then taken to the port of Cavite, where the Warden came on board and had the hatches nailed down and sealed. Boisloré was

made prisoner inside the Fort and a few days later Don Gregorio de Villa came from Manila with an order to have all of the goods unloaded and the ship unrigged; this was done and Boislóré was transferred to the Manila prison.

When the Governor did not find a reason to charge Boislóré with piracy and realizing that he could be held responsible for damages and interests, the better to camouflage his mistake and abuse of force, he accused him of planning to go and sell his merchandise in the the Kingdoms of Peru, Chile and Buenos Aires, because most of them were silk products.

The suppliants have represented to YOUR MAJESTY the reasons why Boislóré had taken on board at Canton this sort of merchandise, because they had been those that were readily available and easiest to find in order to effect as quickly as possible his escape caused by Bouynot's piracies, and the fear of the revenge that was being plotted against him; this is why he had been unable to make a better deal, and was forced to accept what he could in order not to lose the whole profit of his voyage.

The outcome of all this was an accusation of intent on the part of Boislóré, a crime of desire without application, of an imagined plan that was imputed to him without foundation. The Governor of Manila was not competent for judging this intent; he should have let either the Governor of Peru, or of Chile, be the judge as to whether Boislóré had done anything illegal in the Philippines or within the jurisdiction of his government, where they had tried to accuse him of illegally trading, but, upon exhibiting his passports and his commission, the Governor had relented. Therefore, his whole crime consisted in having declared that he had been unable to leave the Island of Luzon when ordered to do so, due to the bad season and condition of his crew, since he did no trade in the Philippine Islands during the whole time that he had been at the Island of Luzon. Besides, he is not accused of this, not did this Governor dared to send his ships to capture that of Boislóré during the near three months that he was in Luzon, and when he learned that he was about to leave, because the season and the sea permitted him to do so, he had him arrested. What a perfidious act against the right of hospitality among two confederate nations!

The excuse they use for this violent act is that his passports are falsified, he is arrested, and accused of being a criminal, he is plundered; then, when they realize that they have made a mistake, in order to avoid criticism of their bad proceeding, the sailors, all mercenaries, are being heard, and promised 20 months of salaries and permission to leave the country. The process lasted for 8 months and ended only on 22 October 1714 with a sentence that the Governor arranged for, by which the arrival of the ship *Éclair* at the Philippine Islands is declared malicious and contrived, in order to go later on to the Kingdoms of Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires, there to sell the silk and other products, all from China, thus contravening the laws and orders of HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY and, because said Boislóré is guilty of same, consequently, said ship is confiscated along with its cargo, said Boislóré remains a prisoner, and said merchandise is sold at public auction, but not before they were taxed beforehand upon their just value the usual way, and the proceeds into the Royal treasury, before referring the de-

cision as to the appropriate punishment that said Boisoré deserved to the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies; and, as far as Messieurs Gargan and Roquet were concerned, they were declared free and discharged, etc.

Signed by the Count of Lizarraga, President and Governor; Doctor José Torralba, and Licentiate Gregorio Manuel de Villa.

It appears, SIRE, by this sentence that there was not a single proof that Boisoré had planned to trade or did trade while at the Philippine Islands, which would have given just cause for a confiscation order, but there is more: the Fiscal or Court Attorney of HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY took no determination nor asked for anything in this process; nevertheless, he was the only party who could have done so, but, not finding any justice in the proceedings of the Governor, he opposed everything that was done in it, and even prevented the execution of this sentence and did not agree with the sale of the merchandise: this proves rather well that the whole affair was managed by the Governor who, in order to profit unjustly from badly confiscated property, motivated by reasons of self-interest that need no clarifications, and at the instigation of Bouynot, and that is why the Suppliants have taken the liberty to throw themselves at the feet of YOUR MAJESTY to very humbly beg for your protection.

WHEREAS, SIRE, Boisoré has been unjustly arrested, and his ship and cargo badly confiscated, since he had not traded in the Philippine Islands, as shown by the Sentence, may YOUR MAJESTY be pleased to order a claim by your Ambassador at the Spanish Court for the person of Boisoré and for the ship *Éclair* and the goods that were on board it, in the amount and condition that they were in when they were seized, whose purchase amounted to a sum of 450,000 pounds, which would have produced an income of over 1 million pounds upon their sale in foreign countries, as the Suppliants intended to do, at the arrival of the ship back in France. However, given that such a long time has since passed, the ship would be deteriorated and the goods much damaged; hence, the Suppliants have suffered considerable losses during the two years that this ship should already have returned. May it please YOUR MAJESTY to get from HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY an appropriate compensation, and the Suppliants continue to wish and pray for the health and prosperity of YOUR MAJESTY.

Signed Menand du Plessis & V. Coquelin, ship-owners.

Mr. GUILLARD, Attorney-at-Law.

From the Printing shop of J. CHARDON, on Fouarre Street.

A3. Letter from the French Navy Council to the French Ambassador at Madrid

Source: AGI Escribania 405C.

Original text in French.

Le Conseil de Marine vous envoie Monsieur, un Mémoire des Sieurs Menan, Duplessis et Coquelin Propriétaires du Navire L'Éclair commandé par le Sieur De Boisloré que le Gouverneur des Manilles a fait arrêter, ils representent que ça été injustement et être bien fondé a demander la restitution de ce Vaisseau et de toute La Cargaison et que ledit Boisloré soit mis en liberté, Le Conseil vous prie de faire attention aux raisons que ces Armateurs exposent par leur Memoire, et d'avoir agréable Monsieur, de faire toutes les diligences possibles pour que le Roy d'Espagne leur rende la justice qui leur sera deüe [sic]/.

Translation.

The Navy Council sends to you, Sir, a memorial from Messieurs Menan, Duplessis and Coquelin, the owners of the ship **Éclair** commanded by Mr. de Boisloré that the Governor of the Manilas ordered captured. They represent that it was done unjustly and they have a good reason to demand that this ship be restituted, along with its full cargo, and that said Boisloré be set free. The Council begs you to pay attention to the reasons stated by the owners in their Memorial, and to please find it worthy, Sir, of making all the efforts possible for the King of Spain to render them the justice due them.

A4. Diplomatic note, dated 14 November 1716

Original text in French.

A Madrid le 14 Novembre 1716.

Vous verrez, Monsieur, par le Mémoire que j'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer que Les Sieurs Menan, Duplessis et Coquelin Propriétaires du Navire L'Éclair Commandé par le Sieur de Boisloré, se croyent bien fondés a demander la restitution de ce Bâtiment et de ses effets, qu'ils representent que le Gouverneur des Manilles leur a fait arrêter injustement; Je joins icy la Copie de la lettre que le Conseil de Marine m'a écrite a ce sujet et en attendant, Monsieur, que vous me fassiez sçavoir sur cela les intentions de S.M.C.

Je vous prie de me croire tres parfaitement Vôtre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Le Duc de Saint Aignan.

Translation.

In Madrid, on 14 November 1716.

As shown in the Memorial of Messieurs Menan, Duplessis and Coquelin, Owners of the ship *Éclair*, under the command of Mr. Boisloré, that I have the honor of forwarding to you, they believe themselves to have good reasons to request the restitution of this ship and its effects, which they say was unjustly confiscated by the Governor of the Philippines. I enclose a copy of the letter that the Navy Council has written to me on this subject and, while awaiting your reply as to the intentions of His Catholic Majesty in this regard,

I remain, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

The Duke of St-Aignan.

[Comments: The Spanish King asked the Council of the Indies for advice on 25 November 1716. The Council passed the file to their Fiscal on 2 January 1717. The Fiscal, on 5 May 1717, pointed out that the letter from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 21 July 1714 (A1 above) did not mention a sentence, and that the Governor of the Philippines should be ordered to send the full case file. However, the Council issued their opinion just the same, as follows.]

A5. Decision of the Council of the Indies, dated Madrid 7 May 1717

Original text in Spanish.

A consulta con expresion del oficio del embajador de Francia motibado de la instancia que hicieron en el Consejo de la Marina los interesados en este Navio; lo que representa el Governador de Phelipinas sobre lo mismo, y en sentir de lo que dice el Señor Fiscal, y añadido el hacer presente a S. Mgd. que en el informe de los interesados al Consejo de la Marina se falta a la verdad, y en las circunstancias precisas, por ser contrario el informe y autos que remite el Governador de Manila, y haciendo presente tambien que el despacho de Francia les proibe passar a comerciar al Mar del Sur.

Translation.

This consultation, motivated by the receipt of a note from the French Ambassador, as a result of the requests made in the Navy Council by the parties interested in this ship: what the Governor of the Philippines reports regarding this matter, in the opinion of the Fiscal, it was decided to let H.M. know that the report to the Navy Council by the interested parties is untruthful, and under these precise circumstances, since the report and the record of proceedings remitted by the Governor of Manila are contrary, pointing out also that their despatch from France prohibited them from trading in the South Sea.

A6. Memorial on behalf of the owners of the ship *Éclair*, dated 28 June 1717

Source; AGI Escribania 406A.

Original text in French.

Par devant les Conseillers du Roy Notaires au chatelet de Paris soussignez furent presens Jean Jourdan Ecuyer conseiller Secretaire du Roy maison couronne de France et de ses finances, demeurant rue Saint Martin parroisse Saint Nicolas des champs.

François Menand Duplessis Ecuyer conseiller Secretaire du Roy maison couronne de France et de ses Finances demeurant rue du Roy de Sicille parr. Saint Paul.

Jean Gillois Ecuyer cydevant maistre d'hostel de S.a.R. Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans demeurant rue bourg l'Abbé parroisse Saint Leu Saint Gilles.

Et Vincent Coquelin marchand chapelier demeurant rue de la Coutellerie parroisse Saint Medericq.

*Tous Interesséz dans l'armement et emplette du vaisseau nommé **l'Eclair** commandé par le Sieur Boisloré, le dit vaisseau confisqué avec sa carcaison aux Manilles province des Philippines dependans du roy d'Espagne.*

*Lesquels ont fait et constitué leur procureur general et special le Sieur Pierre Noterman pres son Excellence Monseigneur le duc de Medinacely a la Cour d'Espagne a Madrid, auquel les dits Interessés donnent pouvoir de pour eux et en leurs noms pour suivre en Espagne par devant Sa Majesté Catholique, et tous conseils et tribunaux qu'il apartiendra la mainlevée et reclamation dudit vaisseau **l'Eclair**, et de toute la Carqueson et effets en dependans generalement quelconques, mesme tous les dedomagemens convenables a cause de l'arrest et confiscation dudit vaisseau, cargueson et effets, et de toutes les pertes dependes et frais que cela à causé, et pu causer auxdits Interessez attendu que ledit arrest et confiscation ont esté faits contre les regles, et donc les Interessez ne doivent souffrir en aucune façon, produire a cet effet tous les titres et pieces, et donner tous les moyens et enseignemens convenables pour faire rendre justice auxdits Interessez, faire pour eux tels dire, requisitions, reclamations, et toutes soumissions qu'il apartiendra, mesme attendu que ledit vaisseau **l'Eclair** n'est plus en etat de revenir en France, demander a Sa Majesté Catholique au Supreme conseil des Indes, et a tous autres la permission d'Envoyer aux Manilles un autre vaisseau commandé par un capitaine françois pour aller requerir et transporter des Manilles en France, toutes les marchandises qui composoient la cargaison dudit vaisseau, et tous les effets en dependans, et en cas qu'il y eut quelques marchandises et effets detournez et de vendus pour les faire restituer en nature, ou en argent avec les Interests et dedomagemens convenables soit pour deperissemens ou la mevente, et generalement faire par ledit Sieur procureur au sujet de ce que dessus circonstances et dependances tout ce qu'il trouvera a propos sans aucune exception ny reserve, lesdits Sieurs Interesséz s'en raportans totalement a luy mesme donnent pouvoir au dit Sieur procureur de substituer un ou plusieurs procureurs en tout ou partie du present pouvoir, les revoquer, en constituer*

d'autres en leur lieu et place, ces presentes restant toujours en leur entiere force et vertu, promettant approuver, etudier, et ratiffier tout ce qui sera par luy fait, geré, et negocié, obligant[.]

Fait et passé a Paris en l'Etude de Lefevre l'un des Notaires soussignez L'annee sept cent dix sept le vingt huitieme jour de Juin avant midy, et ont signé la minutte des presentes demeurée du dit Lefevre Notaire./.

[Signed] *De Laballe Lefevre*

Official Spanish translation of the above memorial.

Parezieron ante los Ynfraescriptos Consejeros del Rey, notarios en el Chastelet de Paris: Juan Jourdan Escudero Consejero Secretario del Rey, casa, y Corona de Francia y de sus finanzas residente en la Calle de San Martin Parroquia de San Nicolas des Champs;

Francisco Menand Duplessis Escudero Consejero Secretario del Rey, casa y corona de Francia y de sus finanzas residente en la calle del Rey de Sicilia Parroquia de San Pablo.

Juan Gillois Escudero Mayordomo que fue de su Alteza Serenissima Madama la Duquesa de Orléans residente en la calle de Bourg l'Abbé Parroquia de San Gil.

Y Vizente Coquelin mercader sombrerero residente en la Calle de la Coutellerie, Parroquia de San Mederico.

Todos interesados en el armamento y empleo [rather cargamento] del navio llamado l'Eclair, mandado por el Señor Boisoré, el dho navio confiscado con su cargazon en Manila Provincia de las Philipinas del Dominio del Rey de España.

Los quales han hecho y constituydo por su Procurador general y especial à Pedro Noterman criado del Excelentissimo Señor Duque de Medinaceli, en la Corte de España en Madrid, al qual los dhos Ynteresados dan poder para que por ellos y en sus nombres solicite, en España ante su Magd. Catholica y qualesquiera Consejos y Tribunales à quienes perteneziese, el desembargo y reclamazion del dho navio l'Eclair, y de toda su cargazon y efectos dependientes de el qualesquiera que sean, y aun todos los resarcimientos, de daño, convenientes por razon de la detencion, confiscazion del dho navio cargazon y efectos y de todas las perdidas y gastos que esto ha causado y puede causar a los dhos Ynteresados respecto de que la dha detenzion y confiscazion han sido hechas contra las reglas las quales los dhos Ynteresados no deven padezer en manera alguna, produzca para este efecto qualesquiera letras y piezas y presente qualesquiera documentos convenientes para hazer, que se haga justizia a los dhos Ynteresados, haga por ellos las alegaciones requirimientos[,] reclamaciones, y todas las sumiciones que fueran nezesarias y aun respecto de que el dho navio l'Eclair no se halla mas en estado de bolver a Francia, pida a su Magestad Catholica, al Supremo Consejo de Yndias y à qualesquiera otros el permiso de embiar à Manila, otro navio mandado por un Capitan frances para yr a buscar, y traer de Manila a Francia, todas las mercaderias que componia la cargazon del dho navio, y todos los efectos dependientes de el, y caso que se hallasen algunas mercaderias, y efectos ocultados ó vendidos, los haga restituir en

espezie ó en dinero con los intereses e yndemnizaciones convenientes, sea por haverse hechado à perder ó haver sido malvendidas, y generalmente haga el dho Señor Procurador en orden a lo susodho sus circunstancias y dependencias, todo lo que hallare convenir sin excepcion ni reserva alguna, sobre lo qual los dhos Ynteressados se remiten enteramente à su dictamen y direccion, y asi dan poder al dho Señor Procurador para que substituya uno ó mas Procuradores en todo ó en parte del presente poder, los revoque, y constituya otros en su lugar quedando siempre el presente en su entera fuerza y vigor prometiendo de aprobar, y ratificar todo lo que por el fuere hecho, obrado, y negociado, obligando &

fecho y otorgado en Paris en el oficio de Lefevre uno de los infraescriptos notarios en el año de mill setezientos y diez y siete, el dia veinte y ocho de Junio por la mañana y han firmado en el original de la presente que quedó en poder del dho Lefevre notario.

De La Balle Lefevre

Traducido del frances por mi Don Francisco Gracian del Consejo de S.M. y su Secretario de la Ynterpretazion de Lenguas y lo firmé en Madrid a veinte y siete de Jullio de mill setezientos y diez y siete.

Francisco Gracian.

Translation.

There appeared before the King's Counsels and Notaries at the Chastelet in Paris, the undersigned Jean Jourdan, Esquire, and Secretary to the King's House and Crown of France and member of his Treasury Council, domiciled on St-Martin Street in the parish of St-Nicholas-des-Champs;

François Menand Duplessis, Esquire, and Secretary to the King's House and Crown of France and member of his Treasury Council, domiciled on King of Sicily Street in the parish of St-Paul;

Jean Gillois, Esquire and formerly Majordomo of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Orleans, domiciled on Bourg Labbé Street in the parish of St-Leu, [rather] St-Gilles;

And Vincent Coquelin, hat merchant, domiciled on Coutellerie Street in the parish of St-Médéric:

All interested in the outfitting and loading of the ship named **Éclair** commanded by Mr. Boisloré, said ships having been confiscated with its cargo at Manila in the Province of the Philippines, a dependency of the King of Spain:

Said parties have made and constituted as their general and special procurator Mr. Pedro Noterman, of the household of His Lordship the Duke of Medinaceli at the Spanish Court in Madrid, and they have granted to him power to act on their behalf and in their names to present in Spain before His Catholic Majesty, and all indicated councils and tribunals, the act of opposition to the seizure of said ship **Éclair** and of its whole cargo and effects attached to it generally whatsoever, even all of the appropriate claims for damages resulting from the seizure and confiscation of said ship, cargo and effects, and for all the losses, expenses and expenditures that this has caused to said interested

parties, given that said seizure and confiscation have been made against the regulations, and consequently, the interested parties must not suffer in any way, and to this effect exhibit all of the ownership papers and use all of the means to give the appropriate information to have justice done to said interested parties, to present whatever depositions, requests, claims and all submissions required, even in the eventuality of said ship **Éclair** being in such a state as being unable to return to France, to request from His Catholic Majesty in his Supreme Council of the Indies, and to any other, the permission to send to the Philippines another ship commanded by a French captain to fetch and transport from Manila to France, all of the goods that constituted the cargo of said ship, and all of the effects depending thereof, and in case some merchandise and effects were misappropriated and sold, to have restitution made in kind, or in money, plus appropriate interests for damages caused either for depreciation or short sale, and generally to have said procurator do whatever is necessary under the above circumstances and dependencies and whatever he sees fit without any exception or reserve, for said Interested parties who rely completely upon him, giving power to said procurator to name one or more substitutes for himself, for use of all or part of this power, to revoke them and constitute others in their stead and place, the presents remaining always in full force, with the promise to approve, study, and ratify everything by him done, administered, and negotiated, obliging themselves to do so.

Made at Paris in the study of Lefebvre, one of the undersigned notaries in the year 1717, on the 8th day of June, before noon, having signed the minute of the presents, whose original remains in the possession of Lefebvre, notary./.

[Signed by] De Laballe Lefebvre

A7. Petition of Attorney Noterman, December 1717

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

*Don Pedro Noterman apoderado de Don Juan Jourdan, Don Vicente Coquelin, Don Menan Duplesis, y Don Juan Gillois, residentes en Francia Armadores del Navio nombrado **el Relampago**, con todo respeto:*

Dize tiene echa instancia sobre la restitucion del referido navio y su carga, su Capitan Don Juan de Boisloret asimismo de nacion frances, y que con motivo de su arribada à las Yslas Felipinas el Governador le dio por decomiso con su carga; y teniendo entendido se esperan los autos en el Consejo para la determinacion de esta instancia,

Supplica a V.Magd. muy rendidamente sea servido mandar sele de un Duplicado del Despacho que se hubiere expedido para la remision de estos autos afin de que se pueda facilitar con mas brevedad el que conduscan y finalize esta dependencia por el perjuicio que en su delacion se sigue à este interesado en que recibira merced que espera de V.Mgd.

Don Pedro Noterman

Translation.

Sir:

Don Pedro Noterman, duly authorized agent for Juan Jourdan, Vicente Coquelin, Menan Duplessis, and Juan Gillois, residents of France and the owners of the ship named *Éclair*, with due respect:

Declares that he has presented a request for the restitution of the above-mentioned ship and its cargo, its Captain Juan de Boisloré, another Frenchman, that, having arrived at the Philippines, the Governor judged to be confiscated along with its cargo; and understanding that the transcripts, or record of proceedings in this affair, are being awaited in the Council in order to determinate said case:

He very humbly begs Your Majesty to be pleased to order that he be given a copy of the despatch that might have been sent for the remittal of these transcripts, so that in view thereof this pending case be expedited and finallized as soon as possible, given that further delay will cause further damage to this party, a favor he hoped to get from Your Majesty.

Don Pedro Noterman¹

A8. Petition of Attorney Sanchez, dated Madrid 18 June 1718

Source: AGI Escribania 406A.

Original text in Spanish.

Exc. Señor.

*Thomas Sanchez Guerrero en nombre de Francisco Menand Duplesis[,] Juan Guillois y de Vizente Coquelin y consortes Ynterados en el Navio el **Relampago** y su carga su Capitan Don Juan Bois Loret [sic], todos de nacion franceses en el Pleito con el Vuestro fiscal sobre que se de por libre el referido nabio y su carga:*

Digo que prosecucion de la apelacion ynterpuesta de la sentencia dada en este Pleito por el Gobernador y oficiales Reales de la Audiencia de Manila en que dio por de-comisso el referido nabio y su carga se han remitido los autos a el Consexo y para poder decir y alegar en ellos lo que a el derecho de mis partes conbenga en virtud de su Poder que presento me nuestro parte:

Supplico a V.A. me admita por tal y mande que de lo pedido y que se pidiere en esta razon se me de traslado y entreguen los autos para el efecto expresado que a-- tanto pretexto no corra termino ni pare perjuicio a mi parte en justicia que pido &a.

Thomas Sanchez Guerrero.

1 Ed. note: The Council agreed with his request on 23 December 1717. In June 1718, Peter Noterman presented a substitute attorney, in the person of Thomas Sanchez Guerrero, who then presented the following petition.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Thomas Sanchez Guerrero, on behalf of Francisco Menan Duplessis, Jean Guillois and Vicent Coquelin and associates, the parties interested in the ship **Éclair** and its cargo, its Captain Jean Boisoré, all of French nationality, in the case against Your Crown Attorney regarding the release of said ship and cargo:

Declares that, in prosecution of the appeal presented against the sentence given in this case by the Governor and the Royal officials of the Audiencia of Manila in which they approved the confiscation of said ship and cargo, the transcripts have been remitted to the Council, and in order to be able to make a declaration and allegation about them as suit the rights of the parties whom I represent, by virtue of their power-of-attorney which I present:

I beg Your Highness to accept me as such and to order that I be given what I requested and might request in future in this affair, and be given and delivered a copy of the transcripts for the above-mentioned effect, without any excuse or pretext that might delay the end of it or cause prejudice to my party, a justice which I beg, etc.

Thomas Sanchez Guerrero.¹

¹ Ed. note: For continuation, see Doc. 1717F, 1721J, etc.

Documents 1714B

Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1714

Sources: AGI Fil. 119; copy in Ultramar 561.

Notes: Both letters arrived in Spain aboard the advice boat in January 1715. There is a file in Mexico that states that the subsidy for that year was in fact 32,691 pesos (ref. AGN AHH 1733, folio 141v).

B1. First letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 30 July 1714

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrey de N^{ra} España.

Da quenta con autos de la remision que hizo de 20,550 pesos á las Islas Marianas para la paga de los sueldos de los Presidarios.

Señor

En consecuencia de lo mandado por V.Mgd en diferentes Reales ordenes, para que de estas Reales Cajas se remita el Situado integro, perteneziente[s] al Gobierno, Oficiales, y soldados del Pressidio de las Islas Marianas, con ocasion del tornaviaje en este año de la Nao de Philipinas, en que ha de conducirse; se ha veneficado su libramiento, de veinte mil quinientos y cinquenta pesos de los sueldos y situado referido en este mismo año; que les sera de grande alivio y cumplimiento de mi obligacion al servicio de V.Mgd. cuya C.R.P. guarde Dios como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Mexico y Julio 30 de 1714.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain.

Reports, enclosing a record of proceedings, having remitted 20,550 pesos to the Mariana Islands for the payment of the salaries of the garrison.

Sire:

In compliance with the orders of Your Majesty in various Royal decrees, so that from this Royal treasury be remitted the entire subsidy belonging to the government, officers, and soldiers of the garrison of the Mariana Islands, on the occasion of the return voyage of the Philippine galleon of this year, aboard which it must be conveyed; the release has been effected of 20,550 pesos for the salaries and subsidy corresponding to this same year, which is expected will be of much relief to them, and in compliance

with my obligation in the service of Your Majesty, whose Catholic and Royal person may God save, as Christendom needs.

Mexico, 30 June 1714.¹

B2. Second letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 30 July 1714

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrey de N^a España.

Da quenta del Situado que remitió á las Islas Marianas para los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhs que allí asisten.

Señor.

Para que con el Situado de las Islas Marianas, se condujese tambien en la Nao de Phelipinas el correspondiente a los Religiosos Misioneros que asisten en ellas y en las de Palaos con orden de V.Mgd. expedi las mas convenientes a fin de que seles entregase de estas Cajas el caudal que les esta asignado de limosna, en la forma que se à practicado en años antes, como consta del Testimonio de Autos adjunto.

Guarde Dios la C.R.P. de V.Mgd. muchos años, como la Xptiandad ha menester. Mexico y Julio 30 de 1714.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain.

Reports on the subsidy that he remitted to the Mariana Islands for the Religious of the Society of Jesus residing there.

Sire:

In order for the subsidy corresponding to the Religious missionaries residing in the Mariana Islands and the Palaos Islands to be conveyed aboard the same Philippine galleon as their [regular] subsidy, by order of Your Majesty, I despatched the most appropriate orders for this Treasury to deliver the funds assigned for their alms, in the manner that has been practiced for years, as shown in the Record of proceedings, attached.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years, as Christendom needs.

Mexico, 30 July 1714.²

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- 1 Ed. note: The record of proceedings attached to the above letter includes the regular memorial of Captain Castillo, agent for Governor Pimentel, who presented the list of soldiers serving in the Marianas, and the affidavit certifying their existence. The Viceroy gave his approval for payment, on 19 February 1714.
 - 2 Ed. note: This letter was also reviewed at the Council of the Indies at Madrid in January 1715. The record of proceedings includes the regular memorial of Fr. Borja, asking for the payment of the subsidy in January, ahead of the certification which is to be submitted later, after the arrival of the Manila galleon at Acapulco. His request was approved by the Viceroy on 28 January 1714.

Editor's notes.

The name of the 1714 galleon was the **Nuestra Señora de Begoña** according to AGN AHH 1733, folio 151. Some missionaries, sent from Spain in 1712 and 1713, were probably aboard her. B&R 53: 327-328 mention two letters that may have belonged to Msgr. Marcello Angelita, an associate of Cardinal Tournon who died at Manila; these letters were sold by Hiersemann of Leipzig (ref. Catalog n° 327, item 1274). These letters are: 1) Letter from Pablo Matheu to Fray Juan Tarda in Rome, dated Mexico 20 February 1713, where he had arrived with 43 missionaries destined for the Philippines; and 2) "Fratrum qui missi sunt ad Insulas Philipinas anno D. 1713 sub cura R. di Patris Fratris Antonii Braz, Vicarii Generalis ipsius fuit Missionis" in which the list of missionaries sent to the Philippines in 1713 is given. The latter band of missionaries was probably aboard the Begoña of 1714.

Documents 1714C

The King wants to know why a Portuguese vessel was chartered and sent to the Marianas in 1703**C1. Letter from the King, dated 3 March 1714**

Sources: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 101-102v, pp. 257-260, and AGI Ultramar 561.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas participandole la noticia, que dio su antecesor, Don Domingo Zabalburu de haver fletado, para las Islas Marianas un Navio de comercio Portugues, y hordenandole de quenta de los motivos que concurrieron para su permission, en aquellas islas.

Mi Gobernador y Capitan General de la Ciudad de Manila, en las islas Filipinas en carta de 8 de Junio de 1705, dió quenta Don Domingo de Zabalburu vuestro antecesor de que no habiendo en esos Puertos navio alguno Español que hiciese el año de 1704 [i.e. 1703] el viage que esta mandado se ejecute anualmente para el socorro de las islas Marianas, dispuso con acuerdo de mi fiscal y Oficiales Reales se fletase à esta fin un bagel del Comercio de Portugueses que de la Ciudad de Macan se hallava en esas islas y que habiendo logrado su apresto hizo la referida navegacion con felicidad.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo pleno de las Indias, ha parecido estimar esta noticia en consideracion à que se [en]via competente socorro el que se hizo, à lo que necesita aquella gente, aunque se ha hechado menos, no la diese mas individual, para el conocimiento de su estado, ocasionando tambien reparo el que se estubiese vagel de Comercio Portugues en esas islas; pues solo los de la China en sus Champanes tienen permission y no otra ninguna naçion, en cuya inteligencia y para aprovar ó desaprovar lo obrado, quedo esperando razon estensa de los motibos que concurrieron, para la permission del comercio, y entrada del referido vagel (patache) Portugues en esas islas, y asi, la dareis muy individual y justificada de si este navio llegó à esos Puertos, forzado de temporal ó voluntariamente y con que permiso y carga, que se hizo de ella, con espresion de todo lo demas que puede conducir al entero y perfecto conocimiento de materia de esta gravedad, que asi combiene à mi servicio.

Fecha en Madrid à 3 de Marzo de 1714.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Señalado de los Señores del Consexo.

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines, to inform him that his predecessor, Don Domingo Zabalburu, had reported having chartered a Portuguese commercial ship to send to the Mariana Islands, and ordering him to report on the reasons that led to this decision, in those Islands.

My Governor and Captain General in the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands, in a letter dated 8 June 1705, Don Domingo de Zabalburu, your predecessor, reported that, in the absence in those ports of any Spanish ship that might in 1704 [rather 1703] make the voyage that is ordered sent every year for the succor of the Mariana Islands, decided with the agreement of the fiscal and Royal officials to charter for this purpose a commercial vessel belonging to Portuguese that was visiting those Islands from the City of Macao, and that, after it was properly outfitted, it successfully completed the above-mentioned voyage.

And this matter having been seen in my full Council of the Indies, it appeared that such an advice was appreciated within the context of the need to send proper succor to those people, which was done, but it was found regrettable that a more detailed report was not sent, the better to learn their situation. The presence of a Portuguese vessel in those Islands has also caused some questions; indeed, only champans from China have permission and no other nationality. In order to be fully informed, to be able to approve or disapprove what was done, I remain in hope of receiving an extensive report on the reasons that led to the permission to the above-mentioned Portuguese vessel (patache) to trade in those Islands, and therefore, you are to submit a very detailed report, with justifications, if this ship arrived at those ports under stress of weather or voluntarily, and with whose permission and cargo, what was done with this cargo, stating anything else that may lead to a full and perfect understanding of a matter of this gravity, as such is appropriate to my service.

Made at Madrid, 3 March 1714.

I the King

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the gentlemen of the Council.

C2. Letter from the Governor, dated 28 May 1718

*Source: AGI Ultramar 561. Note: It had been necessary to hire this foreign-owned patache, because there was no other suitable vessel available, after the returning patache **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** was shipwrecked on the Tabaco Shoals in the Province of Albay.*

Answer to the King: the ship came from India, etc.

Original text in Spanish.

*El Mariscal de Campo Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, Presidente Gobernador y Capitan General de las islas Filipinas: Da cuenta à V.M. del recibo de la real cédula de tres de Marzo de setecientos y catorce en que se sirve V.M. de mandar se le informe el motibo que tubo el Gobernador Don Domingo de Zabalburu de haber fletado un navio Portugues que despachó a las Islas Marianas, y haberse averiguado fué el Patache **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que vino del Reyno de la Costa y Puerto de San Tomé, al trato permitido en estas islas; de que remite testimonio.*

Señor

*Fué V.M. servido de dirigir à este Gobierno su real Cédula de tres de Marzo de setecientos, y catorce en el Galeon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** que llegó el año proximo pasado de setecientos diez y siete en que me conduje à estas islas, por la cual V.M. mandasele de cuenta especial de los motibos que tubo el Gobernador mi antecesor Don Domingo de Zabalburu, de haber fletado para las islas Marianas un Navio Portugues, previniendo la noticia de los motibos que precedieron para la permission de este apresto.*

*Y en cumplimiento de este Real [orden] habiendose puesto à continuacion del expediente las últimas diligencias que se trataron sobre el caso, y con lo pedido por la parte fiscal de que constó por certificacion de oficiales reales, haber sido dicho Bagel un Patache nombrado **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, y por la visita que de este se hizo en la forma prevenida por las leyes de V.M. se averiguó que salió del Puerto de San Tomé de las Costas de esta demarcacion donde es permitido el Comercio en derecho para estas islas, y que el Capitan à cuyo cargo vino nombrado Pedro Alvarez no fué persona de las prohibidas al trato y comercio, como parece de las diligencias referidas, para que V.M. en su vista determine, y mande lo que sea mas de su real agrado.*

*Dios Guarde la Católica y real persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.
Manila y mayo 28 de 1718 años.*

Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo, Bustamante y Rueda.

Translation.

Field-Marshal Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda, President, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands: He acknowledges receipt of the royal decree of Y.M. dated 3 March 1714, in which Y.M. was pleased to order him as to the reason why Governor Domingo de Zabalburu chartered a Portuguese ship which he despatched to the Mariana Islands, and [says] that it was found out that the patache **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** had come from the Kingdom of the Coast and Port of

São Tomé,¹ to carry on a permitted trade with these Islands; as stated in the enclosed record of proceedings.

Sire:

Y.M. was pleased to address to this Government your Royal decree dated 3rd of March 1714, aboard the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos** that brought me to these Islands in 1717. In it Y.M. asks for a special report on the reasons why my predecessor, Governor Domingo de Zabalburu, chartered a Portuguese ship for despatch to the Mariana Islands, and explaining the reasons that led to the decision of allowing this despatch.

And in compliance with this Royal [order], having added at the end of the file the last steps taken in this case, and the request made by the fiscal, along with the certifications presented by the Royal officials, it appears that said vessel, a patache named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario**, was visiting here in a manner allowed by the laws of Y.M.; it was ascertained that it had left the port of São Tomé on the Coast of that jurisdiction, and direct trading from there to these Islands is permitted, and that the Captain in whose command it came, by name Pedro Alvarez, is not listed as one of the persons forbidden to carry on this trade, as shown in the proceedings in question, which Y.M. may consult, and determine what may be of your royal pleasure.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M., as Christendom needs.

Manila, 28 May 1718.

Don Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda.

1 Ed. note: In other words, from the Portuguese enclave near Madras, in the modern state of Tamil Nadu, India, where the Apostle Saint Thomas is said to have died.

 Documents 1714D

Royal decrees to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 1714

D1. Decree of 23 April, about the salvage of bronze cannon

Source: AGI Fil. 333 (formerly 105-2-5); copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14, fol. 179v.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Philipinas manifestandole la gratitud que merecio su antecesor en la diligencia del Buceo de la artilleria perdida en las Yslas Marianas y ordenandole disponga la extraccion del resto que falta.

*El Governador y Capitan General de la Ciudad de Manila en las Yslas Philipinas, en cartas de 8 y 10 de Junio de los años pasados de 1705, 1707, ó 1708 da quenta Don Domingo Zabalburu vuestro antecesor en esos cargos de haver aplicado los mas providentes medios à el Buceo de la artilleria que fracaso en las Yslas Marianas el año de 1638 con el Galeon que se perdio en ellas nombrado **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** habiendo logrado sacar 17 piezas de las que llevaba sin dispendio alguno de mi Real Hazienda las quales remitió a esa Ciudad el Governador de las Yslas Marianas por no ser aproposito su calivo para aquella fortaleza por cuiio motivo y para que no faltase artilleria en ella le remplazo con diferentes Pedreros pequeños de Bronce que le pedia ynclusos quatro de que me hizo servicio.*

*Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo pleno de las Yndias con una carta del Virrey de Nueva España en el mismo asunto; ha parecido manifestaros las gracias que supo merecer la diligencia de D. Domingo despues de la morosidad de tantos años en sus antecesores, y ordenaros (como lo hago) prevengais al Governador de las referidas Yslas Marianas la gratitud à que su persona se hizo acreedora en la concurrencia de este Buceo encargandole al mismo tiempo que se dedique con todo cuidado a salvar las **tres [sic] piezas restantes que faltan.***

Fecha en Madrid à 23 de Abril de 1714.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Señalado de los Señores del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Governor of the Philippines, to express the gratitude that his predecessor deserved in the efforts made regarding the salvage of the cannon lost in the Mariana Islands and ordering him to arrange for the recovery of the rest still missing.

The Governor and Captain General of the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands, your predecessor in those posts, Don Domingo Zabalburu, in letters dated 8 and 10 June of the years 1705, 1707, or 1708, reported that he had applied the most appropriate means to salvage the cannon that were lost in the Mariana Islands in 1638 when the galleon named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** was shipwrecked there, that 17 pieces from those that she had carried were successfully salvaged with no expenditure of any sum from my Royal treasury, that the Governor of the Mariana Islands sent them to that City, because their caliber was not appropriate for that fortress, reason for which, and also so that it would not lack guns, he sent him in exchange various small bronze mortars, as he has asked, plus four others the better to serve me.

And this matter having been seen in my full Council of the Indies, along with a letter from the Viceroy of New Spain on the same subject, it has seemed proper to express the thanks that the effort of Don Domingo have earned, after the tardiness shown by his predecessors over so many years, and I order you (as I do now) to advise the Governor of the above-said Mariana Islands that he has personally earned gratitude by attending to this salvage, entrusting him at the same time to dedicate himself to the **salvage of the three [sic] pieces that remain.**¹

Made at Madrid on 23 April 1714.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the gentlemen of the Council.

D2. Decree of 2 November 1714, about further exploration of the Carolines

Source: AGI Ultramar 561, Legajo 13.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Mi Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila.

En carta de treinta de Junio del año pasado de mil setecientos y once dais cuenta de haber despachado dos embarcaciones para el descubrimiento de una isla en ese Archipiélago nombrado Palaos, en conformidad de lo mandado por mi Real Cédula de diez y nueve de Octubre del año de mil setecientos y cinco, y que habiendose perdido la una

¹ Ed. note: See my comments on this matter at the end of Doc. 1707B.

ha visto la otra dos isletas el dia treinta de Noviembre de mil setecientos y diez y una de ellas (que pusieron la advocacion de S. Andres) se hechó la lancha con alguna gente para reconocerla y habiendose savido estaban en ella hasta ochocientos indios que manifestaban docilidad para la combersion, quedaron dos religiosos sacerdotes y doce personas con la misma lancha y que continuando la embarcacion en aquellos rumbos la diligencia de descubrir la Isla principal, y no habiendolo podido conseguir bolbió costeando la referida Isla de S. Andres, a donde no se pudo amarrar por falta de Lancha con que fué preciso quedasen en ella los dos religiosos y el número de personas espresadas, bolbiendo la embarcacion al Puerto de Cavite, y concludis diciendo haber hecho en otras cuatro estaciones [sic = ocasiones?] esta misma diligencia, habiendose suplido todos los gastos de las tres de cuenta de mi Real hacienda, y quedabais discurrendo en hacer nuevo apresto y socorrer à los religiosos y gente que quedó en la Isla de San Andres, habiendo dado tambien órden al Cabo del patache que llevó el situado de las Islas Marianas para que en el torna viage hiciesen todas las diligencias posibles sobre el descubrimiento de la Isla Principal;

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de Indias con lo que dixo mi fiscal a parecido manifestaros la gratitud que ha merecido el cuidado y aplicacion al socorro de la gente y religiosos que quedaron en la Isla de S. Andres y la recomendacion que hicisteis al Cabo del Patache de las Marianas esperandose en la primera ocasion deis cuenta de lo que en este descubrimiento hubiere resultado.

Fecha en Madrid à dos de Noviembre de mil setecientos y catorce.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Translation.

The King

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

In a letter dated 30 June of last year 1711,¹ you reported that you had sent two vessels to the exploration of one island in that archipelago named Palaos, in compliance with the order contained in my Royal decree of 19 October 1705, and, after one [vessel] was lost, the other had seen two islets on 30 November 1710 and at one of them (to which they applied the name of San Andrés) the launch was placed overboard with a few men, to reconnoiter it; that, after learning that up to 800 Indians lived there and showed themselves to be docile for conversion, two Religious priests remained there with 12 persons and the launch itself; that, the vessel continued on its courses looking for the main island, and not having been able to make it, it returned to the above-mentioned Island of San Andrés, where it was impossible to anchor for lack of the launch; therefore, it was necessary to leave behind the two Religious and the said number of men, and the vessel returned to the port of Cavite; and you conclude by saying that the

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1711D.

same effort was made on four other seasons [rather occasions?], with the full costs of three of them charged to my Royal treasury, and that you were in the process of preparing a new voyage to rescue the Religious and men left behind at the Island of San Andrés, and that you had also ordered the captain of the patache that took the subsidy of the Mariana Islands, so that during the return voyage he would make all the efforts possible to explore the main island.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my fiscal said, it seemed proper to express gratitude for the care and application to rescue the men and Religious left behind at the Island of San Andrés, and for the recommendation that you made to the captain of the Mariana patache, and I hope to receive further reports on the results of this exploration.

Made at Madrid, 2 November 1714.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Document 1714E

Letter from Fr. Borja y Aragón to the Marquis of Mejorada, dated Mexico 6 August 1714

Sources: AGI Fil. 215; copy in Col. Pastells, Fil. 8, fol. 235v-238; partly published in Anuario de Estudios Americanos 3 (1946): 1094-1095.

Notes: The Marquis of Mejorada was first mentioned in this series 35 years earlier when he was a member of the Council of the Indies. (see HM7:133).

Regarding the Carolines, past and future explorations

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Señor.

Haviendo entendido del Venerable P. Andres Serrano que este en el cielo lo mucho que V.Ex^a le patrocino para la expedicion del Descubrimiento de las Islas de los Palaos (ya descubiertas) tengo por el mejor acuerdo no mudar de protector antes de nuevo poner esta expedicion Apostolica à los pies de V.Ex^a como persona no solo por lo que espero del gran celo de V.Ex^a sino tambien por razon de mi empleo de Procurador general de todas aquellas Misiones de Philipinas no desmereciendolo tampoco por el parentesco del Señor Duque de Gandia de quien no me he querido valer aciendo juicio que V.Ex^a que fue el primero que dio principio à esta expedicion à de ser el mas eficaz empeño que yo puedo tomar para su feliz conclusion.

Excmo. Señor ya V.Ex^a puede ser tenga noticia del estado que oy tiene aquel descubrimiento que yo por falta de comunicacion con España no lo e podido hacer antes, como lo hago aora diciendo como Don Domingo Zabalburu en virtud de las apretadas cedula de su Magestad que a ynfluencia de V.Ex^a recibio dos vezes mandó yr à descubrir las con buen apresto aunque no se logro nada en dichas dos ocasiones porque no devia ser aun el tiempo que Dios tenia determinado.

[The voyage of 1710]

Llego por esta ocasion un Piloto Mallorquin à Manila con quien ablando casualmente de esta expedicion[,] dixo que savia à palmos estas Islas porque varias vezes los olandeses le avia mandado yr à ellas à quemar los arboles de clavo y canela que dicen ay mucho en ellas, y por la buena razon que dio de todo se determino en Gobierno aprestar dos embarcaciones[,] embarcandose en la mayor dos sacerdotes de Nuestra Comp^a y un H^o Coadjutor y en la segunda el P. Andres Serrano con el Piloto Mallor-

quin [;] esta salio mas tarde de Manila à juntarse con el Patache que la aguardava en el embocadero y por no haver llevado practico dicho Mallorquin una noche dio en un bajo cerca de tierra con que se inhabilito para poder continuar viaje si bien no se aogo nadie pero no pudo proseguir el P. Serrano.

El Piloto Mallorquin por tierra consivio el embarcarse en el patache grande y à doce dias de apartados del Cavo del Espiritu Santo dieron con dos Islas medianas que les pusieron por nombre San Andres por aver sido el dia de dicho Santo el descubrimiento (con que manifesto dicho Piloto la noticia que avia dicho tenia de ellas). Acercaronse à ellas y aviendo salido muchas embarcaciones de los Ysleños rogandole mucho con señas se desembarcasen y fuesen à su Ysla donde ya avian embiado la Lancha con alguna gente y el ynterprete; à quienes se agasaron notablemente por cuya razon aviendo estos buelto al patache se resolvieron los Padres à saltar en tierra con dies y ocho soldados y el Piloto Mallorquin para tomar Posession en nombre de su Magestad de aquellas dos Islas y enarbolar el estandarte de la Santa Cruz con yntencion de bolverse à embarcar luego para continuar el descubrimiento assi à [= hacia] la parte del oriente[.] mientras fueron los Padres con la gente à tierra y quedandose el Patache sin dar fondo de una vuelta y otra le arrebató assi à [= hacia] la banda del oriente por poca altura, encontraron varias Yslas pequeñas descubriendo en todas gente y un[a] muy grande con cuios moradores se ablaron por señas y aviendoseles cambiado el viento pusieron la proa à las Yslas de San Andres que por averlas ya hallado de noche y haverlas apretado el temporal no pudieron surgir en dicha Ysla bolviendose à Manila con esta noticia y el derotero de las Yslas que avian visto aviendose dexado en dicha Ysla de San Andres à dichos dos Padres sacerdotes de nuestra Comp^a, al piloto Mallorquin y dies y ocho soldados.

[The voyage of 1712]

El año siguiente se le dio orden al Patache que va con el socorro à Marianas anualmente que de torna viaje bolviere à Manila por la banda del sur haber [=a ver] si encontraba dichas Yslas[,] lo executo y encontro una Ysla muy grande y muchas pequeñas todas pobladas segun la denotavan las embarcaciones que le salieron abordo con quienes hablaron y subieron al Navio, pero por mala disposicion no pudieron conseguir se quedasen en el Navio uno ó dos Yndios para llevarse consigo à Manila para que aprendiendo alla alguna lengua de las de Philipinas pudieran servir de ynterpretes[,] y antes bien anduvieron à balazos con las embarcaciones de los Yndios (gran desacierto y mas no teniendo los Yndios armas arroxadizas)[.] dicho Patache con la demarcacion de las Yslas que avia visto se bolvió à Manila[.] un Padre y un H^o coadjutor que venia en dicho Patache ynformaron de todo lo dicho.

El buen P. Andres Serrano con noticias de las Yslas ya descubiertas y que sus hermanos no parecian hizo grandisimas diligencias se hiciera tercera expedicion[.] consiguiolo embarcandose en un buen Patache con buena Marineria viscayna à las treinta leguas de salido de la baya de Manila de noche le acometio una tan recia tempestad por la proa que queriendo virar para arribar, se le emcapillaron las velas y trastornado el Patache lo bolvieron boca abajo en que se aogo el buen P. Serrano y su compañero

sacerdote y un H^o coadjutor y de toda la gente solo escapo un español y dos Yndios en quarteles que encontraron del naufragio.

Antes que hubieran ido los Padres à San Andres el General de la Nao de Philipinas que lo era aquel año Don Miguel de Elorriaga de buelta para Manila con una embarcacion ligera que havia fabricado en Acapulco en cierto paraje antes de llegar à Marianas la guarnecio de soldados y Peltrechos dandoles que es gran Piloto derotero los mando yr à descubrir por aquel lado las Yslas de los Palaos que lo consiguieron y llevaron à Manila derotero de las muchas [sic] Yslas que avian visto.

Este es el estado que tiene oy este descubrimiento sabiendo ya fixamente la altura y rumbo en que estan dos Yslas grandes y numerables Yslas pequeñas todas avitadas. Esto es Excmo. Señor lo que se pretendia y porque al rey Nuestro Señor se le han hecho tantos gastos y aora no sera ley Divina ni Humana que se dexen sin socorro espiritual tantas almas no teniendo otro remedio para salvarse que el amparo de nuestro Catholisimo Monarca Phelipe Quinto y la ynfluencia de V.Ex^a quienes delante del acatamiento de Dios beran lo que les abra ymportado assi à su Magestad como à V.Ex^a el abrirles la puerta del cielo à esta Gentilidad.

[Plan for future exploration and colonization]

Y yo reconociendo que para entablar el socorro de estos pobres no es buen medio tantas idas y venidas que no sirven sino es de hacer gastos à su Magestad sin provecho[,] por cuya razon escrivi al Governador actual de Philipinas en la manera siguiente:

[“]Ya save V. Señoria que ay Palaos y tantas Yslas descubiertas con deroterros formados para ellas; el averle hecho à su Magestad tanto[s] gasto[s] no ha sido para saciar la curiosidad; sino para conseguir el fin que su Magestad pretende de que es la salvacion de tan innumerables almas de que ay en aquellas Yslas. Haora [sic] pues veamos el medio que se puede tomar para conseguir el fin que se pretende sin gravar el erario de su Magestad[,] todos los años salen de esas Yslas un Patache de buen porte para llevar el socorro à los Misioneros y soldados del Presidio de Marianas[,] en este Patache pues mande V. Señoria le digo embiar una porcion de clavazon para fabrica de embarcaciones pequeñas con erramientas para labrar madera[,] instrumentos de asadones para levantar [i.e. labrar] tierra[,] alguna cantidad de Chuzos[,] quatro pedrerillos y algunas armas de fuego[,] polvora y balas[,] algun biscocho y arroz[,] que todo esto no ymportara quinientos pesos[,] quando mas mill[,] y tres ó quatro soldados Pampangos que entiendan de carpinteria[,] todo esto llega à Marianas en el Patache por su camino regular[,] dexa el situado que lleva para aquellas Yslas y en el tiempo que alli se detiene para aguardar la brisa para su tornaviaje hacen provision de cesina de vaca y puerco[,] que lo ay bastante ya en dichas Marianas[,] la cantidad que pareciere necesaria para poco menos de un año (que demas tiempo comemos la cesina de baca y puerco en la Navegacion de Manila aqui) y al tiempo proporcionado para el tornaviaje embarcar veinte y cinco soldados de los Presidios de Marianas con su Cavo pagados con el mismo sueldo que su Magestad les tiene librados y cobran en estas Reales Cajas de Mexico y dos Padres Misioneros de los que ay en las dichas Yslas[,] que al principio no son me-

nester mas socorrido con lo mismo que su Magestad les socorre desde esta Caja todos los años y en siendo tiempo se hacen à la vela por el derotero que ya ay formado à una de las Yslas descubiertas metiendose en una de las ensenadas que ya an visto y dando fondo en alguna de ellas ay de presto con la mucha arboleda que an visto ay en dichas Yslas forman una estacada pequeña para meter su matolotaje y que le sirva de retirada en qualquier fragente. En estas Yslas an visto ay muchas gallinas de las de españa[.] sus riveras llenas de pescado con quien [= que] bien se podran mantener un año mientras va y buelve el Patache de Marianas à Manila[.] en cuyo tiempo reconocen los frutos de dichas Yslas[,] acarician sus naturales[,] ben la forma que ay de asentar ay de proposito y avizan el año siguiente à ese Gobierno del estado que aquello tiene para que se tome la determinacion.["]

Esto es lo que escrivi à dicho Governador à que me respondio que ya a via dado orden al Patache de Marianas para que volviese à dar vuelta à reconocer dichas Yslas[,] respondile que para lo que toca yr à las Yslas de San Andres para saver el paradero de los Padres y soldados que alli quedaron era un buen medio[,] pero que para entablar la reduccion de aquella gentilidad no servia.

Excmo. Señor, V.Ex^a con su gran capacidad vera si lo contenido en esta carta que escrivi à dicho Governador actual es cossa que su Magestad en cedula se le puede mandar à dicho Governador con apretura aplicando V.Ex^a todo su ynfluxo.

Otro medio eficazissimo allo para que se emtable esta conquista y es el que su Magestad embiase titulo de Adelantado de las Yslas de los Palaos à Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas[,] Natural de las Yslas Canarias[,] Gran Piloto[,] graduado de Almirante de la carrera de Philipinas y no se que expedicion[,] General de dicho Galeon[,] es hombre de caudal y se le à oydo decir muchas vezes que si su Magestad le haria Adelantado de dichas Yslas yria con gran gusto à su pacificacion[,] es vecino antiguo de Manila enparentado con lo mejor de ella por dos casamientos que à contraido en Manila. Doy esta noticia por parecerme la mas eficaz para el yntento.

Concluyo este bolviendome à poner à los pies de V.Ex^a em comp^a de tantas almas como ay en aquella[s] Ysla[s] quienes esperan su salvacion por medio de nuestro gran Monarca à ynfluencia de V.Ex^a à quien guarde nuestro Señor con los acensos que se merece y dilatada vida que tantas almas à menester.

Mexico y Agosto 6 de 1714 años.

Excmo. Señor

B.L.M. de V.Ex^a su rendido Capellan,

Francisco de Borja y Aragon.

[Al] Excmo. Señor Marques de Mejorada.

Translation.

Most Excellent Sir:

Having learned from the Venerable Fr. Andrés Serrano, who is now in heaven, how much Your Excellency has sponsored him for the expedition to go to the exploration of the Islands of the Palaos (since discovered), I think that it would be a good idea for

me not to change protector, but to once again place this apostolic expedition at the feet of Y.E. as a person, not only because of what I expect from the great zeal of Y.E., but also by reason of my employment as Procurator General of all those Missions of the Philippines, and lastly, because I do not want to depreciate my family relationship with the Duke of Gandia, of which connection I am not willing to take advantage. Instead, I prefer to call on Y.E. as the first person who supported this expedition, and as such must be the most efficient channel that I can make use of in order to bring it to its happy conclusion.

Most Excellent Sir, it may be that Y.E. already knows of the present status of said exploration. As for me, on account of the lack of contact with Spain, I have not been able to give an account of it before now, by saying how Don Domingo Zabalburu, by virtue of the precise decrees from His Majesty which, at the influence of Y.E., he received twice, ordered an expedition to discover them, with good preparation, although nothing was achieved in the two occasions in question, because it must not yet have been the time selected by God.

[The voyage of 1710]

There arrived at Manila on this occasion a pilot from Majorca [i.e. Bagatín] with whom he chanced to talk about this expedition. He said that he knew these Islands like the palm of his hands, because at various times the Dutch had sent him there to burn the clove and cinnamon trees that, they say, exist in quantity there.¹ Because of the good report given by this man, the Government decided to make ready two vessels. Two priests of our Society boarded the larger one with one coadjutor Brother, and Fr. Andrés Serrano boarded the second one with the Majorcan pilot. The latter departed Manila much later to join the patache that was awaiting it in the Embocadero. Because said Majorcan had not brought along a local pilot, one night he hit upon a shoal near land, which made it impossible for the vessel to continue its voyage, although nobody was drowned, but Fr. Serrano was unable to go on.

The Majorcan pilot managed to join the large patache by going overland and, 12 days after they had left Cape Espiritu Santo, they met with two average-size islands which they baptized San Andrés, because the day of the discovery had been the feast-day of that Saint (thus said Pilot proved the notice that he had of them). They approached them and, after many canoes of islanders came out, earnestly begging him with signs to disembark and go to their island, where they had already sent the launch with some men and the interpreter, whom they welcomed specially well. For this reason, when they returned to the patache, the Fathers decided to step ashore with 18 soldiers and the Majorcan pilot, to take possession of these two Islands in the name of His Majesty and raise the standard of the holy cross with the intention of returning [to the patache] later on, in order to continue their exploration toward the eastern side. While

1 Ed. note: When Fr. Serrano was talking about the Palaos, Bagatín may have been thinking about the Talaud Islands, because there were no spice trees growing in the Carolines.

the Fathers were ashore with the men, the patache was not anchored but was tacking back and forth, and it was carried off toward the northeast, where they found various small islands, discovering that all of them were inhabited, and one being very large, [word missing] with whose inhabitants they spoke with signs and, the wind having changed, they steered back to the Islands of San Andrés, but it was night-time when they saw them and in the meantime a storm hit them and they were unable to anchor at said Island and returned to Manila with this news and the sailing directions for the Islands that they had seen, having thus left behind at said Island of San Andrés the two priests of our Society, the Majorcan pilot and 18 soldiers.

[The voyage of 1712]

The next year the patache that goes yearly with the succor to the Marianas was ordered, on the return voyage to Manila, to go south to see if said Islands could be found. It was done, and a very large island and many small ones were found, all inhabited, as shown by the craft that came alongside, and they spoke with them. They climbed aboard, but due to some bad disposition, they could not convince one or two Indians to stay aboard the ship, in order to take along to Manila, to have them learn there some language of the Philippines, so that they could serve as interpreters. Rather, they started to shoot at the craft of the Indians (a great blunder, considering that the Indians did not even have any weapons of the type that is hand-thrown). Said patache, after a survey of the islands they had seen, returned to Manila. One Father and one coadjutor brother who came with said patache have informed me about all of that.¹

The good Fr. Andrés Serrano, with news of the Islands already discovered and of his brothers who had disappeared, made very great efforts to obtain a third expedition. He succeeded in getting it, and embarked himself aboard a good patache with good Basque sailors but at some 30 leagues out of the Bay of Manila one night he was attacked head on by such a stiff storm that in the process of veering in order to turn back, the sails became swamped and the patache was pulled over and capsized. That is how the good Fr. Serrano, his companion priest and one coadjutor brother, and the whole crew were drowned, with the exception of one Spaniard and two Indians who escaped on top of flotsam they found from the shipwreck.

Before the Fathers would have gone to San Andrés, the General of the Philippine galleon, who was that year Don Miguel de Elorriaga, during the return voyage to Manila, with one light vessel that he had built at Acapulco, at a certain distance before he reached the Marianas, he provided same with soldiers and equipment, giving them a route to follow (as he is a great pilot) and ordering them to explore from that direction the Islands of the Palaos, which they did succeed in doing, and they brought to Manila sailing directions of the many [sic] islands that they had seen.²

1 Ed. note: The priest was Fr. Mexia. The name of his companion is not known.

2 Ed. note: Captain Binasa only re-discovered Ngulu Atoll.

This is the status of this exploration at present. The latitude and courses leading to these two large islands and numberless small ones, all inhabited, are already well determined. This is, most excellent Sir, what was attempted and, because the King our Lord has been charged so many expenses, it would not now be proper, according to Divine or Human law, to leave without spiritual succor so many souls, that have no other recourse to save themselves but the protection of our most Catholic Monarch, Philip V, and the influence of Y.E. Before the respect due to God, these souls will [one day] find out what importance His Majesty as well as Y.E. gave to opening Heaven's door to these heathen.

[Plan for future exploration and colonization]

And I, recognizing that, in order to launch the succor of these poor people, it is not a good means to simply make so many round trips that serve no purpose, except to cause expenditures to H.M. needlessly, I used this reasoning in a letter that I wrote to the present Governor of the Philippines, as follows:

“Your Lordship already knows that the Palaos exist, as so many islands have already been discovered, with sailing directions for them. However, H.M. has not made so many expenditures only to satisfy his curiosity, but to achieve the purpose that he pretends, which is the salvation of so many numberless souls as there are in those islands. Now then, let us see the means that can be taken to achieve the desired purpose without causing damage to the treasury of H.M. Every year a patache of good capacity goes out from those Islands to carry the succor of the missionaries and soldiers of the garrison of the Marianas. Indeed, aboard this patache Your Lordship might order the shipment of some iron for the construction of boats, with tools to work wood, tools such as hoes to work the land, a quantity of pikes, four small mortars and a few firearms, powder and balls, some biscuit and rice, which all in all do not cost 500 pesos, but at most 1,000, plus 3 to 4 Pampango soldiers who know about carpentry.¹ All of this would arrive at the Marianas aboard the patache that follows its regular route, unload the subsidy that it carries for those Islands, and during the time that they are detained there, while waiting for the tradewind to make their return voyage, they make a provision of dried beef and bacon, of which there is a sufficient supply there already in those Marianas,² [taking on] a quantity that appears necessary to last for less than one year (the same jerked beef and bacon that are eaten during the voyage [of galleons] between Manila and here). When the time be proper for the return voyage, they would embark 25 soldiers from those of the garrison of the Marianas with one officer with the same salary that H.M. has released for them and that comes out of these Royal funds here in Mexico, plus two Missionary Fathers, from those already in said Islands (there would not be any need

1 Ed. note: Meaning carpentry in both house building and boat building.

2 Ed. note: It was the launch of this Mariana patache that was most likely to make the trip to Tinian to slaughter the cattle roaming loose in that island.

for more at the beginning) supported as well by the same funds that H.M. pays out of this treasury every year. Weather permitting, they would set sail and follow the sailing directions that have already been written for said discovered islands, and by entering one of the bays that have already been seen in said Islands, by anchoring in one of them there, and with the many trees that have been seen there, they would build a small stockade to store their supplies and that could serve as a refuge in whatever eventuality. In these Islands have been seen many chickens of the same type as in Spain. Their shores are full of fish. With those the people would be rather well supplied for one year, during which the patache would go to Manila and back, via the Marianas. During this time, the products of said Islands would be surveyed, their natives approached, and the best way to make a proper settlement studied, and the following year that Government [i.e. in Manila] would be advised of the local condition, in order to make a decision."

This is what I wrote to said Governor, to which he answered me that he had already given an order for the Mariana patache to once again make its return voyage by way of those Islands. I wrote to him again to tell him that, as far as the Islands of San Andrés are concerned, to learn of the whereabouts of the Fathers and soldiers who stayed behind there, it was a good way, but to launch the reduction of those heathen it was useless.

Most Illustrious Sir, Y.E. with your great ability you will see if the contents of this letter which I wrote to the present Governor is something that H.M. could repeat in a decree that could be sent to said Governor with insistence and by having Y.E. apply all of your influence.

I think that there is another very efficient means to launch this conquest and it is that H.M. should send the title of Frontier Governor of the Islands of the Palaos to Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas, a native of the Canary Islands, a great pilot, and a former Admiral of the Philippine run and also General of said galleon on I don't know what other expedition; he is a man of importance and he has been heard many times to say that if H.M. would make him Frontier Governor of said Islands, he would very willingly go to their pacification. He is an old resident of Manila, and linked with the best families there on account of the two marriages that he has contracted in Manila. I give you this notice, since it appears to me to be the most efficient means for the purpose.

I conclude this letter by once again placing myself at the feet of Y.E. in the company of so many souls as there are in those Islands that are expecting their salvation by means of our great Monarch, influenced by Y.E., whom may God save with the promotions that you deserve and a long life which so many souls need.

Mexico, 6 August 1714.

Most Excellent Sir,

Your humble Chaplain who kisses the hand of Y.E.,

Francisco de Borja y Aragon.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of Mejorada.

Document 1714F

Fictitious voyage around the world, written by Daniel Defoe

Source: Daniel Defoe. A New Voyage Round the World by a course never sailed before. Being a voyage undertaken by some merchants, who afterwards proposed the setting up [of] an East-India Company in Flanders (London, 1724; also 1725).

Note: This ship is said to have crossed the Pacific eastward and made a stop at Guam in September 1714. The author was already famous for his book on Robinson Crusoe.

The Voyage of Captain Merlotte and friends

...
When first I set out upon a cruising and trading Voyage to the East, and resolv'd to go any where, and every where that the Advantage of Trade or the Hopes of Purchase should guide us, I also resolv'd to take such exact notice of every thing that past within my Reach, that I would be able, if I liv'd to come home, to give an Account of my Voyage, differing from all that I had ever seen before, in the nature of the Observations, as well as the manner of relating them: And as this is perfectly new in its Form, so I cannot doubt but it will be agreeable in the Particulars, seeing either no Voyage ever made before, had such Variety of Incidents happening in it, so useful and so diverting, or no Person that sail'd on those Voyages, has thought fit to publish them after this manner.

Having been fitted out in the River of Thames so lately as the Year 1713. and on a Design perhaps not very consistent with the Measures taking at that time for the putting an End to the War, I must be allowed to own I was at first oblig'd to act not in my own Name, but to put in a French Commander into the Ship, for the Reasons which follow, and which those who understand the manner of Trade upon closing the late War, I mean the Trade with Spain, will easily allow to be just and well grounded.

During the late War between Great Britain and her confederates on one side, and the united Crowns of France and Spain on the other side, we all know the French had a free Trade into the South Seas; a Trade carried on with the greatest Advantage, and to the greatest Degree, that any particular Commerce has been carried on in the World for many Ages past; insomuch that we found the Return of Silver that came back to France by those Ships, was not only the enriching of the Merchants of St. Malo, Rochell, and other Ports in France, some of whom we saw get immense Estates in a few

Years, even to a Million Sterling a Man. But it was evident, the King of France himself was enabled by the Circulation of so much Bullion thro' his Mints, to carry on that War with very great Advantage.

It was just at the Close of this War, when some Merchants of London looking with Envy on the Success of that Trade, and how the French, notwithstanding the Peace, would apparently carry it on, for some Years at least, to infinite Advantage, began to consider whether it might not be possible to come in for a Snack with France, as they were ally'd to Spain, and yet go abroad in the Nature of a private Cruiser.

To bring this to pass, it was thought proper in the first place, to get a Share, if possible, in a new Design of an East India Trade in Flanders, just then intended to be set up by some British Merchants, by the Assistance of an Imperial Charter, or at least under Colour of it; and so we might go to Sea in a threefold Capacity, to be made use of as Occasion might present; viz. when on the Coast of New Spain we sought to trade, we were French Men, had a French Captain, and a sufficient Number of French Seamen, and Flemish or Walloon Seamen, who spoke French, so to appear on all proper Occasions. When at Sea we met with any Spanish Ship worth our while, we were English Cruisers, had Letters of Mark from England, had no Account of the Peace, and were fitted for the Attack. And when in the East Indies we had occasion to trade, either at the English or Dutch Settlements, we should have Imperial Colours, and two Flemish Merchants at least in Appearance, to transact every thing as we found Occasion. However, this last part of our Project fail'd us, that Affair not being fully ripe.

As this mysterious Equipment may be liable to some Exceptions, and perhaps to some Enquiries, I shall for the present conceal my Name, and that of the Ship also:

By Enquiries, I mean Enquiries of private Persons concern'd; for as to publick Enquiries, we have no Uneasiness, having acted nothing in Contradiction to the Rules and Laws of our Country; but I say, as to private Persons, it is thought fit to prevent their Enquiries, to which end, the Captain in whose Name I write this, gives me leave to make use of his Name, and conceal my own.

The Ship sail'd from the River the 20th of December 1713. and went directly over to the Coast of Flanders, lying at an Anchor in Newport Pitts; as they are call'd, where we took in our French Captain Jean Michel Merlotte, who with 32 French Seamen, came on board us in a large Snow from Dunkirk, bringing with them 122 small Anchors or Rundlets of Brandy, and some Hampers and Casks of French Wine in Wicker'd Bottles: While we were here, we lay under English Colours, with Pendants flying, our Ship being upwards of 500 Tun, and had 46 Guns mounted, mann'd with 356 Men: We took the more Men on board because we resolv'd as Occasion should present, to fit our selves with another Ship, which we did not question we should meet with in the South Seas.

We had also a third Design in our Voyage, tho' it may be esteem'd an Accident to the rest, viz. We were resolv'd to make some Attempts for new Discoveries, as Opportunity offered; and we had two Persons on board who were exceedingly well qualified for our Direction in this part, all which was deriv'd from the following Occasion;

The Person who was principally concern'd in the Adventure, was a Man not only of great Wealth, but of great Worth; he was particularly addicted to what we call New Discoveries, and it was indeed upon his Genius to such Things, that the first Thought of the Voyage was founded: This Gentleman told us, that he had already sent one Ship fully equipt and furnish'd for a new Attempt, upon the North West or North East Passages, which had been so often in vain tried by former Navigators; and that he did not question the Success, because he had directed them by new Measures, and to steer a Course that was never attempted yet; and his Design in our Voyage was to make like Discoveries towards the South Pole; where, as he said, and gave us very good Reasons for it, he did not doubt but we might discover even to the Pole it self, and find out New Worlds and new Seas, which had never been heard of before.

With these Designs, this Gentleman came into the other part of our Project, and contributed the more largely, and with the more Freedom, to the whole, upon that Account; in particular, all the needful Preparations for such Discoveries, were made wholly at his Expence, which I take Notice of here, as being most proper in the Beginning of our Story, and that the Reader may the less wonder at the odd way we took to perform a Voyage which might with much more Ease have been done by the usual and ordinary way.

...
[After crossing the Indian Ocean, the ship made a stop at Manila, where they sold their European goods mostly to Chinese merchants and acquired a second ship.]

...
As we resolv'd to pursue our Voyage for New Spain, we had taken in a Cargo very proper to sell there, and so perhaps to double the Advantage we had already made.

In the mean Time, all our Hands were at Work to store our selves anew, with such Provisions, as could be had here for so long a Run, as we knew we were to have next; namely, over the vast Pacifick Ocean or South Sea, a Voyage where we might expect to see no Land for four Months, except we touch'd at the Ladrones, as it might happen; and our greatest Anxiety was for Want of Water, which our whole Ship could scarce be able to stow sufficient for our Use, and if they could, our Want of Casks was still as bad as the Want of Water, for we really knew not what to put Water in when we had it.

The Spaniards had help'd us to some Casks but not many, those that they could spare were but small, and at last we were oblig'd to make use of about two hundred large earthen Jars, which were of singular Use to us. We got a large Quantity of good Rice here, which we bought of a Chinese Merchant, who came in here with a large China Vessel to trade, and who bought of us also several of our European Goods.

...
We continued chaffering after this Manner about nine Weeks, during which Time, we carreen'd our Ships, clean'd their Bottoms, rummag'd our Gold, and repack'd some of our Provisions; endeavouring as much as possible, to keep all our Men as fully

employ'd as we could, to preserve them in Health, and yet not to over work them, considering the Heat of the Climate.

Some Time before we were ready to sail, I call'd all the Warrant Officers together, and told them, that as we were come to a Country, where Abundance of small Things were to be bought, and going to a Country, where we might possibly have Room to sell them again to Advantage, I would advance to every Officer an hundred Dollars, upon Account of their Pay, that they might lay it out to their Advantage here, and dispose it again on the Coast of New Spain. This was very acceptable to them, and they acknowledged it; and here, besides this, by the Consent of all our Superior Officers, I gave a Largess or Bounty of five Dollars a Man, to all our Fore-Mast Men; most of which, I believe, they lay'd out in Arrack and Sugar, to chear them up in the rest of the Voyage, which they all knew would be long enough.

We went away from Manilla in the Island of Luzon or Luconia the fifteenth of the Month of August, and in the Year 1714. and sailing a while to the Southward, pass'd the Straits between that Island, and Mindanao, another of the Phillipines, where we met with little extraordinary, except extraordinary Lightning and Thunders, such as we never heard or saw before, tho' it seems, 'tis very familiar in that Climate; till about sixteen Days sailing, **we saw the Isle of Guam**, one of the Ladrões, or Isle of Thieves, for so much the Word imports; here we came to an Anchor Sept. 3. under the Lee of a steep Shore, on the North Side of the Isle of Guam; but, as we wanted no Trade here, we did not at first enquire after the chief Port, or Spanish Governour, or any thing of that Kind; but we chang'd our Situation the next Day, and went thro' the Passage, to the East [sic] Side of the Island, and came to an Anchor off of the Town.

The People came off, and brought us Hogs, and Fowls, and several Sorts of Roots, and Greens, Things, which we were very glad of, and which we bought the more of, because we always found, that such Things were good to keep the Men from the Scurvy, and even to cure them of it, if they had it; we took in fresh Water here also, tho' it was with some Difficulty, the Water lying half a Mile from the Shore.

When I parted from Manilla, and was getting thro' the Strait between the Island Lucon, and that of Mindanao, I had some Thoughts of steering away North, to try, what Land we might meet with to the North East of the Phillipines; and with Intent to have endeavour'd to make up into the Latitude of fifty or sixty Degrees, and have come about again to the South, between the Island of California, and the main Land of America; in which Course, I did not question, meeting with extraordinary new Discoveries, and perhaps such as the Age might not expect to hear of, relating to the Northern World, and the Possibility of a Passage out of those Seas, either East or West, both which, I doubt not, would be found, if they were search'd after this Way...

It is true, that these Northern Discoveries might be inimitably fine, and most glorious Things to the British Nation, and infinitely for the future Advantage of Commerce in general: yet, as I have said, it was evident, that they tended directly to destroy the Voyage, either as to trading, or to cruising, and might perhaps end in our own Destruction also...

...
If we reach'd safe to the Coast of New Spain, and met with an open Commerce there, as we expected, we should perhaps make the most prosperous Voyage, that was ever made round the Globe before.

These Considerations put an End to all my Thoughts of going Northward; some of our secret Council, for by the way, we consulted our Foremast Men no more, but had a secret Council among our selves, the Resolutions of which we solemnly engag'd not to disclose: Some of these, I say, were for steering the usual Course, from the Phillipines to New Spain, viz. keeping in the Latitudes of eleven or thirteen Degrees, North of the Line, and so making directly for California; in which Latitude they propos'd, that we might perhaps, by cruising there about, meet with the Manilla Ships, going from New Spain to Manilla, which we might take as a Prize, and then stand directly for the Coast of Peru.

But I oppos'd this; principally, because it would effectually overthrow all my meditated Discoveries to the Southward; and secondly, because I had observ'd, that on the North of the Line, there are no Islands to be met with, in all the long Run, of near two thousand Leagues, from Guam one of the Ladrone, to the Land of California; and that we did not find, we were able to subsist during so long a Run, especially for Want of Water; whereas on the South of the Line, as well within the Tropick as without, we were sure to meet with Islands innumerable, and that even all the Way; so that we were sure of frequent Relief of fresh Water, of Plants, Fowl, and Fish, if not of Bread and Flesh, almost all the Way.

This was a main Consideration to our Men, and so we soon resolv'd to take the Southern Course; yet, as I said, we stood away for the Ladrone first; these are a Cluster of Islands, which lie in about eleven to thirteen Degrees North Latitude, North East from the Moluccas, or Spice islands, and E. and by N. from that Part of the Phillipines where we were, and at the Distance of about four hundred Leagues, and all the Ships, which go or come between the Phillipines and New Spain, touch at them, for the Convenience of Provisions, Water, &c. those, that go to [New] Spain, put in there, in Order to recruit and furnish for, and those that come from [New] Spain, to relieve themselves after so long a Run as that of six thousand Miles, for so much it is at least from Guam to Acapulco; on these Accounts, and with these Reasonings, we came to the Isles of the Ladrone.

During our Run between the Phillipine and Ladrone Islands, we liv'd wholly upon our fresh Provisions, of which we laid in a great Stock at Manilla, such as Hogs, Fowls, Calves, and six or seven Cows, all alive, so that our English Beef and Pork, which lay well stor'd, was not touch'd for a long Time.

At the Ladrone we recruited, and particularly took on Board, as well alive as pickl'd up, near two hundred Hogs, with a vast Store of Roots, and such Things as are their usual Food in that Country; we took in also above three thousand cocoa Nuts for our own Use, and in particular we got a large Quantity of Maiz, or Indian Wheat for Bread, and some Rice.

We stor'd our selves likewise with Oranges and Lemons, and buying a great Quantity of very good Limes, we made three or four Hogsheads of Limejuice; which was a great Relief to our Men in the hot Season, to mix with their Water; as for making Punch, we had some Arrack and some sugar, but neither of them in any Quantity, so as to have much Punch made afore the mast.

We were eighteen Days on our Passage from the Streight of Mindanao to Guam, and **stay'd six Days at Guam**, furnishing our selves with Provisions, appearing all this while with French Colours, and Captain Merlotte as Commander: However, we made no great Ceremony here with the Spanish Governor, as I have said already, only that Captain Merlotte, after we had been here two Days, sent a Letter to him by a French Officer, who showing his Commission from the King of France; the Governor presently gave us Product, as we call it, and Leave to buy what Provisions we wanted: In Compliment for this Civility, we sent the Governor a small Present of fine Scarlet Camblet, and two Pieces of Bays; and he made a very handsome Return, in such Refreshments as he thought we most wanted.

There was another Reason for our keeping in this Latitude till we came to the Ladrões; namely, that all the Southern Side of that Part of the Way between the Philipines, and the Ladrões, is so full of Islands, that unless we had had very good Pilots, it would have been very hazardous; and add to this, that beyond these Islands South, is no Passage; the Land, which they call Nova Guinea, lying away East and E.S.E.; farther than has yet been discover'd; so that it is not yet known, whether that Country be an Island or the Continent.

Having for all these Reasons gone to the Ladrões, and being sufficiently satisfied in our Reasons, for going away from thence to the Southward, and having stor'd our selves as above, with whatever those Islands produc'd, we left the Ladrões, about the tenth Day of September in the Evening, and stood away E.S.E. with the Wind N.N.W. a fresh Gale; after this, I think, it was about five Days, when having stretch'd by our Account about an hundred and fifty Leagues, we steer'd away more to the Southward, our Course S.E. by S.

And now, if ever, I expected to do something by Way of Discovery; I knew very well there were few, if any, had ever steer'd that Course; or that if they had, they had given very little Account of their Travels. The only Person who leaves any Thing worth Notice; being Cornelius Van Schouten and Francis Lemaire, who, tho' they sail'd very much South, yet say little to the Purpose, as I shall shew presently.

The sixteenth Day after we parted from the Ladrões, being by Observation, in the Latitude of seventeen Degrees South of the Line, one of our Men cried a Sail, a Sail, which put us into some fit of Wonder, knowing, nothing of a Ship of any Bulk could be met with in those Seas; but our fit of Wonder was soon turn'd to a fit of Laughter, when one of our Men from the Foretop, cried out Land, which indeed was the Case; and the first Sailor was sufficiently laugh'd at for his Mistake, tho', give him his due, it look'd at first as like a Sail, as ever any Land at a Distance could look.

...

Document 1715A

Jesuit annual report for 1715, by Fr. Muscati

Source: ARSI Phil. 14, fol. 104-105v.

Original text in Spanish

Algunos puntos para la Anua de esta Mission Mariana.

Ay en esta Mission Mariana nueve Sacerdotes, y tres Hermanos Coadjutores. El Padre Phelipe Maria Muscati Vice-Provincial de ella administra en el partido de Inarajan, el Padre Thomas Cardeñoso en Pago; el Padre Lorenzo Bustillo en Umatag, el Padre Diego de Zarzosa en Agat, en Merisso el Padre Juan Scermeysen; en Agaña el Padre Miguel de Aparicio Rector del Seminario de los Niños, y el Padre Ignacio de Ybarguen Ministro de Indios; en la Isla de Seypan los PPes. Pedro Cruydolf, y Joseph Bloar[t]. El Hermano Jaime Chavarij haze officio de Medico, y boticario, y juntamente cuida del rancho de Tachugña; el Hermano Nicolas Montero assiste en los ministerios domesticos de Casa; el Hermano Luis Garcia en el Seminario de Niños. La Isla de Rota se hizo visita por falta de sujeto, que de assiento la administre. En todos assi PPes,

[missing line:] [=como Hermanos reinan la] perfeccion, y zelo en ayudar a la de los proximos. Ni es el menor estimulo para no descaecer en el cuidado de las almas atender al incesante teson, con que los PPes antiguos cargados de años, y mucho mas de achaques asisten a los ministerios quoditianos.

A los dichos Ministerios, que son los mismos que otros años se han referido, se siguen copiosos frutos, con que el Señor consuela, y alienta para el trabajo a los Ministros, que en ellos se emplean. Generalmente asisten con puntualidad a Missa, y doctrina los días de obligacion, y los que por enfermedad no pueden acudir, se acusan de ello en las confesiones juzgando esta omission por falta, y aunque se les advierte que no es pecado, responden que se acusan por la voluntad, que tenian de oirla aun estando enfermos. Error que prueba su poca capacidad, pero explica la buena voluntad, y deseo de acudir a las cosas de Dios. Muchos confiessan, y comulgan algunas vezes entre año con conocido enmienda de sus vidas, y assi al tiempo de cumplir con el precepto annual no se experimentan reacios, ni diffieren largo tiempo su cumplimiento. Las preñadas, conviendo [fol. 104v] el riesgo de sus vidas, se disponen para el peligro con la confesion, y muchas con la sagrada comunion; y las que estan mas cerca de casa luego que sienten los dolores del parto sus primeros clamores son por la reliquia de

N.S.P. Ignacio, con quien tienen gran devocion, y confianza de que las sacara con bien de sus aprietos.

Es notabilissima la paciencia en sus trabajos, y aunque en todos acaecimientos la muestran, con mas especialidad, y con mucha edificacion de los PPes Nuestrs, la descubren en sus enfermedades bien penosas, como llagas, apostemas, y otras semejantes muy dolorosas en que algunos padecen no dias, sino largos años. Y ni lo agudo de sus dolores, ni el poco abrigo, ni la falta de remedios, de alimentos, y otras muchas incomodidades, que necessariamente lleva su extrema pobreza, les haze perder la paciencia, ni aun prorumpir en aquellos desahogos de suspiros, o voces, con que la naturaleza oprimida tal vez procura su alivio. Cosa que siendo de tanto reparo nos haze creer, que la misericordia de Dios no solo purgara sus pecados en esta vida por medio de las enfermedades, sino que tambien en la otra premiara su paciencia con mucha gloria: assi les aconsejamos para que lleven sus trabajos con resignacion, como venidos de la mano de Dios.

De muchos casos de edificacion, que se podian referir, dire algunos. A uno del pueblo de Sinahaña en este partido de Agaña solo de imaginar le podian mandar ir a cierto trabajo a que el tenia notable repugnancia, le cargo tal melancolia, que oprimido de esta, e instigado del demonio determino dejarse morir sin querer comer, ni beber. Supo su affliction otro vezino del mismo pueblo, y movido de caridad se fue al affligido, consolandole con buenas razones, y alentole a comer diziendole no se afligiese, que en llegando en caso de ser señalado para aquella faena le daba palabra de ir en su lugar, con que el pobre respiro por medio de aquel acto de caridad tanto mas digna de alabanza por exercitada de un pobre Indio rustico.

Dos muchachos del Seminario aviendo cometido en distintas ocasiones una falta, y sabida esta por el Hermano que assiste en el seminario les reprendio proponiendoles el castigo divino sino se enmendaran a que se sigui [sic] tal sentimiento de dolor, y lagrimas, que dejaron muy edificado a dicho Hermano, y mucho mas por las repetidas instancias, con que le pedian los castigase, no solamente al tiempo de la reprehension, sino que el uno de ellos repitio las instancias importunandole repetidas vezes en los dias siguientes diciendole, que mejor le estava ser castigado aqui, que no en la otra vida.

[fol. 105] Otro capitan de un pueblo aviendo cogido su arroz, e instandole muchos para que les vendiese, jamas lo quiso hazer, respondiendole a todos que primero era cumplir con Dios, y pagarle las primicias en agradecimiento de averle dado buena cocecha, como lo executó traiendo en un dia solemne su arroz a la Iglesia diciendo al Padre que era para Dios, que se lo avia dado: y fue el primero en Marianas que sin ser instruido, ni avizado del Padre ofrecio a Dios sus primicias.

Omitto otros casos particulares de enfermos que durante sus enfermedades llaman para reconciliarse de faltas tan menudas, que muchas no llegan a pecado venial. Otros hallandose gravemente enfermos embian por la imagen de Christo crucificado para morir abrazados con ella: otros no pudiendo ya mas llaman a sus parientes para que rezen, y les exorten con los actos necessarios en aquella hora. Algunas mugeres solici-

tadas por malos hombres, y offreciendoles cosas entre ellas de estimacion assi a ellos, como a sus dones han rechazado con christiana resolucion.

[Saipan population consolidated in Fatiguan. Anaguan abandoned circa 1714]

*En la Isla de Seypan por la falta de Ministros, por el menos cavo [=menoscabo] de la gente, y por estar las dos Iglesias que antes avia muy deterioradas, se fabrico una sola, que por su disposicion, materiales, y sitio es una de las mas hermosas que ay en Marianas. En muchas circunstancias, de que apuntare algunas, se ha mostrado la especial providencia de Dios en la ereccion de dicha Iglesia, y dado a entender que es obra de su agrado. Lo primero, porque las maderas que llaman *ipit*, y son las de maior estima en estas Islas por su solidez, y duracion para fabricas, hasta aora avian estado encubiertas en Seypan, o porque no se sabia el sitio donde estaban, o (lo que es mas probable) porque los naturales las ocultavan, y aora quiso Dios que se descubriera un hermoso corte de dicha madera, que dio sobrados materiales para Iglesia, y casa. Ni fue menor piedad del Señor (por no llamar milagro) que caiendo uno de los trabajadores de lo mas alto de la obra, y pasando por medio de andamios, y palos, quando todos juzgaron levantarle muerto, o por lo menos gravemente herido, le encontraron vivo, y sin la menor lesion. Otros cargavan un pesado madero, y rotos los cordeles con que le mantenian suspenso en el aire, caio sobre el muzzo de uno de los cargadores aprensandole fuertemente, y tambien se levanto bueno sin recibir daño alguno.*

[Stone-walled church built at Umatac in 1715]

Mas que Seypan necesitara Umatac de Iglesia, y casa por estar la antigua muy deteriorada, y casi indecente, y sin forma de hospedar a los Religiosos Missioneros que pasan a las Filipinas, y tal vez saltan a tierra en el puerto que es Umatac. Movido pues de esta necesidad, y mucho mas de su grande piedad, y zelo el Señor Governador de estas Islas [fol. 105v] Don Juan Antonio Pimentel este año de 1715 emprendió la fábrica de casa, e Yglesia, a que no solo assiste dicho Señor Governador como sobreesistente de la obra, sino lo que mas es como peon cargando el mismo los materiales con gran gusto suyo, y no menor edificacion de los que le ven exercitar tan humildes acciones. Exemplo con que se mueven, y alientan los soldados Españoles, y Panpangos a trabajar infatigablemente, y con tanta velocidad, que aviendose levantado el primer arigue el dia 1 de Marzo de este presente año a la fecha de esta queda ya casi acabada la muralla de la Iglesia. De cuiá fábrica y adorno ira relacion aparte luego que se perficione, que sera en breve con el favor de Dios.

Por ultimo se pueden constar por frutos de esta Mission 219 bautismos, 85 casamientos, 97 parvulos muertos con la gracia bautismal, y 243 adultos recibidos los Santos Sacramentos. De todo lo qual damos las gracias a Dios N. Señor[,] Don Filipo [sic] Quinto, que con catholica, y real magnificencia emplea quantiosas limosnas en mantener la Fe en estas Islas Marianas.

Inarahan y Mayo 19 de 1715.

Phe[lipe] M^a Muscati

[Endorsement:] *Philippinarum 1713-1714. Annua de Marianas. Annuae Literæ. 1^a Via.*

Translation

A few points for the Annual Report from this Mariana Mission.

There are 9 priests and 3 coadjutor Brothers in this Mariana Mission. Father Felipe María Muscati is Vice-Provincial and act as minister of the district of Inarajan; Father Tomás Cardeñoso is in Pago; Father Lorenzo Bustillo in Umatag; Father Diego de Zarzosa in Agat; Father Juan Schermeysen in Merizo; Father Miguel de Aparicio is Rector of the Seminary for Boys in Agaña, and Father Ignacio de Ibarguen ministers to the Indians; Fathers Pedro Cruyldolf and José Bloart are in the Island of Seypan; Brother Jaime Chavarri fills the post of physician, and pharmacist, and in addition takes care of the ranch at Tachugña; Brother Nicolas Montero assists with the domestic chores of the Residence; Brother Luis García assists in the Seminary for Boys. The Island of Rota has been made into a "visit" for lack of a subject to act as its curate. In all the Fathers [missing line: as well as Brothers there reign] perfection and zeal toward helping their neighbors. Not less of a stimulus not to fall behind in caring for the souls is the unceasing tenacity with which the old Fathers, loaded with age, and even more so with illnesses, carry out their daily ministries.

Said Ministries, which are the same ones that were mentioned on previous years, have been rewarded with copious fruits, with which the Lord consoles and encourages the Ministers employed in them. Generally they [i.e. the people] attend mass with punctuality, and catechism on compulsory feast-days, and those who cannot attend on account of sickness, accused themselves of same in their confessions, judging that omission to be a sin, and although they are told that it is not a sin, they answer that they accuse themselves because of the will they had of hearing mass, even when they were sick. Such a mistake shows their lack of understanding, but explains their goodwill and desire to attend the things of God. Many come to confession and communion a few times during the year with a marked improvement in their lives, and so, at the time of complying with the annual precept none is found to be obstinate, and they do not delay their obligation for very long. As for the pregnant women, recognizing that their life is at risk, they prepare themselves for the danger with confession, and many of them with communion as well; those who live near the residence, as soon as they feel the labor pains, their first shouts are for the relic of our Holy Father St. Ignatius, in whom they have a great devotion, and trust that he will ease their difficulties.

The patience they show in their hardships is very noteworthy, and although they show it in all instances, they very specially show it, at the great edification of our Fathers, when they suffer from very painful diseases, such as sores, apostumes, and other similar but very painful sicknesses, which some of them endure not just days, but even for long years. Not even the sharpness of their pains, or the little shelter, or the lack of

medicines, of food, and many other discomforts (which their extreme poverty necessarily brings) make them lose patience, or even make them break out in those outlets that are complaints, or cries, with which oppressed nature sometimes looks for its relief. Such a remarkable thing makes us believe that God's mercy not only will purge them of their sins in this life through illnesses, but also that in the other life their patience will be rewarded with much glory; so we tell them, so that they will accept their hardships with resignation, as things that come from the hand of God.

Out of the many edifying cases that could be mentioned, I will only mention a few. One man in the town of Sinahaña in this district of Agaña had a notable repugnance for some kind of work and only the thought that he could be forced to do this kind of work was enough to overload him with melancholy. In fact, being so oppressed with this idea, and perhaps instigated by the devil, he decided to let himself die and refused to eat or drink. Another resident of the same town heard about his affliction and moved by charity went to see the afflicted man to try and console him with good reasons, and to encourage him to eat, by telling him not to be afflicted, that when his turn came up next time for him to perform that chore, he should simply let him know and he would go in his place. That is how the poor man found relief, thanks to that act of charity, one that deserves more praise because it came from a poor rustic Indian.

Two boys of the Seminary had committed a sin on distinct occasions, and this was learned by the Brother who is the assistant in the seminary. He reprehended them, telling them that divine punishment would take care of them if they did not amend themselves. What followed was such a feeling of sorrow, and tears, that said Brother was made very edified by it, and more so by their repeated requests for him to punish them, not only at the time of his scolding, but one of them kept on making repeated requests at odd times during the following days, saying that it would be better for him to be punished here than in the other life.

Another, the headman of a town, having harvested his rice, was solicited by many who wanted to buy some, but he refused, telling them all that firstly he had to comply with God, and pay Him with the first fruits in thanksgiving for having given him a good crop. This he did, bringing his rice to church on a holiday, and telling the Father that it was for God, who had given it to him. This man was the first to do this in the Marianas; without any guidance, or advice from the Father, he offered his first fruits to God.

I omit other specific cases of sick people who sent for the priest to hear their confession during their illnesses, to confess such minute faults that many times did not even amount to a venial sin. Others, upon falling sick, sent for the crucifix in order to die with their arms around it. Others, sensing that their end is near, call on their relatives to pray, and exhort them with the necessary acts in that hour. A few women, upon being solicited by bad men, and offered things which are esteemed by both sexes, have rejected both they and their gifts with Christian resolve.

[Saipan population consolidated in Fatiguan. Anaguan abandoned circa 1714]¹

In the Island of Seypan, for the lack of Ministers, for the reduced population, and because the two churches that existed before had deteriorated, one single new church was built and, in its layout, materials, and location, it is one of the most beautiful churches in the Marianas.² Under many circumstances, of which I will mention a few, the special providence of God was shown in the construction of said church, and shown to be a work pleasing to Him. Firstly, because the wood used is one they call *ipit*,³ which is a most esteemed building material in these Islands on account of its solidity and durability; until then, these trees had not been discovered in Seypan, either because the site where they were was not known, or (what is more likely) because the natives kept the matter secret, but now God willed that a beautiful stand of said trees was discovered; it was cut down and provided more than enough materials for the church, and house. Neither was it less of a favor from God (not to say miracle) that, when one of the workers fell from the highest point of the structure, and passed through scaffolds and poles, when everyone thought that they would find him dead, or at least seriously wounded, they found him alive, and without the least harm. Others were carrying a heavy beam; when the ropes keeping it aloft broke, it fell upon the thigh of one of the carriers, hitting him strongly, but he too got up without any harm.

[Stone-walled church built at Umatac in 1715]

More than Seypan, it is Umatac that needed a church, and house, since the existing church there, being the oldest, was very deteriorated, and almost indecent, and without what was needed to lodge the Religious Missionaries who pass on their way to the Philippines, and sometimes step ashore at the port of Umatac. Moved then by this need, and more so by his great piety and zeal, the Governor of these Islands, Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, began the construction of a house, and church, this year of 1715. Said Governor personally took part, acting as works supervisor, but also as simple laborer, carrying the materials himself very willingly, and thus edifying the eyewitnesses by such humble actions. His example served to move and encourage the Spanish and Pampan-go soldiers to work untiringly, and with such speed that, although the first column was

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- 1 Ed. note: Fatiguan is one of the old names of the Chalan Kanoa area. Anaguan is now called Garapan.
 - 2 Ed. note: As mentioned at the beginning, the two Belgian Fathers who oversaw this construction were Fathers Cruydolf and Bloart. However, the Saipan mission was to be closed completely within 20 years. My guess is that Fr. Bloart was recalled ca. 1717, and that Fr. Cruydolf left the Marianas ca. 1738.
 - 3 Ed. note: Clearly so, not written "ipil," as it is called in the Philippines.

raised on the 1st of March of the present year, by the date of this report the walls of the church are now almost finished. Once this construction and adornment is complete, a separate report will be written, and, God willing, we hope it will be soon.¹

Finally, the fruits of this Mission can be counted as follows: 219 baptisms, 85 marriages, 97 babies who died with the baptismal grace, and 243 adults who received the holy sacraments. For all of this, we gave thanks to God our Lord, to Don Philip V, who with Catholic and royal largesse spends copious sums to maintain the Faith in these Mariana Islands.

Inarahan, 19 May 1715.

Phelipe M^a Muscati

[Endorsement, in Latin:] Of the Philippines, 1713-1714. Annual report from the Marianas. Annual letters. Via first route.

1 Ed. note: The promised follow-up report about the rebuilt church at Umatac, if it was ever produced, has not been found. Although earthquakes were to bring down the roof of this church and crack its walls over the years, it was not until the strong earthquake of 25 February 1849 that the church became unuseable. Some of the ruined walls of this 1715 church could still be seen in the 1990s.

Documents 1715B

The King rewards Major Quiroga

B1. Letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Aranjuez 20 June 1715

Source: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 148v-149, pp. 352-353.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Governador de Manila remitiendole un capitulo de carta del de las Marianas sobre que se le conceda una encomienda al Sargento Mayor Don Joseph Quiroga escusando el sueldo que tiene para que en su vista obre lo conveniente al servicio del Rey y al merito de este sujeto y de quenta.

A el Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Manila.

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel Governador de las Marianas dando quenta en carta de 24 de Noviembre del año pasado de 1709 del estado en que se hallan aquellas Islas informa del procedimiento del Sargento Mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga el poco acierto en el ministerio de la Milizia y sucesos que acontecieron por su recio natural en dos ocasiones que governo en interin aquellas Islas en una de concesion mia para ello en muerte o ausencia de los propietarios y da a entender combeniaría a mi servicio concederle una encomienda en esas Islas para que retirandose a ellas pasase los pocos dias de su vida excusando el sueldo que goza:

Y havierendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias teniendo los meritos del referido Sargento Mayor con lo que deja mi fiscal de el como quiera que la proposizion que haze este Governador puede originarse de odio o comunicazion y conferencia para conseguir por este medio la encomienda, ha parecido remitiros copia certificada del capitulo de la referida carta para que en su vista atendiendo a mi servicio y al merito del expresado Don Joseph de Quiroga obreis lo mas combeniente y acertado dando me quenta en primera ocasion.

Fha en Aranjuez a 20 de Junio de 1715.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Señalada de los Señores del Consejo.

Translation.**The King**

To the Governor of Manila, reproducing for him a paragraph from a letter from the Governor of the Marianas, regarding the granting of a land-grant to Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga, to avoid the expenses made to pay him a salary, so that in view of it he will decide what is most appropriate for the service of the King and the merit of this individual, and report on his actions.

To the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my royal Audiencia in the City of Manila.

Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, Governor of the Marianas, in a report dated 24 November of the past year 1709 about the condition that he finds those Islands, gives information about the proceedings of Sergeant-Major José de Quiroga, on account of his little skill in managing the militia and of events that occurred on account of his harsh nature on the two occasions that he governed those Islands on an interim basis, one of which was the result of a grant on my part for the purpose, in the case of the death or absence of the officially-appointed governors. And he gives to understand that it would be appropriate to my service to give him a land-grant in those [Philippine] Islands, for him to retire there and pass the few days that remain of his life, without making expenses for the salary he now enjoys.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, keeping in mind the merits of the above-mentioned Sergeant-Major, with what the fiscal said about it, suggesting that the proposal of this Governor could have originated from hatred, or from collusion to obtain a land-grant by this means, it has seemed proper to send you a certified copy of the paragraph from the letter in question, for you to see it and for you to act in the interest of my service and of the merit of said José de Quiroga in the most appropriate and decisive manner, and giving me a report at the first opportunity.

Made at Aranjuez, 20 June 1715.

I the King.

B2. Letter to Major Quiroga, dated Aranjuez 20 June 1715

Source: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 150, p. 355.

Original text in Spanish.*El Rey*

Al Sargento Mayor de las Islas Marianas manifestandole la gratitud al celo con que ha obrado en la conquista de las Islas que se sublevaron el año de 84 y encargandole la observanzia de las leyes para su manutencion y adelantamiento.

Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada Sargento Mayor de la Ciudad de Agaña en las Islas Marianas.

En carta de 14 de Mayo de 1709 dais cuenta de haver reducido a mi obediencia las Islas Aguiguan Tinian y Seipan, sublevadas en el año de 84 y que aunque se causaron algunas muertes de una y otra parte se lograron los favorables efectos de su conquista:

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias ha parecido manifestaros le gratitud que a merecido el celo con que haveis obrado en la expedizion azertada de las leyes 9 y 10 del libro 3º titulo 4 de la Recopilazion de Indias sobre la conservacion de los descubrimientos que se hacen para cuios casos se deven usar siempre los medios mas suaves y posibles.

Fha en Aranjuez a 20 de Junio de 1715.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Señalada de los Señores del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, to express gratitude for the zeal which he has shown during the conquest of the Islands where the people rebelled in the year 1684 and entrusting him the observance of the laws for their maintenance and advancement.

Don José de Quiroga y Losada, Sergeant-Major of the City of Agaña in the Mariana Islands.

In a letter dated 14 May 1709, you reported that you had reduced to my obedience the Islands of Aguiguan, Tinian and Seipan, that revolted in the year 1684 and that, although a few deaths were caused on both sides, the favorable effects of their conquest were obtained.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, it has seemed proper for us to express to you gratitude for what your zeal has achieved in the expedition carried out in accordance with Laws 9 and 10 of Book 3, Title 4 of the Revised Code of Laws for the Indies regarding the preservation of discoveries being made, stipulating that methods as soft as possible must be used in such cases.

Made at Aranjuez, 20 June 1715.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the gentlemen of the Council.

Document 1715C

French ships reported in Peru in 1715

Source: ANP 4JJ47 n° 7: Journal de bord du Grand-Duc-De-Maine, 1712-1715.

Note: This particular ship did not go to Micronesia, but while in Peru it met with others that did or might have.

Extracts from the Log of the Grand-Duc-de-Maine

...

Saturday 10 [November 1714]

The ship **Découverte**, armed with 24 guns, manned by 80 men, Captain Dubocage, has anchored in this harbor [Ilo] coming from Chile and Pisco.¹

...

Friday 16 [August 1715]

... We have recognized in the harbor [of Callao] the following French ships: the **Phéliepeau[x]** or **St-Clement**, Capt. Gardin; the **Grand-Dauphin**, Capt. des Saudrais Dufrenes [sic]; the **Solide**, Capt. Ranguene [sic], and its tender, the **Lorette**, Capt. Delaage.²

...

[The Grand-Duc-de-Maine left Callao on Friday 6 September 1715, heading for Juan Fernandez Island and home.]

Note on the Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, by Dahlgren.

The **Notre-Dame-de-Lorette** of Nantes; 130 tons, 60 men, Captain and part owner: Gilles-René Delaage.

Departed Nantes on 5 December 1713. Stopped at Lisbon in March and at Cadiz in April 1714. At the Canary Islands on 24 May and at Bahia on 23 August. Reported at Concepción on 5 March 1715 and at Callao on 16 August [see above]. Ready to leave this port to go to China on 23 October 1715. Its stay in China (Canton?) lasted at least from 1 March until 5 September 1716, as the exact dates of arrival and departure are unknown. Went back to Europe via the Indian Ocean, rounding the Cape of Good

1 Ed. note: This was the second voyage by this ship and captain; this time they did not go to China.

2 Ed. note: The N.-D. de Lorette may have stopped at Guam in January 1716, whereas the Grand-Dauphin may have done so in March of the same year.

Hope, and heading for Bahia, but on 18 April 1717, it ran aground on a reef at 7 leagues from that port. The crew began to cut the masts to make a raft, but in the meantime boats came from ashore and they were able with their help, and the good weather, to save the cargo and ship. Three months were required to repair the ship, after which they went to Cadiz (for 3 days only). On 5 November 1717, it was at Gibraltar, where the other ship-owners came to meet their ship; they divided the cargo according to their percentage, loaded some aboard some Dutch ships heading home, and paid off the crew. After he had hired a new crew, the captain went to Cadiz and from there to Amsterdam. Both ship and captain finally arrived at Saint-Malo on 23 November 1718.

Note on the second voyage of the Grand-Dauphin, by Dahlgren.

The **Grand-Dauphin** of Saint-Malo, 350 tons, 24 guns, 83 men. Captain Louis-Hervé Dufresne, Lord of Saudrais; ship-owner: Guillaume Rouzier.

Departed Saint-Malo on 3 September 1714 to go to Cadiz, whence it went to the coast of Brazil to sell the merchandise that could not be sold in Cadiz. Then it went to China by way of Peru. Reported at Callao on 16 August 1715 [see above], whence it left for China on 5 January 1716. Sailed off Canton on 17 November 1716. During the return voyage to Europe, while at 5°8' lat. S. and 126° long., on 6 December 1716, the ship touched upon two shoals called Las Dos Hermanas, unable to move off for about 8 hours. That is why it was forced into Batavia, where it arrived on 9 December. Left Batavia on 25 January 1717 and arrived at Cadiz on 12 August, and then at Ostende on 7 October 1717. The cargo was sold at auction from 13 to 19 December; the sale resulted in a gross profit of 900,000 guilders.¹

1 Ed. note: For further information, one could check ANP, Marine, B3 242, and specially 251, which is a letter from Marin to Navy Council, dated 30 November 1718.

Documents 1715D

Letters from the King regarding the Carolines and the Marianas

Source: AGI Fil. 333, libro 12, fol. 159v-160v, pp. 374-376.

D1. Letter to the Marquis of Valero, newly-appointed Viceroy of New Spain, dated Madrid 4 December 1715

Original text in Spanish.

Excellentissimo Señor Marques de Valero

En papel de 19 de Septiembre de este año puse en noticia de V.E. (entre otras cosas) haver resuelto S.M. que para fomentar mas el entero logro y descubrimiento de las Islas Palaos se despachase titulo de Adelantado de dhas Islas a Don Antonio Fernandez de Rojas Piloto graduado de Almirante de la Carrera de Philipinas y que dho titulo se havia de remitir por mano de V.E. para que por ella le reciva el interesado a cuios fin le puso a las de V.E. por original y duplicado de cuios recibo suplico a V.E. mande avisarme con todo lo que sea del agrado y servicio de V.E. cuios vida guarde Dios muchos años.

Madrid 4 de Diziembre de 1715.

Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Translation.

Most Excellent Sir, Marquis of Valero

In a note dated 19 September last, I brought to the attention of Y.E. (among other things) that H.M. had decided, in order to foster more the full success and exploration of the Palaos Islands, to despatch the title of Frontier Governor of said Islands to Don Antonio Fernandez de Roxas, a pilot who rose to become Admiral of the Philippine run and that said title was to be remitted by Y.E., so that the recipient would receive it from you. That is why I handed Y.E. both the original and duplicate copies. I beg Y.E. to please acknowledge the receipt of them, and give orders for me to be kept informed of anything that may please Y.E., whose life may God save for many years.

Madrid, 4 December 1715.

Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

D2. Letter to the Duke of Linares, Viceroy of New Spain, dated Buen Retiro 4 December 1715

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Al Virrey de la N^a España preveniendole que siempre que embie algun situado a las Marianas se lo participe al Governador y oficiales Reales de Manila para que se note en los libros de aquellas cajas.

Duque de Linares Primo, &a

En carta de 30 de Jullio del año passado de 1714 participais aver dado la providencia conveniente a fin de que con el situado de las Islas Marianas se conduzce tambien en la Nao de Philipinas el correspondiente a los religiosos Misioneros que asisten en ellas.

Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que dijo mi fiscal de el teniendose presente que desde Manila se suele despachar anualmente un Patache con socorro y situado a las Islas Marianas y no constando que por vuestra parte se diese noticia al Governador y ofiziales Reales de Philipinas de la remision que hicisteis para que se notase en aquellos libros ha parecido preveniros que siempre que hagais semejantes embios a las Marianas deis al mismo tiempo la noticia conveniente a dho Governador y ofiziales Reales por lo que importa la mayor claridad para evitar confusiones.

Fha en Buen Retiro a 4 de Diziembre de 1715.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Señalado del Consejo.

Translation.

The King

To the Viceroy of New Spain to inform him that every time he sends some subsidy to the Marianas, he should also advise the Governor and the Royal officials at Manila, for them to take note of same in the books of accounts in that treasury.

Duke of Linares, Cousin, etc.

In a letter dated 30 July of the past year 1714, you let me know that you had taken the appropriate measures to have the subsidy corresponding to the religious missionaries residing in the Mariana Islands carried aboard the Philippine galleon, along with the subsidy of [the garrison of] said Islands.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my fiscal there said about it, to the effect that a patache is usually despatched yearly from Manila to the Mariana Islands with their succor and subsidy, and the fact that you did not mention whether or not you had also advised the Governor and the Royal officials of the Philippines about the despatch that you did, in order to have it noted in their books of accounts, it has seemed proper to advise you that, whenever you make simi-

lar [direct] despatches to the Marianas, you also give at the same time an appropriate notice to said Governor and Royal officials, in the interest of greater clarity and to avoid confusions.

Made at Buen Retiro, 4 December 1715.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Diego de Morales Velasco.

Countersigned by the Council.¹

1 Ed. note: There was really no need for the Council to suggest such a procedure, because it was already regular practice to send copies of all manifests and detailed accounts of the subsidies, to Manila, as evidenced by the archival copies in AGN AHH in Mexico.

Documents 1715E

Manifest for the Marianas, for 1715

Source: AGN AHH 332.

E1. Acknowledgment of the ship master, dated Acapulco 30 March 1715

Original text in Spanish.

*Digo yo el Capn. Juan de Santa Anna, Maestre que soy de la nao Capitana **Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Thadeo y las Animas** del cargo del general Don Francisco Olavide surta en este puerto de Acapulco y de proximo para su tornaviaje que es berdad que he rrezevido de Don Juan Saenz de San Pedro, rezidente en este puerto Cinco Caxones de numero 1.2.3.4.10: y dos barriles de vino de numero 5 á 6 cavezeados de cuero; y dos terssios de cacao de numeros 7.8; un cajoncito de num. 9 que perthenessen a las Misiones de Marianas con la marca del marjen que entregare al Padre Vice Provincial Phelipe Maria Muscati.*

Asimismo he rrezibido con la segunda marca tres terssios que se componen de un zurrón de cacao N^o1 y dos cajones numeros 2.3. para el Colegio Seminario de niños de Marianas todo lo qual he rrezibido enjuto y bien acondicionado que ba en partida de rexistro que entregare en la misma conformidad al Padre o Padres que salieren a la nao en Marianas.

Y por que assi lo cumpliré obligo mi persona y bienes y firme tres de un thenor cumplido el uno los demas no balgan siendo testigos Don Jacobo Manuel Osorio, Don Domingo Blanco, y Diego de Caraçena, fho en dho Puerto a Treinta de marzo de mil setezieta y quinze años.

Juan de Santa Anna Medrano.

Translation.

I, Captain Juan de Santa Anna, Master of the flagship galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo y las Animas** under the command of General Francisco Olavide, anchored in this port of Acapulco and about to sail on her return voyage, do declare that it is true that I have received from Don Juan Saenz de San Pedro, a resident of this port, 5 crates numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 10; and 2 barrels of wine numbered 5 and

6, whose ends are covered with leather; and 2 half-loads of cacao numbered 7 and 8; 1 small crate numbered 9, which belong to the Mariana missions, and bear the mark in margin,¹ to be delivered to Father Vice-Provincial Felipe Maria Muscati.

In addition, I have received, bearing the second mark,² 3 half-loads consisting of 1 pouch of cacao, n° 1, and 2 crates numbered 2 and 3, for the Seminary College for Mariano children, all of which I have received dry and in good condition, as listed in one entry of the manifest, which I will deliver with the same procedure to the Father or Fathers who may come to the galleon while at the Marianas.

And to ascertain my performance, I pledge my person and my property, and to this effect I signed three copies, one being the original and the others duplicata, in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Jacobo Manuel Osorio, Don Domingo Blanco, and Diego de Caracena.

Made at said Port on 3 March 1715.

Juan de Santa Anna Medrano.

E2. Extract from the manifest, dated Acapulco 31 March 1715

Original text in Spanish.

Año de 1715. Testimonio de partida del rexistro.

*En la Ciudad de los Reyes Puerto de Acapulco, en treinta y un dias del mes de Marzo, de mill setecientos y quince años Ante mi el escrivano y ttestigos, el Cappn. Don Juan de Santa Ana Medrano Maestro del Galeon **Santo Xpto. de Burgos, San Judas Thadeo y las Venditas animas**, surto en la Baya de este Puerto, del cargo del General Don Francisco de Olavide y de proximo para hacer su torna biaje â las yslas philipinas: otorga haver recibido de Don Juan Saens de San Pedro, residente y encomendero en este Puerto, cantidad de treynta y sinco mill tresientos ochenta y tres pesos, y sinco tomines de oro comun en Reales que en virtud de decreto de el Excellentissimo Señor Virrey Duque de Linares se le permite embarcar, su fha a los veinte de marzo de mill setecientos y quinze años dividida dha cantidad en las partidas siguientes:*

Ocho mill quinientos noventa y siete pesos y siete Reales librados en la Real Caja de este Puerto por el estipendio de las misiones de Marianas y limosna de vino y aseytte;

Tres mill pesos del Colejio de los niños que sustenta Su Magd. en dhas Yslas;

Dos mill pesos que cada año manda Su Magd. remitir a Manila para el adelantamiento de la pasificacion y convecion de los Palaos;

Ochosientos y veintte y sinco pesos que tiene de sueldo señalados el Sargento mayor de dho Precidio;

Sinco mill quinientos y dose pesos que an remitido las fincas que en este Reyno tiene la Probinçia de dha Conpañia de Jessus de Philipinas;

1 Ed. note: The usual brand, using the letters MAR. P.P.

2 Ed. note: The usual letters MAR. C.

Onze mill doscientos dies pesos y tres Reales que se cobraron en este Puerto pertenientes a dha Provincia[.] que todas ynportan la referida cantidad de treinta y cinco mill tresientos ochenta y tres pesos y cinco tomines en cuya cantidad se yncluien quatro mill doscientos treinta y ocho pesos del Colegio de nuestro Padre San Ygnacio de la Ciudad de Manila, todas las quales dhas partidas dho Maestre confiesa haver recibido y ttener a bordo debajo de escotilla y se obliga a que llevandole Dios a salbamento a el Puerto de Cavite, u otro de dhas Yslas donde dho Galeon hisiere su derecha descarga dara y entregara dhas cantidades segun ban repartidas haviendo dejado en Marianas las que ban para aquellas Yslas a cuio cumplimiento obliga su persona y bienes segun y como deve ser obligado otorga partida de registro en toda forma y lo firmo siendo ttestigos, Don Pedro Somonte de la Thorref.] Don Joseph de Obando, y Xpthobal Lapiditao.

Juan de Santana Medrano.

Ante mi Don Antonio Alfonso, Ponse de Leon escrivano Publico y de Real Hazienda.

Concuerta con el rexistro y su partida que original queda en la Conttaduria de Real Hazienda de este Puerto y para que conste donde comvenga de pedimiento de dho Don Juan Sáenz de San Pedro doi el presente ciertto y verdadero correxido y concertado en el dia cinco de Abrill de mill settecientos y quince años siendo testigos Francisco Zulaeta[.] Diego de Rivera y Xpl Lapiditao residentes en este Puerto y va en pliego del sello quarto.—Testtdo.—con bien -no Ve.—

Y hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad:

Antonio Alfonso Ponce de Leon, escrivano publico y de Real Hazienda.

Translation.

Year of 1715. Certified extract from the manifest.

In the City of the Kings and Port of Acapulco, on 31 March 1715, before me the notary and witnesses, Captain Juan de Santa Ana Medrano, Master of the galleon **Santo Cristo de Burgos, San Judas Tadeo y las Benditas Ánimas**, anchored in the bay of this port, commanded by General Francisco de Olavide and about to make her return voyage to the Philippine Islands: admitted having received from Don Juan Sáenz de San Pedro, a resident and landlord in this port, the sum of 35,383 pesos 5 tomins of common gold in cash, which by virtue of the decree, dated 20 March 1715, of His Excellency the Viceroy, Duke of Linares, he was permitted to load, said sum being divided among the following entries:

- 8,597 pesos and 7 reals released in the Royal treasury of this port for the stipends of the missionaries of the Marianas and the alms for wine and oil;
- 3,000 pesos of the College for the children that His Majesty maintains in said Islands;
- 2,000 pesos that His Majesty orders be remitted every year to Manila for the progress of the pacification and conversion of the Palaos;



—825 pesos that the Sergeant-Major of said Garrison has allotted to him as his salary;

—5,512 pesos remitted by the ranches owned by the Province of said Society of Jesus of the Philippines in this Kingdom;

—11,210 pesos and 3 reals that were collected in this port and belonging to said Province.

The total sum is 35,383 pesos 5 tomins, in which sum is included 4,283 pesos of the College of San Ignacio in the city of Manila.¹

All of the above moneys said Master admits having received and being in his possession below deck and he obliges himself, God willing to let him reach safely the port of Cavite, or any other port of said Islands where said galleon might unload properly, to give and deliver said sums in accordance with their intended destination, after having left in the Marianas those that are destined for those Islands, to the accomplishment of which he pledges his person and property, as he must, and he grants this extract from the manifest in due form and he signed it in the presence of the following witnesses: Don Pedro Somonte de la Torre, Don José de Obando, and Cristobal Lapiditao.

Juan de Santa Ana Medrano.

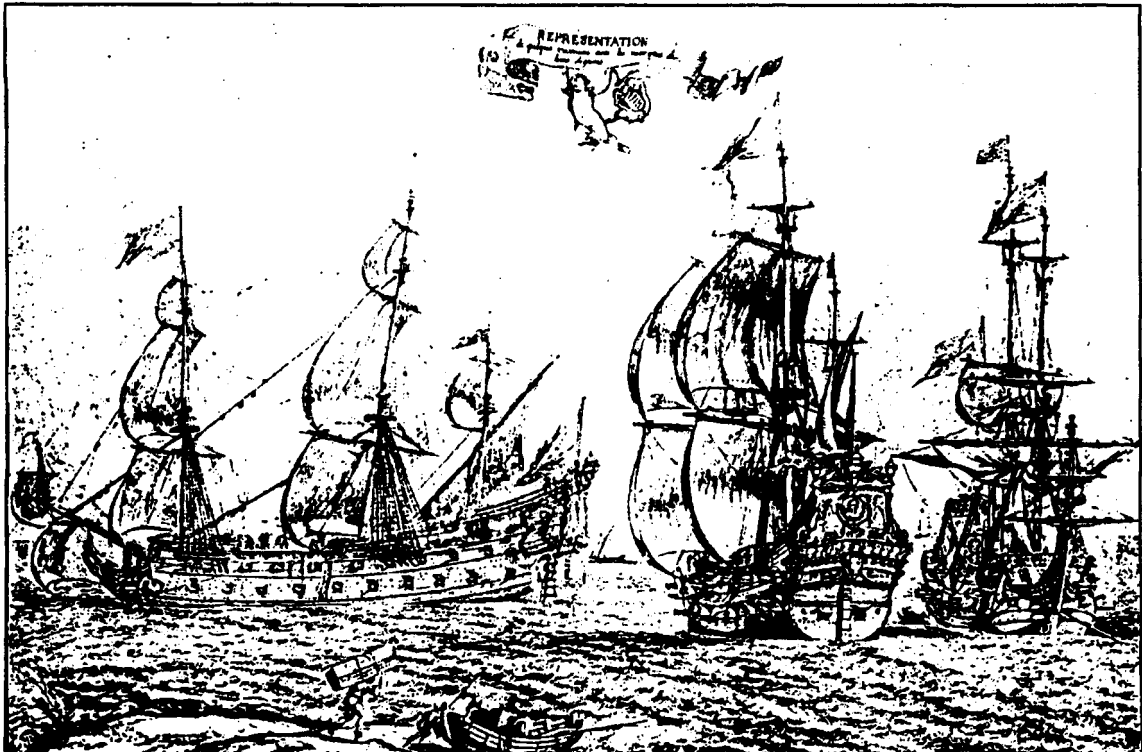
Before me, Don Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and of the Royal treasury.

This is a certified copy of part of the original manifest that remains in the Accounting Department of the Royal treasury of this port, and for whom it may concern, at the request of said Don Juan Sáenz de San Pedro, I give the present, a true and corrected copy, on 5 April 1715, in the presence of the following witnesses: Francisco Zulaeta, Diego de Rivera, and Cristobal Lapiditao, residents of this port, and it is written on stamped paper. Checked OK.

And in faith whereof, I affix my signature:

Antonio Alfonso Ponce de León, notary public and of the Royal treasury.

¹ Ed. note: There are 43 pesos approximately that are unaccounted for.



French ships of the early 18th-century. (After a painting by Pierre Puget hanging in the Louvre, Paris).

Documents 1716A

The largest fleet of French ships ever to visit Micronesia—Five ships at Guam in June 1716

Note: The five ships were: Jupiter, Comte-de-Lamoignon, Martial, Marquis-de-Maillebois, and Bien-Aimée.

Introductory note on the Jupiter, by Dahlgren.

The **Jupiter** of Bayonne; 350 tons, 24 guns, 106 men. Captain Maurice Béven; ship-owner: Rigail.

Departed Bayonne on 17 July 1714 and Los Pasages on 7 September. Stopover at Tenerife from 20 to 23 September. Crossed the line on 29 October, by 355° longitude. At Cabo Frio on 23 November. At Ilha Grande from 25 November to 7 December. In the Strait of Le Maire on 3 January 1715. Sighted Hermit and Diego Ramirez Islands on 7 January. Tacked to round Cape Horn from 9 to 28 January. At Concepción from 10 February to 11 April. At Valparaiso from 19 April to 20 May. At Coquimbo from 22 May to 2 June. At Arica from 16 June to 31 July. At Ilo from 1 August 1715 to 5 February 1716. At Pisco from 12 to 20 February. At Callao on 24 and 25 February. At Huacho from 28 February to 3 March. During the crossing to China, it crossed the line on 22 March, by 274°38' long., and **it stopped at Guam from 1 to 6 June**. Anchored on 29 June at 2 leagues from Amoy. Enters that port on 15 July and remains there until 16 February 1717.

Was in the strait of Banca on 14 March and in that of Sunda on the 21st of the same month. At Saint-Denis, Bourbon Island, from 22 April to 20 September. Rounded Cape of Good Hope on 19 and 20 October. Arrived at Bahia on 20 November. Shortly after departing this port, on 17 February 1718, "it was noticed that the ship was full of water," which obliged the captain to return to Bahia. The ship was repaired, then it left for Europe. During the crossing it passed between Pico and San Miguel Islands in the Azores. Arrived at Vivero in Galicia on 30 March 1718. There, it remained for about one month and then went to Genoa, where the cargo was sold in July 1718.

Introductory note on the Comte-de-Lamoignon, by Dahlgren.

The **Comte-de-Lamoignon** of Nantes; 115 men, Captain: De la Berry (or Labery, or La Bury), then De La Fond; ship-owner: Étienne Gilly, trader at Cadiz.

Departed Nantes with a passport dated 17 April 1714, "strictly to go to Cadiz, where the ship was outfitted." At Cadiz from 9 May to 13 June. After having passed Gorée Island, it continued toward the South Sea. Was at Concepción on 10 February 1715. After that it visited Arica where the captain died and Mr. de la Fond took over command. Departed Callao for China on 11 March 1716. **Stopover at Guam from 30 May to 5 June.** Arrived in July at Canton where it remained until the beginning of January 1717.

Was in the strait of Banca on 17 February. Having lost its rudder upon leaving this strait, the captain was forced to go to Batavia, where he had difficulty finding help, even after many expenditures. Unable to round the Cape of Good Hope, it returned to Bourbon I. where it remained from 21 June to 20 September. Rounded said Cape on 20 October and arrived at Bahia on 16 November. During this crossing, the ship "was in a very bad condition," with the crew forced to pump the water that was coming in on all sides, the masts were weakened and could not carry full canvas. So, the ship was judged to be unseaworthy and abandoned at Bahia, where the captain chartered a Portuguese ship of 500 tons, upon which he loaded the cargo and his French crew. This ship, named L'Ange-Gardien, [i.e. Anjo da Guarda], departed Bahia on 17 January 1718 and arrived at Lisbon at the beginning of May with a cargo estimated at 3 million pounds. It was bought at Lisbon by the owners of the Comte-de-Lamoignon. The Ange-Gardien arrived at Cadiz at the beginning of June 1718, then went to Ostende, where the owners had received permission, on 28 April of the same year, to unload their cargo, but the public sale of these goods was interrupted later on.

Introductory note on the Martial, by Dahlgren.

The **Martial**, alias Auguste, of Saint-Malo; 450 tons, 44 guns, 175 men. Captain: Servan Collet De la Villepoulet; ship-owners: De la Houssaye and Béard de Rouen.

Departed Port-Louis on 9 January 1713. At Rio de Janeiro from 17 to 22 May. At Ilha Grande from 27 May to 24 September. Arrived at Concepción on 12 December. The story of this ship over the next two years is unknown, except for its arrival at Ilo on 27 May 1715. Departed Callao for China on 2 March 1716. **Stopover at Guam from 30 May to 6 June.** Remained at Canton from 30 July 1716 to 3 February 1717.

During its return voyage to Europe, it was forced by a hurricane to seek shelter at Barbados Island, where it arrived on 12 September 1717. Was at Martinique from 17 September 1717 to 26 March 1718. At Cap Fréhel from 24 to 29 May. On 5 June, arrived at Ostende, where the crew was dismissed and the cargo sold at auction. The sale resulted in a gross profit of 718,224 guilders.

Introductory note on the Marquis-de-Maillebois, by Dahlgren.

The **Marquis-de-Maillebois** of Saint-Malo, 250 tons, 24 guns, 80 men. Capt. Godin, then De la Perche; ship-owners: Mrs. Étienne Lefèvre Després and Guillaume Rouzier.

Departed Saint-Malo on 17 August 1714. Stopover at Tenerife on 20 October. Rounded Cape Horn on 21 March 1715. Was at Pisco on 10 October. On 21 October, sailed from the bay of Paraca to go to Callao, where it arrived on 23 October. Left this harbor, in March 1716, to go to China. On 27 March, when at 4° lat. N. and 277°12' long., Capt. Godin was killed by lightning, which split the main-mast and wounded many persons on board. Mr. de la Perche took over command of the ship. **Stopover at Guam from 30 May to 6 June.** Arrived at the mouth of the river leading to Canton on 18 July, and remained at this city until the beginning of January 1717.

In the strait of Banca on 17 February. After the accident suffered there by the **Comte-de-Lamoignon**, it accompanied this ship to Batavia, where "Mr. de la Perche was unable to obtain from the governor the permission to take on water; he was even forced to leave after he took on the water from the other ship." When near 55° to 56° lat. S. and 44°45' long, at 80 leagues from the Cape of Good Hope, they ran into very heavy seas that forced them to run before the wind and to seek Bourbon Island, where they remained from 7 June to 20 September. At Bahia from 16 November 1717 to 17 February 1718. Arrived at Cadiz on 3 April and, while on the way from there to Ostende, stopped at Gorée Island, on 27 May. Arrived at Ostende on 10 June, where the ship was unloaded and Mr. de la Perche stayed to help with the sale of the cargo. Finally, the ship was taken, under the command of Vigor Chedeville des Champs, back to Saint-Malo, where it arrived on 14 July 1718, having sailed from Ostende on the 8th. The first-ever coffee harvest from Bourbon I. was brought to France aboard this ship.

Introductory note on the Bien-Aimée, by Dahlgren.

The **Bien-Aimée** of Saint-Malo; 120 tons, 10 guns, 25 men. Captain and owner: Bertrand-Joseph Hardouin Des Courtils.

Departed Saint-Malo on 7 November 1712 "supposedly to go to Ireland." Landed at Morlaix, to take on cargo, then to Cadiz, whence it departed on 29 December. Stopover at Tenerife, whence it sailed on 29 January 1713. Passed by Ilha Grande and headed for Cape Horn "where the winds forced it to go back to Buenos Aires." At their arrival at that port on 23 June, the Captain was arrested, as well as the supercargo of the ship, Mr. de Lépinay-Torrent. "Having learned about this, the ship officers sailed off (on 30 October), retracing their steps to Cape Horn, and from there to Concepción," under the command of the captain's brother, Georges-Olivier Hardouin de la Bénestais. The ship arrived at Concepción in January 1714. Meanwhile, the captain, "having found a secret way to escape from Buenos Aires," made his way there to rejoin his ship. After that, they visited Arica, Ilo (in July 1715), then Paraca, where the ship arrived on 12 August. After a new landing at Ilo, it departed that port on 2 September. It visited Pisco on 10 September and then Callao, where the captain fell sick during the month of February 1716. "During said sickness, it was unthinkable to do any business. His brother and Lord de Lys took the decision of going to China and they sailed from Callao on 15 March of said year, in company with the **Comte-de-Lamoignon**. That is what was learned much later by the captain, after his long convalescence." **The ship**

stopped over at Guam from 30 May to 6 June 1716.¹ After this date nothing was ever learned about the voyage of the *Bien-Aimée*.² It probably foundered during the crossing to China. The captain said in his declaration that “he never saw it again, nor ever learned anything about it.”

The journal of Mr. Gentil, a passenger aboard the *Jupiter*, commanded by Captain Béven

Sources: Le Gentil de la Barbinais. Nouveau voyage autour du monde (1st ed. 3 vols., Paris, Briasson, 1725); specially Vol. I, pp. 167-451 (beware of faulty pagination). Secondary sources are: 1) extracts in Charles De Brosse's Histoire des navigations, e.g. 1756 ed., Vol. 2, pp. 222-225; translated by 2) John Callander's Terra Australis, in Vol. 3, To Magellanica, Article VI; and 3) Prévost d'Exiles' Collection, Vol. 16, pp. 437-486.

Original text in French.

...

Lettre cinquième. A Emoÿ, Province de Fokien le 5 juillet 1716.

Nous partîmes de Guacho le 4 de Mars 1716...

...

Le soleil voyageoit avec nous, & nous l'avions au Zenith; de sorte que nous ne pouvions observer la latitude.

Le 22. de Mars, nous crûmes, selon notre estime, être sous la ligne équinoctiale à 275. degrez de longitude: je n'ai jamais ressenti une chaleur plus accablante. La pluye & le tonnerre se joignirent à cette incommodité, & nous restâmes 12. jours dans une vicissitude de bon & de mauvais tems. Le vent nous manquoit absolument, & nous essayâmes toute l'intemperie de la zone torride.

Le 5. d'Avril le vent commençant à souffler, nous tînmes la route de l'ouest nord-ouest, comme nous avons fait jusqu'alors. Nous vîmes des oiseaux de toutes les especes, qu'on a coûtume de voir sur mer. Un Hibou (chose assez extraordinaire) vint se percher sur nos mâts. On le prit & on le mit en cage, où il resta 15. jours sans manger: au bout de ce tems on lui donna la liberté; après avoir long-tems volé autour du vaisseau, nous le vîmes tomber dans la mer. Nos matelots, qui sans doute n'ont jamais lû l'histoire, ne laisserent pas de s'ériger en augures, & de regarder comme un presage sinistre la visite de cet oiseau nocturne; d'où je conclus que la superstition est quelquefois moins l'effet des préjuges & de l'éducation, qu'un penchant qui naît avec l'homme.

Cet Hibou nous fit faire d'autres reflexions: car d'où venoit-il? cet animal n'a pas coûtume de se tant éloigner de la terre; il falloit donc qu'il y eût quelques isles autour de nous, d'où un coup de vent l'avoit chassé & entraîné en pleine mer? cependant l'opinion la plus commune est que les Isles qui sont marquées sur les Cartes sont beaucoup

1 Ed. note: De Brossi in his log (see below) says that it arrived at Guam only on 2 June.

2 Ed. note: Not so, it remained in company with three other ships until past Cape Engaño (see Le Gentil's narrative below).

plus à l'Est, c'est-à-dire plus voisines du continent de l'Amérique, que les Geographes ne les mettent. Il y a même quelques-unes de ces Isles qui n'existent point. Mais d'où venoit le Hibou? en verité je n'en sçai rien: Je ne suis pas de l'opinion de ceux qui prétendent que les rats, & autres animaux semblables s'engendrent de la crasse d'un vaisseau.

*Quant à la situation des Isles marquées sur les Cartes, elles sont beaucoup moins à l'ouest, si l'on en juge par les journaux de tous les vaisseaux qui ont fait cette route, & qui ne les ont jamais vûes. Le seul Mr du Bocage du Havre de grace commandant le vaisseau nommé **La Découverte**, allant du Perou à la Chine decouvrit le Vendredy Saint à 280. [sic] degrez de longitude, & à 4. [sic] degrez de la latitude septentrionale, un grand rocher fort haut, entouré d'un banc de sable, auquel il donna le nom d'Isle de la Passion. C'est le seul morceau de terre qu'on ait encore apperçû dans cette mer au delà de la ligne, en suivant cette route. Quoiqu'il en soit nous primes de sages précautions, pour ne pas aller rendre fameux par notre naufrage quelque écueil inconnu jusqu'alors.*

Parmi les différentes especes d'oiseaux qui voloient autour de notre vaisseau, il y en avoit un plus gros qu'une Oye, & qui avoit sept pieds de longueur d'un bout de l'aile à l'autre. Il a le bec crochu, & garni de deux rangs de petites dents fort aigues. La maniere dont nous le prenions étoit divertissante. On jettoit dans la mer un hameçon, couvert d'un morceau de linge taillé en forme de poisson: l'oiseau venoit fondre sur cette proye, & restoit pris à l'hameçon, qui s'attachoit tantôt à son gosier, tantôt à ses dents; de maniere que quelque effort qu'il fit, il ne pouvoit s'en dégager. Voilà le plus grand divertissement que nous ayons eu pendant une navigation de trois mois: jugez de nos passe-tems par cet échantillon.

Les vents & nos girouettes furent le tableau de l'inconstance jusqu'au 13. d'Avril, jour auquel ils se fixerent en notre faveur. Ils venoient depuis le Sud jusqu'à l'Est. Nous fismes 1338. lieues vers le Ouest Nordouest depuis le 4. Mars, jour de notre départ jusqu'au 29. Avril. On nous annonça alors que notre provision d'eau étoit considerablement diminuée, & qu'il étoit de la prudence de reduire chaque ration à deux chopines par jour: Triste antienne pour un gosier aussi alteré que le mien. la chaleur & l'ardeur du soleil nous faisoient changer de peau chaque semaine, & nous ressemblions à des lepreux.

Le 29. à 11 heures du matin, l'air étant chargé de nuages, nous vîmes autour de notre vaisseau; à un quart de lieue environ de distance, six trombes de mer qui se formerent avec un bruit sourd, semblable à celui que fait l'eau en coulant dans des canaux souterrains. Ce bruit s'accrut peu à peu, & ressembloit au sifflement que font les cordages d'un vaisseau, lorsqu'un vent impetueux s'y mêlent. Nous remarquâmes d'abord l'eau qui bouillonna, & qui s'élevoit au-dessus de la surface de la mer d'environ un pied & demi. Il paroissoit au-dessus de ce bouillonnement un brouillard ou plutôt une fumée épaisse d'une couleur pâle, & cette fumée formoit une espece de canal qui montoit à la nue.

Les canaux ou manches de ces trombes se plioient selon que le vent emportoit les nues, auxquelles ils étoient attachez; & malgré l'impulsion du vent, non-seulement ils

ne se détachèrent pas, mais encore il sembloit qu'ils s'allongeassent pour les suivre, en s'étrecissant et se grossissant à mesure que le nuage s'élevoit ou se baissoit.

Ces phenomenes nous causerent beaucoup de frayeur, & nos Matelots au lieu de s'enhardir, fomentoient leur peur par les contes qu'ils débitoient. Si ces trombes, disoient-ils, viennent à tomber sur notre vaisseau, elles l'enleveront, & le laissant ensuite retomber, elles le submergeront. D'autres (& ceux-ci étoient les Officiers) répondoient d'un ton decisif, qu'elles n'enleveroient pas le vaisseau, mais que venant à le rencontrer sur leur route, cet obstacle romperoit la communication qu'elles avoient avec l'eau de la mer, & qu'étant pleines d'eau, toute l'eau qu'elles renfermoient tomberoit perpendiculairement sur le tillac du vaisseau, & le briseroit.

Pour prévenir ce malheur on amena les voiles, & on chargea le canon, les gens de mer prétendant que le bruit du canon agitant l'air fait crever les trombes, & les dissipe. Mais nous n'eûmes pas besoin de recourir à ce remede. Quand elles eurent couru pendant 10. minutes autour du vaisseau, les unes à un quart de lieue, les autres à une moindre distance, nous vîmes que les canaux s'étrecissoient peu à peu, qu'ils se détacherent de la superficie de la mer, & qu'enfin ils se dissipèrent.

...

La pluie fut presque continuelle pendant plusieurs jours, & le tonnerre nous fit apprehender plus d'une fois quelque accident sinistre. Je ne prétends point vous faire ici un détail ennuyeux de la nature des vents, & des routes que nous tînmes pendant cette navigation. Si vous en êtes curieux, je vous ferai part à mon retour d'un journal assez exact, pour vous procurer de l'ennuy. D'ailleurs si votre mauvais ange vous conseille jamais de tenter cette navigation, les plans & les journaux ne vous manqueront pas.

Nous eûmes depuis le 10. de May le plus beau tems, & le vent le plus constant du monde: plus de pluie, plus de tonnerre. On ne toucha pas deux fois aux voiles pendant quinze jours. Notre dessein étoit de relâcher aux Isles des Larrons: jamais terre ne fût plus désirée. Les vivres commençoient à nous manquer, & nous étions réduits aux viandes salées, c'est-à-dire qu'on multiplioit les occasions d'avoir soif, à mesure qu'on rétranchoit les moyens de l'étancher. Les moindres nuages qui s'élevoient à l'horizon formoient une image trompeuse de la terre: nous croyions voir des montagnes, qui donnoient lieu à des gageures continuelles, mais le soleil qui dissipoit cette terre mouvante, nous privoit bien-tôt d'une illusion si douce.

Le 27. de Mai nous vîmes un poisson, qui en nageant avec une rapidité extraordinaire, donnoit la chasse aux Bonites, Thons, Dorades, & autres poissons de cette espece. Comme il avoit une longue corne à la tête, & que nos plus anciens Pilotes n'en avoient jamais vû de semblable, on lui donna le nom de Licorne. Vous remarquerez, Monsieur, que dans toutes mes Lettres j'ai affecté de ne vous point parler des poissons. Que vous en dirai-je en effet qui n'ait été dit & écrit cent fois, & que vous ne sçachiez aussi bien que moi?

Nos sentinelles continuoient à nous donner à tous momens d'agréables allarmes, & leur imagination frappée leur faisoit toujours appercevoir la terre. Ils l'annonçoient à grands cris, & néanmoins elle sembloit fuir devant nous. Pour moi qui souffroit cruel-

lement de la soif, je rêvois sans cesse aux fontaines. La chaleur avoit fait sur mon corps de tristes operations, & j'avois, comme autrefois Mr de Voiture, des raisons fondamentales qui m'empêchoient de m'asseoir. Je passai presque tout le mois de Mai couché sur un lit dans une posture aussi triste qu'incommode. Il y avoit près de trois mois que nous étions partis du Perou: les deux premiers ne m'avoient causé qu'un léger ennuy, le dernier m'en accabloit. Rien n'est plus inquiet que l'esperance: plus nous approchons du terme & de la fin de nos vœux, plus l'impatience nous tourmente.

Le 29. au matin nous apperçûmes un vaisseau qui nous suivoit, & qui tenoit notre route. Nous l'attendîmes, & lorsque nous fûmes à portée de discerner de plus près les objets, nous reconnûmes avec bien de la joye que ce vaisseau étoit un de ceux que nous avions laissé au Perou, & qui en devoit partir huit jours après nous. Cette heureuse rencontre suspendit tous mes maux. Rien n'ennuye plus que de voir les mêmes objets & les mêmes visages. Ces nouveaux venus me firent presque oublier ma soif. Variété est ma devise.

Après qu'on eut mis de part & d'autres les chaloupes à la mer, j'allai à bord de ce vaisseau, où après les premiers complimens faits, je demandai aux Officiers quel étoit leur sentiment sur les Isles que nous cherchions. Ils me répondirent avec un sang froid qui me glaça, que suivant leur estime, ils s'en croyoient encore éloignés de 250. lieues. Peu s'en fallu que je ne me misse serieusement en colere contre eux. Nos Pilotes ou plus habiles ou plus vains (car toutes les opinions sur de pareilles matieres sont fort problematiques, sur tout quand après trois mois de navigation on n'a pû prendre la hauteur du pole, ni faire aucune observation, à cause de la proximité du soleil) nos Pilotes, dis-je, soutinrent qu'il étoit impossible que la distance fut si grande, parce que selon leur estime notre vaisseau auroit déjà dû être rendu dans le Port de Mariamne [sic], qui est une des Isles des Larrons. Cette raison n'étoit pas trop convainquante, & c'étoit là ce que vous appelez, vous autres Philosophes, une petition de principe. Pour moi, qui n'étoit qu'un Pilote de deux jours, je ne me piquai point de science infallible, je ne sentis que la douleur d'être encore si éloigné des fontaines. Ne soyez point surpris si je repete tant de fois la même chose; il ne faut qu'avoir eu une fois dans la vie autant de soif que j'en ai eu dans cette navigation, pour avoir un peu d'indulgence pour ces repetitions.

Après avoir bien disputé, on remit la decision à l'évenement. J'oserai pourtant dire que notre raisonnement paroissoit le plus juste, ayant observé la variation, qui étoit de 6. degrez & demy vers le Nord-est, & cette variation étant précisément celle qu'on doit trouver auprès des Isles des Larrons.

Le 30. [May 1716] au matin jour de la Pentecôte, nous eûmes connoissance de l'Isle Mariamne. Cette vûe nous donna cause gagnée. Les autres rejetterent une erreur si considerable sur les courants. Je vous l'ai déjà dit, ces courants portent la folencherie de toutes les fautes que font les Pilotes. On chanta le Te Deum après la messe, & chacun remercia Dieu à sa manière, car il ne faut pas vous imaginer que les Matelots prient Dieu comme le reste des hommes, ils ont un style à part.

Nous nous approchâmes de cette Isle, & à peine avions-nous jetté l'ancre dans la rade, que nous apperçûmes trois vaisseaux qui venoient aussi y relâcher. C'étoit le reste de notre escadre marchande, que nous avions laissée au Perou. Je ne pus m'empêcher d'admirer le hazard, qui nous réunissoit tous le même jour, quoique nous fussions partis de differents ports & en differents tems.

Ce surcroît de compagnie, qui dans d'autres circonstances auroit pû nous causer du plaisir, ne nous en causa aucun, parce que nous craignûmes que tant de vaisseaux n'apportassent la famine dans une Isle que nous sçavions être peu pourvûe de vivres. Nous nous empressâmes de prévenir le Viceroy [sic] en notre faveur. Je descendis à terre avec le Capitaine, & nous lui rendûmes notre premiere visite. On nous fit passer par un guichet qui servoit de porte cochere à son Palais, & nous entrâmes sous un portique, où je vis quelques fusils, sept ou huit rondaches, des lances, quatre drapeaux & un tambour. Quarante soldats rangez en haye sur l'escalier, nous reçurent avec toute la gravité de leur nation, & leur Officier nous introduisit avec un air de ceremonie dans l'appartement du Viceroy. L'air gay & content dont ce Seigneur nous reçut, nous fit juger qu'il n'étoit pas fâché que notre arrivée lui procurât du pain & du vin, alimens dont il nous avoua qu'il manquoit depuis long-tems.

Le mot de palais vous aura peut-être paru étrange, mais il faut que vous sçachiez que ce qui s'appelleroit chaumine chez vous, a dans ces colonies le titre de Palais. Celui dont il s'agit est couvert de paille & de feuilles de palmier, & consiste en trois salles: les deux premieres sont destinées pour le Viceroy, l'autre est reservée pour une troupe de jeunes Indiennes, qu'il élève & qu'il fait instruire par charité: bonne œuvre qu'il peut faire sans scandale, son grand âge le mettant à couvert de la censure. Il nous promit toutes sortes de rafraichissements, & nous nous reposâmes sur sa parole sans craindre qu'il y manquât, car étant Espagnol il auroit plutôt jeuné six mois que de ne la pas tenir.

Nous rendîmes aussi visite à deux PP. Jesuites, qui me parurent de saints personnages. Ce n'est aussurement pas l'ambition qui les a attirés dans ces Isles; ils y menent une vie très-austere & très-mortifiée.

A peine je respirai l'air de la terre, que j'oubliai mes fatigues passées. Il n'y a rien en effet qui s'efface plus aisement de la memoire que les travaux attachez à la navigation. Il en est de l'homme de mer comme de la femme en couche, l'un & l'autre par un effet de la Providence perd promptement le souvenir de tous ses maux.

*Les trois vaisseaux que nous avions apperçus, jetterent l'ancre le même jour le soir. Ils avoient été exposez aux dernieres extrémités. Le feu avoit pris dans le fond de calle du vaisseau **le Martial**, commandé par Mr de la Villepoulet, homme d'une capacité reconnue, & très entendu dans les affaires de la marine. La foudre tomba dans le vaisseau **le Marquis de Maillebois**, & le Capitaine en ayant été frappé, mourut sur le champ. Beaucoup d'autres personnes furent blessées, tant par la chute du grand mâts, que le tonnerre brisa en mille pieces, que par la foudre même. Mr de la Perche succeda dans le commandement du vaisseau. Il y a peu de gens parmi ceux qui embrassent cette profession, qui ayent autant de merite, de politesse & de capacité. L'autre vaisseau*

nommé la Bien-aimée, avoit aussi beaucoup souffert tant par la disette d'eau & de vivres, que par le scorbut, dont presque tout son équipage étoit attaqué.

Il n'y a point de navigation au monde si longue que celle du Perou à la Chine: il seroit même temeraire de l'entreprendre, si l'on étoit moins assuré des vents. La chaleur est accablante, parce qu'on ne s'éloigne que de 12. ou 13. degrez de la ligne équinoxiale, & l'air est si pesant, qu'il ôte l'usage de la respiration. Ajoutez à tant d'incommoditez l'ennuy qu'on a de voir toujours le même spectacle devant les yeux: je ne vis pendant trois mois dans un espace de près de quatre mille lieues, que quelques oiseaux & des poissons.

Le lendemain de notre arrivée le Viceroi Dom Juan Antonio Francisco, Fernando Pimentela [sic] y Toledo, vint nous rendre visite sur notre vaisseau. Nous le regalâmes autant que notre disette pût nous le permettre. Le meilleur plat, & celui qu'il agréa le plus, fut une décharge de sept coups de canons, qu'on fit pour saluer son Excellence. Nous convinmes des bestiaux qu'il nous donneroit en troc de farine, de biscuit, de vin & d'eau de vie.

[Description of Guam]

Quoique l'Isle Mariamne soit aujourd'hui fort connue, je ne puis néanmoins me dispenser de vous en dire deux mots. Cette Isle (qui est une des Isles appellées des Larrons) se nomme Guahan en langage du país, & est située à 13 degrez 30. minutes de la latitude septentrionale; son circuit est de 30. lieues, & son terrain est coupé par des montagnes d'un accez difficile, & couvertes d'arbres de plusieurs especes, sur tout de palmiers & de Cocotiers.

Ses bourgs ou habitations principales sont Agana, Anigua, Asa, Rigues [sic], Huga, & Umata. Il y a devant cette dernière une rade où les vaisseaux jettent l'ancre. On trouve encore quelques autres habitations sur les montagnes, où se sont retirés les Indiens qui n'ont point voulu se soumettre à la domination Espagnole, ou qui en ont secoué le joug après l'avoir reçu.

Les Naturels du país sont presque nuds, & affligés de la lepre, qui est une espece de mal Epidémique parmi eux. Leurs cabannes sont couvertes de feuilles de palmier, & construites de gros troncs d'arbres enclavés les uns dans les autres. Leur maniere de vivre est triste & miserable; mais les Espagnols qui y sont en garnison sont encore plus malheureux, parce qu'ils sont moins accoutumés que les Indiens à ce genre de vie.

Cette Isle est d'un grand entretien, & ne me paroît être d'aucun avantage à la Couronne d'Espagne: c'est une conquête ad honores. La Cour d'Espagne veut peut-être par un trait de politique conserver une colonie inutile, pour persuader au monde que l'interest de la religion a été l'objet de toutes ses conquêtes. Il n'y a en effet que le desir de maintenir les Indiens dans le christianisme, qui puisse l'engager à faire cas de cellecy. On y entretient trois cens Soldats, que le Gouverneur des Isles Philippines change tous les trois ans. Ils se marient avec les femmes de cette Isle, & on voudroit, s'il étoit possible, peupler cette colonie par le moyen de ces alliances; mais je crois qu'on en

viendra difficilement à bout; le nombre des Indiens diminue tous les jours, & de quinze mille qui restoient après la conquête, à peine en compte-t-on aujourd'hui quinze cens.

L'Isle Mariamne produit du ris en petite quantité, & le coco est la nourriture la plus ordinaire de ces Insulaires: ils le broient & l'arrosent avec du vin qu'ils tirent du même fruit. Ils ont encore plusieurs autres especes de fruits, le Rima qui est de la grosseur d'un melon, & dont la chair est blanche & ressemble à la pâte d'orge; le Doudou qui a la figure d'un maron d'Inde, & dont le noyau a le goût de la châtaigne; le Nica, l'Issouni, le Dago sont d'autres fruits que je n'ai jamais vû ailleurs qu'à Mariamne, & dont on se sert en guise de pain. Tous ces fruits étant mûrs, ont assez bon goût; mais pour les manger en guise de pain, il faut les cuire sous la cendre, & ne pas attendre qu'ils soient parvenus à une entiere maturité.

Il y a d'autres Isles plus au nord de Mariamne, dont les peuples, quoique soumis à la domination des Espagnols, sont néanmoins inquiets & turbulents. Ces Isles prises ensemble se nomment Isles des Larrons. Magellan qui y aborda le premier leur donna ce nom à cause d'un vol que les Insulaires lui avoient fait de quelques ustensiles de son vaisseau. Au reste toute cette mer est remplie d'Isles, depuis ces parages jusqu'aux Isles Moluques. On y a découvert depuis peu les Isles Palaos ou de S. André. J'en ai une courte relation écrite par un Pilote Espagnol, que je vous enverrois si elle étoit un peu moins obscure, mais elle ne parle ni de la situation de ces Isles, ni de leurs habitans. Les Espagnols de Manille veulent pousser plus loin leur découverte, ainsi nous en aurons un jour un détail plus exact.

Il y a dans toutes ces Isles une mission dirigé par les PP. Jesuites, qui se soûtient depuis le commencement de la conquête, & que le fameux Pere de Sanvitores a scellée de son sang. Ces Missionnaires ont été les vrais conquerans de ces peuples, & les armes des Espagnols auroient fait peu de progresz, si les bons exemples, la fermeté & le zele infatigable des PP. Jesuites n'avoient adouci la ferocité d'un peuple inconstant & guerrier, & ennemi d'un joug étranger. Vous pouvez, Monsieur, lire une relation de cette mission, & de la conquête de ces Isles, écrite par le R. P. Legobien de la Compagnie de Jesus.

[Chamorro canoes]

On se sert dans l'Isle Mariamne de petits bateaux dont la construction est fort particuliere. Les plus grands ont 30. pieds de longueur, & trois pieds de largeur. Ils vont toujours à la bouline, & portent fort bien la voile par le moyen d'un contrepoids ou balancier opposé au vent, lequel tien le bateau dans un juste équilibre. Ils sont d'une legereté surprenante: leur proue & leur poupe sont semblables, se terminant en pointe ou éperon, & ils presentent au vent également l'un & l'autre; en sorte qu'on n'a pas besoin de virer de bord, & qu'il suffit de transporter le gouvernail de la proue à la poupe, & de la poupe à la proue. On a vû des Espagnols assez hardis pour entreprendre dans ces bateaux le passage de cette Isle aux Philippines, quoiqu'il y ait plus de 400. lieues de distance.

Nous fûmes occupez pendant deux jours à embarquer les provisions que le Viceroi nous donna. Elles consistoient en cent poules, quarante canards, quatre bœufs, six mou-

tons, huit cochons & en legumes. Il nous en auroit donné, nous dit-il, davantage, s'il n'eut point été dans la nécessité d'en réserver pour la Hourque d'Acapulco, qui part tous les ans de la nouvelle Espagne pour venir à Manille, & vient prendre des vivres à Mariamne.

Le 4. de Juin un des vaisseaux de notre compagnie partit brusquement sans nous vouloir attendre, prétendant arriver le premier à Canton, pour conclure son marché avec les Chinois, dans l'apprehension que la quantité de Vaisseaux qui y alloient, ou qui y étoient déjà, ne fit rencherir les soyes, & les autres marchandises.

Pour nous nous étions dans une incertitude d'autant plus fâcheuse, que l'alternative des deux seuls partis que nous avions à prendre étoit également desavantageuse. Celui d'aller à Canton avoit ses inconveniens, à cause du grand nombre d'Europeans [sic] qui s'y trouveroient, & celui d'aller à Emoÿ dans la Province de Fokien, avoit ses risques, parce que peu de vaisseaux d'Europe y abordent, & que ce port ne convient tout au plus qu'aux vaisseaux qui veulent retourner dans les mers du Sud. Le Capitaine choisit ce dernier parti, suivant les instructions que ses armateurs lui avoient donné. Nous nous opposâmes autant qu'il nous fut possible à cette resolution, en lui remontrant, que quand ses armateurs lui avoient donné ordre d'aller à Emoÿ, c'étoit dans l'opinion que ce port étoit plus propre au commerce que celui de Canton: Qu'ils avoient été mal informez de la carte du païs, & qu'ils lui sçauroient bon gré de n'avoir pas suivi leurs ordres, lorsqu'il les auroit convaincus qu'ils étoient trop préjudiciables à leurs interêts. Mais nos remontrances furent inutiles, & il fallut subir sa destinée. Jusqu'à present il m'a paru que nous ne pouvions prendre de plus mauvais parti. Attendons néanmoins la fin pour en mieux juger.

Le 6. nous prîmes congé du Viceroi, & des PP. Jesuites. Toute la soldatesque de l'Isle ennuyée de vivre dans un desert, vouloit nous suivre: Le Viceroi accorda le congé à quelques-uns de ces malheureux, & nous en prîmes onze pour renforcer notre équipage, après avoir remboursé le Viceroi de je ne sçai quel argent qu'il prétendoit leur avoir prêté, & que je crois avoir été le prix de leur liberté. Ces gens qui depuis long-tems n'avoient vécu que de Rima & de Coco, fruits d'une substance legere, se crurent les plus heureux du monde, de se voir dans un lieu où ils pouvoient se rassasier de biscuit. Pour être insensible à une misere, il suffit d'en avoir souffert une plus grande.

Le 7. nous mîmes à la voile à la faveur d'un vent d'Est-nord-Est, en compagnie des trois autres vaisseaux, & nous fîmes route à l'Ouest-nord-[O]uest. Le 8. nous allâmes dîner à bord du vaisseau le Marquis de Maillebois, où Mr de la Perche nous fit une chere fort délicate; nous trouvâmes sur tout excellent les chapons de Mariamne. Le beau tems fit naître la joye & la bonne humeur, & nous passâmes la journée agréablement. Je vous parlerai peu de cette navigation, la constance des vents dans ces parages ne donnant gueres matiere aux grandes aventures: depuis le 7. jusqu'au 22. de Juin nous fîmes 484 lieues (route corrigée) vers le Ouest-Nord-Ouest, avec le plus beau tems, & le vent le plus favorable du monde.

Le 22. au matin nous eûmes connoissance du Cap Engaño (qui est un promontoire des Isles Philippines) & nous découvrîmes presque en même-tems les Isles Baboyanes.

Les vaisseaux de notre compagnie changerent alors de route, & nous nous séparâmes après avoir fait les complimens usitez dans ces occasions. Ils passerent entre le Cap Engaño, & la premiere des Baboyanes. Nous observâmes la latitude à 10. lieues du Cap Engano, laquelle fut de 18. degrez 49. minutes, & la longitude de 140. degrez 2. minutes. La variation depuis l'Isle Mariamne avoit toujours diminué, & elle n'étoit dans ces parages que de 1. degré 30. minutes vers le Nord-est.

...

Translation.

...

Letter N° 5.¹

Amoy, Fukien Province, 5 July 1716.

...

The sun was travelling with us, and we had it at the zenith; that is why we could not observe the latitude.

We left Guacho on 4 March 1716... On 22 March, we believed, according to our estimate, to be at the equator by 275° longitude. I have never felt such an overwhelming heat. Rain and thunder came to add to this discomfort. We lived for 12 days in ups and downs of bad weather. The wind was absolutely lacking and we suffered the inclemency of the torrid zone.

On 5 April, the wind began to blow, we held our course WNW as we had done up to then. We saw birds of all species that one is accustomed to see at sea. An owl (thing fairly extraordinary) now perched on our masts. It was caught and put into a cage where he stayed for 15 days without eating. At the end of this time we let it go. After having flown for a long time around the ship, we saw it fall into the sea. Our sailors, who have no doubt never read history, did not miss the opportunity to think of themselves as auguries and to look upon the visit of such a nocturnal bird as a sinister foreboding, from which I conclude that superstition is sometimes less the result of prejudices and education than a leaning that is born with man.

This owl made us wonder about other things also. Where was it from? This animal is not in the habit of getting so far away from the land. There must therefore have been some [unknown] islands around us whence it might have been driven to sea by a gust of wind. Yet, the general opinion is that the islands appearing on the charts are much more to the east, that is nearer the continent of America than geographers place them. There are even some islands that do not exist. But where was the owl from? In truth I do not know. I do not agree with those who pretend that rats and other such animals are born out of a ship's filth.

1 Ed. note: This letter, like the others, was addressed to the Count of Morville, Minister and Secretary of State.

As for the position of the islands indicated by the charts, they are much less to the west, if one can judge from the logs of all the ships that have travelled this route and have never seen them. Only Mr. Dubocage of Havre-de-Grâce, commanding the ship named **Découverte**, on his passage from Peru to China, discovered, on Good Friday, in 280° longitude and 4° latitude north,¹ a great rock, and very high, surrounded by a sand bank, which he named Passion Island. It is the only piece of land that has yet been found in this sea beyond the line, while following this route.² Whatever the case might be, we took wise precautions in order not to make some hitherto unknown reef famous by our shipwreck.

Among the different species of birds that flew around our ship, we took one, larger than a goose, whose wing span measured seven feet. Its beak is crooked and sharp, armed with two rows of small, very sharp teeth. The manner with which it was taken was amusing. A hook was thrown into the sea, wrapped with a piece of cloth, shaped like a fish. The bird pounced on this prey and stayed hooked either by the gullet or by the teeth, in such a manner that whatever effort it would make, it could not release itself. That was the greatest entertainment that we had during our three-month crossing; you judge about our pastimes from this sample.

The winds and our weathercocks remained unsteady until 13 April, when they turned in our favor. They came anywhere from the south east quarter. We covered a total distance of 1,338 leagues towards WNW between 4 March, the day of our departure, and 29 April. We were then told that our water reserve was considerably diminished and that it was wise to reduce each ration to two pints a day, a sad refrain for a throat as parched as mine. The heat and glow of the sun caused our skin to change once a week and we looked like lepers.

On the 29th at 11 a.m., when the sky was loaded with clouds, we saw around our ship at about 1/4 league, six waterspouts that developed with a dull noise similar to that made by water running in underground canals. This noise increased little by little and sounded like the whistling of the rigging of a ship in the midst of an impulsive wind. We first noticed the water boiling, and rising about a foot and a half over the surface of the sea. A fog, or rather, a pale smoke appeared above this boiling water and formed a sort of channel that rose to the cloud.

The channels or handles of these waterspouts bent in the direction that the wind carried the clouds to which they were attached; despite the impulsion of the wind, not only did they not break but they even appeared to stretch to follow them, becoming narrow or wide as the cloud rose or came down.

The phenomenon caused us much fear and our sailors, instead of becoming brave, fanned their fear by stretching their yarn. If these waterspouts, they said, fall upon our ship, they will pick her up and let her fall, they will submerge her. Others (and these

1 Ed. note: Incorrect! Dubocage estimated their position at 10° lat. N. and 268° long. (see Doc. 1711L).

2 Ed. note: The author refers only to recent discoveries made by French ships, of course.

were officers) responded in a decisive tone of voice that they would not pick up the ship but that the ship would act as an obstacle to sever the connection that they had with sea-water and, being full of water, all the water it contained would fall perpendicularly upon the deck of the ship and would break it.

To prevent this misfortune, the sails were lowered and the gun loaded, people saying that the noise made would shake the air and make the waterspouts burst and dissipate them. However, we had no need to have recourse to this remedy. When they had run for 10 minutes around the ship, some at a 1/4 league, the others at a shorter distance, we saw that the channels gradually became narrow, detached themselves from the surface of the sea and finally dissipated themselves.¹

...

The rain was almost continuous during many days and the thunder made us fear a disaster more than once. I do not pretend to present to you here in detail the nature of the winds and the courses that we held during this crossing. If you are curious about it, I will make available to you upon my return a fairly exact log to provide you with a little boredom. By the way, if your bad angel ever advises you to attempt this navigation, charts and logs will not be lacking.²

As of 10 May, we had the most beautiful of weathers and the most constant wind in the world; no more rain, no more thunder. The sails were not touched for 15 days. We intended to make a stop at the Ladrone Islands; never was a land so much hoped for. The food supplies were beginning to be insufficient, and we were reduced to salted meat, which is to say that the occasions to suffer from thirst were multiplied as the means to staunch it were removed. The smallest clouds rising from the horizon would trick us into [believing that we were] seeing land; we imagined seeing mountains, and people would wager about the outcome, but the sun would soon dissipate this moving land and rob us of such a sweet illusion.

On 27 May, we saw a fish, swimming with great velocity in pursuit of bonitos, tunas, dorados and other fish of this kind. It has a long horn on its head, and as even our oldest sailors had never seen anything like it, it was called a unicorn.³ You will notice, Sir, that in all my letters I have endeavored not to talk about fish. What could I tell you that indeed has not been said or written a hundred times and that you do not know about better than I do?

Our lookouts gave us at all moments agreeable alarms as their imagination made them see land. They would announce it with great shouts only to see it flee ahead of us.

- 1 Ed. note: Unbeknown to the people aboard the Jupiter at that time, the other French ships in the area suffered damage as a result of this storm. Captain Godin of the Marquis-de-Maillebois was killed by a thunderbolt. The attempts made by the author to explain waterspouts are not reproduced here.
- 2 Ed. note: This remark gives me an opportunity to say that original logbooks were borrowed and copied regularly by pilots in the ports of France and elsewhere. The Jupiter and the 4 other ships may have carried copies of the logs of the St-Antoine and those of the other ships of 1711.
- 3 Ed. note: This could have been an ordinary swordfish. The real unicorn fish is the narwhal and it lives exclusively in the Arctic Ocean.

As for myself, who was suffering cruelly from thirst, I dreamt constantly about fountains. The heat had made sad operations upon our bodies. I had, as Mr. Voiture once had, fundamental reasons that prevented me from sitting. I spent most of the month of May lying on my bed, in a position as sad as it was uncomfortable. Almost three months had passed since our departure from Peru; the first two had caused me some annoyance but the last overwhelmed me. Nothing is more anxious than hope, the more we get near the term and end of our wishes, the more tormented we are by impatience.

On the 29th in the morning, we sighted a ship following us and holding our course.¹ We waited for her and when we were within the range of discerning the objects better, we recognized with much joy that this ship was one of those we had left in Peru and that was due to leave eight days after us. This happy encounter made all our aches disappear. Nothing is more boring than to see the same things and the same faces. The newcomers almost made me forget my thirst; variety is the motto.

After the launches were lowered by both ships, I went aboard this ship where, after the exchange of greetings, I asked the officers what they thought about [the distance to] the islands we were seeking. They answered, with a calm countenance that chilled me, saying that in their estimation, the islands were still 250 leagues away.² I came very close to becoming seriously angry with them. Our most skillful or most arrogant pilots (because all the opinions on such subjects are very complex, specially when after sailing three months one has been unable to take the elevation of the poles or make any observation on account of the proximity of the sun) our pilots, said I, maintained that it was impossible for the difference to be so great because, according to their estimate, our ship should already have arrived in the port of Mariamne [sic], one of the Ladrone Islands. This reason was not too convincing and it was what you philosophers call a matter of principle. As for myself, who was only a two-day pilot, I did not pride myself on science being infallible. I rather felt pain at being still so far away from the fountains. Do not be surprised if I repeat so often the same thing. One need only have suffered from so much thirst at least once in his life in order to have a little patience for such repetitions.

After having discussed at length, we agreed to let the event itself decide [who was right]. I will dare say, however, that our reasoning appeared the more correct, having observed the variation at 6-1/2° NE and this is precisely the one to be found near the Ladrone Islands.³

1 Ed. note: This was the Comte-de-Lamoignon, according to Brossi's log (see next document).

2 Ed. note: Brossi estimated them at anywhere from 60 to 150 leagues.

3 Ed. note: De Brossi was to measure it at 7°47' NE (see next document).

On the 30th [of May],¹ in the morning of Pentecost, we sighted Mariamne [sic] Island. This sighting gave a decision in our favor. The others blamed their large error upon the currents. I have told you before, these currents are blamed for all the errors that pilots make. The *Te Deum* was sung after mass and everyone thanked God in his fashion. I say in his fashion, because you should not imagine that sailors pray to God like the rest of mortals; their style is one apart from the others. We came near the island and we had hardly anchored in the harbor when we sighted three ships that were coming to land there also.² It was the rest of our merchant squadron that we had left in Peru. I could not help but wonder at the probability that made us all come together on the same day even though we had left from different ports and on different dates.

This excess of company, which would have caused pleasure in other circumstances, caused us none, because we feared that so many ships might bring famine to an island that we knew to be not too well provided with food. We hurried to impress the Viceroy [sic] in our favor. I went ashore with the captain and we paid him our first visit. We passed through a wicket which formed the coach entrance to his palace and we entered under a portico where I saw a few muskets, seven or eight shields, lances, four flags and a drum. Forty soldiers, who lined both sides of the stairway, received us with all the gravity peculiar to their nation, and their officer led us with much ceremony into the Viceroy's apartment. The obliging manner in which his Excellency received us, made us believe that he was not unhappy that our arrival would supply him with bread and wine, delicacies to which he admitted he had been a stranger to for a long time.

Let not the word Palace surprise you. What at home would be called a cottage goes by the name of Palace here. The building of which I am speaking was covered with thatch, and palm leaves. It consisted of three halls, the two next to the entrance were destined for the Viceroy, and the other was reserved for a number of Indian girls. He raises them and has them educated from a charitable motive. His advanced age puts him beyond censure. He promised us all kinds of fresh supplies and we put our trust in his word without any fear that he would break it because, as a Spaniard, he would rather have fasted six months than break his word.

We also visited the Jesuit Fathers who appeared to me to be holy persons. It is certainly not ambition that has brought them to these islands. They live a very austere and mortified life here.

As soon as I breathed the air ashore, I forgot my past worry. There is nothing indeed that is erased more easily from the memory than fatigues at sea. A seaman can be compared to a woman about to give birth; Providence has seen to it that both promptly lose the memory of their sufferings.

1 Ed. note: On the 31st, according to Brossi's log, but a sailor's day begins at noon, rather than at midnight.

2 Ed. note: However, according to the pilot's log, only two ships appeared then (Marquis-de-Maillebois and Martial). The third one, the *Bien-Aimée*, arrived three days later (see next document).

The three ships that we had sighted anchored the same day at night. They had been exposed to extreme circumstances. Fire had broken in the hold of the ship **Martial**, commanded by Mr. Villepoulet, a man of known ability and very knowledgeable in seamanship. A thunderbolt fell upon the ship **Marquis-de-Maillebois** and the captain [Godin] was hit by it and killed instantly. Many others were wounded as much by the fall of the main-mast that the lightning broke into a thousand pieces as by the thunderbolt itself. Mr. de la Perche succeeded as ship commander. There are few people among those who embrace this profession who have as much merit, manners and ability. The other ship, called **Bien-Aimée**, also had suffered much, not only from lack of water and food, but also from scurvy, by which most of the crew were affected. There is no longer crossing in the world than that from Peru to China. It would be even foolish to undertake it if one were not sure about the winds. The heat is hard to bear because one does not go further than 12 or 13 degrees from the equatorial line, and the air is so stifling that one can hardly breathe. Add to so much discomfort the boredom that a man feels, at always having the same scenery before his eyes. For three months, over a space of nearly four thousands leagues, I saw nothing but a few birds and fishes.

On the day after our arrival, Mr. Juan Antonio Francisco Fernando Pimentela [sic] y Toledo, the Viceroy, came aboard our ship to return our visit. We entertained him as best as our scarcity allowed us. The best dish, and the one he liked the best, was a discharge of seven guns that we did to salute His Excellency. We agreed on the number of cattle that he would give us in exchange for flour, biscuit, wine and brandy.

[Description of Guam]

Even though Mariamne [sic] Island is well known today, I cannot exempt myself from telling you a few words about it. This island (one of the so-called Islands of Thieves) is called Guahan in the local language. It is located in 13°30' lat. north; its circumference is 30 leagues, its interior hard of access on account of mountains, covered with many species of trees, mostly palm and coconut trees.

Its principal settlements are Agana, Anigua, Asa[n], Rigues [sic],¹ Hugate [= Agat], and Umata. There is in front of Umata a roadstead where the ships anchor. There are other settlements among the mountains, where those Indians live who either never submitted to the Spaniards, or have thrown off their yoke.

The natives are almost naked, and infected with leprosy, which seems to be here an epidemic distemper. Their huts are covered with palm leaves and built with large trunks of trees, morticed into one another.² Their way of life is sordid and miserable and yet the Spaniards garrisoned here are in a worse situation still, not being as accustomed as the Indians to this kind of living.

1 Ed. note: A misreading of Aiguay (see p. 406) or Rigua (p. 547).

2 Ed. note: It seems that the author did not observe them very well. No other author has ever reported the presence of log cabins in Guam before.

(Facing page:) **Map of Guam in 1716.** (From *Le Gentil de la Barbinais'* book entitled: "*Nouveau voyage autour du monde*" about the circumnavigation of the French ship *Jupiter*, Captain Béven).

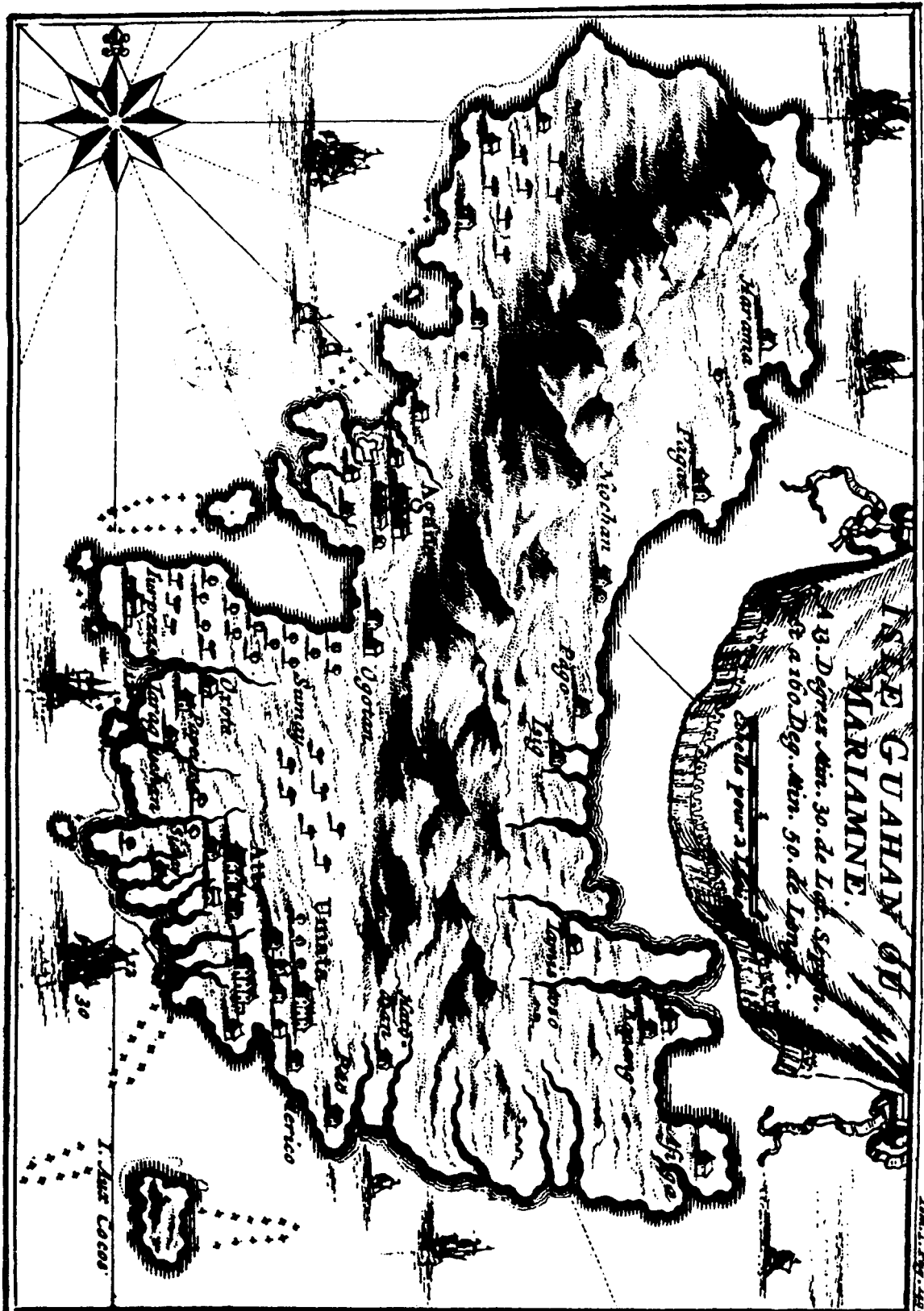
This island costs much to maintain and it appears to me to be of no advantage whatever to the Spanish Crown; it is a conquest made *ad honores* [for honor's sake]. The Spanish Court perhaps wants for political reasons to preserve a useless colony in order to show the world that religion has been the reason for all its conquests. There is indeed nothing but the desire to maintain the Indians within Christianity that could make it pay attention to this one. Three hundred soldiers are maintained here; the Governor of the Philippines changes them every three years. They get married to local women and it is hoped, if it were possible, to populate this colony by means of these alliances, but I believe that they will not easily succeed. The number of the Indians diminish every day, there being scarcely 1,500 now remaining from the 15,000 who remained **after** the conquest.¹

Mariamne Island produces rice in small quantity, but their general food is the coconut. They grind it, and then sprinkle it with a sort of wine which they draw from the same tree. They have many other kinds of fruits. The *rima* [= breadfruit] is as big as a melon, the pulp of which is white, and resembles barley-meal. The *dudu* [rather dugdug] has the shape of an Indian chestnut, the pit of which tastes like chestnut. The *nica*, *isuni*, and *dago* are other fruits [sic] I never saw but at Mariamne Island, and which they used instead of bread. When ripe, all these fruits taste fairly good, but to eat them one must bake them under some ashes and not wait until they are too ripe.

There are other islands more to the north of Mariamne Island, whose peoples, even though submitted to the domination of the Spanish, are nevertheless uneasy and unruly. These islands taken altogether are called the Islands of Thieves. Magellan, who was first to have landed here, gave them that name because the islanders robbed a few accessories from his ship. Moreover, all these seas are full of islands, from these parts all the way to the Moluccas. They have of late discovered those called Palaos or St. Andrew Islands. I have got a short account of these, written by a Spanish pilot, that I would send to you if it were clearer, but it does not even mention the position of these islands, nor their inhabitants.²

1 Ed. note: Callander, who translated De Brosse in 1765, thought that the numbers here were so exaggerated that he changed the words "after the conquest" to read "at the conquest," implying that there were 15,000 before the conquest.

2 Ed. note: We now know that this was but an expurgated and possibly summarized account, as this vital piece of information is not missing from any of the original accounts.



The Spanish in Manila want to push their discovery further; thus we will some day have a more detailed account.

There is in all these islands a mission directed by Jesuit Fathers, that maintains itself since the beginning of the conquest and that the famous Father Sanvitores has sealed with his blood. These missionaries have been the real conquerors of this people; the weapons of the Spaniards would have made little progress if the good examples, firmness, and untiring zeal of the Jesuit Fathers had not softened the ferocity of a fickle and warlike people, enemy of a foreign yoke. You may, Sir, read an account of this mission and the conquest of these islands, written by Father Le Gobien of the Society of Jesus.¹

[Chamorro canoes]

The small boats used in Mariamne Island are of a special construction. The largest are 30 feet in length and 3 feet in width. They always sail close to the wind and support the sail very well by means of a counterweight or outrigger that opposes the wind and keeps the boat in a proper equilibrium. They are surprisingly light. Their prow and their poop are similar, terminating in a point or spur. They present either one to the wind so that it is not necessary to veer to tack. It is enough to carry the rudder [sic] from prow to poop, and from poop to prow. Some Spaniards have been brave enough to have attempted in these boats the crossing from this island to the Philippines, even though the distance is over 400 leagues.

For two days we were busy loading the provisions that the Viceroy had given us. They consisted of 100 hens, 40 ducks, 4 bullocks, 6 sheep,² 8 hogs and some vegetables. He would have given us, he said, more but he was obliged to keep some in reserve for the Acapulco *horca* [i.e. galleon], which leaves New Spain every year to come to Manila and come to take on food at Mariamne.³

On 4 June, one of the ships in our company left suddenly,⁴ not willing to wait [for us], pretending to arrive first at Canton to conclude a good trade with the Chinese, fearing that the number of ships going there, or there already, would make silk more expensive and also with the other goods.

As for us, we were undecided between two alternatives that were equally disadvantageous, that of going to Canton where there were too many Europeans, and that of going to Amoy in Fukien Province, where few European ships go and the port is not well located, except perhaps for those ships that return to the South Seas. The captain chose this last alternative, in accordance with the instructions given to him by the ship-

1 Ed. note: This contact between local Jesuits and French ships is almost a proof of my contention that all the maps of Guam drawn by the French in that period were inspired by Fr. Le Gobien's book. Besides, it is evident from the maps themselves that the appearance thereon of former settlements could only have come originally from Fr. Lopez' map of 1670.

2 Ed. note: Probably goats instead.

3 Ed. note: There was no Manila galleon that year.

4 Ed. note: It was on 5 June, according to Brossi's log, that the Comte-de-Lamoignon left Umatac Harbor.

owners. We opposed this determination as much as possible, pointing out to him that, when the shipowners had ordered him to go to Amoy, it was because they thought this port more proper for commerce than the port of Canton, that they had been badly informed about the map of the country, and that they would be grateful to him not to have followed their orders when he would have convinced them that they were against their own interests. However, our objections were useless, and one had to suffer one's destiny. Until now, it appears that we have chosen the wrong alternative. Nevertheless, let us wait and see the conclusion to be able to judge it better.

On the 6th, we said good-bye to the Viceroy and the Jesuit Fathers. All the soldiers on the island, bored with living in a desert, wanted to follow us. The Viceroy granted leave to a few of these unfortunate men and we took 11 of them to reinforce our crew, after having reimbursed the Viceroy for some so-called loan that he had made to them and that I believe was the price of their freedom. These people who had for a long time lived of nothing but coconuts and *rima*, fruits with a light substance, believed themselves the happiest people in the world, to find themselves in a place where they could eat one's fill with biscuits. To lose sensitivity towards one misery, one must have suffered from a larger misery.

On the 7th, we sailed with a favorable ENE wind, in company with three other ships and we headed WNW. On the 8th we went to have dinner on board the ship **Marquis-de-Maillebois**, where Mr. de la Perche served us very delicate fare; we found the *Mariamne* chicken to be specially excellent. The good weather gave rise to happiness and good humor and we spent the day pleasantly. I will not tell you much about our navigation; the steadiness of the wind in these parts does not give room for much adventure. From the 7th to 22th of June, we made 484 leagues (corrected course) toward the WNW, with the nicest weather and the most favorable wind in the world.

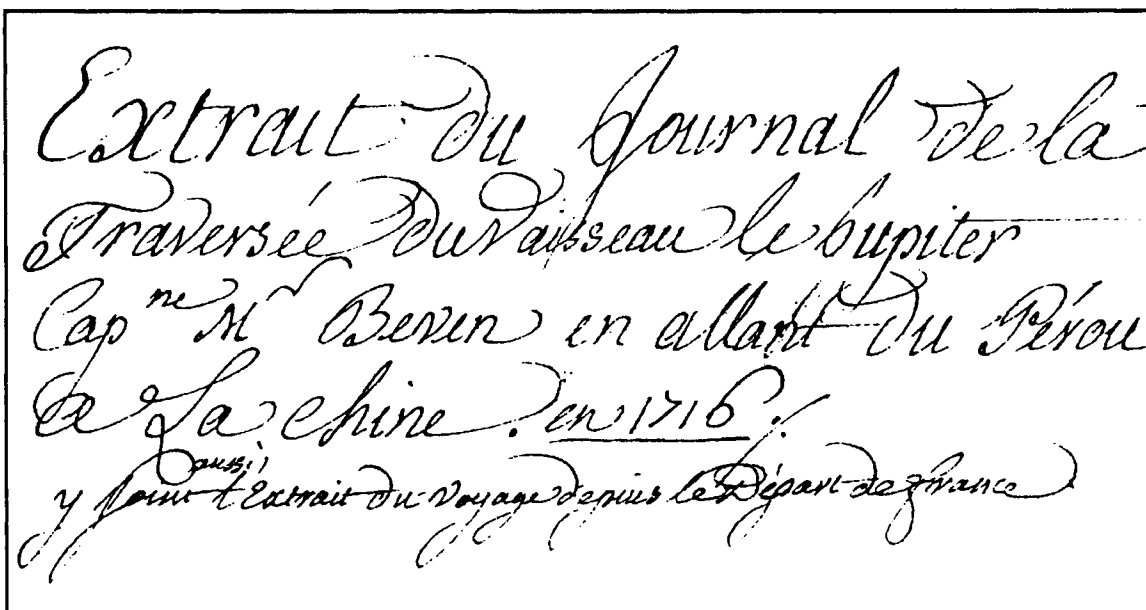
On the 22nd in the morning, we sighted Cape Engaño (which is a headland of the Philippine Islands) and we sighted almost at the same time the Babuyan Islands. The ships in our company then changed courses and we separated after we had exchanged the greetings that are usual under such circumstances.¹ They passed between Cape Engaño, & the first of the Babuyan Islands. We observed the latitude at 10 leagues from Cape Engaño as 18°49' and the longitude as 140°2'. The variation had kept decreasing since *Mariamne* Island and it was only 1°30' NE in this neighborhood.

...

1 Ed. note: The ship **Bien-Aimée** (that disappeared soon after this separation) probably opened up (perhaps after hitting a shoal) in the China Sea. Alternatively, it was captured by Chinese pirates, men who knew how to keep a secret.

 Document 1716B

Logbook of the ship Jupiter, kept by Mr. de Brossi



Cover page of the logbook of the ship Jupiter.

Original text in French

Source: ANP 4JJ189, n° 3 quinto (formerly in SHM).

Extrait du Journal de la Traversée du vaisseau le Jupiter Capitaine Mr Beven en allant du Pérou à La Chine. en 1716. y joint aussi l'Extrait du voyage depuis le Départ de France.

...
 [Note in margin:] Variation orrive 9d 47 NE

Le 23e Mai vents variables de l'E1/4NE au NE1/4E, bon frais par rafalles temps couvert et quelques grains de pluye

Route estimee l'ouest 1d 15' Sud 43 L 1/3

et Corrigee depuis de 21 le Ouest 15' nord 84 L 1/2
Latitude estimee 13d 24 & observee 13d 30
Long. 172d 39

[Notes in margin:] *Vu du Goimont. Variation ortive 10d NE*
Le 24 mesme temps, mesme vent. Route estimee l'ouest & Corrigee l'Ouest 8d 30'
nord 41 L
Latitude estimee 13d 30' & Corrigee 13d 41
Longitude 170d 33

Le 25 Continuation des mesme temps et vent. Route Estimee Louest 3d 30' Sud &
Corrigee l'ouest 40 m nord 40 L 1/3
Latitude estimee 13d 33 & Observée 13d 41
Longitude 168d 28.

[Note in margin:] *Variation occase 9d 47' NE*
Le 26 Continuation de mesme vent et temps. Route L'ouest 5d 15 Sud 45 L
Latitude observée 13d 37 Longitude 166d 10'

[Note in margin:] *Suivant ce point et la carte dont ce navigateur se servoit il devoit*
etre arrivé.
Le 27 Continuation de mesme temps & vent. Route estimee & suivant la hauteur
l'ouest 2d 15' Sud: 43 L
Latitude observée 13d 32 Long 163d 58'

Le 28 Continuation de mesme temps et vent. Route l'ouest 2d 40' nord 39 L 1/3
Latitude observée 13d 37 Long. 161d 58

Le 29 mesme temps mesme vent. Route l'ouest 1 Deg nord 29 Lieues
Latitude observée 13d 36 Long. 160d 29

[Note in margin:] *Rencontre du Vaisseau le Comte de Lamoignon*
Le 29 a 2 heures apres midi ces navigateurs rencontrerent le Vaisseau le Comte de
lamoignon qui alloit à Canton et etoit parti de Lima au perou le 11e mars avec un petit
vaisseau nommé le Bien aimé commandé par mr le chevalier du Lys. Le Vaisseau Le
Comte de Lamoignon sestimoit encore a 60 L des isles marianne et quelques uns du
mesme vaisseau a 150 L.

[Note in margin:] *Variation occase ... 8d 28 NE.*
Le 30e mesme temps et mesme vent que les jours precedents.
Route estimee l'ouest 3d 40' sud & Corrigee l'ouest 1d 40' Sud ... 23 L 2/3
Latitude estimee 13 31 & observee 13d 35

Longitude 159d 17'

[Note in margin:] *Vu l'isle Guan*

Le 31e mai vents variables de l'ENE a l'Est petit frais assés beau temps belle mer. Continué l'O1/4SO jusqu'à 6 heure du soir ensuite l'ouest pendant la nuit[.] a 6 heure du matin il apperçut la terre de Lisle Guan ou Guahan la plus sud des isles Mariannes ou des Larons qui lui restoit du OSO au ONO[.] dans l'Eloignement de 8 a 9 Lieues cette terre lui parut unie & peu élevée[.] les aproches ne se manifesterent que par quelques goimont qu'il avoit vu passer pendant la nuit mais point d'oiseaux comme cest assés l'ordinaire. dès cette connoissance ce Vaisseau gouverna au O1/4NO pour en approcher a midi la pointe la plus Sud a la vue lui restoit au SO1/4S 8 a 9 L la pointe du Nord au NO 5d ouest 1 L 1/2[.] le milieu de lisle au O1/4NO 5 a 6 lieues. La Route depuis le 30 mai lui avoit valu jusqu'au 31 a midi l'O1/4NO 1d 50' nord 22 L

Latitude observee 13d 45 longitude estimee ... 153d 20

Du relevement ci dessus on gouverna au NO1/4N et on doubla la pointe qui paroisoit la plus nord[.] ensuite en arrondissant du NO1/4N au SO1/4O on doubla la 2 & troisieme pointe et on passa devant la ville ou reside le gouverneur qui envoya une pirogue avec un homme de sa part faire offre de service. On fit porter au SSO ensuite au SE pour doubler la pointe qui est a Louest de la ville et se rendre au port d'Aty ou est le mouillage mais comme il falloit prendre davantage de l'Est et que les vents etoient contraire pour cela on fut contraint de courir plusieurs bordée et dattendre au lendemain.

*Le 1er Juin a 3 heure 1/2 du matin ce Vaisseau & le Comte de lamoignon mouillèrent par 30 Brasses fond de roches pouries Etant alors devant le port et au jour ils allongerent une touée pour se mettre en bon mouillage par 18 B deau fond de sable gris[.] peu de temps apres les Vaisseaux **le Marquis de Maillebois** et **le Martial** dont le **Jupiter** avoit eu connoissance le jour precedent mouillèrent en la mesme rade venant du perou et allant a la Chine. **Le Maillebois** avoit dématé pendant la traversée de son grand mats d'hune par un coup de tonnerre qui avoit endommagé aussi le grand Mats[.] Tué le Capitaine et cassé la cuisse a un officier.*

Mr de Brossi auteur de ce Journal remarque que quand on vient du large pour relacher à cette isle il faut sentretenir entre 13d 15' et 13d 40 de latitude[.] ces deux latitudes etant celles de la pointe du Sud et de la pointe du Nord de cette isle. il faut ranger la coste de près[.] elle est fort saine[.] la pointe du Nord-ouest est basse et sablonneuse[.] le sable Blanchatref[.] il y a a la pointe du Sud de la rade d'Ati une isle nommée Cocos qui est fort plate et bien boisee[.] elle peut avoir environ 5 a 6 lieues de tour, elle est cernée dun banc de cayes qui setendent a 1/2 lieue ou 3/4 de son rivage et dont il faut se donner de garde quoi qu'a 1/2 lieues de terre il y ait 7. Brasses fond de cayes qu'on aperçoit etant blanches. a la pointe du Nord de cette rade il y a plusieurs roches mais il sont tout a terre et on peut les ranger de près quant on vient du Nord et qu'on tient le vent pour entrer dans la Rade[.] on a en face du mouillage 2 grands mornes de Terre rougeatre peu boisés.

[Note in margin:] *Variation observé occase en la rade d'Ati 7d 47' NE*
Relevé le mouillage[.] la pointe du Nord au NE1/4N 3/4 de lieue[.] la plus Est au SE
5d Sud 1 L 1/2[.] le milieu de lisle Cocos au S1/4SE 2 L[.] la pointe des mornes a l'E1/4NE
1/2 lieue.

[Description of Guam]

L'isle guan peut avoir 20 lieues de circuit[.] cest la principale et la plus Sud des isles Mariannes et la résidence du Gouverneur qui depend du Conseil des Philippines[.] les habitans Naturels sont Indiens. on trouve dans cette isle des rafraichissements a bon Compte[.] Cest la ou relache ordinairement la Hourque ou Vaisseau Espagnol qui va chaque année des Philippines a la nouvelle Espagne. Les autres isles Mariannes setendent au Nord de Guan Jusques par 21 degrés de Latitude[.] on en distingue 14 principales[.] Ces isles furent découvertes par Magellan qui les nomma les isles Ladronnes ou des Larons a cause que les habitans de celle ou il relacha lui volerent quelques morceaux de fer[.] les espagnols les nomerent ensuite Islas de las Velas et enfin Marie-Anne du Nom de la Reine d'Espagne Marie-Anne d'Autriche mere du Roy Charles II.

Au Sud-ouest de ces isles il y a un autre Archipel qu'on appelle les Nouvelles Carolines.

Lorsqu'on vient relacher a Guan on peut aussi bien passer par le Sud de lisle que par le Nord pour aller au mouillage d'Ati.

*Le petit Vaisseau **la Bien Aimée** dont il a été parlé cy dessus arriva en cette isle le 2e juin.*

*Le 5 le Vaisseau **Le Comte de Lamoignon** en appareilla pour aller a Canton.*

*Le 6 les Vaisseaux **le Jupiter, le Martial, le Maillebois & la bien aimée** firent voile & cinglerent au ONO.*

Le point de départ du mouillage est suivant l'auteur de ce Journal 13d 40' de latitude et 164d 30' de Long. meridien de Tenerif.

...

Translation

Extract from the log of the crossing of the vessel Jupiter, Captain Béven, from Peru to China in 1716. Including also the extract of the voyage as of its departure from France.

...

[Note in margin:] [Magnetic] Variation [measured] at sunrise 9° 47' NE.

23 May.—Variable wind from E1/4NE to NE1/4I, moderate to gusting, overcast sky and some rain showers.

Estimated run to W 1° S 43-1/3 leagues

Corrected run as of the 21st, to W 15' N 84-1/2 leagues
 Estimated latitude 13°24' and observed 13°30'
 Longitude¹ 172°39'

[Notes in margin:] Seen some seaweed. Variation at sunset 10° NE.

24th.—Same weather, same wind. Estimated run to W, corrected to W 8°30' N
 41 leagues
 Estimated lat. 13°30' and corrected 13°41'
 Longitude 170°33'

25th.—Same weather and wind. Estimated run to W 3°30' S, corrected to W 40' N
 40-1/3 leagues
 Estimated lat. 13°33' and observed ... 13°41'
 Longitude 168°28'

[Note in margin:] Variation at sunset 9°47' NE.

26th.—Continuation of the same wind and weather. Run to W 5°15' S
 45 leagues
 Observed latitude 13°37' Longitude 166°10'

[Note in margin:] According to this point and to the chart used by this navigator, they should have arrived already.

27th.—Continuation of the same weather and wind. Estimated run, at the observed latitude, to W 2°15' S 43 leagues
 Observed latitude 13°32' Long. ... 163°58'

28th.—Same weather and wind. Run to W 2°40' N 39-1/3 leagues
 Observed latitude 13°37' Long. 161°58'

29th.—Same weather, same wind. Run to W 1° N 29 leagues
 Observed latitude 13°36' Long. 160°29'

[Note in margin:] Meeting with the ship *Comte-de-Lamoignon*.

On the 29th, at 2 p.m., these navigators met with the ship **Comte-de-Lamoignon** that was on the way to Canton and had left Lima in Peru on 11 March in company with a small ship called **le Bien-Aimé** [sic] commanded by the Knight of the Lily.² The ship **Comte-de-Lamoignon** was officially estimated to be at 60 leagues from the Marianas, but some pilots aboard estimated the distance at 150 leagues.

1 Ed. note: East of Tenerife (see at the end).

2 Ed. note: Apparently, this knighthood of the Order of the Lys was a noble appointment held by the Captain, Mr. Georges-Olivier Hardouin, Sieur de la Bénestais.

[Note in margin:] Variation at sunset 8°28' NE.

30th.—Same weather and same wind as on previous days.

Estimated run to W 3°40' S and corrected to W 1°40' S 23-2/3 leagues

Estimated latitude 13°31' and observed 13°35'

Longitude 159°17'

[Note in margin:] Sighted the Island of Guan.

31st.—Variable winds from ENE to E, almost fresh, fair weather, nice sea. He continued to W1/4SW until 6 p.m., then W during the night. At 6 a.m., he sighted the Island of Guan or Guahan, the southernmost of the Mariana, or Ladrões, Islands, which bore from WSW to WNW. At a distance of from 8 to 9 leagues, this land appeared to him to be rather flat and low-lying. The proximity of land was announced only by some seaweeds that they passed during the night; they saw no birds, as is usually expected. As of this sighting, this ship steered to W1/4NW in order to get closer to the southern point by noon. The southern point bore SW1/4S at 8 to 9 leagues, and the northern point NW 5° W at 1-1/2 leagues; the center of the island was W1/4NW at 5 to 6 leagues. The estimated run from 30 May to 31 May noon was to W1/4NW 1°50' N 22 leagues.

Observed latitude 13°45' Estimated longitude ... 153°20'

From the above-said fix, they steered NW1/4N and they rounded what appeared to be the northernmost point, then by steering from NW1/4N to SW1/4W they rounded the second and third points, and they passed before the town where the governor resides. He sent them a canoe with a man to offer his services. The heading was changed to SSW, then to SE in order to round the point that is westward of the town and to go on to the port of Aty, where the anchorage is located.¹ However, as they had to make headway eastward and that the winds were contrary, they were forced to make several tacks and to wait until the next day.

On 1 June at 3:30 a.m., this ship and the **Comte-de-Lamoignon** anchored in 30 fathoms, bottom of broken rocks, being then before the port. At daybreak, they towed the ship forward to a better anchorage, in 18 fathoms, bottom of grey sand. A short time later, the ships **Marquis-de-Maillebois** and **Martial**, that had been seen from the **Jupiter** the day before, anchored in the same harbor, coming from Peru and going to China. The **Maillebois** had lost its main top-mast during the crossing to a thunderbolt that had also damaged the main-mast, killed the captain and broken the thigh of another officer.

Mr. De Brossi, author of this log, notes that coming from afar to touch at this island, one must stay between 13°15' and 13°40' in latitude, these two latitudes being those of the southern and northern points of this island. One should follow the coast closely as it is free of dangers. The NW point is low and sandy, with whitish sand. There is at the southern point, south of Ati Harbor, an island named Cocos that is very flat

¹ Ed. note: It is clear by now that, by Aty, most French sailors now meant Umatac.

and well wooded. Its circumference could be 5 to 6 leagues. It is flanked by a bank of keys that extend 1/2 or 3/4 league from its shore and of which one must be aware even though at 1/2 league from the land the bottom is at 7 fathoms, with shoals that are seen to be white in color. At the northern point of this harbor, there are many rocks but they are all close to the shore and they can be passed close by when coming from the north and when tacking on the final run to enter the harbor. In front of the anchorage, there are two great hills with reddish earth, and sparsely wooded.

[Note in margin:] Observed variation at sunset in Ati Harbor 7°47' NE.

Position of the anchorage: the northern point bears NE1/4N at 3/4 league; the easternmost point bears SE 5° S at 1-1/2 leagues; the center of Cocos Island bears S1/4SE at 2 leagues; the peak of the hills bears E1/4NE at 1/2 league.

[Description of Guam]

The Island of Guan may have a circumference of 20 leagues. It is the main and southernmost of the Mariana Islands and the [place of] residence of the Governor who depends upon the Council of the Philippines. The native inhabitants are Indians. Fresh provisions can be found in this island at a good price. This is where the *hurca*, or Spanish galleon, ordinarily stops every year when going from the Philippines to New Spain.¹ The other Mariana Islands extend north of Guan as far as 21 degrees of latitude. There are 14 main ones that can be distinguished. These islands were discovered by Magellan who named them Ladrones, or Islands of Thieves, because the inhabitants of the island where he stopped robbed him of a few pieces of iron. The Spanish later on called them *Islas de las Velas* and finally Mariana, from the name of the Queen of Spain, Maria Ana of Austria, mother of King Charles II.

To the southwest of these islands, there is an archipelago that is called the New Carolines.² When one intends to stop at Guan, one may just as well pass to the south of the island as to the north, to go to the anchorage at Ati.

The small ship **Bien-Aimée**, which was mentioned above, arrived at this island on 2 June.

On the 5th, the ship **Comte-de-Lamoignon** sailed for Canton.

On the 6th, the ships **Jupiter, Martial, Maillebois & Bien-Aimée** sailed, heading WNW.

The departure point of the anchorage is, according to the author of this journal, at 13°40' lat. and 164°30' longitude East of Tenerife.

...

1 Ed. note: In the other direction, of course.

2 Ed. note: Rather the New Philippines, or simply Carolines.

Other French documents with possible reference to the Pacific:

- LeGentil's book, Vol. III, pp. 119, 148, 152, 155, 158, 164, and 222 at least;
- ANP ..., or Arch. dép. in Rennes (ex-Saint-Servan C4 330): Declaration of Vigor Chedeville Deschamps, mate of the Marquis-de-Maillebois, dated 16 July 1718;
- ANP ..., or Arch. dép. in Rennes (ex-SS C4 330): Declaration of the captain of the Martial, dated 2 December 1718;
- ANP ..., or Arch. dép. in Rennes (ex-SS C4 330): Declaration of the [former] captain [of the Bien-Aimée], dated 15 Septembre 1718;
- ANP ..., or Arch. dép. in Rennes (ex-SS C4 328): Declaration of Magloire Busnel de Villarnie, former mate [of the Bien-Aimée], dated 26 September 1716.

Document 1717A

The last French ship to visit Guam, in 1717

Visit of the *Pontchartrain*, Captain Louis Roche, in October-November 1717

Introductory note on the *Pontchartrain*, by E.W. Dahlgren.

The *Pontchartrain* of Saint-Malo, 200 tons, 24 guns, 64 men (but according to Captain Roche: 250 tons, 22 guns, 90 men). Capt. Pierre Ribertière, Lord of La Villebague, and afterwards Louis Roche; ship-owner: Gilles Lebrun, Lord of La Franquerie.

Departed Saint-Malo on 15 May 1714, "to go to Jersey, where it remained until 20 June to take on cargo, which was loaded the same day, then it came back to Cape Fréhel to show to the ship-owner the cargo taken on board at Jersey, but the goods were not those that should have been loaded, which obliged the ship to return to Jersey, where it anchored on the 23rd of the same month and unloaded the goods (that belonged to another ship) and took on other merchandise, and then it came back to anchor at said Cape Fréhel on the 27th of said month, where it remained until 5 July, when it sailed for the South Sea, its destination." At Tenerife from 21 to 28 July. At Santa Catarina Island from 8 October to 16 November. At Concepción from 19 January to 8 May 1715. At Valparaiso from 11 May to 10 September. At Concepción from 1 to 3 October. Again at Valparaiso from 7 October to 27 November. Mr. Ribertière, feeling sick, decided to return to France; he boarded the **Grand-Duc-de-Maine** on 26 October and left command of the *Pontchartrain* to his mate. After that, the ship visited Cobija, from 5 December 1715 to 1 July 1716, then Arica from 7 July to 3 September, Ilo from 7 to 12 September, Pisco from 18 September to 24 November, Callao from 27 November to 17 December, Pisco from 28 December 1716 to 7 January 1717. [Back to Chile,] and at Concepción from 20 January to 14 April, Valparaiso on 17 April, Arica from 8 to 14 May, Huacho on 28 May, Huarmey on 29 May, Santa on 30 May, and Guayaquil [Ecuador] from 8 to 21 June, whence it departed for China. **At the Island of Guam from 5 October to 28 November.** Arrived at Lintin Island and at Macao on 24 December. Remained at Canton from 27 December 1717 until 5 January 1719.

Was at Prince Island (Sunda Strait) on 9 February. At the Cape of Good Hope from 20 April to 2 May. Arrived back at Saint-Malo on 16 August 1719.

Epilogue—Why French trading with China via the Pacific stopped?

Among other documents and events of the period bearing on this case, there were:

—In France, exclusivity of Chinese trade was given to La Compagnie des Indes Orientales. See note in B&R 47: 238, a brief history of this decision by Abbé Raynal;

—In Spain, after discussion of the effect on the trade at Seville, the King issued a decree in 1718 prohibiting the importation and use of the fabrics from China and other parts of Asia (see B&R 44: 257 et seq.);

—In Peru, the Viceroy took a decision to stop incursions by Frenchmen (see B&R 44: 295).

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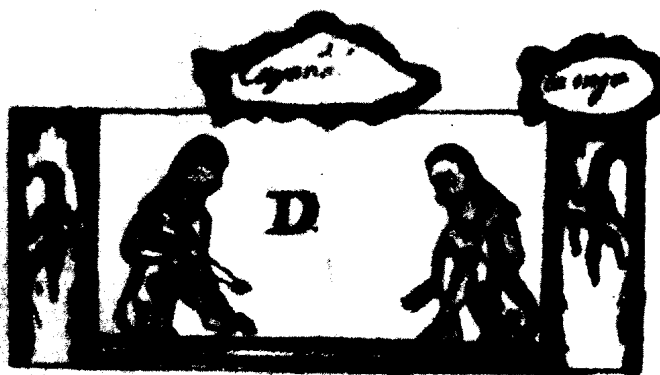
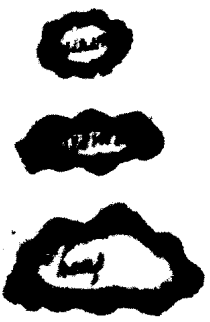
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Des habits à 11 de l'ancien
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B



Explication
des habits
anciennes
modernes

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- B. La robe grande et longue, que les hommes, les femmes et les enfants ont portée.
- C. Images de la Justice, et de la Sagesse.
- D. Comptes pour les habitants de ces îles.
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