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## Document 1566B

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# Pericón expedition—Narrative of the voyage and mutiny, by Juan Martínez

*Sources: AGI, formerly Papeles de Maluco (1564-1608), now Patronato 1-1-1/24; transcribed by Muñoz on 30 April 1794; MN ms. 141, folios 1-72v; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. ...; Col. de Ultramar, iii, doc. 47, pp. 371-475.*

*Note: I am not surprised that this document has never been translated before, because the original is specially difficult to decipher and unravel. I have nevertheless resisted the urge to paraphrase it.*

## Report made to Legazpi by a private soldier, Juan Martínez, and dated Cebu 25 July 1567

*Detailed narrative of the events that occurred during the voyage of the ship San Jerónimo which left Acapulco under the command of Pedro Sánchez Pericón, with Lope Martín as pilot, for the purpose of bringing relief to Legazpi and the news of the arrival of the ship San Pedro at New Spain. This narrative was completed at Cebu on 25 July 1567 by Juan Martínez, who had been a soldier aboard the said ship. He also narrated what happened at that camp from their arrival there until the date of the narrative.*

Most Magnificent Sir:<sup>1</sup>

As the obligation in which I find myself toward your Grace is so great and my desire to serve him incomparable, I agreed to make this small [report] to inform about the voyage in which I came as well as the state in which we found this land to be and its present condition, more to make up for the many and various times that your Grace has asked me and ordered me [to write one] than to show off my ability to serve, which is so small, specially in such exercises, the more so for someone who is devoid of all knowledge and types of science, because it is certain that, even though Homer and Virgil were so endowed, they had to take pains and employ their ability and pen to properly extol the hungers, destructions, deaths, tears, sighs, imprisonments, labors, delays and afflictions, and finally the calamities and intolerable shipwrecks that went on.

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1 Ed. note: Although the addressee is not stated clearly, on pages 399 & 406 of the Col. Ultramar copy, references are made to Legazpi having visited Guam with his fleet and having Pedro de Salcedo as a son-in-law.

Rather, I sincerely wish that your Grace will receive it as from a servant and not look at the mistakes but at the perfect willingness of the one who sends it, as it is enough for someone to give what he has, as long as he complies with it as best he can, since it will serve only to annoy, it [might fill] a few idle hours.

Your Grace knows full well how from that city of Mexico we left on Thursday 21 February this past year of 1566, with our captain Pedro Sánchez Pericón, whom they say was a native and resident of Málaga, with his son<sup>1</sup> Pericón Mesa as Lieutenant, Pedro Núñez de Solorzano as sergeant of the company. There came as well a certain Ortiz de Mosquera as provisional Sergeant Major, so that if the one who was [sergeant major] at this camp before wished to return to New Spain, as he had written, on account of indisposition, in this case he would replace him; otherwise, he would not, but here he would be evaluated and given a post in accordance with his ability, which was great, if only he had not been caught in the traps of the devil.<sup>2</sup> Even though he was an old and experienced soldier, he was very much a man and with great valor; however, as I have said, he got himself involved with bad elements and, as I will describe to you below, after his death another fault, worse than the worst of them, was discovered, as will be seen, and to know of it is to become wiser.

Your Grace would also be aware that the Royal Audiencia overthere supplied as few as 50 soldiers, that they were to carry the advice that, because the return route had been found, to whomever thought that they [had] intended to give them the same as to those of the previous voyage—at the 175-peso scale for a Lieutenant—but they say that the captain objected to it, saying that he would have all the men receive at least 100 pesos, as was finally done, and even more than that, so that many would come who wished to come on account of the big salary but they could not, because those who did come, at 100 pesos which each took, they realized that they had found them in the street, because the rest of us came as a result of a favor from some of our senior officers and others, over 7 of them, came as a favor from the captain only—in which case, it cost them half the pay they were given, that is, 50 pesos [each]<sup>3</sup> because they found out that was the condition.

The many times that your Grace has persuaded me to write force me to give all the details and circumstances that I can give, although some may be judged to be impertinent, although I judge them to be merely satirical, but to comply with what I must and not to offend the truth, which I take as my witness, I will also make a mention of the quality and condition of our captain—may he rest in peace—as well as those of the others. He was wretched, melancholic, an enemy of friendliness and a friend of solitude, greedy, although he had the reputation of being a very good Christian as he was devout

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1 Ed. note: His first name was Diego.

2 Ed. note: His first name was Juan and he came from Salamanca. The rank of Sergeant Major then corresponded to the modern rank of Major. The one he was scheduled to replace, at the discretion of Legazpi, was Major Luis de la Haya (See, for instance, Colin's *Labor evangélico*, Chapter 20, and Gaspar de San Augustin's *Historia*, Chapter 38).

3 Ed. note: It is difficult to guess the exact meaning of all these bribery/kickback schemes.

with his prayers; he was a friend of his own opinion and position, and not as prudent as the post required him to be.

As for his son, he was a young man of 25 years of age and much more like a lad in discretion than his age [called for] because it is clear that he always behaved like one, as he was much a party and a cause of the series of bad deeds that happened to us as well as to him and to his father, as the latter had foretold, telling him many times: You will end up being the cause of my death; this he told him at the many times that he made and committed minor faults.

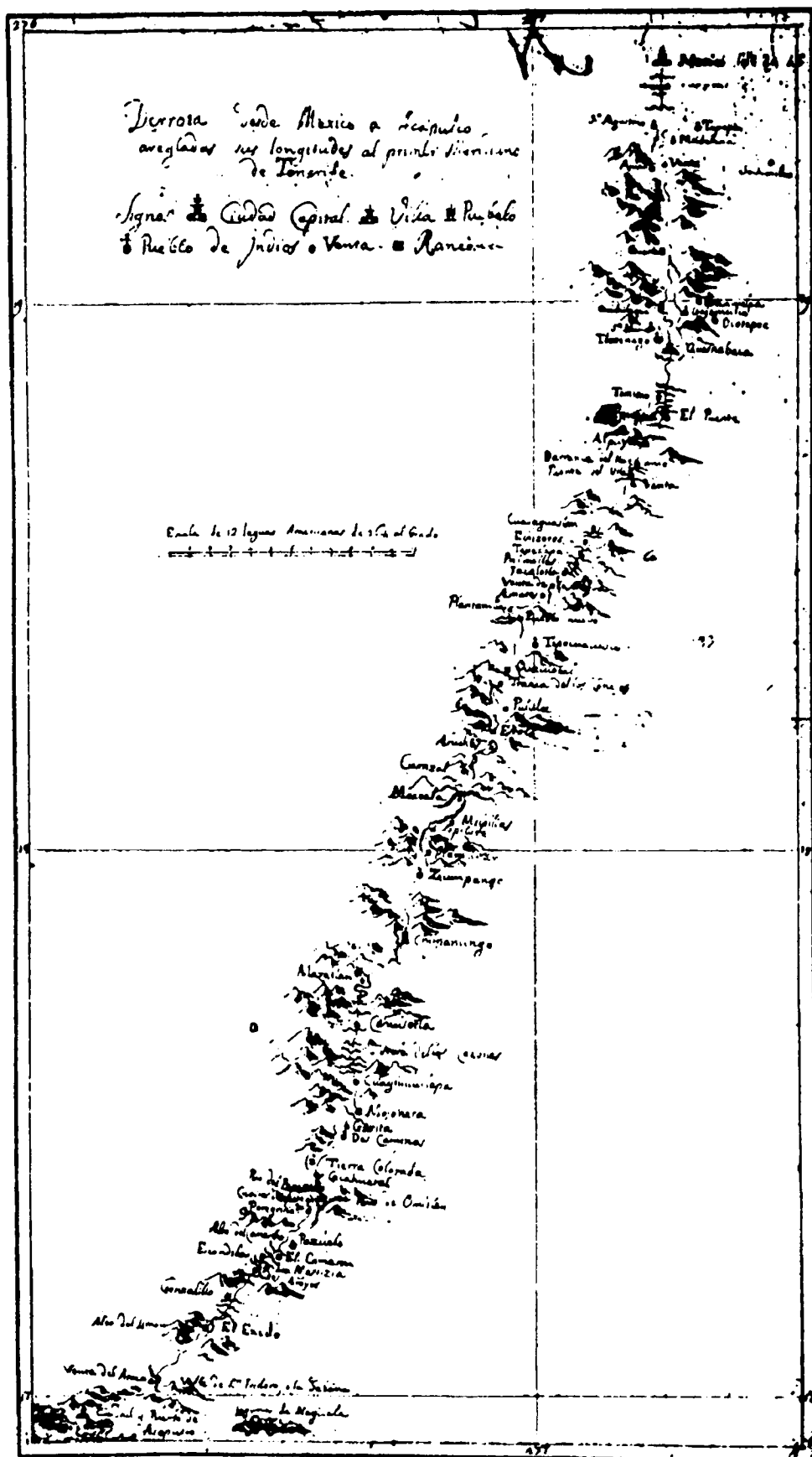
Now then, having begun our intended voyage, we began to march towards the port [of Acapulco], all of us in the company, by way of Suchimilco, Cuernavaca<sup>1</sup>, Iguala, and Chilapa<sup>2</sup> where we camped for 40 days. Here, as he did along the whole way, the captain ordered that we acted as his bodyguards and later on, we thought, for show purposes; we considered that to be a portent of things to come in the voyage, in which we incurred a few times the fifth grade of the 7 mortal sins. I do not allow myself to narrate the rest of these episodes because of the nature of the subject matter.

When we got to Chilapa, where we spent so much time against our will, the cause of this was that the ship had not gone from the port of Guatulco, where they had gone to buy it, to the port of Acapulco, where we had to embark; the same with the food supplies and the ammunition and other things that we had to bring along, all of which were being gathered very badly and with difficulty. This was the cause why our stay in this town was so long without the others, a total of 67, as we were held up on the road to the port and holding court at Chilapa. Later on, a sumptuous gallows was erected in order to terrorize the men and mainly to mistreat a soldier who had fought with another and wounded him soundly enough. Most of the time we were there it was Lent, although we ate meat and with everything it would be easier to send it forward to the port of Santa María for safekeeping rather than breaking it open here. Although a good man who was there as prior reprehended him in one of his sermons not for the meat we were eating but for the rigid rules we had, by saying how deep was the purse of the King our Lord, that he should open it wider. He got very little out of it and he had every reason to say "*Natura revertura y el pato a la asadura.*"<sup>3</sup> Finally, he treated the men not as befitted men of the Indies nor as he should have. I end up here with what has been said and pass under silence many things relating to that and will only give a summary of the loss he occasioned to the royal treasury, as there were soldiers who brought along

1 Ed. note: I can guess this word because I did cover the same route myself in 1970.

2 Ed. note: A town east of Chilpancingo, through which the modern road now passes.

3 Ed. note: A proverb of obscure meaning, not just because Navarrete has transcribed "gato" [cat] instead of "pato" [duck]. Possible translations are as follows: A boiling nature makes the duck hit the roasting oven; when nature turns upside down, the duck shows its entrails; nature inside out, duck ready for the spit...



(Facing page) **The road from Mexico to Acapulco.** (*From an 18th-century manuscript map in LC, as reproduced by Schurz' The Manila Galleon*)

a lad or lads with a horse or horses so that the soldier who brought the least was one with himself and a horse; from day to day we all spent 23 maravedis, I repeat twenty three maravedis, in expenses each, from the superior to the inferior.

While we were at the town of Acapulco, which is 5 leagues from the port where we stayed with the Lieutenant, because the Captain had by now gone to the port<sup>1</sup>, there happened a whirlwind with heavy rains, to such an extent that where we were it brought down some houses and in the port it grabbed the galleon **San Jerónimo** in which we had to come and its poop even ran aground, out of which she was in much danger, the rains being a continuation of those we had had along the way that were so bothersome. Finally, with much diligent work, she was taken out of danger.

Meanwhile, as the Captain had a capital hate of the factor Ortuño de Ibarra, he began to spill the venom from his chest, unjustly saying impetuous and unnecessary words against him and the other officials, which I will not, nor would I dare, repeat, which are rumored to have been said to the factor, about the contradiction presented by his coming as well as that of Lope Martín the pilot who had been treacherous toward his King, the Captain General, the gentlemen President and members [of the Audiencia] jointly with Valderrama, who was Visitor at that time. Nor would this vexed company have found itself in such dire straits as it was, nor the so important mail it carried put at such a risk, but above all the offences made against Our Lord nor the treasons that have been committed against His Majesty in harm and to the detriment of his subjects and treasury. God forgive them! If only better judgment had been used. I do not blame them as much as accuse them, because in the ancient Roman Senate, and also in the present Venetian one, such a thing would not be allowed as entrusting him again with the pilotage of such a ship, after having committed what he committed against the Captain General [Legazpi] when coming to these [Philippine] islands, by separating from his fleet and flagship maliciously to come and return only without a superior, after having arrived at these islands, to that New Spain as he did, wishing to usurp the glory due to others, by taking the patache [San Lucas] which was under the command of a gentleman of your Lordship named Don Alonso de Arellano. As a creature of their Majesties, to be as ungrateful as he was, this will not be cleansed with all the water, because he went about with many excuses for what Lope Martín himself published.<sup>2</sup> It is notorious that, while he was a seaman and pilot in the ocean sea [i.e. the

1 Ed. note: It appears from this remark that the original port of the town of Acapulco was situated at some distance from the port now bearing the name, unless the captain had gone to the port of Santa María which he mentioned earlier.

2 Ed. note: A reference, I think, to the rumors he spread and were picked up by Gabriel Díaz to the effect that the men killed at Pulap had been ordered killed by Arellano instead (See Doc. 1565AA3).

Atlantic], he committed two or three other similar wickednesses, although the said persons [i.e. Audiencia] were not sure about the events and thus excused themselves for not having applied the remedy. They, however, did not lack suspicions about him because they, or the Secretary under their orders, wrote a letter to the Captain while in port, to advise him to take notice of him and watch out against him, telling him the heading that he had to run, without deviating one way or another.

In spite of the many persecutions and labors that all the soldiers of the company were being put through, they held firm against desertion or other undue things, except that one soldier deserted in the early morning of the day we embarked; it is not known if he did it because he was motivated by lack of money or on account of the rumors circulating in the port. As it is, among the many ugly things being said about what would happen during the voyage, as divulged by the pilot and the other minor participants in the business, according to what was later learned here [in Cebu]—as one discovers everything in the course of time—this was confirmed by three soldiers who came as supernumeraries when they returned from the port. Apparently, having overheard the same rumor, Rodrigo de Ataguren, who is the official supplier for His Majesty in the port, it is believed gave notice to the Audiencia and the royal officials. Thus communicating and delaying, we did not make sail for that reason, although there were enquiries and retorts, there was no effect on account of the great heat that Lope Martín gave in due form against it. Rather, we came, even without the Master, Pedro de Oliden, a Basque, provided for that post, and to whom God showed much mercy, because it is believed certain that he would have been killed if he had come. The vacancy was filled by Rodrigo de Ataguren who gave it to Ortiz de Mosquera.

I should also record what the pilot Lope Martín told the Captain: "Sir, if you think you are taking me to Cebu, you are deceiving yourself, because as soon as the Governor sees me there, he will hang me. So, do not think that. If you wish, I'll take you where, with what you will get out, you will become one of the most fortunate men in Spain. That will be done in Japan, where you could get more than 200,000 ducats, so that you could give luster to your lineage, because overthere to do this, I will take you to Mindanao, to Cinnamon Point where you could leave your son, fortified with the infantry, and from there I will take you to Spain through the Strait of Magellan or will take you back to New Spain, because in the meantime Governor Miguel López de Legazpi will be overthrown and you will be able to take over the same post." They say that he took it seriously but my opinion is that he did not pay attention to it, as he evaluated the pilot as a lowly and fickle man who spoke too freely. About his person, as for me, I don't know if it is enough for me today to say just one more thing with truth, or without it, to give rise to the fleeting fame that he abused his office, even though it is hard to believe, as he was such a good Christian.

During the time that the Captain was in port, the pilot was always urging him to hurry up with the requisitions and to do it as fast as possible, alleging that if he delayed he would receive notorious harm on account of the contrary winds that would be found here; about this, he did not lack an argument, if only he had said it sincerely, but he

was saying it with a harmful and diabolical intention, fearing that some impediment could come from Mexico [City]. In addition, he picked out over 100 sailors who were in the port and who could well serve his purpose, specially from the county where they say he was married in and a few Portuguese from whom they say he is a descendent.<sup>1</sup> I do not believe they received their whole pay in *reales* because the pay did not come from Mexico but in clothes and other trade goods that were in the port at the time; Ataguren was to pay them later but as the pilot told them that he would fill their hands, they did not make a fuss because greed and a quick deal are agreeable. Although among these sailors there were many Basques, not only he did not procure more of them but he found ways to get rid of a few of those who were [already] aboard the ship because people of that nationality were not suitable to him for similar deeds. A certain Santiago Garnica, the water steward, perhaps came because he was one of those to whom he did not pay attention, although it cost him dearly [later].

Well, we sailed on the feast day of St. Philip and St. James, Wednesday the 1st day of May [1566], at 10 in the morning from the port of Acapulco which is in 17 degrees and 1/3.<sup>2</sup> From there we pointed our bow toward the most ample south or, better said, toward the true ocean that Pliny mentions by saying that all the seas are rivers and puddles in comparison with the true ocean, and this one is it, no doubt about it. We came out with a favorable tradewind, although it was contrary but thinking in terms of the high seas there would be favorable winds. We let ourselves fall towards the equinoctial line to less than 9° where we met with great calms, excessive temperatures which detained us and even made us tired. Besides having no wind, the sea swells were horrific and even altered bodies unused to sailing and caused sickness. We were in that shape for a good 10 days with calm, in such a manner that it caused disconsolateness, added on by the knowledge that about 2 or 3 ships from those ports had, on the way to Peru, hit the high seas rather than coasted the land, thinking that they could go straight to Peru and not one hair, not one bone, was ever seen from them; it is believed that they had perished in this manner for lack of winds. So, a promise was made to our Lady of Consolation with as much devotion as we could, for a gift or alms, begging her to help us as we needed to be, and the record of names to pay her here was begun, from the soldiers to the captain; the latter began by promising 25 reales and the soldiers, some 10 pesos, some 20, some more, some less; there were even one of them who promised a gold mark.

Anyway, they were already missing that New Spain and its cristalline waters on account of the lack of water we had [aboard] as well as the fact that many people found themselves tired and suffering at this time, either from boils that started at the port or from diarrhea of which died a certain Lázaro de Madrid, a native of Toledo, and a Don Juan de Pineda from Seville, more under the weather than well treated and delicate in

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1 Ed. note: The mulatto pilot, Lope Martín, was from Ayamonte, near the southern border with Portugal.

2 Ed. note: The latitude of Acapulco is closer to 16°30'N.

their bodies because, although at the time there were chickens, wine and other delicacies, they were given so little of them that they did not do them any good. Because they were simply weakened and short of vigor, they died. They were talking when they died but, I don't know if it were to keep a custom at sea, they were thrown out so quickly that even though they might have just fainted they could not have had time to regain consciousness. Finally, when the Captain saw that the dying began so soon, he was ready to sacrifice as many as 20 of us, as he said, and with the rest he would deliver the mail. Thus he pursued his opinion about saving everything that came from His Majesty for the soldiers and then with not so much moderation it was consumed by the sailors.

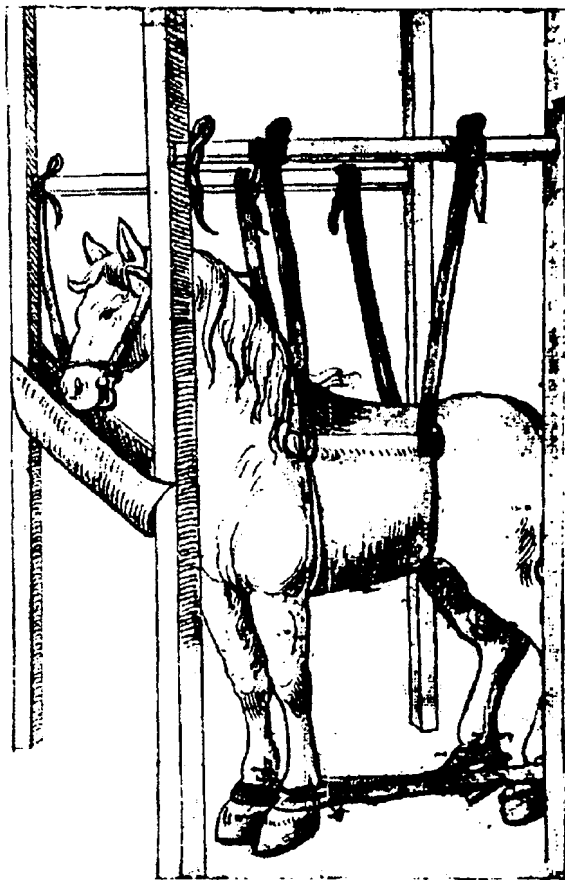
At this time, that is at about the 10th of May at night we saw a misshapen **comet** of various colors that ran to the NE from the SW where its tail came up from and it seemed to me to be somewhere in the kingdoms of Peru. It must have been a portent of the hardships and planned wickednesses that were in stock for us.

The next day, Divine Mercy sent us some wind, not to pursue our voyage but to turn back to shore, something that was indeed desired by all in general in order to resupply with water and for many to stay ashore, because certainly if we did divert to the port of Navidad as it was thought, many would have stayed behind. The Captain had conjectured as much, and so he refused to consider any of it, hoping that he be given a wind for his voyage. If everybody wished it so, it was not because of the evil thing they had planned as they say but that the pilot had intended to do in port what was needed to leave behind the Captain and the other persons and continue his voyage with the rest, the same way he had done during the previous voyage. Few knew about this plot and among them the main one was a certain Felipe de Campo, the principal way and means of all the evil things, who stirred up and was the cause and effect of all of them. He was a comrade of the pilot and he roused the others to execute them all, as he had indeed more ability to do such deeds and tricks, not the pilot whom I doubt would have had the prudence to come out with them nor would have dared to try them. Even though they say he had let much of it be known in Mexico while they kept him in prison, so openly that the superiors must have heard about it but they overlooked it all because they must have given it little credence as he was a talker. Finally, this turning back did not take place because at about the 20th of the said month a favorable wind arose with abundant rains so that we were on our way.

At this time, as the pilot was at odds with the captain, he hated the things belonging to him and, as was his custom, he began to blab and say that it would be better if the water that was being drunk by a **horse** that he was bringing would be drunk by the men who were dying of thirst and for this reason it should be killed and they even say that he said that he would show the yard-arms to father and son who would object to it.

That same night, the Captain knowing about it, he ordered the soldiers to mount a guard by squads, each night one of them, and the main body of the guard where the horse was; the soldiers were resentful because it seemed to them that they were being asked to do the work of stable boys and not that of soldiers. They did not lack a reason; in fact, the horse was kept at the bow and he [i.e. the captain] was at the poop in





**Captain Pericon's horse was kept aboard in this fashion.**

his cabin, whereas the suspects were also at the poop at the highest point where there was a hatch that led down right next to the Captain's door. So, if a bodyguard were to be placed at his disposal it would not be placed at the bow next to the horse but next to him at the poop, given that it was clear that he would have benefitted little if [the guard] had been so far away.

On the 25th of the said month of May, they killed the horse. At that time it was not known who had done it. At midnight, they put a dagger right through its heart and the blood began to flow as from a spout. The neighing and tramlings of the horse awakened us. It was done so subtly as it was dark and I doubt that even a guard would have seen it, being so suspect as it was.

The next day, Santiago Garnica revealed to the Captain what he had overheard, that is, that it was better for the Captain to know about it and to prevent it, even if it cost him his life many times over, saying that he knew for sure that the pilot with Felipe de Campo and the Sergeant Major and the regular Sergeant with many other persons, specially sailors, had planned to abandon him upon arrival at the Philippines at the very same island of Cebu at some distance from the settlement or at another island in the vicinity, the same way [as] I said about the port of Navidad and for the same purpose. He immediately had some notarial papers drawn up and had it declared by order whose

contents said that it had come to his knowledge that some persons were planning things in disservice to His Majesty and prejudicial to his person, that whoever knew or came to know anything of it would be given 1,000 pesos of gold, and he gave his word as a gentleman; further, that he would become a preferred member of his company and respected as a servant of His Majesty, in whose name he would also be given sufficient guarantees of future rewards and favors, and above all that everything would be kept secret; finally, he would give 400 ducats to whomever he heard say who had killed the horse.

### [The near-discovery of Clipperton Island]

On this same day, we saw a large quantity of birds, as many sea birds as I had ever seen in any land, sea or lake, and from there within a short time we saw a few cloud effects that persuaded many that there was a very big land, although others contradicted them saying that it was a cloud and thereabout there were a few low-lying islands that were the cause of the birds. However, the pilot was of the opinion that it was land. So, as we were abreast of it north—south, and as it was the direction of the wind that day we would get to it with a tail wind. While running toward it, as if he had half understood it to be land, the inconstant Lieutenant [i.e. the young Pericón] then began to go about saying that ashore they would find out who had killed the horse and he would be hanged. All of this he directed at the pilot, as he understood that it was he who had killed it. The pilot become annoyed and he changed the heading once more and pointed the bow to continue our voyage; he was not contradicted nor spoken to by the Captain about this.

Afterwards, the pilot was discussing with his friends, some of them not very discreet ones, and he let them know that it was one of the islands of Solomon, that he had not wished to go there in order not to be the cause of so much good luck to the Captain; however, for another occasion, he had marked it on the chart. **It was 180 leagues from the port of Navidad in a latitude of 10°.** They still affirm that it was land because the fleet saw it according to us.<sup>1</sup>

On Friday, the last day of May, a sailor named Bartolomé de Lara complained about the bad food and drink to the Lieutenant, saying that this should not be permitted when they were working day and night through rain showers. The Lieutenant answered him that he was treating him better than he deserved. As the Lieutenant was repeating this, he grabbed a fox<sup>2</sup> with which to hit him or threatened to hit him; at this, Lara grabbed a knife that he carried in his waist. The Lieutenant made a big commotion about this, went down to his cabin for a broadsword and soldiers who here are given the qualifying

1 Ed. note: This was indeed Clipperton Island, which is located at 10°17'N and 109°13'W. Although the logbook is missing, time-wise they were half-way between Acapulco and the Marshalls, but they had been becalmed for at least 10 days. Besides, there are no other suitable candidate island for miles around. Also, the latitude as estimated by Martín is as good as his estimates of the previous year.

2 Ed. note: A short length of rope that can be used as a whip.

name of "royal". When he came up, Lara was already up in the topmast and not a little scandal ensued nor a small risk either because the wind we had was brisk and the ship behaved like a calabash for lack of ballast; this problem, not a small one, lasted the whole voyage and caused many risks because the sides were very low and one yaw of the tiller was enough to make 20 soldiers fall overboard and remain there. They say it that had been the intention of the pilot to do just that but that the helm's man did not understand him. When the thing was a bit placated, Lara was told to come right down under penalty of being shot at with the arquebuses, and so he did and he was imprisoned below deck. Although the Captain had asked that he'd be brought to the cabin where he was, but the Sergeant never complied, because he had been spoiled for a few days already.

Immediately, the noble mob of sailors began to carry arms from prow to poop, about which I myself advised the Captain, telling him to put a stop to it. Many others advised him as well, specially Juan de Vivero, the chaplain whom we had aboard, beyond other things that we advised him of, but he never wished to find a remedy; rather, he would make light of it, smiling with a serenity of which he prided himself and telling us that we should not give importance to such people, that they would not dare to hustle because if one would hustle he would hang him immediately.

During the course of these days, we received much rain which we hated although afterwards came a weather which we took as the best gift in the world. Such rains would come with calms and would take the wind from us on the spot, even though we had been enjoying it very happily, so much so that it grated on our nerves. This lasted sometimes half a day sometimes longer then the wind would turn, even though this kind of thing continued for so long that it was a horrible thing. In this manner Pentecost<sup>1</sup> arrived, the eve of which we did not spend very happily on account of not having any improvement in deed or words, nor any difference from the other days. It was true that he showed then as always little willingness toward the soldiers, I don't know if it was because most of them were Spaniards, whereas they say that he was a Sardinian, but he treated them ordinarily when he spoke to them worse than servants. In this matter, I was to say that some allowance was made out of respect for his old age but as for the other things he did also and he seldom praised either in words or in deeds. He gave few of the pep talks that are expected in the military; in fact, we had not yet heard the first one. If we began the holiday with lukewarm feelings, we ended it with sadness because that is the way it was. Afterwards he failed us greatly specially in the extreme situations

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The text says "pascua" which cannot be translated by the word Easter, because Easter could not have occurred on June 2nd that year or any year for that matter, even in the old calendar. However, this word was then applied to a major holiday. The date would best correspond to Pentecost or Whitsunday; if so, Lent that year would have run from 27 February to Easter Sunday which was 14 April. Martínez was at Chilapa eating beef during Lent, in February. Easter took place while they were still at Acapulco.

in which we found ourselves and which we finally brought before reason and justice, and “evil came to whomever did him some good”.

### **[The bloody mutiny of 3 June 1566]**

As it was, on the 3rd of June, at midnight of the second day after the holiday of the Holy Ghost<sup>1</sup> the watch fell on a squad which we called the Captain’s watch, a quarter of whom had managed to become confederates in the wickedness beforehand. While the others were sleeping in their sad and narrow lodgings, there came down the pilot Lope Martín and others, his consorts, armed with swords and shields, leaving above a good guard made up of the above-mentioned soldiers and sailors for the most part. As some of the sleepers sensed something and tried to get up and move, then they imparted them with one slap on the back to each one, saying and answering back:

- “Quiet everybody!”
- “Mobsters!”
- “Quiet!”
- “Long live the King!”
- “It is nothing.”<sup>2</sup>

In the end they were able to come out as they did [i.e. with the upper hand] because those who were outside [the conspiracy] were left without weapons and those who were on the quarter-deck where they [i.e. the weapons] were [stored] were already under a well-constituted guard, so that as they had the thing well organized already from then on as they say they had “one out and one to go”.<sup>3</sup>

As for Lara, he together with the Sergeant Major and Vaca, plus one Alonso Çarfate behind them had gone to the cabin of the father and son who from then on began this commotion. Lara and the Sergeant Major, and maybe another one of the others who could have been guarding the door so that they would not come out, gave them a cruel and harsh death by stabbing. What was in truth said is that Çarfate, after the Captain was dead and sure of his attack, in order not to remain without laurel or a trophy, planted the whole of his dagger which he kept with the blood on it inside a woolen stocking, and a shirt cuff so that by virtue of it he would be given the reward—which he was given in accordance with what he deserved with the others who took part in it—and it is rumored they became relics which still exist.

After they had perpetrated the abominable treason, the Sergeant Major went up and began to say: “Traitor! Bad man! Dog, who wanted to kill me and my brothers the sailors” and varieties thereof. [Meanwhile] the ordinary Sergeant had taken away the weapons, rather the few that were kept in the [individual] chests. As for the main weapons, they were turned over; from his hand came a sudden and pressing order that was drawn

1 Ed. note: A confirmation that June 2nd that year was Pentecost Sunday, the second day of what was then a 3-day festival. June 3 was the last day, a Monday.

2 Ed. note: Punctuation mine. A melee during which the authorship of the repartees can only be guessed at.

3 Ed. note: This is my interpretation of an ancient colloquial expression.

up to the effect that the weapons were to be surrendered then under penalty of death. And he said: "They are in the other world. You should pray for them, now that the bad year and hunger are gone."

We spent the rest of the night in this fashion, with greater amazement than sleep. Then at daybreak, a Corporal began to invoke the idea that Mosquera should be elected Captain. While he was doing so, he [i.e. Mosquera] answered cautiously and wisely that he was much indebted to them but that among us there were men of greater valor than he, that we should elect him and have him as superior and obey him. As they responded two or three times, he answered that he accepted the favor on the condition that they did not call him Captain but as before and that he would act according to their opinion. He concluded thus with many suave words which he told us at the great satisfaction of all. Then all of a sudden, he ordered the weapons returned [i.e. distributed] and he promised to bring us to Cebu under the authority of those to whom we belonged.

As envy is such a perverse lady, Felipe de Campo took this election badly as it was later learned because he had wished to be elected himself and not someone else. Consequently, the pilot, because he was more friendly with Campo than with Mosquera, even though he hid it as much as possible, thus had this perversity taking roots in them in order for the wickednesses not to stop there. Well then, as I wished to distinctly and clearly state for what reason they killed mainly the captain and his son, I will not determine to say more than what it seems to me they say and it is more likely the truth because only God knows the truth of it all. They say that there was bad blood between father and son with Mosquera, on top of one between the Lieutenant and Mosquera, reason being that Mosquera was a solicitous man, well versed in the military art, whereas the Lieutenant was just a beginner as in everything else. Above the passion that resulted from this, hate was born in the Lieutenant toward the other because as they say: "He is your enemy who is of the same profession." There are some who are so lackadaisical that they do not want to learn nor want to see one who does know. As the devil was so firmly rooted aboard this ship on account of our sins, he went about sowing trouble. It all began with the perverse Lope Martín with the assistance of the very bad Felipe de Campo, his protector and advocate, as he was more knowledgeable and was instructing him. What he had heard in jest, he made it come out as the truth. Whenever they saw the opportunity they would incite Mosquera against the father and son, not more nor less with the company Sergeant in whom he had also a good bond because for one thing he was a creature of Mosquera by whom he had been given the office of sergeant, and for another thing the Captain was not the sort of man who obliged the men but rather made them wish not to see nor hear him. Well, with Lara it had been negotiated and with Vaca and the others half a word would suffice to make them ready and obedient, specially with Vaca who owed to the Sergeant Major everything humanly possible for favors received, although his pay was not one of them. The thing came to such a conclusion that he made Mosquera and his men understand that the Lieutenant was saying that he would kill them. That was the reason why they always went about with their coat-of-mail hidden and other measures invented by the devil so much so

that he was told that at night the Lieutenant would send some boys down to spy on them to see where they laid their heads, and so much so that they persisted in doing so until they gave an end to their desire. All of this originated with Lope Martín as the one who committed treason in order not to come here [i.e. Cebu]. The boasts he would profer were tall tales for greedy men who would believe regardless. For instance, after the Captain died, it was said that the ship was to be loaded with gold in such a way that they would bring to the King 3 or 4 million ducats, just as his fifth part, via the Strait of Magellan, although via the other cape [of Good Hope] they understood not less how to come here, and to whomever would say otherwise they would punish him. Later on, they were to make an inventory of the property aboard and even distribute what they liked; only Felipe de Campo was experienced in this.

Within 10 days a certain Pablo Griego, caulker and carpenter, died. He had been the one who enjoyed the most the birds that I have talked about before and all the rest to be had, the reason being that the ship and all the rest was for the sailors more than for the soldiers because everything operated backwards for the poor soldiers who, no matter how good they were, the unworthy sailors were always preferred.

Even though he had ability and discretion, it seems as if God had wanted that Mosquera became blind and began to act with less caution and discretion than was required because he published what he intended to do, knowing that it was against the will of the consorts instead of concealing it. This way it was done indiscreetly so that it is truly believed, and I do believe, that his intention was none other than to come here [i.e. to Cebu], according to what he reported to me in secret at great length and truthfully. I answered to him that he should take proper safety precautions for himself and [this advice] pleased him. So, he began to hold some vain and unnecessary inquiries about the death of father and son, trying to throw the blame to the companions and place himself out of it. At this time, they were double dealing the ones against the others, which made the rest of us soldiers miserable.

Finally, on Friday 21 June, at midnight, when all were sleeping, the Sergeant of the company came down with other unsaintly persons, specially sailors, and as we believed we had nothing to hide, they jumped us to take our weapons away and he who resisted or said anything would have paid with his life. In this, they held the Sergeant Major in his lodging which was in the fore-castle above, the perverse Vaca and Çarfate and others not letting him leave and, as they were watching themselves mutually and had brought the devil with them, they suspected something bad out of everything. Thus, it appears that at that hour, Mosquera wanted to remedy the situation [but was] too late because they had been suggesting to him many times to take the weapons away from us, as it was learned later, alleging sophisticated reasons for it, the better to get hold of his person which they then did more safely. As for him, beyond this, he must have felt sorry because it appears that he tried to come down where we soldiers were in order to perceive better what Vaca with Lara and another sailor called Morales were doing behind his back. They made him return to his cabin where, as I have said, they surrounded him and all this not with words nor acts of force externally, although it must have hurt him

inside his secret self, not thinking that it would come to the bad merits that it did. In the end they kept him surrounded in conversation until daybreak, then they had breakfast in which he partook of much bacon and wine, sharing one plate together with his allies, and with much conversation. For this [breakfast], there was not one knife in the hands of the soldiers except those that had been counted. Soon enough they placed him in irons while conversing and laughing; he himself was laughing and did not think much of it because he did not think that the business would go much beyond the inquiry and that the charge that he accused the others of, the others wanted in turn to accuse him of, and that all of this would end with his being made a prisoner until the process and, as these two men were such obligated friends, albeit disloyal ones, he thought that everything would turn out well and that everything was in his favor. In that he was sadly mistaken, and very much so, because all of a sudden they took him with his shackles and his hands tied and they seated him on a chest that was near some tackle. During all this the caged nightingale would say: "What childishness is this?" to which Lope Martín answered: "Confess yourself because you will die" to which he answered, still laughing: "Why?" He was answered with: "Because you killed the Captain and later wanted to kill Lope Martín." As he was negating the latter with satisfactions, the vicar arrived and was scandalized by such a sudden act and he was suggesting to the pilot with serious words to the effect that he should watch out but, thinking that he would have time to pursue his pleas later on, he and the pilot turned their back on each other.

In the meantime, as some signals were given to the cruel sailors, they hoisted him without giving him time to confess, not even time to say Jesus, although they say that he had little time in which to do it so that he died disastrously and without any remedy. They even threw him overboard half alive with his shackles on. That happened on Saturday, 22 June.

At this time they kept as prisoners Rodrigo de Langle, boatswain, Alberto de Orozco, the nephew of Judge Orozco, Marcos de Cubillas, Antonio de Cucarella, and Miguel de Loarca, because they had been informed that the night before they were armed by order of Mosquera. As for the boatswain, he was accused of having plotted with him regarding the navigation, in case he dared to bring the ship here so that the pilot and the others would be killed; they came close to hang him. The business did not end there, because as I have said before, at the time they give him [i.e. Mosquera] a sepulture in the deep sea, it was said and they published that he was a sodomite, that he had practiced this abominable sin in parts of Italy where he had lived and even in New Spain where he had tried it.

Then the next Sunday [23 June], as the pilot found himself near land, it was agreed to put the boat overboard so that it would go ahead at night and discover land where days before, when Mosquera was still alive, he had thought that it was necessary at the time to place Lara in the boat, as he held him to be bellicous and suspicious; his plan had been, while Lara was in the boat, to seize the pilot and the others whom he fancied to do with them what he pleased. One reason had been that Mosquera and the Captain had thought it difficult to come as far as the first land, and that later on the voyage

seemed easy to them. Although Rodrigo de Langle told them that he would bring the ship wherever they wanted, they were not convinced and were certainly fooling themselves because, although what he knows is little, he would have brought it, given that it is an easy thing to do as the sea is so beautiful as it is and as the whole navigation is to the west; one has nothing to do except placing oneself at the latitude of the Barbudos which are in 9 and 10 degrees and run.

### **[Marshall Islands sighted]**

So, on Saturday, 29 June, the feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul, at nightfall we saw the so desired mother earth, although we could more properly call her stepmother, on account of the little refreshment that it gave us. It was a useless land and for that reason we did not step ashore, given that it was inappropriate and also because we understood that more islands lay ahead and we still had 8 or 10 butts filled with the prettiest water from Acapulco that were left. This low land consisted of up to 17 small islets, the biggest of them had hardly half a league in circumference and some of them did not have a crossbow shot in width. They were laid out one after the other in the manner of an extended rosary because from one islet to another islet there were reefs which were uncovered at low tide, and one could have walked from one to the other. Even to step ashore there was no place; there could not have been water either, given that they were uninhabited, although they were fertile with trees.

Then, the following Monday [1 July], we saw another range of over 20 islands, bigger and better<sup>1</sup>, which were seen to be inhabited because very near us we saw one **proa** with over 8 Indians. So, we made for it thinking to anchor where it was but as the wind was contrary, we passed on and, as it was late and we were among islands, we lowered the sails in the lee of it without anchoring. While we were that way, from the other side of the island came Indians with their proa to within our sight, where they remained looking at us for a while, and as night had already fallen they went back.

The next Tuesday [2 July], some of the soldiers who were allowed to have weapons stepped ashore at the last islet, thinking they could bring back water but they never found any, except a quantity of flies with which they filled the ship. They found only the footprints of those who go there to fish.

On Wednesday next [3 July], we arrived at another range of similar islands and we arrived at the last one of them where we anchored at about 10 in the morning. On the beach we saw up to 10 Indians who lived there with their families, well-proportioned, bearded, nude except for their members [covered] by some pieces of mats which they make very fine in that land in such a manner that they can be used to replace linen. They wear their hair long, have their bodies covered with fine tattooed figures. Their

1 Ed. note: Although the transcript says "mejores", which means "better", the word is generally taken to be "menores", which means "smaller".



houses look like those of New Spain and are good. They do not have any weapons nor any tool whatever except made of bones and shells. They are very tame people and they would submit easily to anything. At once, a small canoe with two Indians came alongside. One of them was their chief, according to what was later learned from himself because we took him along with us, and his companion was a subject.<sup>1</sup> They arrived somewhat bewildered because of the fear they had but, with the efforts made to persuade them by giving them a few things of little value, they arrived and returned ashore with the presents. Many were permitted to step ashore with the boat and, going to their houses, they saw the women who therefore had their natures covered. They are well turned out although brown, gracious, and they did not show any fear. By all of them they were well received with dances and drum music. In the meantime, while they were there, up to five butts of water were taken with the help of the natives; they could not do more because of the distance. They also brought back some coconuts, bananas, yams that are their food because they do not have any plantations. As for the chief, the pilot took him along, saying that he had to bring him to His Majesty, as he intended to do in all parts. And, in order to have something useful at the same time, they brought fish-hooks made with transparent shells like pearls<sup>2</sup>, very pretty, and others made of different shapes, [but] without other unclean things whose nature and purpose we did not know.

After having taken in the boat very quickly as it was not a safe port, at nightfall we set sail to continue our voyage and to go up to 13° of latitude in which the island of the Ladrones called **Guan** where your Lordship was with his fleet.<sup>3</sup> We steered NW but, as our Lord saw the wickedness of some and also heard the prayers of the others, the latter's prayers must have met with his divine esteem, specially those of your Lordship who is so Christian and devout. Therefore, by giving strength to the currents he let us gain over 40 minutes<sup>4</sup> because, after we had run well near 100 leagues, he placed us inside a bay within an archipelago. This, I will say, caused much confusion to the blind

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1 Ed. note: There is a 50-50 chance that this island was Kwajalein. The islet and the two men may even have been the same two of the year before with Captain Arellano. However, nothing is said about the pilot recognizing them.

2 Ed. note: Called mother-of-pearl in English.

3 Ed. note: This sentence reveals that the whole report was being written at the request of Legazpi himself. Now, it seemed to the Pilot that they were leaving the Marshalls, three groups having been encountered already as in 1565 with Arellano, or, most probably, because he had recognized Kwajalein.

4 Ed. note: From the latitude of 9° more or less, which had been their previous average latitude, to 9°40' as is indicated below.

malevolent ones who thought they could persevere in their evil deeds. To the contrary, it caused much clarity and remedy to those who were outside of their attempts and a consolation for this camp.

It happened on Saturday, 6 July, in early evening, when sleep had convinced us already, running carefree. All of a sudden a sailor shouted: "Land! Land!" Looking at it, one had to fear the risk because at that point and instant and such a short leeway we saw ourselves surrounded by islands on all sides and so close that they caused a great disturbance among the sailors, and even more so among the soldiers. Things were not very clear, so much so that the helm's man asked if he was to run the ship aground but the pilot objected to it, and above all Lara who was brave and assailed the helm's man with rude words and took the tiller away from him. With all this very serious tribulation, God was served to place us through a pass that would not have more than a stone's throw [in width] between one island and another inside and we anchored in a very pretty bay, big and clean, surrounded by many small islands and reefs of the above type which is in ten degrees less  $1/3$ .<sup>1</sup>

By this time, we were all quiet and had calmed down from the great shock we had received. There was not one man, however barbarian, who did not consider this to have been a noteworthy miracle that God had given to us because it was certainly believable that [given] the composition and make-up of that land the pass through which we came in was not something natural but rather by divine Providence that he provided that night. Certainly, there was no lack of men to take notice of it and even talked about it, not just that night but later as well when it was seen better. I even told a soldier that without question this was a warning from God so that we would amend ourselves and better than having saved us from such a peril he had put us in such a place which did not lack mystery, and that I trusted that God would remedy it as he remedied it in this form.

We slept that night while awaiting the dawn because the joy of having defeated death that had come so near caused a desire to see the bright rays [of the sun].

Thus, the nearest islet of all was one that we had very close at hand. When we approached it later, [we noticed that] it was almost half a league in circumference. It was flat, fertile and very pretty, There were four houses but there were no people there because the Indians lived on other islands and they kept this place for a garden and for recreation where they come at times on account of the palm trees that were there and the fisheries. As soon as the daylight came, we stepped ashore on it and we satisfied our

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1 Ed. note: This is 9°40'N. However, I would like to go back and check the original manuscript, because it is possible that the word transcribed as "diez" [10] is in fact "doze" [12] which would make the latitude 2 degrees higher, at 11°40'N. In other words, this atoll would not be Ujelang but Enewetak, reason being that it is hard to believe that a galleon of that size would have made it over the reef, and we are told there was a small pass which Enewetak has on its east side, but not Ujelang. Hence, I have developped possible tracks for the San Jerónimo through the Marshall Islands. See Doc. 1566C for further discussion.

thirst without a cup from a well that was there and from coconuts and palmettos out of which, although there were at least 150 palm trees there, we left none during the time we were there<sup>1</sup> because, beyond the fact that we paid little attention to the utility of the republic, it appeased somewhat the hunger. The food they gave us was short ration to preserve it for their voyage, except for the indignant sailors to whom it was given in abundance, and good food at that, contrary to us; so, they gave us what the sailors had rejected, the moldy, the innards and the bitter because, as the leadership and all were sailors, they would enjoy it all but the soldiers generally lacked everything that was any good. Such an evil did not stop because it remained rooted in them and worsened during the whole voyage so that it seemed that the custom had become law.

We remained here for 10 days, not just tame for being disarmed men but also grieved because they had taken our chests and bundles out of the ship and taken them ashore, not for our good nor to make us happy but to accomplish their object, saying that the ship needed some repair and that it was necessary to clear it.

During all this time, many deep secrets passed between the evil-doing men, to which we were not a party, and the things that they said in public about the others was that one said that the pilot was thinking about spending the winter on that island, the reason being that the tradewinds of these islands did not dare come. Although he was saying it as a pretence, he did not lack a reason, and he was always more committed and persevering in his intention every day.

He held very haughty thoughts that surely did not fit with his station in life; he even thought of himself as another Marquis del Valle [i.e. Cortés]. One night, I saw him put him [Cortés] forward [as] an authority, not just a malicious but a cautious one. He said that when he disembarked in Veracruz, he made an oration or speech to the men assembled whose contents was that his intention was to go inland in search of adventures with men who were in favor of it and that those opposed to it, before they pretended to return to the island of Cuba, he would tell them that he would outfit them, giving them some of the guards he had; that they should divide themselves up, the ones to one point and the others to the other point so that a list could be made and that when it had been carried out, to those who had gone over to his side he had made many favors professing to give them rewards and to the others outrage, insult and affront, telling them very seriously that, although they regretted it they had to go with him and that he would punish them and treat them according to what they were, that he did just that and put the ships on fire.

He [i.e. Martín] said this [story] so that the men chosen by him to take along with him would not dare refuse nor contradict him. So, to that effect, he also had diabolical collusions because on purpose he set up bewitched men one against another. To provoke us, they would say how so-and-so and so-and-so and everyone, excepting no-one, were trying and intending to go on the voyage. In order to add credence to it, they were saying that they did not lack men ready to kiss their feet and hands and that a few were

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1 Ed. note: They cut them all down over a 10-day period.

offering bribes for this through go-betweens and that they did not lack a reason because the least they could take to Spain was 200,000 ducats, besides what the King would give them as very great favors for the discovery of the strait.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, while at this island there was very great confusions and blindnesses among them, permitted by God, because the opinions of the 4 [ringleaders] without the privates and advisers were many and various. [For instance] according to what some said, the pilot was saying that the selection of the people could not be held before the Ladrones and the rest would be thrown out because they would no longer bring the remaining ones to these [Philippine] islands but leave them behind, and he was saying that if that land were populated and where they could feed us that it was well to leave us in it, but otherwise that it would not be allowed. Against this idea was the Nero, Felipe de Campo, whose opinion it seems would have taken effect had God not intervened.

At this time, we saw coming directly at us three **proas** with their sails and, although they knew we were there because they saw the ship nearby. In spite of that they kept coming straight toward us because their intention was none other, unless we prevented them from doing so, because as I have said they are tame people. Furthermore, they had seen us, according to our Indian who told us then that they came to get him and that they came from his island. One of the three [proas] came forward leaving the two others behind, aboard which it appeared were women and children, and the former came forward to anchor at one point of the island where the Sergeant was lying in ambush in a small bush, waiting for them with a few soldiers and when he was about to disembark the pilot, moved by pure keenness began to go toward them with the boat from the ship. They set sail as soon as they saw this and went out to sea. Although we ashore went after them along the shoal, no more luck was had than with those in the boat because, although they followed them it was futile because they go fast and against the wind. They carry square mat sails, not lateen ones<sup>2</sup> on the mast on the inside of the poop, not like ours. As well they carry on the body of the proa a cube similar to a big chicken coop placed crosswise that must serve them as a sort of cart to carry their food and clothes which is light. They come with a counterweight as in the Ladrones and in these [Philippine] islands; I will elaborate later.

About what happened, the pilot was much perturbed and swearing and using profane words about his having to seize them and bring them where we were, that they had to serve to fish for us while we were there, that he was going to jab them with his horns.

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1 Ed. note: The pilot intended an eastward passage through the Strait of Magellan.

2 Ed. note: Such is the opinion of a soldier. However, I feel that the subject may have been discussed with the sailors, because he is so categorical about the sails not being lateen. We may therefore consider the possibility that Marshallese canoes in the 16th century used a square sail, or more likely an Oceanic spritsail; if so, this would have been the first time one was ever recorded by a European. There may be some words missing here, possibly about an oar being used as a rudder.

So, the next day he carried it out, guiding the boat toward the place where they had gone, about 5 leagues away<sup>1</sup> but he did not get much out of it because they fled from him. They found their hamlet in one of the islets where they had a proa almost finished, one that could have carried 30 men, upon which they first looked with evil design but later out of extreme necessity.

Since I have simply forgotten earlier, although it is now out of sequence and place, I will say one thing that happened among the other wickednesses. It is that Pedro de Salcedo, the son-in-law of your Lordship, had written to you care of Mosquera a longer letter than any other on account of the trust he had in the messenger in which he was telling you about the evil deeds of the pilot. This letter was opened near where it said wonderful things as a person of rank and that he could express himself freely. The same thing was done to the despatches from the Audiencia and all the others that he got his hands on.

As every day they kept organizing their wickednesses and schemes, so they came up with one in which they said that those who were to go with them had to swear before a consecrated host and in the hands of the priest who would say mass for that purpose, that they would die if necessary without retreating one step, one for all and all for one, against everyone else of whatever nationality, even Spanish, thus rejecting their country and their natural king. The execution of this [ceremony], although we knew it to be getting near, we were generally unaware of it, except for the privates. It, or part of it, was learned by some [privates] that same morning that God put a remedy [to the situation] that, as I say, although it was known by almost everyone by conjectures in general we never thought that it would take effect before the Ladrones. However, that same morning in question, they agreed to bring the above-mentioned proa to leave to us the poor ones who were to remain and it happened this way.

The pilot, as I have said before, had to repeat that in these [Philippine] islands, very stiff tradewinds blew during all those three months and to come to them was to get lost; therefore, he wished to spend the winter in that port, because it was a good one, that it was better than to perish at sea, that as for us with regard to the food that was decreasing, it was necessary for us to ration it, that with the neighboring islands, as they were so near, we ought to split into squads [and go there] where with some relief in the form of biscuits they would give us, plus the coconuts, fish, shell-fish and other things to be found there we would not eat the food [meant] for the voyage. Having done this, he thought of going suddenly and leaving us outwitted. It could very well have happened that way, since it would be felt as we had no weapons but our Lord remedied it by sending them the law of retaliation.

At this time, as in the past, there were three types of people. The first type was formed of people who were free of passion and zeal because they were free of the wickednesses and they did not pay attention to the rebels, nor to their things, and had nothing to do

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: If this distance is anywhere near the truth, it would fit Enewetak much better than Ujelang; in fact, there are just over 5 leagues (20 miles) between Eniwetok and Engebi islets.

with them; so, given that it was always being said that they would come here [i.e. Cebu], they trusted it to be so and came without regret except for the delay, and that nobody paid attention to them.

There were also others who, beyond what is already said, wished<sup>1</sup> for only the risk in which they saw themselves in the hands of their enemies, specially Rodrigo de Langle, boatswain, who detested them so much, not only for the presumption which they presumed that while the Captain was alive—and also in Mosquera's time—it was proffered that the ship could be brought by him, and in this they had dealt with him for the purpose of hanging the pilot, and he was at such a great risk and truly was predestined to be hanged by them before long. So, he kept dragging the rope which he did not lack of, and for this reason through divine inspiration he found the remedy for himself from which followed ours. He could well have been forgiven if he had sought safety and been favored by Lope Martín as other persons had done as he demonstrated it at length later on when with his own voice he publicly confessed between the Barbudos [Marshalls] and the Ladrones [Marianas] when dealing with a certain Molina, steward of the ship, and an intimate friend of Lope Martín, that is, if Lope Martín had taken into account what Molina was doing to his person, he would have succeeded in his plan; it is so, and there is no doubt about it as it is public and manifest that not so much because he would have favored him more but rather because he would not have disfavored him, he should [therefore] be excused for the bad he did to him, because this is true of the most feared man in the world. So, what was done was done out of pure temerity rather than out of great bravery, because he had figured out that he had to die and with some help and above all from God he did this deed.

The same thing applies to Santiago de Garnica, in spite of his desire to come here as someone who loved the General, on account of his being of the same nationality<sup>2</sup> and obliged to his king and natural lord, he was at great risk the reason being that what he had revealed to the Captain, as I have said earlier, they suspected him of having said it and only for some suspicion they had mortal hate for him, and if they had known it for sure there had been many days in which they would have killed him one way or another. So, with or without this, every day he ran the risk, if God had not saved him.

There were also other individuals with whom the rebels were not very well as they were considered suspects, for instance, Marcos de Cubillas, steward, who many times was on the point of dying. He felt this and even admitted it, because the whole time he went about very terrorized when they so much as noticed him. So, consequently, he strongly wished for a remedy as he showed later on because during the whole voyage he was certainly a servant of His Majesty.

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1 Ed. note: Possible transcription error in 1-3 words. Perhaps "deseaban" should have been read as "andaban", or else some words are missing after "deseaban". Therefore, two possible improvements are: "he went about with his life at great risk..." or "he wished [to come here] but for the risk..."

2 Ed. note: Both were from the Biscay region.

As for myself, your Grace already knows that I kept my eyes on the Governor, for being as he is my superior. For this reason, God is a witness to the great sorrow my spirit felt, not only for my own risk but also for the risk in which was the mail destined for your Lordship. If it had not come, I considered that the glory you had gained could be erased and, as the vulgar mob is accustomed to speaking on both sides of their mouths, it was being said that, as the mail was not coming fast, the [settlement] would be abandoned and the tyrants were even saying that it would no longer be here. Although I wished to find a proper remedy, there was little chance of it because in the whole company there was no-one I knew or could trust with any secret. Although I was pursued in that New Spain for my sins<sup>1</sup> and if I tried anything, it would have been enough to lose my life and wake up those who were asleep. A certain San Juan de Goyri [Goyti?], a native of Bilbao, seemed to me to be someone in which I could confide any secret; it is certain that I was not fooling myself because it is true that his constancy and virtue are very great. So, during the whole voyage he showed himself to be so, in the service of his King, as we all must, and being of the same country as the General, he wished intimately to come to this camp. So, the two of us exchanged very deep secrets and talked about finding a remedy without a remedy [sic], although there would be only six of us from our nation<sup>2</sup> we thought we could come up with something to harm the rebels, and as there were [six of us], although we did not know them we would treat them out of faithfulness that we have toward one another, the same way I had with this one, although I had not met him before the voyage.

While at this islet, Rodrigo de Langle talked to me, telling me about his great desire to abscond with the ship and that he would have carried it out if he would have been favored by the sailors but they were all against him except Santiago [de Garnica]. I answered that God knew how sorry I was about it and that I was praying to Him to let me see a means of remedying the situation. Having said this to me, we went toward the well to talk [some more]. I told him what I felt, as it was true, that those who talked two by two ran a risk and that it was not allowed except from above, that we should not do it but that he knew that it had been my intention for days, but that I could only say that my person was ready for whatever was necessary but he countermanded me enough with the prudence that your Grace knows about and for which he is famous.

A soldier named Juan de Requena, a native of Ciudad Real, was a friend of Molina the steward, so favored that they entrusted him with the weapons. Seeing that there was no other remedy, I opened up to him and tried at length to persuade him to communicate with him and make him give us our weapons in order to abscond with the ship.

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- 1 Ed. note: This is an admission on his part that he probably was a convict soldier, one who had been pardoned provided he enrolled as a private. That would also explain why he could write, when most soldiers in his day were illiterate.
  - 2 Ed. note: Even Legazpi showed that he trusted another Basque implicitly, even a former convict. So, it was natural for a clique composed of Basque soldiers and sailors to appear. They no doubt spoke in their own language to ensure secrecy. By the way, this would be another explanation for the difficulty of translation of the "Spanish" original of the present text.

The result was that he agreed to do so and he would have done it except that the quick remedy prevented him. In any case, he acted as a servant of His Majesty and a good soldier because if he had not been, in order to gain the good graces of the perverse ones [by divulging] the secret, it would have cost me my life.

As the hour of our deliverance was near, some of us who were in the conspiracy agreed to confess and take communion. The others discovered the proposal during confession, so that the Father priest with a great vehemence encouraged them and inflamed their hearts, telling them how just it was and how great a service to God, and that by doing it God would help them to come out with it; in short, he stirred them up a lot and he closed the case.

Also at this time, I do not know what annoyances were allowed by God to happen between Lara and the others, specially the pilot; the result was that Lara almost never left the ship nor would he show pleasure. Rather he was always sulking and even sobbing many times, in the same manner as a child who is a favorite of his mother but when she punishes him in actions or in words, the more was the favor and reward, the bigger are the despair and sobs he goes through. Then it was that Rodrigo del Angle and Santiago talked to him about absconding with the ship. They found him ready and that made a total of 8, including Miguel de Loarca who was already in. They talked with Juan Enrique, a Flemish gunner who was free of passion. Rather, as he was a competent person and sufficient for any task that would be assigned to him, the party of Lope Martín held him in great love and goodwill, and had earmarked him for bringing along with them. However, notwithstanding the fact that he had not been approached, he offered himself to serve the King as the loyal subject that he was and has been throughout the voyage.

At this stage, it had been 10 days since the bad plans were being executed. They determined to send the boat to get the proa in order to put what I said above into effect. Meanwhile, the three aboard the ship were saying inconsiderately that the business should be put into effect but the Flemish contradicted it saying with reason that nothing could be done without the boat. Such persuasions made the plan succeed as well as it did because without the boat twelve soldiers would not have been able to come in<sup>1</sup> nor would it have been possible to take in the topsail and major bonnet that were ashore. They were next to all the compasses and sea charts that the pilot maliciously kept ashore, not just his own but also the instruments belonging to Rodrigo de Langle so that on this day at daybreak the pilot boarded the ship where, while we were hearing mass and very close to the ship which could also be seen, after he had taken the altitude many times, I do not know what tales or annoyances passed between him and his sailors that could have made his head become all steamed up but they were making him shout a lot, swear and blaspheme, even heresies, because among many other things that he said, without any respect for his creator whom he had in sight, instead of commending himself to Him, he said: "Even if you had God tied by his feet, he won't be able to help

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: They were ashore and, like most Europeans then, they could not swim.



you". Besides the many shouts he was uttering, at the time they were removing the shackles from one prisoner whom they were releasing at that point and the blows they were doing upon iron things were causing apprehension in those ashore who feared that the conspiracy had been discovered. This was so possible that, according to one of ours, he came very close to reveal the plot to the opponents and thus save his life, and considering the risk we ran, in such a possibility, we others had no hesitation to recommend him to God as we had to do. God allowed that it did not happen that way; rather, the boat suddenly came carrying the pilot and the boatswain. The latter came right away to my hut, because I was by chance alone and he told me that the night before they had wanted to abscond with the ship but at the latest this coming night it would be carried out, if it did not take place right then because the boat was about to go away. I thought that would be difficult because the soldiers in the conspiracy could not go to the ship, because we were suspected. I told him that for the night I would have half a dozen soldiers assembled with whom to go to the ship, that I doubted being able to do so in the daytime, given what I have said, that instead he should prevent the going of the boat so that in any event it could take place that night. To this he angrily answered me with a thousand nonsensical things, impertinent reasons, saying that he knew that he would surely die by hanging on account of me and the other friends, and other similar things. So, I told him that I would speak to San Juan to whom I [had] informed about what had happened to me. He, a little upset, answered me that at that point he and Santiago had agreed upon that very night and, while saying this and without waiting for an answer, the boatswain boarded the boat with Santiago who was ashore [to carry out] the new plan with a few sailors.

On this day, Wednesday [rather Tuesday] 16 July, the following armed themselves: Santiago [de Garnica], Rodrigo de Langle, Bartolomé de Lara and Juan Enrique, without giving any part to the others, and at once they came out with the shining weapons, shooting sparks, striking down and up like Mars. A mulatto who was boatswain's mate aboard the ship and a close friend of the pilot was hit with a knife and immediately threw himself overboard and brought the bitter news to his friends. At this point, they did not know what to think. Thus, I even think that they half understood but were saying, in order not to show weakness: "They are probably drunk." However, when the news had come, as Lara called to Felipe del Campo, out of the friendship that existed between them, to go over to the ship, he answered: "Very well. I'll go and punish you, and those scoundrels too."

In addition, there were a few sailors aboard the ship. As they were seeing the things take the turn they did with such a determination, they became worse than a rat when he cannot hide from the cat. So, they were fleeing from the impetuous accident, apologizing and getting out of the way. They had hate for Juan de Caldivar, the clerk of the ship, as the old confederate that he was, although at the time he was like Lara, in disgrace. It was to him that they had removed the shackles that I have mentioned a little earlier. He had not gone ashore yet. So, he too was hit with a knife and he threw himself overboard. From there, he was shouting, asking to be taken in, that he was a

servant of the King. He was taken in. A boy from Galicia had the keys to the hatch to go down to where the weapons were stored. As he was slow in handing over the key to Rodrigo de Langle, the latter gave him another bad blow with the knife on the head—from which he recovered well, no thanks to that cruelty—and all the weapons were instantly taken out and up to the poop. They disarmed the rest who were held in suspicion.

The rebels saw such a confusion not only to their business but also to their persons that they were all afflicted, although they would have been more so had they known the final event [being planned] but they still trusted then that they would recover the loss and punish the aggressors. So, they let [go] the soldiers and sailors whom they blindly trusted, thinking that they would restore their brothers for the love of God. Those aboard the ship and the others in the boat in which was the Flemish [gunner] with a broadsword were waiting ferociously for anyone thought to be suspect. While this blindness and revolt, without any distinction but with the hope of some gain, Cucarella and Cubillas threw themselves in and, once at the ship, they armed themselves. There were also a few sailors whom the pilot implicitly trusted, thinking that they would restore him or restitute the ship but he was fooling himself because, not only were they not allowed any weapons but were placed below deck in spite of the oaths that Cucarella made them swear upon [holy] images. From then on, this Cucarella not only behaved very solicitously and he served well but, according to everybody's opinion, he would sue for virtue. In addition, at this time, two soldiers went over by swimming: one so-and-so Jimenez Zambrano and the other Martín López to whom they also gave weapons. There was then a reasonable number of them and at once, on account of the inconsiderate sailors, as barbarians as they were, lacking good heads and much less good brains, moved by an unnecessary fear, they decided to let go the two cables with their anchors upon which the ship was anchored and then they set sail. Under a light breeze, they pointed the bow toward the pass through which we had entered intending to go out through it, cruelly and miserably leaving behind enemies and friends alike, the guilty ones as well as the not guilty, if God had not intervened with his wonders.

As it is, before they got to the pass which was at such a short distance, the little wind they enjoyed calmed down and the current being contrary, they veered and turned back. For the fear that they had, they did not dare anchor as near as before but a little over four [cables?] because they anchored a good way inside the bay; at the time, it was not known that there was another pass to get out than the above-mentioned.

Since the ship was anchored where it was, they then decided to send the boat where we were but before it was carried out, the [rebels] sent on behalf of the Neros three soldiers, [among them] one named Pedro Martinez de Estadela, a native of Barcelona, as ambassadors to negotiate [about] leaving them food supplies and other things in exchange for the sea charts, the compasses, the sails and the rest that was ashore, on top of a raft made of barrels and masts. Now then, the current was taking away the raft, and although the boat was coming directly [ashore], as soon as they saw the raft, they headed for it. As soon as they recognized Estadela, with whom Lara was at odds because he had had some unpleasantness with him, he [Lara] told Martín López and

Zambrano to shoot him [Estadela]; they did so, although it is not sure if they did with a slug rather than with pellets. As soon as the boat got close to them, Lara gave him a cruel blow with a broadsword that he carried, out of which he died struggling in the water of an unfortunate death. The others abandoned their raft and arrived at an islet that was close by and from there to the encampment. Judgments of God those are, inasmuch as it is asserted by some that Estadela had been with the killers and accomplices in the death of the Captain because he had been in their squad and part of the plot.

This done, they made their way with the boat to where we were but, when the rebels saw it, they made us leave the beach and put us about a crossbow shot inland where not only were they keeping us surrounded but they did not permit us to be standing, only seated. They had their way with everything because among them there were 8 arquebuses and 3 crossbows without any other weapons, offensive or defensive; the rest of the men were, as I have said, unarmed.

The boat having arrived ashore, they then divulged the death of Estadela, blaming those in the boat [for it] and in order to provoke the men they even made it appear that it was the two [with the arquebuses], not the 3 of them together who had done the killing, giving it to understand that they would do the same thing to them if they went. Although there were indeed a few who secretly disapproved not only of these two but of the three of them but who did not say so in order not to excite them and thus procure their departure which was so difficult. I do not know but was told that there were men who unwittingly believed that a blanket hanging from the poop of the ship was a hanged man, as they were led to understand. With all of this, there were men who by all means tried to go with the boat, misbehaving in the pretext to prove themselves to be like foxes surrounding the hens, even though it did them little good. The Vicar was trying to do the same but Felipe del Campo told him that if he got near the beach he would shoot him with an arquebus.

So, no more than one soldier from our group went that day, after he had asked me for my advice. The boat returned to the ship whose sails were at once raised again and the bow aimed toward the west where they suspected, albeit doubtfully, the presence of a pass in order to get out. At one islet which was on the left, they decided to leave one jar of wine to say mass and a few beans and corn in order that we may sow them and reform the agriculture. So, they placed it all in the boat aboard which was Lara with 3 or 4 soldiers, without any sailors, and it was going to the islet while the ship was on its way. Inasmuch as the boat was next to the shore, it happened that in the bay where the ship was going there were some submerged rocks. They were at a very great risk of running on top of one of them, because they say that they missed it by very little. Thus, seeing the risk, they say that Santiago and the new pilot began to call him back but he did not want to go back, only to continue to go ashore. When he had considered the matter, they say that he said: "If you run aground, all you have to do is go ashore and get 50 men." The meaning of this is obscure. So, among the companions it caused a great confusion and with reasons because it was not known how they could do that,

unless it be by turning over the boat to their old friends or new enemies to satisfy themselves from which there would follow great evil and many deaths. However, it pleased God that it was not necessary nor that it happened earlier; inasmuch as it was getting close to nightfall, they turned back and anchored at about one league from the encampment on account of the darkness and their not daring to sail; otherwise, they would have gone ahead.

Well then, as I have said, they [had] left the wine and the rest as a farewell gift and they themselves said as much, but as I said, they calmed down although they were not very safe during the whole night, not less those ashore than those aboard the ship. Some out of spite and the others out of rejoicing, in order not to lose the gains already made as well as their lives, no-one slept a wink that night.

The morning having come, it pleased God to inspire those aboard the ship to return ashore with the boat, which we doubted they would do, and the one who was most of the opinion that they should return was Lara, although only God knows with what intention, because Felipe del Campo was his close friend and he was suffering, as a grateful man, because beyond the friendship, there had been the time when his life had been saved during the incident with the Lieutenant. As for the pilot, although there was disagreement at the time, as I said, they were friends before; people who become quickly inconsiderate quickly repent themselves. Barbarian and rustic man that he was, he could not dissimulate the sorrow about the adversity of his friends, specially Del Campo's for whom, said Santiago, the boat would not go back, even if they cut his head off, no matter how long he went on. In all of this, he showed some signs that he was sorry about what had happened because they held him and suspected him.

Well then, there were among us some whose condition was so perverse and bestial that, I do not know if moved by love for the pilot or by fear and lack of courage, this morning, when the sun made the broadswords and other swords shine which they carried bare aboard the ship, they told him that for whatever reasons the ship was undergoing a rebellion: "There is something in our favor that with the help of God, Mr. Pilot, the ship will be yours and you will take revenge of the traitors and we will serve you in everything. Have no fear, you will get it yet." Although each time he was touched less by those flatteries, they lasted for the whole of those two days until the third day when they cooled down. There were such varied opinions and awful sayings during the whole voyage—so many that I cannot put all of them on paper—because there were few men with a good nature and even they were of different minds; in short, they were divided. One should not wonder what caused all of this without saying, with reason, that we were not worth much, because only God the Redeemer sufficed to remedy it, no-one else, as he did in fact do.

Let your Grace judge for yourself. For instance, at the time the ship was taken over, when the rebels and us were together, one whose name I will not give said: "Traitors! If anybody among those on this island were hanged, it would not be because they had not known about this." Such words appeared to me to be directed at me and as I felt myself to be a participant I took them as such. However, they were not taken as such

by my adversaries, thank God for that. Matters did not stop there; another soldier (who will not be recognized here by the way I say it) told San Juan: "Is it possible that you did not know about this?" He was saved by what I have said. These and many other things took place before, during, and afterwards; nobody dared trust anyone as they were all divided.

Then, after daybreak ashore, the triumvirate ordered that many palm tree trunks that had been cut be gathered in order to build a small fort with them, along with the chests, mattresses and the rest that could be used to defend themselves in case the boat would use small guns to batter the fort. A few of us who objected were not placed inside this building, although they did admit me later on, but they placed me in the front ranks with my arquebus. My arquebus had been brought to me from the ship four days earlier by Rodrigo de la Cervilla who was my comrade. Your Grace will remember him well because he was one of those from the same land as Felipe del Campo. He was much in favor with them, with whom he said he would go, although he had not taken part in the past evil doings nor in many of the present ones, because he was a skilled person and a good Christian. However, he was slippery, credulous, and too much susceptible to change. As they were thinking of going to another island for coconuts and for rest, he was selected for the outing. When he told me about it, I begged him to act as my go-between and, trusting in his favorable status, to get hold of my arquebus at the same time as he took his own out of the ship. However, I did not get much advantage out of it because, although he went, the pilot never allowed me to go, because he was badly disposed as I have said, specially toward me whom he understood to be a servant of your Lordship; so, he judged me as a suspect because he resented me a lot and thus I ran a risk but my comrade, as he was familiar with them, would back me up, as he had promised and indeed complied with his promise; he was always my friend and I was his, even more so than a brother in giving him advice although it made little impression upon him. Felipe del Campo would say that one of those whom they would bring along, according to what my comrade said, was me, justifying it I do not know how as the pilot used to say "aboard the ship and in the forecabin, no-one from Biscay" so that he was doing me little honor.

Later on, the boat came within sight to a place where it could not be in danger from ashore. It began to invite and call the people, all those who wished to embark as they were about to sail, and they requested compasses and the rest, saying that they would leave food. About this matter and other things they sent a letter. They [ashore] were about to go off to the side to read it in secret but the Vicar and two or three soldiers objected that it should be read openly. As these chats were going on, I got a chance to say that the messengers and intercessors whom they had sent up to that time had not been such, and they should send again such a person. I was saying that so that they would send an old soldier, a friend of mine called Zorita, because there was no doubt that he would go with the ship and if this man went, he as a friend had an obligation not to go without me. I added, as if I were a bored man who did not fear death in any way, many foolish things with anger, saying to everyone openly: "You have been had, all of you."

You are wrong in trusting Lope Martín here present. So, to any of you not going with the ship I promise misfortune and the trust that you have in him is too much, because he can die like this subject and we would remain here lost and we would die a bad death." I said many other things which scandalized them.

They asked me whom I wanted should go and as I did not dare say "myself", I said Zorita instead. So, they went off for a sudden consultation among themselves. Some of them were repentant and they said that if I were not sent it would be the cause of a mutiny. Immediately they came to ask me if I wished to go to the ship, to which without me putting myself forward I answered that I would be very pleased to do so. Thus, they decided to send me and Zorita. Immediately the pilot took me apart; at that moment I found out later that the soldiers thought my life was in danger, thinking that they wanted to strangle me with the *garrote*, and indeed I ran a big risk for having spoken so foolishly but it was not so; instead they were cajoling me as if I were a child, saying many things and as they say "piling it on top of me".

In the meantime, they decided that Zorita would no longer go but I alone. I was being asked to consider and do so many requests and favors now that they saw me free of them. Finally they took away my arquebus; although I hesitated I did give it up thinking I could recover it later. In addition, they wanted me to take off my protective leather-plate jacket but I objected strenuously and finally they let me have it on the grounds that it would make me a better messenger. After saying good-bye to many, some with many tears, I soon got to the beach which was nearby, where I found a stick at the right spot at the right time, with which in proper form I went in with all my clothes on and threw myself into the water making straight for the boat that was waiting for me, as it did not dare come nearer to the shore. That way, even though I did not know much how to swim and the current was contrary, a while later they sent a ship's boy to rescue me and thus I arrived at the boat where I was well received by the new Captain, as they called Lara, and by Santiago and Enrique who told me: "Well then, it seems as if God had done you many favors. Let's go. The ship is almost ready to sail. It won't take long but as soon as we get there, because the new pilot is getting desperate on account of the delay."

I was very sorry to hear that and moved by compassion for those ashore I told them as endearingly as I could that they should not do that, that it would be very inhumane and that at the cost of some lapse of time and some work a great service would be done to God and to His Majesty by picking them up and taking them in. To that almost all of them, as they did not know what was happening ashore, answered angrily: "Many times we have requested and called them. Why don't they come? Too bad, let them stay. All we want to do is to take the mail over." Against this I said to persuade them declaring and pointing the manner and condition in which they were surrounded, that they wished to come to the ship and to Cebu. However, they were still reluctant although they gave me some credence and calmed themselves down somewhat, enough that I was able to have them do three tacks [with the boat] from one end of the islet to the other, saying that this would be the proper way to pick up people. So it was that

besides sick boys who were not much use, we picked up another dozen persons who fled from them and they sent others who brought a compass that was asked of them saying that food would be given in exchange. With all of this, we did not get to the ship until noon. There we were therefore received by the new pilot and the others and I repeated what I had said to those in the boat. To this they answered that they feared them because they were many on the opposite side. There the matter stood.

Later on, after eating, Santiago and other persons went out to look for a pass to get out to a place where they suspected and understood that there was one; they found a very wide and very good one through which we later went out. So, it was already late when they returned with the good news that caused great rejoicing. Meanwhile, in their absence, two soldiers came over by swimming. One of them was Miguel de Loarca and the other Melchor de Villanueva. They must have swam one good league although they stopped in the middle at an islet where the corn and the wine jar had been left. They were well received after this feat, and not any less by them. They had been lucky as the current had been favorable to them. Otherwise, the boat being away, they would have been lost without any remedy. The pleasure they give us was great. They brought us the news that the mutineers left behind were building rafts, to go with them only as far as the island where the proa was, as I have said, and that they were to go early the next morning. We were glad to hear this, thinking that we could pick them up without resistance, and we would do so if they did, and afterwards we would punish them well, without leaving anyone nor anything behind. However, this decision which was about to be carried out was revoked and they no longer wished to go. Instead they were building a fort ashore, big enough to fit everyone so that the guns of the ship, even if it got close in, would not do them any harm.

When morning came, as we had agreed to send the boat ashore once more to do what remained to be done, I wrote them a letter, directed at them all, whose contents were that we did not intend to leave them anything, not even their own persons; rather, we were going to seize them all. Given that the first night I had arranged with the Father priest and with over four persons, as we had no way to escape other than suddenly grabbing the weapons off a dozen soldiers when they were off their guard, by hitting them on the head with our bare hands in order to do what we wanted with them, then raising the flag in the royal name, although this did not take place on account of my departure, those involved already knew the plan and I made use of secret passwords and other formalities in my letter which the participants understood. However, it was never taken ashore because the chaplain and other soldiers were spotted from the ship aboard a raft and they were picked up. They were saved from a certain death because, if they had not been seen, the current was carrying them relentlessly off and they would have been lost.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: This statement can be understood easily if the setting is Enewetak, rather than Ujelang, because they were being swept toward the wide open southern pass and out to sea.

In addition, they also picked up others from the beach, up to a total of one dozen who came over freely. The cause of this freedom was that, as I had come that morning and from the boat had told them nothing, they said, as they [still] thought they could recover the ship: "Now you are kicking us, Juan Martinez. Well then, let him be. He'll pay for this." Therefore, Loarca with his comrade fled from them. Later on, they lost hope saying: "There is no-one left whom we can trust. They are all our enemies. Let them go if they want to go." So, they gave freedom to all.

Well then, after we had eaten, once more the boat returned ashore to give as good a safe place aboard the ship to the rest. Because the boat was no longer being received when it came from outside but with a warlike display, it went to the right and to the left as it had been ordered to do, besides the secret signal that I was making from afar as agreed with some individual, I was beating with the boat during this run and they gave me a secret signal which I then used because a treachery was feared, with reason. So, we went ashore and brought back a boatload of soldiers. For more safety, their hands were tied behind their backs but once at the ship they were untied. Then, as if they had just escaped from the Moors and Turks they were embracing themselves very tight and they were crying warmly and abundantly, and not just this boatful but the same with all the others.

By this time they saw that my suggestions were right and brought results. Therefore, that Saturday [20 July] we went ashore with the boat to bring not only all the soldiers but as many clothes as we could. As the breeze became stiffer that day, the current became very much against us too and little property was recovered because, once ashore, the chests themselves not being allowed on account of the delay, it was too bad but many of them were broken into; they took the most important clothes from them and put them aboard the boat without any order or discipline because there simply was no room for more than five men at the time, whom we took over to the islet which was half-way, where they were going back to the encampment. They picked up as many of the rest of the clothes as possible in such a way that it was a pity to see the destruction done to the chests and clothing, pearls and other things that here would be worth over 6,000 pesos.

During all this time, those of us who went armed with the boat were taking very good care that they would not steal it from us through some impetuous act; for this reason, most of the rebels had followed orders from us and were gathered at one end of the island in full view.

The first boatload of this day brought a certain Juan Yáñez, a Portuguese sailor who had been persuaded by Lara, and other sailors who were intimate friends of Lope Martín from whom he had obtained a revocable permit. Since he was already aboard the boat he was charged with a certain embassy and returned ashore where, on account of the tears of the pilot, he did not gain much of anything as he failed to make use of the permit which was taken away from him. He committed a thing in great damage to his conscience by telling my comrade [i.e. Rodrigo de la Cervilla] that I had not sent for him, that instead if he came he would surely be hanged as he deserved to be. This was



a falsehood to make him stay behind, because it was not true nor did he deserve it either, because he had always been a loyal friend to me and I not less so to him. So, the first thing I did when I got to the ship was to talk about him to have him come and so he was ready to come. With the previous boatload he had sent me part of my pack and of his, and I told him that we would leave it at the islet and return for him, because he stayed behind on account of what the bad Christian had wrongly reported to him. He refused to come; rather, he went out of sight from me so that I could not call him and, according to some people, he was left very sad, crying and lamenting complaints about me, that I was a man who was half tame and even less wise. That hurt me very much, the more so because he was understandably over-reacting, without a remedy because for one thing my stepping ashore was not right and on the other hand the boat was held up for me more than it should have. So, we came with this last boatload straight to the ship from where some people went back with the boat to the islet to get what was left there. Then night fell and, as the decision was to sail the next day, they tried to put the boat inside but I objected as strenuously as I could, insisting that we should not go without first stepping ashore the next day for the rest, that if we removed as few as 8, then the rest would follow, that the others, as they were too few, would give themselves up or we would force them to, as we intended to do. However, they did not consent nor dare to, and in private they, very scandalized, were telling me not to put all that had been gained in jeopardy, giving me certain reasons for it; in the end, I told them to do as they pleased.

This report makes no excuse for giving one more tedious detail which is that Lázarro de Morales, as was stated before, was an intimate friend of Lara. Lara had tried to get him to come by all means until he managed to make him come by the first boat load that day. When Juan Yáñez with many tears and guarantees that he gave him but even with the news, he was distrustful. Finally, having come, according to what Lara told me, and finally he published that the pilot had sent him [i.e. Morales] to say that he should go back to absconding with the ship for him, that he had promised to make him Captain and that they would go on with the voyage as they had up to now; however, that Morales had advised him that he had regained his honor that he had before [but] God knows the truth.

### **[27 men marooned]**

On Sunday, 21st of July, just before dawn, the new pilot and Santiago then undertook to take in the boat in order to set sail later. Although Lara was not part of it, the majority of the votes were for it. So, we sailed and went out through the pass leaving quite a few islets on both sides, miserably abandoning behind us **27 men**, among them soldiers, ship's boys and sailors as follows:

- Pedro Núñez de Solorzano, Sergeant,
- Felipe del Campo [= de Ocampo],
- Diego de Amaya,
- A certain Jiménez, armorer,

- Alonso Vaca,
- Critóbal de Inestrosa [= Hinestrosa],
- Alonso Çarfate,
- García (de) Solís,
- Nicolás Rico,
- Bartolomé Hernández,
- Rodrigo de la Cervilla,
- Alonso Hernández, drummer,
- Pedro García, fifer, with whom ends the list of soldiers and begins the list of sailors:
- **Lope Martín**, pilot,
- Alonso Alvarez, boatswain's mate,
- Gonzalo de Molina, steward,
- Juan Yáñez, seaman,
- Domingo Veneciano [or Valenciano],
- Bartolomé de Muros,
- Bartolomé the caulker,
- Antonio de Triaes [or Criaes],
- Francisco Hermoso, ship's boy,
- Francisco, the Sergeant's servant,
- Alonso, the Captain's cabin boy,
- Francisco Montero, ship's boy,
- Francisco, half-breed servant of Felipe del Campo,
- Juanico, cabin boy of the ship.

All in all they are 27, among whom were many ship's boys and seamen who were forced to stay behind because they had been tied up and we left with a serious doubt as to their peace and safety because during the last boatload that went to the islet for the clothes, they said that they had seen them all on the beach dressed in white clothes and with a flag raised, the meaning of which was not clear except that some interpreted it to mean that they might have killed the pilot, thinking that the boat would return and the rest of the culprits might get clemency. However, because we left, we will never know until God decides.<sup>1</sup>

On the second day after we set sail, the weapons were restituted to all the soldiers and at this time, they gave charge of the stores to Morales out of respect for Lara. It was observed that many deep secrets passed between them, as it appeared that he had obviously some job to do. They noted their footsteps and leisure activities and they were dealing so privately that they were sleeping face to face, the better to be able to speak as misfits who caused suspicion, specially in Rodrigo de Langle and Santiago who had

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1 Ed. note: Nothing was ever heard from these marooned men. They may have moved to the Carolines as there are some legendary white men said to have arrived at some of the islands before they were officially discovered and settled. However, the two lost ships of Saavedra may have had something to do with these legends as well.

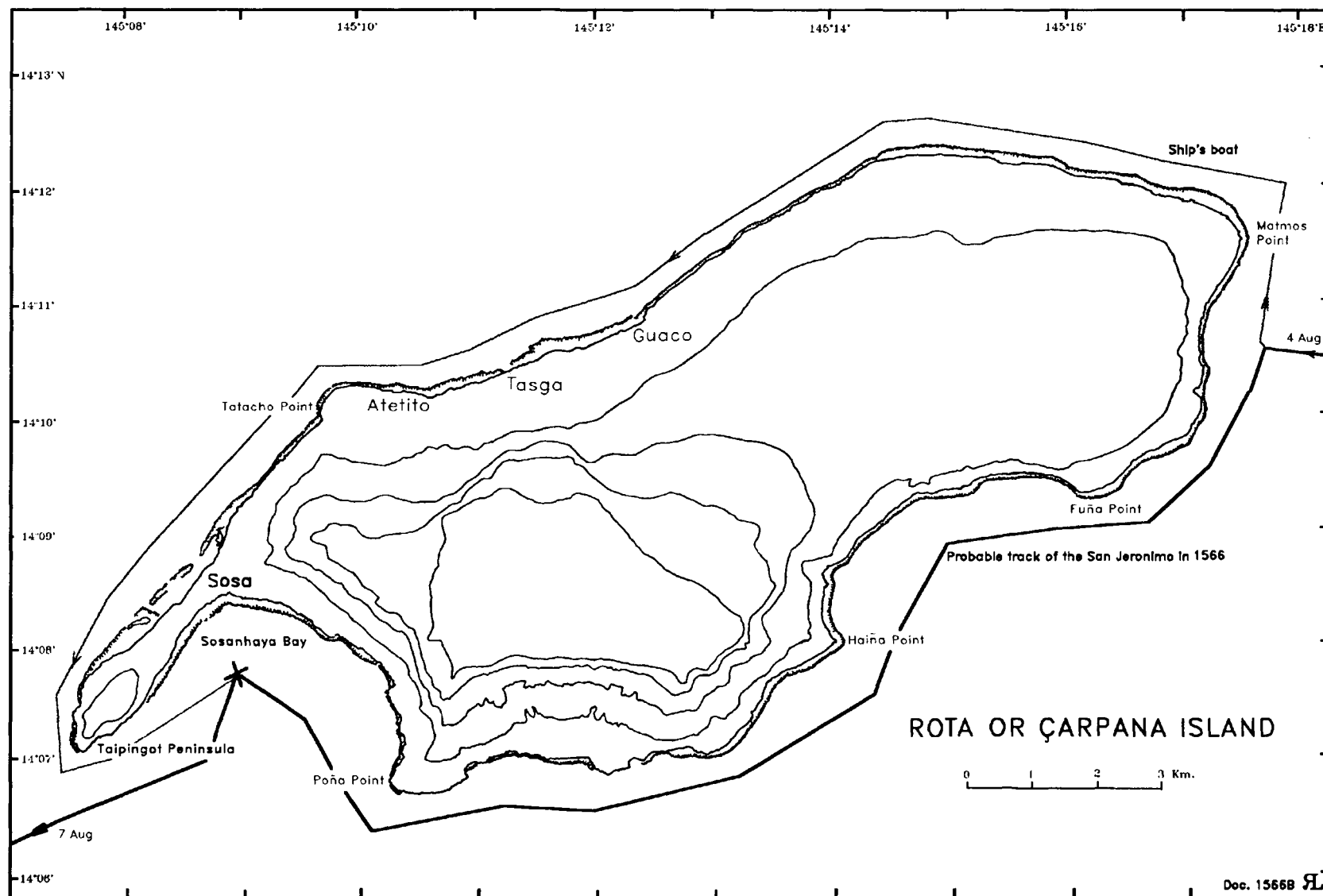
a deep-rooted hate for Lara for a misunderstanding they had while the Captain was alive. Santiago, beyond what a Corporal reported to him, to the effect that Lara with Morales and other sailors had dealt [together] saying that the voyage that Lope Martín had intended doing was for the greater service of God and of the King, not the present one. For this reason, the following were made prisoners: Lara, Morales, Gorjon and Juan Rodriguez, sailors, and after they had confessed, Lara was hanged; they despatched him with his shackles, as had been done to Mosquera, and they released the others. Morales was deprived of his post.

As they held a few persons as suspects, specially Morales, they were advised that Morales had said certain odious words, together they seized one soldier and Juan de Çaldivar, the clerk, and at the end of 4 days as prisoners, that is on the 1st of August, after they confessed, they hanged Morales and they were about to do the same to Juan de Çaldivar but I intervened and asked them to spare his life, and they took him back to jail with his companion. I did so, not out of love nor friendship because I did not have any, not because I thought him free of blame in the past either; rather, it was on account of the little authority that the incompetent judges had and because we were upon the stormy sea and God might get angry at us for so many unnecessary cruelties. If I got involved to prevent it, it was so that someone else with the proper title and with more jurisprudence would do them justice here [i.e. in Cebu], as it was in fact done later on to Çaldivar. Nevertheless, I was unable to take all the responsibilities away from those who had become cruel, I did take away this one, although as the barbarians that they were, they did not recognize it as such.

### [Stay at Rota]

On Sunday, 4th of August, we raised an island which is in 14° and about 8 leagues from that of Goan which is the one raised by your Lordship when he passed overthere on the way here. This island is high and having come close to it and not finding an anchorage, the boat went to one side of it and we with the ship went the other until we came to meet where we anchored, each of us having covered 6 leagues so that the whole island has a circumference of 12 leagues.<sup>1</sup> As we went coasting close to shore and looking for a port, on account of some squalls there was some risk involved, although not as much as the impatient pilot indicated as follows. As over 200 **proas** came out for water, coconuts, fish and fruits and came close so that we could give them in exchange some iron which they esteem so much among them for the necessity they have of it because they do not have any, therefore, the soldiers being anxious to see what they had brought not only on account of the strangeness and novelty of it, would all come up, and as the ship lacked ballast, the general outcome was that they made it list a little.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: It appears likely that their tracks were as shown on the accompanying figure. Rota is indeed at 14° in latitude and 8 leagues (30 miles) from Guam, although he over-estimates the size of Rota by about 1/3.



So, the pilot said a thousand unnecessary things to his own detriment as well as that of everyone else, for instance, that they [i.e. the natives] should be shooed away like flies with arquebus shots, meaning that they should be killed. As he was not the only inconsiderate man aboard, they would surely have done so except that someone intervened in time and thus nobody died.<sup>1</sup> However, when the poor ones saw the smoke and heard the noise they threw themselves overboard and returned to their proas. With some baskets which they carry they were protecting themselves as if they were shields. If they shoot at them with slugs, they rub themselves very quickly and they also rub their belly as a sign of friendship repeating many times the word “chamurri” which means “friends”. They employed many other endearments and contortions of the body to convince us to give them iron. However, that did not do them any good because they thrived little and we likewise.

They are well-formed and robust people [but] many of them are sick with the St. Lazarus disease [i.e. leprosy] which is probably caused by their not eating meat ever because they do not have any, except fish. They speak softly and femininely but the speech is very clear.

To speak now about the **proas**, one cannot stop talking about their great velocity, craftsmanship and lightness because in the whole universe I do not believe that there is a thing to equal them in nimbleness and swiftness. As your Lordship has characterized them, they look like “shuttle boats” and there is no horse more docile than they nor swifter; for instance, while we moved by one arquebus shot they would circle us six times so gracefully that it is not possible to do better. They have a counterweight on the windward side which is a pole outside the body of the proa, about 3 fathoms in length, which is fastened with lighter poles. They are very narrow underneath and wide above, [made] without any nail but stitched with cords and a few pegs, covered with red ochre instead of [caulked with] tar. There are some proas that are as big as a large frigate, pointed at both poop and prow between which there is no difference, because both parts are used for the same thing, because they make a prow out of the poop with the greatest ease in the world, because to turn about they simply exchange the sail. The sails are lateen ones made of very delicate matting. The masts are so slim and the riggings so fragile and as few as two Indians [are enough to] steer one whole frigate and they sail against the wind itself.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike many we have seen, they are a very barbarous people with little shame, as they go naked all over and the women do not cover anything other than their nature with the leaf from a tree<sup>3</sup> [although] they have and possess what to dress themselves with, because beyond the fine mats they have what they need to make very good cords;

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1 Ed. note: That person must have ordered the arquebuses to be shot in the air rather than at the natives climbing over the sides of the ship.

2 Ed. note: A sailor would simply have said that they sail close to the wind, not dead against it.

3 Ed. note: I imagine that tree to be a breadfruit tree.

all of these they have in abundance. They are a selfish people who give nothing freely, only out of self-interest.

Well then, the boat that went the other way around did not fail to suffer from the same "fruit" that affected the ship because they also killed more than 5 Indians who came out to them as they did to us. So, they came to where we were anchored at a flat point<sup>1</sup> which is very populated and located in the southwest side. This island is very populated because while we coasted it we saw the whole of it very occupied with houses along the beach and all of them full of people; the same thing was reported by the boat. Its main product and tree type is the [coconut] palm tree which abounds in such a quantity that they are like olive groves in the Algarve and apple orchards in Biscay.

As the fear of some treachery might happen was deep-rooted aboard the ship, we always went about on our guard and on the lookout. Thus, at daybreak, some of us remained on board with the pilot and the others stepped ashore. Although the Indians came out unarmed with a few things such as fruits, coconuts, and fish, as a recreation our men, because they lacked a good head [on their shoulders] abused them unduly because they killed over five of them and hanged one. They lodged themselves in a large house similar to a boat shed that could hold more than 300 men. They have a large number of these in which they keep their proas. They are very good and very well made. Certainly we should attribute to them a great vigor, given that they build so many without any iron tool except tools made of shells, stones and human rib bones.

As for the houses in which they dwell they are very neat and tidy inside and out, and even all around them. They live about one floor off the ground and moreover they build on top of stone columns. While we were here they had over 200 of their houses burned by our men, which was a pity.

They have rice, potatoes, bananas and ginger and many things to eat and fruits but not one kind of meat or birds. As they saw our cruelty, they then tried to do us harm with their weapons which are pointed sticks and slings. One of their customs consists in blowing in a sea shell like a horn and they carry a mat like a small flag.

We stayed here for 2-1/2 days. Then, the Wednesday following [7 August] at 2 [p.m.] we set sail whereupon the Indians of Goan, having heard about us, came with over 4 proas to trade but as they were informed by the natives [of Rota] they then went back to their island. We saw it as we passed by, according to the pilot.

At about this time, as in the past, there was some discontent on the part of Cucarella on account of the little attention paid to him by the owners of what was aboard the ship, specially by Rodrigo de Langle who applied to himself all the ownership and the command, thus unjustly usurpating the rights of Santiago and Enrique which so rightly belonged to them. He paid little attention to them as well as to those toward whom he had an obligation, specially regarding the food, although there was no lack of people to advise him to do otherwise and disapproved of the present [situation] by saying that such a time called for action, not words, he took little advantage [of the advice] because

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1 Ed. note: Taipingot Peninsula.

his barbarous and perverted nature did not admit advice. Rather, those who gave him advice were considered his enemies. Although I was one of those admitted in his company and circle of friends from the time the ship was taken over, I would do serious injury to the truth, now that I have the opportunity, to refuse to say something that is public and notorious. Many times he gave me an opportunity to renunciate the comradeship but by intercession of Santiago and because it seemed to me that I could prevent some unjust things by persevering and suffering many bestial things and preventing a few cruelties and unjust punishments. So, because I told him to control himself and to take time to look at things and think them out first, he detested me and held me in capital and mortal hate and enmity. For this reason, I much feared that he might kill me off guard and I was not fooled because one day, because Santiago had spoken to me, he took from each of us the armed arquebuses in order to kill us [because] he had told him not to speak to me. So, although we ate together we paid little attention to each other and with the great fear that, according to the rumors and appearances, we did not have a safe period as for a part of the whole voyage our adversary reigned as General and yours truly ran a great risk of dying from a death common aboard this ship and because they were saying that he communicated with some suspected persons, presumably he plotted to abscond, with the death of those whom he knows it is so.<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday, 14 August, they took away the weapons from all the soldiers who were below the poop deck. He felt sorry for this and gave satisfaction of his person but by marks that were later found it must have been true because he did not stop there as will be seen later. Surely such acts did not belong to his profession nor was he able to do it but as the devil is so subtle he usually has disciples in many professions.

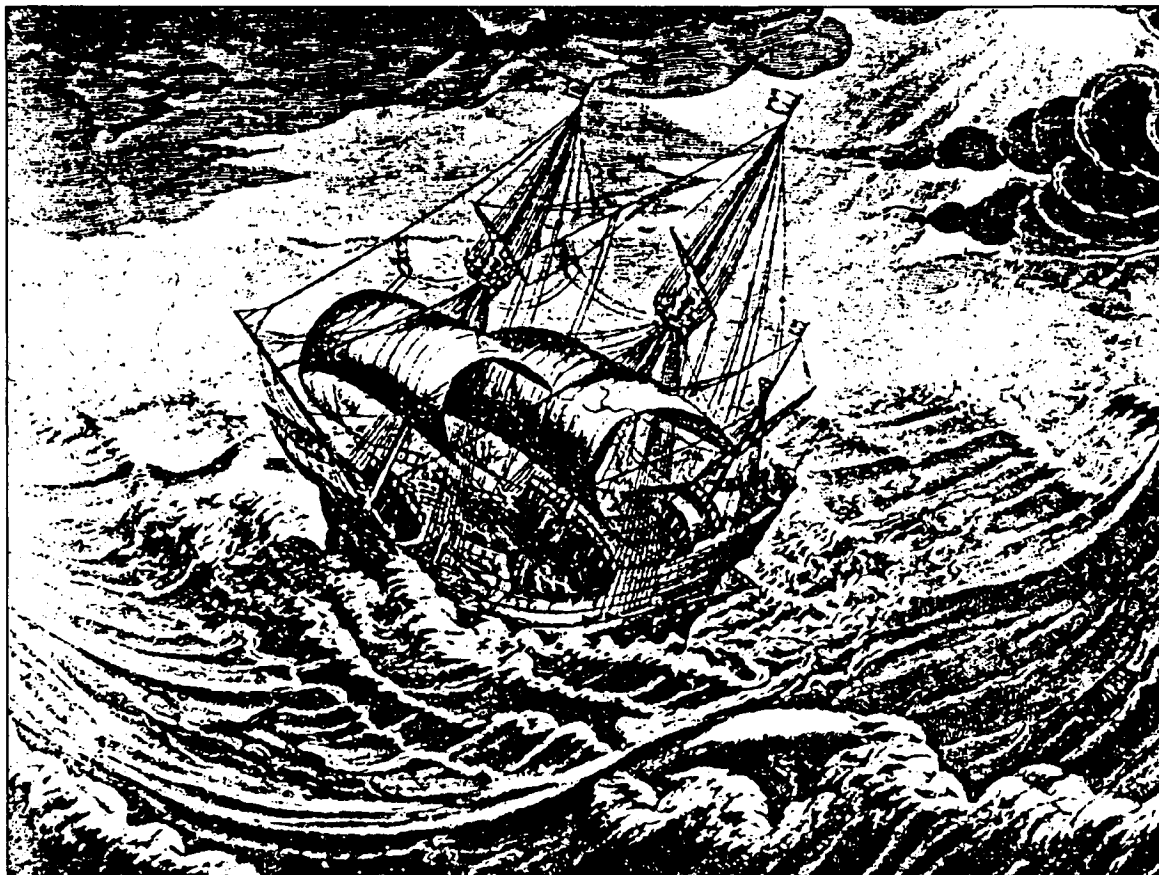
### **[The storm that lasted one month]**

As during these 7 days we were pushed by a reasonable breeze, we made a good headway of 200 leagues so that we had little more than 50 leagues to the first land of these Philippines. It pleased God, on account of our sins, to give us tradewinds although at first moderate, later with such fury, vigor and force that not only it made us soldiers, little used to the sea, so fearful but also the very sailors who are brought up on the sea and to such a degree that they were saying that they had never seen a storm so well established. Surely they were not wrong in saying so and for us to fear it, since they removed the topsails, topmasts and one of the two mizzen [sails]. As I am saying, the wind was so horrible and the sea so frightening that it grated on our nerves. However, nature was simply following its course because winter was at its peak in this land, according to what we know from experience.

Thus, it appeared that the land did not want to receive us denying us the sight of its presence and this not only to us but to its very own natives which were many varieties of birds, specially swallows that abound in this land. They pitted themselves against the

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Jumbled sentence in the original as well.



**A galleon like the San Jerónimo being buffeted by a storm.**

great force of the wind and in sight of us they perished and drowned miserably; some even surrendered themselves to us.

Well, this wind storm persisted for a good 30 days. For the first 20 days, we resisted well, against a cross-sea, refusing to turn and go back, as those people [i.e. the sailors] who had an urge to go forward rather than turn back, believing that the storm would calm down and they were fooling us. Before it began at this time we made another promise to our Lady of Consolation similar to the previous one, promising to make a sailor-type pilgrimage with as much devotion as we could and, a few days later, they alone collected alms again, this time for St. Lawrence with the shoes; they had enough to pay later on for a ceremony with the exposed host. However, God permitted that on account of our sins nature did not wish to give us a hand. Rather, it sped up so much that at the end of this period we were forced to turn back.

We did turn back but hesitantly and for a short time, as a dog that unwillingly goes back to hunt a second time on the same day. By now, the foresail was in tatters, looking more like a banner and of little use. We came into sight of the Ladrones but our luck was such that to bother us some more it gave us a contrary wind, i.e., a breeze favor-



able to continue our voyage [to the Philippines instead]. A little before we saw land, as we thought we could make it, they gave back the weapons to their owners.

Thus we turned back to continue our voyage but later on that same day after a short distance we met with a tradewind to make us go back to the Ladrones in such a way that as many as five times we travelled part of the route backward, at times forward. One fourth of the time, however, starting on the 13th of September which was the [autumnal] equinox<sup>1</sup> coinciding with the conjunction of the moon and for which reason we considered that the coming weather would be stable and steady, but a great change came on and the wind died down, firstly as we had sighted the land for the second time. By the way, the pilot said that the land was Goan because we were at the same latitude that his Lordship was when he came and noticed the great fertility, abundance of people and provisions, although they say that it is not as big nor half of what it looked to us and the trick may be this: they had been [only] on its south side and we on the northern side, and also it may be an island that lies between Goan and these [Philippine] islands and not be Goan at all. Having come within 4 leagues of it and seen it very well, they concluded that it is 70 leagues or more in circumference. It is a very pretty land in appearance with plains, mountains and a layout as high as the coast of New Spain from where we departed [i.e. near Acapulco]. Whatever it be [Goan or another], it is good and important and necessary that it be settled for a port-of-call and rest, not only for those coming from New Spain but also for those who will go from here to there; by taking advantage of the weather, it could be useful.<sup>2</sup> Finally, we sailed near it for more than two days without being able to reach it on account of the contrary winds and at the end, afterwards, we were given a very fresh breeze. This was the cause of so many sorrows and anxieties for the exhausted, dry and weakened bodies, in such a great need of water and some refreshments. Surely the sight of such a pretty island which could not be taken advantage of caused us much sorrow, specially since we had already tasted its products and above all its water which is so necessary to [sustain] human life. During the whole voyage, we came lacking and suffering from so many necessities, yet so many hardships were not enough because, even when the ration was set at 2 quarts [per day] with the sophisticated measure, for a long time the ration was cut to half a quart or less and the rest of the time to 1 quart and one day to 1/2 quart. Hence many people would resort to placing their legs inside buckets of salt water, something they did for a long time. Water was so precious that if one had had 500 ducats he would have

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1 Ed. note: They were still using the Julian calendar which by this time had slipped about 9 days behind universal time. This situation was corrected when the Gregorian calendar was adopted in October 1582.

2 Ed. note: Needless to say, they did see Guam a second time as there are no islands between Guam and Samar, although they grossly over-estimated its size. However, their report may have been responsible for the appearance of an imaginary island west of Guam on some charts, which persisted for a very long time. Also, the suggestion that the return route should go via Guam was quickly adopted but just as quickly abandoned after it led to the shipwreck of the *San Pablo* in 1568.

given them up to satisfy himself just once. In times of lesser need, it happened that one shirt was given for just one quart of water.

As discord, or to say it properly, as our adversary [i.e. the devil] who came with such a grab over this ship, always used its effects to put some [distorted] ideas into the heads of the men as well as some rebellious, ambitious, impertinent and unjust ones, even giving an urge to foretell the future. For instance, there were found some vain prophets to place a doubt whether we would find the Governor and the camp here. There were even some persons who wished otherwise, the better to pretend to become leaders, posts very contrary to their profession, as they were incapable of such posts. Consequently, the heads that we had at the time were somewhat vainglorious, specially that of Rodrigo de Langle, who remotely and unduly usurped the two comrades who had some rights and due ownership of it given that they deserved it more, but he wanted the command for himself and no other. For instance, about the circumstances surrounding the absconding with the ship, I always heard him say "I did" and never "we did", because in such matters he is very fond of using the first person singular, never the plural, as he does not even realize what he could gain from that.

Finally, his vain mind could no longer suffer that the comrades would intervene in anything except himself. For this reason, inasmuch as the last time, while going with full sail, without any reason at all, he had all the sails lowered and came to find out why they had elected him, and even they should swear him in as leader until Cebu, that otherwise he did not want to sail but to sit down and, as he said it, die there. The whole company was forced to dissuade him and they freely did it, in view of the fact that it was convenient, if only because there was no-one else to bring us. That was also the real reason why nothing that he asked could possibly be denied him. Thus, we suffered him, for this as well as for many other [acts] he did and said about the soldiers. However, for the reason given, we all gave him the ears of a merchant<sup>1</sup>, as he had reduced us to [the level of] a negro or one of those Indians that we brought along.

Finally, we turned back for the last time to pursue our voyage on Sunday, 15 September, leaving behind the said island [of Guam] after first having realized that the breezes had finally come into their own and that to keep sailing in that direction [i.e. eastward] would simply result in the decrease of our supply of food and water, that it was better to resume our voyage. In order to convince him of this, they said that there were about 4 more [butts] of water than there were, because as it appeared later on, there were not more than 4 butts and if there had been they must have spilled and were not drunk. Luckily, the water that was falling from the sky was sufficient and always sufficed to that missing [in the butts], otherwise we would have perished without a remedy. The diligence applied to collect this rain water could not have been greater, as our life depended upon it. The people armed themselves with blankets as best as one could, so much so that it looked like the market of San Hipolito. As for the water that would

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1 Ed. note: They had to show complacence.

slip through here and fall upon the deck, it was not lost either. It so happened that they did not give any ration for more than 3 days to those who collected it.

As for the food ration, it was very little what they gave because it was not more than 6 ounces of biscuit and a handful of beans and some days not more than 4 ounces of biscuit and 4 of flour from the meager stock that came and not one other thing except fish and jerked beef, hard to swallow without water. Bacon and cheese had run out, they said, but it appears that the opposite was true and that he carried enough to gain the goodwill of many, and the same with the biscuit. God forgive him, since he took it away from those whom, despite so many miseries, Jesus Christ was sustaining them all in reasonable disposition.

That was the way we were when, on the third day, we were becalmed. This calm lasted for another three days, without rain, with a very great heat and thirst. It was such a pity to see ourselves upon such an expanse of clear water without being able to take advantage of it. Some very great complaints were heard against nature for having created such useless, salted water that made the mouth water.

On the third day [i.e. 21 September] the breeze returned but it was weak and varying from one direction to another mixed with showers which finally lasted for another three days at the end of which it jumped to the south, brisk, very furious and stiff, causing very terrible and anxious swells and seas which beat upon the ancient little ship that came in such a sorry state<sup>1</sup> that we feared she might open up because she leaked very much. The excessive seas shook her ribs so much so that the cutwater got loose; that is why it came later tied with a cable. On the other hand, we had the usual serious sickness of coming without ballast and full of people above, so they came very dangerously always, [the ship] not being able to suffer sails and, as the wind made it necessary to tack, she listed as a result, so much so that we could not stand up nor even find a place to sleep in except tied up with pieces of rope. With all of this there was no-one to be found to lower any of the sails because we were worn out and with reason because the day that land was sighted, there was no more than one butt of water for the 136 persons aboard.

At this time, three days before we sighted land, as they could not conceal their intentions, specially as they were old ones, the same ones that I have mentioned before, it came out of the very person who was feared, they say that he proposed to kill Santiago and Enrique with others according to their will, and to tie up the pilot in order to go God knows where. This came to the ears of Loarca who, because he revealed it became the aggressor in a very high risk of dying from a violent death while he was being held prisoner with three others who, however, being not guilty, were released two days later, leaving the above-mentioned ringleader to remain a prisoner until Cebu was almost reached. He was assisted by some go-betweens who were beneficial to him, as they had been to Çaldivar.

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1 Ed. note: The San Jerónimo was 18 years old and was condemned after reaching Cebu.

### [Arrival at the Philippines]

This wind lasted for 5 natural days at the end of which we saw the extremely-desired land of these Philippines which was the island of Caobos or Tandaya [Samar] on the 1st of October in late afternoon. A short time later, in the lee of the land, the wind died down.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, although we kept on sailing for more than one day to touch at it, we were unable to do so. Finally, the currents that are very strong pushed us into a channel at a latitude of 13° where there are 4 volcanoes [in sight]. Although we do not know if they are sulphurous<sup>2</sup>, they are very big. It was nice just to look at them with their foothills that reveal such a great fertility, with the many other islands that are in the vicinity. They are big, very high, mountainous lands with large forests, rivers and streams as many as you want.

Finally we anchored after we had passed the channel, under 20 leagues this way, at an islet 4 leagues in circumference, on St. Francis Day [4 October] in the evening. It is 45 leagues from this camp.<sup>3</sup> The next morning, as we were coasting, the boat was lowered in order to go and get some water. Although they found some, having fattened themselves while rampaging the land and pillaging it, the boat did not return until the night. By this time we were anchored and, as there were then no more water aboard the ship, on this day we suffered terribly from thirst, because there was no more than 1/4 of a quart of mud from the bottoms of the barrels and the heat was very great. In addition we anchored various times and in weighing the anchor and other exercises that came up caused double thirst and fatigue. So it was that some men, no longer able to suffer, drank some sea water and others came close to expire. One more day and without a doubt some would have died.

At this island we remained 7 days [4-11 October]. Here we took in much water and ballast, rice, pigs, goats, chickens, beyond other products. There were two forts on two points. Our men attacked one of them. During the attack, although they defended themselves with valor, they killed with arquebuses without resistance over 15 of them; this was as unnecessary as at the Ladrones, and even more so. After these deaths, the rest with the women fled with whatever they could carry, specially the gold. What was left over, they ransacked, although they got little out of it because they were not practical and did not know the value of things. If they had known it they would have gotten more but they did not pay attention except to what is notorious to us, such as some gold, clothes, porcelain and choice pieces.

While at this island, Santiago being with the majority of the men ashore, a sailor with few scruples, in order to falsely ingratiate himself, told him that certain soldiers were planning to kill him. As he believed it easily, without any restrain, he came to the ship and repeated this to the pilot who was not pleased at all and he said that he had to hang at least 7 or 8 and to remove the weapons from the rest. If he could have he would

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1 Ed. note: The wind was southerly and they were north of the northern tip of Samar.

2 Ed. note: That is, active or dormant.

3 Ed. note: Probably Capul Island.

have, because he was so blood-thirsty but he did not dare begin it because he realized full well that the past was no more, when it had been necessary to agree with him in everything to remain in his good graces; on this occasion, he made enemies out of some of his friends.

At the end of the 7 days that we were at this island, we decided not to delay our arrival any more and, intending to sail in the early morning, we set sail [instead] that night. After the boat was loaded up with 18 persons, soldiers and sailors, it went ahead to look for something to steal with the intention to return later but, they took liberties ashore. Although we were awaiting them, thinking that they would come back later, they were left behind and went about foolishly and lost until they reached a few villages at peace where they had letters of friendship and safe-conduct<sup>1</sup> which the natives took with them when they came out, albeit armed. As soon as the signature of your Lordship was seen by our men, it was welcomed with infinite contentment and placed on top of the head<sup>2</sup> as if to show that they would obey it. This was understood by the natives who received them very happily and immediately. They threw away their weapons to the ground and gave them a lot to eat and drink. The natives themselves brought them to this island over 17 days after we made it.

As for us, since we were less than 4 leagues from this island, albeit over 27 from the camp, on the NW side of it, we saw close to the coast of an island a sail about which there was no lack of opinions whether it was our boat or some [native] junk or something else. So, we hove to and within one [hour] would have been upon it and it upon us. As we saw it coming, we understood to have ascertained it to be our boat and resumed our course with short sails. However, as the boat, although not ours, had seen us and noticed the ship, it considered that we might be Portuguese. So, it began approaching us from behind the poop to avoid being injured [by our guns]. This went on that way on both parts until it came within a cross-bow shot and we still thought it was our boat but it was not so because it was the boat of the patache **San Juan** aboard which was Captain Juan de la Isla with certain people coming from some towns. Then we recognized him but he, always from behind the poop, asking where the galleon came from, who was the captain, and who was the pilot. As he saw such an unusual spectacle he was distrustful but finally he came up.

With this coming and the knowledge that the Governor and all were well, we received incomparable contentment. He was begged by the Captain to take us and not to leave the ship. Thus, he did so and sent his boat [ahead] to the camp with the mail.

This chance meeting had mysteriously been arranged by God, as so many other events during this voyage. Otherwise, we would surely have suffered many more hardships because the pilot had not recognized the island and as we were to understand later it would have been easy to have a repeat of the past evil deeds and cruelties or simply to get lost—which would have been a minor evil—and sail around for more than a

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1 Ed. note: This was probably at Masbate Island visited some time earlier by some of Legazpi's men.

2 Ed. note: As a mark of respect.

month. However, as the boat with the mail arrived at the camp ahead of us, it is not possible to describe the contentment and joy felt by his Lordship on down to the smallest person. It was so great that some cried while others laughed out of pleasure. Some, for lack of horses, ran on foot and, forgetting old hatreds, flocked together, ran the church bells and the other musical instruments. As for the religious, they gave thanks to the Lord in the church where his Lordship went as usual but with no less devotion and more joy, whose good intention was to preach the holy gospel in this land and prayers so devout it is hard to believe and worthy of imitation. Through hardships, controversies as well as through times in which human failings such as we have seen, he has been a go-between for us before Almighty God. Well, He has brought us over, as I believe and understand, divinely and mysteriously and in accordance with His mercy. It did not happen naturally because nature was against us and through Him we have yielded to it against His will, having come miraculously in the air in 68 days from the Ladrones and in 5 months and a half from Acapulco.

With Master-of-Camp Mateo del Sanz whom your Lordship sent to us then, with 2 dozen soldiers, whom we met 2 leagues from the port, so that the ship would come in more safely, finally we came into this camp and settlement of Cebu on Tuesday, the 15th of October, at 10 in the morning where we were welcomed with a salvo of guns and arquebuses that were fired on one side and the other. We all jumped ashore and one by one came to kiss the hands of your Lordship who received us well and benignly but not as happy as he would have been upon learning that we came without our Captain whose death caused much sorrow, also the other bad deaths and hardships which we had gone through. In the end, all went to take up their indicated lodging.

At the end of a few days, the Governor ordered the Master-of-Camp to hold an inquiry about the events surrounding the San Jerónimo affair and, as a result of the information given, Juan de Çaldivar, the ship's clerk, was garroted. This done, the General ordered an assembly to be held in which he gave a very good speech, giving to understand our lack of discipline and bad works and above all the death of the Captain and his son, blaming a lot their cruel killers, that he thought they must have suffered much on the way here, that they had shown very well their good zeal in the service of their King who would give them great favors. He, in the royal name, would do likewise in time as the land was apt for this although at present, being a new and strange land, we could not but suffer some hardships, as we were not yet familiar with its many things, etc. I omit the other things so as to avoid stretching this report. He said it better than I can relate here. With this speech, he consoled the people a lot and in conclusion he pardoned all those who might be guilty, in the name of His Majesty. Immediately afterwards we swore an oath to once again submit ourselves to his dominion. Given that both captaincies here were somewhat reduced in number and because we were too few to form another captaincy, he ordered the men distributed, as I have said, between

the two captaincies except for 4 or 5 who received the favor of being admitted as his gentlemen.<sup>1</sup>

That was the end of this galleon affair. As for her, she was ran aground because she was no longer part of this life but a mass of mud, so rotten that it horrified those who were here and they saw clearly that God had brought us miraculously aboard her.<sup>2</sup>

...  
Glory be to God for everything and may His holy Catholic faith be propagated in these parts. Amen.

Made at Cebu on the 25th of July of 1567.

Your servant who kisses the hands of your Grace,

Juan Martinez.

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1 Ed. note: Someone like this writer who was after all a common soldier could only have become part of a bodyguard, unless he was a disgraced gentleman in the first place.

2 Ed. note: There follows a diary of the major events that occurred in the Philippines from October 1566 to July 1567. One item is of special interest because it refers to the possible determination of the longitude of the settlement of Cebu. On the night of the 27th of October 1566, the pilot Jaime [Martinez] Fortún observed an eclipse of the sun which began at exactly 10:45 p.m. but unfortunately the end could not be determined because the clouds moved in. I wonder if the astronomers in Spain ever drew any conclusion from this information.

