#### Document 1566E

## Legazpi's official report for 1565-1567 regarding the events in the Philippines

Sources: AGI 1-1-1/23; Col. de Ultramar iii, doc. 39, pp. 91-225; summarized in B&R 2:131-154.1

# Report for June 1565 to July 1567: Relation of the events in the Philippines after the departure of the San Pedro for New Spain (Extracts)

### [The building of the fort and settlement of Cebu]<sup>2</sup>

The Governor then told them [i.e. the native leading men of Cebu] that H.M. needed to have a fort in which they keep and store the trade goods and merchandise that had been brought to this land, and the artillery and the munitions, as well as a site where a town to lodge the people of this camp, which would be next to H.M.'s fort, that they should see themselves where it seemed to them to be the most comfortable and convenient for the said site, and that they should point out the one they liked best because he wished it to be done with the consent and will of all of them, that, although he had traced the fort of H.M. on this point where the camp is located at present because it is near the ships, he wished that it be done with the will of all of them.

The leading men said that they were very happy that the house and fort of H.M. be built at that point where the people are at present, or where the Governor wished it to be and to take for the Spanish a convenient site, indicating its limits, and that the rest concerned only them, that it was not up to them to indicate it as they are only vassals of H.M., that the Governor in his royal name should divide and indicate the land that

- 1 Ed. note: This report can be considered a continuation of Legazpi's first report of 1565, reproduced as Document 1565W. It was written for Legazpi by the Accountant Juan de Bustamante, according to an anonymous manuscript in the Newberry Library in Chicago (Ayer ms. 1359 Phil v. 1).
- 2 Ed. note: The procedure used by the Spanish colonists at Cebu is interesting because it may have a bearing on similar events that were to take place over 100 years later at Agaña.



Governor Legazpi and his specimen signature. (From Juan Caro y Mora's Ataque de Limahong a Manila en 1574. Manila, 1898)

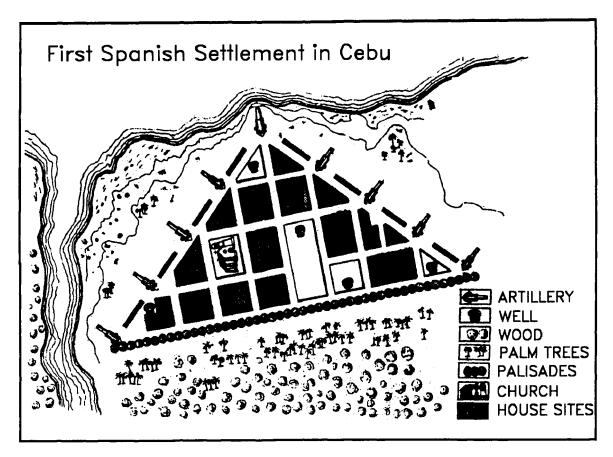
they were to have for them to place their houses, and to take for H.M. and the Spanish what is necessary and they would consider it fine, would safeguard it, and that is what they said.

Then the said Governor went in person with the leading men themselves and the natives ahead to the beach, toward the west about one arquebus shot away from the said point and there, he indicated to them a palm tree [saying] that the Spanish site was up to there, and that from the said palm tree he indicated how far to another tree inland, and he had a cross marked on it, and from there to

another tree toward the land in which he placed another cross, and from there in straight line as far as the edge of a salt water creek that comes in from the sea; from there back to the point where they had started from, he was indicating and indicated as the site of the house and fort of H.M. and the town site for the Spanish, and that everything else was for the Indians so that they could build their houses and work areas; they could start building their town and houses. The said leading men and natives said that it was alright and they were happy with it, and that the matter was settled.

The Governor indicated the trees in which the crosses were put as the boundary and signs of the said site and he gave to understand to the leading men, that such a line was the boundary with the Spanish. They said that they wanted it to be so. The Governor ordered them, all the leading men and Indians to get outside of the said line to the part that was meant for them, and he ordered the Spanish to move inside the line. This having been done, while the Indians were on the outside and the Spanish on the inside, the Governor walked here and there and cut a few branches and said that in the name of H.M. he was taking and took possession of that site which had been designated as such above, that he was doing the said acts as a sign of true ownership, and that he wanted it to be recorded as such. At all of this were present [King] Tupas and the other leading men and many natives and without contradiction and with the consent of all of them it was done, being present the Master-of-Camp, the Captains and soldiers of the camp.

During the ceremony of possession of the site, the Governor told them that in the name of H.M. he ordered them that from now on no Indian could enter at night the site reserved for the Spanish, except if he had a specific permit, and that the natives who



The first Spanish settlement in the Philippines. (From H.O. Beyer & J.C. de Vevra, Philippine Saga, Manila, 1952)

had to go into the Spanish site had to go in without any kind of weapons and, if they were to go in with them any Spaniard could take them away from them. The Indians said that they they were content with that and that they would comply. In addition the Governor let them know that if they received any harm or any force was done them by any person he himself, as their own father and defender would defend them and he would protect them from anyone who would bother them, in accordance with the reason and justice as per the laws of Castile; if a person were to do them an injustice, they were to indicate it to him so that they be compensated for it until they were left free and safe in accordance with the law. They in turn said that the offences and harms done to them would be brought to the attention of his Lordship.

This concluded, they went back to the point and there some snack food and drinks were given to the leading men. The latter saw no excuse or inconvenient to partaking of same willingly and showing no disgust. [After] showing much reverence and respect to the Governor, they begged leave and went back to their site, once more kissing his hands with much rejoicing and happiness.

When Tupas was about to leave, he asked the Governor to let him borrow a proa with which to bring his wife and children who were far from there; the Governor did him the favor, and another seven for his nephew. All of this was negotiated and communicated through Jerónimo Pacheco, the interpreter of the Malay language, and Sidamit the Moor, who speaks the said language and that of this land.

After the Governor had arrived at this island, he proposed and tried to make a fort and so the work began. All the people each day, morning and afternoon, were involved with it, without excepting any person, not even the Governor himself, the Captains and officers working as they could. The said fort was made of a palm palisade which was later filled with faggots<sup>1</sup> and a rampart in-between, and for lack of stone or earth, except sand at the point where it was being built.

In addition, he ordered that three frigates be built on top of three proas that were gotten from the Indians; the carpenters were busy at this, and all the people divided among these works. With these works, they suffered enough hardships, not only because the land is hot and the food was bad but also because all the materials had to be brought from afar and on shoulders, and without any help from the natives, because it was too much to ask of them, even if they could be paid. The result was that many sicknesses happened generally thoughout the camp; they were coughs and catarrhs, then diarrheas and finally worms and fevers which were general in most of the camp. In spite of all these sicknesses, our Lord was served that no-one was in danger [of dying] from them. Although there was a lack of food, the men worked at the said works and faced the labors and fatigues with good cheer, suffering it all for God and H.M.

#### [A mutiny led by some Italians failed]

There was discovered and it came to be hatched during this predicament a mutiny and wickedness, and a devilish affair. It had been brewing for many days among a few of them and they now wished to put it into effect. If God in his infinite mercy had not revealed it, it could have caused damages and inconveniences. So it was that a squad corporal named Pablo Hernandez, a native of Venice, and Juan María, chief carpenter of the works and Master of the almiranta [San Pablo], who were from the same country and treated themselves almost as relatives, with other foreigners, and a few soldiers, and other persons, friends and servants of the above, had arranged and concerted to seize the patache San Juan and to go to Butuan and to other islands of this archipelago, and also to seize junks from Borneo, Luzon and Mindoro which trade through these islands, to rob everything they could find and to go through the Strait of Magellan, or they could have gone to the coast of New Spain, then to Guatemala and Peru, and then go from there to Spain, where they would pass unnoticed, and from there to France, then to their countries if they wished. If they did not wish to do that, or did not find the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The faggots refer to the gabions shown on the inland side of the fort. They were cylinders of wicker or like material filled with stones or sand.

weather favorable for such a route, they would go to Malacca where the Portuguese would receive them and with open arms thank them for having fled from this camp and settlement, and would give them passage to Portugal where they could achieve their purpose.

They thought they could do it and easily achieve it because Juan María, as he was the Master of the *almiranta*, had under his charge aboard his galleon all the artillery, powder and ammunition that were aboard the *almiranta*; in addition, he had in his hands the sailors, specially the foreign ones. Pablo Hernandez had many friends and soldiers [with him]. So, they organized it among many, and found the necessary rigging. Pablo Hernandez was to be the Captain and leader of the affair; he was to be in charge of everything. Juan María was to be the General. After them, the most important figures were the French pilot [Pierre Plin] and other foreigners of superior worth. There were also a few Spaniards who had a hand in the affair, and they in turn persuaded others to be part of it.

When it appeared to them that nothing was missing and that the time was ripe, they proposed to put it into effect and they agreed that on Tuesday, which was the 27th of November 1565, they would leave this camp. In order that those left behind would not be able to go after them nor hinder them, they had arranged that, before leaving, they would drill holes in the *almiranta* and the frigates, and that they would go safe and sound without anyone being able to hinder them.

On the night in question, a little before midnight, having loaded aboard the boat certain balls, sails and other things from the *almiranta* to bring over to the patache San Juan for the purpose, God wished that they gave it up and postponed it until the next night. The cause or reason for this is not known, only that Juan María told them to leave it for now, and he ordered them to put back on the ship everything they had aboard the boat; so, it appears that God had so decided.

That night, a few sailors who were aboard the galleon, not knowing about the affair enquired and asked why they were loading that aboard the boat, given that the frigates were beached and there was no place to go. The Pilot Fortún Jimenez who was like the fingernail and flesh of Juan María and his best friend told them that the Master-of-Camp had ordered him and that they should mind their own and just do as they were told, and so they shut them up. Later on, the said pilot was suspected of being one of those in the league.

The next day, Wednesday 28th of the said month in the morning, God inspired—and only He knows why—Juan María to go to the Master-of-Camp and to give a report about the affair, without declaring the persons involved nor anything else, except that he said that Squad Corporal Pablo Hernandez, who was from his country and was his friend, was pressuring him to go with him and not to get lost here, that the said Pablo Hernandez with other friends of his wanted to go, that he, to serve his Majesty, was telling and advising about it so that the most fitting remedy be applied.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: His correct name was Jaime Martinez Fortún.

The Master-of-Camp thanked him and promised to do him the favor of forgiving him whatever would be found against him in this case, for having divulged it. Then he went to give a report to the Governor, who then ordered him to seize Pablo Hernandez and make him tell, one way or another, about the others who had been in the affair with him, and to punish without any delay those found guilty as such a great crime and evil deserved to be, and that the first thing he should do was place some guards in the camp to prevent anyone from leaving it or from fleeing. The Master-of-Camp said that he would do so because he wanted to dissimulate until later and do it at night in order to do it with less of a scandal. The Governor pointed out to him the importance of the thing.

Then, some trustworthy persons were placed around the settlement, without telling them more than they should not let anybody out and at nightfall the Master-of-Camp sent for Pablo Hernandez and he himself went behind the messenger to the lodge of Pablo Hernandez and he was not at home, but they were told that he had gone overthere on guard duty. He went to look for him in the camp as inconspicuously as possible but before he was able to run into him some soldier from those sent to look for him told him that the Master-of-Camp was looking for him and that he should go there. However, as an evil-doer who knew what he carried in his heart he did not dare go before him. Rather, as he was on guard duty with his sword hanging from his belt, without going to his lodge nor anywhere else, he went into some tall grasses that were in the camp and laid low and hid there that night. The Master-of-Camp walked all over the camp and the sentinels searched for him and did not find him. Then he gave a report about it to Captain Martin de Goiti and then both of them walked around searching the whole night. As the sentinels declared that no-one had gone out and that he did not appear anywhere in the camp, the deep bush is close by and the thickness of the grass great, they thought that he had fled. Having done enough, he came to report about it to the Governor and they were much put aback by it.

The Governor ordered the Master-of-Camp to interrogate Juan María about those who could be in the deal or were the most friendly and familiar with Pablo Hernandez, and ask him again who else would know, so as to uncover and clear up the business, and that they should hurry up and do it. The Master-of-Camp went about searching until he encountered some clues and arrested the French pilot, with Jorge Griego, Master Andrea, Guillermo [=William], Juan Griego from Florence, Gerónimo [i.e. Jérôme] Delafosse, a Frenchman, Estefan and other foreigners. As he was taking their confessions, Gerónimo Delafosse, the Frenchman, after they had arrested him begged the Master-of-Camp not to hurt him, that he would tell the truth about all he knew. So, he let it be known and confessed that Pierre Plin, the French pilot, had reported to him and told that he had agreed to go with him in the patache San Juan, that the captain would be Pablo Hernandez. He [i.e. Plin] indicated others who knew of the affair, that they were many; he begged him and persuaded him to go along with them and he had agreed to go and the agreement was to go on the previous night but as the Master-of-Camp was looking for Pablo Hernandez to arrest him, the party had been routed.

Some other prisoners, although at first they denied in their confessions, they came later to confess it and the mutiny was uncovered and everything they had planned, although they did not know all the persons involved and were to have gone, but that Pablo Hernandez and Juan María were the heads and leaders of the affair. That same night, the French pilot Plin and Jorge Griego were hanged at daybreak.

Being already confessed and awaiting the same fate was Master Andrea the caulker<sup>1</sup> when the Father Prior [Diego de Herrera] and the religious flocked to the Governor with other main persons of the camp clamoring for clemency and beseeching that the punishment be stopped, giving many reasons for this, that God our Lord and H.M. would be better served by using clemency rather than rigor, giving the necessity for men in the camp and that there was no place from where to replenish them, that the punishment already done would be enough of a lesson for the others. They were unable to get anything from him [i.e. the Governor] because he was very angry about such a great wickedness without any provocation. They were only able to get out of him that the execution of justice be postponed that day.

When Pablo Hernandez saw that his consorts were prisoners, he ran to the monastery to beg to be given the habit so that he would escape with his life, because there was no remedy otherwise. The Father Prior, considering the ugliness of the crime and how indignant the Governor was, told him that he could not save his life that way, because, even if they would give him the habit, he understood that the Governor would take him out and bring him to justice, and they would not be able to defend him, that he should look for another way out. Hence he decided to go and hide inside the deep bush, thinking he would take refuge among the Indians.

The Governor had already warned the Indians to look for him and bring him to him, and had promised a reward for his capture. He issued a declaration in the camp to the effect that whoever knew about him was to come out and say so under penalty of death, and that no-one was to give him anything to eat, nor weapons nor anything else, under the said penalty, in addition to having some secret spies for [following] those who went out and came into the settlement.

The following night, Pablo Hernandez being harassed by hunger revealed himself to an Indian of Zebu and asked him for something to eat. The latter took him to his house and, the better to entrap him asked him to give up the sword and dagger that he carried and he put him inside a cell and gave him something to eat. He left him to eat and went to call other Indians to capture him and other Indians gathered. When Pablo Hernandez felt the presence of the people, guessing what it could be, jumped out of the cell where he was and began to flee into the deep bush and the Indians pursued him for a while, but as the Governor had ordered them not to hurt him, only to capture him, they did not dare wound or fight him. So, he escaped from them and they lost sight of him in the darkness of the night.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: It was he who had been the first European to marry a Filipina in a religious ceremony.

On the morning of the following day the Indians came to the fort to report it and they brought the dagger and sword that they had taken from him. The Governor ordered that the next time they were to see him they were to capture him, and if they could not capture him they were to bring him dead or alive. When Pablo Hernandez saw that he could not find favor among the Indians and that they would capture or kill him if he returned to them, he decided to return to the religious and begged them to plead for his life by whatever means possible and they should obtain it from the Governor. They agreed to do so and they pleaded and importuned the Governor about it, and other persons as well but they did not obtain it. When they saw that there was no remedy they advised him and he decided to die like a Christian in order not to lose his soul. He revealed himself to his Captain begging him not to follow suit until the next day at noon in order to [give him time to] recommend his soul to God. He agreed and, after arrested him, imprisoned him inside his lodge with a guard in place. That night he confessed and the Master-of-Camp took down his confession; he too was begged to plead for his life if at all possible. He confessed that the planned affair had been as described above, and that he had been the head or leader of it.

The next day at noon, they took him out with public announcement and they hanged him. Afterwards, they cut off his head and nailed it to a post of the gallows, as a reminder and lesson to the others. This execution having been done, the religious and other main persons of the camp requested the Governor to cease and desist from more rigor. To concede their request and for other reasons that moved him, he granted a general pardon in the name of H.M. and forgave them the past provided they served H.M. faithfully in the future. In the church he had all the prisoners brought before him and, in front of many people who were present, addressed them, reprehending them for such a great evil and fault, not just the prisoners but all those who had participated in the crime, and reminding them of the penalties for it and the punishment that he thought of doing (such as they had seen it done nearby). However, in order for them to see and know the greatness, goodness and clemency of H.M., he in his royal name forgave them this time, and that he held the same goodwill and love that he had held for them before they committed this crime, that the pardon was general and applied to those present or absent, that those who had not been made prisoners were to come to him to tell him in secret the part that they had held in, participated in, known of, or understood in the past business and crime, that he would not hold it against them at any time and would not any less deserve what H.M. held in store for them in the future.

This pardon and speech gave such a great contentment in the camp that everyone were satisfied by it and they gave many thanks to the Governor. Afterwards many flocked in to tell and confess their own guilt, soldiers as well as sailors, promising to be changed men from now on, and to serve H.M. with all faithfulness all the days of their life. This way the great evil they wished to do and had planned was calmed down and overcome. It appears that as many as 40 persons had joined in the conspiracy. The Gov-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Either Goiti or Maldonado.

ernor asked only one thing out of the foreigners: that none of them was to speak any language other than Spanish, as all of them knew it, under certain penalties.

#### [Connection with the San Lucas affair]

It was learned that some of those who had joined in this conspiracy also had, while at the port of Navidad, joined in a conspiracy to abscond with the patache San Lucas. Later on, when they were coming in the gulf [i.e. Pacific] they had wanted to deviate and separate from the flagship and, one very dark night, they lowered the sails aboard the almiranta for that purpose, giving to understand that it appeared that the flagship had done the same, as there was a cross-sea and it was a precautionary measure. However, the Master-of-Camp became very angry at this and ordered them to raise the sails and he threatened and swore at the pilots, saying that if they lost sight of the flagship and its lamp, he would hang them from the yard-arm for the same case. So, for this reason and fear of the Master-of-Camp they did not dare carry out what they wanted, also because the Master-of-Camp was always on his guard with them and he took great care in following the flagship and not lose sight of it, day and night. Although the pilots of the almiranta would tell him that the flagship did not steer well and did not follow the right course, he would tell and order them that it did not matter, they had to follow it and nothing else mattered, they were not to lose sight of it; otherwise, he said that he would hang them for sure. What they were unable to do overthere, they wanted to do overhere.

#### [Discovery of some remnants of the Villalobos expedition]

The Governor then sent a despatch to Captain Martín de Goiti, letting him know about the return of the Master-of-Camp, telling him that, if he had to go overthere, he could take his time but he would be glad if he saw the Strait [between Leyte and Samar] and made a survey of it, that he was sending him 30 soldiers and, if he wished to coast forward, he was to do it as far as Tandaya, and from there return to this camp.

When he received this despatch, Captain Martín de Goiti went to the mouth of the Strait, saw and surveyed it, and while going about overthere received notice that in one town nearby there was a Christian whose name was Juanes, that he had been living among the Indians for over 20 years, that he was married to the daughter of a chief, and that he was tattooed like the other natives from the waist down. The Captain went in search of him to see and rescue him, and went to the town where they had told him that he lived, and did not find anyone because they had all fled into the bush. He dealt with other Indians in their neighborhood, that they should go and make him come, that his only wish was to see him and pay for his ransom as he wished. Although they told him that they would do it, and promised him to do it, they never brought him nor could

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Although they were assigned to the almiranta San Pablo.

he have him; they detained him with words for a few days. Having done all the diligences he could, and seen that they were getting deeper in their lies, he tried to seize some Indians and did seize three of them who belonged to the town of Basay<sup>1</sup> which was near where the Christian used to live, and in exchange for them he also tried to get the Christian after which he would release them. He was not successful; rather, he fell ill with certain fevers and could not detain more. He came back to the fort very lean and sick, bringing as prisoners the three Indians from Basay whom the Governor treated very well, and he ordered them to be cured because two of them who were chiefs came wounded; he ordered them to be given clothes.

They gave notice about Juanes. He was there, and a chief named Subuco who liked him very much had him and treated him as a son, that he had been there for many years already, from a frigate that ran aground along that coast, that he had the legs tattooed like the Indians, and that they thought that he did not want to come over to the Christians for fear. The Governor begged them to be good go-betweens so that his master would give him up, that he wished to pay for everything he had spent on him, or that he would pay for his ransom to his satisfaction as was the custom among them; in addition, he would hold him up as his friend and would favor him, the same as he would do to them, and they would be freed without having to pay any ransom. They then offered to do so, that they should be taken back home, then one of them released to go and negotiate with Juanes' master, and they would advance him the money, or would offer to stay as slaves until he was paid off.

Thus, the Governor decided to send there the Master-of-Camp with the frigates, and with him the Treasurer of H.M. with gold, bells, jars and other trade goods, enough for the ransom in accordance with their orders. So, he left this fort to go there on 18 September 1566 with 60 men, being soldiers and sailors.

...

On 28 September, eve of St. Michael's, there arrived at the fort Pedro de Herrera who brought back a canoe loaded with resin, about 12 or 13 quintals, which is used instead of pitch, if there was enough to be mixed with wax...

Pedro de Herrera brought back the news that at the island of Tandaya on the north side<sup>2</sup> there were three Christians held prisoners at the hands of the natives who had captured them from a ship that had passed there some 14 or 15 months [sic] ago. This news had been given to him by an Indian of the Lutao tribe, which is the name given to some fisherfolk who live and move about continuously with their wives and children, and have no settlements.<sup>3</sup> One of them gave him this news saying that he had seen them and they wore shoes and hats, they had beards, and they were like us, and that two of them

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Written Basey and Basel on two modern maps.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. note: In fact, he refers to the SW coast of Samar, or the east side of San Pedro Bay, north of the so-called Tandaya River.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. note: The so-called sea gypsies who can still be found in the southern Philippines.

were at the port of Uruna in the hands of a chief named Sidumaguinda<sup>1</sup>, and the third was at the port of Çibabao, one league from there in the hands of another chief named Malabazo. From this it was inferred that they could have come from the flagship, given the time frame they had mentioned. When he was asked if he had advised the Master-of-Camp about this, Pedro de Herrera said no, because he had learned of it after he had separated from him.

So, the Governor then despatched Captain Juan de la Isla with the boat and 12 Spaniards to the Master-of-Camp at the Strait of Tandaya where he had gone to ransom Juanes. He wrote him a letter by which he ordered him, after the Juanes affair, to go to the above-mentioned towns, which are located on the same island on the coast opposite where Juanes was, and try to ransom the three Spaniards there; in that, he was to follow the same procedure followed in the case of Juanes. To Captain de la Isla he ordered that along the way he was to seek the Lutao who had given this news and, if he found him, he was to pay him and take him along as a guide to the Master-of-Camp. To be more effective, he took along the same sailors and soldiers who had accompanied Pedro de Herrera as they knew the Lutao. With this despatch, Juan de la Isla departed on the 1st of October of the said year.

The Master-of-Camp returned to the fort on the 3rd of October, the eve of St. Francis, without having met with Captain de la Isla sent to find him. He brought Juanes whom he had ransomed. Juanes was not a Spaniard but a Mexican Indian born in Santiago de Flatrelesco. He had come with the Villalobos expedition and had remained here lost with a few Spaniards from a frigate that had run aground on the coast. Although he was not a Spaniard, because he was a baptized Christian, the whole camp rejoiced at his freedom and coming. He sure did give signs of being a good Christian, God having kept him safe for so long a period. When he saw the Spaniards, he was coming aboard a canoe manned by other Indians. The first word he said was: "I believe in God", and jumping ashore where the Master-of-Camp was, he fell on his knees and with his hands and eyes toward heaven, said: "Bless you Almighty God!" then he embraced the Spaniards. He speaks little Spanish and even less his Mexican tongue which he has forgotten. However, he knows and speaks the language of these islands well, except that he cannot explain to us what the Indians say because he does not know his [own] language nor Spanish; therefore, at present he cannot be of much use, almost nothing, as an interpreter. He remembers many things from Mexico. He can say his prayers, having forgotten his own and native language. He says that he was a boy when he came to this land, that he came with a soldier named Juan Crespo. He says that he was married to a daughter of a chief in Tandaya and has two young daughters, one of them is named Catalinita, and the other Juanita, that although they are not Christian he gave them Christian names and the natives call them by those names also. The Master-of-Camp tried to ransom them but they did not want to give them up. We must try

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Only to remind the reader that Filipino names were, and still are, preceded by the prefix "Si" which means "It is, He is, or I am" and corresponds to "His name is, or My name is".

to have them in order to baptize them. As for him, he was very happy in the company of the Spanish, although he had been and remain sick, as he came with swollen legs because he said that his master had put him in a pillory to prevent him from coming over to the Christians. He is tattooed like the natives in the legs, and he says that his master had him tattooed against his will.

He related that he and 15 Spaniards were left aboard the frigate that was shipwrecked there, and most of them he knew by names, that all of them are now dead, some from illnesses, and others in wars among the Indians. The last one to die, he says, was a certain Juan Flores, about 5 years ago, when he had gone on a raid with 30 Indians and they were all killed in an ambush. By this narrative of Juanes, it was understood that the three Spaniards whom Pedro de Herrera had said were in Çibabao were part of those, because he says that it was true that three of his company were there and died there, but that Pedro de Herrera was fooled, time-wise, because the Indians were saying 14 or 15 years, and he understood months instead. It is no wonder that this [kind of] error occurs, and many others, when there is no interpreter, only sign language to speak with, and understand.

#### [Report of the Pericon expedition and mutiny]

Captain Juan de la Isla who had gone in search of the Master-of-Camp met with the galleon **San Gerónimo** that was coming with the mail from New Spain, badly supplied and worse treated, among some islands with some currents and not knowing where they were nor where to sail. As the people aboard the galleon saw him, they asked him to come aboard and take them where the Governor was, and he did so. With the boat that he had he sent an advice to the Governor that he was staying aboard the ship, advising him about the mutinies and bad discipline that it had undergone during the voyage. It appears certain that if Juan de la Isla had not met with them, they doubted that their arrival at this port would have happened so quickly, and if they had rounded the point of an island where he met with them, they ran the risk and enough hardships before they could have returned to the fort.

After the Governor had learned about the coming of the ship, he despatched the Master-of-Camp with a skiff-type frigate so that if the wind failed he would be able to tow the ship in. He met with them as they were already near, and so it came in and they arrived at this port on Tuesday, 15 October 1566.

Their arrival was a cause of great rejoicing. It was a pity to hear about the bad discipline, the mutinies, disagreements and deaths, hardships and miseries that they had and suffered from during the voyage. As the galleon came without her Captain nor with any despatch from the Royal Audiencia, the General ordered an inquiry regarding all of the above, through which will be gained a greater understanding of the event of the voyage and the useless discipline it came with.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He probably met the galleon near the Camotes Islands in the Camotes Sea.

In summary, what can be inferred is that Captain Pericón began his voyage and departed the port of Acapulco with greater speed and less wisdom that he should have and thus it ended quickly and disastrously. What happened before they left the port there is understood to be as follows. When they set sail, they say that he did not pay enough attention to the freight he carried, and that he forgot to make provision and remedy some things that happened and was going on aboard the ship, above all a few disputes and some words that the Sergeant Major had with his son the Lieutenant. As the Sergeant Major came as Master of the galleon, he was partial to the sailors and that he, with Lope Martín, the pilot, and a certain Felipe del Campo and some other comrades of his, and a few sailors who were members of the pilot's gang joined in a conspiracy, and with them the lesser Sergeant who was called Pedro Núñez, and they conspired against the Captain. They treated him with disrespect and unashamedly in words and deeds, showing very little respect. They killed a horse he had brought, and it was not known who had done it. Even though some of his friends, judging that what was happening was bad, told him and advised him what they thought of the business, and begged him to watch out for his person, telling him that whoever killed the horse would not fret from doing something worse but he laughed at it and did not give it any importance.

So, they decided to kill him, because he had not remedied it as he should have. One night, while he was sleeping in his cabin, they went in and killed him and his son with blows from daggers. Those involved in the deaths, although the Sergeant Major was behind it all, saying that he himself had killed them, they say that two other sailors went in with him: Lara and Morales. Those who were in favor but had their backs turned and were armed to prevent any soldier from stirring or moving from where they were, were: the pilot Lope Martín, Felipe del Campo, Sergeant Pedro Núñez, Sanfate [Çarfate], Molina, Juan de Zaldivar, the ship clerk, Alonso Boza [Vaca], and others in the league, and many sailors who, not having weapons of their own put on the coats-of-mail of the soldiers and took other arms and as such were masters of it all.

The Sergeant Major became the leader as he had arranged it with the mutineers. He then calmed the men down by saying that he would exonerate them for having killed the Captain, not to worry, and that he would take them to their General; they would be taken in under his protection and he would clear himself from the death of the Captain and his son. So, he began to hold some inquiries.

A little afterwards, there were little things and differences between him and the pilot Lope Martín which led the Sergeant Major to plan the arrest of the pilot but when he tried to put it into effect, those in his league whom he had told about it hindered him, saying that the time was not ripe, to wait for a better opportunity. To asquiesce with them, he postponed it. The pilot was advised of this by some of those who had hindered the Sergeant Major. That night the pilot arrested the Sergeant Major with the help of the sailors and told him that he should let himself be put in irons, that it would thus placate the men and then the lesser Sergeant with a few sailors seized and took the weapons from most of the soldiers and put them below deck.

The next day in the morning, they all had breakfast together, the pilot, the Sergeant Major, the lesser Sergeant and the others in their league and after having drunk well, the pilot Lope Martín ordered to hang the Sergeant Major. The latter thought that they were joking, and he was saying: "What childishnesses are those? Let me go." Thus they strung him up without confession and threw him into the sea half alive. The pilot Lope Martín remained alone as leader, with Felipe del Campo as his adviser who was saying and publishing that to this island [of Cebu] the pilot would not come but that he would throw the people in one island of this neighborhood, then he would go with those who wished to follow him. He promised those that he would make them rich and fortunate men very quickly, that he would return to Spain by the Strait of Magellan.

Upon arriving at **Barbudos** [Marshall] Island, he anchored at a small island in the vicinity, [and said] that if he wished to follow the instruction of the Royal Audiencia he did not have to arrive there nor come down to such a low latitude. While they were anchored at that islet, he plotted to leave there all the people who disagreed with him. He communicated as much to those in his league and, in order to carry it out more easily, he ordered that all the chests and clothes of the soldiers be removed. He himself disembarked and ordered all the people to disembark, saying that they were to winter there, that he wanted to repair the ship. So, the majority of the people went ashore, at least most of the soldiers, and the abandonment of the people was not so secret as some people came to believe. A priest who came in the galleon, named Juan de Vivero, said that he understood the business and the cruelty that they wanted to do. As a priest, he dared to have a talk with Felipe del Campo, as he was the person who governed the pilot, begging him to look well at this affair and not to allow him to leave the people there, that it was inhumane, that they should be brought to the Philippines and be left where there were supplies and food, where they could find a remedy; that if this were not considered a remedy at least they should be given their weapons, and not be left marooned that way. He was told that it could not be done in any way, and that he should not bother to speak about it anymore.

So, he [i.e. the priest] did not dare to speak anymore about the affair, because they were all hoping every hour for the death of the mutineers. So, they all went about aghast and troubled, not daring to trust one another, even their friends. While they were amid those hardships and miseries, it appears that by God's permission Rodrigo del Angle who came as boatswain, and Santiago de Garnica, the water steward, and Juan Enrique, the Flemish gunner, tried to abscond with the ship in the name of H.M. and to leave the pilot and his partisans ashore on the island, and to come to this fort with the others. In order to do it better they informed Lara, a sailor who had been in on the death of the Captain and belonged to the pilot's party, when both he and Morales, who was in the same league, were aboard the ship. Plotting the affair with Lara, they promised to make him Captain and he would be in charge of everything. For this reason and also because he was not in the good graces of the pilot as he used to, he agreed with them and said that he would favor them in everything he could. With his connivance they arose in the name of H.M. and shouted to those ashore to embark.

So, 4 or 5 soldiers swam in and boarded the ship. Lara shouted to Felipe del Campo who was his close friend to come to the ship, but he answered from the beach that he would go there and punish them with the other scoundrels who were aboard the ship. Therefore, the boatswain Rodrigo del Angle and his companions, chopped the cables of the anchors holding them anchored and made sail in order to leave the port.

At about one quarter of a league from shore they came back to anchor and they sent the boat ashore to summon the people, those who wish to come to Zebu. It appears that they could not that day, nor anyone dared to embark because the mutineers detained them, surrounded and unarmed.

The next day in two trips made by the boat ashore, summoning them to embark, some people did so. It did the same thing the next day and others risked going to the ship by swimming. Lope Martín remained with 26 persons. They remained with a large part of the clothes and all the soldiers' chests. The pilot always trusted, and so he was saying and publishing it, that he was going to take back control of the ship as he had a few sailor friends aboard the ship. Rodrigo del Angle made sail and said that he would bring them to Zebú, and so they came. Rodrigo del Angle ordered the arrest of Lara and Morales, because he feared them and, saying that they had been guilty of the Captain's death, hanged them.

Between the Ladrones and these Philippines they met with contrary tradewinds and so they turned back two or three times. When they sighted the first land of the Philippines they carried no more water and they came with little food. In one island they got water and food, albeit with some harm and the death of a few natives. They did the same thing at the island of the Ladrones.

While they were cruising among these islands two days before they encountered Captain Juan de la Isla, Santiago de Garnica and Juan Enrique aboard the boat with 16 persons separated to search for food and so they did not come with the ship. The Governor later despatched a frigate to look for them and at the end of 15 days they arrived at this fort.

As a result of the inquiry that was held, guilt was decided against Juan de Zaldivar, the ship clerk, for having been part of the conspiracy in the death of the Captain. Furthermore, some persons gave notice to the Governor about some gossips about his dealings with the Pilot, the Captain and the Sergeant Major, divulging his own secret dealings with the Captain in his capacity as Clerk. So, a summary investigation was opened against him, he was imprisoned and he confessed that he had known about the death of the Captain many days before they killed him and he distributed weapons to the conspirators and those in favor of the mutiny. So, justice was ordered done and he was executed.

The Governor assembled all the others who had come with the ship and gave them a speech, telling them about the bad discipline that they had participated in and had been apparent in everything they had touched, did not stop until they had committed treason and the death of the Captain and his son, that it was worthy of a serious punishment and penalty and that had been the reason why justice had been done to Juan

de Zaldivar, as they had seen, and that he understood that all the others who had come with the galleon were not guilty of it but rather that they wished to serve H.M. and had come here with this intention in mind, that all the guilty ones and participants in that crime, so enormous and ugly, remained with the pilot and others would get their pay, that they were dead ones already. However, so that no unpleasant aftertaste or scruple be left from this affair, he, in the name of H.M. was pardoning all those who had come to this island of Zebú and had placed themselves under the royal banner, so that no-one would ever ask them to account for it ever, or institute proceedings against them, by doing in the future what they were obligated to do in the service of H.M., toward which he persuaded and animated them as much as he could, by representing to them the greatness and great christianity of H.M. and how good he was at giving favors and rewarding those who serve him, and the qualities and resources of the land, and the magnitude of what they could merit, hold and reach by following him well and with fidelity, not only for God but for H.M. and in order to increase their fames and honors.

By this justification he gave great contentment to all and they showed that they were very happy. Because the captaincies here were lacking soldiers on account of the casualties, he distributed the soldiers among their squads, except for 4 or 5 gentlemen soldiers whom he took for his own company. So he did and either ones showed themselves to be very happy [about it] and they again rendered homage and swore to obey H.M. and the Governor in his royal name. The pilot Rodrigo del Angle delivered to the Governor a flag that he said he had raised in the name of H.M. in order to come with the people and the ship to this island as mentioned above...

The ship **San Gerónimo** that came from New Spain was leaking so much that it could not be stopped, although they routinely operated the pump. It was tried to remedy this and take the water out but there was no way to stop it, either from the inside or from the outside, although they tried to on many occasions, involving the carpenters and divers to be found in the camp, and other seamen. They all agreed that there was no remedy, because they were saying that it was all full of worm holes and that the water could not be taken out, that in addition the whole keel, stern and stern-post were rotten and were useless. So, the few times that the divers had gone below the waterline they came up with pieces of worm-eaten wood which they say had come from the keel. Therefore, they declared that there was no remedy and that they were of the opinion that it should be condemned and taken apart to recover some of the wood and iron works that could be removed, because it could not be salvaged.

The Governor ordered a meeting of the Captains and officers of Royal Treasury and a few sailors and seamen and, having discussed this, they all agreed that the said ship could be taken apart so as not to lose everything, by cutting it down to the first deck, removing all of the ballast and then beaching it so that a true visual inspection could reveal better if there was some remedy and [if so] to make a patache or a galley that would be of some use, that it was in the best interest of H.M. and so they signed this opinion with their names.

Accordingly, it was ordered taken apart and raised down to the first deck and afterward they beached it ashore and then it was ordered that the official carpenters and other seamen who knew about ships have another look. They in turn looked inside and out and swore a declaration that the said ship could not be repaired nor salvaged, not even to make a patache or other type of galley, because everything was too far gone, worm-eaten and rotten, not only the outer planks but the interior wood, even the iron parts were wasted and rusted, that it was useless for anything except that it could be dismantled and some boards could be used for something else. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The patache San Juan departed Cebu with this report at the end of July 1567.