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## Document 1565AE

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# Legazpi—Secondary account by Fr. San Augustin

*Sources: Father Fray Gaspar de San Augustin, O.S.A. Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas..., Madrid, 1698 and 2nd edition, Madrid, 1975. The original manuscript was transcribed long-hand and annotated by an unknown friar after 1750; this is Ayer ms. 1359 Phil. in the Newberry Library in Chicago. The original source for both of these documents is Doc. 1565X.*

## Chapter 15—Death of Viceroy Luis de Velasco and despatch of the fleet by the Licentiate Valderrama; and how they set sail from the port of Navidad on 21 November 1564.

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When Miguel López de Legazpi saw that everything was ready, he held a muster of the people he had, and found out that the fleet contained 200 good soldiers, not counting the gentlemen of his company who numbered over 100, and the servant lads, plus 150 sailors, for a total of over 400 persons with the right age and proper appearance. Once the visual inspection was carried out and the people provided with the required weapons, clothing for the sea, and other ammunitions, very important in such cases, the time for sailing had arrived. The General hurried the departure not only to save time but to reduce the desertion of the sailors to whom it appeared that the voyage would not be profitable, because that is the main purpose why they offer themselves to the ordinary dangers of the sea. The voyage [i.e. the departure] having been announced, there embarked aboard the flagship galleon, named **San Pedro**, of a 500-ton capacity, the illustrious Captain General Miguel López de Legazpi, with Fathers Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, Fray Martín de Rada and Fray Andrés de Aguirre; Pilot Major Esteban Rodriguez, a native of Huelva in the county of Niebla; his Mate Pierre Plin, a Frenchman; the Master Martín de Ibarra, a native of Bilbao, along with the more famous soldiers and the most expert sailors. Also aboard her were the Factor Andrés de Mirandaola; the Senior Constable Gabriel de Ribera; the Chief Notary of the fleet Hernando Riquel, a native of Seville; Artillery Captain Juan Maldonado del Berrocal, a native of Burgos; the Lieutenant General of the fleet Andrés de Ibarra, a native of Mexico; Sergeant Major Luis de la Haya, a native of Valladolid; Infantry Captain Martín

de Goyti, a native of Bilbao, with his whole company and that of the General, in which was Felipe de Salcedo, his grandson, the older son of Pedro de Salcedo, his son-in-law, and of his daughter, Doña Teresa de Legazpi; by the way, he was 16 years old.

Aboard the *almiranta*, named **San Pablo**, of a 400-ton capacity, there embarked with the title of Admiral the Master-of-Camp Don Mateo del Saz, with Fathers Fray Diego de Herrera and Fray Pedro Gamboa; the senior pilot was Juan Martínez Fortín [sic]; his mate Diego Martín of Triana; the master Juan María, a native of the province of Genoa, and the soldiers of the company of the Master-of-Camp and the necessary sailors. Also aboard the *almiranta* were the Treasurer Guido de Lavazares and the Accountant Andrés de Cauchela.

In the small galleon named **San Juan**, of a 100-ton capacity, there was Captain Juan de la Isla; his brother Rodrigo de Espinosa, as pilot; and Julián Felipe, a native of Triana, as master. Aboard the other, which was a patache of 40 tons, named **San Lucas**, were the Captain, Don Alonso de Arellano; a mulatto from Ayamonte, named Lope Martín, as pilot; and as master a good sailor, of Greek origin, named Nicolao.

The names of the other soldiers and important people of the fleet are not mentioned here, in order not to lengthen this narrative, and I will limit myself to naming them when necessary in the course of this History. Suffice to mention that the interpreter with the fleet was an Indian, a native of these islands who knew very well the Malay language which is sufficiently understood by all the natives of these islands and even by a few of those living in the neighboring kingdoms; this man was very useful to make contacts at the beginning, until the Spanish began to learn the languages of these islands. This Indian was named Jorge<sup>1</sup> and he had been converted by our religious at Tidore when they were in the Moluccas with the unfortunate fleet of General Ruy López de Villalobos, and from then on he had been a very good Christian and had come to New Spain (after having gone around the world) in the company of a soldier named Pedro Pacheco, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, who was in the said fleet.

After everything was completely ready, the General gave the instructions that everyone had to obey, and he made a very prudent speech in which he represented the greatness of the enterprise, the immortal fame that was awaiting them, and the reward they would receive from our Catholic Kings in this world and from God in the other; this way, he fired them up so much that the delay appeared to them as unacceptable, although it was very little because there was nothing more to wait for. The appointed time to embark, which was Monday 20 November 1564 in the morning, finally arrived and everyone boarded amid great festivity and signs of happiness. The next day, Tuesday, the 21st of the said month, they set sail 3 hours before daybreak, in order to take advantage of the morning breeze blowing from the land, invoking the Holy Name of Jesus, toward which Miguel López de Legazpi had been very devout.

For four days our fleet sailed with lucky weather, following a SW course in accordance with the instructions given at the port, until Saturday 25 November, the feast day

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1 Ed. note: Legazpi (See Doc. 1565X) says that his name was Gerónimo Pacheco.

of the glorious Saint Catherine, when the General thought that it was already time to open a sealed Instruction that the Royal Audiencia of Mexico had delivered to him, and that he was not to open until he found himself 100 leagues from the land. He held a meeting with all the religious and military officers and, the order having been opened by Hernando Riquel, notary of the fleet, he read aloud what it said about him being ordered to follow the route to the Philippines, or to other islands in the vicinity that fall within the demarcation of Spain; along this route, he was to discover La Nublada and Roca Partida Islands, Los Reyes, Los Corales, Los Matalotes and Arrecifes, according to the route followed by Ruy López de Villalobos in 1542. Once the Instruction had been read, the General said that his intention was to follow it and to obey it without any interpretation, but he required the opinion of the pilots regarding the safest courses for the route to the Philippines. Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta was much saddened upon hearing the Instruction and the determination of the General, because he had until then understood that the fleet had been prepared to go to the discovery of New Guinea, which had been what he had proposed to the Viceroy as the most appropriate; however, seeing that it was mandatory to obey the Instruction, rationalizing it as being a divine disposition, he agreed to it, and the same attitude was followed by the rest of his companions, and he began discussing the headings that had to be followed along the route, all the others engaging themselves to follow the opinion of Father Urdaneta, considering his expertise in the subject matter. This opinion was that the best route to the Philippines was: to steer W by S as far as the latitude of 9 degrees; then from there run due W in search of the islands of Los Reyes and Los Corales, which were between 9 and 10 degrees; then from there go directly in search of the Philippines, forgetting about La Nublada and Roca Partida, because too much time would be lost as they were in 15 degrees of latitude, the sun's elevation taken that day.

With everyone being in agreement with the opinion of Fr. Urdaneta, it was given as an instruction to all the vessels, along with the rest consisting of having to wait at one of the islands mentioned, if some vessel were to become separated from the fleet; then, after a given period, they were to pursue their route, should the fleet not be found. In the said manner they steered W by S until Thursday 30 November. That night the General ordered the patache (on account of its being of lesser draft and being a better sailer) to always take the lead in front of the flagship, in case some shoal might be discovered. It did so that day, but the following Friday in the morning the patache disappeared completely. After a few days had passed, and seeing that it did not return to the fleet, everyone became worried, the more so because of the little trust they had in the mulatto Lope Martín who acted as pilot aboard it. So, given a few reasons they had heard him give, they began to suspect what did in fact happen, which was as follows.

### **[The treachery of Arellano, according to a future friar]**

Captain Don Alonso de Arellano and the mulatto pilot had planned together to deviate from the fleet and the General's flag, and to pursue their route directly to the Philippines, in order to gain for themselves the honor of having discovered them. They did

so with much luck because the patache was a very good sailer, strong and in very good condition. Thus, without stopping anywhere, it arrived at the island of Mindanao where they remained for a time trading for gold and other products of the said island. Although it received news of the arrival of the fleet and had seen their sails from the topmasts, they refused to go and rejoin it. Rather, they threatened the soldiers and sailors who were of that opinion, even wishing to hang Nicolao the Greek who was the one who insisted the most about this. They returned to New Spain without giving any news whatever about the fleet nor the discovery made, but rather, giving to understand that it might have become lost. This way they gave the whole of New Spain some worry that lasted until the flagship returned with the account of everything that had occurred. That is [the result of] the little faithfulness and lack of obedience brought upon by the mulatto Lope Martín and Captain Don Diego [sic] de Arellano, whom we will leave aside until the occasion offers itself to speak further about them, in the return made to New Spain by Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta. **The good Greek Nicolao died a religious of our Order.**<sup>1</sup>

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## **Chapter 16—What happened to the fleet until they arrived at the islands of the Ladrones.**

When the General saw that the patache did not appear and that there was no hope of its returning to the fleet, because the treachery of Captain Arellano and Lope Martín had become known, he pursued his voyage by the same route and heading that he had followed up to that time. Having arrived at the latitude of 9 degrees and ordered to steer to the west as had been determined, on 18 December he was running along that parallel, give and take one point, on account of the difference among pilots in taking the sun and the lack of conformity among them about this and also about the daily runs, on account of the many currents within the gulf that caused the pilots to diverge in their calculations. However, Fr. Urdaneta always came up with the most accurate position. The fleet had been running for a few days at the latitude of 9 degrees in search of the islands of Los Reyes and Los Corales when the pilots said that they found themselves much farther than the said islands and very near Los Arrecifes and Matalotes. The General ordered them to go up to 10 degrees exactly and from there to pursue the route to the west. At that latitude they ran until 9 January 1565, when the flagship discovered a small **island** [Mejit], which appeared to have 3 leagues in circumference, very green with coconut and other trees, but so steep with reefs that it was impossible to anchor at any part of it. While they were going around it, they discovered a small village

1 Ed. note: His informant was an eyewitness and a co-religionist. Since he had been the Master of the San Lucas, he probably had participated actively in the mutiny after the arrival at Mindanao and been pardoned on account of his skills. We have no reason, however, to doubt the premeditation of Captain Arellano in avoiding the fleet when its sails were sighted, probably near Bohol in the Philippines. The fleet stayed there from mid-March to about 25 April, and the San Lucas passed in the vicinity about mid-April.



among some palm trees and a few Indians who were walking on the beach and at sea aboard canoes. As soon as the Indians discovered the fleet, they fled inland. The patache **San Juan**, which was leading, anchored in front of the houses and with the bowsprit near the reef cast anchor in over 150 fathoms, but the flagship and *almiranta* could not do likewise with two cables.

The General sent Captain Martín de Goyti in the boat to look for an anchorage but he returned without having found any. The General then determined to send Fr. Urdaneta aboard the launch to try and make contact with the Indians ashore. He sent his grandson Felipe de Salcedo with him to take possession of the island in the name of His Majesty. By order of the General, they were joined in the other boat by the Master-of-Camp and Captain Juan de la Isla, and they went ashore together while the flagship and *almiranta* were recovering the anchors they had cast overboard. As they knew about the many currents, they made sail and tacked back and forth while waiting for the boats that were ashore. When they saw that the sun was setting and they were overdue, he ordered a shot to be fired as a signal. So, those who were ashore tried to return to the fleet but they were delayed until complete darkness because the boat of Juan de la Isla had been left high and dry, and as they had been dragging it, the boats were unable to catch the flagship. They caught the patache San Juan which was nearer, already under sail, and with it they approached the flagship where they arrived at 10 at night. Then they set sail and pursued their route.

Fr. Urdaneta and his companions reported to the General what had happened to them ashore, and that is as follows. They did not find in the village more people than one old Indian man, with one Indian woman, also old and who looked as if she could be his wife, and another young Indian woman with good looks who appeared to be their daughter, and who held a baby in her arms. All of them were dressed with a very elegant palm fabric and they received them with much affection and, although they could not be understood, they were given some glass beads and trade goods by which they were pleased. By sign language, they invited them to the village, that they would make the people sit down and they would be given fish and fruits, which they had in abundance. However, when they saw that but little profit could be got, on account of not being able to understand their language, they said goodbye to them and they in turn showed some sorrow at their leaving and they helped them pull the boats out. Fr. Urdaneta also said that they had very expressive faces. Also the old man as well as the other men he saw from afar wore very long beards. They did not have any weapons whatever, neither offensive nor defensive; rather, they appear to be very peaceful people. There were in the island many chickens like those of Spain, many coconuts, potatoes and much millet. They used well-crafted canoes and fish-hooks but he did not observe anything made of metal or iron. They called these islands **Los Barbudos**, on account of their keeping their beard and hair long.

The fleet pursued its route until the 10th of January, Wednesday morning, when what appeared to be a big island [Ailuk] was discovered. However, when they got close, at noon time, they saw that it was made up of many small islets lined up from north to

south. From one islet to another there was a reef or shoal. All the said islets would form a ring, like a very big enclosure, and from one to another there were some low sand banks, reason for which they called them the islands of **Los Placeres**. There did not appear to be a sign of any people in any of the islets nor could they find a place to anchor.

That afternoon, they discovered another island [Jemo] which they called Island of **Los Pájaros** for the many birds they found there, although it was also uninhabited and there was a range of shoals extending 8 or 9 leagues from it.<sup>1</sup>

So, getting away from these, they pursued their voyage until Friday when they discovered other islets [Wotho] arranged like an enclosure, with other sand banks similar to the previous ones, so much so that they give them the name of **Las Hermanas**.

They went ahead until the Sunday, 14 January, when they discovered in late afternoon an island [Ujelang] which bore SE [error for SW] and, turning to it, it being night-time, they could not get to it until the next day in the morning when they made out a few islets and very low reefs, dangerous and uninhabited, without any anchorage. The General ordered the voyage pursued to the west, and Fr. Urdaneta said that the islets in question seem to be those Villalobos called Los Jardines, on account of their being at the same latitude that he had marked them in and, if so, they found themselves much farther back than they thought they were, according to the positions they had estimated. The other pilots would laugh at this, although they were so in disagreement among themselves that some were saying that they found themselves in the Matalotes and others very near the Philippines. In view of this situation, the General held a meeting of all the pilots and officers of the fleet and the religious on Wednesday aboard the flagship. Once gathered, he proposed to them that it would be convenient to go in search of the Philippines, and that he did not want to touch at the island of Mindanao in as low a latitude as Ruy López de Villalobos had done it, so that the same thing would not happen to him, as Villalobos had been unable to round the point of the island. So, they were to see if it would be proper to go up to a latitude greater than the 10 degrees in which they were, that they should all give their opinion so that he could make a proper decision. They were all in favor of that opinion, and Fr. Urdaneta confirmed it. It was ordered that they go up to a latitude of 13 degrees and from there run to the west in search of the Philippines; to this effect, the order was given to steer NW.

Fr. Urdaneta was saying that at this latitude they could not fail and, if the last islets and reefs they had discovered were those called Los Jardines by Ruy López de Villalobos, as he believed they were, of necessity they had to bump into the islands of the Ladrones, which were in a latitude of 13 degrees and, given that they are numerous and aligned from north to south, they could not but discover some and it would be seen clearly how they had not sailed as much until then as the pilots imagined it to be.

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1 Ed. note: The author seems to be following the narrative I attribute to Fr. Rada (Doc. 1565X) quite closely, except that here, he introduces a misinterpretation. The reef was only about 2 leagues in extension, but the distance separating it from the islands of banks [Ailuk] was 8 to 9 leagues.

The fleet kept running toward the NW until reaching the latitude of 13 degrees, and then the General ordered to steer to the west and yawing a little a point to SW so as to go down from 13 degrees to 12 and 1/2. They sailed on this heading until Sunday, 21 January, when, Fr. Urdaneta having estimated his position, he told the General that the last islets and reefs were certainly the Jardines and that, according to his reckoning, they were nearing the island of the Ladrones. The pilots would laugh at the assertion of Father Urdaneta as they found themselves in other parts, but the General trusted more the position given by Father Urdaneta than those of the pilots. And with good reason, because the next day, Monday, 22 January, at 10 in the morning, **land** was discovered northwest of the fleet. The pilots were saying that it was the Philippines; only Father Urdaneta was asserting that they were the islands of the **Ladrones**. As the fleet was getting near, and the lookouts had discovered some sails belonging to small craft, Father Urdaneta asked what type of sails they were, and from the topmast they answered that they were lateen sails. That was soon confirmed, because many proas (which is the name given by the natives of those islands to their canoes)<sup>1</sup> soon arrived at the ships and the pilots were undeceived. The ships approached within 2 leagues of the land and they were immediately surrounded by numberless proas with very neat lateen sails made of palm *petates* (which is the name they call their mats).<sup>2</sup> Aboard each proa there were 6 to 8 naked people, with a few weapons with bone tips, and they were all fat and big Indians. Shouting loudly words that could not be understood, they were pointing their towns with their hands, as if to say that they should go there, that they would be given many things to eat; and for this purpose they were showing them a few fruits that they carried aboard, and they were passing their hands upon their belly, as if to mean that they would fill up theirs very nicely if they went ashore. However, there was no way to make them approach the ships within a stone throw, although our people called them in and showed them toys and other things that they themselves asked for by signs. When the General saw that they did not wish to come alongside, he ordered that a few knives, mirrors, scissors and other things be placed on top of a plank [and lowered over the side]; they came swimming to collect these and, in doing so, they seemed more fish than men.

Coming close to the shore at sunset, the ships were near enough to distinguish the houses and the trees. However, because there was no port in which to anchor, they coasted the land toward the south, discovering along the whole coast many coconut palm groves and among them many hamlets. Night fell and the Indians returned ashore while the fleet ran along the coast until it rounded a low islet, full of palm trees, between which and the big island there was a reef with big rocks. After rounding it, in the southeast there was a bay. The General ordered the patache San Juan to go there to see if there was a port. The patache found out that the area was somewhat sheltered and so, at midnight, anchored in the bay.

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1 Ed. note: Error, proa was a Malay word.

2 Ed. note: Here again, *petate* was not a Chamorro word, but a Spanish word of American origin.

The next day, Tuesday, at dawn, the flagship and *almiranta* anchored. At the same time, the General proclaimed an order to the effect that no-one should go ashore without his permission, and that those who would get it, should not do any harm to the natives, nor touch their gardens, trees nor plantations, nor should they give or receive anything at all from them without an order from the royal officials. He ordered the captains and officers, under penalty of suspension from their posts, not to tolerate that anyone of their companies did anything contrary to what he had ordered; this was promulgated throughout all the ships and did not please the soldiers.

The flagship had no sooner anchored on Monday [sic] at dawn that the proas began again to come full of people. Their number increased so fast that in a short time it passed 400, and then it became impossible to count them. They were all loaded with dry and fresh coconuts, sugarcane, bananas, rice tamales and other things of little account, but very little of anything, perhaps to try first how they made out with such merchandise. They showed that they were very astute and deceitful people, as they haggled with signs at the great admiration and entertainment of our people. Father Urdaneta was also communicating with them, repeating to them a few words from their language that he had learned when he was here with the fleet of Loaysa. They were astonished to see him count up to 10 in their language. One of the Indians shouted many times: "Gonzalo, Gonzalo", who was, according to Father Urdaneta, the name of a soldier who was found at one of the islands by Loaysa's fleet. They all carried aboard their proas offensive weapons, mainly of the throwing type, and lances with bone tips and others of very hardened canes, slings and stones, and some balls made of baked mud to use for throwing. They all go about naked, and only the women cover their shameful parts with some small leaves hanging from a cord. The males are very burly and with great strength, and the women are tall and well-proportioned.<sup>1</sup>

On the following Wednesday, the proas came in larger number than on the previous days, but they no longer wanted to trade for anything but iron, mainly for nails, indicating that they wanted them to fasten their proas, which they fasten with cane [strips]

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1 Ed. note: One sentence added here in the Ayer manuscript is as follows: "When I was at those islands they caused no little wonder in me, but afterwards in Manila, among others I met with one [Chamorro] named Cabalo who seemed like a giant among all the other [Filipino] Indians from overhere."

and then they work them over with a colored pitch that serves them as a very strong careening stuff.<sup>1</sup> With these proas and their palm lateen sails, they sail with any wind, no matter how contrary or strong, and they always skim the surface of the water. In order not to turn over, they place a light piece of wood (which they call *cate* here)<sup>2</sup> which serves as a wing and counterweight to prevent turning over in a storm. They have no poop nor prow as such; rather, when they sail, in order to turn around under sail, they continue without turning the proa where they want to go. Every day that the fleet was anchored there, there were proas alongside to sell, but with such an art that each day they were selling dearer, doubling the prices, and on top of that, they were playing very pretty and even sad jokes with what they were selling; for instance, in the baskets of rice which they traded, there used to be mostly sand with a thickness of two fingers of rice on top, and the oil jars had no more than two fingers on top as well and the rest was water. Not only did they use such ruinous methods, but also they used rapine, by receiving the iron or nail, then fleeing with it without paying anything, and going to other ships with gentle concealment. If they were told anything [in reproach], they made a show of fierceness, grabbing their lances and making as if to throw them. All of this was tolerated on account of the necessity that the fleet had of all the things they brought and on account of the order the General had issued not to vex them in any way. In conclusion, these people are insolent, inclined to rob in any way they can, and with so little shame that, although they are caught red-handed, they do not show embarrassment; rather, they laugh it off and make a joke of everything. So it is that those in the fleet of Jofre de Loaysa<sup>3</sup> gave them the name of Ladrones [i.e. Thieves] on account of many such tricks played on them, mainly the theft of a boat which, having been tied at the poop of the ship, they untied it with such subtlety that it was not noticed until they saw it being taken away as they fled. Thus, because they always use these tricks, they have been left with this name of Ladrones, which will stay with them forever, no matter how

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1 Ed. note: Another addition, dating from the 1750s, in the Ayer manuscript is: "They sew the boards [of their canoes] with some very strong cordlets, made from coir [i.e. coconut husk fiber] which are fibers durable in water, specially salt water. They caulk the craft with the same coir in place of oakum which we lack overhere. The cords are also used as punk by the soldiers, because when they burn, the fire keeps burning without going out, until there is nothing left [to burn]. The craft were worked in the old days with sea shells, sharpened with stones, as it is done now by the Palaos and the peoples who inhabit the multitude of islands that are spread over all these seas, because all of them lack tools made of iron or of another metal. Nevertheless, they are neat and well crafted, like those that drifted this past year of 1750 to this point of Guigan [in Samar]. The usual size of the said proas is 2 or 3 palms in width, because they do not have big logs, and even if they had, they have nothing to cut them with."

2 Ed. note: Here means in the Philippines, where the word for outrigger is in fact *katig*.

3 Ed. note: Correction, it was the fleet of Magellan.



one tries to change the name, by calling them the Mariana Islands.<sup>1</sup> This [new] name will be as difficult to inculcate into the memory of men as it is to erase from it the name *Ladrones*, because it is so appropriate to their gracious tricks, in accordance with the rule given by the [Roman] poet Horatio:

*Licuit semperque licebit,  
Signatum presente nota  
Producere nomen.*<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, this passion is so natural that they do it not only with foreigners but also with one another, the sons with the parents, brothers with brothers, without any regard for friendship and in disregard of any law. What they did to the fleet during those days was enough to accredit them in their tricky exercise, robbing one another of what they had traded and continually scrambling. From the patache *San Juan* they removed the nails from a piece of iron on the rudder; another was taking away the boat of a ship with great serenity until a warning was shouted from aboard; however, even when being caught in the act did not cause them any embarrassment. All of this was tolerated as it was the will of the General that not the slightest threat was to be done them; they, however, took courage and responded with more waywardness.

That same day, Wednesday in the afternoon, the General sent the Master-of-Camp and the two captains, Martín de Goyti and Juan de la Isla, in a boat to see a cove inside the bay to check for the presence of some river or source for watering, as the fleet had a great need of water. They went off and discovered a river where they said they could do the watering and even anchor the fleet inside the cove. During its execution, as ordered by the General, as the patache *San Juan* was entering the mouth of the cove, the Indians began from their proas to shoot many stones at the patache, and many cane fire-hardened spears that did not fail to wound some men, and Captain Juan de la Isla himself was hit by a well-aimed stone. At this, seeing that the islanders' jokes had been pushed too far, he ordered that a few arquebuses be fired which caused them to have fear and calm down. Captain Juan de la Isla went to the flagship to give a report of the incident to the General; the latter sent the Master-of-Camp to calm them down as best he could with sign language, and after the fleet had anchored in the cove, they were unable to do the watering because it was then too late.

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- 1 Ed. note: This was written in 1698, after the christianization of the islands. The name *Ladrones* was in fact maintained by non-Spanish navigators until the American occupation.
  - 2 Ed. note: A Latin phrase meaning: It is allowed and always has been to take note of a present sign to produce a name. The Ayer manuscript has another quote, also said to be from Horatio: "In que semel imbuta recens servabit adorem, testidior."

## **Chapter 17—About what happened to the fleet while it was at the Ladrones until the day it departed from the island of Guahan to pursue its voyage.**

The next day, which was Thursday, the Master-of-Camp went ashore for the watering. Many Indians flocked there to the river and showed themselves to be very peaceful and helpful filling the jars with water without having been asked to do so. In this way, the Spanish being very relaxed in their good company, one Indian went to a soldier who was more relaxed and grabbed the arquebus off his shoulder and began to run away with it. When the other Indians saw this, they all went off and began to stone those who were collecting water. The Spanish began to defend themselves with the arquebuses, but the Indians, retreating to a rather high embankment where they felt safe, and threw stones and other arms from there until they got tired of it and went back to ask for a truce, which was always fake and only in hope that our men would relax enough so that they could break it. Although the General realized their intention, they got away with it because he did not wish to give up the objective that he had stated which was not to make war on them, but only to act in self-defence. So, once again, they went back to ordinary contact, helping them to fill the barrels with water. However, they very soon got tired of such a clean game, because, when they were more relaxed, an Indian approached a Spaniard and with both hands threw a fire-hardened spear at his chest and, if it had not been for the coat-of-mail that he wore, would have gone through his chest. However, when the Indian realized that he had not wounded him, he tried again with another stick, with which they play at lance throwing, and giving him another blow it went through one hand; out of this wound, because the stick was poisoned, the soldier died within 10 days. When the Indians saw this, they began to flee until they were on the river bank as before, from where they began to throw many stones and sharp sticks. When the Master-of-Camp saw this, it seemed to him that there was sufficient reason not to suffer such mistreatments and he took up arms and joined the skirmish until he forced them off the bank, and they had turned their backs and run. However, he did not wish to pursue them but only contented himself with capturing one Indian whom they took aboard the *almiranta*; although they placed him in irons, he was treated very well otherwise during the three days that he was captive, until he himself found out how to recover his freedom. Well then, he waited for a sentinel to become distracted and for the proas to arrive for trading and bartering, and he then threw himself overboard with the fetters on and, swimming, without being inconvenienced by that impediment, he got to one of the nearest proas and putting up the sails, he nonchalantly went ashore. Those who went after him in a boat were unable to catch up with him.

Meanwhile, the Indians had already returned to ask for a truce and the General had conceded it to them. However, the men were more on their guard and vigilant with them. Those who had gone after the Indian, as they could not catch him, they took along the way another proa aboard which were an Indian man and an Indian woman. They seized the Indian man but released the Indian woman after they had given her a

few small things and told her by sign language that the man who had stolen the arquebus should return it, and the fetters from the other one as well, and then they would release her companion. However, the Indian woman, as soon as she saw herself free, cared for nothing except to put away in a safe place what she had been given, because among them, they were not used to do good to another person, to help one another, but instead everyone took care of his own interest and forgot about any other business.

That same day General Miguel López de Legazpi stepped ashore to **take possession** of that island, which is called Guahan, and of all the others in the name of His Majesty, and our religious celebrated the Holy Office of the Mass with much solemnity, and afterwards there was as much rejoicing and happiness to the possession as possible. The General distributed to the Indians a large quantity of trade goods, beads, baubles, mirrors and hawk bells and he apparently made them very happy, although they, badly-intentioned as they were, under this truce they committed all the evil things that they could. Thus, it was necessary to keep a good eye on them so that they would not get out of control.

The next day, as the Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta had to go with the Pilot Major to survey the coast of the island on the west side, the General ordered them to take along the Indian man and the boy, and to release them on the beach in the neighborhood of the place where they had captured them on the previous day. As they wanted to go and carry out this task at midnight, in order to be able to go and come back in one day, they sent for the Indian man who was below deck and there was no recourse to make him come out, as he defended himself and bit the soldiers sent to take him out. In the morning, they found him dead, hanging from a pole near the [upper] deck; so, the boy remained alone. When many proas came to the flagship that day, the General ordered that the boy be taken out, to see if he recognized some of the proas. He began to shout to those aboard one of them, giving to understand that his father was aboard it. Then, after he was given a few trinkets and dressed with red clothes, they tied him to a rope and lowered him from the poop, where about was the proa in which was his father or relatives, who received him with much love, but that did not prevent them from taking from him what the General had given him, leaving him naked as before.

At about this time, when the General was meeting with the religious, the captains and the royal officials, Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta proposed to them that it would be appropriate to colonize that island [i.e. Guam], given that there was a sufficient quantity of food to feed the fleet and to despatch a ship from there to return to New Spain. In this way, he said, much time would be saved for the navigation of the ship that had to discover the return route to New Spain, and also the relief would come faster from this, besides giving time to find out and discover the rest of the islands which were numerous and aligned from north to south, as far as the continent [sic] of New Guinea and the austral land. The General responded to this, saying that a settlement there would be opposite to the orders he had from His Majesty to pursue as far as the Islands of the West, called Philippines, and to see and discover all the islands in their vicinity, and he had been sent for that purpose. Furthermore, although it would be convenient,

he was determined not to disobey the instructions and orders given by His Majesty. So, he ordered to make everything ready for sailing in order to pursue the voyage.

Before the departure, the islanders did not wish to pay back the advantages they had received from the fleet, strangers as they were to any virtue and gratitude. It happened this way. A few sailors and ship's boys having gone to get water from the above-mentioned river, a ship's boy fell asleep under some palm trees and this was not noticed by his companions when they returned to the ships; so, they left him not suspecting that he had been left ashore. Some time after the boat had left, the unfortunate boy woke up and went to the beach. However, when the Indians saw that he was alone, they encircled him and with a great battle cry killed him, giving him an infinity of wounds, transpiercing him with those fire-hardened cane lances, with other inhumanities to satisfy their cruelty and savagery. Although the shouts were heard aboard the ships, they could not figure out what it was all about until they found the boy missing and sent the boat ashore to retrieve him. However, they arrived too late, because he had already been torn to pieces with over 30 penetrating wounds through his chest. They had also flayed his whole face and driven a sharp stick through his mouth that came out at the nape. Not content with this, they had stoned him, according to the bruises all over his body. The Indians, as they saw the boat people, leaving the body of that poor unfortunate behind, fled up the river bank and shouted ridicule at those in the boat, exhibiting the clothes that they had taken from the dead one and inviting them by signs to go up, and they would do the same thing to them. Those with the boat returned alongside the ships with the body of the ship's boy, at the time there were other proas trading alongside as if nothing had happened and they had not seen the spectacle. The General and those aboard the fleet were much moved by it all and the General was of the opinion that such an evil deed could not but be forgotten. He (with the agreement of the military officers) charged the Master-of-Camp with the retribution. The latter, that same night, stepped ashore with 100 soldiers and arrived at dawn at a town that was one league inland, but, not finding any Indian there at all, because they had fled into the bush, as they had positioned some spies. Thus, he returned to the beach, leaving along the way an ambush party in some palm groves, and having 4 or 5 proas put together on the beach, he ordered them to be set on fire and he embarked, feigning a retreat to the ships. As the Indians saw them embarked, they flocked in to save their proas. As they were coming and shouting loudly, they discovered the ambush and they fled back. That is why not as much satisfaction was gotten as planned, although the arquebuses killed many and they captured four of them, three of those being mortally wounded. The Master-of-Camp had these three hanged at the same place where they had killed the ship's boy.

Having hanged the threesome, as they were about to hang the fourth one, who was unhurt, two religious approached the Master-of-Camp and begged him not to hang him, that a greater service would be done to God if he were spared and brought to New

Spain where he could be baptized and save himself. So, they did not hang him but brought him to the flagship.<sup>1</sup> When the Master-of-Camp saw that it was no longer possible to pursue the punishment, as they had all fled to the mountain and the fleet was about to leave, he contented himself with ordering that all the hamlets near the coast be burned, as well as a few proas that were on the beach. To this effect, he distributed the people into two squads; he sent some to burn the town where they had gone the previous night, and others went along the coast to do the same to the houses that they found, although they were not punished sufficiently for the evil things they had committed with such a deceitful treatment and simulated truce that had been granted to them so many times. Thus, this punishment was carried out in order to serve as a lesson for the future and so that they would learn how to behave with more faithfulness.

After this, the General gave the order for the fleet to set sail, as it had been well provided with water and firewood. The island where the fleet stopped is called Guahan, and now [1690s] it is called San Juan. The land is generally high and hilly, and all of it is full of coconut palm groves along the coast with very pleasant and very good water courses. It has many rice plantations and plots with sweet potatoes, sugarcane, bananas, yams and ginger. There were signs of being ores of sulphur and of some metals. The peaks of the mountains are all bare of vegetation, with very few trees and bushes. Not one sign of any cattle, wild or tame, was found in the whole island. If at present [1690s] they have pigs and cows, they have been acquired from the ships passing by there and coming from New Spain. They do not have any birds either, except some ring-necked turtle doves and a few small seasonal song birds that were seen on the beaches. The natives are not used to eating meat; they were unable to have those held captive aboard the ships eat meat either, except fish. They caught fish with hooks made of bone or, something that produced the most admiration, by diving underwater to get it, as they are such awesome swimmers that only those who have seen them can believe it. Most of them are ordinarily trained as swimmers. Among quadruped animals there are some that are amphibious; these Indians would be the same among men, because most of their life is spent in the water swimming and diving.

Their houses are well made, raised one story from the ground and resting upon some strong stone pillars. They cover them with awnings and adorn them with very fine mats which they use to sleep on, and all the houses are covered with palm. In addition to their individual houses, they have some that are communal and very spacious in the form of boat sheds in which they store their proas, each village having one of those, some larger than the others. Next to the cove where watering was carried out, there was a very large one with four wings and big stone pillars, built like a cross, very high and spacious. In this one, mass was said all the time the fleet was stopped there, which was for 11 days. In it, there were many proas of greater capacity than the ordinary ones, and probably used to go from one island to another which, as they said, were 13 in number, although afterwards many more were discovered.

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1 Ed. note: This Chamorro did not survive the voyage to New Spain.



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## **Chapter 18—How the fleet arrived at the island of Tandaya and what else transpired in San Pedro Bay.**

The fleet left the island of Guahan on Saturday 3 February 1565 and always sailing westward without seeing any land on any side, on the 13th of the said month, a Tuesday, at 8 in the morning, they discovered it dead ahead. Pursuing in search of it, at the hour of vespers, they found themselves inside a large bay, where the ships anchored in the lee of some high rock islands that were within it. On the other side, toward the east [rather west], there was a big island which is where the Philippine Islands begin. In this bay, the fleet anchored in 40 fathoms, etc...

### **Tertiary account by Captain Burney**

This is as good a place as any to mention this account of the Legazpi expedition, because he based his summary entirely on two sources: this one by Fr. Gaspar San Augustin, and another by another Augustinian, Fr. Juan de Grijalva. What Burney said about Guam is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Before the ships were within two leagues of the land, the natives of the Ladrones flocked off in canoes; but they would not venture closer than within the distance of a stone's throw of the ships. The General ordered knives, scissors, glasses, and other things, to be put on a plank, to which the Indians swam. They made signs for the Spaniards to go on shore, and, by showing fruits which they had brought, and patting their bellies, signified that there they would be plentifully supplied.

At sunset, the ships were near the island Guahan; but seeing no place to anchor, they stood towards the South part of the island. The fleet ran along the coast, till they passed round by a small low island, from whence, to the great island, there ran a reef or chain of rocks, forming a bay, in which the ships anchored. A creek was found, where there was fresh water, near to which was good anchorage.

The reserve of the natives soon wore off, and they became familiar. They had preserved the remembrance of the name of Gonzalo (a Spaniard of Magellan's fleet, who was found here by the ships of Loaysa) and frequently repeated it. They brought provisions, in exchange for which they preferred iron to every other commodity. They are accused of having been at this time very unfair traders, and as much in the habit of pilfering as at any former period. To prevent quarrels with the natives, the General issued an order, that no person belonging to the ships should land without his licence; that their trees and plantations should not be touched; and that no one should be allowed to traffic with them, without having first obtained permission. This order was published in all the ships, with other regulations, to prevent offence being given to the natives; at which, says Fray Gaspar, the soldiers did not rejoice.

In a full council of all the religious, and of the principal officers which the General summoned, the Padre Urdaneta advised that they should settle at this island, which appeared capable of furnishing them with sufficient subsistence. He observed that at the Ladrones they could much more conveniently send to New Spain, and receive succors from thence, than at the Philippines; and that there were many more islands to the North, of which they might take possession. Legazpi disapproved this advice, as being contrary to the orders of the king, which were to seek the Philippines.

All the Captain General's care and good intention did not prevent disagreements and mischief from frequently occurring between the people and the islanders. Fray Gaspar gives all the blame to the Indians. When the ships were preparing to sail, a boat was sent on shore to get water. One of the seamen

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1 Ed. note: Captain James Burney, R.N., *A Chronological history of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean*, London, 1803-17.

who went, fell asleep among the trees; and the boat returned to the ships without his being missed. Either from hatred to the Spaniards, or from some circumstance of provocation, the Indians killed him, and his body was found by the Spaniards who were sent on shore in search of him. When it was carried on board, the General ordered the Maestre de Campo, Don Matheo del Sauz [sic], to land with 100 soldiers, to revenge the outrage. They marched to a village a league within the shore; but the houses were deserted. Returning to the water side, they set fire to some canoes; and then leaving a party of soldiers concealed among the trees, the rest of the Spaniards embarked, and put off from the shore, as if with the intention to return to the ship. The Indians believing that the whole had embarked, descended from the hills to save their canoes from the flames; but when they came near, and saw the Spaniards, they fled again; so that, says Gaspar, all the satisfaction that was desired could not be obtained, although the arquebuses killed and wounded many, and some were taken prisoners, three of whom, being mortally wounded, the Maestre de Campo ordered to be immediately hung on the spot where the body of the seaman had been found; a fourth prisoner was saved from sharing a similar fate by the intercession of two friars. The M. de Campo, seeing it was not possible to bestow more correction on the persons of the Indians, contented himself with burning all the houses and canoes near the landing place, which having done, he returned to the ships, taking with him his prisoners.

Though the island Guahan abounded in rice and fruits, there was not seen in it at this time any animal, either tame or wild. The natives were not accustomed to eat flesh, nor would the prisoners, who were carried away in the ships<sup>1</sup>, eat any animal food, except fish.

"That which most caused admiration was, that they would drink salt water, and were such expert swimmers, and passed so much of their time in the water, that, as among other animals, some are amphibious, in like manner it seemed as if these people were in their nature amphibious."<sup>2</sup>

Gaspar and Grijalva, both describe the houses of these people, that they are lofty, neatly built, and well divided into apartments; the whole raised a story from the earth, and supported upon strong pillars of stone: "*Fundadas sobre fuertes pilares de piedra*." Besides these dwelling houses, they had others for their canoes, built likewise with great stone pillars; one of which, near the watering place, contained four of their largest canoes.

The tops of the hills were bare of trees. Sulphur was found in the island, and signs of metal. Grijalva says, the islands composing the group, called the Ladrões, are 13 in number.

They left Guahan, February 3d, and steered to the West, without seeing any land, till the 13th, at 8 in the morning, when they made the island Tandaya. In the evening, they anchored near the East part of the island, in a great bay in 45 fathoms, badly sheltered by some high rocks.

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1 Ed. note: Only one such prisoner was taken away.

2 Ed. note: A mis-translation, about this drinking of salt water, as can readily be seen from the original text above.