
Documents 1664A

Letters from Governor Salcedo regarding his voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines in 1663

A1. Letter to the King, dated Manila 16 June 1664

Source: AGI Fil. 9-3-43, pp. 1-6.

The galleon San José with two commanding generals

Original text in Spanish.

Da Quenta a V.M. el Governador de Philipinas de los procedimientos de Don Andres de Medina y Avila, a quien en contrabención de Real cedula, nombro el Virrey Conde de Vaños, por General de la Nao S. Joseph que havia ydo a cargo del General Francisco García del Fresno, a quien se le restituyo; remite diferentes autos para su comprovazion.

Señor

En las de Gobierno, Hacienda, Justicia, y Guerra he dado quenta a V.M. de lo tocante a estas materias y en esta lo hago de como en contrabención de la Real Cedula de 4 de Mayo de 635 por la qual se declara y manda que subcediendo muerte, de General o almirante de las Naos que vayan de estas Islas a la Nueva España presisamente en lugar del muerto buelva governando el que fuese nombrado por los gobernadores de ellas. Y por Cedula de la misma fecha, se ordeno al Marques de Cadereita siendo Virrey de la Nueva España que el nombramiento que por el o los que le subcedieren hizieron en contrario se anulo y de ningun efecto ni lleven sueldo alguno el Conde de Baños siendo Virrey de ella.

Haviendo llegado al Puerto de Acapulco el año de 62 la nao S. Joseph que venia a cargo del General Francisco García del Fresno, sin citación ni diligencia alguna que con el se hiziese ni haver dado caussa para que se le quitasse dha Nao, si obrado bien en haver la metido en aquel Puerto en tiempo muy irregular despues de grandes tempo-

rales y trabajos que benzio para conseguirlo le despojo y en su lugar nombro a Don Andres de Medina y Avila vesino de Mexico para que biniessse por General de ella y se hizo tanto empeño en esto por el Virrey y algunos ministros de aquella Audiencia que aunque reconociendo la injusticia que se hazia en tal y los grandes inconbenientes que de ello se seguian a estas islas y su Comercio por el mal exemplar que seria para lo en adelante, sobre que hize los esfuerzos que me fueron posibles para que no se inoban ni contrabiniesse a la voluntad de V.M. no lo pude conseguir.

Y habiendo llegado al Puerto de Acapulco para embarcarme el Castellano del en virtud del nombramiento del Virrey dio la posecion del Galeon referido a dicho D. Andres de Medina donde el General Francisco García del Fresno reclamo y protexto los daños para que no le parase perjuicio en nada ni al pleito omenaje que tenia echo lo que de hecho y con violencia y sin ser oydo. Se havia hecho y hazia. Y porque estando tan adelante como estava el tiempo que van yà los 20 de Março y qualquier ora de dilacion era abenturar y perder el viage y nao, y hazer como hazia el Castellano retencion del dinero y socorro que se embiava, a estas islas hasta dar entero cumplimiento al despacho del Virrey en que le comunicava con grande multa si no lo ponía en execucion por que no se atrasase el servicio de V.M. y despacho de dicha nao se hisso assi y a la vela y por General de ella, dho D. Andres de Medina que luego que salio y puesto en alta mar contra la Instruccion que en Mexico se le dio para que en el viage siguiera la derota ordinaria sin extrabiarde de ella llevado de su fantasia quiso inovar y con efecto dio orden al Piloto para que hechase por nuevos Incognitos y no acostumbrados rumbos a quantos an navegado esta carrera sin haverlo echo el jamas cossa que causso Junta impresion y alteracion en todos que alli benia. Como yo benia allí subcediera muy mal y para quietar el tumulto y clamor con que todos acudieron a pedir me el remedio y que se restituyera para la seguridad del viage al General Francisco Garcia del Fresno al exercicio de su plaza sobre que dio pericion exsibiendo sus papeles y titulos por donde le tocaba legitimamente el gobierno de dha nao me halle obligado por ser el negocio y riesgo de tanta ymportancia y por no haver otro recurssso a proveer en forma de gobierno con parezer de los oydores D. Francisco Coloma y D. Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla a quienes nombré por acesores que se diesse traslado de lo que se pedia a D. Andres de Medina y con su citacion se reziviese informacion de lo referido y que si quisiese hazerla de su parte y exsivir sus titulos lo hiziesse dentro de cierto termino que se le señalo y habiendosele notificado y passado sin dezir ni hazer de su parte cossa alguna que le aprovechasse con vista de lo que el General Francisco Garcia dixo papeles que presento y imformacion que se rezivio con parezer de los dhos acesores hize restituir a su exercicio y gobierno de dicha Nao al General Francisco García y que D. Andres de Medina sobreseyese en el con lo qual la gente y tumulto se aquieto y conso- lo, y se prosiguió el viage y como quiera que en el discurso del dho Don Andres de Medina arastrado de la inchazon y arrogancia de su natural cabiloso [=cabaloso] y que presume del mayor marineró procurasse inquietar demasiado y traer a su parsialidad sequito y devoçion algunas perssonas y preprovar todo lo que se hazia y obrava en las faenas del viage en gran daño del servicio de V. Magd. in quietud y desconsuelo de

todos para hazer experiençia juiçio y prueba de la suficiençia e inteligençia de uno y otro sujeto del Piloto Mayor hize que diesen puntos por escrito y declarasen segun la fantazia experiençia o conocimiento especulativo de sol y estrellas el dia en que se descubriria tierra de Ladrones yslas que distan cosa de 300 leguas de estas y haviendole dado los dos no lo hizo dicho D. Andres aun que quando se le intimó respondio lo haria y haviendose descubierto tierra y dho el General Francisco García era una de las islas de Ladrones Don Andres de Medina dixo publicamente y en altas voses que no era tal por que segun su observacion se hallava de ellas mas de 300 leguas y en esta negativa pertinasmamente estuvo aquel dia hasta que el siguiente de las mismas islas salieron a la nao muchas embarcaciones de Indios de ellas como lo suelen hazer de ordinario quando pasan naos de Filipinas y con esta prueba Real el quedo conbensido de su error y yo con la obligazion de representar esto a V. Magd. para que noticiesse del sujeto se tenga conosido y que el servicio de V. Mgd. no peligre con la persuasiba y colores retoricos y aparentes con que en todos parece pretende ser tenido por el mayor argonauta en esta profession mayormente que este sugeto es muy peligrosso cavilosso [=cabaloso] y amigo de novedades y introducir cismas donde quiera que llega y esta se à experimentado en muchas ocaçiones particularmente en este viage y en que llevado de su mal natural luego que llego la nao al Puerto de Cavite y que se desembarco acaudillo y atrajo assi algunas dies perssonas que benian en sueldo y entre ellos un piloto un maestro de fabricas y el Capitan Andres Garcia maestre de ella y sin haver dado quenta de los Reales y general de su cargo fletando una embarcacion con pretexto de que era para venir a esta Ciudad que dista dos leguas de aquel puerto mañosamente embarco bastimentos y armas y llevandose gran suma de pesos dho Capitan y Maestre le fueron engañando al arraez¹ de la embarcacion y haviendose hechado menos toda esta gente.

Luego que tuve noticiã despache en su busca un champan con orden para que los trajesen y la mesma di en todas las provinçias y escribi a los Reyes sirkunvezinos para que si llegasen a qualquiera parte los apresasen y remitiesen y hasta aora no ha avido rastro de ellos como todo consta por los papeles que van con esta para que si aportaren por allá como se presume se haga con ellos la demostraçion que combenga y merese tan grave delito y de tan mal exemplar como le à echo de irse de esta suerte sin lizençia y con unos hombres tan necessarios en parte donde tanto se careze de ellos y los que ay que no desean otra cossa que salir de aqui yntentaran hazer lo mesmo sin ser fazil el repararlo por los muchos y dilatados puertos que ay en estas islas[.] todos estos incombinientes se escussaran Señor si se guardaran las cedulas de V. Mgd. a quien creo no hago pequeño servicio en dar noticia de esto assi para que tales sujetos sean conosidos y castigados con el exemplar que materia tan grave pide y solizita como para que sirviendose V.M. mande que los Virreyes de Nueva España no contravengan a lo que por Real[es] Cedulales esta prohibido con que se cortaran semejantes inconvenientes otros mayores que pueden seguirse.

1 Ed. note: Word of Arabic origin, normally referring to the captain or master of a Moorish ship.

Dios guarde la catholica Real Persona de V. Magd. muchos años como la christianidad desseja y a menester.

Manila y Julio 16 de 1664 años.

D. Diego Salcedo

Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines informs Y.M. of the proceedings of Don Andrés de Medina y Avila, whom the Viceroy, Count of Baños, had appointed, in contravention of royal decree, as General of the galleon **San José** that had gone out [of Manila] in charge of General Francisco García del Fresno, to whom it was restored; he encloses various declarations as a proof.

Sire:

Under separate covers, I have informed Y.M. about matters regarding Government, Finance, Justice, and War. In the present, I wish to point out the occurrence of a contravention of the Royal Decree of 4 May 1635, in which it is declared and ordered that, upon the death of the General, or admiral, of the galleons travelling from these Islands to New Spain, the place of the deceased must precisely be taken over by a person appointed by their governors. And by Decree of same date, the Marquis of Cadereita, who was Viceroy of New Spain, was ordered that the appointment made by him or by his successors to the contrary be annulled and made void, and that the Count of Baños was to serve without a salary.

¶ Ley xxxxiij. Que el Virrey de Nueva España no haga novedad en el nombramiento de Oficiales de las Naos de Filipinas.

Los Gobernadores de Filipinas D. Felipe IV. Rey de España
nombran General, Almirante, duque de Segovia
y Oficiales de las Naos , que vienen á Nueva España , y para en breve de 1635
caso de muerte, ó ausencia, en conformidad de las vias , hazen nombramiento en otras personas. Y porque así conviene, ordenamos á los Virreyes de Nueva España, que guarden , y hagan guardar en esto lo ordenado , y la costumbre, que siempre se ha observado , sin hazer novedad.

Law 43, Title 45, Book 9 of the Code of the Indies.

This law was quite specific. It was based on a decree issued 3 months earlier, on 5 February 1635.

The galleon **San José** had arrived at the port of Acapulco in 1662 in charge of General Francisco García del Fresno. Without any summons issued to him, or legal action undertaken against him, and without him having given any cause for the command of the said galleon to be taken from him—rather, he had served well in taking her to that port at a very irregular time of the year, having overcome great storms and hardships to accomplish it—he [i.e. the Viceroy] despoiled him and in his place appointed Don Andrés de Medina y Avila, a resident of Mexico, to come as her General. The Viceroy and some ministers of that Audiencia made so many efforts in this, although they recognized the injustice made in it and the great disadvantages that would result from it to these Islands and their commerce, on account of the bad example set for the future. I did my best to point out to them that they should make no innovations and should not contravene the will of Y.M. but did not succeed in convincing them.

When I arrived at the port of Acapulco to board the galleon, the Commander of the Fort, by virtue of the appointment made by the Viceroy, gave command of her to the said Don Andrés de Medina, whereupon General Francisco García del Fresno put in his claim and protested so that he would not suffer prejudice in anything, including the oath of allegiance he had taken, that he had in fact suffered prejudice, that violence had been done, and he had not been heard. However, since the time to leave was so advanced, it being the 20th of March already, and since any delay might mean to run the risk of losing the voyage and the galleon, and since the Fort Commander was in fact withholding the money and the succor that were being sent to these Islands until the despatch of the Viceroy was entirely satisfied (wherein he had been threatened with a heavy fine if he did not execute it), in order not to delay the service of Y.M. and the despatch of the said galleon, it was done that way. The galleon sailed in charge of the said Don Andrés de Medina as her General. Then, once she was on the high seas, against the Instruction that he had been given in Mexico, to the effect that in the voyage he was to follow the ordinary route without any deviation from it, carried away by his fantasy, he decided to innovate and indeed he gave an order to the Pilot to follow new headings, unusual when compared to the regular ones that have been followed on this run without anything [bad] ever happening. So, this change made a deep impression and alteration in everyone on board. As I was also aboard, the outcome appearing bad, and in order to calm the commotion and general outcry making everyone beg me for a remedy and, for the safety of the voyage, they asked me to restore General Francisco García del Fresno to the exercise of his command for the safety of the voyage—regarding which he gave expert advice and exhibited his papers and titles by which the command of the said galleon was his prerogative—I found myself obliged, since this was a risky business, so important, and since there was no other recourse but to provide for a formal command, with the opinions of the members of the Audiencia, Don Francisco Coloma and Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla, whom I appointed as my legal counsels, to have a record made of what was being asked of Don Andrés de Medina. A summons was to be issued to him, and then an inquiry opened about this affair. He was invited to represent his side and to exhibit his titles within a fixed time period. He

was notified and for his part he did nothing in his own favor within the said time period. Given that General Francisco García had presented his papers and report, receipt of them was acknowledged and, with the opinion of the said legal counsels, I ordered that his exercise and command of the said galleon be restored to General Francisco García and that Don Andrés de Medina desist from it. Consequently, the men became calm and consoled, the commotion stopped, and the voyage proceeded. However, the said Don Andrés de Medina used language rendered mean by conceit and arrogance. He has a bent for intrigues and presumed himself to be the best mariner around. So, he managed to cause too much trouble and to urge a few persons to side with him and join his following, and to check into everything that was going on regarding the tasks of the voyage, at a great harm to the service of Y.M. by causing disquiet and disconsolateness in everyone. He challenged the experience, judgment, and asked for proof of the skill and intelligence of the Pilot Major's mates. He asked them to write down and declare their knowledge on specific points of navigation, estimates of position, observations of the Sun and stars, and to state when the Islands of the Ladrones, that are distant 300 leagues from these Islands, would be sighted. Both of them did so, but the said Don Andrés did not. Even when he was asked, he said he would do so, but upon sighting land, General Francisco García having said that it was one of the Islands of the Ladrones, Don Andrés de Medina said publicly and loudly that it was not so, because, according to his observation he found himself over 300 leagues from them. He stubbornly hung to this negative opinion the whole of that day, but the next day many Indian canoes came out to the galleon from them, as they usually do when galleons from the Philippines pass by. With this real proof, he was convinced of his error and I saw myself with the obligation to inform Y.M. of this, so that you may take cognizance of this individual and he may not jeopardize the service of Y.M. again, with his persuasive and colorful rethoric and pretensions with which everywhere it seems he boasts of being the best argonaut in this profession. More importantly, this individual is very dangerous, scheming, and fond of novelty and of introducing schisms wherever he goes; this was experienced on many occasions, specially during this voyage. Carried off by his bad character, once the galleon had arrived at the port of Cavite, he convinced about 10 salaried persons to follow his lead, among whom were a master ship-builder and Captain Andrés García, her Master. Without giving an account of the Reals [of the subsidy] and goods in his care, he chartered a boat, under pretext of coming to this City which is two leagues distant from that port, he craftily loaded supplies and weapons, the said Captain and Master having taking a large sum of pesos, using it on his behalf to deceive the native master of the boat and throw out all these men.

Afterward, when I learned about this, I despatched a champan after them with orders to bring them back, and I had the same orders published in all the provinces and I wrote to the Kings of the neighboring countries, so that, if they showed up anywhere, they would be seized and sent back. Until now there has not been any trace of them, as can be seen from the papers that are enclosed herewith, the purpose being that, if they ever show up overthere as it is supposed, a demonstration can be done with them, one

that befits such a serious crime and such a bad example that he set, by going away in this manner without permission and with a few men of the type that is so necessary here. The mariners who are here, who wish nothing else than getting away from here, may try to do the same. It would not be easy to prevent it, given the many and faraway ports that exist in these Islands. All these inconveniences could have been avoided, Sire, if the decrees of Y.M. had been followed. I believe that I am doing Y.M. a great service by informing on this matter, so that such individuals become known and be punished in the exemplary manner that such a grave matter requires, and that Y.M. be pleased to order the Viceroys of New Spain not to contravene what they have been forbidden to do by royal decrees, in order for such inconveniences, and other greater ones that might follow, to cease.

May God keep the Catholic Royal Person of Y.M. for many years, as Christendom wishes and needs.

Manila, 16 July 1664.

Don Diego Salcedo¹

A2. Notes from the inquiry as a result of a protest against General Andrés de Medina

Source: AGI Fil. 9-3-43, pp. 17 et seq.

Notes: This general had been appointed by the Viceroy, against royal orders and regulations, although the galleon already had a commander, General García del Fresno. Leandro Coello was then pilot major of the San José on this swing voyage. The Marianas were seen on 6 June 1663. It seems ironic now, but had General Medina had his way, and the ship been taken on a more northerly course across the Pacific, the Hawaiian Islands might have been discovered by Europeans in 1663, some 110 years before Captain Cook.

Original text in Spanish.

1. Decree of Governor Salcedo to record navigational predictions.

*Estando en el galeon capitana de Philipinas **San Joseph**, y en alta mar en veinte y cinco dias del mes de mayo de seis cientos y sesenta y tres años su Señoria el Señor Don Diego de Salcedo Governador y Capitan General de dhas yslas y pressidente de la rreal Audiencia quen ellas reçide:*

...

En dho dia mez y año yo el presente escrivano de dho Galeon hize notorio a Leandro Cuello piloto mayor de dho galeon la orden citada aparte y rrespondio diciendo que a su tiempo avisara en la forma que se le ordena y lo firmo en pressencia de dhos testigos.

Leandro Coello.

Nicolas Fernandez escrivano.

¹ Ed. note: One year later, Governor Salcedo still had not received any news of the whereabouts of this Andrés de Medina (see note on page 229).

*Estando en dho galeon capitana **San Joseph** en siete de Junio de seis cientos y sesenta y tres años su Señoría el Señor Governador: Dixo que por quanto ayer que se contaron seis deste presente mes a cossa de las dos de la tarde poco mas o menos se descubrio y vio tierra y se dixo publicamente ser las Islas de los Ladrones y haviendose continuado el viaxe en su derechura oy a cossa de medio dia poco mas o menos se enpareho con ellas con que se reconoçio con evidenciã ser dichas Islas y para que conste de ello y de la ora y dia que se descubrieron mando su Señoría se rresiva ynformazion al thenor de lo rreferido y que atento en virtud de la orden y decreto de su Señoría de los veinte y çinco del mez passado el General Francisco García del Fresno y Leandro Cuello Piloto mayor de este galeon tienen dados papeles çerrados y sellados insinuando el punto y parahe en que se hallavan y yban y su Señoría reservo el abrirlos para quando se descubriesen dichas Islas y los mando depositar como con efecto se depositaron en el Padre Fray Francisco de San Joseph, comisario de los padres de San Francisco Descalzos que ban en esta dha nao para que assi sellados y serrados los tuviese en deposito hasta que llegase la ocazion de abrirlos en este paraje y porque combiene hazerlo y que sea en presençia de dho Padre commissario y demas padres commissarios de la orden de San Augustin Calsados y Descalzos y Padres Jesuitas mando que el pressente escribano les de recafuldo para que se hallen en la camara con su Señoría para abrir y ver que contienen dhos papeles y que fechos se ponga por diligenciã y a continuazion de estos autos.*

...

2. Prediction of Francisco García del Fresno.

El General Francisco Garçia del Fresno en cumplimiento del orden que rrezivi de Vss^a de veinte y cinco deste pressente mes: Digo que me hallo oy dia de la fha norte-sur con las Islas de San Bartholome por altura de treçe grados y dies minutos leste-veste con la Isla de Goan cordillera de los Ladrones al este de dhas Yslas dosçientas y ochenta leguas. Hago dello avisso como lo hare un dia antes que me halle por mi fantaçia con la dha Isla de Goan que es lo que observan todos los pilotos y enseña el arte nautico.

Fecho en el galeon capitana San Joseph navegando en veinte y ocho de Mayo, de mill seis cientos y sesenta y tres años.

Francisco García del Fresno.

...

3. Deposition of Father Fray Juan Gutierrez.

*En dho Galeon dia mes y año de arriva para mas ynformazion de lo contenido en el auto de suso su Señoría dicho Señor Governador rezivio Juramento del Padre Fray Juan Gutierrez de Reboleño Religioso de la orden de San Augustin Calzado que lo hizo **imbervo saserdotis** [sic] preguntado al thenor de dho auto: Dixo que el a venido en este Galeon donde a pocos dias de haver salido del puerto de Acapulco tubo entendido y se diçe publicamente que Don Andres de Medina a otra dia de como salio de dho puerto governando esta nao avia dho al piloto mayor que girase a la buelta del norueste para dejando el camino que se a traido y ha çido y es el ordinario segun el sentir de todos los marineros que aqui vienen se fuese por camino nuevo por cuya caussa y otras*

que de justicia y gobierno moverian el animo del Señor Governador save le sobreseer al susodicho en el desta dha nao y le pusso en el cuydado del General Francisco Garçia del Fresno que ha venido haziendo oficio de tal general. Y a caussa de aver sentido dicho Don Andrez de Medina diferentemente del rumbo de este viaxe y de su açierto diçiendo en diferentes ocaziones yba errado se an ocasionado y podido ocasionar considerables yncombenientes disturbios y desserviçios de su Magestad, y para ajustar mas vien la suficiencia tiene entendido y assido notorio que su Señoria algunos dias antes de llegar a las Islas de los Ladrones hizo notificar a los dichos Francisco Garçia del Fresno[,] Leandro Cuello piloto mayor y Don Andrez de Medina diesen punto y declarazen el dia antes que se hallazen con dhas yslas de los Ladrones que en virtud de dha orden los dhos Francisco Garçia del Fresno y piloto mayor dieron dicho punto y no save que dho Don Andres de Medina lo aya dado antes vien zave y es notorio que avien-dose descubierto ayer tierra y dichose que era las yslas de los Ladrones el dho Don Andrez de Medina: Dixo que no era possible lo fuesen porque el se hallava tresçientas leguas antes de llegar a ellas y esto de las tres çientas leguas lo dijo el susodicho a este testigo y hasta que con efecto oy se enparejo con una de dhas Islas de los Ladrones y llegaron los Indios de ellas a esta nao como lo tienen de costumbre no fue posible apartase de su dictamen erroneo el dicho Don Andres de el qual error pudieran haver seguidose muchos daños e yncombenientes a no haverse governado el Señor Governador con la blandura y espera como se a experimentado y ubieran sido mayores si se le hubiera dado lugar a que fuese por el rumbo que queria y assido muy del serviçio de su Magestad el que se ubiera hecho del esta experiençia por tener como tenia el susodho persuadido a los conçejos y ministros mayores era muy çientifico en el arte nautico[.] esto dixo saver por las razones dhas ser la verdad en que se afirmo y firmo y ser de edad de sesenta años.

Y le señalo su Señoria.

Fray Juan Gutierrez de Revoleño.

Nicolas Fernandez escrivano.

...

4. Deposition of Juan Diego, seaman.

...

Ayer seis de este presente mes a cossa de las tres de la tarde poco mas o menos desde la gavia se rreconoció tierra y luego: Dixo el dho General Francisco Garçia del Fresno y los demas pilotos y marineros que era una de las Islas de los Ladrones llamada la Sarpána a la banda del norte y tanto mas se aseguro esto con que luego se descubrio a la del sur otra Isla llamada Guan y sin embargo de que se beyan dichas Islas el dicho Don Andres de Medina deçia publicamente no eran Islas de los Ladrones y que el ponía a ello su caveza y pondria çierto que tubiesse de lo qual admirado este testigo le Dixo como es poçible que V.Md. niegue y egnore presseandose tanto como se apresiado y preçia de çientifico en el arte nautica lo que se esta viendo y el suso dho le Respondio que todos los que deçian lo contrario se engañavan y no entendian la matheria porque

el se hallava por su çiençia y arte sobre la Isla de San Bartholome que dista de las de los Ladrones y antes de llegar a ellas mas de tres çientas leguas y en este dictamen tan erroneo estubo firme el suso dicho hasta que oy dicho dia se enparejo con dhas Islas de Ladrones y de ellas salieron en canoas muchos indios a rrescatar hierro a este galeon y estubieron en el como lo suelen hazer siempre que pasan naos a China con que se acavo de persuadir y enterar toda la gente que venia en esta nao de como dhas islas descubiertas eran las de los Ladrones y de la poca pericia y practica del dho Don Andres de Medina en el arte nautico pues aun lo que vey a se tocava ignorava y negava cossa que no podia hazer ningun hombre de uso de razon y tiene por çierto este testigo que si este galeon ubiera venido al gobierno de dicho Don Andres se hubiera perdido sin remedio y todo el socorro de gente y dineros que lleva para las Islas Philipinas...

Dixo ser la verdad publica y notoria en que se afirmo y rratifico y no firmo por no saver y ser de hedad de treinta años.

Y lo señalo su Señoria.

Nicolas Fernandez escrivano.

Translation.

1. Decree of Governor Salcedo to record navigational predictions.

While aboard the Philippine flagship **San José** and on the high sea, on 25 May 1663, his Lordship Don Diego de Salcedo, Governor and Captain General of the said Islands and President of the Royal Audiencia that resides there:

...
On the said date, I the present notary of the said galleon made the said order manifest to Leandro Coello, pilot major of the said galleon, and he answered saying that in due course he would give me a formal response to the order, and he signed in the presence of the said witnesses.

Leandro Coello.

Nicolas Fernandez, notary.

While aboard the said flagship galleon **San José**, on 7 June 1663, his Lordship the Governor declared that yesterday, 6 June, at about 2 p.m. more or less, land was sighted and it was said publicly that it belonged to the Islands of the Ladrones. Having pursued the voyage straight ahead, today at about noon more or less, we came up to them and it became clear that they were indeed the said islands. In witness thereof, his Lordship ordered that the time and date that they were sighted be recorded officially, in the manner contained herein, and by virtue of the order and decree of his Lordship dated 25th of the past month, General Francisco Garcia del Fresno and Leandro Coello, Pilot major of this galleon, have deposited sealed papers insinuating the point they had reached and the vicinity [i.e. date] in which the Islands would be found, and his Lordship delayed the opening of them until the said Islands would be sighted, and he ordered them deposited, as they were, for safe-keeping with Father Fray Francisco de San José, commissioner of the Discalced Franciscan Fathers who are aboard this galleon for them to remain sealed until the occasion came to open them in this vicinity. Because

it is proper to do so in the presence of the said Father commissioner and other Fathers commissioners of the Calced and Discalced Augustinians, and the Jesuit Fathers, he [i.e. the Governor] ordered the present notary to warn them to come to his Lordship's cabin to open and see what the said papers contain and, this done, they be recorded in continuation of these sworn statements.¹

...

2. Prediction of Francisco García del Fresno.

In compliance with the order that I received from Your Lordship on 25 of the present month, I, General Francisco García del Fresno, declares: that I find myself today north-south with the Islands of San Bartolomé² at a latitude of 13°10' east-west with the Island of Goan in the chain of the Ladrones and east of the said Islands by 280 leagues. I make this declaration, and I will similarly declare one day before I find myself at my estimated position for the said Island of Goan which is the position given by all the pilots and taught by the art of navigation.

Made aboard of the flagship galleon San José at sea on 28 May 1663.

Francisco García del Fresno.

[Other depositions were taken, even those of able seamen, and that of priests who had witnessed the blackballing of Medina by Governor Salcedo and others. Two typical depositions follow.]

...

3. Deposition of Father Fray Juan Gutierrez.

In the above-said galleon and date, to add more information to the inquiry decreed by his Lordship, the said Governor, Father Fray Juan Gutierrez de Reboleño, calced Religious of the order of St. Augustin, was a sworn declaration *in verbo sacerdotis*.³ When asked to give his answer to the said inquiry, he said: That, while he was aboard this galleon, a few days out of the port of Acapulco he heard it said publicly that Don Andrés de Medina, on another day after he had left the said port and being in command of this galleon, he had told the Pilot Major to head northwest, which means to leave the route that was being followed and that is the usual route, according to the opinion of all the seamen aboard, and to follow a new route. For this reason, and others, the Governor, moved by justice and command, told the above-said to desist from command of the said galleon and he placed her under the care of General Francisco García del Fresno who had come [from Manila] filling the same post of General. And, because the said Don Andrés de Medina had felt differently about the heading of this voyage and in his asserting openly on many occasions that he [i.e. the Pilot Major] was making mistakes, considerable inconveniences, disturbances and disservice to His Majesty have taken place and could take place. Consequently, to adjust things correctly, I

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- 1 Ed. note: The discussion had to do with proving that, although General Medina was taking navigational readings, his longitude estimates were so bad that he had predicted that the arrival at the Ladrones was to take place "many days" after the date predicted by the other pilots.
 - 2 Ed. note: Meaning at the same longitude as Taongi Island, in the Marshall Islands.
 - 3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "being the word of a priest".

understand and it has been notorious that his Lordship, a few days before arriving at the Islands of the Ladrones, had notifications served upon the said Francisco García del Fresno, Leandro Coello, Pilot Major, and Don Andrés de Medina, for them to declare their estimated position and declare one day before they found themselves with the said Islands of the Ladrones. That, by virtue of the said order the said Francisco García del Fresno and the Pilot Major gave the said position and I do not know whether Don Andrés de Medina has given his or not. Rather, what I know and is notorious is that, when land was sighted yesterday and was said to be the Islands of the Ladrones, the said Don Andrés de Medina declared: That it was not possible for it to be so, because he found himself 300 leagues before arriving at them, and this business of the 300 leagues is what the above-said told this witness. Until today, when we indeed came up with one of the said Islands of the Ladrones and their Indians came from them to this galleon as they usually do, it was not possible for the said Don Andrés to disavow his erroneous opinion, and many damages and inconveniences could have resulted from that error, if the Governor had not been guided by the calm and serene approach as he was and if they would have been greater if this man had been allowed to take the galleon along the route he wanted. It was in the interest of His Majesty's service to go through this experience, because the above-said man had persuaded the senior ministers in council that he was very scientific in the nautical art. This I state for the said reasons to be the truth, which I affirm and sign, and I am 60 years old.

Subscribed by his Lordship.

Fray Juan Gutierrez de Revoleño.

Nicolas Fernandez, notary.

...

[Similarly, Fray Eugenio de los Sanctos gave a deposition. Fr. Gerardo Ruez [=Baz], the Jesuit band leader, was also a witness to the events. All witnesses mentioned that the natives of the Ladrones had come to the galleon to barter for iron that very morning that the depositions were taken, that General Medina blamed the bad chart for his having badly estimated the arrival time at the Ladrones.]

4. Deposition of Juan Diego, seaman.

... Yesterday, 6th of the present month, at about 3 p.m. more or less, land was sighted from the topmast and then the said General García del Fresno and the other pilots and seamen said that it was one of the Islands of the Ladrones called Zarpana toward the north and, as more of this island appeared and soon the other island called Guan toward the south was sighted, then, in spite of the fact that the said islands were in sight, the said Don Andrés de Medina said publicly that they were not the Islands of the Ladrones and that he was going to figure out what they were for certain. Therefore, this witness was amazed and told him: How is it possible for your Grace to deny and ignore what can be seen with the eyes, when you judge yourself to be as great a scientist in the nautical art as you say you are. The above-mentioned answered that all those who said the opposite were fooling themselves and did not understand the subject matter, because, according to his science and art, he was finding himself with the Island of San

Bartolomé that is over 300 leagues distant from the Ladrones and before getting to them. The above-mentioned remained firm in this erroneous judgment until today when we came up to the said Islands of the Ladrones and from them many Indians came out in canoes to trade for iron at this galleon and they were in her as they usually do whenever the China galleons pass by. This happening finished convincing all the people aboard this galleon, that is that the said islands in sight were the Ladrones and that the expertise of the said Don Andrés de Medina in the nautical art was little, given that he ignored and denied something that could be seen and touched, something that no reasonable man would do. This witness thinks that it is a foregone conclusion that if this galleon had come under the command of the said Don Andrés she would have become lost without remedy along with the whole succor of men and money that she carried to the Philippine Islands...

I say this to be public and notorious truth, which I affirm and ratify and I do not sign because I do not know how, and I am 30 years old.

And his Lordship signed on his behalf.

Nicolas Fernandez, notary.

A3. Letter to the King, dated Manila 16 July 1664

Source: AGI Fil. 9-3-40.

Note: There is a note added to this document stating that this letter was seen in the Council of the Indies on 1 October 1666.

Extracts regarding his voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines

Original text in Spanish.

Gobierno N° 1.—Da cuenta el Governador de Philipinas de su viaje desde Acapulco a ellas, de haver arivado la nao a un puerto 150 leguas distante de Manila, y como dispuso la conduçion de la Infanteria y hasta a aquella çuudad.

Señor

*Desde Mexico y puerto de Acapulco de la Nueva España di cuenta a V.Mgd. de todo lo subcedido hasta el dia que me hiçe a la vela en el Galeon **San Joseph** que fue a los 25 de Março del año passado de 63 en que tambien benian los oydores Don Francisco Coloma y Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mançilla. Y prosiguiendo mi viaje a estas Islas, fue Dios servido darme bueno hasta llegar a reconoçer el Cabo de Espiritu Santo que es el embocadero para el puerto de Caviteff[,] el mas proximo a esta çuudad y que dista dos leguas de ella, en cuyo paraje sobrebino tan reçoio huracan de bendabal (ordinario en aquellas costas en semejante tiempo) que no se pudiendo bençer su continuacion y violencia, fue forçosso por no arresgar el galeon y socorro, arribar y cojer el puerto que el tiempo dio lugar, como se hizo milagrossamente en el de Cavo de Engaño, Provinçia de Cagayan distante de esta çuudad 150 leguas.*

*Y habiendo tomado tierra a los 8 de Julio de aquel año, despache luego gentil hombre a mi antecessor con aviso de mi llegada y socorro que hay ya. Asegure alli la nao, desembarque la plata y gente, dejando en ella la neçessaria de mar y guerra a cargo de cabo de satisfazion para que aguardando tiempo favorable y teniendo orden de govier-no la llevasse al puerto de Cavite, y echo lo rreferido dispuse la conduccion de la plata y gente por la gran importancia de la brevedad en que llegare quanto antes a esta çiudad, y se consiguio a fuerza de summos desvelos y trabajos, bençiendo a todo rriesgo las dificultades de los malos caminos, muchas aguas y falta de arros y bastimentos que havia en las Provinçias del trançito con el mayor alibio que pude de sus naturales que aun todavia estavan poco asegurados de los passados alborotos y lebantamientos, e yrritados de los açerbos castigos executados en tantos como por las ultimas que Don Saviniano Manrique de Lara mi antecessor en estos cargos abra dado quenta a V.M. que por no duplicar ni embaraçar habiendo aribado la nao **San Saviniano** en que yban estos despachos, me ha parecido bolverlos a rremittir aora, por donde con individualidad tendra V.M. notiçias de lo subçedido hasta aqui, y del miserable estado en que halle estas Islas.*

Habiendo llegado a esta çiudad tome pocession de estos cargos en 8 de Septiembre del año referido de 63 de que embio testimonio, y por no haver hallado dinero alguno en la Real caxa con que socorrer aquel mes este campo y puerto de Cavite, lo ube de hazer de mi dinero mientras llegava la plata...

...
[Note in margin:] *Como la Nao San Saviniano arribo al cabo de 7 meses que havia salido para Nueva España, y que hizo Junta y fue resuelto quemarla por no estar capaz de adreço, y los grandes daños que se ocaziono su fabrica y arribada.*

*La Nao **San Saviniano** que mi antecessor despacho para la Nueva España por Agosto del año passado de 63, al cavo de 7 meses que andubo arando el mar sin que pudiesse desembocar, llegó de arribada al puerto de Cavite y tan maltratada, que respecto de la mala forma dispoçision de su fabrica que salio errada por haver de faltado la quenta que requiere el arte, me halle obligado a yr em persona a reconoçerla, llevando conmigo las mas curiales y practicas en este ministerio para que biesen esta Nao y diessen sus pareceres por escrito en razon de si estava capaz de adreço para hazer viaje, y havien-dola reconoçido toda, conbinieron en que no le tenia y ser mas conbeniente quemarla y aprovechar el fierro en otra Nao que sirva de reparo a tantos daños como se an originado a estas Islas de la fabrica de esta en que se tardaron mas de quatro años de corte de maderas y por ultima haver arribado, pues si ubiere echo viaje a la Nueva España con las nuevas que llevaba de que todabia estava esto por de V.Mgd., saldria el Virrey del cuidado con que estará hasta que llegue la que despacho aora, y todo será en el yn-terin apriostos y con hojas de mi cuidado para sustentar y conservar estas Islas.*

[Note in margin:] *Que habiendo adereçado la Nao San Joseph, la despachava a la Nueva España, a cargo del General Zebrian Vaez.*

Hallandome sin nao que poder imbiar por el socorro ordinario, dispusse que la en que bine y havia quedado en el puerto de Cabo de Engaño passase al de Cavite, para que en el se adereçasse, y por Junta que hize para este efecto se acordó saliesse el dia 2

de la luna de Octubre por jugarse ser los tiempos oportunos, y haviendolo executado al cabo de ella, luego que salio le dio una tormenta que estuvo a conoçido riesgo de perdersse de perdesse [sic], y al cabo de muchos dias que no se supo de ella teniendome en gran confussion, aporto derotada a la Isla de Mindoro desarbolada y tan maltratada que para esforzar el que no se perdiera por la poca esperanza que havia sacarla del paraje en que se hallava, me bi en preçisa neçesidad de yr en persona bien falto de mi salud, de que resulto el efecto de debenir dha nao a Cavite donde tenia mas providençia dispuestas las maderas y materiales para su adreço que se consiguio con el mayor ahorro de la Real Hazienda y alibio de los naturales, con que sale con el favor divino para la Nueva España a cargo del General Zebrian Vaez.

...

En la Provincia de Camarines quede disponiendo la fabrica de un galeon que pueda yr el año que biene siendo Dios servido a la Nueva España previniendo la falta que ay de ellos, aunque el haver Real se halla oy tan atenuado que si V.Mgd. no es servido doliendose con su acostumbrada piedad y grandeza de esta christiandad, mandar dar orden con preçision para que los Virreyes de la Nueva España sean mas puntuales en inbiar todos los años secorros mas quantiosos assi de Reales como de gente y que el año que faltare nao de aca la prevenga de aquellos Reynos porque no falte...

La caussa de haverse perdido y arribado tantas Naos de algunos años a esta parte y hallarse este comerçio en la miseria en que esta, no es otra que despacharlas fuera de tiempo de la Nueva España, y haviendo mostrado la experiençia que el lograrse los viajes en el puerto de Cavite, estriba en que salgan las Naos del de Acapulco por febre-ro, no se ha podido ni puede conseguir que los Virreyes lo hagan, y las despachan ordinariamente por fines de Março, como a mi me subçedio de que se origino mi arribada en gran desserviçio de V.Mgd. y de este comerçio...

...

... lo que espero conseguir de la grandeza de V.Mgd. cuya C.R.P. guarde Dios muchos años como la christiandad dezea y ha menester.

Manila y Julio 16 de 1664.

Diego de Salcedo.

Translation.

Government N° 1.—The Governor of the Philippines reports about his voyage from Acapulco to the Islands, that the galleon arrived at a port 150 leagues from Manila, and that he arranged to have the infantry transferred as far as that city.

Sire:

From Mexico and from the port of Acapulco in New Spain, I informed Y.M. of everything that had occurred until the day that I sailed aboard the galleon **San José**, which was on 25 March of last year 1663. Also aboard were the members of the Audiencia Don Francisco Coloma and Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla. And proceeding my voyage to these Islands, God was pleased to give me a good one until we

sighted the Cape of Espiritu Santo which is the Embocadero [i.e. entrance channel] for the port of Cavite, the closest port to this city that is two leagues distant from it. In those parts there came a sudden and so stiff hurricane of monsoon wind (regular in those coasts in that season) but it persisted so violent that we had to consider not risking the galleon and the succor, and to seek shelter in whatever port that the weather permitted. This was done miraculously in the port at the Cape of Engaño, in the Province of Cagayan distant 150 leagues from this city.¹

Having stepped ashore on 8 July of that year, I then despatched a royal mail courier to my predecessor with the advice of my arrival and that the succor was already in. There I made the galleon fast, unloaded the silver and the people, leaving a skeleton crew of sailors and soldiers on board under the command of a satisfactory officer, for him to await favorable weather when he had orders to take her to the port of Cavite. This done, I arranged the conveyance of the silver and people, keeping in mind the necessity of getting to this city as fast as possible, and this was accomplished at the cost of great worries and hardships, by overcoming no matter at what risk all the difficulties of the bad roads, the heavy rains, the lack of rice and food supplies in the provinces along the way, with the best relief I could give to their natives who are still a little upset after the past revolts and uprisings, and irritated at the harsh punishments imposed upon so many, for instance, the latest ones by Don Saviniano Manrique de Lara, my predecessor in this post. He would have informed Y.M., but in order not to repeat or meddle, since the galleon **San Saviniano** that was carrying these despatches has turned back, it seemed to me that I should once again forward them; hence, Y.M. will receive all the details of what has happened up to now, and of the miserable condition in which I found these Islands.

Having arrived at this city, I took possession of these functions on 8 September of the said year of 1663 (see certification, attached) and, since I did not find any money in the Royal Treasury to meet the salary payments to the garrison here and that of the port of Cavite, I had to do it with my own money, as the silver was still on the way...

...
[Note in margin:] How the galleon San Saviniano that had left for New Spain turned back after 7 months at sea, and how he called a Meeting in which it was decided to burn her as she was not worth repairing, and the great damages occasioned by her construction and return in distress.

The galleon **San Saviniano** that my predecessor despatched to New Spain in the past month of August of 1663, after 7 months of plowing the sea without being able to come out of the Embocadero, turned back to the port of Cavite in such a battered condition, that, regarding the bad manner of her construction, she had sailed missing some of the elements provided by the art of ship-building. I found myself obliged to go in person to inspect her, taking along the most expert and practical men in this kind of

1 Ed. note: According to the Augustinian historian, Fr. Casimiro Díaz (B&R 37: 230), he landed at the small port of Pasipit, in the province of Cagayan.

work in order to go over this galleon and give me their opinions in writing, stating whether or not she was worth repairing to make the voyage. Having inspected her all over, they agreed that she was not worth it and that it was better to burn her and to make better use of her iron in another galleon that would make up for so many damages that were originated in these Islands by the construction of this one, in which they spent over four years in cutting wood for her and in the end she turned back. Well, if she had made it to New Spain, with the news that she carried, to the effect that all this was still in Y.M.'s possession, the Viceroy would have stopped worrying, as he will until the one I am despatching now has arrived. In the meantime, I will have to be on my toes and doubly concerned to sustain and preserve these Islands.

[Note in margin:] Having made the galleon **San José** ready, he despatched her to New Spain under the command of General Zebrian Vaez.

Finding myself without a galleon to send for the ordinary succor, I arranged for the galleon aboard which I came and that had remained in the port of Cape Engaño to be taken to that of Cavite, in order to be made ready, and in a Meeting that I called to this effect, it was decided that she should go out on the 2nd day of the October Moon, as this was judged to be the opportune time. This was done at the end of that time. Then, after she had left, she was hit by a storm and became in danger of foundering, and at the end of many days of confusion during which there was no information as to her whereabouts, she made port out of her way at the Island of Mindoro, dismasted and so battered that, in order to make efforts not to lose her, given the little hope of rescuing her from that place, I saw myself obliged to go in person, at the risk of my health. The result was a decision made to have the said galleon taken back to Cavite where there were more wood and materials available for repairs, at a greater saving to the Royal Treasury and relief of the natives. She is now bound for New Spain, with divine favor, under the command of General Zebrian Vaez.

...

[Ex-Governor Manrique boarded the galleon **San José** with two members of the Audiencia. The rest of the letter describes the situation of the commerce. He requests that some miners be sent to the Philippines to work in the iron mines.]

I have arranged for the construction of a galleon in the Province of Camarines, one that is to go out to New Spain next year, God willing, making up for the present shortage, although the Royal funds are so short, unless Y.M. is pleased to take pity on this Christian community with your usual piety and greatness, and give precise order for the Viceroys of New Spain to be more punctual in sending all the yearly succors, in ever greater amounts, not only of money but of people, and in a year when the galleon fails [to appear], to despatch one from those Kingdoms so that the succor will not fail...

The cause of so many galleons being lost and turning back to this part in some years, and this commerce finding itself in the ruined state that it is, is nothing other than [the result of] despatching them late from New Spain. Experience has shown that success in bringing the galleons from Acapulco [directly] to the port of Cavite is based on the premise that they should leave Acapulco in February. It has not been possible, and still

is not, to get the Viceroys to do it; they regularly despatch them at the end of March, as happened to me, hence my arrival in distress, to the great disservice of Y.M. and of this commerce...

...

This I hope to get from the greatness of Y.M., whose Catholic Royal person may God keep for many years to come, as Christendom wishes and needs.

Manila, 16 July 1664.

Diego de Salcedo.

A4. Letter to Francisco Izquierdo, dated Manila 16 July 1664

Source: Whereabouts presently unknown; copy in Ventura del Arco mss. in NLA Chicago, vol. ii, pp. 481-483; summarized in B&R 36: 261-263.

Note by Blair & Robertson.

Governor Salcedo gives information regarding the condition of the Philippine Islands at his arrival, and the measures that he has taken. He states therein that he set sail from the port of Acapulco on 25 March 1663 and, after a prosperous voyage, they sighted the Cape of Espiritu Santo. There a monsoon wind storm came against them, so violent that it carried them to Cape Engaño; and on 8 July he landed, made the ship secure, unloaded all the money sent for the subsidy, and made arrangements for its transport to Manila. He was gladly received there, and took possession of the government and the authority of captain-general, on 8 September 1663.

Footnote on Medina.

Sources: Díaz' Conquistas, part 2, book 3, chapter 24; translated in B&R 37: 229-234.

Governor Don Diego [Salcedo] ... deprived the commander Don Andrés de Medina of his office, which he restored to Francisco García... Don Andrés de Medina, being a wise and prudent man, made no resistance, except that he retired to the quarters of the boatswain, from which he did not emerge until the galleon after many months cast anchor at Cavite...

[Synopsis: Andrés de Medina, who had been deposed by the new governor on the high sea from his ill-gotten command, obtains permission from the latter after their arrival in the islands to go wherever he wishes, to secure treatment for the illness from which he is suffering. He has a ship prepared secretly, and goes first to Bolinao, "where he discharged and paid the rowers. With the aid of father Fray Juan de la Santísima Trinidad—a discalced Augustinian religious who was minister of that village, and afterward provincial of that province of San Nicolás—ship's stores and all else needed for the voyage were prepared, and they crossed the sea toward the west to the mainland of Cochin-china, where it appears that they arrived; and where the natives of that country murdered them for the sake of robbing them." Some of their merchandise, and some of the mathematical instruments belonging to Medina are afterward offered for sale to some Portuguese who go to Cochin-china.]