
Document 1565Q

Legazpi's voyage—Logbook of Pilot Major Estéban Rodríguez

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

Text of the Rodríguez logbook

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sunday, 19 November.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

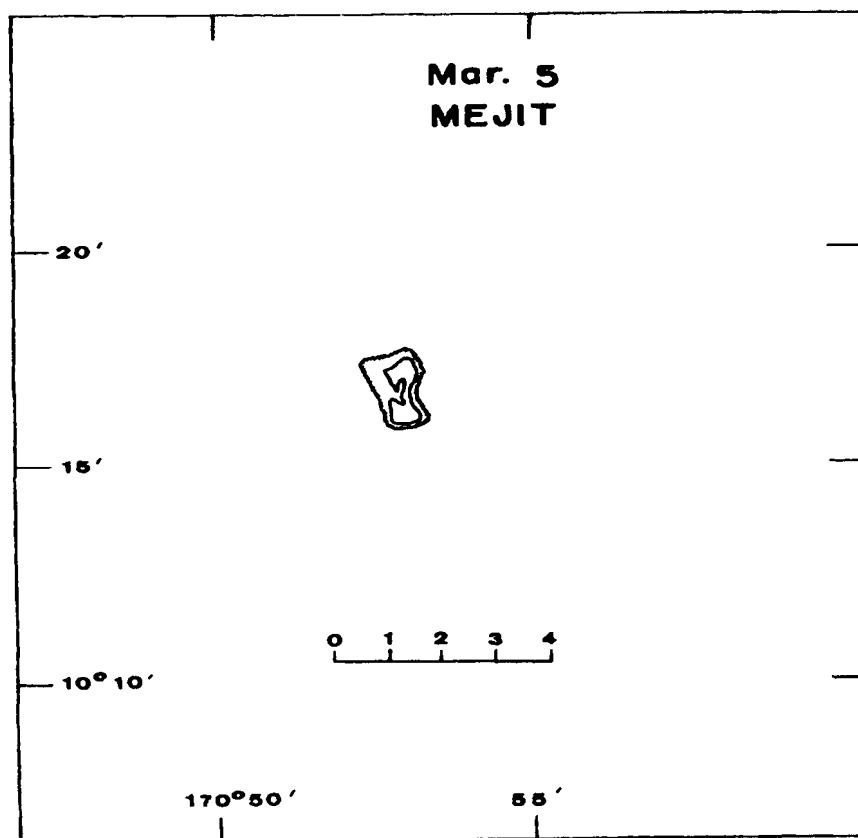
3. Wednesday, 3rd of the month. We made 36 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 10° and 3/4.

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

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

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

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



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

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

[Discovery of Mejit]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Discovery of Ailuk]

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

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

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

[Discovery of Jemo]

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

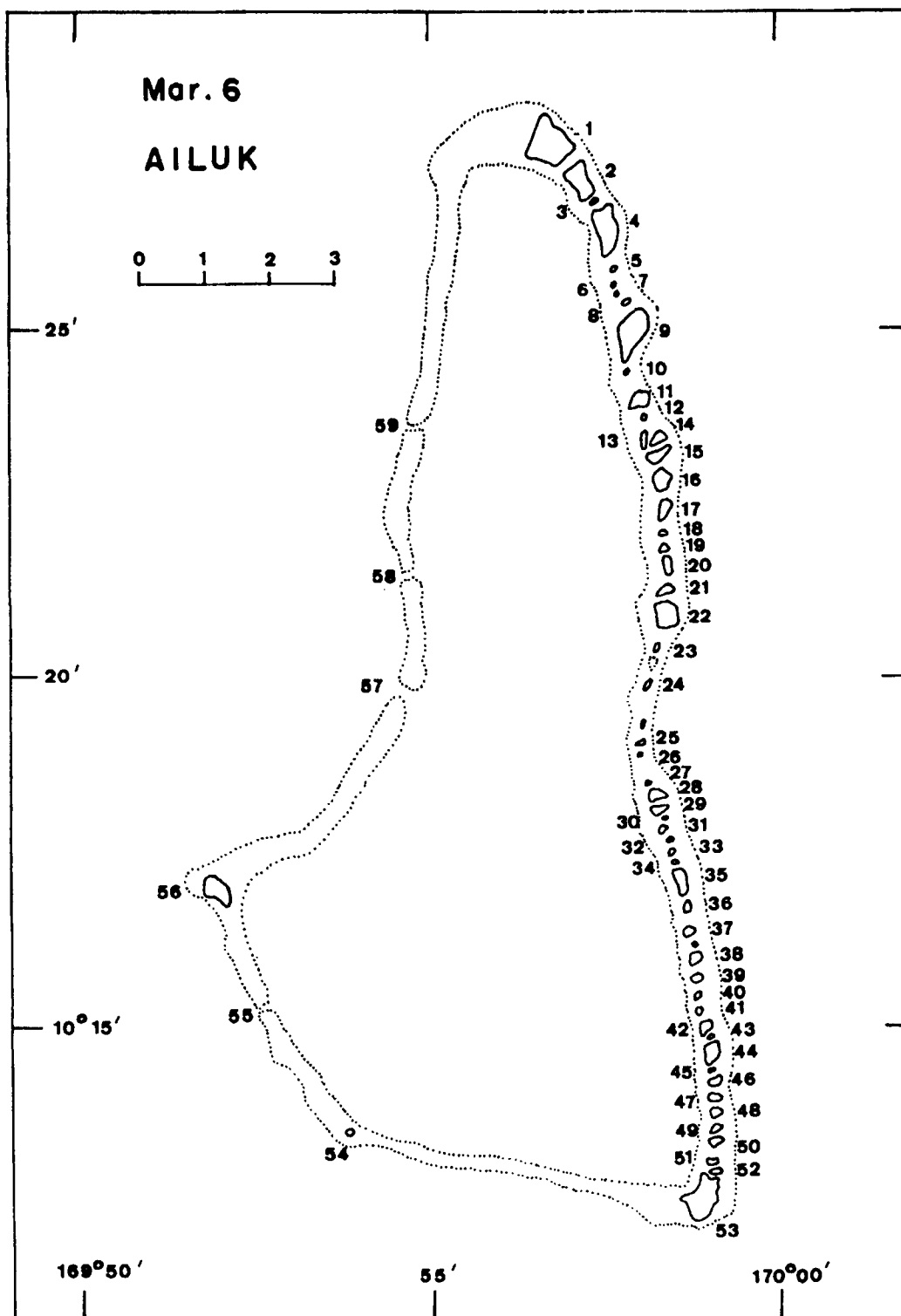
1 Ed. note: A remarkably-good estimate of distance from Mejit, as 50 minutes is about 15 leagues. The width of Ailuk, however, is only about 3 leagues.

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

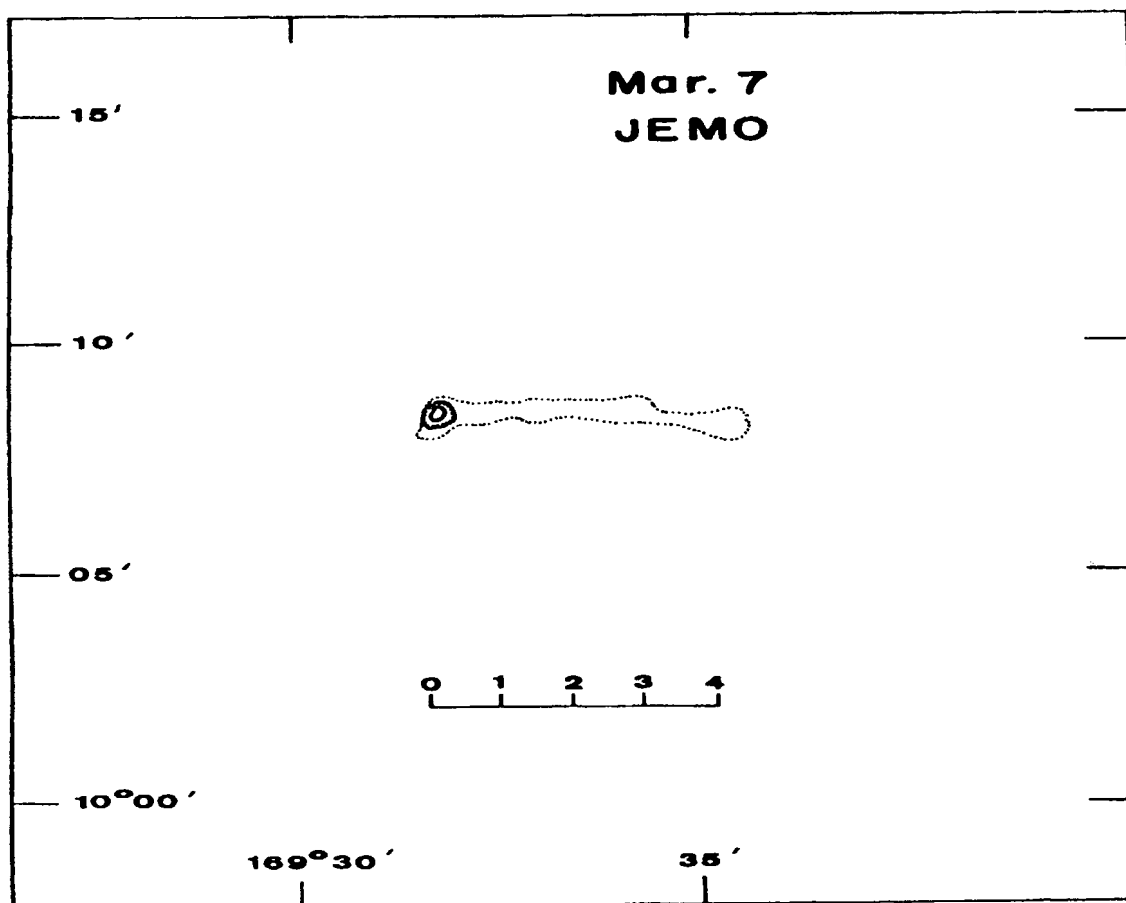
3 Ed. note: Bryan's Mar. 6-56.

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

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



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



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

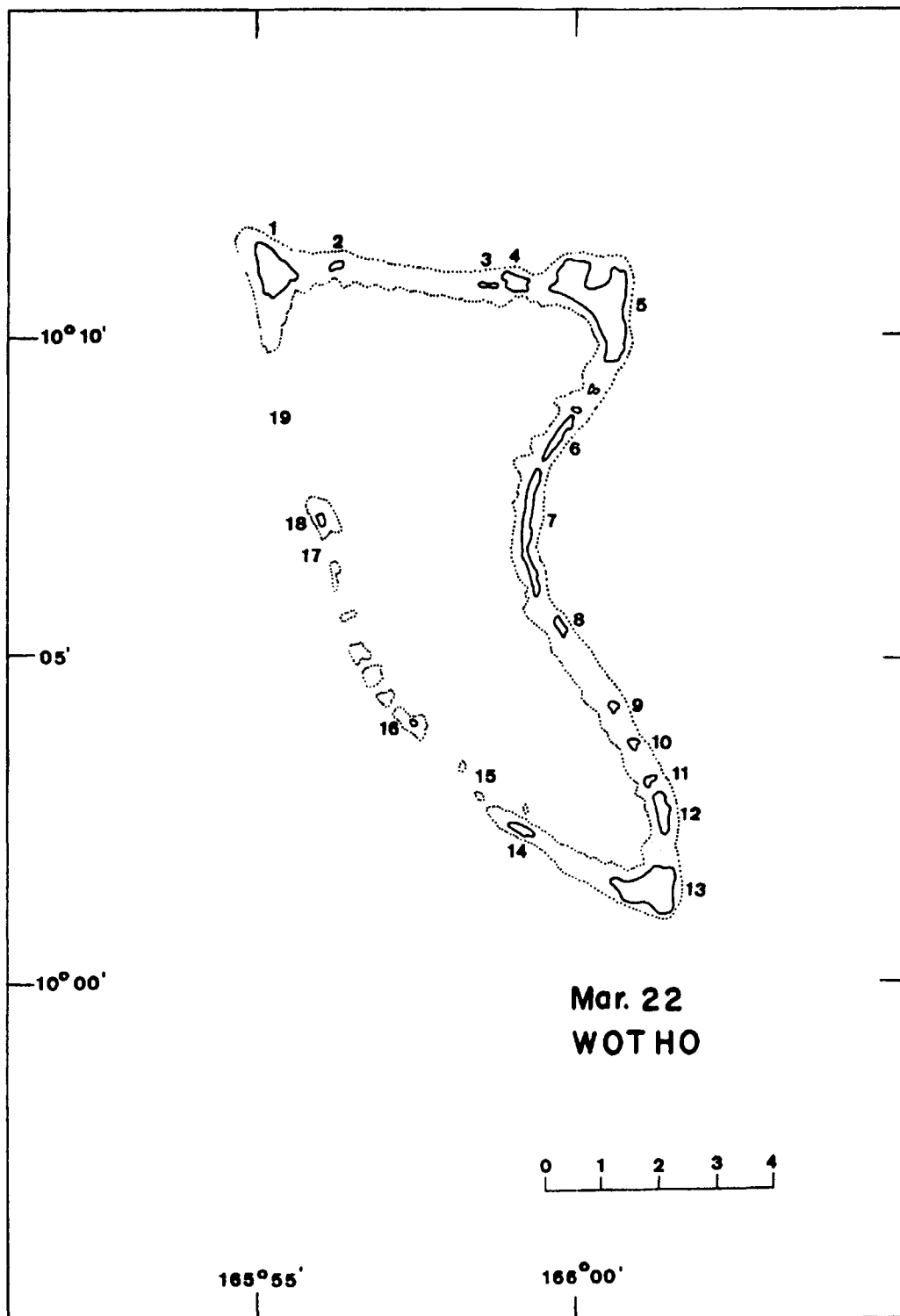
leagues in extent, is very low and apt to be covered with water. There was a reef coming out of it one league to the SW.¹ The whole island was full of birds and for this reason we named it **Isla de Pajaros** [Bird Island].

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

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

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

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



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

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

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

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

[Discovery of Ujelang]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

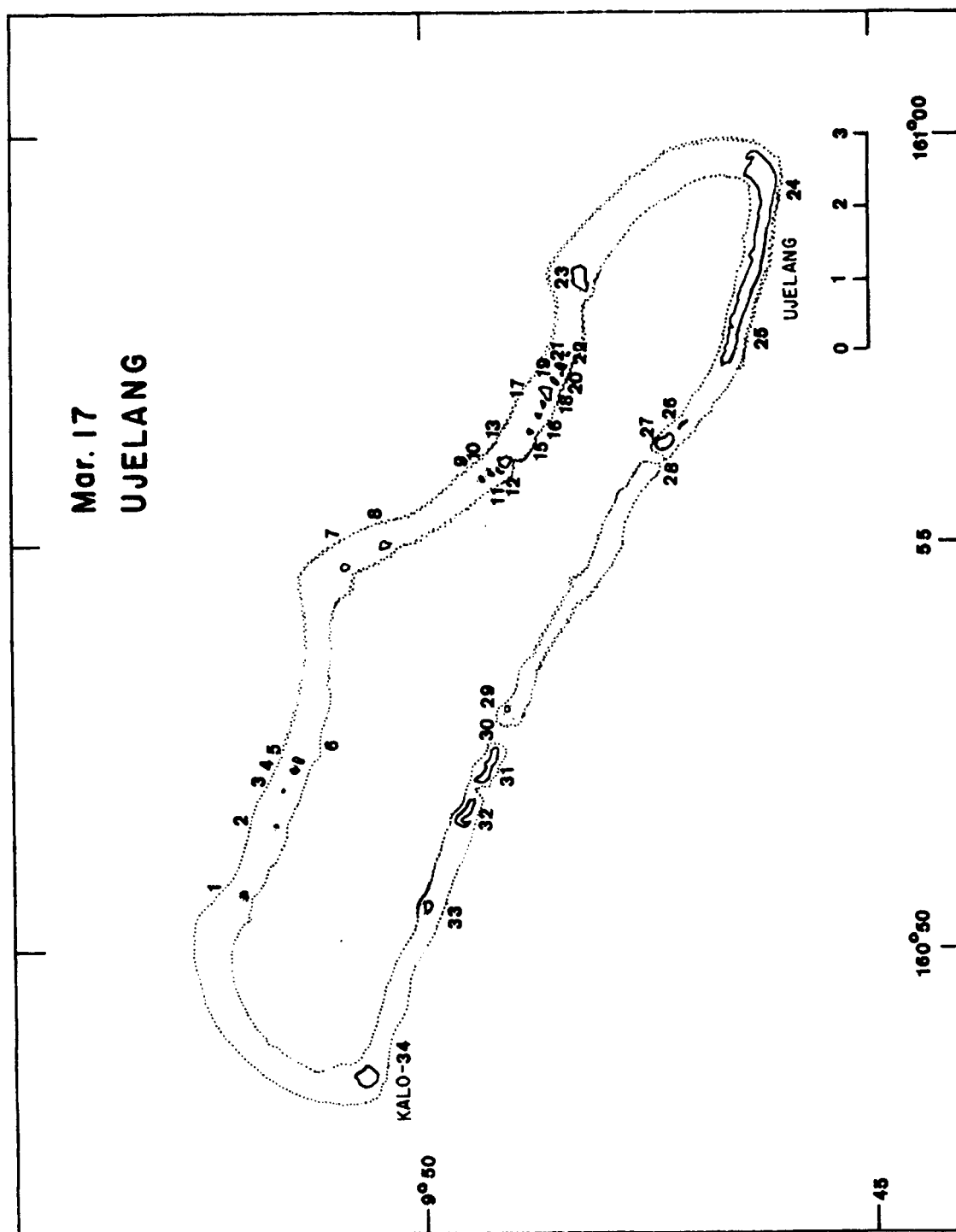
21. Sunday, 21st of the month, we made 20 leagues on the same heading.

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

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

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

4 Ed. note: Ujelang proper is at a latitude of $9^{\circ}46'N$.



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

Stopover at Guam

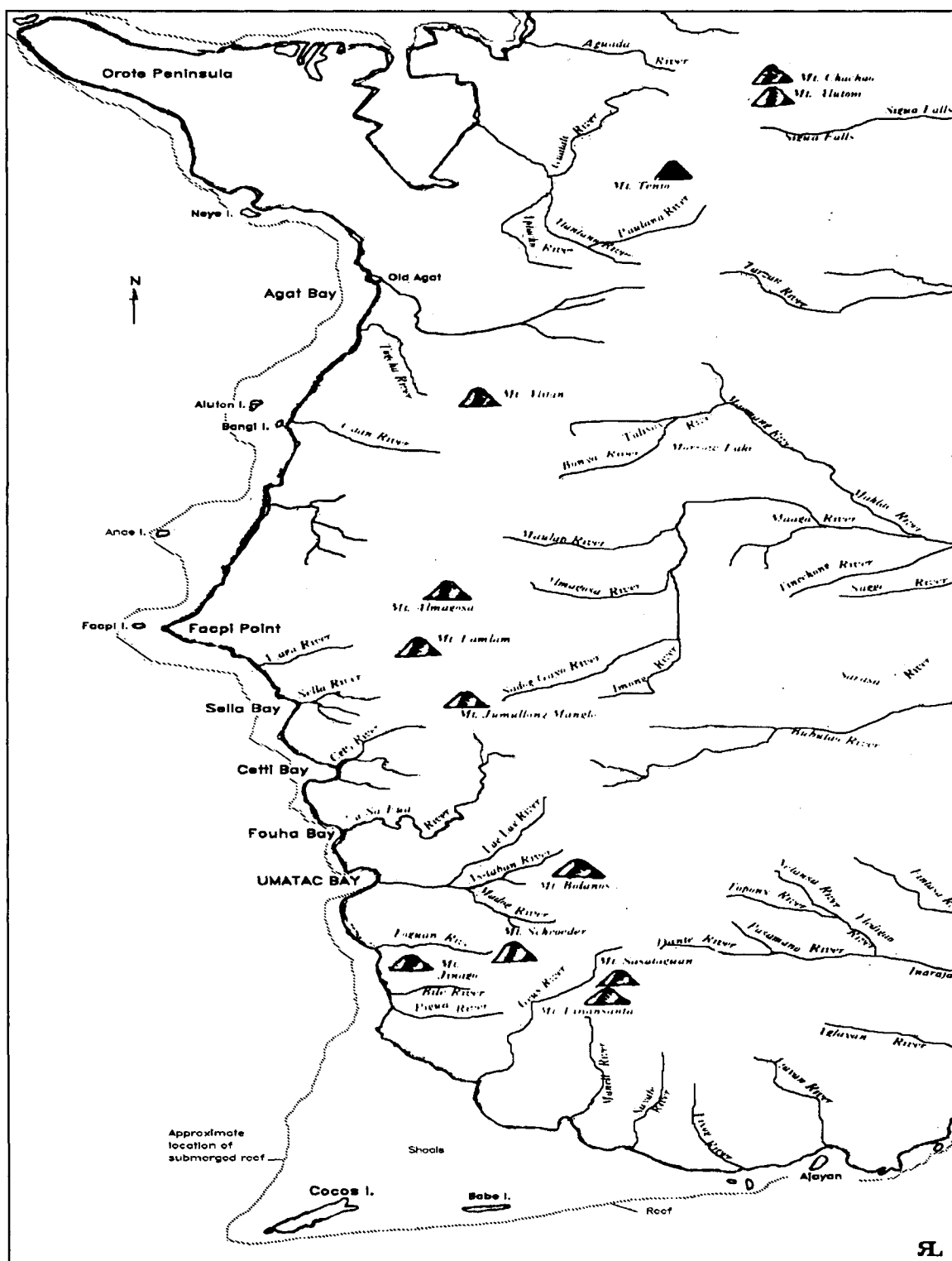
22. Monday. Up to noon, when I took the sun, we covered 20 leagues. I took the sun in 13°. These 20 leagues had been covered while we were on a W by S heading. After having taken the sun, we saw a high **island** with many mountain ranges in its southern part. There were some [bare] reddish spots on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

[Description of the canoes of Guam]

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

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

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



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

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

[Survey of the SW coast of Guam]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[First Chamorro vocabulary]

Some words in their language are as follows:

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

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

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

1 Ed. note: Transcription error for "ahé".

2 Ed. note: If salt was "asig" and fish "iban", salted fish was probably "asiguiban", or "asiguihan".

3 Ed. note: Now written "nika". It is a type of yam.

4 Ed. note: Perhaps a transcription error for "ratu".

5 Ed. note: Wood is "hayu" now, so that "tagayaya" was either a specific tree or a phrase including the word "ayu", or "kayo" which is the Malay root word.

6 Ed. note: There is no word resembling this in a modern dictionary; it was possibly a descriptive word instead.

7 Ed. note: Probable transcription error for "tasi", which means sea, or else "anom".

8 Ed. note: Well-known Mexican pastry filled with meat. "Enft" looks to me an unlikely rendering and may be transcription error. The native word has been replaced by the Spanish word "empanada".

9 Ed. note: Possible transcription error for "chotda".

10 Ed. note: Now spelled "laguá".

11 Ed. note: A real puzzle. "Tali" means rope. What object is meant here is not known. Could it have been the image of a saint?

12 Ed. note: This could be "matcha", a word close to the modern "mata".

13 Ed. note: Transcription error for "halian".

14 Ed. note: A puzzle as the modern word is "talanga".

15 Ed. note: Now written "nifen".

16 Ed. note: Transcription error for "guafak".

17 Ed. note: Transcription error for "puro", now written "pulu".

18 Ed. note: Now written "hasngot".

19 Ed. note: Probably misunderstood for "hatga", the word meaning to carry, to haul.

Ella	reben ¹	she
Pie	ngmicha	foot
Cesto de mimbre	pian ²	wicker basket
Barba	mimi ³	beard
Honda	atripe ⁴	sling
Pierna	achumpa	leg
Cangrejo	achulu ⁵	crab
Esto	achi	this
Petaca	agu	(leather) case/box/chest
Bocal	burgay ⁶	pitcher
Ven acá	hembean	come here
Estrella	vitan ⁷	star
Luna	Uran ⁸	Moon
Sol	Ataon ⁹	Sun
Comer	mana ¹⁰	to eat
Grande	riso	big
Their way of counting is as follows:		
Uno	acha[i.e. hacha]	one
Dos	gua [hugua]	two
Tres	tero [tulo]	three
Cuatro	farfur [fatfat]	four
Cinco	nimi [lima]	five ¹¹
Seis	guanán [gunum]	six
Siete	frintin [fiti]	seven
Ocho	gua [gualu]	eight ¹²
Nueve	agua [sigua]	nine
Diez	manete [manot]	ten.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

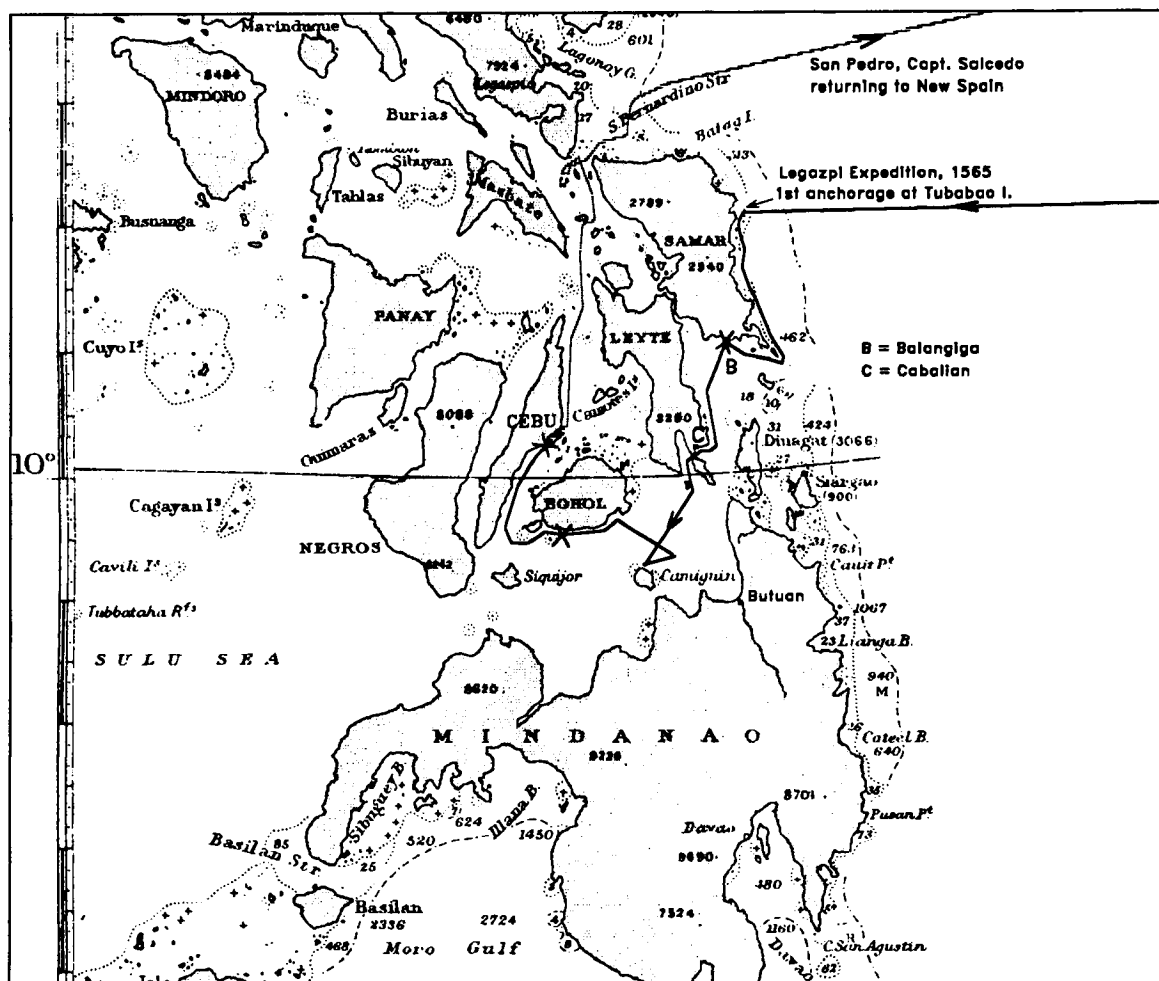
13. Tuesday, 13th of the month. We made 20 leagues, on the same heading. I took the sun in 12° and $1/2$.

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

Summary of their arrival at the Philippines

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

1 Ed. note: Caobos in other reports.



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

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

1 Ed. note: The Spaniards were to record this spot as their “primer surgidero” or first anchorage on their future maps.

2 Ed. note: That was the islet at the tip of Caliocan Island.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Settlement of Cebu and despatch of the flagship

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

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

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

1 Ed. note: Error for NE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[The return of the San Pedro]

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