
Document 1542A

Villalobos—Source documents about his expedition 1542-1546

Sources for the following listing: 1) Navarrete's manuscript collection, now in MN Madrid, published in facsimile in 1973; 2) Pacheco et al., Colección ... de América y Oceanía, III, pp. 506+; V, pp. 117-209; XIV, pp. 151-165; XVI, pp. 342+; 3) RAH's Colección ... de Ultramar, II, pp. 1-94, 465-468; 4) B&R II, pp. 45-73; 5) Mairin Mitchell's Friar Andrés de Urdaneta (London 1964), pp. 161-162; and 6) Pérez Bustamante's article in Teixeira da Mota's A viagem (Lisbon, 1975), pp. 611-626.

Introduction by James A. Robertson

Ruy López de Villalobos is said to have been a man of letters, licentiate in law, and born of a distinguished family in Málaga; he was brother-in-law of Antonio de Mendoza, who (then viceroy of New Spain) appointed him commander of the expedition here described. Departing from Navidad, Mexico (1 November 1542), he reached Mindanao on 2 February of the following year; he was the first to make explorations in that island.¹ It was he who bestowed upon those islands the name Filipinas (Philippines), in honor of the crown prince Don Felipe of Spain, afterward known as Felipe II; he conferred this appellation probably in 1543.

The Portuguese, then established in the Moluccas, opposed any attempt of Spaniards to settle in the neighboring islands, and treated Villalobos as an enemy. After two years of hardships and struggles, he was obliged to place himself in their hands, and, departing for Spain in one of their ships, was seized by a malignant fever, which terminated his life at Amboina, on Good Friday, 1546. In his last hours he was spiritually assisted by St. Francis Xavier (styled "the apostle of the Indies").²

The expedition of Villalobos, although productive of slight immediate result, paved the way for the later and permanent expedition and occupation by Legazpi. For this

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- 1 Ed. note: The first Spaniard maybe, but the Portuguese had done so before him, specially Francisco de Castro, sent there by Galvão in 1538.
 - 2 For further biographical details on Villalobos, see Galvano's Discoveries of the World (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 231-238. Ed. note: The legend to the effect that Villalobos would have died in the arms of St. Francis is not substantiated.

reason—and, still more, because this was the first expedition to the Western Islands (in contradiction from the Moluccas), which included the Philippine group, and because these latter islands received from Villalobos the name by which history was to know them,—these documents, which for lack of space cannot be here fully presented, deserve a fuller synopsis than do those pertaining to the preceding expeditions of Magalhães, Loaisa, and Saavedra.

Background and summary of the expedition

The *Adelantado* or Military Governor of Guatemala Pedro de Alvarado [1485-1541], who had initiated some expeditions as early as 1532 in competition with Hernán Cortés, wrote to the Emperor from the province of Jalisco on 28 March 1541, announcing that he was ready to send a fleet of 11 ships that he had built to discover and conquer the coast and provinces of the islands lying west across the South Sea. Alvarado had just re-negotiated with the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, to share the investment, the risks and the benefits of this expedition with him. However, the two men decided to divide the fleet into two parts, and send some 300 men with Villalobos (a relative of Mendoza) to the west and another 300 with Juan de Alvarado (a relative of Pedro) to explore along the west coast of South America.

The Emperor confirmed the contract he had passed earlier with Alvarado, but in July 1541 Alvarado had died from wounds suffered in a battle with rebellious Indians, and Mendoza took complete charge of the expeditions in 1542. Besides that of Villalobos, the other fleet (then in charge of Rodriguez Cabrillo) was sent to explore the coast of California.

The Villalobos Expedition, consisting of 370-400 men aboard 6 ships, departed from the port of Navidad (19°10' N) on 1 November 1542. Eight days later, they had covered 180 leagues and were in 18°30', because they sighted a small island, which they named **Santo Tomé** [later San Alberto]. Twelve leagues farther, they anchored at another one whose peak was hidden in clouds, so they called it **La Nublada** (the clouded one) [today Socorro]. Eighty leagues further on, they came to **Roca partida** [later Santa Rosa].¹ Much farther, before they reached the Marshalls, they passed over a bank which they called **Placer de siete brazas** (Seven-fathom Bank) or **Bajos de Villalobos** (Villalobos Shoals).²

1 Ed. note: It is important to note that later on the name of Roca Partida was applied to another island located closer to the Mexican coast. Therefore, the Roca Partida of Villalobos is not the same as the one on modern maps.

2 Ed. note: The position of these shoals is really unknown. One doubtful position has been ascribed by Navarrete, after consulting the 1812 map of the Pacific by Captain José de Espinosa; it is at 15°2' N and 163°7' W of Cádiz, i.e. 169°24' W of Greenwich.

On Christmas Day 1542, the fleet brushed by a group of islets (atoll) which some people aboard the flagship thought were the **Los Reyes** of Saavedra (but it was **Wotje** as we will prove later). The next day, 26 December, they anchored at an inhabited island group, which they named **Archipiélago del Coral** or **Los Corrales**.¹ The fleet spent about 11 days at this atoll (which corresponds to **Likiep**, as we will prove later), because Villalobos was sick and needed a rest; the adventures connected with this second meaningful contact between the Spanish and the Marshallese are here reproduced for the first time in English (See Document 1542F).

They left this group on 6 January 1543 and made 35 leagues further west; they sighted another group of at least 10 islets and, on account of its pleasant park-like appearance, they named it **Los Jardines** (the Gardens). This was **Wotho**, as will be proven later.²

One hundred leagues further west, the fleet was hit by a freak storm, and the galliot (San Cristóbal) disappeared; fortunately, it rejoined the rest of the fleet at Sarangani, Mindanao. By the way, there is no record of any island discovered in western Micronesia by this galliot. Fifty more leagues were covered until, about the 22th of January 1543, they came to a small, high, and solitary island in 10°N. As they coasted its southern part, some canoes left a town on the south coast and the people in them saluted the Spanish ships with the sign of the cross and the following words: “Buenos días, matalotes”, which means “Good day, sailors”.³ For this reason, the island was later referred to as **Matalotes**. However, the Augustinian friars aboard named it **San Ildefonso** (for reasons we will see later). This island is so well described that most historians have identified it correctly as **Fais**.

Some 35 leagues further west, the fleet saw many reefs studded with islets, spread over 30 leagues. The group was labelled **Los Arrecifes**, i.e. the Reefs. It corresponds with **Ulithi**, the island visited by Portuguese and Spanish ships before. According to the missionaries aboard (a little known fact!), here too the ships were met with the Matalotes salutation. We can conclude that Christianity had spread from Ulithi to Fais, between 1526 and 1543...

This fleet, like others before it, cruised by Yap without sighting it and reached Mindanao on 2 February. The island was baptized **Cesarea Caroli** (Charles’ Cesarea) in honor of Emperor Charles V, but the name did not stick. Sailing south, they spent

- 1 Ed. note: Hence, the origin of the word “coral”, rather “corral”, which means an enclosure in Spanish, came to be applied to the madreporic animal (polyps) growth now simply known as coral in most European languages.
- 2 Ed. note: Navarrete quotes their position on Espinosa’s map as being 9°16’ N and 159°43’ E of Cádiz, i.e. 153°26’ E of Greenwich, a fact which unfortunately has led so many others to wrongly believe that this was sufficient “proof” to ascribe the name of Los Reyes to Murilo, El Corral to Nomwin, and Los Jardines to Namonuito (See, for instance, Bryan’s Place Names).
- 3 As it was then afternoon, the salutation should not be translated by “Good morning”. There is evidence, however, that they probably were greeted in Portuguese instead, i.e. with “Bons dias”, or even “Bom dia”. The natives could not have been mistaken for Europeans (knowing either Portuguese or Spanish) for they would have used “Buenas tardes” or “Boa tarde”. Fr. Aganduru, as we will see, says that the word “matalotes” was then used by Portuguese sailors to mean “comrades”. The word Matalotes was later corrupted to Matelotas on some maps.

some time at Sarangani, whose name they tried to change to **Antonia**, but it did not persist either. Five months passed until one day, the “lost” galliot re-appeared. It had followed the trail of Magellan and had spent most of the time at **Abuyo** [Leyte] where trading for food had been possible, unlike at Sarangani. Hence, the name **Filipina** was then applied to the **Abuyo-Tandaya** [Leyte-Samar] group, and eventually this name was applied to the whole archipelago.

Twice the small ship **San Juan** was despatched to New Spain to seek help, in 1543 and in 1545, but both attempts were unsuccessful. During the first attempt, which took place in northern latitudes, some of the northern Marianas were re-discovered, but some new islands were discovered to the north. Many names were later ascribed to these discoveries, but they correspond to the Volcano and Bonin Islands. The 1545 return attempt was along the coast of New Guinea, but the ship returned soon without passing through Micronesian waters.

Organization of the Villalobos Expedition

Name of vessel	Type	Captain	Pilot	Note
1. Santiago	Ship/nao	B. de la Torre	Gaspar Rico	1
2. San Jorge	" "	A. Manrique	A. Fernandez	
3. San Juan de Letrán	" "	F. Merino	G. de Mafra	
4. San Antonio	" "	M. de Alvarado	F. Ruiz	
5. San Cristóbal	Brig/galliot	P. Ortiz de Rueda	---	2
6. San Martín	Brig/fusta	C. de Pareja	---	3

Note 1. The Lieutenant-Governor and Captain General was, of course, Villalobos. Apart from Captain de la Torre, the ship assignment of the other captains are not known, but they are listed here in the order given in an official document; so, I presume that the same precedence would apply as for the vessels. All vessels were comparatively small in tonnage capacity, but figures are not available. The total number of the crew was either 370 men (cf. Santiesteban) or 400 (cf. Mendoza & Escalante), but the actual disposition among the vessels is not known. The flagship carried 4 Augustinian friars: Fr. Jerónimo de Santiesteban, Fr. Nicolás de Perea, Alonso de Alvarado, and Sebastián de Reina. There were also 4 secular priests: Commander Laso, Fr. Martín, Fr. Cosme de Torres, and Fr. Juan Delgado; they were probably aboard the other vessels. The officials with the fleet were as follows:

Inspector (or auditor) for the King — Onofre de Arévalo;
 Accountant for the King — Jorge Nieto;
 Factor (or trading agent) for the King — García de Escalante Alvarado (who left an account);
 Treasurer for the Viceroy — Gonzalo Dávalos;
 Accountant for the Viceroy — Guido de Lavezaris (who would later succeed Legazpi in Manila in 1572);
 Factor for the Viceroy — Martín de Islares (who had been a companion of Urdaneta and with the Loaysa expedition).

Other gentlemen aboard were: Iñigo Ortiz de Retes (who would captain the San Juan on the second return attempt in 1545); Bernardino de Vargas; Antonio de Bustos; Francisco de Alvarado, and someone named Estrada.

Note 2. The **San Cristóbal**, sometimes called a brig or a galliot, was in fact a “fusta de remos” or large galley, with 20 benches for oarsmen; ideal for exploring along coasts.

Note 3. The **San Martín** was a smaller galley, with 13 benches.

Chronological list of documents concerning Villalobos

A1. Letter from Alvarado to the King, dated Jalisco 28 March 1541.

Sources: Original in AGI. Published in Col. Ultramar II, 1-7. Summarized by B&R II, 48-50.

Letter from Governor Pedro de Alvarado to the King, to report that, while he was carrying out his contract with His Majesty, he had been visiting the ports of New Spain with his fleet consisting of 11 vessels, 9 of them ship-rigged, 1 galley and 1 fusta, to explore the coast and provinces of the West, he had formed a new partnership with the Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, to pool all that was to be discovered between them. Consequently, they had decided to split the said fleet into two parts: one part, consisting of 3 large naos and 1 galley, was to be sent to the Western Islands under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, and the other, 5 naos and 1 fusta, to be sent along the coast of the Mainland under the command of Juan de Alvarado.¹

A2. Contract between the King and the Alvarado-Mendoza partners, dated Talavera 26 July 1541.

Sources: Original in AGI. Published in Col. Ultramar II, pp. 7-26. Synopsized by B&R II, pp. 50-56.

The contract made by the king with Alvarado in 1538, and confirmed in 1539, are recalled, and that made with Mendoza in 1541 as well. These contracts were for the purpose of discovering, conquering and colonizing the islands and provinces of the South Sea toward the west. Alvarado had offered to undertake this expedition within 15 months after arriving in Guatemala, by sending two galleons and one other ship, sufficiently provisioned for two years. Alvarado is reminded that, if lands and islands were discovered, he was to send 10 additional ships, 800 soldiers (300 of them cavalry), and religious missionaries, all this at his own expense, without the king being obliged to recompense him for any outlay, except by the privileges granted him. The treaties made with Portugal were to be respected. The king also recognized the one-half interest held in the enterprise by Mendoza. Lawyers and attorneys were to be prohibited from engaging in their profession in the lands and islands discovered. Alvarado was to carry missionaries “for the instruction of the natives of the said islands and provinces to our holy Catholic faith” at his own expense.

¹ Ed. note: A copy of the 1541 contract between Mendoza and Alvarado was published in *Colección ... de Indias (América y Oceanía)*, XVI, pp. 342-355.

A3. Letter from the Viceroy to his officials, dated Mexico 15 September 1542.

Sources: Colección de Navarrete (1973), tome 15, doc. 6. Published in Col. Ultramar II, pp. 26-29. Summarized in B&R II, p. 56.

The treasurer is to receive an annual salary of 75,000 maravedis “to be paid from the profits that shall pertain to me in those lands, it being understood that if this amount is not reached, I am not obliged to pay it from any other source.”

The treasurer and the accountant were to keep inventory and account books.

A4. Instructions from the Viceroy to Villalobos, dated Mexico 18 September 1542.

Sources: Original in AGI. Col. de Nav., tome 15, doc. 5. Published in Col. Ultramar II, pp. 29-46. Synopsized in B&R II, pp. 56-60.

The principal injunctions of these instructions follow: he will report at Navidad, where the vessels of the expedition have been prepared; they are the flagship named **Santiago**, the ship **San Jorge**, the ship named **San Juan de Letrán**, the ship named **San Antonio**, and the galliot [blank] and the brig [blank]; these will be delivered to him by Mendoza’s agent, Juan de Villareal, who shall make a full declaration of everything in the equipment of the vessels “except the merchandise and the trade articles, the slaves, the forge... because they must be under the charge of the treasurer and officials whom I am sending in the fleet for that purpose; and the other things I specify in their instructions, and in those of [my agent] Juan de Villareal in regard to it.” He shall sign this declaration in the records of the notary and in the books of the accountant and treasurer. All the “artillery, ammunition, war supplies, and weapons, shall be given into the charge of the captain of artillery, and all the vessels of the fleet into the charge of the *Patrón* (Chief Officer) of the Fleet, together with all their equipment, tackle and rigging, and provisions.” In each ship, a pilot, master, boatswain, and notary shall be appointed. Each ship shall be put in charge of its master, and the notary for that ship shall take full notes of everything transferred to the former’s keeping. The master shall also have care of the artillery of his vessel, such charge being imposed by the captain of artillery. For greater security the merchandise and the trade articles, and the officials having them in charge, are to be apportioned among the vessels. An account must be taken in each vessel of its captain and crew (both sailors and soldiers), giving for each man his father’s name and his place of birth. Villalobos is to have special watch over the treasurer, accountant, and factor. The men of the ships are to be divided into watches, no one being excused “except for legitimate cause”. “And when you are ready to sail, you shall make full homage, ... according to Spanish custom, that you will exercise well and faithfully the said office of Lieutenant Governor and Captain General,... and that you will deliver to me, and to no-one else, the discoveries and profits pertaining to me, in accordance with His Majesty’s provisions, and that neither directly nor indirectly will you exercise any deceit or wrong in anything.” The officers and all others shall take oath to obey him as Captain General, “and that there will be no mutinies or rebellions.”

The officials appointed by the king to guard his interests are to be received, and the best of treatment shall be accorded them.

When a settlement shall have been made, one or two vessels shall be sent back, sufficiently equipped, because "the return voyage has not been discovered and is not yet known, and for this reason, you should think it will be a long voyage". With those ships Villalobos was to send a narrative of the voyage, with news about the settlement, and of all he has accomplished. "Likewise you shall send me specimens of all the products of the land that you can secure,... of the manner of dressing [of the natives], and their mode of living, their religion or sect, the character of their life and government, their method of warfare with their neighbors; and if they have received you peaceably, if you have made a treaty of peace with them, or your status among them."

The spread of religion is to be specially sought. To this end "you shall try to ensure that those in your charge live as good Catholics and Christians, that the names of our Lord and his most blessed Mother, as well as those of his saints, be revered and adored, and not blasphemed; and you shall see to it strictly that blasphemies and public sins be punished."

All letters sent in the ships returning must be assured safe delivery. Mendoza is to be first informed of all news brought by the ships. In these ships shall be sent also both Mendoza's and the king's profits, as well as those of the individuals of the fleet, provided the latter shall not prevent the sending of either his or the king's. In affairs of importance, Villalobos must consult freely with many people of the fleet, among whom are named "Father Prior Geronimo, Fray [blank] who was prior of Totonilco [sic]¹, Jorge Nieto, the inspector Arevalo, Gaspar Xuarez Davila, Francisco Merino, Matias de Alvarado, Bernardo de la Torre, and Estrada, and other gentlemen."

If Villalobos should determine to return with the whole fleet, those wishing to remain shall do so, and he shall leave them a captain and sufficient stores. Persons are to be appointed to look after the property and belongings of the dead, and to see that no fraud is exercised, in order that his heirs may be secured. Entry must be made, in the method in vogue in Spain, of all things sent back in the ships. All settlements must be made on the shore, and a fort must be erected at some distance from the natives' dwellings, in which the trade articles must be securely stored. No soldier shall be permitted, without leave, and under severe penalties "to go to the Indian settlements or enter their houses... and no-one shall take anything by force, in the camp or in the town, contrary to the will of the Indians where you shall have made peace." Men are to be appointed who shall attend to the buying of all provisions, "because not having knowledge of the products of the land, [your men] would buy more in accordance with appetite than with reason, wherefrom much damage would ensue, because the products of the land would be placed at a higher figure, and the value of the trade articles would be cheapened". The bartering of the merchandise shall be also in charge of experienced persons.

1 Ed. note: That was Fr. Nicolás de Perea, who had become prior of Atotonilco that year (ref. Fr. Pérez' Catálogo (Manila, 1901), p. xvii).

Finally, “you shall inform your men that, whenever they speak of the emperor, our Lord, among the natives, they shall speak of his greatness, and how he is the greatest Lord of the earth, and that they have been sent by one of his captains of these regions.”

A5. Receipt for the fleet signed by Villalobos, dated Navidad 22 October 1542.

Sources: Library of the Escorial, Codex Misceláneas ij. V.4, folios 409-410. Published in Col. de Nav., tome 15, doc. 4, and in Col. Ultramar II, pp. 46-50. Mentioned in B&R II, p. 60.

Villalobos certifies before a notary that he has received from Juan de Villareal, Mendoza’s representative, “four ships, one small galley, and on fusta, to wit: the flagship named **Santiago**, the ship **San Jorge**, the **San Antonio**, the **San Juan de Letrán**, the galley **San Christoval**, and the fusta **San Martin**” with all equipment, ammunition, artillery, weapons, provisions, etc. in the name of his lordship [Mendoza]... in order to go with the said fleet and with the soldiers of his most illustrious lordship, upon the pursuit and prosecution of the said voyage.” He promises in full terms to carry out to the letter all instructions and to give true and complete accounts of everything to Mendoza or his agents. This oath is attested in the form prescribed by the royal notary.

A6. Oath taken by the captains of the fleet, on 22 October 1542.

Sources: Col. de Nav. 15, doc. 7; Col. de Ultramar II, pp. 50-53; B&R II, pp. 60-61.

The oath taken by the captains is, in part, as follows: “Your graces, captains Bernaldo de la Torre, Don Alonso Manrique, Francisco Merino, Mathias de Alvarado, Pero Ortiz de Rueda, Christoval de Pareja, and gentlemen of this fleet, of which Rui Lopez de Villalobos goes as general for his most illustrious lordship, swear before God, Our Lord, and Blessed Mary his Mother, on the holy words written in this book of the holy gospels, and on this sign of the cross upon which each one placed his right hand, that, as good, faithful, and Catholic Christians, you promise and pledge your faith and word, and homages as knights and nobles, by right, of Spain, once, twice, and thrice, to be faithful and obedient, and to hold as your captain-general Rui Lopez de Villalobos, here present; and you will observe the instructions he has given you, in so far as the good of the business requires it; and you will be obedient and will hearken to his orders. And you shall declare and advise, each one of you, what you deem suitable and necessary for the good of this expedition, whether he asks it or not, although you think he may be vexed or angry at hearing what you wish to tell him; only you shall state the fundamental reason why your assertion is good, in everything making it a point of your desire to come directly to the question, and not to give your advice with passion, or servilely, but with all freedom.” If he send them on missions they must report to him alone. “And none of you shall rouse up mutinies, scandals, seditions, or conspiracies; nor shall you talk against your captain-general or the expedition; rather if you learn or foresee anything of such matters, you shall tell and inform your general thereof, so that it may be remedied.” “The above, and each one in turn, said: *Sí juro e Amen.*”

A7. Oath taken by the pilots and seamen, on 22 October 1542.

Sources: Col. de Nav. 15, doc. 8; Col. de Ultramar II, pp. 54-56; B&R II, pp. 61-62.

“You Gaspar Rico, pilot of the nao named Santiago, which is the flagship whose Captain General is Rui Lopez de Villalobos; you Francisco Ruiz, pilot of the nao named San Anton; you Alonso Fernandez Tarifeño, pilot of the nao named San Jorge; and you Gines de Mafra, pilot and master of the nao named San Juan; and you the masters and boatswains of the said naos and the gunners, you swear to God, Our Almighty Lord, and to the Holy Mary his Mother, and on the holy words written in this book of the holy gospels, which the Most Reverend Father Fray Geronimo de Santiestevan, friar of the Order of St. Augustine, holds in his hands, etc... that you will fulfil your duties completely, etc.” They are to obey Villalobos “both on the said voyage, and in the Western Islands.” They must try to accomplish the voyage in the shortest time possible, and must take part in no mutinies or uprisings.

A8. Instructions given by Villalobos to his captains, on 22 October 1542.

Sources: Escorial, Misc. ij. V.4, folios 420-422; Col. de Nav. 15, doc. 9; Col. Ultramar II, pp. 56-64. B&R II, pp. 62-63.

In his instructions to his captains, Villalobos requires the following: No soldier is to be admitted to the fleet who does not bear a certificate of confession and communion.¹ If there be any such, he must confess within three days to the religious in the fleet, or be put on short rations of water until he does confess. Severe punishment for blasphemy of “the name of God, our Lord, his glorious Mother, or of any of the saints” is stipulated, varying in degree according to the blasphemy. The religious are to receive every consideration, that the natives may see “how we honor the ministers of the Gospel.” All weapons are to be kept in a special place in each ship and given to the men only when necessary, and they shall be regularly inspected. Most stringent rules are laid down as to the distribution of water, and the water butts must be inspected each day by the steward, master, pilot, and boatswain” and every four days by the captain in person, to see that the regulations pertaining thereto are strictly observed. Likewise the amounts of food to be given are carefully stipulated, the amounts, as in the case of the water, being different for soldiers, sailors, negroes, and Indians.² Fire is guarded against by ordering all fires, except the lantern, out at four in the afternoon, unless to cook something for a sick man, and then that fire shall be immediately extinguished. Watches are to be maintained day and night. Those caught sleeping at their posts are to be severely punished. If the culprit be an individual who holds an office, for the first offense he shall lose his office; for the second he shall be thrown overboard. A soldier (not of gentle

1 Ed. note: This instruction would effectively block the gunners and crossbowmen who were not Catholics, i.e. many of those who were Flemish, Dutch, and German.

2 Ed. note: The soldiers were to get 4 pints of water per day, the sailors 3 pints, and the negroes 1-1/2 pints. The soldiers would receive a pound of bread and a pound of meat per day, the sailors half a pound of bread and a pound of meat, but for every 3 Indians 2 pounds of biscuit only.

birth) for the first offense shall be made to pass under the keel three times; and for the second be thrown overboard. The captain must stand one watch each night. Each captain shall have a bodyguard of six men. All fire must be kept away from the powder. At the least appearance of mutiny immediate measures are to be taken; if it is not possible to inform Villalobos, then the captain is empowered to execute summary justice. The captain is to keep a compass in his room, which he shall constantly consult, and must keep close watch on the heading.

[Treatment of the natives]

In case one vessel be separated from the fleet and reach any land, the captain must see that the natives are well treated. The men “shall not enter their houses, towns, or temples, or talk to the women; nor shall they take anything to eat, or any other articles, before you appoint a man who understands trading, and he shall buy for all what they may need. And you shall try to find out the products of the land, and to procure specimens thereof, and ascertain the character of the people and the land; so that, when we meet you there, you may advise me of everything, and his most illustrious lordship may have knowledge of it all.”

The captain must under no consideration disembark at this land himself, but must send a trustworthy agent with armed men to arrange peace and friendship with the natives. They must return two hours before nightfall. If peace be made, then a trader will be appointed. They are to be careful that “God our Lord be not offended because of the Indian women you take with you, and to this effect, you are to give them a place aboard the nao for sleeping where they can be seen; that the watchman assigned be on his guard so that nothing dirty happens during the period of his watch; and should there be any infractions and sentences, the fines are to be applied to charitable works.”¹

The captains are to examine the instructions of the pilots and see that the latter abide by these instructions.

A9. Correspondence with Portuguese officials, from July 1543 to August 1545.

Sources: Col. de Nav. 15, doc 11; Col. de Ultramar II, pp. 66-94; B&R II, p. 64; ACL's Collecção de notícias para a historia e geographia das nações ultramarinas, tome VI; tome IX of As gavetas da Torre do Tombo (1971), pp. 139-140, 174-202, 343, 364-372, 385, 391-402; and Basilio de Sá (ed.), Documentação para a história das missões (do Padroado Português) do Oriente—Insulindia (Lisbon, 1954), vol. I, pp. 419-433; 543-459; vol. II, pp. 385-400.

An extensive correspondence ensues between Villalobos and Jorge de Castro, after the fleet had reached the Philippines. The documents that have been preserved in various archives are as follows:

- Letter from Jorge de Castro to Villalobos, dated Ternate 20 July 1543;
- Letter from Villalobos to Captain Antonio de Almeida, dated Antonia [i.e. Sarangani] 9 August 1543;
- Letter from Villalobos to Jorge de Castro, dated Antonia 15 August 1543;

¹ Ed. note: That is, turned over to the friars.

- Letter from Jorge de Castro to Villalobos, dated Ternate 2 September, 1543;
- Letter from Captain Major James Lobo to Villalobos, dated 14 January 1544;
- Letter from Villalobos to James Lobo, dated 15 January 1544;
- Letter from Jorge de Castro to Villalobos, dated Ternate 18 January 1544;
- Letter from Villalobos to Jorge de Castro, dated 24 January 1544;
- Report made by Auditor Manuel Alvarez Carragueiro, enclosing copies of the above correspondence, dated Ternate 1 February 1544;
- Letter from Jorge de Castro to King John III, dated 10 February 1544;
- Letter from the king of Ternate to King John III, dated 18 February 1544;
- Letter from Jerónimo Pérez Cotão to King John III, dated 18 February 1544;
- Report enclosing a request from Villalobos to Castro, dated 31 March 1544;
- Letter from Castro to King John III, dated 10 April 1544;
- Letter from Jordão de Freitas to King John III, dated 1 February 1545;
- Letter from Gaspar Nilio to King John III, dated Malacca 10 August 1545.

A10. Letter from Emperor Charles V to Viceroy Mendoza, dated Bruges (Belgium) 9 November 1545.

He says that the ambassador of the King of Portugal has complained about Villalobos having gone to the Moluccas. He orders him to leave that place immediately (See B&R 3:128).

A11. Letter from Fr. Santiestevan to Viceroy Mendoza, dated Cochin 22 January 1547.

This is the second most important narrative of the expedition. See Document 1542C below.

A12. Letter from Fr. Santiesteban to King Philip II, dated Cochin 22 January 1547.

Source: Published in António da Silva Rego (ed.), Documentação para a história das missões do Oriente—India (Lisbon, 1954), Vol. III, pp. 450-452.

A13. Letter from García de Escalante Alvarado to Viceroy Mendoza, dated Lisbon 1 August 1548.

This is the main narrative of the expedition, all logbooks having been lost. See Document 1542B below.

A14. Letter from Viceroy Mendoza to Juan de Aguilar, ca. 1546.

See Document 1542G below.

A15. Letter from Fr. Cosmo de Torres to Fr. Ignatius de Loyola (in Portuguese), dated Goa 25 January 1549.

Source: Dahlgren says that it was published by H. Haas in Geschichte des Christentums in Japan, II, Tokyo 1904, pp. 355-360.

A16. Primary account of the voyage by Juan Gaytan, published in 1550.

See Document 1542E below.

A17. Account by António Galvão, published in 1563.

See Document 1542D below.

A18. Account of the voyage, by Fray Rodrigo Aganduru Moriz, extracted from his *Historia*.

See Document 1542F below.

A19. The “lost” primary account by Martin de Islares.

Note in B&R 53:242 is as follows: Title was: “Relación del viage de Ruy Lopez de Villalobos al descubrimiento de las Filipinas.” Cited by Leon Pinelo, *Epitome*, p. 81; Antonio, ii, p. 103; and Gonzalez Barcia, ii, col. 635, who in turn cites from Aganduru Moriz.

A20. Secondary account by Herrera, in his *Historia*.

Source: *Historia* (1615), Dec. VII, Lib. V, Caps. V-XIV. A manuscript (No. 96) is also in MN Madrid; on its folio 372 is the following extract from Decade 8 (a), about the 1543 return attempt.

“The ship San Juan left Sarangani for New Spain on 26 August of this year (1543) and went to Tandaya to take on food, and having departed from there, they saw at a latitude of 26° a small island, and 26 leagues further on other two that are due north of the Islands of the Ladrones, and further on three more, one of which is a volcano that was spewing fire at three places. On 18 October, having covered an effective distance of 750 leagues and at a latitude of just under 30°, they were hit by such a storm from the north that they had to turn back... and in 13 days they were back at Tandaya.”

A21. Secondary account by Fr. Grijalva, from his *Historia*.

Source: Fr. Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la orden de N.P. S. Agustin en las provincias de la Nueva España* (1624).

Since Grijalva possibly used the letters of his Augustinian brethren who had been aboard the flagship, he can be expected to give a reliable account of the voyage.

A 22. Tertiary account by Fr. Gaspar de San Augustin, from his *Conquistas*.

Source: *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas...* (1698). Book I, Chapter VI, which is based on A18 above::

“On Christmas Day they discovered in 10 degrees of latitude the Coral Islands, so named by them because they had to remove a very fine branch of coral stuck to a fluke

of the anchor, as they anchored at one of them. Here they stayed almost one month¹, taking on water and wood, and some fish they got from its beaches. However, all the islands, which they recognized as being five in number, were uninhabited.²

On 20 January [1543], they set sail and after a few days of navigation, they sighted a small, but very high, inhabited island, with many coconut palms. They tried to come to an anchor at it, but they could not, because it was very soundable [sic]³ and the current strong. When the natives of the island saw this, they went to the ships in a small boat, with six men aboard it, and as they came near they were making signs of friendship and offering fish, coconuts and other fruits. When paying attention to what they were saying repeatedly, it was recognized that they were saying: "Matalote buenos días". Then, making the sign of the cross with the fingers, and kissing it; this caused no end of wonderment, because it was not known how they could have learned that, being as they were so isolated in such a remote region. The conjecture was that they had been taught by some Spaniards from the nao Trinidad, one of the ships in Magellan's fleet which turned back while trying to return to Panama [in 1522], or it could have been from one of the other ships of the other fleets [sic] of Alvaro de Saavedra, although this is more difficult [to believe] because there were many from that voyage with the fleet.⁴

They continued they route and, at the end of a few days, when it appeared to the General that they could not be very far from where they were going, and that the navigation required a fixed resolution, in order not to become separated one from the other, a council of the pilots was held, in which it was decided to go in search of the Point of Mindañao [sic], located in 11 degrees. However, there must be a mistake here in the narrative of the voyage, written by Father Superior Fray Juan de Grijalva, upon which I base myself (that is, I extracted it from the original narrative that the four Religious made of their voyage), because the Point, which is at 11 degrees, is that of Guiguan [Guiuan] on Samar Island, which is the route they had to follow to go to Zebú, where they intended to make a settlement, as they had a narrative of those who had been in the fleet of Hernando de Magallanes. No sooner had this been resolved that the pilots began to issue diverse opinions...

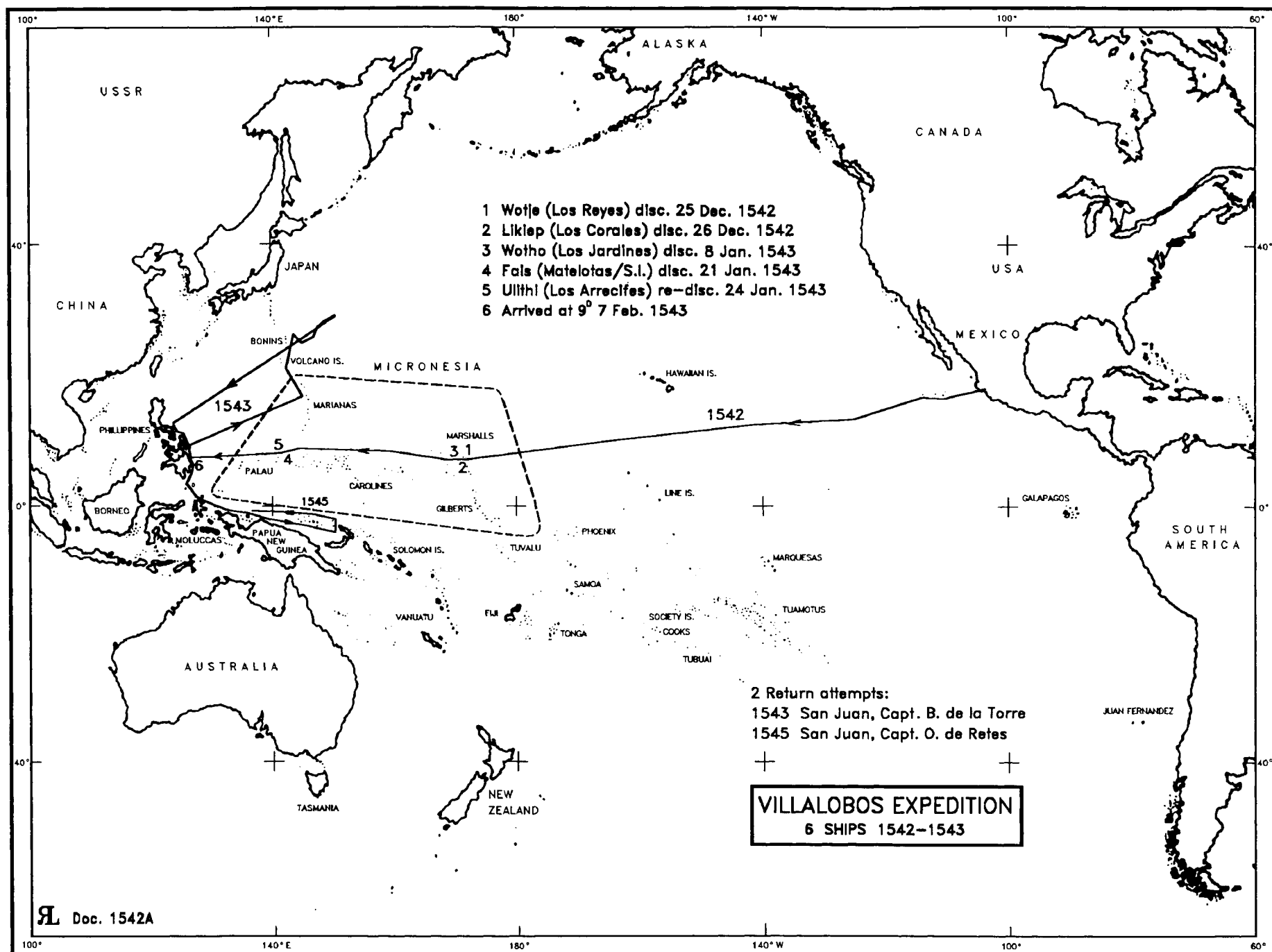
The route was determined by the council as 10 degrees. They proceeded for a few days with favorable winds, as the easterlies had not failed them so far, until they sighted land along that 10° course...

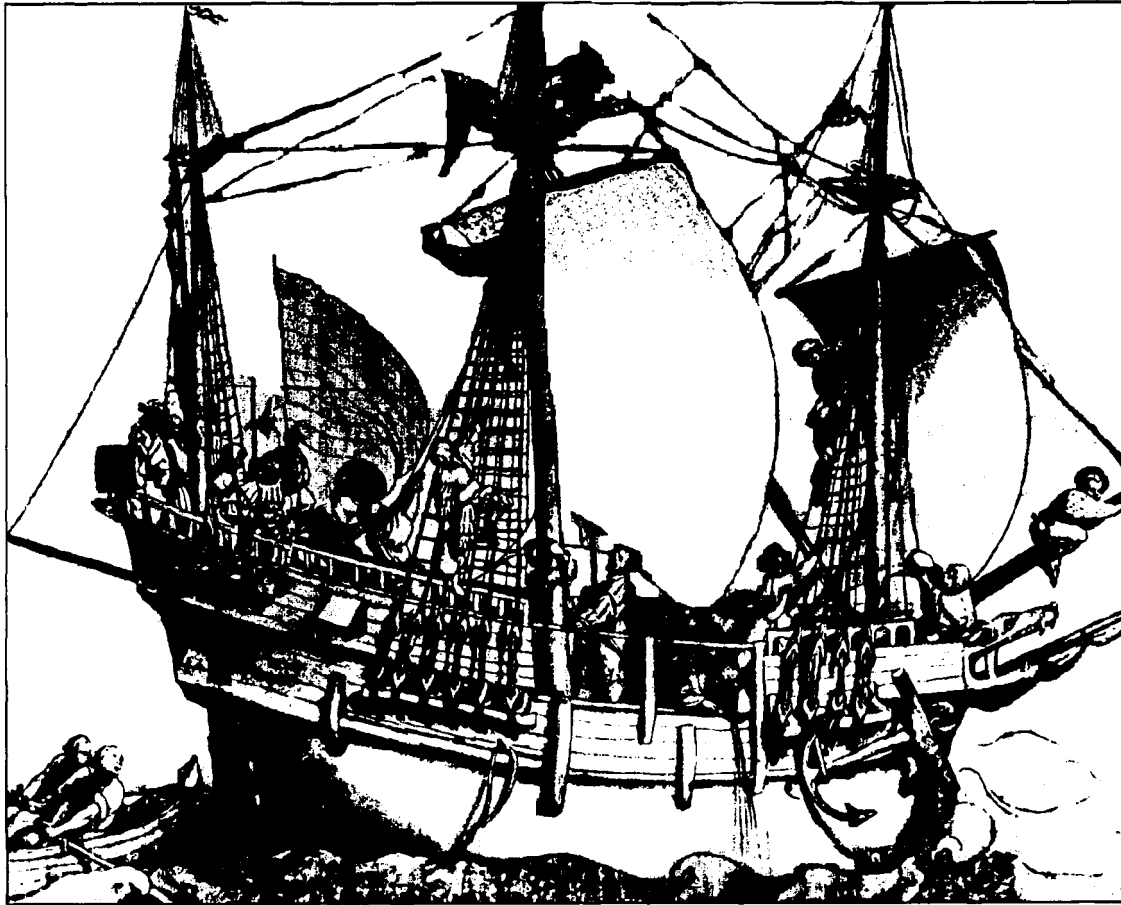
1 Ed. note: They stayed only 11 days.

2 Ed. note: This does not agree with some primary accounts. They may have reconnoitered only five.

3 Ed. note: The author means the reverse, that it was too deep, that they could not find bottom.

4 Ed. note: It was more likely in fact that the two lost ships of Saavedra had ended up in the Carolines.





European trading ship, circa 1540. *(Drawn by Holbein, from a print in the Science Museum, London)*