
Document 1522C

Espinosa's voyage—Primary account by a Genoese pilot (cont'd)

Source: Same as for Document 1521D.

They left on the 6th of April of the era of 1522, and they took their route for the mainland of the Antilles¹, by way of the Strait [of Magellan], by which they had come out [into the Pacific], and then they sailed northward until they went out of the said islands of Ternate and Timor [rather Tidore], and then they sailed along the island of Betachina [i.e. Halmahera], to the NNE for 10 or 11 leagues, and after they steered something like 20 leagues NE, and thus they arrived at an island, which is called Domy [i.e. Doi], which is in 3 degrees and a half on the SE side², and from here they sailed to the east 3 or 4 leagues, and came into sight of two islands, one big and the other small. The big one is called Chãol, the small one Pylom³, and they passed between it and Bate-

1 Ed. note: To go to the West Indies, via the Ithmus of Panama, where they knew the Spanish were already established.

2 Ed. note: Error for 2°15'N., and was bearing SE from their position.

3 Ed. note: Lagoa mentions that one other manuscript says at this point that "they called the big one Porquenampello", which means "Why not that way?" Chãol or Chaol seems to correspond to Morotai Island off the northern tip of Halmahera, and Pylom to Rau, next to it.

china, which bore to starboard. They arrived at a cape, to which they gave the name of Cape of the Branches. This cape is in 2-1/2 degrees. From here they steered to the south making for Quemarre¹, which is land belonging to the king of Tidore, and the said king had ordered that they be provided everything which could be found in the land [in exchange] for their money. There they took in pigs, goats, chickens, coconuts, and water. They were in the said port 8 or 9 days. This port of Çamarro [i.e. Zamafo] is in 1 deg. 1/4 [N].

They took their departure from this port on 25th of April, and steered to the east 17 leagues, and went out by the strait between the island of Batechina and the island of Chaol, and as soon as they were out of it, they saw that the [coast of the] said island of Batechina ran SW perhaps 18 to 20 leagues, and it was not along their route, because their route was to the east and a quarter northeast [i.e. E by N], and they sailed for a few days along that heading, and they always found strong headwinds in their path.

And on the 6th of May they made **two small islands**, which could be in about 5 degrees more or less, to which they gave them the name of islands of **San Juan**.²

From here they proceeded forward to the NE, and now they arrived at one island they call **Chyquom**³, which is in 19 degrees plus, and they made this island on the 11th of June⁴. From this [island] they took one man whom they took along with them⁵ and from here they proceeded forward, tacking from one side to the other, because the winds were contrary, until they reached 42 degrees on the north side.

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- 1 Ed. note: Quimor in another manuscript. Corresponds to a port called Komo, on the east side of the northern peninsula of Halmahera, according to Lagoa. The modern port of Kau, located in Kau Bay at 1°10'N would seem to be the same as Quemarre or Quimor. By the way, this northern peninsula or arm of Halmahera is what they called Zamafo or Çamafo below.
 - 2 Ed. note: The St. John or **Sonsorol** Islands, to be re-discovered in 1710 and re-baptized St. Andrew. It is here that the Viscount of Lagoa has commented that another manuscript says "3rd May" and "San Antonio" instead, in error, I think, if only because St. Anthony's Day is on May 10th, not 6th. My educated guess is that SamJoam was read as Samanton by the transcriber...
 - 3 Ed. note: Written Cyco in another manuscript, and Chanchan on the Portuguese map on p. 333. It is relatively easy to recognize the island which the Jesuit missionaries were to baptize **Asunción** circa 1670, because it sounded much like the native name of As Sonson (Sonson's Place or Island, in Chamorro) or Assongsong. Hence the scrawls Çyço, Çyçon, Chychom, Chyquom, and Chanchan in various manuscripts. It is at latitude 19°40' N.
 - 4 Ed. note: On St. Barnabe's Day, as confirmed by Espinosa in his 1525 letter. Another manuscript says 11th of July, in error, because of the scrawl "Junho" which resembles "Julho".
 - 5 Ed. note: Galvão (See Doc. 1522D) is wrong when he reports that they had taken more than one Chamorro along. For one thing, they had not enough food aboard.

While they were in these parts, they ran out of bread, wine, meat, and oil; they had nothing to eat except water and rice, without any other food, and the cold was great, and they had nothing to cover themselves. The people began to die off, and seeing themselves in that condition, they determined to turn back directly for the Moluccas, which they then put into effect.

When they were about 500 leagues from them [i.e. the Moluccas], they wanted to make an island, which is called **Magregua** [i.e. **Agrigan**] and as they sighted it at night, they did not wish to touch at it. They spent the night maneuvering, and were not able to touch at the said island. The [Chamorro] man, whom they had along, and whom they had earlier taken at the said island¹, told them that if they went further, that they would make 3 islands, where there was a good port. The black [sic] man was saying this to them in order to flee to those islands, something which he did in fact do there. Upon arriving at the said 3 islands, they stopped at them with some risk, and came to an anchor in the middle of them in 15 fathoms. Of the said islands, one is larger, populated with 20 persons, counting men and women. This island is called **Mão**². It is at about 20 degrees more or less³, and here they took in some rain water, as there was no other kind ashore.

The captive Chamorro guide escaped and 3 Spanish sailors deserted. Rain water was collected and some sugarcane, before the ship continued the return voyage to the Moluccas, after having failed the eastward passage to America. At this island four men deserted, among whom one returned and was forgiven; three were Christians and one a black [sic] man.⁴

From here they took their departure bound for the coast of Zamafo, and as soon as they saw it, they were becalmed, and the currents made them drift toward the land, and after they got a little wind and they tried to come to an anchor, and they could not do so where they wanted, [so] they went on to anchor before the island of Domi [= Dui] and Batechina. While they were anchored, some men belonging to the king of an island called Gaiilolo⁵ passed by there in a proa, and they gave them the news that the Portuguese were in the Moluccas building a fort.

Having thus learned this [news], they later sent a clerk of the said nao with letters to the said captain major of those Portuguese whose name was Antonio de Brito, so that

- 1 Ed. note: There is a confusion here between Agrigan and Asunción. However, one can surmise that the man they had seized at Asunción resided at Agrigan and had convinced Captain Espinosa to try and make a stopover there.
- 2 Ed. note: Written Maua on the Portuguese map which is part of the next document. It is very easy to recognize the 3 islets of **Maug**, situated at exactly 20° N. The anchorage is at the center of what used to be the crater of a sunken volcano (See map below).
- 3 Ed. note: While at anchor, they were indeed able to take a very good fix with their astrolabes, when the sun was shining.
- 4 Ed. note: From the lists in the archives, we learn the names of the white men who stayed behind: Martin Forte [N° 18], a Genoese, Gonçalo Alvarez [de Vigo, N° 147] (more about him later, under the Loaysa Expedition, Doc. 1526B et seq.), and the Portuguese Afonso Gonçalves [N° 170], a native of Guarda, east of Coimbra. The so-called black man was, of course, the native Chamorro.
- 5 Ed. note: The south-central part of Halmahera Island.

he would see them and take the nao where they were, because most of the crewmen of the nao were dead, and the rest, being sick, could not sail the said nao.

Espinosa—Original text by a Genoese pilot

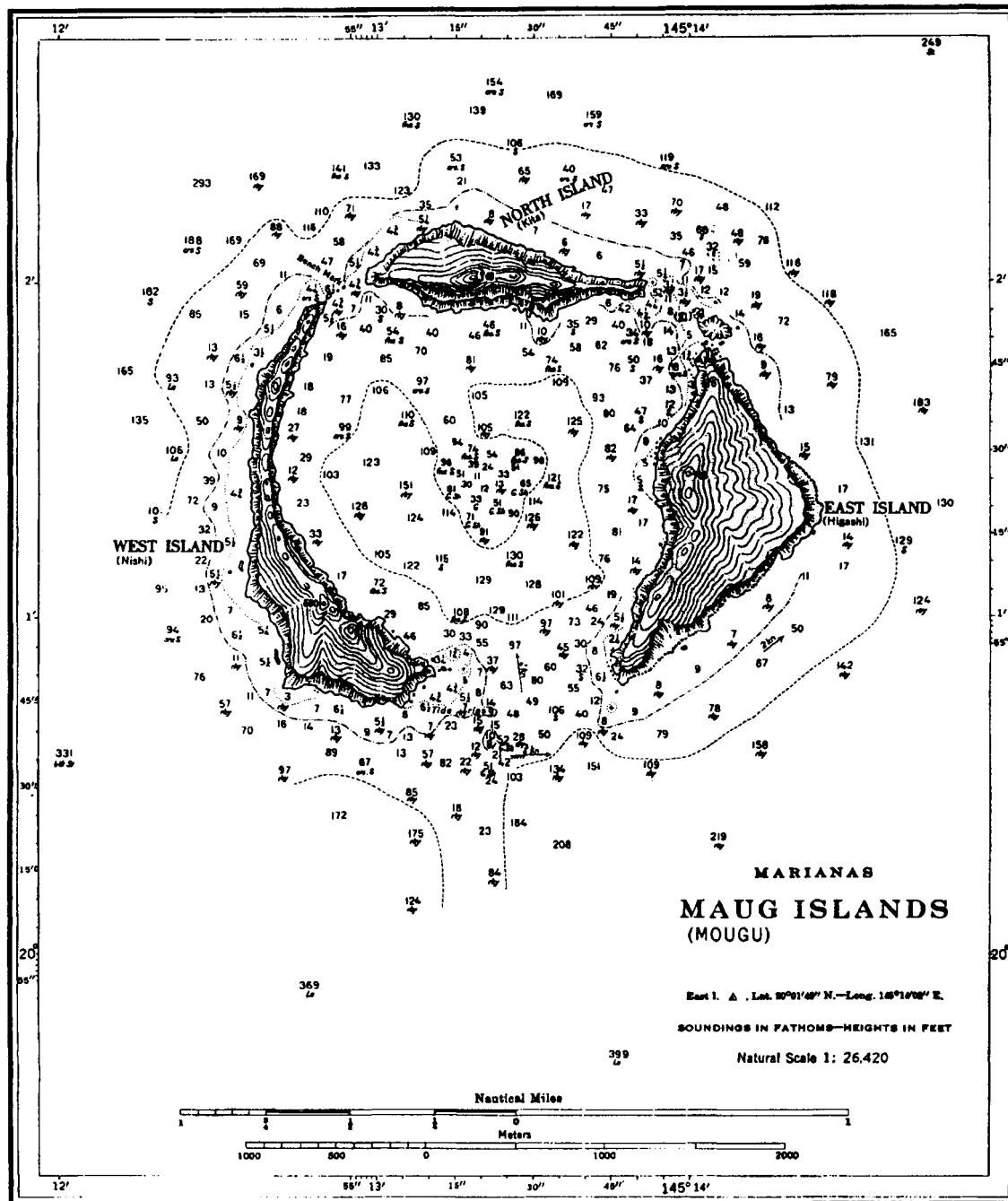
Source: Nunes de Carvalho's book reproducing this manuscript. Also extracts by the Viscount of Lagoa, following the copy published by the Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa.

Partiram a 6 do mes de Abril da hera de 1522, e tomaram sua róta pera terra firme das Antilhas, via do estreyto, por domde aviam saído, e logo navegaram ao norte até sairem das ditas ilhas de Ternate e Tymor, e depois navegaram ao longo da ilha de Batechina ao norte-nordeste dés ou onze leguas, e despois governaram hobra de 20 legoas ao nordeste, e asy chegaram a humilha, que ha nome Domy, que está em 3 gr. e meio da banda de sueste, e daqui navegaram a leste 3 ou 4 legoas, e houveram vista de duas ilhas, hum grande, e outra pequena. A grande á nome Chãol; a pequena Pyliom, e passaram por antre ella e Batechina, que lhes ficava da banda de estribordo. Chegaram a hum cabo, a que poseram nome Cabo de ramos. Este cabo está em 2 gr. e 1/2; e daquy governaram ao sull a demandar a Quemarre, que he terra del rey de Tidor, e mandava ho dito rey que lhe mandasem todo o que em a terra houvesse por seu dinheiro, e ally tomaram porcos, e cabras, e galinhas e cocos, e água; estiveram no dito porto 8, ou 9 dias. Está este porto de Çamarro em hum gr. 1/4.

Partiram deste porto a 25 do mes de Abril, e governaram alleste 17 legoas, e saíram por ho canall da ilha de Batechina, e da ilha de Chaol, e tanto que foram fóra, viram que a dita ilha de Batechina corria a sueste bem 18, ou 20 legoas, e nam hera o seu caminho; porque o seu caminho era alleste e a quarta de nordeste, domde navegaram no dito rumo huns dias, e acharam sempre hos ventos muito ponteiros pera seu caminho.

*E aos 6 de Mayo tomaram duas ilhas pequenas, que podiam estar em 5 gr pouco mais ou menos, a que puseram nome as **ilhas de Sam Joam**. Daquy navegaram mais avante ao nordeste, e já chegaram a humilha, que chamam **Chyquom**, que está em 19 gr. largos, e tomaram aquesta ilha 11 de Junho. Desta tomaram hum homem que levaram comsygo e daquy navegaram mais avante tomando bordos de hum banda e da outra, por terem hos ventos contrarios, até que chegaram a 42 gr. da banda do norte.*

*Sendo en esta paraje, lhes faltou o pam, vinho, e carne, e azeite; nam tinham que comer, sómente aguoa e arroz sem outro mantimento, e ho frio era grande, e não tinham com que se cobrir; començou-lhe a gente de morrer, e vendo-se asy determinaram de arribar caminho de Maluco, o que longo poseram em obra, semdo della obra de 500 legoas, quiseram tomar a ilha, que ha nome **Magregua** e por aver vista della á noyte a nam quiseram tomar; passaram asy até ho outro dia manhecendo, e nam poderam tomar ha dita ilha; e o homem, que levavam, que antes aviam tomado na dita ilha, lhes dixe que fosem mais avante, que tomariam 3 ilhas, homde tinham bom porto, e isto*



Map of the Maug Is. visited by the Trinidad in August 1522. They "came to an anchor in the middle of them in 15 fathoms" and collected some sugarcane and rain water. Three Spanish sailors deserted here. (US DMA Map 81092, inset)

*que ho negro dizia, hera pera nelas fogir, como de feyto fogio; e arribando ás ditas 3 ilhas, as tomaram com asaz periguo, e surgiram no meo dellas em 15 braças, as quaes ilhas a huma que hera a mais grande, pavoada de 20 pesoas amtre homês e molheres, esta ilha se chama **Mão**; esté em 20 gr pouco mais ou menos, e aqui tomaram agoa de chuva, por não haver outra na terra.*

Em esta ilha fogeram quatro homens, dos quais um regressou e foi perdoado. Tres eram cristãos e um negro.

Daqui partiram a demandar huma terra de Çamafo, e tanto que a viram, tiveram calmarias, e as corrientes hos arredaram da terra, e depois lhes deu hum pouco de vento, e demandaram ha terra, e nam a poderam tomar; homde quiseram, e foram surgir antre a ilha de Domi e a Batechina. Sendo surtos, pasaram en hum paró por elles huns homens que heram de hum rey de huma ilha que se chama Geilolo, e deram-lhes novas que estavam Portugueses em Maluco fazendo fortaleza. Sabendo asy isto mandaram logo o escrivam da dita nóo com cartas ao capitam mor daquelles Portuguesas que avia nome António de Bryto pera que viesse e levase a néo adomde elles estavam; porque a gente da néo hera a mais della morta, e ha outra hera doente, não podia navegar a dita não.