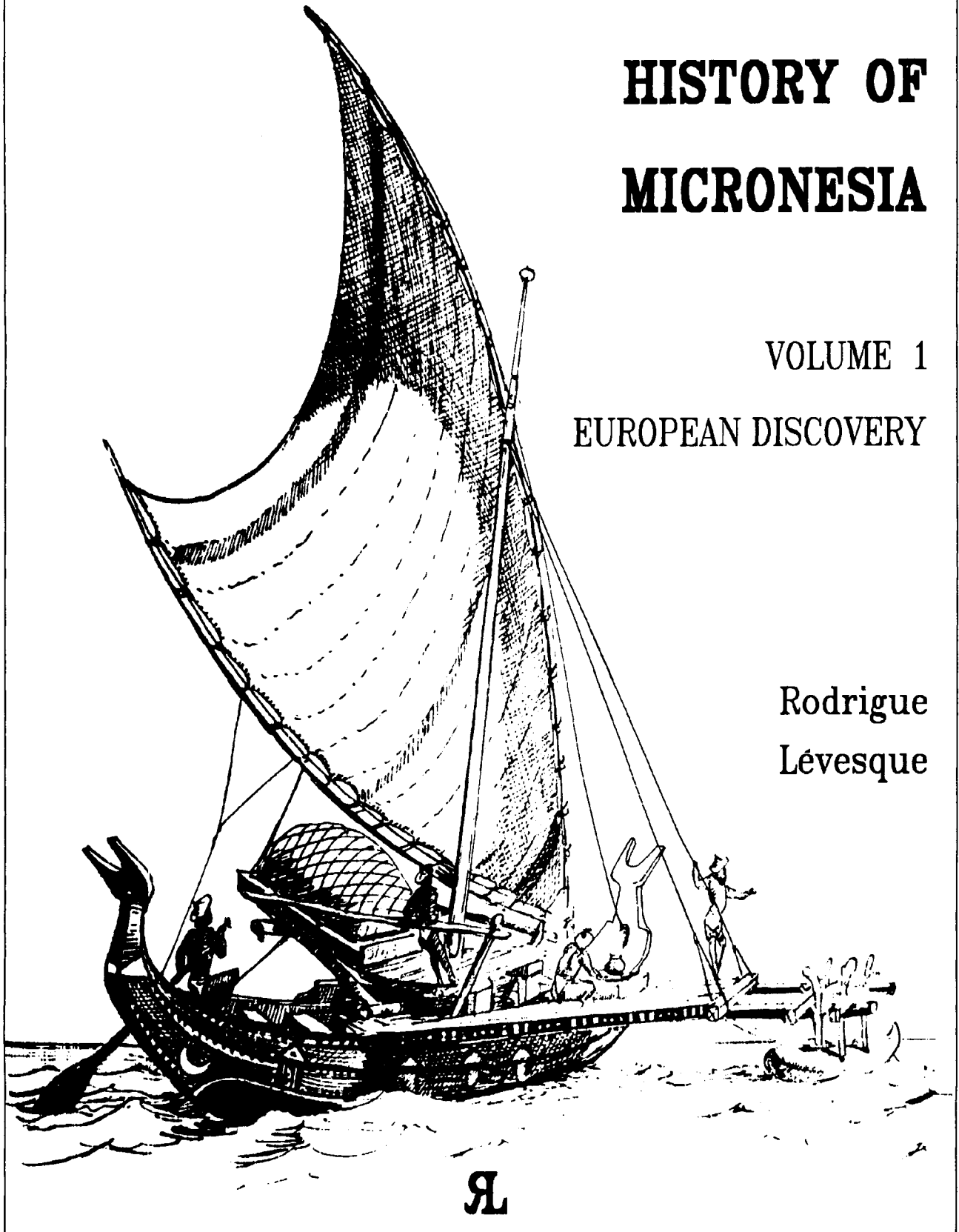


HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

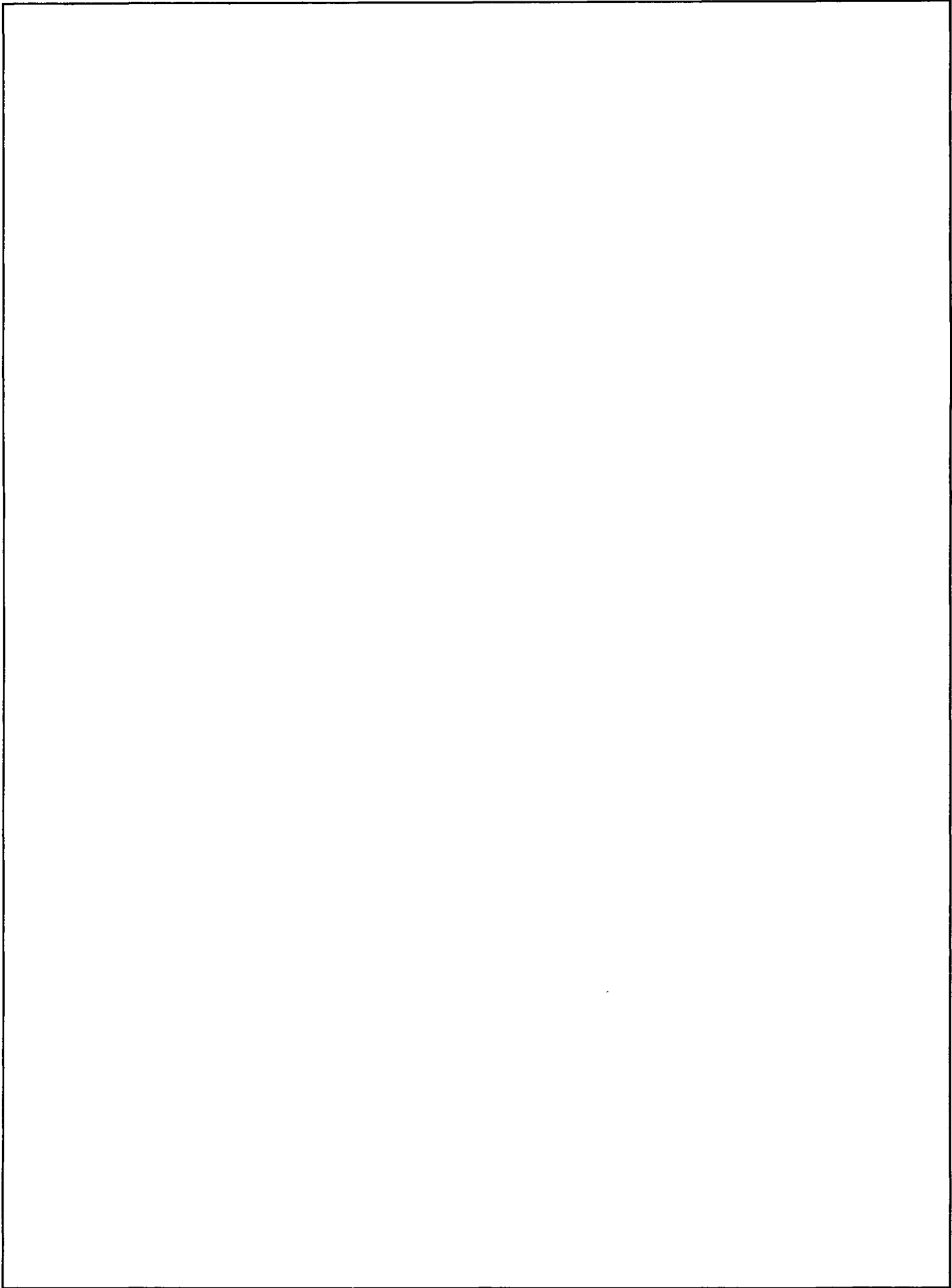
VOLUME 1

EUROPEAN DISCOVERY

Rodrigue
Lévesque



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HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 1—EUROPEAN DISCOVERY 1521-1560

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque

**LES ÉDITIONS
LÉVESQUE**



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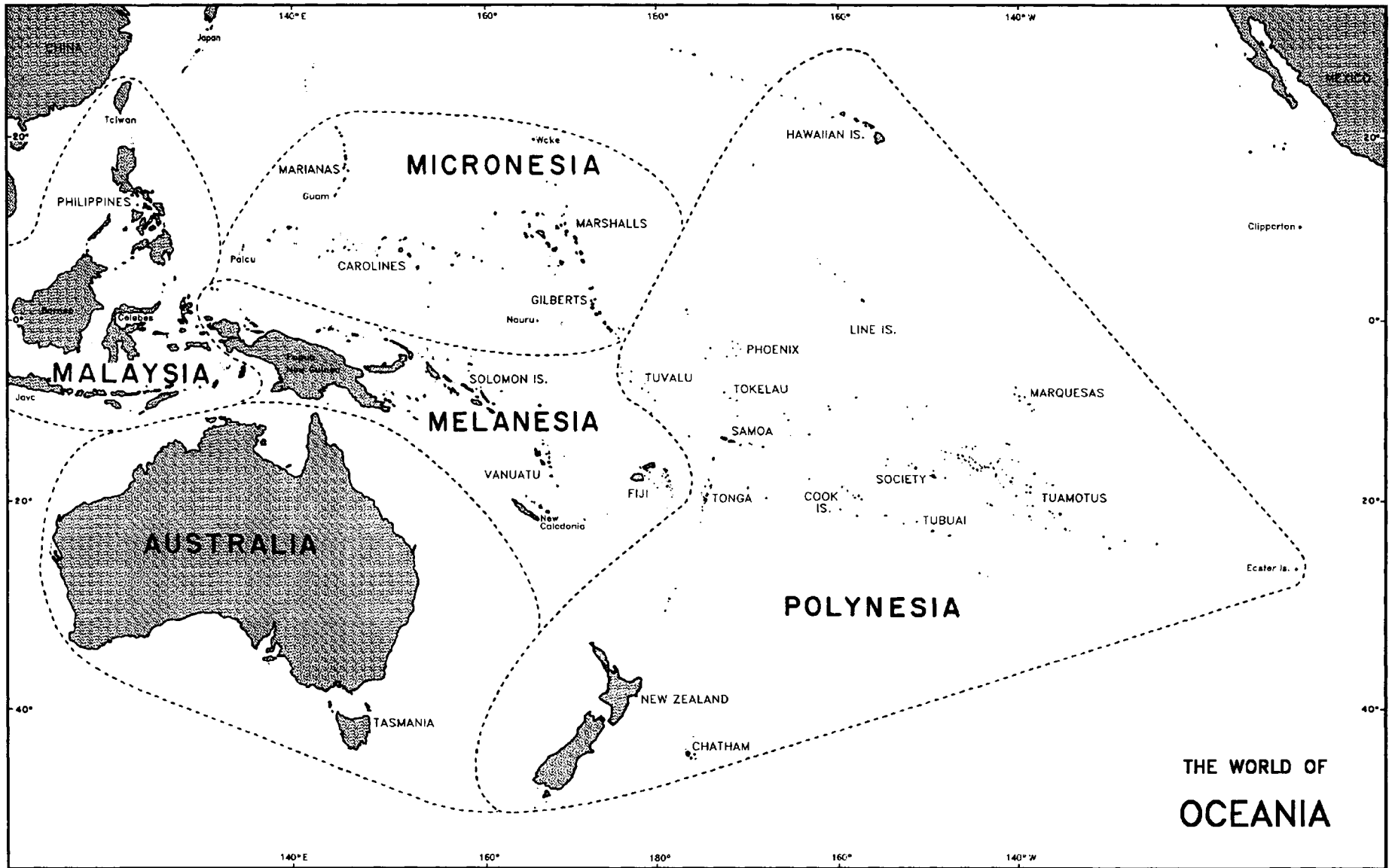
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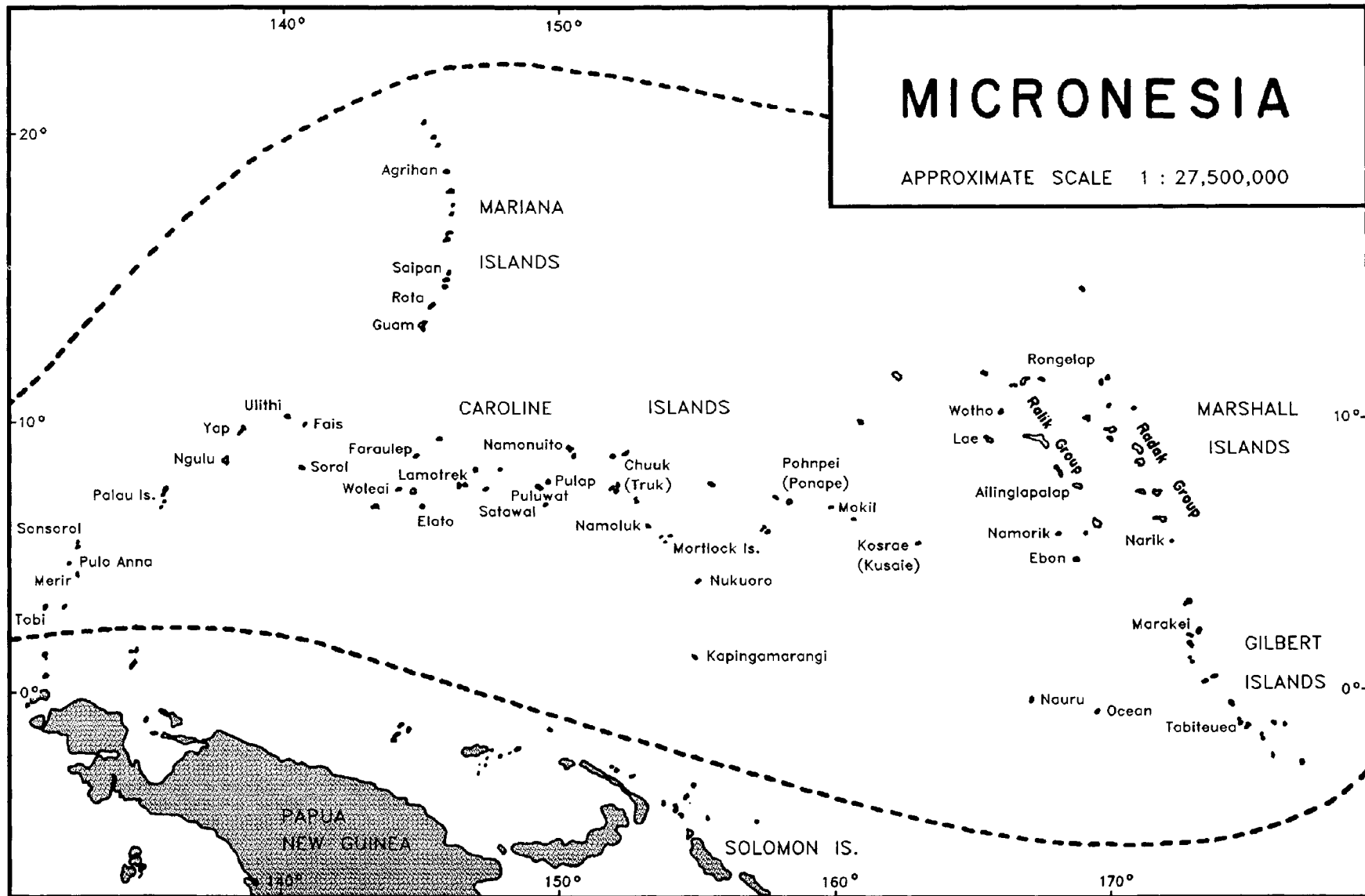
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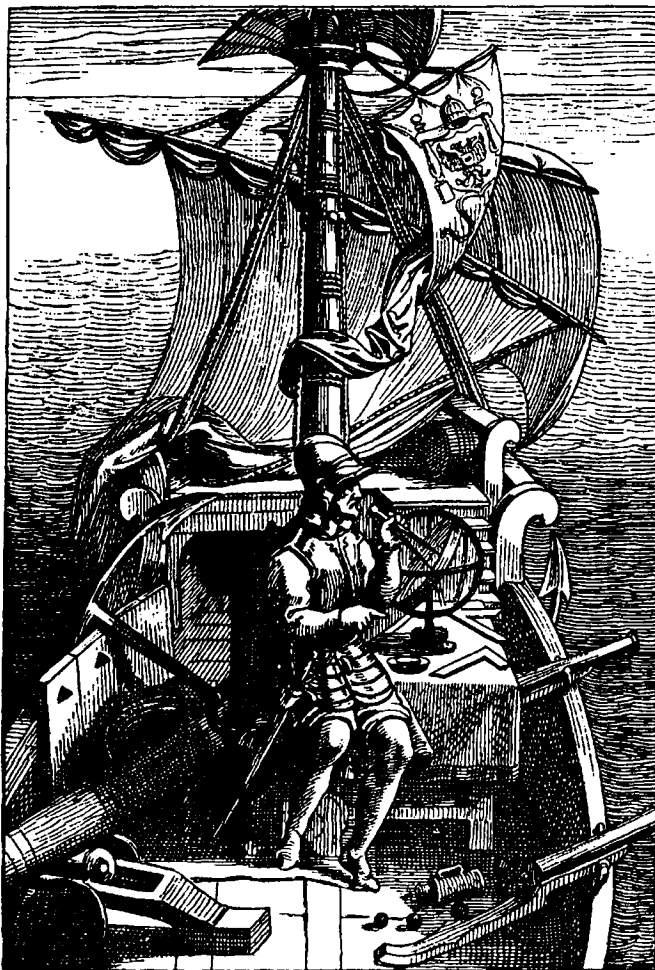
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit magazine, Rome).
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit archives, Rome).
ASAO	Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania.
BM	British Museum/Library, London.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B&R	Blair & Robertson's series: The Philippine Islands.
ca.	Circa (Latin for "about" or "approximately").
CCSF	Cross-Cultural Survey Files, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
CIMA	Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
FBG	Filipiniana Book Guild, Manila.
G&E	Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony [= Kiribati & Tuvalu].
GPO	Government Printing Office, Washington.
HMS	His [British] Majesty's Ship.
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy.
JPH	Journal of Pacific History, Canberra.
JPS	Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, N.Z.
Laval	Laval University Library, Québec.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MARC	Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
MBU	Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar (All documents moved to MN)
MCF	Microfilm.
MHA	Marine Historical Association, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut.
MMB	Mercedarias Misioneras de Berriz (Mercedarian Sisters of Berriz, Vizcaya, Spain).
MN	Museo Naval, Madrid.
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (of Issoudun, France).
M/V	Motor vessel.

NYPL	New York Public Library.
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Franciscans).
OMCap	Ordo Minorum Capuchinorum (Capuchins).
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
OP	Ordo Praedicatorum (Dominicans).
ORSA	Ordo Recollectorum Sancti Augustini (Recollects).
OSA	Ordo Sancti Augustini (Augustinians).
OSF	Order of St. Francis.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
PCCA	Palau Community Action Agency.
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, ANU.
PRO	Public Records Office, London.
PSIC	Pacific Scientific Information Center, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
RAN	Royal Australian Navy.
RN	Royal [British] Navy.
SJ	Societas Jesu (Jesuits).
SMS	His Imperial [German] Majesty's Ship.
SS.CC.	Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus).
STM	"Ships Through Micronesia" [a book in this series]
TNL	The National Library, Manila.
TTPI	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (formerly a part of Micronesia).
UH	University of Hawaii (Sinclair Library), Honolulu.
USCC	United States Commercial Company (1946 Economic Survey of Micronesia).
UNDP	United Nations Development Program, New York.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris.
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USN	U.S. Navy [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USS	U.S. Ship.
UST	University of Santo Tomás, Manila.
UTK	University of Tokyo.
YC	Yen-ching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
?	Information missing, wanted, or not available.
(?)	Information given is doubtful; confirmation needed.



THE WORLD OF OCEANIA





Magellan, aboard his flagship *Trinidad*, discovered the Marianas in 1521. Ferdinand Magellan was born Fernão de Magalhães in Sabrosa, Portugal. He went to India in 1505 with the first Viceroy. In 1510, he may have been one of three captains sent by Albuquerque to discover the Moluccas. He discovered some islands 600 leagues beyond Malacca (perhaps the Philippines), while his friend Francisco Serrão was shipwrecked in the Moluccas.

After his return to Portugal in 1512, Magellan received some correspondence from Serrão which led him to develop the project to find the “western route” to the Moluccas. Unable to obtain financing in Portugal, Magellan moved to Spain and presented his ideas to the Council of the Indies in 1518. The project was approved.

A fleet of five ships was prepared and left Spain in September 1519. After discovering the strait that bears his name, Magellan crossed the Pacific Ocean in March 1521.

By discovering the Philippines from the east, Magellan was probably the first man to have travelled around the world. However, he was killed by natives in a battle near Cebu, and the first circumnavigation was to be achieved by Sebastian Elcano, in the ***Victoria***, the only ship of Magellan’s fleet that made it back to Spain, in September 1522.

Foreword

“La verdad es el alma y la esencia de la historia.” [The soul and essence of history is the truth].
Martín Fernández de Navarrete, in vol. iv of his *Colección de los viajes*, 1837.

Origins of this publishing project.

Following World War II, the Pacific Science Board met in Honolulu to discuss conservation in Micronesia. The conservation of historical monuments was the prime interest of Edwin H. Bryan, Jr. He made the following statement to the conference, one that impressed me many years later, and one which I think should be lifted out of an obscure report and repeated here:

“...By careful research, it should be possible to preserve the memory of distinguished natives, discoveries, missionaries, and other persons and events, for the education and inspiration both of natives of the islands and visitors to their shores. Basic to such work, and an outstanding need in Micronesia, is the collecting of historical data and the compilation of an accurate and extensive record of the history of the islands—of distinguished natives, discoveries, missionary enterprises, commercial activities, and administrative efforts. Such a history, or at least a simplified version of it, should be published, with translations as necessary, so that the people of the islands can know, appreciate, and be proud of their past, and be better prepared to cope with problems of the future.”¹

I could not have expressed it better myself. As a result of my first visit to Micronesia in 1981, I acquired much sympathy for Micronesians and have been watching their efforts at political self-determination ever since. Micronesia has finally come of age.

When I undertook to collect and publish an extensive historical record, I intended to do so in the best European tradition by compiling primary and contemporaneous sources whenever possible, and not simply translate secondary, tertiary, or even later published sources. I have therefore collected all over the world, and arranged chronologically, a vast amount of printed works and unpublished manuscripts. All categories of writers will be represented—from the Popes to the humblest missionaries, from Kings to their lowest officials, civil and military. They take the form of book excerpts, letters,

1 Statement made on 19 April 1948, by Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., of the Honolulu Office of the Pacific Science Board, on the occasion of a conference held there under the auspices of the National Research Office, Washington. Report compiled by Harold J. Coolidge.

reports, narratives, such as logbooks and diaries, etc. Many of these documents will be made accessible for the first time to English-speaking readers.

It is my sincere hope that Micronesians yet unborn will one day derive as much knowledge and understanding upon reading these documents, as I have myself while collecting and publishing them.¹

Further comments on sources.

I consider **primary sources** to be those written or dictated by eyewitnesses and participants in events; most of those are therefore unpublished, were found in the national archives of several countries, and exist in about 10 different languages. **Secondary sources** were written by Government officials and national historians who used the primary sources as references; some remain in the form of manuscripts, but many have been published in limited editions that are now found in the rare book divisions of the world's major research libraries. **Tertiary sources** are those historical accounts based on earlier published histories. Consequently, I have made an effort to go back as far as possible to the oldest and most authentic references, written in the original language of each author.

Since the European discovery of Micronesia was mostly a Spanish and Portuguese effort, the published sources to its earliest history must come from rare books such as those in the following list:²

Primary sources:

Martín Fernández de Navarrete's *Colección de los viages*;
 José Sánchez Garrigós' *Colección general de documentos sobre las Islas Filipinas*;
 José Toribio Medina's *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile*;
 The Lisbon Academy of Sciences' *Alguns documentos*.

Secondary sources:

António Galvão's *Tratado dos descobrimentos*;
 Bartolomé Leonardo y Argensola's *Historia de las Islas Malucas*;
 João de Barros' *Asia*;
 Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas' *Historia de las Indias*;
 Antonio de Herrera's books, e.g. *Décadas de Indias*; *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*; *Hechos de los Castellanos*;
 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India*;
 Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's *De orbe novo*;

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- 1 The bibliographical details are given at the beginning of each document or chapter, and at the end of each volume. A full bibliography (already compiled) will be published, with a consolidated index and some reference tables, at the end of the series. The total number of volumes in the series cannot be predicted accurately at this time. This series will be **sold by subscription** to institutions and individuals. Information on each volume as it becomes available, will be sent to those who register with the publisher for this purpose, without obligation.
 - 2 See the bibliography for details.

Gian Battista Ramusio's *Viaggi*;
 Gaspar Correia's *Lendas da India*.

Tertiary sources:

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*,¹
 Francisco López de Gomara's *Historia general de Indias*;
 Manuel de Faria e Sousa's *Asia portuguesa*;
 Fr. José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de Indias*;
 Fr. Antonio de San Roman's *Historia general de la India oriental*;
 José Martínez de la Fuente's *Compendio de las historias*;
 Fr. Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum*, etc.

A concise historical background.

By definition, the prehistory of Micronesia is a documentary blank. However, some clues can be obtained from other sciences, mainly archaeology, anthropology, and linguistics. The documented history of Micronesia really begins with Columbus, not Magellan, because Columbus was the first to set out in search of a new world. As a result of his voyages, there came the demarcation of the globe between the Spanish and the Portuguese—officially done by the Pope—and Magellan's voyage. If it had not been for Magellan, however, the Philippines and Micronesia would have become Portuguese territory, and would eventually have become Dutch, like the Moluccas, the famed spice islands.

After discovering the coasts of Africa, the Portuguese reached India in 1498. In December 1511, Governor Albuquerque dispatched some vessels in search of the spice islands. Among the adventurers who reached them in 1512 was one Francisco Serrão, a friend of Magellan, who was himself a Portuguese navigator. Serrão's letters to Magellan were at the origin of the latter's idea for his project to discover the western route to the Moluccas.²

One year after the Portuguese reached the Moluccas, the Spanish discoveries in the West Indies had advanced to the point where Balboa first laid eyes on the great South Sea (in 1513), an ocean that was soon to be named Pacific by its real discoverer, Magellan, in 1521.

Only three out of the five ships of the Magellan Expedition made it into the Pacific. Only one, the **Victoria**, completed the first voyage around the world. Since Magellan had been killed in the Philippines, the captain of the **Victoria**, Sebastian Elcano, became recognized officially as the first man around the world.

1 Partly a secondary source, when he quotes Pigafetta, Urdaneta and other eyewitnesses.

2 Serrão was to remain in the Moluccas until his death which occurred just a few months before Magellan reached the Philippines. The letters he had received from Magellan were appropriated by Portuguese officials, and his own letter which Magellan had carried with him, were similarly seized from the ship **Trinidad** in 1522. This correspondence was sent to Lisbon where it was seen by the historian Barros. However, they are presumed to have been destroyed in the great earthquake and subsequent fire that ravaged Lisbon in 1775.

Although the King of Spain subsequently sold his rights to the Moluccas—to finance his wars as Holy Roman Emperor—this fact did not deter him from sending more expeditions into the Pacific Ocean. The other major expeditions covered by this volume are those led by Loaysa (1520), Saavedra (1527), and Villalobos (1542).

Some ships came directly from Spain, and others departed from the west coast of New Spain (Mexico). Our first volume deals with this first phase of the European discovery of Micronesia, from 1521 to 1560. The Villalobos expedition was essentially an American enterprise as the ships were built in America and for the most part equipped there. It was commanded and guided by men who lived in the New World.¹ It was only natural, therefore, for other men from the New World to keep their interest in Micronesia, up to the present times.

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, February 1992.

1 It was Villalobos, not Magellan, who first laid claim to a part of Micronesia for Spain. His predecessors had simply sailed past the islands of Micronesia.

Introduction

The prehistory of Micronesia—Some milestones

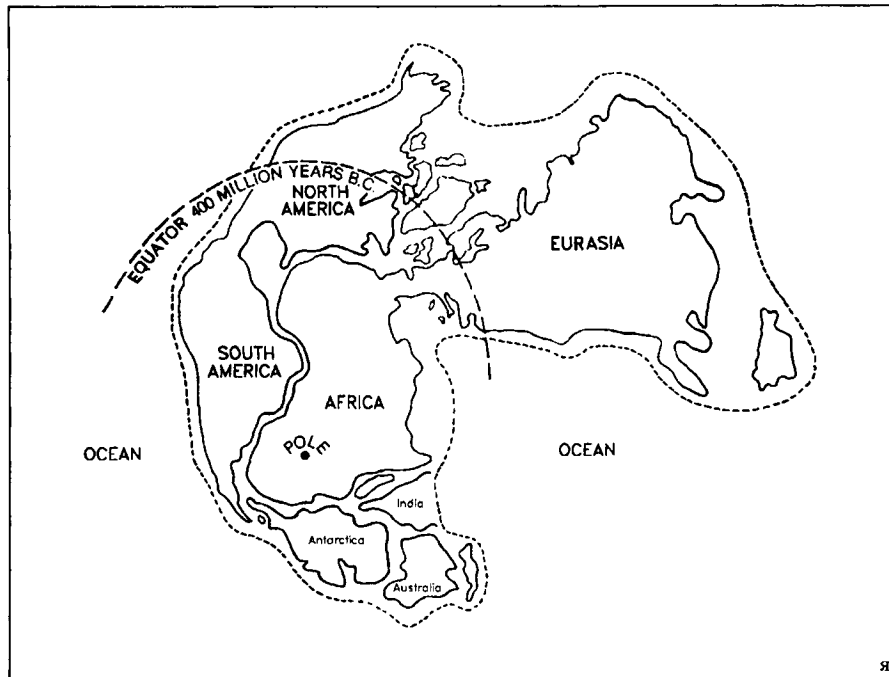
Gondwana or Pangæa, the super-continent, and the continental drift theory.

What was the earth like over 400 million years ago? We humans will never know for sure, but 20th-century geologists and other scientists have come up with some ideas, the most interesting of which is that of continental drift.

The first scientist to propose this theory, based on his observations of the close fit of the coastlines of Africa and South America, was Alfred Wegener, a German meteorologist. In 1915, he proposed that there was a mass of geological evidence for the theory that a single super-continent was at the origin of the earth, and that it had broken up into pieces, or plates, which then drifted upon the primeval ocean over millions of years to reach their present location. He named this super-continent Gondwana.¹ Its breakup was due to massive undersea volcanic upheaval, similar to the one that had produced the super-continental land mass in the first place. The breakup of the super-continent created Antarctica, Australia, the Americas, India and Eurasia. Then, over millions of years, North and South Americas moved away from Europe and Africa, to form the Caribbean and Mediterranean, and later on, further movement created the Atlantic Ocean (see Figure on next page).

Wegener's theory was largely ignored by the scientific community until the late 1940s, when the continental drift theory was accepted and renamed "plate tectonics". There are now from 10 to 12 major plates, still drifting over the world's oceans, slowly but perceptibly. In some places, the drift is as fast as 20 centimetres per year; on average, it covers the length of a man's body over an average lifetime. The plates are gigantic

1 Named after a region in India where many African-type fossils have been found. See, for instance, the article "The Missing Piece" in Time magazine, August 12, 1974. The estimated date of the breakup of Gondwana varies wildly from a minimum of "over 150 million years ago" to a maximum of "roughly 600 million years ago", with most of the estimates falling between 200-400 million years.



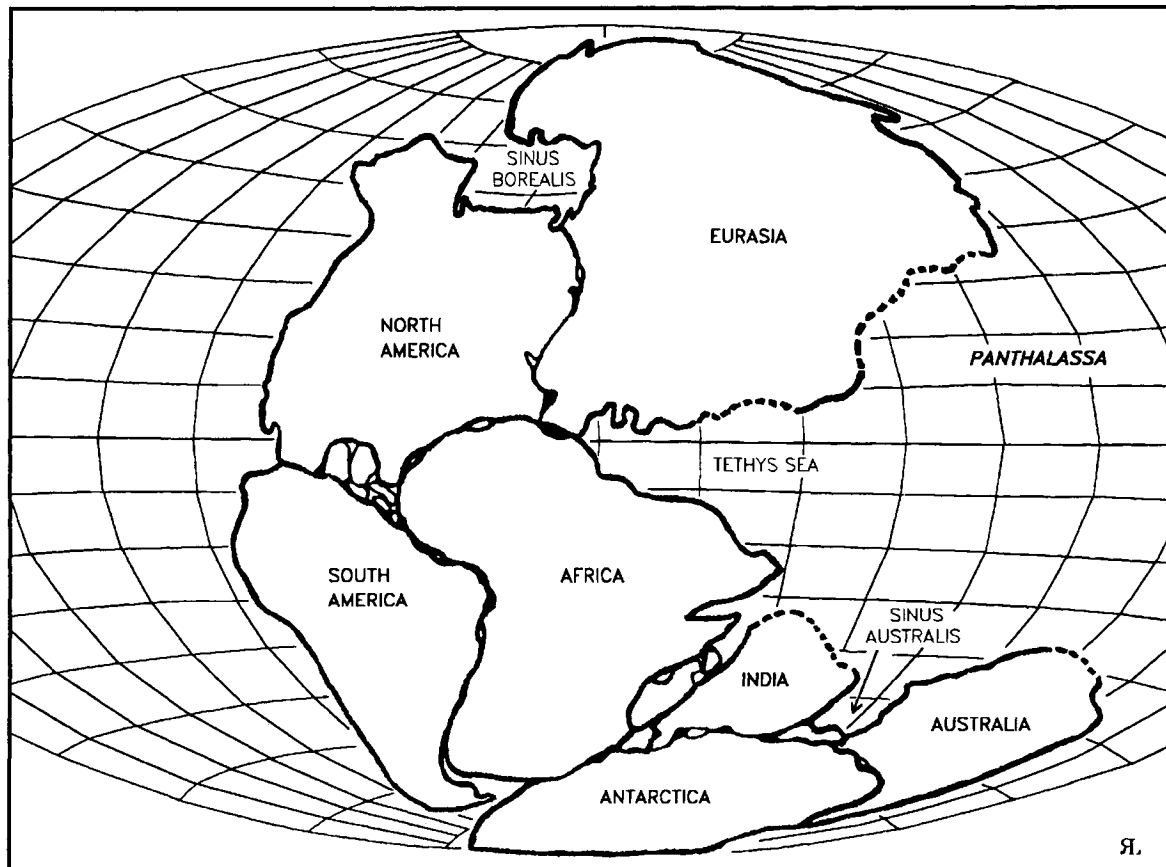
Gondwana or Pangaea. *All continents were derived from this super-continent at the time of its breakup perhaps 400 million years ago. (Adapted from an advertisement by the Gulf Petroleum Company)*

pieces of the earth's crust which may at times carry not only land masses but some water as well.

The theory gained respectability in the 1950s, and specially as a result of the International Geophysical Year, when a serious study of the ocean floor revealed the presence of undersea mountain ridges circling the earth. In the 1960s, it was also noticed that the seafloor was in fact spreading apart at these ridges. On the other hand, there were deep trenches, such as the Marianas Trench, where one plate was sliding under another...

Since the 1960s, many tests have been carried out, based on the physical properties of the rocks that form the continents and ocean bottoms, thus supplementing the evidence supplied by the fossil record, as well as the present distribution of animals and plants.

The most conclusive evidence yet has been the discovery of **fossil magnetism**. When rocks were formed, they were either fluid lava or mud-like sediments, in which microscopic particles of magnetized iron oxide were free to rotate. So, they naturally aligned themselves like compass needles toward the north pole before the rocks hardened. From the direction of these fossil magnets or needles, geologists can calculate the geographic position (latitude and longitude) of the rock sample when it was formed. Different rocks at different places indicate different directions for north. Knowing that the earth has

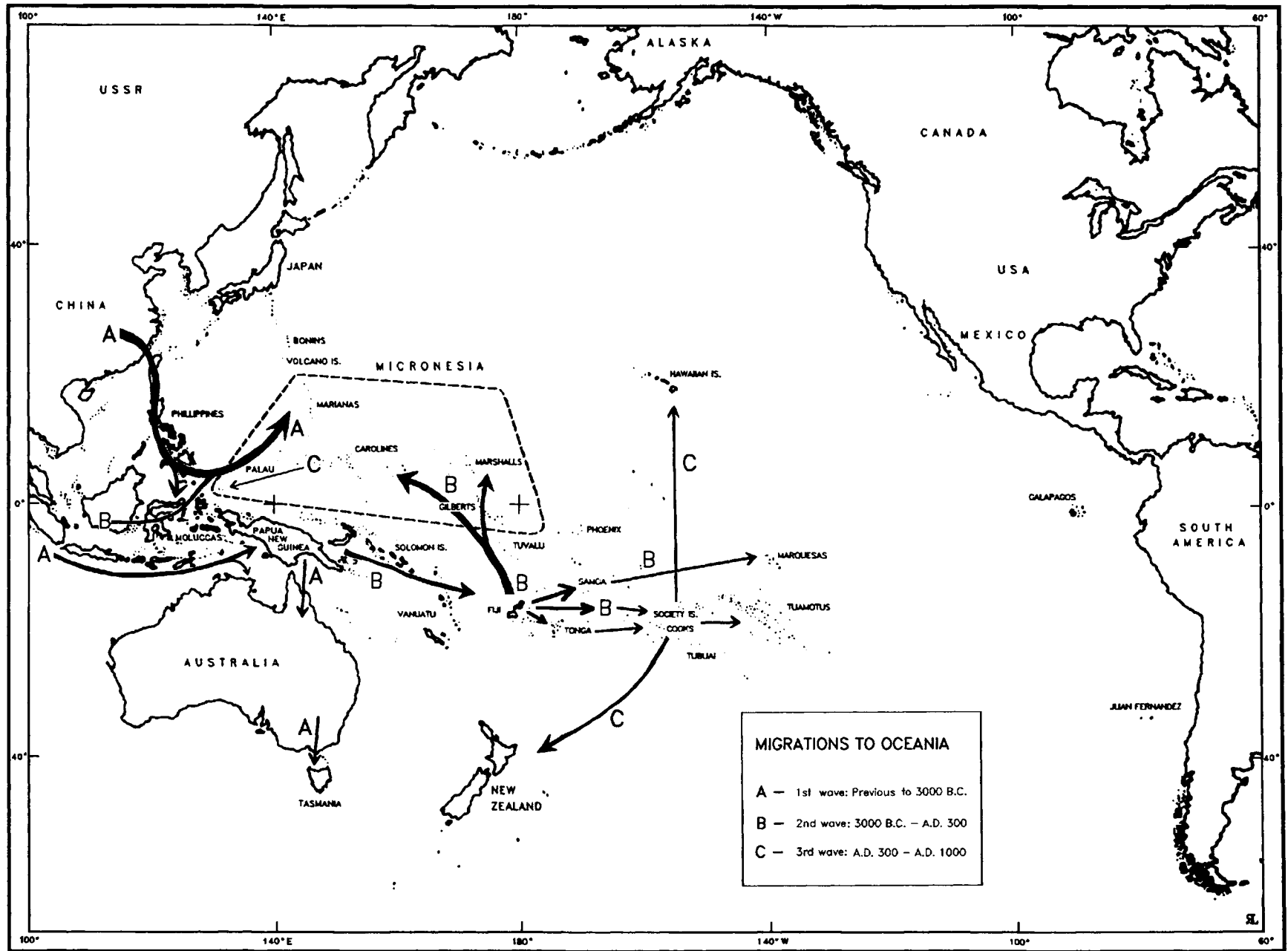


Pangaea may have looked like this 200 million years ago. *Panthalassa* was the ancestral Pacific Ocean. In this reconstruction, the relative positions of the continents, except for India, are based on the best fits made by computer, using the 1,000-fathom contour line to define continental boundaries, that is, at an offshore depth of about 2,000 meters, not using the sea-level geographic boundaries. (Adapted from *Scientific American Journal*, Oct. 1970, p. 34)

always acted as a stable gyroscope and that the north pole could not have wandered much over millions of years, they have deduced that the rocks themselves had indeed drifted over the face of the globe...

Another clue is provided by the pattern of fracture zones in the ocean floor; they provide useful dead-reckoning tracks showing how the continents drifted to their present positions.

As for the Pacific Ocean, unlike the Atlantic, it appears to have been born from the open sea. In the more scientifically-correct map of the world 200 million years ago (see above), **the ancestral Pacific Ocean is called Panthalassa**. For those readers interested in knowing more about the continental drift theory, the source article for this second map is the best I can recommend: "The Breakup of Pangaea", *Scientific American Journal*, October 1970, p. 30-41. This article presents four maps that show the breakup



and subsequent dispersion of the continents by the end of the four major geologic periods covering the past 180 million years: the Triassic, the Jurassic, the Cretaceous, and the Cenozoic. Among other findings mentioned, the article explains why the Pacific is not a rift ocean; it is clearly the remnant of the primeval ocean, and it is becoming smaller. However, not all scientists agree with the above reconstruction; for instance, some have proposed the existence of two super-continent: Laurasia in the northern hemisphere and Gondwana in the south, while some have drawn the one super-continent differently, in such a way that the Pacific was an original inland sea between North America and Antarctica.¹

The peopling of Oceania.

Theories abound as to how humans made their way to the scattered Pacific islands. The map on the facing page summarizes the most popular opinions among archaeologists and historians alike. Let me summarize here what Peter Bellwood² has said about this subject: “The greater part of Micronesia is still an archaeological blank, and we are certainly not in a position to close down the dossier and stamp it ‘solved’. Physically, the Micronesians are predominantly of Mongoloid phenotype. There has been gene flow from Melanesia into Yap and the Palaus in particular, but this has not obscured the basic continuity in Mongoloid phenotype from Indonesia and the Philippines, through Micronesia and into Polynesia...”

Bellwood tends to reject the hypothesis that Polynesians had migrated eastward through Micronesia, and so do I. There is a strong **linguistic evidence** “that the languages of western Micronesia (the Palau and Mariana Islands) are of Indonesian or Philippine origin, while those of eastern (Nuclear) Micronesia, with the possible exception of Yapese, are probably quite closely related to the Eastern Oceanic subgroup, and thus may have been derived from the New Hebrides or some adjacent area in central-eastern Melanesia. The Nuclear Micronesian languages certainly do not form a continuum with the Polynesian, although there is to be a rather remote cousinly relationship...”

“The results of all the non-archaeological evidence as known at present therefore suggest the following hypotheses for Micronesian prehistory:

1. Western Micronesia, comprising the Palau and Marianas Islands, was settled directly from Indonesia or the Philippines. The island of Yap is a possible third member of this division.

2. Eastern (Nuclear) Micronesia and Polynesia were settled from a similar region in eastern Melanesia, possibly connected with the Lapita Culture³...

3. Despite the basic **dual origin of the Micronesian cultures**, there has been a great deal of contact between all the Micronesian islands and with those of western

1 See, for instance, the December 1991 issue of the National Geographic magazine.

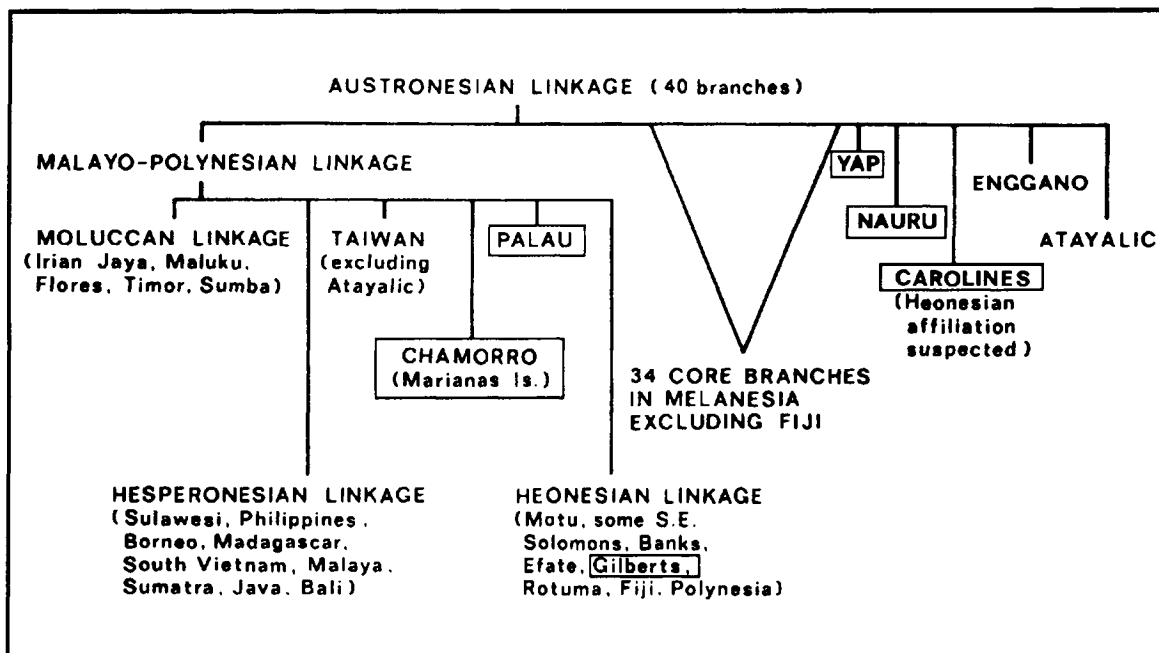
2 Chapter 10, “The Prehistory of Micronesia”, in **Man’s Conquest of the Pacific**, New York, 1979.

3 Ed. note: Melanesian in origin, specially its adze forms and fishhooks.



Polynesia... The “Yapese Empire” also, of course, straddles a marked linguistic boundary within Micronesia.”

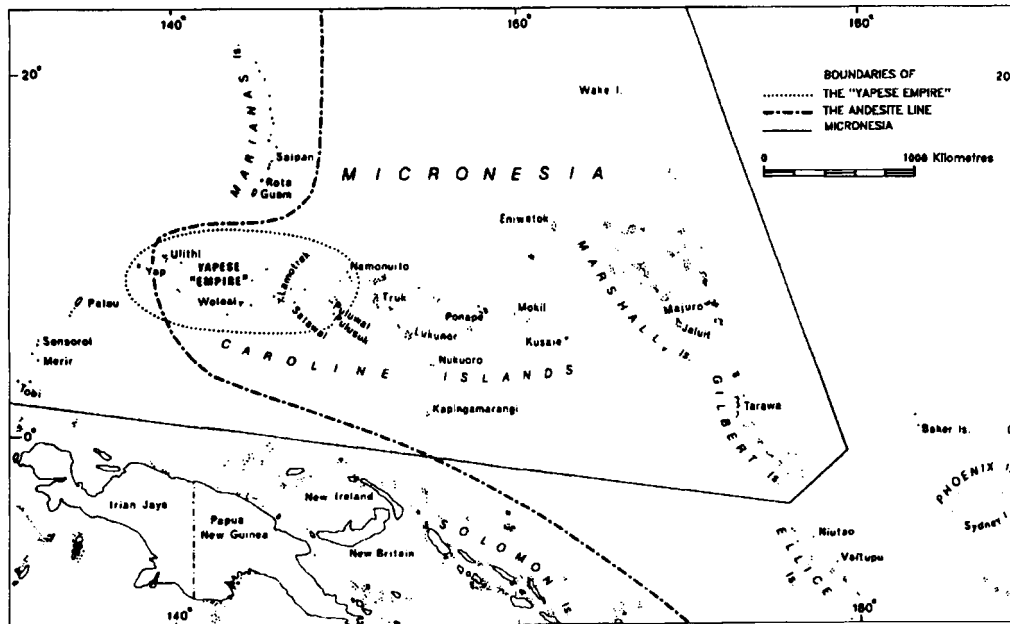
The languages of Micronesia point out to South East Asia as their origin. They belong to a super-family of languages called Austronesian by linguistics experts (see drawing). In 1965, Isidore Dyen published the results of his comparative study of 245 languages, using a 196-word basic vocabulary from each and paired comparisons by computer. Dyen’s main conclusion is that Proto-Austronesian was located somewhere in western Melanesia. However, there are indications of a more remote origin in the islands of Southeast Asia.



The place of Micronesian languages within Dyen’s family tree for the Austronesian languages. (From Peter Bellwood’s *Man’s Conquest of the Pacific*, p. 131).

(Facing page) **Carolinian canoes migrating.** (From a painting by Rafael Monleón, 1890. Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid)

The division between western Micronesia and eastern Micronesia is not only marked linguistically, but also geologically as well. Indeed, as shown by the **Andesite Line** on the following map, western Micronesia is mostly of volcanic origin, whereas eastern Micronesia is characterized by atolls.

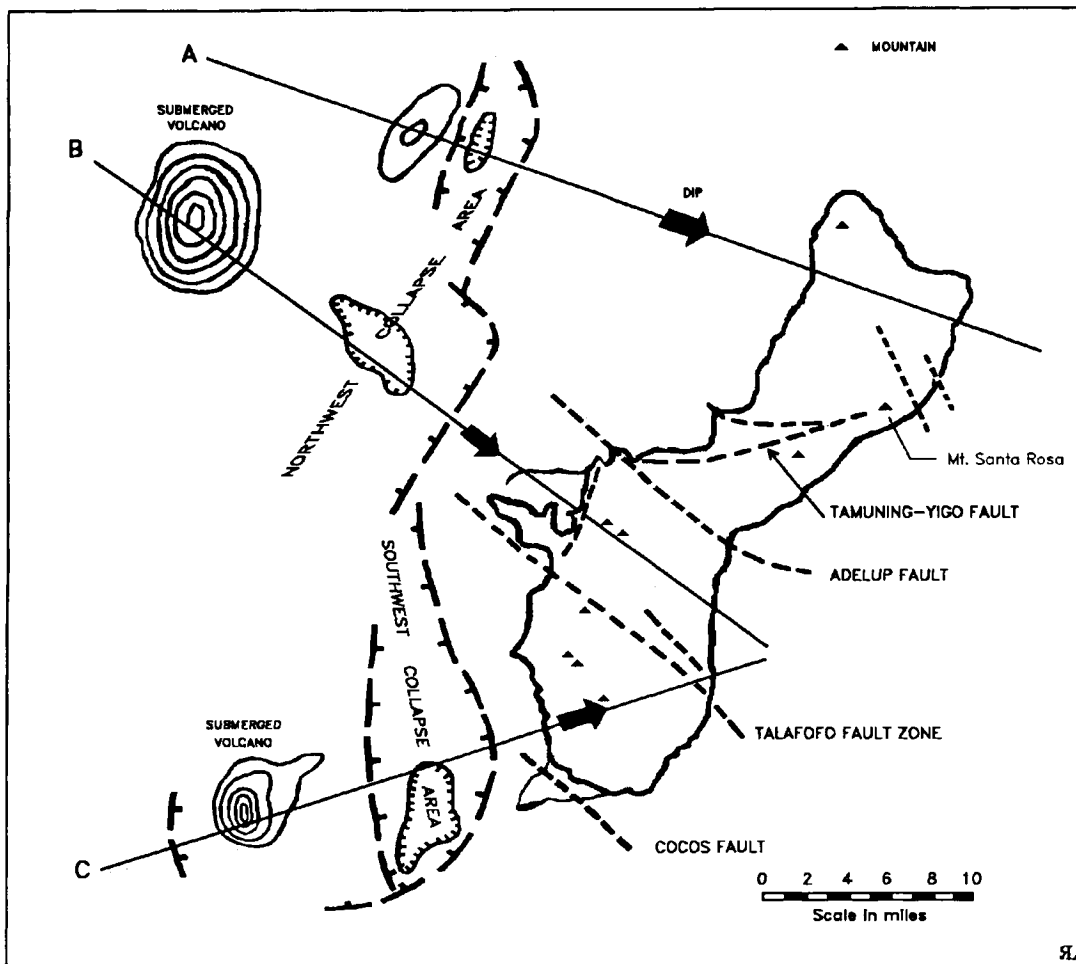


Map of Micronesia showing the Andesite Line separating the mostly volcanic Western Micronesia from the islands of Eastern Micronesia which are mostly atolls. (From Peter Bellwood's *Man's Conquest of the Pacific*, New York, 1979)

Archaeologists have found that prehistoric **pottery** was only made in the western division. Alexander Spoehr¹ expected that there should be prehistoric affiliations between Palau, Yap, and the Marianas. After doing some excavations in Yap, the Giffords² have demonstrated a close connection between the archaeology of that island and the Marianas, evidenced by at least two important types of ancient artifacts, potsherds and shell adzes. The type of pottery called Marianas Red by Spoehr seems to have originated from the Central Philippines at about 1500 B.C. By about A.D. 800, this red pottery seems to have given way to a plain ceramic which is associated with the *latte* phase of the Chamorro culture, i.e. a peculiar type of stone architecture; the earliest carbon-14 date for a *latte* site is indeed A.D. 900. Bellwood says that "the results from archaeology in the southern Marianas have shown that these islands were probably settled from Island Southeast Asia at about the same time that Lapita settlers pene-

1 In his book on "Marianas Prehistory" (Chicago, 1957).

2 E. W. & D. S. Gifford's "Archaeological Excavations in Yap", in *Anthropological Records of the University of California*, 18:2 (1959).



Guam's troubled past. *The volcanic upheaval that created Guam belongs to its prehistory.*

trated into Melanesia. The colonizers of Saipan, Tinian and Guam seem, in fact, to have sailed from the central Philippines in the mid-second millenium B.C..."

As for Palauan archaeology, not much was known until Douglas Osborne studied it in 1954.¹ Apparently, the famous glass money used in Palau is said to have had an immediate origin in the central Philippines in the second millenium B.C. As for the earth terraces and anthropomorphic carvings of andesite rock that were found there, they have similarities with western Melanesia. The darker complexion of the modern Palauans also indicates some Melanesian admixture.

Eastern Micronesia's prehistory is not so well known. There is yet no prehistoric sequence available for the Carolines. The megalithic ruins of Pohnpei and Kosrae have attracted much attention but their origin remains uncertain, although it is said that they most likely belong to recent history, albeit previous to their European discovery. From

¹ In his book "The Archaeology of the Palau Islands" (Honolulu, 1966).

oral history, we inherited the idea that the founders of Nan Madol in Pohnpei came from Kosrae. Apparently, the site was still in use just a few years before the European discovery of Pohnpei (which occurred as late as the early part of the 19th century).

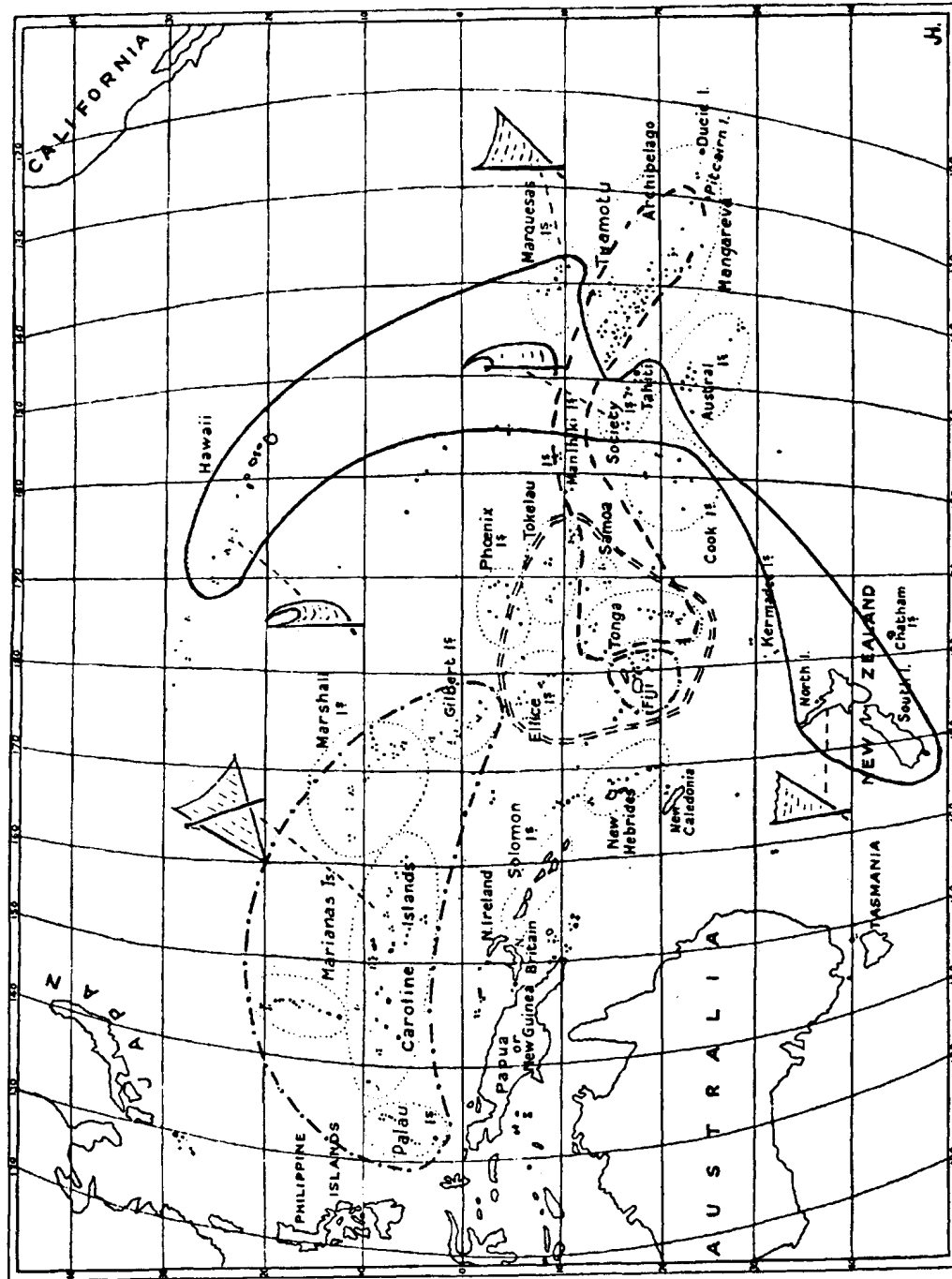
Finally, there are two Polynesian outliers within the boundary of Micronesia: Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi. There is no doubt that they were settled from Polynesia, but the exact date is in doubt; carbon dating has given a date of between A.D. 1300 and 1500 for Nukuoro.¹

The canoes of Micronesia.

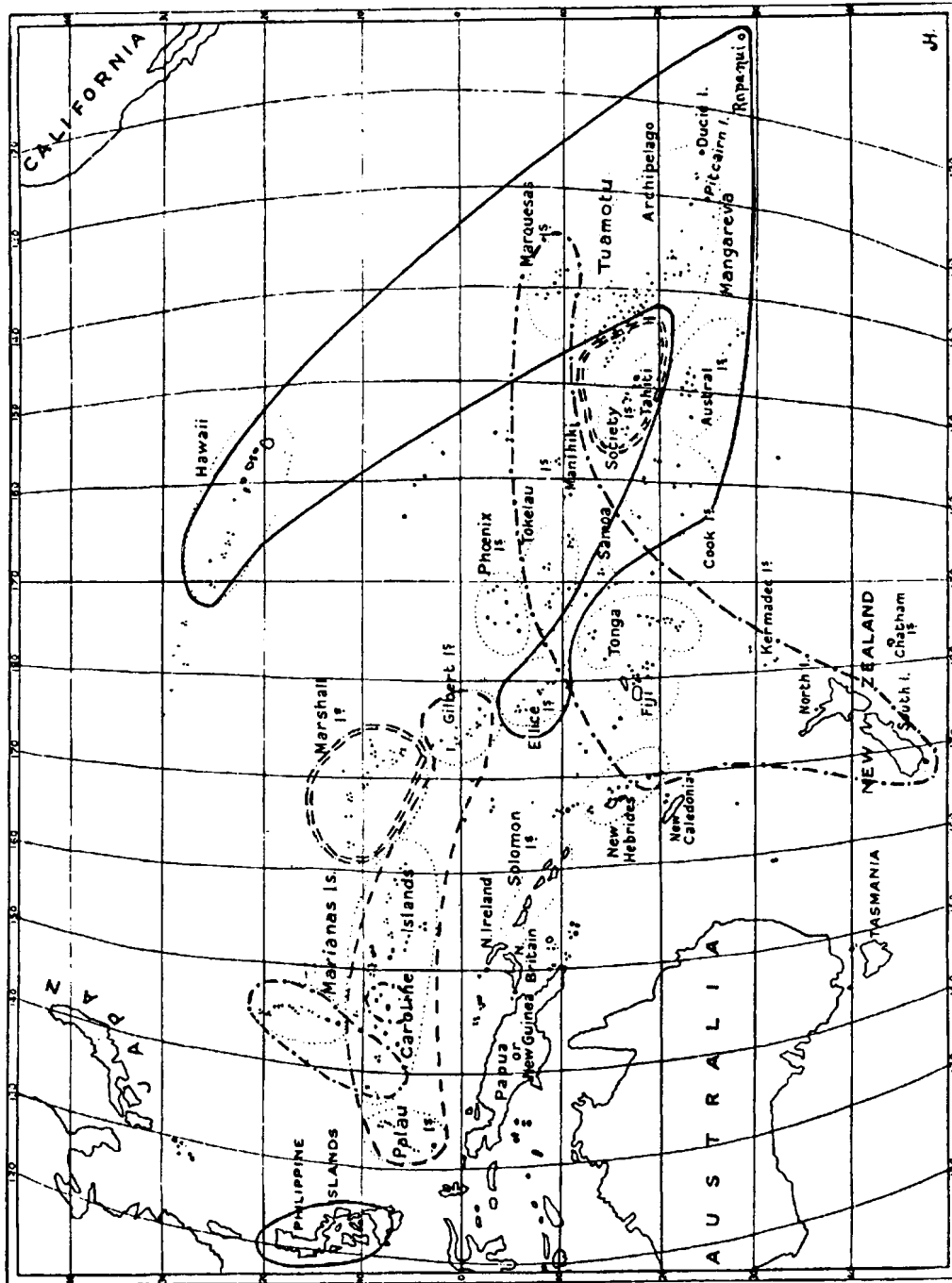
Haddon and Hornell² in their extensive study of this subject have also tried to develop prehistorical sequences for the peopling of Oceania. They too have recognized that there have been many waves of migration from the west. Their most interesting findings are synthesized in the two maps below. The first, about the distribution of canoe sails, shows that the Oceanic lateen sail was specific to Micronesia. By the way, most Micronesian canoes were single outrigger canoes (with floats on just one side). The way the outriggers were attached to the canoe hull was not so distinctive, because the last map shows three different types of attachments used in Micronesia.

By way of a conclusion, it can be said that our knowledge of ethnology in all its parts is insufficient to resolve the complicated prehistory of Micronesia. We can now turn, with more confidence, to its documented history.

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- 1 The reader interested in Micronesian archaeology is referred to the bibliography section at the end of this volume, where the works dealing with the prehistory of Micronesia have been grouped under the date 1000 A.D. for that purpose. Among others, the works by Peter Chapman (on Japanese contributions to Micronesian archaeology and material culture), those by Fred Reinman (on Guam prehistory) and by Janet Davidson (on Nukuoro) are to be found in I. Yawata & Y. H. Sinoto (eds.), "Prehistoric Culture in Oceania. A Symposium" (Honolulu, 1968).
 - 2 In their book "Canoes of Oceania", in 3 volumes, of which Vol. I deals with the canoes of Polynesia and Micronesia (Honolulu, Bishop Museum, 1936-1938).



Distribution of sails in Polynesia and Micronesia. *The whole of Micronesia was homogeneous in that the Oceanic lateen sails were used throughout when first visited by Europeans. (From A. C. Haddon and James Hornell, vol. III of *Canoes of Oceania*, Bishop Museum, 1938, p. 83)*



Distribution of outrigger attachments in Oceania. (From A. C. Haddon & J. Hornell's *Canoes of Oceania*, vol. III, p. 84)

- Direct attachment.
- - - - - Stanchion attachment.
- Y or V attachment.
- ===== Mixed attachment.

Document 1492A

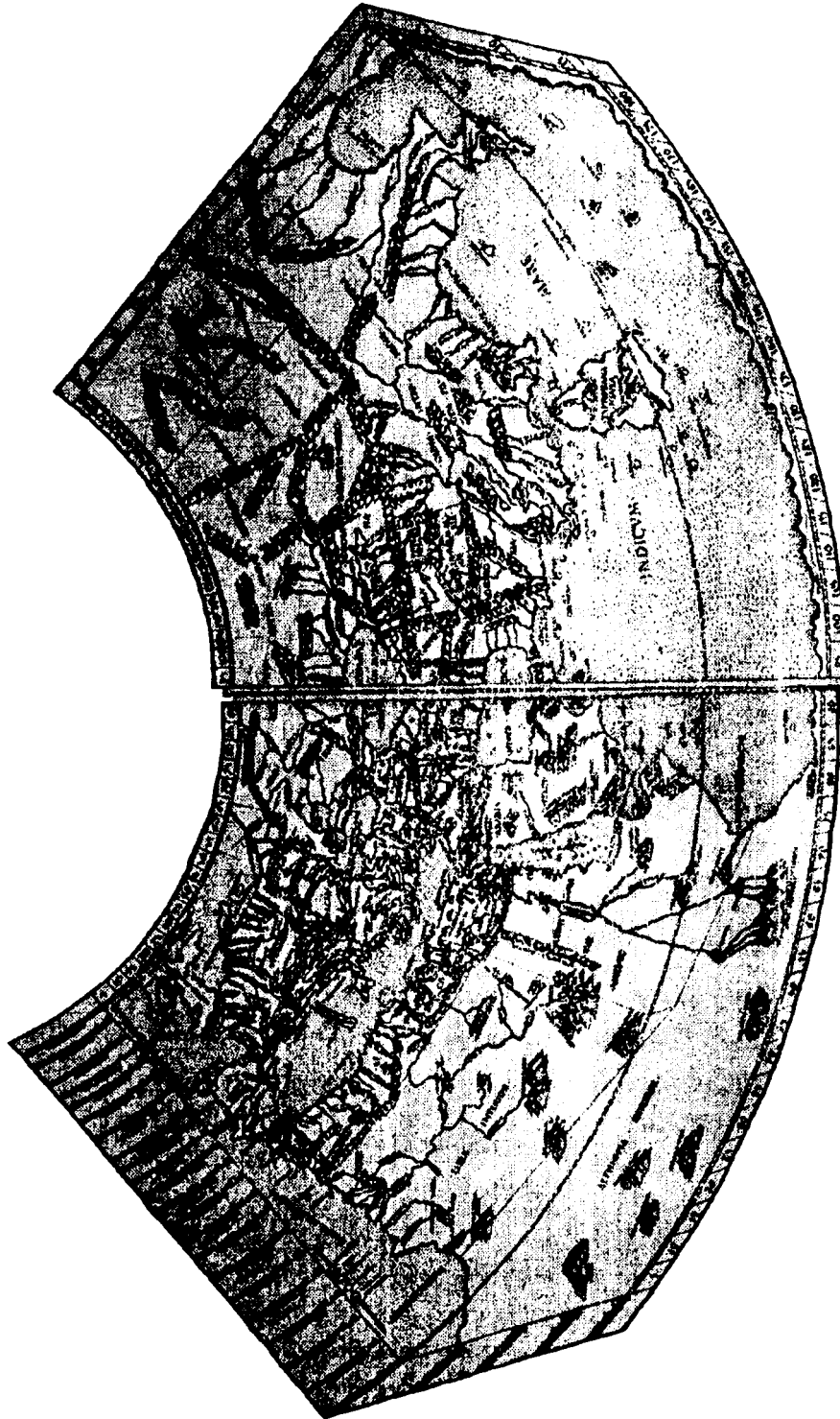
Columbus discovered a new world and prepared the way for the other discoveries that followed

Source: Original edition of the letter written by Columbus to the King and Queen of Spain, dated at Santa Maria in the Azores on 4 February 1493, and posted from Lisbon on 4 March. Published by Carlos Sanz in: (1) La carta de Colón (Madrid, 1958) and (2) El gran secreto de la carta de Colón (Madrid, 1959). Literal translation into English by the editor of this series.

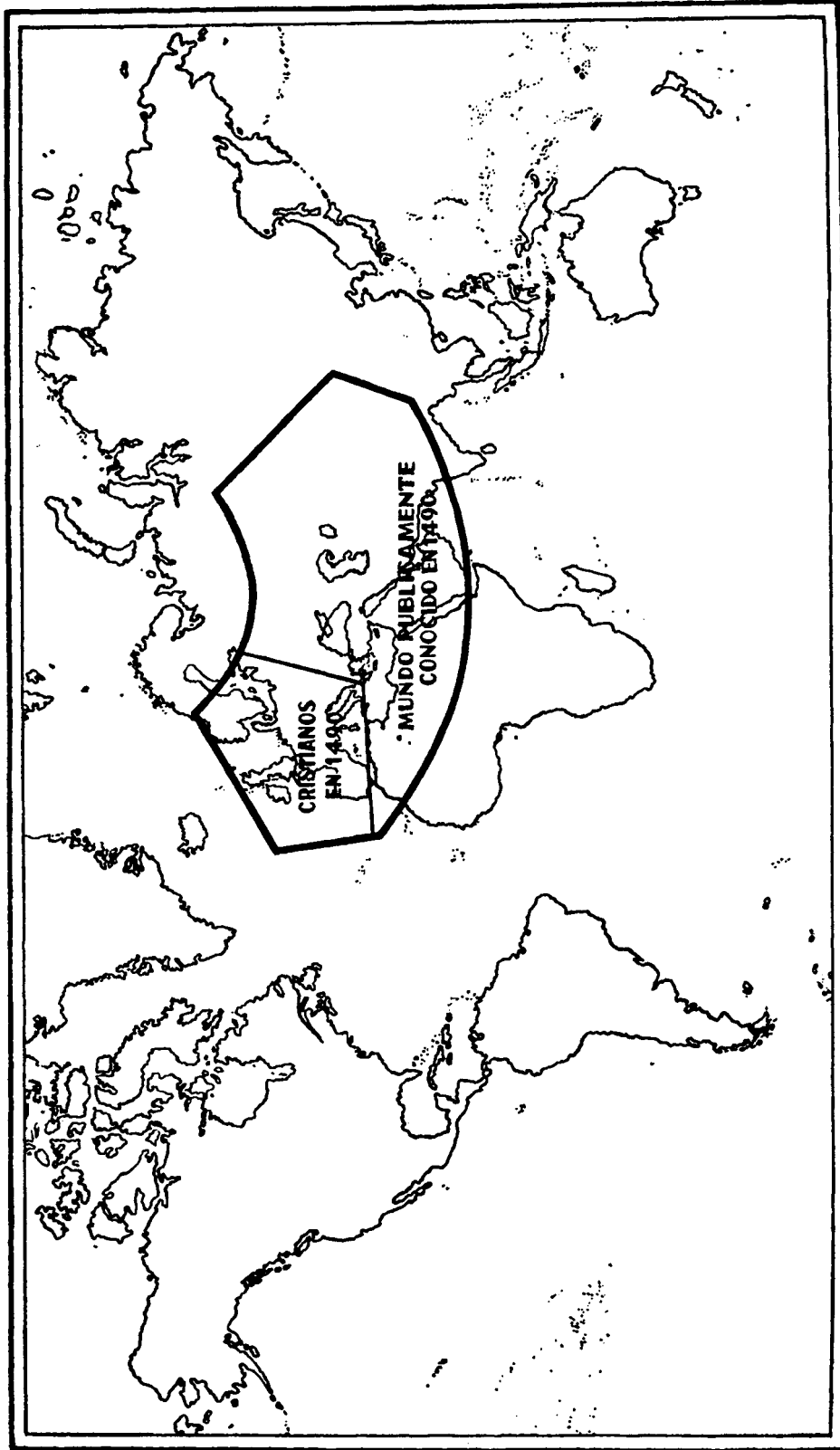
Introductory Note

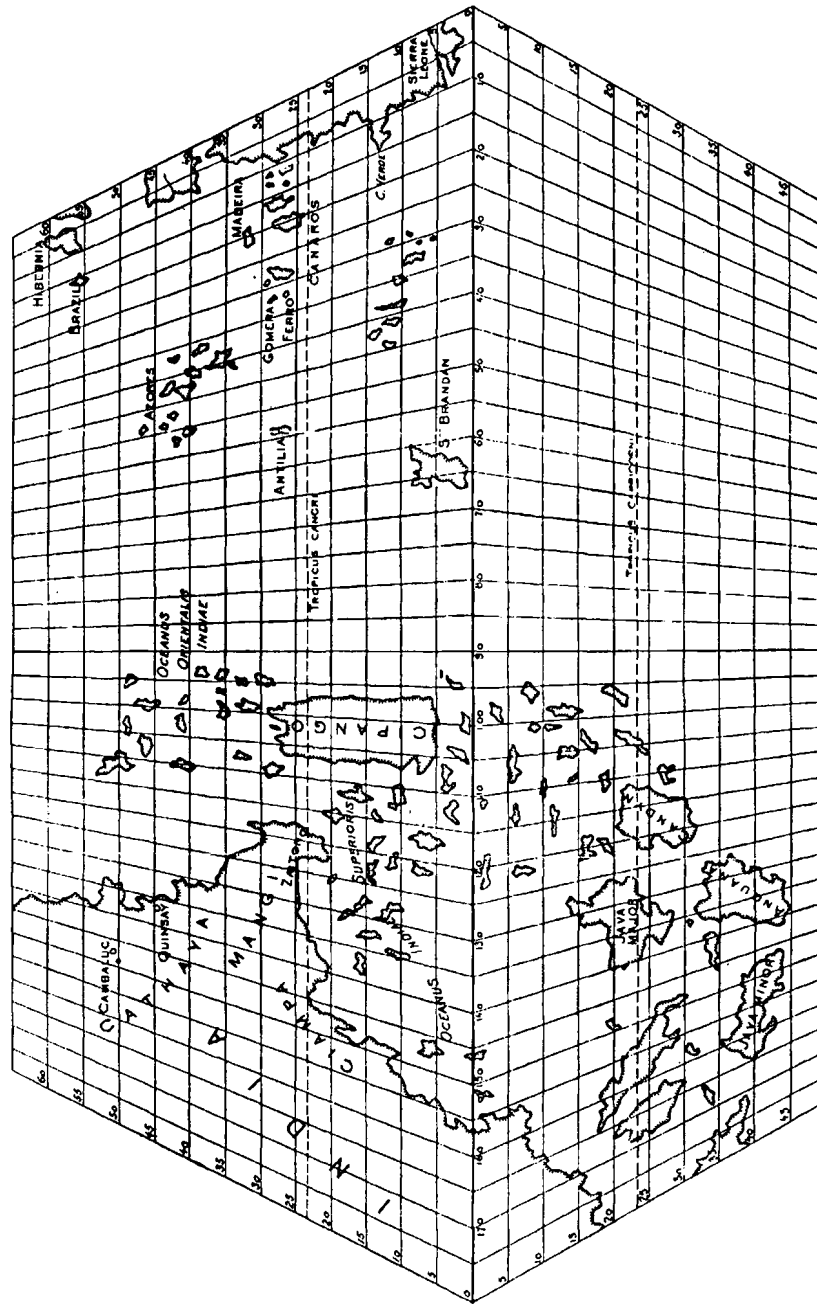
In 1490, the World as known to the European public was but a small part of the globe (See the figures below). The first voyage of Columbus in 1492 and the European discovery of America was to change all that, because upon his return Columbus wrote many letters, all of them being summaries of his journal or logbook. His official report to his sponsors, the King and Queen of Spain, was sent in many copies through the offices of various court officials, namely Luis de Santangel, Gabriel Sanchez and the Duke of Medinaceli. Someone gave his copy of the report to a printer in Barcelona (where the court resided at that time) and it was already published by the middle of March. The letter of Columbus was reprinted and also edited in Latin, Italian and German as the news of the discovery of a New World spread throughout Christian Europe¹. The quick distribution of Columbus' letter explains why the full text of his logbook was not published until many years later, in edited format, by Father de la Casas, in his **Historia de las Indias**.

¹ The Barcelona edition is undoubtedly the first one. All printed copies of it had disappeared until one was discovered in 1889 by Maisonneuve. See Carlos Sanz (1958 & 1959) for the full story.

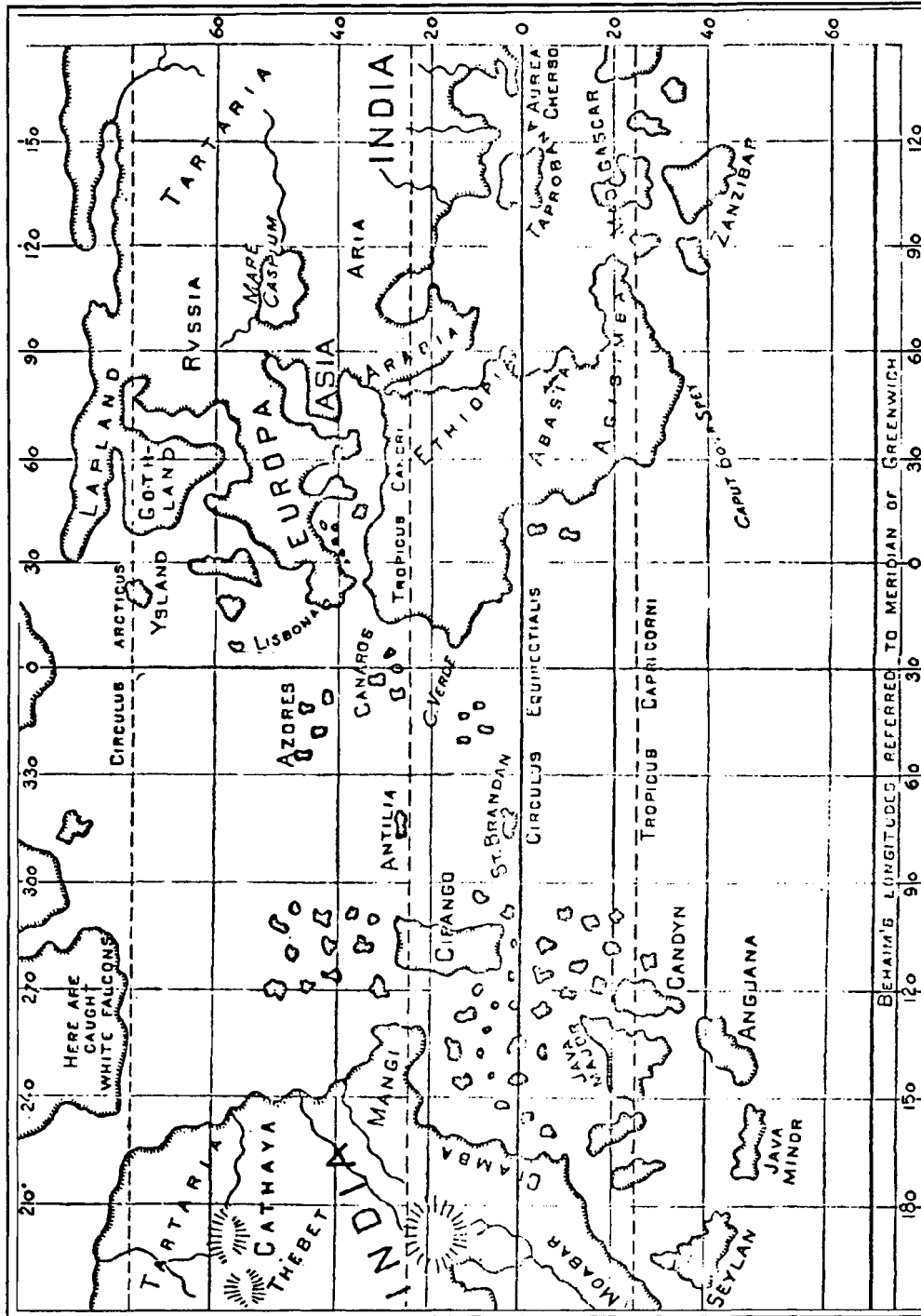


The “oikumene” or inhabited World of Ptolemy as it was known to Europeans before Columbus sailed for America. Europe, North Africa and Asia are recognizable. (From Claude Ptolemy’s *Geographiae*, Rome 1490) Note the position of this “oikumene” on a planisphere of the world (facing page).





The 1474 map by Toscanelli which Columbus used. *Paolo del Pozzo dei Toscanelli, born in Florence in 1397, was one of the most famous astronomers and cosmographers of his time. To him Alfonso V, King of Portugal, made application to know whether there could be a shorter oceanic route to the Indies than that which his captains were seeking by following the African coast. Toscanelli replied with a letter dated 25 June 1474 and along with the letter he sent to the king this (reconstructed) sailing chart. (Adapted from Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America", ii, p. 103)*



Martin Behaim's Globe of 1492, reduced to Mercator's projection. The original globe is kept at the City Hall of Nuremberg, according to John Fiske. Before Columbus, Europeans were still unaware of the extent of the real world. (Adapted from John Fiske's "The Discovery of America", Boston & New York, Houghton & Mifflin, 1892, Vol. 1, pp. 422-423)



SER por que se que aueris plazer de la gran victoria que nuestro señor me
 ba dado en mi viaje vos escríbo esta por la q̄nta fabreys como enuente dias pasc̄
 las idias cō la annada q̄ los illustrísimos Rey e Reyna nros señores me dixer̄
 o dexo falle muy muchas Yslas pobladas cō gente sin numero : y dellas todas
 se tomado posesion por sus altezas con pregon y uãdera real estenoida y non mecha
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 rar el qual marauillofamente todo esto andado los idios la llaman guanabau Ala segũda
 puse nombre la isla de santa maria de concepcion ala tercera ferrandina ala quarta la isla bella
 ala quinta la Ysla Juana e asi a cada vna nombre nuevo Quando yo llegne ala Juana seg
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 c̄xxviii grãdes leguas por linea recta del oriẽte asi como dela iuana la qual y todas las otras
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 mar si cõparacion de otros q̄ yo sepa en cristianos y fartos rrios y buenos y grandes q̄ es mara
 villa las tierras della s̄o altas y e ella muy muchas sierras y mõtañas altissimas si cõparacion
 de la isla de c̄tre fructos as frinosissimas de mil fecharas y todas adables y llanas de arboles
 de mil maneras i altas i parecen q̄ llegã al cielo i tẽgo por dicho q̄ mmas pierde la foia segun lo
 puede cõp̄ber q̄ los vitã verdes i tã berinosos como s̄o por mayo en spaña i dellos stauã flor
 ndos dellos cõ fruto i dellos enotrãtermino segũ es su calidad i cãua el rui señor i otros pa
 raricos de mil maneras en el mes de uouiebre por alli dõde io q̄pãna ay palmas de seis o de
 ocho maneras q̄ es admiracion verlas por la diformidad fermosa dellas mas asicomo los o
 otros arboles y frutos eternas en ella ay pinars amaruilla eay can p̄nas grãdissimas eay m̄
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 tales eay gẽte inuicible numero La spañola eã marauilla la sierra y las mõtañas y las uegas
 llas campãnas y las tierras tan fermosas y gruesas para plantar y sembrar paciar ganados de to
 das suertes para hedificion de villas e lugares los puertos dela mar aqui no hauiã zberas sin
 villa y de los rios muchos y grandes y buenas aguas los mas de los quales trae oro e los arbo
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 nas y grandes minas de oro y de otros metales. La gente desta ysla y de todas las otras q̄ be
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 sus mãdres los parẽ baun que algunas mugeres se cobian un solo lugar cõ vna foia de y
 ua: o vna cosa de algo dõ que pa ello fazen ellos no tienen fierzo ni azero ni armas ni so
 a ello no por que no sea gente bien dif̄nesta y de fermosa estatura saluo que s̄o muy te
 marauilla no tienẽ orzãsas saluo las q̄ se tovelas cañas quando el cõla sume q̄
 qual ponen al cabo un pañillo agudo eno un vñaz de aq̄llas que ml. vey
 dõde embiaz anora dos otros bombres alguna villa pa haueer fab. . .

The letter of Columbus announced the discovery of the Indies [sic] by a western route. He was convinced that he had reached the coast of China or that of Japan that Marco Polo had written about 200 years earlier. In 1492, he thought that Cuba was Cipango, i.e. Japan, but later on when he took up residence on Española Island (today's Dominican Republic), Columbus remained convinced that this island was Japan¹. In fact, in 1502, he thought of himself as the Viceroy of Asia.²

Pope Alexander VI, who was a Spaniard, first heard of Columbus' discovery through a letter which the Duke of Medinaceli wrote to a Spanish cardinal, Pedro González de Mendoza, on March 19th. The cardinal must have shown this letter to the Pope because, in April, the draft of a papal bull (See Doc. 1493) was made ready, before an official request for such a document had been received from the Spanish court.³

(Facing page) **First page of the letter that Columbus wrote to the King and Queen of Spain**, dated 15 February 1493, announcing his discovery of the New World. It was printed in Barcelona by Pedro Posa and reproduced with commentaries by Carlos Sanz in 1958 from an original now kept in the Lenox Collection of the New York Public Library (The other pages are shown below).

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- 1 It is possible that the word Cipango was originally a typographical error for Nipango, or Nipongo, the latter of which means Japanese. However, most scholars say that Marco Polo got it from the Chinese word for Japan, Jih-pên-kwé.
 - 2 See p. 155 of Sanz' **El gran secreto**.
 - 3 Before his first voyage, Columbus had written to the astronomer Toscanelli and received a copy of the letter and map that he had sent to the king in 1474. Columbus had the map with him during his first voyage. Father de las Casas (See his *Historia*, tome I, Madrid, 1875, pp. 96, 279) had it in his possession afterwards. It has since been lost, but it was so well described in the letter that the work of restoring it has been attempted several times. The version shown above has been adapted from Winsor, who took it from *Das Ausland*, 1867, p. 5).

si unun ro: y despues q los veyã llegar fuyã a no aguardar padre a hijo y esto no por que a ni-
 guno se aya hecho mal antes a todo cabo adãse yo aya estado y podido haue fabla les heva
 do de todo loque tenia a si paño como otras cosas muchas si recebir por ello cosa alguna mas
 so a si temerosos sin remedio: verdad es que despues que aseguran y pierde este modo ellos son
 tanto si engaño y tan liberales de lo q tiene que no lo crecian sino el q lo viesse: ellos de cosa que
 se gan pidiendo gela i amas dixẽ deno antes cõuidan la persona cõ ello y muestran tanto amor que
 danian los corazones y quierẽ sea cosa de qualor quien sea de poco precio luego por qual quie-
 ra cosa de qual quiera manera que sea q se le depozello seã cõtentos: yo defendi q nos fies de
 sen cosas tan suiles como pedrazos de escudillas rotas y pedrazos de vidrio roto y cabos de aga-
 getas: haũ que quãdo ellos esto podã llegar los parecã haue la mudoz i oya del mudo. que
 se acerto haue vn maruero por vna agugeta de oro de peso de dos castellanos y medio: y otros
 de otras cosas q muy matices valia mucho mas ya por blancas nuevas danan por ellas todo
 quanto e nian haũ que fuesse dos ni tres castellanos de oro o vna arrova o dos de algodon filo
 do falta los pedrazos de los arcos rotos de las pipas tomaban y danan lo q tenian como bestias
 ası que me parecia mal: yo lo defendi y danan yo graciosas mil cosas buenas q yo leiaua por
 que tomen amor y allõda desto se farã cristianos que se inclinã al amor e cõmicio de sus altezas
 y de toda la naciõ castellana: e procura de auitar de nos dar de las cosas que tenẽ en abundã-
 cia que nos sõ necessarios y no conocian ninguna serã ni dolãna saluo que todos creen q las
 fuerças y el bñe es en el cielo y creian muy firme que yo cõstos nauios y gente venia del cielo y en el
 castamieto me receblan en todo cabo despues de haue podido el mudo y esto no procede porq
 sean ignorantes saluo de muy sutil ingenio y õbres que nauegan todas aquellas mares que es
 marauilla la buena cuenta que ellos dan de todo saluo por que nãca viera gẽre vestida ni empuñã-
 tes ni armas y luego que lege alas loias en la primera isla q halla come pforza algunos de los pa-
 ra que se pãcesen y me diẽse nona de lo que ama en aquellas partes casi fue que luego etendã
 y nos nellos quando por lengua oñãas: y estos ban aprouebado mucho o y enõsã los traigo
 q si pre estã de proposito q vengo del cielo por mucha cõuersaciõ q nyan hauido cõntigo y estos
 eran los primeros a pronunciarlo adonde yo llegaba y los otros andaban comiendo de casa e
 casa: y las villas cercanas cõ bozes altas venie: venie auer lagente del cielo ası todos hõbres
 como mugers despues de haue el corazõ seguro de nos venia q nõ cadãã grande ni pequẽ-
 ño todos trañan algu de comer y de beber que danian cõ vn amor marauilloso ellos tienẽ todas
 las yslas muy muchas canoas a manera de fusiles de cõmo de las maiores de las menores y al-
 gunas: y muchas sõ mayores que hãa fusta de diez ochos bñcos: no sõ tan auçadas porque sõ
 de bñ solo madero mas bñna fusta no era cõ ellas alrãno porque van queno es cosa de com-
 er y cõ estas nauegan todas aquellas yslas q sõ innumerables: y tratẽ sus mecaderias: algunos
 de estas canoas he visto cõ lxx y lxxx õbres en ella y cada vno cõ su rino en todas estas yslas no
 vide mucha diuersidad de la fechora de la gente ni en las costumbres ni en la lengua: saluo que
 todos se entenden q escola muy singular para lo que espero q determinaran las altezas para la
 cõuersaciõ de los de nuestra santa fe ala qual sõ muy dispñetos: ya dire como se haũa nõdado
 c. vii leguas por la costa de la mar por la derecha liña e sidẽte a oeste por la isla tuana segũd
 qual es muy bueno de ver que esta isla es maior que inglaterra y es cõta iuntas por que allõde de
 las c. vii leguas me quedo de la parte de poniente dos promontios que se nõde andãdo: la vna de
 las õles llaman auau: abbat nasc lagente cõcola las õles prouidias no pueden tener enõgun
 nauio de. l. o. lx leguas segun puede entender de los ñcios que yo traigo los õles saben todos
 las yslas esta otra española e iacetã tiene mas que la españa toda de cõde colãna por costa e
 mar hasta fũete nãca en niscaya pues en vna quadra anõue dxxxvii granos leguas por re-
 ca lxxx de occident a oriente este es para de car: e lxxx es para nunca e car en la qual que se
 as tenga tome a possessiõ por sus altezas y rogas sean mas abastadas de lo que se
 todas las cosas por sus altezas que de la gente que se haũa en

Letter from Columbus to the King and Queen of Spain

Sir,

Because I know you will derive great pleasure in the great victory that the Lord has given me in my voyage, I write this letter, by which you will learn how in 20 days¹ I passed from the Canary Islands to the Indies, with the fleet which the Most Illustrious King and Queen, our Lords, had given me. There I found many islands inhabited by countless people, and I have taken possession of all of them for Your Highnesses, with a proclamation and the royal flag flying, and I was not contradicted.

To the first island that I found I gave the name of **San Salvador**, in honor of His Divine Majesty who so marvelously has given it all; the Indians call it **Guanahani**.² To the second one, I gave the name of Island of **Santa María de Concepción**, to the third one **Fernandina**, to the fourth **Isabela**, to the fifth **Juana**, and so on to each a new name.³

When I arrived at Juana, I followed the coast westward, and found it so long that I thought it might be the mainland, the province of Catayo⁴, but as I did not find any towns or sites along the coast, except small villages, with whose people I could not make contact, because then they all fled, I was going forward in that direction hoping to find cities and towns for sure. At the end of many leagues, seeing that there was no innovation, and that the coast was taking me to the north, in the direction contrary to the one I wished to follow because the winter had already set in, and I intended to go south, and also because the wind was pushing me, I determined not to postpone any longer, and I turned back to a port spotted previously, from where I sent two men inland to see if there were a King or large cities. They walked for three days and found an infinite number of small sites and countless people, but no evidence of government; for this reason, they turned back.

I understood sufficiently from other Indians whom I had taken, that this land was an island, so I followed its coast eastward for 107 leagues⁵ until it came to an end. From

- 1 Ed. note: According to the logbook, and manuscript versions of the letter found in the Simancas archives, it took him 33 days, from 8 September until 11 October.
- 2 Ed. note: This island is in the Bahamas and is called Samana Cay today. See the article by Joseph Judge in the National Geographic magazine of November 1986 entitled: "Where Columbus Found the New World." It is worth mentioning that in his logbook entry for 13 Oct 1492, Columbus described the natives as thieves: "They take what they can and then dive and swim away."
- 3 Ed. note: Santa María is called Crooked I. today, Fernandina Long I. Isabela, whose native name was Samoet, according to the logbook, is now Fortune I. As for Juana, its native name was Cuba, then as now.
- 4 Ed. note: Part of Cathay or China, but his logbook entries for 21 & 22 Oct 1492 indicate that he thought Cuba was Cipango or Japan.
- 5 Ed. note: In his logbook entry for 5th of December, Columbus estimated the same distance as 120 leagues.

se y puedo dezir y todas las tengo por de sus altezas qual dellas pueden dispenar como y tauco
 phamete como de los Reynos de castilla en esta española en ellugar mas concuible y mejor
 comarca para las minas del oro por todo mato así de la tierra firme de aqua como de a quella
 de alla del gran can. adonde ay un gran trato egualdad de comarcas o possessiões e una villa gran
 de alla qual puse nombre la villa de aurado: y en ella he hecho fuerza y fortaleza que ya aceta el bo
 ras estar del todo acabado y hecho en ella gente que abasta para semejante fecho con annas
 y arcellanas e vituallas por mas de un año y fasta y maestro de la mar en todas artes para fazer
 otras y grande amistad con el Rey de aquella tierra en tanto grado que se precia de me llamar y
 tener por hermano e haū que le mudase la voluntad a hostiar de esta gente el mulo sus no sabe
 que sean armados y andan desnudos como ya he dicho son los mas temerosos que ay en el mundo
 aunque solamente la gente que alla queda es para desistir toda aquella tierra y es ylla si peligro
 de sus personas si bien deseguir en todas estas islas me parece que todos los obres sean con
 tos con una mujer e asu maioral el Rey dan fasta: e yntre las mugeres me parece que trabaxa
 mas que los obres ni he podido en tender si tienen bienes propios que me parecio ver que a quello
 que uno tenia todos hazian parte en especial de las cosas comestibles en estas islas fasta aqui
 no he hallado obres mostrados como muchos pensaban mas antes estoda gente muy lindo
 acatamiento ni son negros como e guinea salvo con sus cabellos corregidos y no secan adonde ay
 i pero de malizado de los rayos solares es verdad que el sol tiene allí grand fuerza puesto que es di
 distinta de la linea equinocial veinte e seis grades en estas islas adonde ay montañas grandes: ay tenia
 a fuerza el fiero este ynterino: un asello lo sufren por la costumbre que con la ayuda de las viandas
 comen con especias muchas y muy calientes endormalia: aunque mostrados no he hallado nin
 da salvo de una ylla que es aqui en la segunda ala entrada de las yndias que es poblada de una
 gente que tiene en todas las yllas por muy feroces los quales comen carne humana estos tienen
 muchas canas cosas quales comen todas las yllas de ida robando y como pueden ellos
 no son mas difformes que los otros salvo que tiene costumbre de traer los cabellos largos con
 omugeres y usan arcos y flechas de las mismas armas de cañas con un palillo alcabo por donde
 to de fiero que no tiene son feroces entre estos otros pueblos me son endormiado grado de
 mias pero no los tengo en nada mas que a los otros estos son aquellos que trata con las mugeres
 de manera como que es la ylla que se llama de España para las idias que se halla en la qual no ay
 hombre ninguno: ellas no usan arco ni flecha como los otros sobre dichos de cañas
 y canas y cobigan con laures de arambre de que tienen mucho otra ylla me seguran mayor que la
 española en que las personas no tienen ningún cabello. En esta ay oro si cuento y de las y de las o
 tras cargo conmigo idios para testimonio: e conluso a hablar desto solamente que sea fecho este
 viaje que fue si de coruqa que puede de sus altezas que yo les dare oro quanto oviere ni me fester con
 muy poca ayuda que sus altezas mandara a gozar y preciar y algo de quanto sus altezas mandara
 cargar y alimanta quando mandaran cargar e de la qual fasta oy no he hallado salvo en gre
 ca en la ylla de rio y el señorio la uenir como quiere y ligualoe quanto mandaran cargar y es
 dauos quatos mandaran cargar e se arca de los yocantes y crey haue hallado muy baruo. y caue
 la e otras mil cosas de distancia fallare que hazian fallado la gente que yo alla dexo porque yo
 no he deuido ningún cabo en quanto elucuta me aya dado lugar de navegar solamente en la
 villa de nauidad en quanto dexo asegurado. E bien aserado. E ala verdad mucho mas ficiera
 si los nauios me sirueran como razón de mandara. Ello es hazto y crey no Dios ni nuestro señor
 el qual da a todos aquellos que auer su camino victoria de cosas que parecen imposibles: y esta
 señaladamente fue la una por que haū que de las islas. e aun fallado. E de todo va por con
 la cara sin allegar oculta salvo comprendiendo a tanto que los obres los mas escarbauan e
 usaban mas por fabla que por poca de dello así que pues nuestro: Recordamos oio esta. vic
 tona. A nuestros Illustísimos reyes: Reynes e Reyas: reyes e reynas e a sus Altezas e a sus Altezas

this cape, there was another island distant 18 leagues, to which I gave the name of **Española**¹. I went there, and followed its northern coast, as I had done at Juana, eastward for a distance of 188 leagues. This island like all the others is very fertile to an excessive degree, and this one in the extreme. There are many ports along its sea coast, without comparison that I know of in Christendom, and quite a few rivers marvellously good and large. Its lands are high and on them very many peaks and very high mountains, without comparison even with the island of Tenerife², all very pretty, of a thousand shapes, and all accessible on foot and full of trees of a thousand forms and so high as to seem to reach the sky. I am told that they never lose their leaves, according to what I can understand, as I saw them as green and as pretty as those of Spain in May. Some of them are in bloom, others with fruit, still others at another stage in accordance with their character. And the nightingale was singing along with other birds in a thousand ways during the month of November when I was visiting there. There are from six to eight types of palm trees whose beautiful diversity is a joy to behold, and the same for the other trees, fruits and grasses. It has pine trees galore, and very extensive prairies, also honey and many types of birds and very diverse fruits. Inland can be found many metal mines and a countless population.

Española Island is wonderful. The peaks and the mountains, the prairies and the lands are so beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for raising cattle of all sorts, for erecting towns and villages. Sea ports? Well, hard to believe for anyone but an eyewitness. As for rivers, there are many, and with plenty of good water; most of them carry gold. Among the trees, fruits and grasses there are many differences with those in Juana; in the latter, there are many spices, and big mines of gold and of other metals.

The people of this island and of the others, that I have discovered or been told of, all go naked, men and women, just like when their mothers give them birth, although a few women covered one spot only with a plant leaf or a mesh of cotton that they make for the purpose. They do not have any iron, steel nor weapons; they are not made for them either. It is not because they are not well-built people with a beautiful stature; rather, they are so laughingly afraid. They do not have any other weapons besides spears made of mature³ canes, at the tip of which they place a small sharpened stick, but they do not use them. So it is that many times I happened to send ashore two or three men to some village to make contact; large numbers came out to meet them, and then after seeing them landing, they fled, with the parents not even waiting for their children. This happened, not on account of us having done them any harm; rather, at every cape that I had been and had been able to make contact, I have given them from everything I had, clothes as well as many other things, without having received from them anything. However, they are hopelessly scared. It is true that once they gain confidence and lose this fear, they are so much without any cunningness and so liberal with what they have that only an eyewitness could believe it. With some thing they might have, if one asks

1 Ed. note: Hispaniola I., on which Haïti and the Dominican Republic are located today.

2 Ed. note: One of the Canary Islands.

3 Ed. note: Literally, when they are bearing seeds.

La christiandad oee tomar alegría y fazer grandes fiestas y bar gradas solenes ala sancta Trinidad cō muchas oraciones solenes por el tanto en el canchico que hanran en tornando se tantos pueblos a nuestra sancta fe : y despues por los bienes tēporales q̄ no solamente ala españa mas a todos los christianos ternan aqui refugio y ganancia esto segun el fecho a si embreue fecha en la calauera sobre las yllas de canana a xv de febrezo año Mdl. cccclxxxiii.

Fara lo que mandareys El Almirate

Anima que venia dentro en la Carta.

Despues desta escipto: y estado en mar de Castilla salio tanto vieto cō migo. sul y fuese que meba fecho descargar los nauios po con aqui en este puerto de lisbona q̄ fue la mayo: maravilla del mundo adōde acorde esciuir a sus altezas. en todas las yndias de siempre balla do y los tēporall como en mayo adōde yo fuy en xxxiiidial y volui en xxviii saluo quetas conu: tas me ape tenido xlii dias corriendo por esta mar: vizen aqua todos los bōbres oda marq̄ mas ouo tan mal yuicio no ni tantas perdidas de naues fecha ba quatorze dias de marzo:

**ESTA Carta en bio Colom Almirante Deraciō
De las Yllas Halladas en Las Indias: Lōmias
A Oua De Ous Altezas**

them for it, they never refuse to give it; firstly, they invite the person who has it and show him so much love that they would give their hearts, and whether it be a thing of value or one of little price, they then for whatever thing, no matter how it was given them, are happy with it.

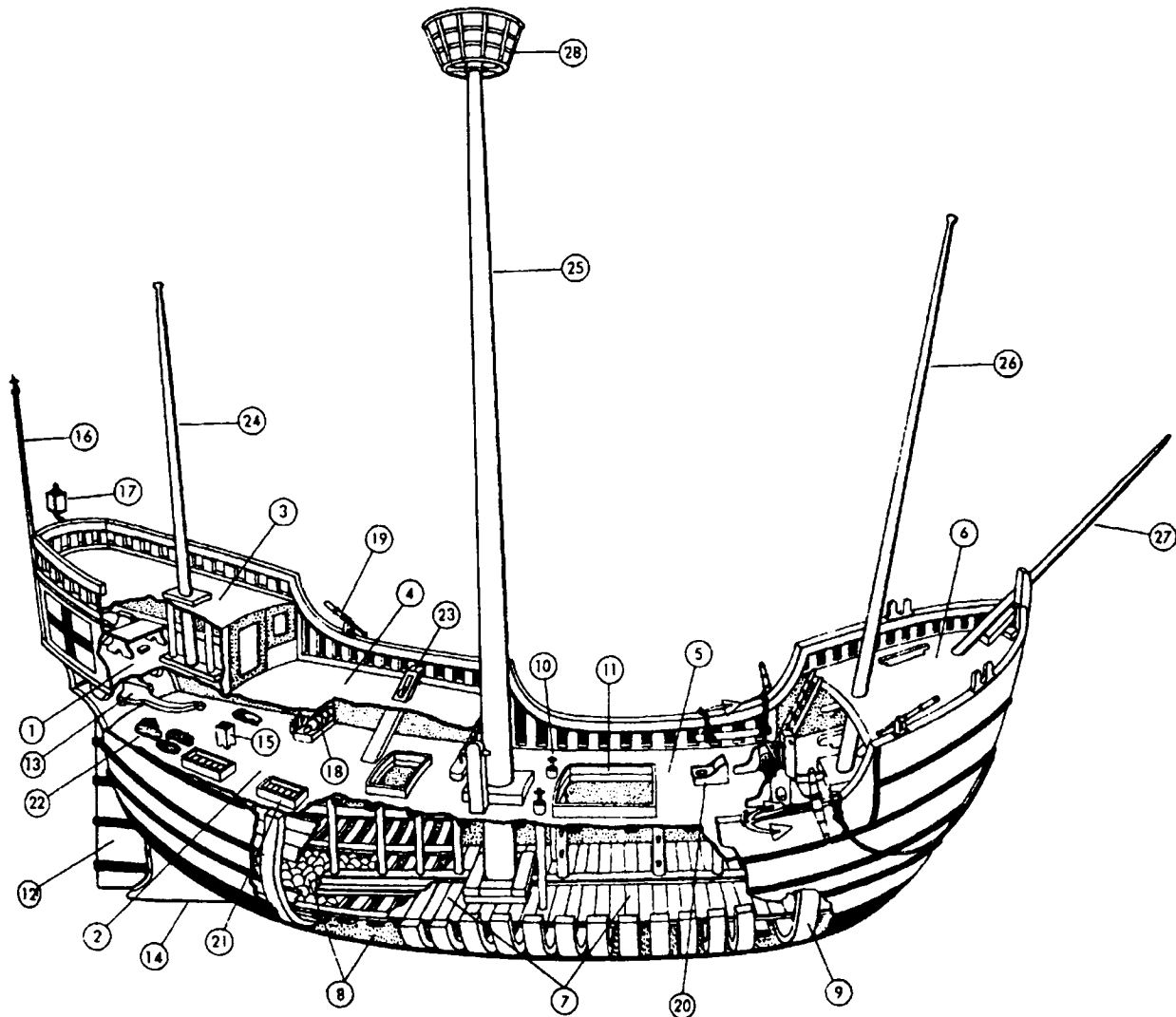
I forbid that they be given worthless things like broken pieces of pottery or broken glass or lace cordons, although whenever they could get their hands on those, they seemed to them like the best jewel in the world. It turned out that a sailor who got gold worth two and a half castellaños for one cordon, and others got much more for things worth much less. And for new copper coins they were giving as much gold as they had, even if it were two or three castellaños worth, or for one or two arrobas¹ of woven cotton. They even took pieces of broken barrel hoops, and they were giving what they had [behaving] like animals, so much so that it seemed to me a bad thing, and I forbid it. And I gave them for free a thousand good things I had so that they would get attached, and later on become Christians, accept the love and the service of Your Highnesses and of the whole Spanish nation; also, so that they would try and help us by giving us things they have in abundance and that are necessary for us.

They do not know about any sect, not even idolatry, except that they all believe that power and good are in the sky; and they believed very firmly that I, with the ships and crew, came from the sky, and as such they were receiving me at every cape after they had lost their fear. This did not come about as a result of their ignorance—they are

1 Ed. note: A Spanish weight equivalent to 25 pounds or 11.25 kilograms.

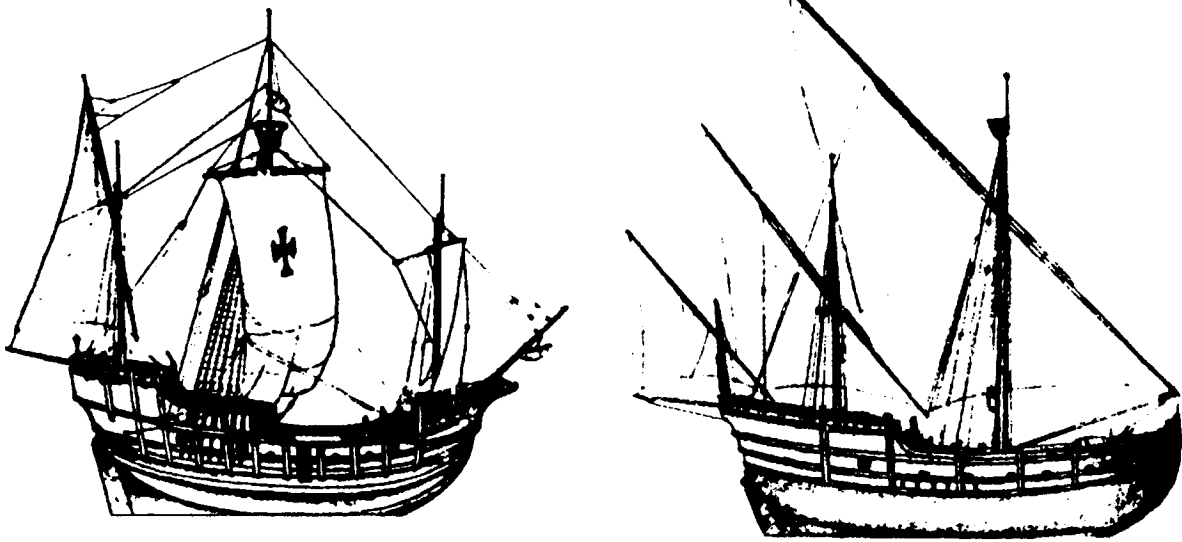


An artist's conception of Columbus' flagship. The label "Oceanica classis [præfectus]" means [Naval] Prefect, Oceanic class, i.e. Admiral of the Ocean Sea. This title referred to the Atlantic Ocean, as opposed to the Mediterranean Sea. (From a woodcut in the Latin edition of 1493 or 1494 printed in Basle)



Late 15th-century "round" nao and lateen caravel of the type used by Columbus on his voyage of discovery.

The detailed arrangement aboard a nao was as shown: (1) Captain's cabin, (2) crew quarters, (3) coach, or poop castle, (4) quarter-deck, (5) main deck, (6) fore castle, (7) hold, (8) well and ballast, (9) frame, (10) pump, (11) hatch, (12) rudder, (13) helm, (14) keel, (15) binnacle, (16) flag pole, (17) light or lantern, (18) bombard, (19) falconet, (20) firepit, or portable kitchen, (21) officer's chest, (22) mats for the crew, (23) belaying pin to fix the halliard, (24) mizzen-mast for a lateen sail, (25) main-maist for a "round" sail, (27) boom for a sprit sail, (28) crow's nest.



Spanish ships of the late 15th century, one rigged as a nao (left) and the other as a caravel with lateen sails. Both were used at the port of Palos whence Columbus set out on his voyage of discovery.

rather very ingenious, and men who sail over all of those seas, something that gives them a wonderful reputation—but because they had never seen people with clothes nor ships such as ours.

After I arrived at the Indies, at the first island that I discovered, I took a few of them by force so that they would learn [our language] and give me information about what there was in those parts. So it is that they eventually understood us and we them, either by words or signs. These men have improved very much; nowadays, I still have them with me and they are still of the opinion that I come from the sky, even after having had many conversations with me. They were the first to announce it wherever I came to, and the others would go from house to house, and to neighboring towns shouting: Come and see the people from the sky. And all of them, men and women, once they had gathered enough courage, would all come, even down to the smallest one, and bring us something to eat and drink, which they gave with amazing love.

At all the islands, they have very many canoes similar to [our] launches¹; there are some big ones, small ones, and not a few of them larger than a fusta with 18 thwarts. They are not as wide, however, because they are [dug out] of only one piece of wood; our row boat is nothing compared to theirs, because they go like you would not believe.

¹ Ed. note: The word used for launch is *fusta* which was a foyst or small patache. However, what is described here is a native dugout canoe.

Fernād⁹ rex byspania



Ferdinand, King of Spain, says the caption in Latin. His own kingdom of Castile was linked with that of his wife, Isabella, Queen of Leon. Hence the symbols of castles and lions on the shield representing the united kingdoms. The other shield, showing pomegranate fruits (called granada in Spanish), represented their recent conquest of Granada, just before Columbus left on his first voyage of discovery. (From the Basle edition)

With such canoes, they travel between all of those islands, which are numberless, and they carry their merchandise. I have seen some of these canoes with 70 to 80 men inside, each of them with his oar.

In all of those islands, I did not see much diversity in the features of the people, nor in their customs, nor in their language; rather, they all understand one another¹, which is something very noteworthy, given that I hope Your Highnesses will decide to convert them to our Holy Faith, toward which they are well disposed.

I have already said how I had covered 107 leagues along the sea coast, directly from west to east, along Juana Island; because of such a distance, I can say that this island is bigger than England and Scotland together, because beyond these 107 leagues, there remain towards the west two provinces that I have not visited, one of them they call Avan² where the people [sic] with tails live³; the said provinces cannot measure fewer than 50 or 60 leagues, according to what I can understand from these Indians I have with me, and they know all the islands.

As for Española Island, in circumference it has more than the whole of Spain from the port of Colunya⁴, along the coast, as far as Fuente Rabía in Vizcaya, given that, in one traverse, I covered 188 long leagues in a straight line from west to east. This island is desirable; to see it is never to leave it. Here, given that all might be taken possession of for Your Highnesses, and all could be better supplied than what I know or can say, I have taken [possession of] them all for Your Highnesses, and you may dispose of them as fully as with the kingdoms of Spain. At this Española, in one of the most convenient places and best regions for mining gold and for all types of businesses, from the mainland here, as well as from there to the mainland of the Great Can⁵, where there

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- 1 Ed. note: A little white lie, because he noted in his logbook that the dialects spoken in the Bahamas (and Cuba) and spoken at the Dominican Republic “had some diversity in the words for things”, and that his Lucayan (Bahamian) interpreters “did not understand well”. Among other things, this difference is at the origin of our modern words: Caribbean, and cannibal, words of the same origin, and with connotations similar to the words Inuit versus Eskimo. See further comments in another footnote below.
 - 2 Ed. note: Havana today. Written Anan, Nahan or Nhan depending of the source manuscript.
 - 3 Ed. note: Volafan, who has provided a Spanish transcription of this letter, says (in Sanz’ **El gran secreto**, p. 490) that the word Agnan meant devil in the Carib language, and that there was a misunderstanding here between the Spanish and their Lucayan guides who were probably talking about monkeys, not men.
 - 4 Ed. note: Apparently the port of Colibre in Cataluña, according to Volafan. The port of Collioure which then belonged to Aragon, says Samuel Eliot Morison, in his translation (Sanz, p. 502). Some Spanish translators are of the opinion that Colunya means Columnas [The Columns], i.e. Gibraltar, but that would not correspond to “the whole of Spain”.
 - 5 Ed. note: A reference to the Great Khan or Mongolian ruler of China, as reported by Marco Polo.



King Ferdinand of Spain learning about the events of the first voyage of Columbus who, with three small ships, went on to discover the West Indies, although he thought he had reached the coast of China, part of “Upper India”. The so-called Indians whom he met were all naked, and some were said by him to have been cannibals. (From the Florence 1493 edition in Italian)

will be great business and profit, I have taken possession of a large town, to which I gave the name of Town of Navidad. In it, I have built defenses and a fort which should all be completed by now, and I have left at it enough people for such a job, with weapons, artillery and food supplies for more than one year, with one *fusta* [i.e. launch] and a master of all sea trades to make [more]. There is a great friendship between the King of that land, to such a degree that he prided himself in calling me and treating me as a brother. Although he might change his mind and attack these men [of ours], neither he nor his people know what are weapons, and they go naked as I have said, and they are the most frightened ones in the world. So, the people [I] left there are enough to destroy that whole land; it is an island without danger to their persons, if they know how to control themselves.¹

In all of these islands it seems to me that all the men are contented with one woman, but to their leader or King² they give as many as twenty. It seems to me that the women work more than the men. I have not been able to find out if they have their own properties; rather it seemed to me that I saw that what one had they all shared, specially the edible stuff.

In these islands, until now I have not found any monstrous men as many [of us] had expected; to the contrary, all the people have very pretty countenance, as they are not black as in Guinea³, and have their hair loose, and they do not grow up where the effect of the solar rays are too strong. It is true that the sun is strong, given that the distance from the equinoctial line is 26 degrees⁴, but in these islands, where there are big mountains, there the cold was strong this winter as well; however, these people tolerate

1 Ed. note: They did not, because when Columbus returned on his second voyage, they had all disappeared (the Indians also) and the fort burned to the ground. The site of Navidad has been recently re-discovered on the north coast of Haïti, east of the town of Cap Haïtien.

2 Ed. note: In his logbook, Columbus says that the Indian word for King was Cacique. This word was later used by the Spanish colonists to refer to petty native rulers or tribal chiefs.

3 Ed. note: The word Guinea was used then to mean Africa as a whole.

4 Ed. note: Columbus' latitudes are notoriously too high throughout his logbook. The latitude of the north coast of Haïti is about 20° N.



King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. *They had married in 1469, and soon inherited kingdoms which they proceeded to unite as one country. Queen Isabella was the patroness of Columbus.*

it out of habit and with the help of the food they eat which is very hot and spicy in the extreme. So, as far as monsters are concerned, I have not heard of any, except that there is one island¹, which is here the second one at the entrance of the Indies, that is populated by a people whom in all the islands they estimate very fierce, and who eat living flesh. They have canoes with which they rove all the islands of India, steal and take as

1 Ed. note: Some other copy of Columbus's letter, says "island of Quarives". Hence, the word Carib for that tribe of man-eaters, also called Caniba in their own language, according to the same Columbus in his logbook (entry of 13 January 1493); hence, the origin of the word cannibal. The island in question is called Dominica today. Peter Martyr, however, in his 8th Decade, Chapter 6, says that the word Carib meant "stronger" in all the dialects of the region.

much as they can. They are not more misshapen than the others, except that they have the custom of wearing their hair long like women. They use bows and arrows made of the same cane as the weapons¹, with the little stick at the tip, for lack of iron which they do not have. They are fierce, when compared with these other peoples who are cowardly to such a high degree, but I do not consider them much different than the others. They are the ones who deal with the women of Matremonio², which is the first island to be found [when] coming from Spain toward the Indies, in which there are no men at all. These women do not use feminine exercise, rather bows and arrows, made of cane like the above-mentioned ones, and they arm themselves and cover themselves with sheets of copper³, which they have in quantity.

In another island, which they have assured me is larger than Española, the people have no hair at all. And there is gold aplenty. From it and from the others I bring with me some Indians as a proof.⁴

In conclusion, just to mention what has been done during this voyage, which was a bit hurried, Your Highnesses will see that I will give you as much gold as necessary, with the very small assistance that Your Highnesses will give me; as for spices and cotton, as much as Your Highnesses will wish, and mastic trees as many as you wish to be loaded, of the type that heretofore has only been found in Greece at the island of Chios, which the [Venitian] Government sells as it wishes. As for aloes, as much as you wish loaded, and the same for slaves, who would be idolaters. I believe I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and I will find a thousand useful things, such as the men I have left there would have found already; I myself did not tarry at any cape, whenever the wind was favorable to me, except at the Town of Navidad, in order to fortify and settle it. In truth, I would have done much more if the ships had served me as reason demanded it.⁵

1 Ed. note: The cane spears mentioned earlier.

2 Ed. note: Thus in the printed version, which is a Freudian slip for "marriage". The word is written Mateunin in the first Latin edition, which came from the Matinino of the other manuscript copies, and of Columbus' logbook. The name of this island was later written Martinica, and it is today's French Martinique. The island was then reported to be peopled with amazons.

3 Ed. note: The Spanish word used by Columbus was "alambre", a word now meaning "copper wire" or simply "wire". Copper plates were then used as rudimentary armor, it seems.

4 Ed. note: The first time that the word "Indios", i.e. Indians, appeared in print; it became synonymous with "natives of the New World", even after it was realized that India was located nowhere near America.

5 Ed. note: Admiral Morison says that this is an oblique reference to Captain Pinzon, who had gone ahead in the *Pinta* once, without Columbus' permission. No mention is here made of the loss of his own flagship, which occurred one night when a lone ship's boy had been left at the helm.



The New World that Columbus had discovered was to be conquered in the name of Christ as well as for the Christian King... (*From the Strasburg 1497 edition in German*)

Enough said. Eternal God, Our Lord, [is the one] who gives, to all those who follow his way, victory in things seemingly impossible, and this voyage was certainly one of those. Although others¹ have talked about these lands, the tales were all conjectures and not eyewitness reports, except that, understanding as much as the eyewitnesses, some would listen and judge it to be a mere fable, with not even a little bit true. So it is that our Redeemer has given this victory to our Most Illustrious King and Queen and to their famous kingdoms such a high thing, from which the whole of Christendom may rejoice and celebrate, giving solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity, with many solemn prayers for the great exaltation to be had in annexing so many peoples to our Holy Faith, and afterwards for the good weather. Not only Spain but the whole of Christen-

1 Ed. note: Marco Polo, Ptolemy, etc. but certainly not a reference to the Viking sagas.

dom will find refreshments and profit here. This is in accordance with the facts, albeit briefly.

From aboard the caravel off the Canary [sic] Islands, on the 15th of February of the year 1493.¹

I am at your command,
The Admiral.²



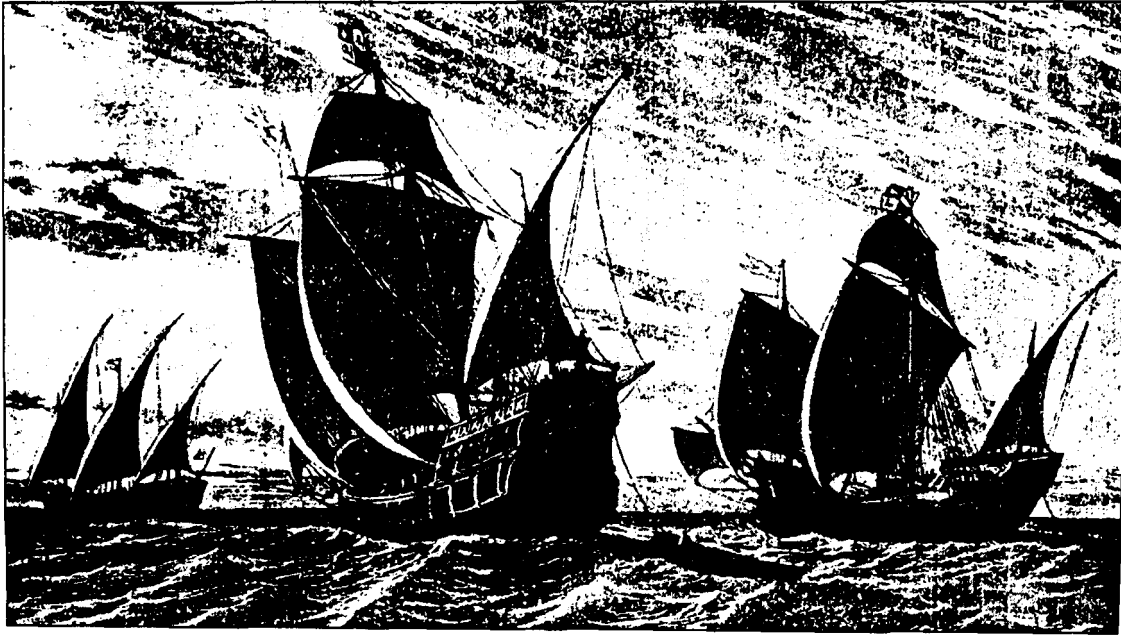
Facsimile signature of Columbus

.S.
.S. A .S.
X̄ p o F E R E N S



Christopher Columbus. *Two contemporary portraits. The one on the left is more authentic; it is copied from Capriolo, 1596. Columbus' cryptic signature is: "Servus Supplex Altissimi Salvatoris. Jesus, Maria, Joseph. Christo Ferens." The last words mean Christopher, the bearer of Christ.*

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- 1 Ed. note: Thus in the printed version, but as follows in other manuscripts: "above the Island of S. Maria [i.e. in the Azores], 18th Feb 93."
 - 2 Ed. note: As it is said in most Latin editions: *Oceanica classis praefectus*, part of which can be seen in the figure on page 49. The original letters were signed Christopher Colón.



The three ships of Columbus. *His flagship, the Santa María, of 100 tons, was wrecked off the northern coast of Hispaniola Island (Haiti today). The Pinta was a square-rigged "round caravel" or nao of 60 tons, and the Niña, a caravel of 50 tons. (From Koelliker, based on a painting (1885) by Rafael Monleón, in the Museo Naval, Madrid)*

Document 1492B

List of the officers and sailors in the first voyage of Columbus

Sources: Appendix C of Vol. II of John Fiske's The Discovery of America, Boston & New York, Houghton & Mifflin, 1892. Taken from Captain Cesáreo Fernández Duro's Colón y Pinzón: Informe relativo a los pormenores de descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo, Madrid, 1883. This list has been amended by Francisco Javier Delgado, after a study of the account books of the Casa de Contratación (1503-1515) in AGI. As a result, the official list was published by the Comisión Arqueológica Ejecutiva, in their book entitled: La nao Santa María (Madrid, 1892).

Those who went out in the *Santa María*, and returned in the *Niña*

Christopher Columbus, captain-general.
 Juan de la Cosa, of Santoña, master, and owner of the vessel.
 Sancho Ruiz, pilot.
 Alonso Pérez Roldán, pilot.
 Maestre Diego, boatswain.
 Rodrigo Sánchez, of Segovia, inspector.
 Pedro Terreros, steward.
 Rodrigo de Jerez, of Ayamonte.
 Ruiz García, of Santoña.
 Rodrigo de Escobar.
 Rui Fernández, of Huelva.
 Pedro de Soria.
 Pedro de Bilbao, of Larrabezua.
 Pedro de Villa, of Santoña.
 Diego de Salcedo, servant of Columbus.
 Pedro de Acevedo, cabin boy.



The ship Santa María.

Those who went and returned in the *Pinta*

Martín Alonso Pinzón, of Palos, captain.
 Francisco Martin Pinzón, of Palos, master.
 Cristóbal García Xalmiento (or Sarmiento), pilot.
 Juan de Umbría, pilot.
 Juan de Jerez, of Palos, mariner.
 Bartolomé García, of Palos, boatswain.
 Juan Pérez Vizcaino, of Palos, caulker.
 García Hernández, of Palos, steward.
 Rodrigo de Triana, of Lepe.¹
 Juan Rodriguez Bermejo, of Molinos.
 Juan de Sevilla.
 García Alonso, of Palos.
 Gomez Rascón, of Palos, part-owner of the vessel.
 Critóbal Quintero, of Palos, part-owner of the vessel.
 Juan Quintero, of Palos.
 Diego Bermúdez, of Palos.
 Juan Bermúdez, of Palos.²
 Francisco García Gallego, of Moguer.
 Francisco García Vallejo, of Moguer.³
 Pedro de Arcos, of Palos.

Those who went and returned in the *Niña*

Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, of Palos, captain.
 Juan Niño, of Moguer, master [and owner].
 Pedro Alonso Niño, of Moguer, pilot.⁴
 Bartolomé Roldán, of Palos, pilot.
 Diego Martín Pinzón, of Palos, known as “the old man”.
 Francisco Pinzón, of Palos.
 Francisco Niño, of Moguer.
 Bartolomé Pérez.
 Gutiérre(z) Pérez, of Palos.
 Juan Ortiz, of Palos.
 Alonso Gutiérrez Querido, of Palos.

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- 1 Ed. note: He was the sailor who first sighted the land of America.
 - 2 Ed. note: He who later discovered the island of Bermuda.
 - 3 Ed. note: Probably the same man as the one immediately preceding.
 - 4 Ed. note: Morison says that Sancho Ruiz da Gama was pilot of the *Niña*.



Another portrait of Columbus. *From an engraving in Jules Verne's The Exploration of the World, based on a woodcut by Paolo Giovio's Elogia virorum bellica virtute Illustrium, Basle, 1596.*

Those certified as having been left at Hispaniola, where they perished, most of them murdered by the natives

Diego de Arana, of Córdoba, master-at-arms (as governor).
Pedro Gutiérrez, keeper of the King's drawing room (as lieutenant-governor).
Rodrigo de Escobedo, of Segovia, notary (as second lieutenant).
Maestre Alonso, of Moguer, physician.
Diego Lorenzo, constable.
Luis de Torres, converted Jew, interpreter.
Lope, caulker.
Domingo de Lequeitio.
Jacome el Rico, Genoese.
Pedro de Lepe.
Alonso Morales.
Andrés de Huelva, cabin boy.
Francisco de Huelva, of Huelva.

Others, all unconfirmed members of the crew

Alonso Velez de Mendoza, of Seville.
Alvar Perez Osorio, of Castrojeriz.
Antonio de Jaen, of Jaen.
The Bachelor Bernardino de Tapia, of Ledesma.
Cristóbal del Alamo, of Niebla.
Castillo, silversmith and assayer, of Seville.
Diego García, of Jerez.
Diego de Tordoya, of Cabeza de Buey, in Estremadura.
Diego de Capilla, of Almaden.
Diego de Torpa.
Diego de Mables, of Mables.
Diego de Mendoza, of Guadalajara.
Diego de Montalban, of Jaen.
Domingo de Bermeo.
Francisco Fernandez.
Francisco de Godoy, of Seville.
Francisco de Aranda, of Aranda.
Francisco de Henao, of Avila.
Francisco Ximénez, of Seville.
Gabriel Baraona, of Belmonte.
Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia, of Leon.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia, of Segovia.¹
Guillermo Ires, [qy. William Irish?] of Galney [i.e. Galway], Ireland.²
Fernando de Porcuna.
Jorge Gonzalez, of Trigueros.
Maestre Juan, surgeon.
Juan de Urniga [= Urriaga?].
Juan Morcillo, of Villanueva de la Serena.
Juan de Cueva, of Castuera.
Juan Patiño, of La Serena.
Juan del Barco, of Barco de Avila.
Juan de Villar, of Villar.
Juan de Mendoza.
Martin de Logrosa, of Logrosa.
Pedro Corbacho, of Cáceres.
Pedro de Talavera.
Pedro de Foronda.
Sebastian de Mayorga, of Majorca.
Tristan de San Jorge.
Tallarte de Lages [qy. Arthur Laws, or Larkins?], of England.³

1 Ed. note: Probably the same man as immediately above.

2 Ed. note: Morison says: "It is not true that an Englishman and an Irishman were on board... The notion that an Englishman and an Irishman were in Columbus' fleet is derived from a list printed in Navarrete's *Colección*, ii, pp. 19-20, which includes not a single crew member... Alice B. Gould of Boston devoted many years to seeking out data on the men and establishing an impregnable list. Her findings appeared in the *Boletín* of the *Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, between 1924 and 1944."

3 Idem. Same as previous note.

Document 1493

The Papal Bull of 4 May 1493 established the Line of Demarcation, thus splitting the New World into Portuguese and Spanish spheres of influence

Sources: The original bull, in Latin, issued by Pope Alexander VI, exists in the Vatican archives in Rome. An authenticated official copy is in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville, Spain, under file number: Patronato, Simancas: Bulas; Est. 1, caj. 1, leg. 1. Another authenticated copy is in the national archives of Portugal, called Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, under file number: Gaveta 10, maço 11, n° 16. A Spanish translation, by Grecian de Aldrete, secretary of Felipe II is in the same file at AGI; a copy of which is in the British Library in London, under Add. mss. 13,977: Papeles varios de Indias. This Spanish version has been published in the Colección ... de Indias, Vol. 16, pp. 356-362. I have followed the English translation in Blair & Robertson, Vol. I of the series: The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, pp. 105-111, 340.

***INTER CÆTERA* — MAY 4 [1493]**

Alexander, etc.¹ to the illustrious sovereigns, our very dear son in Christ, Fernando [i.e. Ferdinand], King, and our very dear daughter in Christ, Isabella [i.e. Elizabeth], Queen of Castile and Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Granada, health, and apostolic blessing.

Among other things well pleasing to his divine Majesty and cherished of our heart, this one assuredly ranks highest: that especially in our times, the Catholic faith and the Christian law be exalted and everywhere fomented and propagated, and barbarous nations overthrown and brought to the faith itself.

Whereof inasmuch as by the favor of divine clemency, through no merits of ours, we have been raised to so holy a see as Peter's, recognizing that as true Catholic kings and princes such as we have always known you to be, and as your illustrious deeds have al-

¹ Ed. note: Alexander VI was Pope from 1492 to 1503.



Pope Alexander VI, author of the Bull “Inter cætera”. *He was born in Valencia, Spain, with the name Rodrigo de Borgia. He issued a bull entitled “Inter cætera”, which means “Among other things”, soon after the news of Columbus’ discovery of the New World reached him in March 1493.*

ready become known to almost the whole world, [that] you, not only desire but with every effort, zeal, and diligence, without regard to hardships, expenses, dangers, with the shedding even of your blood, are laboring to that end; that besides you have already long ago dedicated to this purpose your whole soul and all your endeavors, as witnessed in these times with so much glory to the divine name in your recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the yoke of the Moors, we therefore not unrighteously hold it as our duty to grant you even of our own accord and in your favor those things whereby daily and with heartier effort you may be enabled for the honor of God himself and the spread of the Christian rule to accomplish your saintly and praiseworthy purpose so pleasing to immortal God.

In truth, we have learned that, according to your purpose long ago you were in quest of some faraway islands and mainlands not hitherto discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith their inhabitants and dwellers therein, that, hitherto having been earnestly engaged in the siege and recovery of the kingdom itself of Granada, you were unable to accomplish this saintly and praiseworthy purpose; but at length, as was pleasing to the Lord, the said kingdom having been regained, not without the greatest hardships, dangers, and expenses, that with the wish to fulfil your desire, you chose our beloved son, Christopher Columbus, a man assuredly worthy and of the highest recommendation as well as provided [him] with ships and men equipped for like designs, to make a diligent quest for these faraway, unknown mainlands and islands through the sea, where hitherto no-one has sailed¹; who at length, with divine aid, nor without the utmost diligence, sailing in the Ocean Sea discovered certain very faraway islands and even mainlands that hitherto had not been discovered by others, wherein dwell very many peoples living in peace, and, as reported, going unclothed, and not users of flesh meat; and, as your aforesaid envoys are of the opinion, these very peoples living in the said islands and countries believe in one God, Creator in heaven, besides being sufficiently ready in appearance to embrace the Catholic faith and be trained in good morals. Nor is hope lacking that, were they instructed, the name of the Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, would easily be introduced into the said countries and islands. Besides on one of these aforesaid chief islands the said Christopher has already ordered to be assembled and built a well-equipped fortress², wherein he has stationed as garrison certain Christians, companions of his, who are to make a search for other faraway and unknown islands and mainlands. In certain islands and countries already discovered are found gold, spices, and very many other precious things of divers kinds and characteristics.

Wherefore, as becoming to Catholic kings and princes, after earnest consideration of all matters, especially of the increase and spread of the Catholic faith, as was the fashion of your ancestors, kings of renowned memory, you have purported with the favor of divine clemency to bring under your sway the said mainlands and islands with their inhabitants and the dwellers therein, and bring them to the Catholic faith.

Hence in heartiest commendation in the Lord of this your saintly and praiseworthy purpose, desirous too that it be duly accomplished in the carrying to those regions of the name of our Savior, we exhort you very earnestly in the Lord and insist strictly both through your reception of holy baptism, whereby you are bound to our apostolic commands, and in the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, inasmuch as with upright spirit and through zeal for the true faith you design to equip and despatch this

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- 1 Ed. note: Columbus himself knew that lands existed west of the Canary Islands, because some Canary Island fishermen had told him so earlier; this was his secret. So, Vikings asides, his was not really the first European discovery of America.
 - 2 Ed. note: In December 1492, Columbus began the construction of a fort at La Navidad, on the northern coast of Española or Hispaniola (Haïti today). However, when he returned, a year later, the garrison and the fort had been destroyed by the natives.

expedition, your purpose also as is your duty to lead the peoples dwelling in those islands and countries to embrace the Christian religion. Do not at any time let dangers nor hardships deter you therefrom, with the stout hope and trust in your hearts that Almighty God will further your undertakings.

Moreover, moved thereunto by our own accord, not at your instance nor the request of any one else on your behalf, but wholly of our own largess and certain knowledge as well as fulness of our apostolic power, by the authority of Almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we hold on earth, in order that with greater readiness and heartiness you enter upon an understanding of so lofty a character as has been entrusted to you by the graciousness of our apostolic favor, by tenor of these presents should any of the said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, **we do give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, sites, places, and towns, as well as all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered toward the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antarctic pole, namely the south, no matter whether the said mainlands and islands are found or to be found in the direction of India or toward any other quarter, the said line to the west and south to be distant one hundred leagues from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde.**¹ With the proviso, however, that none of the islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered beyond that said line towards the west and south, be in the actual possession of any Christian king or prince up to the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ just past in the present year 1493.

Moreover, we make, appoint and delegate you and your said heirs and successors owners of them with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction of every kind; with this proviso, however, that through this gift, grant, and assignment of ours no right conferred on any Christian prince, who may be in actual possession of said islands and mainlands up to the said birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ, is hereby to be considered as withdrawn or to be withdrawn.

Moreover, we command you in virtue of holy obedience that, employing all due diligence in the premises, as you promise, nor do we doubt your compliance therein to the best of your loyalty and royal greatness of spirit, you send to the aforesaid mainlands and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men, in order

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine. It is said that this first distance of 100 leagues, which was changed later, came to the Pope after reading a copy of Columbus' journal of his first voyage, in which he said that, upon reaching that point, on 13 September 1492, he found no variation on his compass, as his needle pointed straight towards the north star. Thus, the first line of demarcation was viewed as a basic meridian from which to measure all others. Later on, St. Michael's in the Azores was chosen for the same reason, then Cádiz, and/or Paris and finally Greenwich, once it was realized that magnetic variation was not a constant phenomenon, and that a nation's main port was a better reference point from which to measure longitudes.

to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and dwellers therein in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals.

Besides, under penalty of excommunication *latae sententiae* to be incurred ipso facto, should anyone thus contravene, we strictly forbid all persons of whatsoever rank, even imperial and royal, or of whatsoever estate, degree, order, or condition, to dare, without your special permit, or that of your aforesaid heirs and successors, to go, as charged, for the purpose of trade or any other reason to the islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole to the Antarctic pole, no matter whether the mainlands and islands found and to be found lie in the direction of India or towards any other quarter whatsoever, the said line to the west and south to be distant one hundred leagues from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde¹, the apostolic constitutions and ordinances and other decrees whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

We trust Him from whom derive empires and governments and everything good, that undertaking, in a short while your hardships and endeavors will result in the utmost success, to the happiness and glory of the whole of Christendom.

But inasmuch as it would be difficult to have these present letters sent to all places where desirable, we wish, and with similar accord and knowledge do decree, that to copies of them, signed by the hands of any public notary commissioned therefor, and sealed with the seal of any ecclesiastical officer or ecclesiastical court, the same respect is to be shown in court and outside as well as anywhere else as would be given to these presents, should they thus be exhibited or shown. Let no-one therefore, etc., infringe, etc., this our recommendation, gift, grant, assignment, constitution, delegation, decree, mandate, prohibition, and will. Should any one, etc.

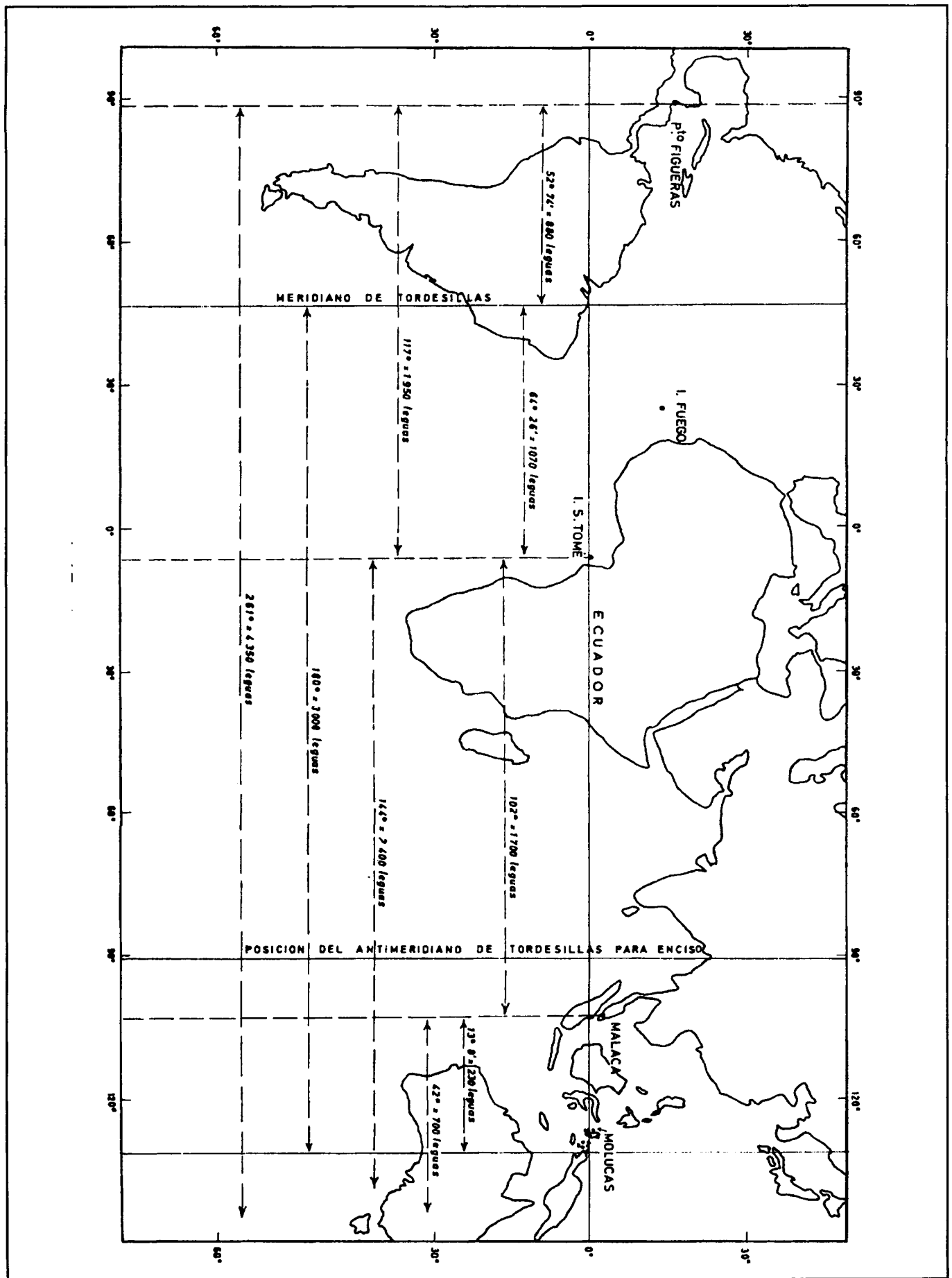
Given at Rome at St. Peter's in the year, etc. [= of Our Lord] 1493, the 4th day of May, and the first year of our pontificate. Gratis by order of our Most Holy Lord the Pope.

D. Gallectus.

For the registrar: A. de Muciarellis.

Collator: L. Amerinus.

1 The actual text from Columbus' logbook is as follows: "*Thursday 13th of September... On this day [measured from noon to noon] at the beginning of the evening, the needles varied toward the NW and in the morning they varied somewhat toward the NE.*" (From Folio 3 verso of the ms. copy made by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and reproduced by Carlos Sanz (ed.), *Diario de Colón*, 1962).



Document 1494

The Treaty of Tordesillas changed the Line of Demarcation

Sources: Treaty of Tordesillas, dated 7 June 1494. Original ms. in AGI Seville: Simancas—Bulas, est. 1, caj. 1, leg. 1; also in Torre do Tombo: Gaveta 17, maço 2, n° 24 & Gaveta 18, maço 2, n° 2. Published in Navarrete's Colección de los viages, ii, pp. 130-143 (147-162, 2nd ed.); in Col. doc. inéd. Amér. y Océania, vol. 26, pp. 54-74; and in ACL's Alguns documentos, pp. 69-80. Translation into English in B&R I, pp. 122-129.

Introductory note

When the Portuguese court received their copy of the papal bull (See Doc. 1493), they did not agree with the Pope's decision to restrict their sphere of influence to the east side of a meridian passing 100 leagues west of the Azores and/or Cape Verde. Oblivious to the fact that a shift to this line in the Atlantic might adversely affect their future discoveries on the Asian side, if this line were extended around the globe, they registered their protest. In June 1494, the two nations held a convention at Tordesillas, which resulted in the present Treaty, which moved the line 270 leagues further west, and changed the datum line to the Cape Verde Islands only, but without determining which island in the group. A worse complication was to occur later when the Magellan Expedition met with the Portuguese at the antipodes in the Moluccas.

This treaty of partition was signed by the respective envoys of the Spanish and Portuguese kings, on 7 June, at Tordesillas. It was ratified by the King and Queen of Spain at Arevalo on 2 July, and by the King of Portugal at Setubal on 5 September.

(Facing page) **The division of the world according to the Treaty of Tordesillas.** *The Line of Demarcation is at about 47°W of Greenwich, and the anti-meridian was in fact east of the Moluccas, but the Spanish believed it to be west of them. The ownership of the Moluccas thus remained in dispute for some time. (From Teixeira da Mota's "A viagem", Lisbon, 1975, f.p. 146)*

Text of the Treaty of Tordesillas

Thereupon it was declared by the above-mentioned representatives of the aforesaid King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, etc., and of the aforesaid King of Portugal and the Algarves, etc., that:

Whereas a certain controversy exists between the said lords, their constituents, as to what lands, of all those discovered in the Ocean Sea up to the present day, the date of this treaty, belong to each one of the said parties respectively; therefore, for the sake of peace and concord, and for the preservation of the relationship and love of the said King of Portugal for the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., it being the pleasure of their Highnesses, they, their said representatives, acting in their name and by virtue of their powers herein described, have **convenanted and agreed that a boundary or straight line be determined and drawn north and south, from pole to pole, on the said Ocean Sea, from the Arctic pole to the Antarctic pole. This boundary, or line, shall be drawn straight, as aforesaid, at a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands¹**, being calculated by degrees [of longitude], or by any other manner, as may be considered the best and readiest, provided the distance shall be no greater than above said². And all lands, both islands and mainlands, found and discovered already, or to be found and discovered hereafter by the said King of Portugal and by his vessels on this side of the said line and boundary determined as above, toward the east, in either north or south latitude, on the eastern side of the said boundary, provided the said boundary is not crossed, shall belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to the said King of Portugal and his successors. And all other lands, both islands and mainlands, found or to be found hereafter, discovered or shall be discovered by the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and by their vessels, on the western side of the said boundary, determined as above, after having passed the said boundary toward the west, in either north or south latitude, shall belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, etc., and to their successors.

Item. The said representatives promise and affirm by virtue of the powers aforesaid, that from this date no ships shall be despatched, namely as follows: the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., for this part of the boundary, and its eastern side, on this side of the said boundary, which belongs to the said King of Portugal and the Algarves, etc.; nor the said King of Portugal to the other part of the said boundary which belongs to the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., for the purpose of discovering and seeking any mainlands or islands, or for the purpose of trade, barter, or conquest of any kind. But should it come to pass that the said ships of the said King

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

2 Ed. note: Depending on which point in the Cape Verde Islands is picked as a reference point, this demarcation line corresponds to a meridian between 44 and 48 degrees of longitude west of Greenwich, more exactly 47° W if the island of San Antón is chosen (See: (1) Navarrete, *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 55-56; (2) Texeira da Mota, *A viagem*, p. 150).

and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., on sailing thus on this side of the said boundary, should discover any mainlands or islands in the region belonging, as above said, to the said King of Portugal, such mainlands or islands shall pertain and belong forever to the said King of Portugal and his heirs, and their Highnesses shall order them to be surrendered to him immediately. And if the said ships of the said King of Portugal discover any islands and mainlands in the regions of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., all such lands shall belong to and remain forever in the possession of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., and their heirs, and the said King of Portugal shall cause such lands to be surrendered immediately.

Item. In order that the said line or boundary of the said division may be made straight and as nearly as possible the said distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, as hereinbefore stated, the said representatives of both of the said parties agree and assent that within the ten months immediately following the date of this treaty, their said constituent lords shall despatch two or four caravels, namely, one or two by each one of them, a greater or lesser number, as they may mutually consider necessary. These vessels shall meet at the Grand Canary Island during this time, and each one of the said parties shall send certain persons in them, to wit, pilots, astrologers¹, sailors, and any others they may deem desirable. But there must be as many on one side as on the other, and certain of the said pilots, astrologers, sailors, and others of those sent by the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and who are experienced, shall embark in the ships of the said King of Portugal and the Algarves; in like manner, certain of the said persons sent by the King of Portugal shall embark in the ship or ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., a like number in each case, so that they may jointly study and examine to better advantage the sea, courses, winds, and the degrees of the sun [i.e. its elevation] and of north latitude, and lay out the degrees [sic]² aforesaid, in order that, in determining the line and boundary, all sent and empowered by both the said parties in the said vessels, shall jointly concur.

These said vessels shall continue their course together to the said Cape Verde Islands, from whence they shall lay a direct course to the west, to the distance of the said three hundred and seventy leagues, measured as the said persons shall agree, and measured without prejudice to the said parties. When this point is reached, such point shall constitute the place and mark for measuring the degrees of the sun and of north latitude, either by daily runs measured in leagues, or in any other manner that shall mutually be deemed better.³ This said line shall be drawn north and south as aforesaid, from the said Arctic pole to the said Antarctic pole. And when this line has been determined as

1 Ed. note: Meaning astronomers, cosmographers or geographers.

2 Ed. note: The degrees of longitude equivalent to 370 leagues. A consultant for the King of Spain was later of the opinion that such a distance corresponded to 18 degrees (Opinion of Jaime Ferrer, in Navarrete ii, p. 99).

3 Ed. note: This was a tall order, for lawyers to ascribe to navigators, as the science for determining longitudes at sea did not yet exist. It is no wonder that such a scientific expedition never took place, even though, on 7 May 1495, a prorogation of 10 more months had been agreed upon (See Doc. 1524B).

above said, those sent by each of the aforesaid parties, to whom each one of the said parties must delegate his own authority and power, to determine the said mark and boundary, shall draw up a document concerning it and affix thereto their signatures. And when determined by the mutual consent of all of them, this line shall be considered forever as a perpetual mark and boundary, in such wise that the said parties, or either of them, or their future successors, shall be unable to deny it, or erase or remove it, at any time or in any manner whatsoever. And should, perchance, the said line and boundary from pole to pole, as aforesaid, intersect any island or mainland, at the first point of such intersection of such island or mainland by the said line, some kind of mark or tower shall be erected, and a succession of similar marks shall be erected in a straight line from such mark or tower, in a line identical with the above-mentioned bound. These marks shall separate those portions of such land belonging to each one of the said parties; and the subjects of the said parties shall not dare, on either side, to enter the territory of the other, by crossing the said mark or boundary in such island or mainland.

Item: Inasmuch as the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., sailing as before declared, from their kingdoms and dominions to their possessions on the other side of the said line, must cross the seas on this side of the line belonging to the said King of Portugal, it is therefore concerted and agreed that the said ships of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, etc., shall, at any time and without any hindrance, sail in either direction, freely, securely, and peacefully, over the said seas of the said King of Portugal, and within the said line. And whenever their Highnesses and their successors wish to do so, and deem it expedient, their said ships may take their courses and routes direct from their kingdoms to any region within their line and boundary to which they desire to despatch expeditions of discovery, conquest, and trade, they shall take their course direct to the desired region and for any purpose desired therein, and shall not leave their course, unless compelled to do so by contrary weather. They shall do this, provided that, before crossing the said line, they shall not seize or take possession of anything discovered in his said region by the said King of Portugal; and should their said ships find anything before crossing the said line, as aforesaid, it shall belong to the said King of Portugal, and their Highnesses shall order it surrendered immediately. And since it is possible that the ships and subjects of the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, etc., or those acting in their name, may discover within the next twenty days of this present month of June following the date of this treaty, some islands and mainlands within the said line, drawn straight from pole to pole, that is to say, inside the said three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, as aforesaid, it is hereby agreed and determined, in order to remove any doubt, that all such islands and mainlands found and discovered in any manner whatsoever up to the said twentieth day of the said month of June, although found by ships and subjects of the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., shall belong to and remain forever in the possession of the said King of Portugal and the Algarves, and of his successors and kingdoms, provided that they lie within the first two hundred and fifty leagues of the said three hundred and seventy leagues as reckoned west of the Cape

Verde Islands to the above-mentioned line, in whatsoever part, even to the said poles, of the said two hundred and fifty leagues they may be found, determining a boundary or straight line from pole to pole, where the said two hundred and fifty leagues end.

Likewise, all the islands and mainlands found and discovered up to the said twentieth day of this present month of June, by the ships and subjects of the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., or in any other manner, within the other one hundred and twenty leagues that still remain of the said three hundred and seventy leagues where the said boundary that is to be drawn from pole to pole, as aforesaid, must be determined, and in whatever part of the said one hundred and twenty leagues, even to the said poles that they are found up to the said day, shall belong to and remain forever in the possession of the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and of the successors and kingdoms; just as whatever is or shall be found on the other side of the said three hundred and seventy leagues belonging to their Highnesses, as aforesaid, is and must be theirs, although the said one hundred and twenty leagues are within the said boundary of the said three hundred and seventy leagues belonging to the said King of Portugal, the Algarves, etc., as aforesaid.

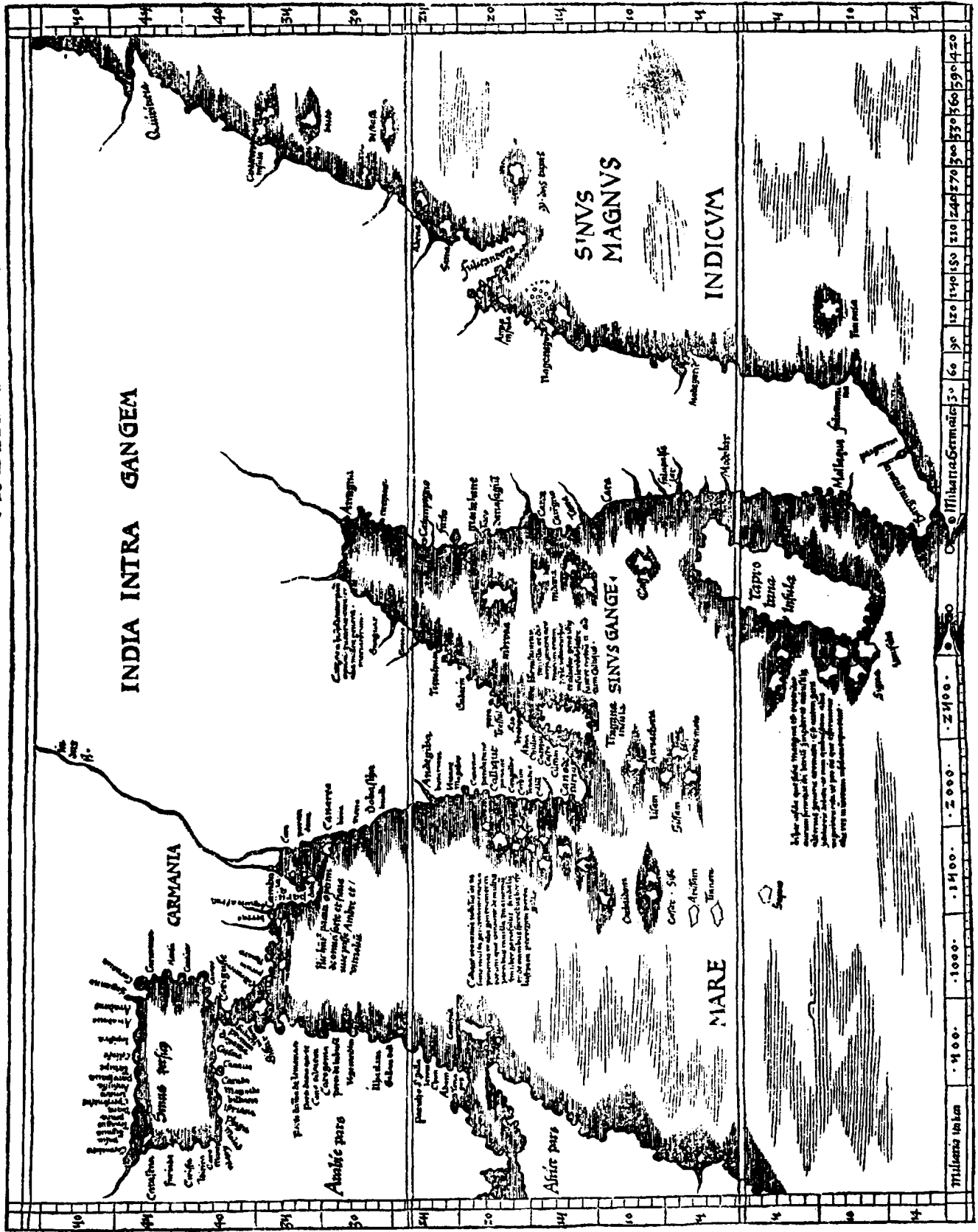
And if, up to the said twentieth day of the said month of June, no lands are discovered by the said ships of their Highnesses within the said one hundred and twenty leagues, and are discovered after the expiration of that time, then they shall belong to the said King of Portugal as is set forth in the above.

1
...

1 Ed. note: The rest of the Treaty deals with procedural matters; for instance, the treaty was to be ratified by Prince John, heir to the Spanish Crown, as well as by his parents, and, once ratified by both parties, it was to be submitted to the Pope for approval. By the way, a papal bull to that effect was not issued until 1506, by Pope Julius II. Before this, in 1501, a bull granting taxing powers was issued (See next document).

MODERNA INDIAE

TABVLA



Map of the Indies. Asia as it was known to Magellan when he was serving there with the Portuguese Navy in about 1510. (From Ptolemy's *Geographiæ*, Strasburg, 1513)

Document 1501

The Papal Bull *Eximiae* dated 16 November 1501

Sources: Published in Navarrete's Colección de los viages, ii, pp. 408-9 (454-5, 2nd ed.); in Col. de doc. inéd. Amér. y Oceanía, vol. 34, pp. 22-29; and in Hernaez' Colección de bulas, i, pp. 20-25. Translation by Father T. C. Middleton, O.S.A., in Blair & Robertson I, pp. 241-5.

Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God:

To the Catholic sovereigns of Spain—King Ferdinand, dearest son in Christ, and Queen Elizabeth, dearest daughter in Christ, health and apostolic blessing.

The sincerity of your great devotion and the unswerving faith with which you honor us and which the Roman Church merit, and not unworthily, that your wishes, especially relating to the propagation of the Catholic faith, and the overthrow of infidel and barbarous nations, should be freely and promptly granted. Indeed, on your behalf, a petition recently laid before us sets forth that, impelled by pious devotion to the propagation of the Catholic faith, you greatly desire—inasmuch as quite recently, and not without great expense and effort on your part, you began and from day to day continue to do more toward the capture and recovery of the islands and regions of the Indies, so that in those lands wherever any accursed belief obtains, the Most High should be worshipped and revered; and inasmuch as for the recovery of the islands and regions aforesaid, it will be incumbent upon you to incur heavy expenses and undergo great perils, it is expedient that for the conservation and maintenance of the said islands, after their capture and recovery by you, and for defraying the expenses necessary for the conservation and maintenance of the same—you should be empowered to exact and levy tithes on the inhabitants of the aforesaid islands and dwellers therein for the time being. On this account we have been humbly petitioned on your behalf to deign through our apostolic graciousness to make in the presents suitable provision for you and your state.

Therefore, yearning most eagerly for the propagation and increase of that same faith particularly in our own days, we commend in the Lord your loving and praiseworthy purpose, and being favorably disposed thereto, **we hereby through our apostolic power in virtue of these presents do as a special favor grant to you and your**

successors for the time being that in the aforesaid islands after their capture and recovery (as observed) you may receive a tithe from the inhabitants thereof and the dwellers therein for the time being, and levy the same freely and lawfully¹, provided that, after dioceses shall there be established (whereon we charge your consciences as well as those of your successors), you first from your own and their estate shall really and effectively devise a sufficient revenue for the establishment of churches in those islands through you and your aforesaid successors, whereby the incumbents of the same and their administrators may support themselves suitably, carry on the necessary work of those churches for the time being, as well as celebrate correctly the divine worship of Almighty God, and fulfil all diocesan requirements.

The Lateran Council, other apostolic constitutions and ordinances or other decrees, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Let no one then infringe on this our grant, nor dare with rashness to contravene its provisions. But should any one presume to set it at naught, let him recognize that he has thereby incurred the displeasure of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand five hundred and one, the sixteenth day of November, the tenth year of our Pontificate.

[Signatures and authorizations follow].²

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

2 Ed. note: As far as the rights of Portugal were concerned, there are also a number of applicable bulls: (1) *Dum diversas* of 18 June 1454 giving them the right to make war on the infidels [i.e. the Moors] and to reduce them to slavery; (2) *Romanus Pontifex* of 8 January 1454 granting them possession of the African lands discovered and to be discovered; (3) *Eterni Regis* of 21 June 1481 extending this grant as far as India, and finally (4) *Præcelsæ denotionis* of 3 November 1514 confirming the above rights.

Document 1504

Testament of Queen Isabella of Spain who died in 1504

Source: AGI Seville: Patronato 1-1-1.

The beginning of the Catholic *Patronato* or Protectorate over the Spanish colonies, as established by the following extract from the testament of Queen Isabella

...
With regard to the time when the apostolic Holy See granted us the islands and mainlands of the Ocean see discovered and to be discovered, our main intention was, at the time we begged Pope Alexander VI of good memory who granted us the said concession, to try and induce and attract their natives, to convert them to our holy Catholic faith and to send to the said islands and mainland prelates, religious and secular priests and other learned God-fearing persons to instruct the people living and residing there in the catholic faith, to teach them and impart good customs to them, and inculcate them with due diligence, in accordance with the more extensive statements contained in the said concession.

Consequently, I beg the King [i.e. Ferdinand], my Lord, very affectionately, and I entrust and order the said princess my daughter [i.e. Juana] and the said prince her husband [i.e. Philip I] that they carry it out and comply with it, and that it be their main purpose and that in it they place much diligence and they do not consent nor accept to have the Indian people living and residing in the said Indies and mainland, that have been won over or to be won over, receive any harm to their persons or property, but give orders so that they be treated well and justly; and if they have received any harm, to remedy it and make provisions so that in no way be exceeded everything that has

been enjoined and mandated to us by the said apostolic statements in the said concession.¹

1 Ed. note: It is well to remember that international law at the time gave reasons that could justify what we would today regard as some kind of usurpation of natural law. In the first half of the 16th century, the prevailing notion was that countries occupied by pagans and gentiles belonged to the Christian countries that discovered them first. Governments invoked this notion to justify their taking possession of them and occupying them. Besides, there was no separation of Church and State until after the Reformation, i.e. after the period of conquest of most new territories. In Spain, the legal tradition had been for many centuries based on the *Partidas* or the Code of King Afonso, in which the primacy of the king was recognized as supreme in matters temporal, except for the Pope. To put it simply, the Church decided international law. It was not until the middle part of that century that a Spanish scholar studied this subject of the legitimacy of the right of conquest, e.g. Francis Vitoria's *De Indis et de Jure belli*, 1st ed. Lyon, 1559; 2nd ed. Salamanca, 1564. His first argument had to do with what would be called today the right of migration, as a basic human right, of the European colonists, of course. The second argument quoted by Vitoria was the right to evangelize. The third was the right to expect that civil administration would support this evangelization effort. The fourth argument admitted that native princes and kings could in some cases be deposed to make way for Christian ones. The fifth argument was the right to defend the innocent against the tyrannies of human sacrifices, and other unacceptable native customs. The sixth was the right of election, the faculty of choosing a sovereign... Finally, the above allowed friendly Christian countries to form defensive and offensive alliances, and to join together in just wars and otherwise occupy enemy territories. However, foremost of the above points of view was the perceived need to convert so-called barbarians.

Document 1510

Cartography of the Pacific—Part 1

Source: Adapted from A. E. Nordenskiöld's "Facsimile-atlas to the Early History of Cartography"...Stockholm, 1889 (reprinted by Dover, New York, 1973), Chapters VI & VII.

The first maps of the New World and of the newly-discovered parts of Africa and Asia, circa 1510

It is generally supposed that the successful voyages of the Portuguese in the *Regio perusta*, or *Regio inhabibilis propter nimium calorem* [i.e. the Tropics], and the re-discovery of the New World by Columbus must have made a great and immediate impression throughout Christendom. It seems as if statesmen and scholars at least ought to have clearly conceived the immense importance of this sudden increase of the territory adapted for the use of man. For this increase did not consist of deserts scarcely cultivable and difficult to defend, but of immense continents and islands, which, through the excellence of their climate and the fertility of a virgin soil, were capable of giving millions of human beings the means of a subsistence, more easily acquired, richer and more abundant, than in the densely populated countries of the Old World, with its soil impoverished by repeated harvests, and its social conditions fettered by thousands of traditional prejudices. Yet, this was so far from being the case, that scarcely any discovery of importance was received with so much indifference, even in circles where sufficient genius and statemanship ought to have prevailed to appreciate the changes thus foreshadowed in the development of the economical and political conditions of mankind. The truth of this assertion will easily be perceived, if we take the trouble to study, not only the contributions to the history of geographical discovery written during the [19th] century, but also the earliest original literature itself. With regard to the history of the discovery of America, such an investigation may now be pursued with few difficulties, thanks to the indefatigable pains taken by bibliophiles...in collecting "Americana", and the care with which these collections have been examined, registered, and described by prominent scholars, most recently by Mr. Henry Harrisse in: **Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima. A description of Works relating to America published between the years 1492 and 1551**, New York, 1866, and its **Additions**, Paris,

1872. According to the Chronological Table at the end of the last-mentioned work, Mr. HARRISSE has, in his **Bibliotheca**, registered altogether 432 works or pamphlets printed before 1551 and containing passages respecting the new world. Different editions and unaltered reprints are here registered under separate numbers, and most of the works cited contain only slight allusions to the subject. If, in collating and making statistics on the oldest literature relating to America, due attention is paid to these circumstances, it will be found that scarcely one work containing an original communication about the New World of the length of at least one printed page, was annually published during the first 50 years after the discovery of Columbus, and that all these original communications together would be easily comprised in a single volume of very moderate size.

Regarding the early discoveries in the east of Asia and along the coasts of Africa, round the Cape of Good Hope to India, the oldest literature has been subject to no such exhaustive researches as the oldest literature relating to America. It might perhaps fill a greater number of pages, for here we have narratives of travels, rich in exciting details, and of which repeated editions were early published in print, though more as a contribution to the belles-lettres of the epoch, than as serious contributions to the knowledge of our earth. Such publications are the narratives of the travels of Marco Polo (first edition printed in 1477), of Varthema (editio princeps Milan 1505), and Cadamosto (editio princeps Vicenza 1507). But, as we except the numerous editions of these works and a few brochures of the same significance with respect to the history of the discoveries in Africa and the eastern Asia, as the letters of Columbus and Vesputi to that of the New World, the geographical literature relating to the newly-discovered lands in the eastern hemisphere, during the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, was as poor and scanty as the literature enumerated in **Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima**.¹

Still poorer is the oldest printed literature of maps. The first drawings or inscriptions on a printed map referable to the voyages of the Portuguese is met with, as far as I know, 56 years after the voyages of Cadamosto, on the map in Reisch's **Margarita Philosophica** of 1503... But it was 5 years later, in 1508, that a map was first published in print, on which the coast of Africa discovered by the Portuguese, and the newly-discovered passage to India were clearly laid down. To prevent any misunderstanding I may here again expressly state, that I speak of printed, not manuscript maps. Tolerably complete map sketches drawn to illustrate the reports of explorers or adventurers were probably made for the government or the ship-owners after almost every more or less successful voyage, but they were seldom published. They generally seem to have been jealously concealed in public or private archives. Most of them have since been lost, or exhumed from the dust of libraries for the first time in the present century. They have

1 Ed. note: Between 1958 and 1962, a Spanish researcher named Carlos Sanz has not only reprinted HARRISSE's B.A.V. of 1866 and 1872, but also published 4 additional volumes of corrections and additions to the collection, with an updated chronological table, and finally a two-volume edition of the logbook of Columbus: *El diario de Colón*, Madrid, 1962.

thus often had much less influence on the development of cartography than many an insignificant printed production, compiled from hearsay reports.

Two maps of 1527 and 1529, preserved in the military library at Weimar, were considered to be the oldest manuscript maps of the New World yet discovered, even as late as 1832. But in that year Alexander von Humboldt discovered, among the literary treasures of Baron Walkenaer, a map drawn in 1500, at Puerto de Santa Maria, by the celebrated navigator Juan de la Cosa, or Juan Biscaino, one of the companions of Columbus on his second voyage. Humboldt has given a critical account of this map in Dr. F. W. Ghillany's **Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim...**, Nuremberg, 1853, where a part of the map is also reproduced in facsimile. It is also reproduced on a reduced scale by Ramos de la Sagra in **Histoire physique... de l'île de Cube**, Paris, 1842, by Lelewel, Sophus Ruge, H. H. Bancroft, and others. A complete facsimile is found in Jomard's Atlas¹. It has given rise to an exhaustive literature, enumerated by Winsor². After the death of Walkenaer the map was bought by the Spanish government and is now preserved at the Naval Museum of Madrid... It does not appear to have exercised any direct influence on the first printed maps of the New World, as may be concluded from a comparison with the maps of Ruysch, Sylvanus, Stobnicza, Aeschler and Übelin, and others.

More important in this respect is a map sent to Hercules d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara, by Alberto Cantino, his ambassador in Lisbon, between the years 1501 and 1505. The original is at present in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, [Italy]. A facsimile has been published by Harrisse for his work **Les Corte Real et leurs voyages au Nouveau Monde**, Paris, 1883, where a precise analysis of the map is given in Chapter IV (pp. 69-158). This map, or copies of it, has evidently been used for the first printed maps of the New World...

Among **manuscript** maps of the New World, one map of 1503-1504 attributed to Salvat de Palestrina, and one by Pedro Reinel of 1505, require further mention. Regarding these maps, I may refer to Harrisse (**Cabot**, pp. 161-162), and to Kunstmann

1 Ed. note: Entitled: "Les monuments de la géographie ou recueil d'anciennes cartes européennes et orientales publiées en facsimile de la grandeur des originaux", Paris., 1842-62.

2 In his book: "Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography", p. 7.

(*Atlas*, Munich, 1859). In a Latin manuscript in the British Museum there is also the above-mentioned map of the world by Henricus Martellus, on which the discoveries of the Portuguese along the African coasts down to 1489 are registered. Finally Dr. E. T. Hamy has lately published parts of a Portuguese map of the world¹, which, as far as I have been able to judge from the photographs published in Mr. Hamy's paper, closely resembles the maps of Africa in the Ptolemy edition of 1513... The original belonged to M. Alphonse Pinart, who had bought it from the English traveller Mr. King.

No other manuscript maps of the lands discovered during the 15th and in the beginning of the 16th century, and drawn before 1508 (i.e. before the year when the first printed map of the New World was published), are, as far as I am aware, at present known. A few other maps, now lost, are mentioned in old documents. But the majority, doubtless including the most important, were so well concealed that every reference to them has been suppressed. It is thus often very difficult to point out the originals² of the old printed maps of the New and of the newly-discovered lands of the Old World. Here I can only cursorily refer to this question, which will, perhaps, hereafter be elucidated by new discoveries in libraries and among archives.

[Some of the oldest printed maps available are as follows:]

The Ruysch Map of the World — *Nova et universalior Orbis cogniti tabula, Ioa. Ruysch Germano elaborata, Rome, 1508.*

This map was published among the *tabulæ novæ* in the edition of Ptolemy of Rome 1508... The map of Ruysch forms an epoch in the development of cartography.

It is the first printed map of the world on which the discoveries of the Portuguese along the coasts of Africa are laid down... It is the first printed map representing Afri-

1 "Notice sur une mappemonde portugaise anonyme de 1502", in *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, n° 4, Paris, 1887.

2 The early printed maps, as well as of America as of the newly-discovered parts of Africa and Asia, are generally founded on Portuguese, not on Spanish originals. The reason probably is that the commercial intercourse of the Portuguese with the rest of Europe, owing to the discovery of the new way to the commercial treasures of India, was far more considerable during the 15th and the first part of the 16th century than that of Spain. The latter country only imported cargoes of the precious metals from its colonies, which were procured by immense sacrifices and at great cost; while their amount was much over-rated. The large commercial factories, through which the maps and accounts of new voyages were generally transmitted to Italy, Germany, etc. were accordingly situated chiefly in Portugal, not in Spain. Perhaps also powerful Spain was better able to protect, what may be termed the "map secret", than the more feeble Portugal. I have never heard of any maps printed in Portugal during the period of the incunabula of cartography.

ca as a peninsula encompassed by the ocean. The southern point of Africa moreover is here placed on a nearly correct latitude, thus giving a tolerably exact form to that part of the world. Ruysch also gives on his map a relatively correct place to the Azores, Madeira, Canary and Cape Verde Islands.

Ruysch's map is the first published in print, on which India is drawn as a triangular peninsula projecting from the south coast of Asia and bordered on the north by the rivers Indus and Ganges. Even though it has not yet received its full extension as a peninsula, yet an important deviation from Ptolemy's geography is thus made on the map of a part of the world to which almost a *privilegium exclusivum* of knowledge was attributed to the ancients. Ceylon is also laid down by Ruysch under the name of Prilam¹, with about its proper size, and correctly as regards the southern point of India. Trapobana alias Zoilon² is placed further east..., in which position this geographical remnant from the time of Alexander the Great was retained, down to the middle of the 16th century.

Ruysch has given the first printed map on which the delineation of the interior and eastern parts of Asia is no longer based exclusively on the material collected by Marinus of Tyre and Ptolemy more than a millenium previously, but on more modern reports, especially those of Marco Polo. Various new names are here added...beyond the eastern limits of Ptolemy's *oikumene*. Here the Chinese river system is given in a manner indicating other sources for the geography of eastern Asia, than Marco Polo's written words. In its main features the delineation of eastern Asia, to the south of lat. N. 60°, on the map of Ruysch, so nearly resembles Behaim's globe, that a common original might have served for both...

Ruysch is the first who gives us a map of the New World.³ This part of the map may be said to be a tolerably exact representation of the geographical knowledge of that part of the world in the beginning of the 16th century. Greenland is here, for the first time, drawn without being connected with Europe by a vast polar continent, bordering the northern part of the Atlantic. Instead it is connected with Asia, through Newfoundland or Terra Nova; a hypothesis regarding the extension of the continents in the northern hemisphere, which was still adhered to by some geographers in the beginning of the 17th century.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that Ruysch deserves to be placed in the first rank among the reformers of cartography. His map is not a copy of the map of the world by Ptolemy, nor a learned masterpiece composed at the writing table, but a revision of the old maps of the known world, made on a Ptolemaic, i.e. on a scientific basis, with the aid, on the one hand of great personal experience and geographical learning and, on the other, of extensive knowledge combined with a critical use of the tradi-

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- 1 Ed. note: A close rendition of its modern name, Sri Lanka, which was also its ancient name.
 - 2 Ed. note: Actually, Trapobana should never have been confused with Ceylon, as it is the name that Marco Polo meant to be applied to Sumatra.
 - 3 Ed. note: Wroth (p. 243) says that Nordenskiöld wrote his comments before the historical importance of this map was somewhat lessened by the discovery of the Walseemüller map of 1507.

tions among practical seamen of different nations. The legends [i.e. captions] on this map are consequently of very high interest, and form a more important contribution to the history of geography than many a bulky volume...

(Facing page) **The Ruysch Map of the World in 1508**, reduced to Mercator's projection by Fiske. Nordenskiöld has reproduced a facsimile in its original conical projection. This map shows that, in 1508, Europeans had discovered parts of America but not yet the Pacific Ocean, which was first sighted by Balboa only in 1513. An English translation of the various legends upon the map is as follows:

A. "Here the ship's compass loses its property, and no vessel with iron on board is able to get away."

B. "This island was entirely burnt [i.e. blown up in an eruption] in 1456."

C. "The ships of Ferdinand, King of Spain, have come as far as here."

D. "Marco Polo says that 1,500 miles [rather li] eastward from the port of Zaiton [in China] there is a very large island called Cipango [i.e. Japan], whose inhabitants are idolaters, and have their own king, and are tributary to no one. Here is a great abundance of gold and all sorts of gems. But as the islands discovered by the Spaniards occupy this spot, we have not ventured to place this island here, thinking that what the Spaniards call Spagnola [Hispaniola] is the same as Cipango, since the things which are described as in Cipango are found in Spagnola, except the idolatry."

E. "Spanish sailors have come as far as here, and they call this country a New World because of its magnitude, for in truth they have not seen it all nor up to the present time have they gone beyond this point. Wherefore it is here left incomplete, especially as we do not know in what direction it goes."

F. "This region, which by many people is believed to be another world, is inhabited at different points by men and women who go about either quite naked or clad in interwoven twigs adorned with feathers of various hues. They live for the most part in common, with no religion, no king; they carry on wars among themselves perpetually and devour the flesh of human captives. They enjoy a wholesome climate, however, and live to be more than 140 years old. They are seldom sick, and then are cured merely by the roots of herbs. There are lions here, and serpents, and other horrid wild beasts. There are mountains and rivers, and there is the greatest abundance of gold and pearls. The Portuguese have brought from here brazil-wood and quassia."

G. "Portuguese mariners have examined this part of this country, and have gone as far as the 50th degree of south latitude without reaching its southern extremity."

(From John Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, Boston & New York, Houghton & Mifflin, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 114-115)

Farther to the west, on Ruysch's map there is inserted a summary of the description by Marco Polo of a large, independent island, Sipangus [in Latin], situated 1,500 miles to the east of Zaiton... The considerable distance from the eastern coast of China adopted for Zipangu by the geographers of the first part of the 16th century depends, according to Peschel, on the distance being given by Marco Polo in Chinese *li*, of which there are 350 on one degree of latitude. This Chinese *li* was by the European cartographers confounded with the Italian mile (60 = 1°).

The westernmost of the legends on the Asiatic coasts declares the discoveries of the Portuguese to have proved that the Indian Ocean, which was considered by Ptolemy to be an inland sea surrounded by land, is a part of the Ocean.

On Trapobane alias Zoilon, which almost corresponds to the immense island at present called Sumatra, there is a long legend, partly borrowed from Ptolemy, but with the interesting addition that Portuguese mariners arrived there in 1507. Another legend on the south-eastern part of Asia alludes to the existence of numerous islands in that part of the ocean, of which notices from Indian merchants seem to have already reached Europe.

Ruysch's delineation of the New World seems to indicate that he was not acquainted with the latest discoveries of the Spaniards. Cuba has thus got too large an extent. Its western coast is unknown to Ruysch¹, and of the northern part of the New World only Greenland and Newfoundland are represented. The names applied to the West Indian islands are, at least partly, taken from the narrative of the second voyage of Columbus. South America is called *Terra Sancte Crucis sive Mundus novus* [Land of the Holy Cross or the New World]. Twenty-nine names are here given. Most of them correspond to the names on *Tabula Terræ Novæ* in Ptolemy 1513. Only a few are found in the letters of Vespucci², which may be owing to the scarcity of geographical names in the description of his voyages.

A legend on South America at the lower border of the map is particularly interesting. It tells us that Portuguese mariners had followed the eastern coast of the country, down to Lat. S. 50°, but without reaching its southern extremity.³ We here obtain notices regarding exploring voyages undertaken before 1508, of which no other information is met with in the history of geographical discovery...⁴

1 Ed. note: Fiske has pointed out that this piece of land was in fact Florida (upside down), not Cuba, which is missing on the map.

2 Ed. note: See, for instance, the book by F. A. de Varnhagen: "Amerigo Vespucci. Son caractère, ses écrits...sa vie et ses navigations", Lima, Mercurio, 1865.

3 Ed. note: This exploration occurred before the voyage of Magellan. He was to find the mouth of the strait that bears his name just 2 degrees further south.

4 Ed. note: Nordenskiöld has failed to notice that HARRISSE (B.A.V., 1866, pp. 172-174) had mentioned a printed plaque, and given other proofs, about visits by French navigators to Brazil as early as 1503, and also in 1504.

This summary review of the most important features and legends on Ruysch's map will suffice to show its immense importance to the cartography as well as of the old as of the new hemisphere. It would therefore be very interesting to obtain some biographical data respecting its author. On the title page of the edition of Ptolemy of 1508 we read his name and nationality (Joannes Ruysch, *Germanus*), and from the *Nova orbis descriptio...* by Marcus Beneventanus, inserted in the same work, we know that he had sailed from southern England to the eastern coast of America. From his map we may further conclude that he was both a man of some learning and a practical mariner. But nothing, save these scanty notices, is known of his life, social position, and voyages. The name belongs to an old noble family in the Netherlands...¹

Map of the world by Johannes Stobnicza, Cracow, 1512

This map, printed from a very crude and badly-executed woodcut, occurs in a rare work, of which the [partial] title is: *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam cum longitudinibus et latitudinibus regionum et civitatum celebriorum...Impressum Cracovie per Florianum Unglerium A.D. MDXII.*² ...This map (See figure below) is, in spite of its crudeness, of great interest and importance to the early history of cartography, because:

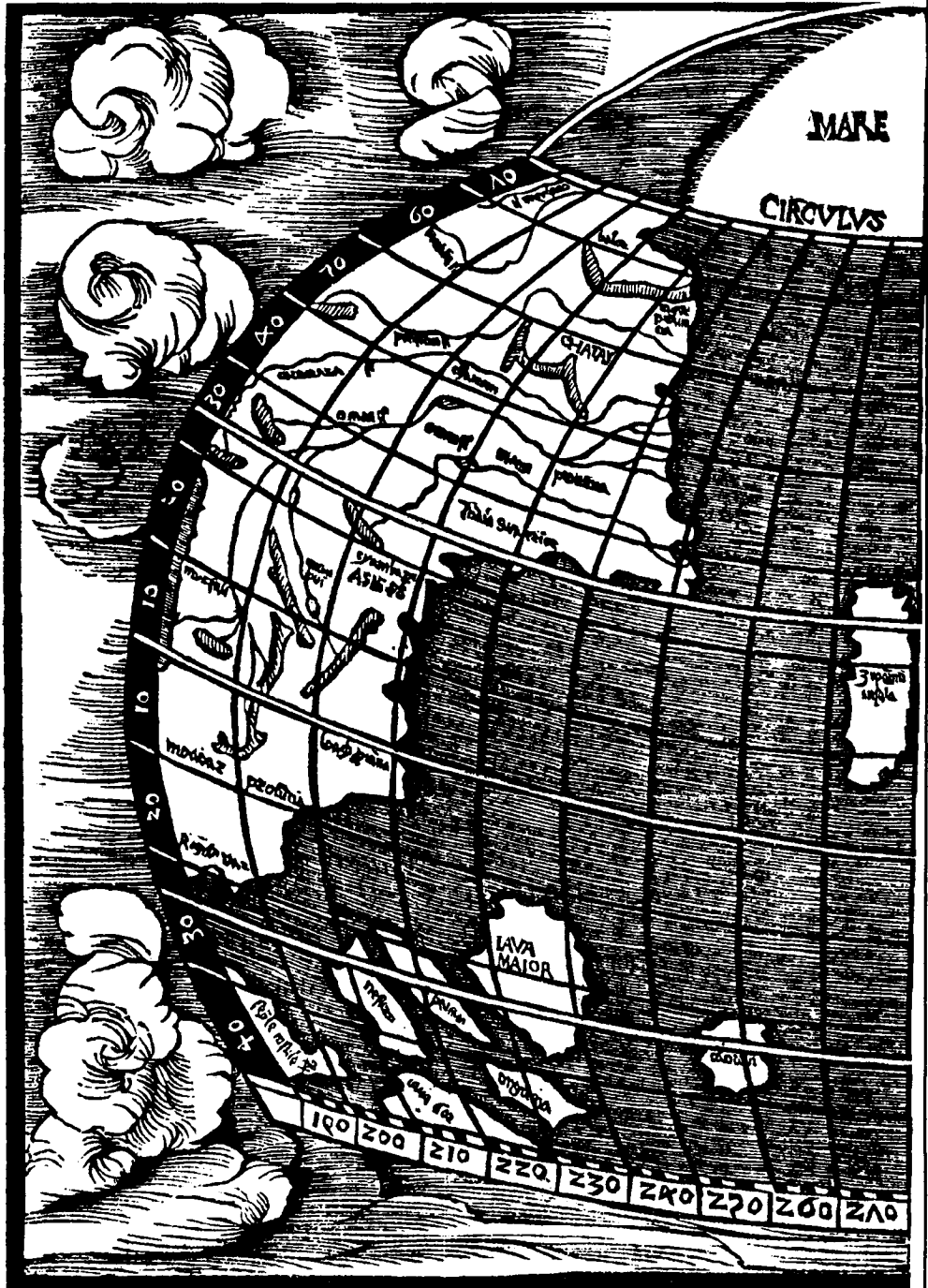
1) North and South America are here drawn, for the first time, as two large continents connected by a long and narrow isthmus. It is the earliest printed map on which the newly discovered lands in the Atlantic are in their whole extent so separated from the Old World, that they may, with full reason, claim the name of *Novus Orbis*.

2) Stobnicza's map, published one year before the 25th of September 1513, when Vasco Nuñez Balboa sighted the "Mar del Sur" from the mountains of the Isthmus of Darien, is the earliest on which the sea between Europe and Asia was divided by the newly-discovered continent into two almost equal oceans, communicating only in the extreme south and the extreme north. This complete breaking with the old theory of one single Ocean, surrounding Europe, Asia and Africa, may to a certain extent be explained by the fact that coastlines are here substituted for the large unfolded rolls with legends which occupy the western coast of America on Ruysch's map. Several details, however, seem to prove that Stobnicza, or the unknown author of the map in his *Introductio*, had had access to geographical reports unknown to Ruysch. The method here employed of indicating the western coast of America by a succession of dashed lines, in order to denote that the delineation was conjectural and not dependent on real observations, is worthy of note.

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- 1 Ed. note: This will not be the last time that we encounter the words "Germanus" or "Alemán" used to mean either Dutch or Belgian citizens, rather than Germans.
 - 2 Ed. note: Stobnicza was then Bishop of Poznan, Poland. Wroth (p. 240) says that this map was copied from the insets on the Walseemüller world map of 1507.

3) There is no place on the map for a full extension of a new continent towards the south, but the coasts on both sides of its southern extremity are drawn in such a manner, that a southern communication between the two oceans evidently seems to have been admitted by the author.

4) On Stobnicza's map the surface of the earth is, for the first time, divided into two hemispheres, each of which was laid down on the homeother [sic] projection of Ptolemy.



Stobnicza's Map of the World published in Poland in 1512, one year before the Pacific Ocean was discovered by Balboa, and 8 years before Magellan sailed upon it. (From Johannes Stobnicza's "Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam", Cracow, 1512. One hemisphere only)



The map is based on the map of the world in Ptolemaeus 1482 (the Mediterranean Sea, northern Europe and southern Asia), on the map of Ruysch (Africa and eastern Asia), and, as regards the West Indies, the Isthmus of Panama and North America, on data not before reproduced in printed maps. This map certainly has nothing in common with the two “*tabulæ novæ*” of the world in the Ptolemy of 1513. The inscriptions on Stobnicza’s map are often difficult to decipher. Those on the newly discovered lands alone have some interest. They appear to be:

- “[Citate?] de bona ventura” [= Good Luck City?]
- “Isabella” [= Florida, rather than Cuba or the Bahamas]
- “Spagnolla” [= Hispaniola]
- “Arcay” [= Guajira peninsula, Columbia?]
- “Caput deseado” [= Cape Desired]
- “Gorffo Fremoso” [= Gulf Fremoso?]
- “Caput S. Crucis” [= Cape of Santa Cruz]
- “Monte Stegoso”
- “Alla pego” [= future Strait of Magellan]
- “Terra incognita” [= Unknown land]...¹

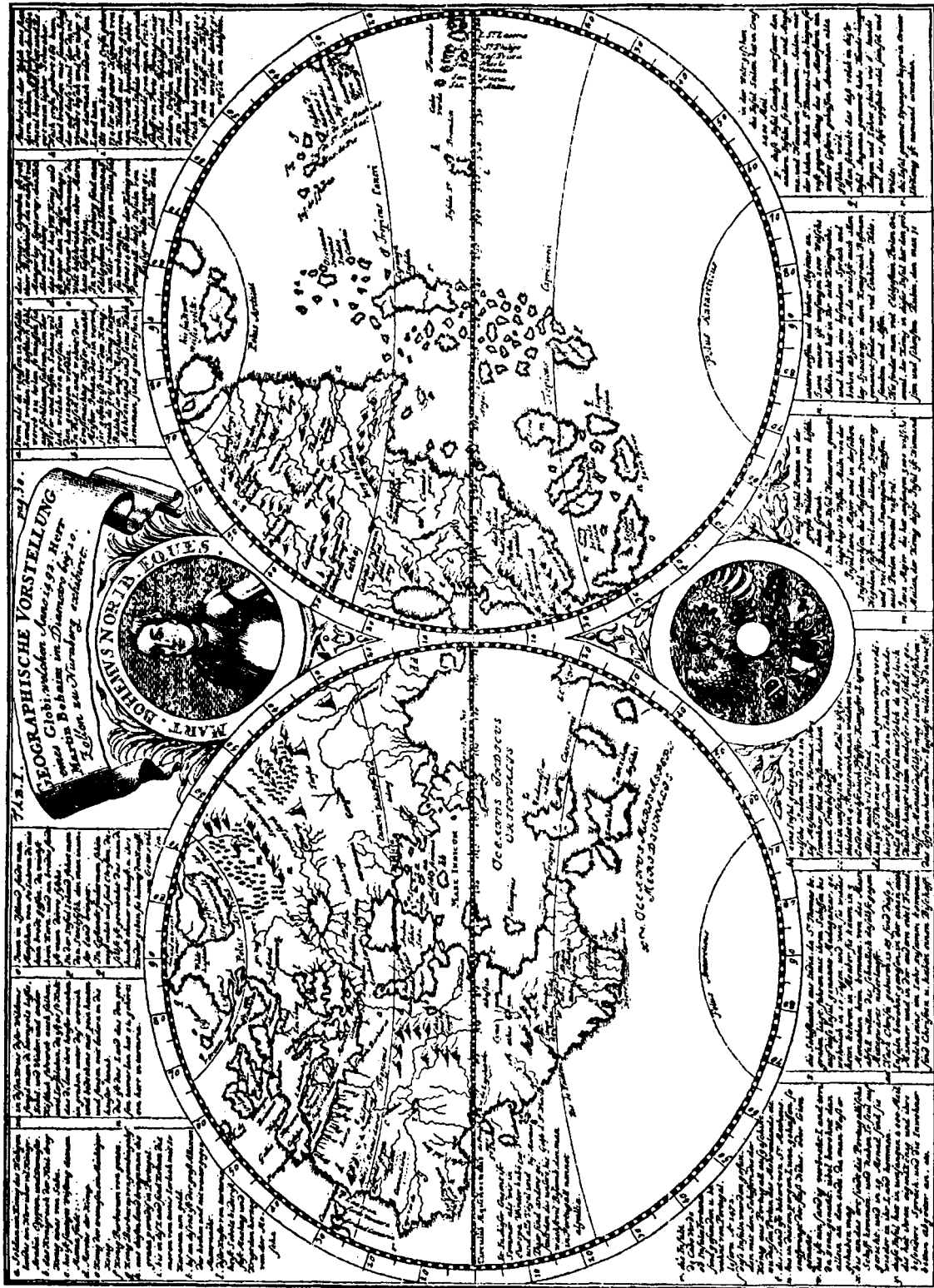
1 On folio vii of the text of the work for which this map was originally drawn, is written: “Quarta pars orbis America”... Thus Stobnicza is one of the first geographers who adopted the name **America**, proposed by Waldseemüller... Ed. note: The island in the sea marked “Zipangu insula”, means Cipango [Japan], while the names of “Chatay”, i.e. Cathay or China, and “India superior” or Upper India, appear on the eastern coast of Asia. Nordenskiöld has also published five important maps among the “*tabulæ novæ*” found in the “*Ptolemæus Argentinae*” of 1513... among them the “modern map of India” [Reproduced before Doc. 1501 above]...

Terrestrial Globes from the 15th and the first part of the 16th centuries

Behaim's globe of 1492.

It is generally assumed that the doctrine of the spherical form of the earth was established in the 6th century before our era, by Pythagoras, or by some philosopher of his school, and that it was more generally adopted a couple of centuries later, in the times of Plato. But this principle, so indispensable to scientific geography, was first fully proved in the fourth century, by Aristotle (through the form of the earth's shadow during lunar eclipses), by Dicaearchus (through the different times of the setting and rising of the heavenly bodies in different latitudes) and others. Eratosthenes [276-105 B.C.], finally, made the first attempts to measure a degree of latitude for determining the circumference of the earth; and Hipparchus [160-125 B.C.] fixed the first geographical positions. Through these observations the most important scientific data, necessary for the construction of a globe of the earth, i.e. of a geographical representation of the lands and seas of the earth drawn on the surface of a globe, had been determined. Geographical globes possibly existed from this time, although none of them are still extant. In Chapters 22 and 23 of his first book on geography, Ptolemy also gives the necessary instructions for the delineation of the "inhabited world" (*oikumene* in Greek) on a sphere, but he does not mention that such a work had been actually executed. During the succeeding centuries, until the end of the Middle Ages, the doctrine of antipodes and, as a corollary to this, the doctrine of the globular form of the earth, was most severely condemned by several of the most influential and distinguished men of the Church. This condemnation was pronounced, in the first place, by Lactantius, in the *Institutiones divinae, Lib. III cap. 24*.. Even Augustine adopted this opinion though, as appears in the *De civitate Dei, Lib. XVI cap. IX*, with some hesitation, while admitting that even if the doctrine of the existence of the antipodes is regarded as absurd, the earth may yet be of a globular form...

During the latter part of the Middle Ages, and especially after the circulation in the West of the Latin translations of Ptolemy's works, the doctrine of the globular form of the earth, and the possibility of the antipodes, was again accepted by unprejudiced cosmographers. Yet no older globe, even of that time, than that which Martin Behaim presented to his native city of Nuremberg in 1492, has been preserved. This globe is thus the oldest at present known. It is drawn on parchment stretched on a sphere of a diameter of 541 mm. In accordance with the custom of the period, the drawing is beautifully illuminated and ornamented with standards, kings sitting on their thrones, etc. It is rich in geographical details and in inscriptions of great importance to the history of geography. For these reasons, and owing to the prominent position occupied by Behaim with regard to the discoverers at the end of the 15th century, this globe has become not only the first, but also, without comparison, the most important document of this kind, of the period of the great geographical discoveries, that has been preserved.



Martin Behaim's globe of 1492. (From J. G. Doppelmayer's *Historische Nachricht von den nürnbergischen Mathematikern und Künstlern*, Nuremberg, 1730)



Part of Behaim's Globe. *It is easy to see how it caused Columbus to believe that sooner or later he would reach Japan. (From Sophus Ruge's *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 230)*

It has been the subject of a number of reproductions and monographs, of which the most important are inserted in...Johan Gabriel Doppelmayer's **Historische Nachricht von den nürnbergischen Mathematikern und Künstlern**, Nuremberg, 1730. As Figure I of this work, Doppelmayer gives the first copy of the globe, although on a much reduced scale. It was thus published at a time when several inscriptions, since erased, were still decipherable.¹ It is therefore necessary that, in the study of this important geographical document, regard should always be paid to the versions on this first complete copy, which, for the rest, gives us a very good and comprehensive view of the principal features of the globe...

On a closer examination of the drawings and legends on Behaim's globe we shall find it to be based: (1) on Ptolemy's atlas; (2) on the narratives of the travels of Marco Polo and other medieval travellers in Asia; (3) on the Portuguese voyages of discovery; and (4) on the map of the northern countries of Europe in the Ulm edition of Ptolemy, 1482.

The delineation of the Mediterranean and Black Seas indicates ignorance of the Italian and Catalan portolans, or rather, perhaps, that Behaim in the inland town of Nuremberg had not access to these charts, exclusively intended for ship-owners and pilots. On the other hand, the delineation of England, the Azores, the Canary Islands, the Cape Verde Islands, the western and southern coasts of Africa, and the long inscrip-

¹ The mechanic who restored Behaim's globe in 1823 declared that it was so decayed that before long it would have perished altogether.

tion at Iceland indicates personal observations or access to original documents now lost. To this it may be added, that the globe presents a faithful picture of the ideas regarding the distribution of land on the surface of the earth prevailing among the mariners of Europe, and especially among the mariners from the country of Henry the Navigator, at the period immediately before the first voyage of Columbus. All this makes the globe of Behaim one of the most important charts in the history of cartography... Finally, it may be mentioned that Behaim's globe, or the original documents on which it was based, had been used for the drawing of the maps of eastern Asia by Ruysch and by the authors of the *Tabulæ Novæ Asiæ* in the Ptolemy of 1513.

According to Ghillany¹, Martin Behaim was born in about 1459. He belonged to a family which was originally Bohemian, had settled in Nuremberg, and had there been early included among the patrician families. After having in his youth been a disciple of Regiomontanus, he applied himself to commerce. He went to Antwerp in about 1475. Thence, in about 1480, he removed to Portugal, where, in 1486, he married a daughter of the hereditary governor of the islands of Fayal and Pico in the Azores. Owing to his mathematical insight, he seems soon to have acquired a high reputation in his new fatherland. He was made member of a commission charged to invent some practical method of determining a ship's position at sea by means of astronomical observations. He then, in the capacity of astronomer and cosmographer, accompanied the expedition of Diogo Cão in 1484 and 1485 along the western coast of Africa.

In Portugal Behaim had, no doubt, had communication with Columbus. In the year 1491 he visited Nuremberg, probably on business, where he remained for two years and where he made his globe. In 1493 he returned to Portugal and died in Lisbon in 1506.

Besides the globe under discussion here, Behaim (or his son, who was also called Martin) appears to have made another, which is mentioned in the accounts of Magellan's voyage, and which might have been similar to Schöner's globe of 1515. The report that Behaim had discovered America before Columbus, originated from an erroneous interpretation of a passage in Schedel's chronicle (Latin edition of 1493, fol. ccxc), where it is said that *Jacobus Canus* and *Martinus Bohemus*, after having crossed the Equator, *in alterum orbem excepti sunt*.² But by this "other world" is not meant America but the southern part of Africa, a nomenclature fully justifiable, according to the older theories of the distribution of land on the earth...

(Facing page) **The Lenox Globe, circa 1510**,
from *B. F. de Costa's drawing on an equidistant
projection. (From Nordenskiöld's Facsimile-
Atlas, p. 75)*

1 F. W. Ghillany, in his book "Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim"..., Nuremberg, 1853.

2 Ed. note: Which can be translated as: "They found themselves in another world."

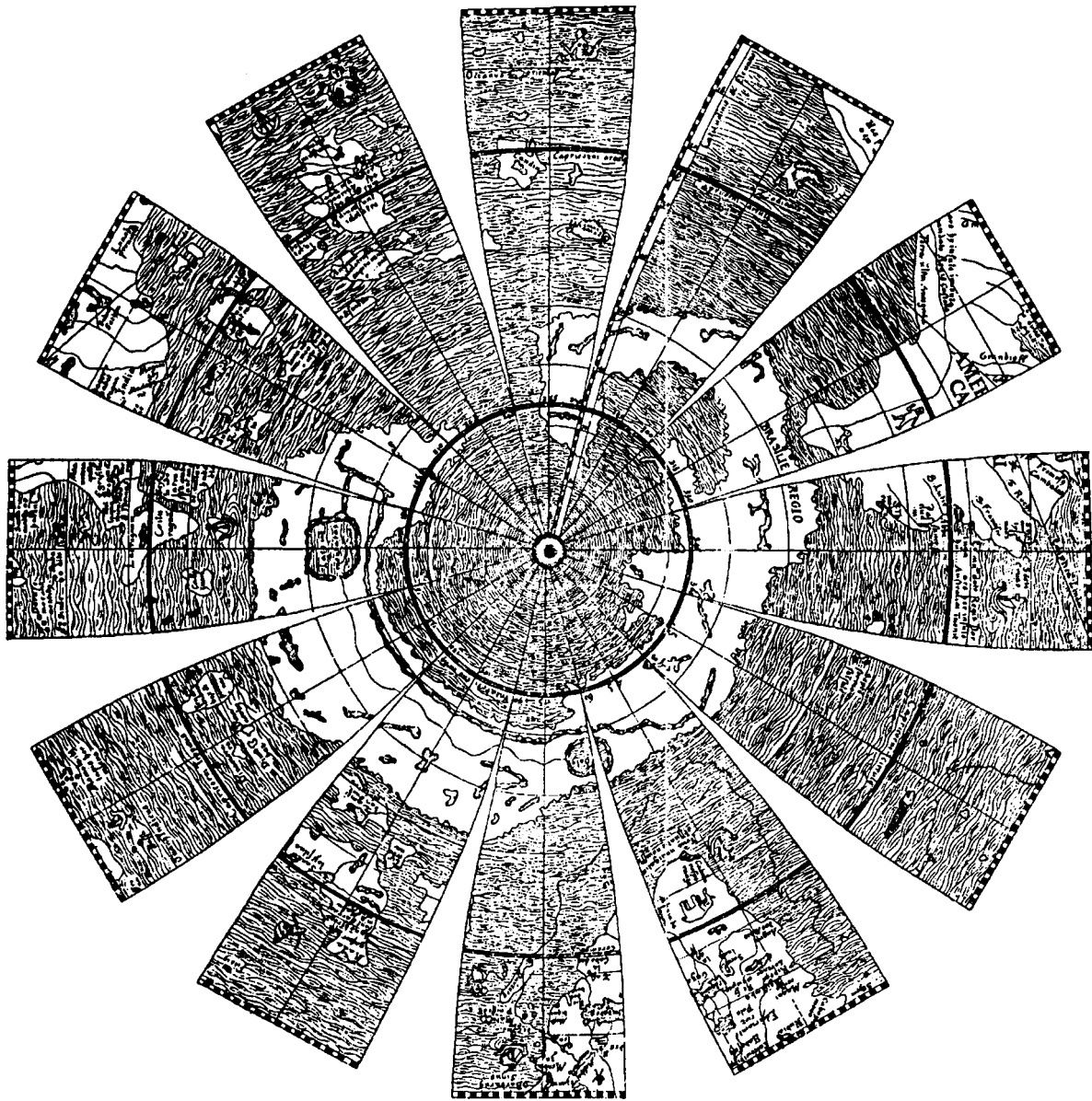


The Lenox Globe and the New World. *Japan was then thought to coincide with North America. (From Winsor, ii, p. 123)*

The globe of Lenox, circa 1510.

This small globe was found in 1855 at Paris by Mr. Richard Hunt who presented it to Mr. James Lenox. It was described by B. F. de Costa in English in the *Magazine of American History*, September 1879, and in French, with additions by Gabriel Gravier, in the *Bulletin de la Société Normande de Géographie*, 1870. The globe forms a sphere of copper of a diameter of only 127 mm. There is no graduation on the map. Mr. de Costa assigns to it a date of 1508-1511, which seems to be confirmed by the general form of the continents and by several other peculiarities of the globe. The western coast of South America is here, as in other maps which were drawn before the news of Magellan's circumnavigation had arrived in Europe, laid down not by direct observation but by estimation, and as may be concluded from the want of all inscriptions at Corte Real's land, the draughtsman has only had access to very vague reports of a continent or of larger islands to the northwest of the West Indies. The southern coasts of Asia are drawn less correctly than on the map of Ruysch and on the *tabulæ novæ* of Asia, inserted in the Ptolemy of 1513.

Notwithstanding all these defects and its small size, this globe, being the first post-Columbian globe at present known, is of considerable interest in the history of cartography. I, therefore, think it desirable to give here a slightly reduced facsimile of De Costa's reproduction...



Schöner's Globe of 1515, southern hemisphere only, as reproduced by Jomard in his book "Les monuments de la géographie ou recueil d'anciennes cartes européennes et orientales publiées en facsimile de la grandeur des originaux", Paris, n.d.

Schöner's globe of 1515.

In this year the celebrated mathematician and cosmographer Johan Schöner published a brochure of 81 quarto pages, with the title: *Luculentissima quædam terræ totius descriptio cum multis utilissimis cosmographiæ iniciis...* (Nuremberg, 1515)... The delineation of the southern part of the New World on Schöner's globe of 1515 is founded on actual observations. Some further particulars about this voyage may be obtained from another German pamphlet, which, according to Sophus Ruge and Wieser, forms the source of Schöner's notices in the *Luculentissima descriptio*, and which consequently must have been printed before 1515, namely *Copia der Newen Zeytung aus Presillg Landt*. We here have the first print with the title *Zeitung*. Several editions of it are known, but all undated; two of them are printed in Augsburg. According to Wieser, a number of names and expressions show it to be a translation from a commercial report, probably written by some Italian factor in Lisbon to the manager of the famous commercial house of Welser at Augsburg. Among other news, some information is here given respecting a commercial voyage of discovery: *So dan Nono un Christoffel de Haro und andere garmirt oder gesrüst haben*. The expedition consisted of two Portuguese vessels, of which one returned during the stay of Welser's correspondent at Lisbon. He declares himself to have been a great friend of the pilot, who said that **the expedition has sailed through a strait situated to the south of Presill [Brazil]**, but he had there been forced by contrary winds to return. The distance from the Straits of Malacca was said not to be very great. The day of the return of the expedition (the 12th of October) is given, but unfortunately not the year, on the determination of which the American-



Portrait of Schöner. (From Reusner's *Icones*, Stras., 1590)



Schöner's Globe of 1520. *The original was kept at Nuremberg. (From Winsor, ii, p. 119)*

ists have in vain exercised their learning and sagacity. Wieser supposes the expedition to have taken place before 1509...

Wieser has succeeded in identifying three copies still extant of Schöner's globe, viz., one in the library at Frankfurt-on-Main, reproduced by Jomard (See Figure above), and two others at the military [Grand Ducal] library in Weimar. As for the numerous reproductions of this globe... I may refer the reader to Winsor's **A Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography**, p. 15. Unfortunately, no exhaustive technical description of the globe is given by Wieser. He only mentions its diameter to be 270 mm and that it is printed, not drawn by hand. I presume that it is printed in gores...

In his account of the first circumnavigation of the earth, Pigafetta says that **“Magellan, before his passage through the straits which now bear his name, had had access to a sea-chart by Martin de Bohemia”**, and the Spanish historian Herrera relates that Magellan had, in 1517, exhibited a globe to the Bishop of Burgos, on which the place where the straits were situated was left blank, but that he had expressed himself as sure of success, because he had seen the straits laid down on a sea-chart by the Portuguese Martin de Bohemia, a native of the island of Fayal¹ and a cosmographer of great reputation (Ghillany, p. 62). The cosmographer generally designated in the history of geography by the name of Martin Behaim died in 1506. It is difficult to understand how Magellan, with reference to the voyage he wished to undertake round the New World to the Spice Islands, could have referred to a sea-chart or to a globe drawn so long before. Both must have become too antiquated in 1517. Neither was the separation of the Ocean into two parts by the New World likely to have been known in 1506, i.e. seven years previous to the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa, which discovery must be presupposed before a strait between those two parts of the Ocean could have been spoken of. This difficulty may perhaps be explained by assuming that Martin Behaim, the father, who was born in Nuremberg, who accompanied the expedition of Diogo Cão, and who constructed the globe at Nuremberg, etc., has here been confounded with his son, who, according to Ghillany, was also called Martin. This Martin was actually born in Fayal. It is not at all improbable that he, following his father's example, had occupied himself with cosmographical labors and researches, and that he had registered the results of later voyages of discovery, of which nothing had been noted down on the pages of history, on his sea-charts, or on charts inherited from his father.

1 Ed. note: He means Martin Behaim, Junior (see below).

Document 1513

Balboa's discovery of the South Sea in 1513, as narrated by Peter Martyr

*Sources: Peter Martyr of Anghiera or Angleria¹ wrote, among other works, thousands of letters, some of which were published as **Opus epistolarum** (Alcalá, 1530). The rest of the story is taken from his *Decades of the New World*, whose title in Latin is **De orbe novo** (Alcalá, 1530). I have followed translations of this book, made in Spanish by Torres Asensio (Madrid, 1892), and made in French by Gaffarel (Paris, 1907).*

Letter to Luis de Hurtado, son of the Count of Tendilla, dated Valladolid, 23 July 1514

We have received news from the New World. Vasco Núñez [de] Balboa, carried out a coup with some people whose favors he had gained, defeating the royal officials and usurping for himself the command of the Spanish in the Darien. He overthrew Governor Nicuesa and jailed Judge Anciso who was supervisor of courts.

Balboa undertook and carried out such a great feat by which he not only obtained the pardon of His offended Majesty but he was decorated with honorific titles. Among the inhabitants of those lands it was well known that on the other side of the high mountains, there was another southern sea, richer in pearls and gold, but that in between there were kings, brave defenders of their rights, and that, therefore, one thousand armed men were needed to break the power of those kings. In order to open the pas-

¹ Ed. note: Pietro Martire d'Anghiera was an Italian who spent most of his life at the Spanish court. Born in about 1455, at Arona on the Lago Maggiore, his family lived in Milan. In 1477, he went to Rome and joined the retinue of Cardinal Sforza. He befriended the Spanish ambassador, Iñigo de Mendoza, and accompanied him to Spain in 1487. The Count of Tendilla presented him to the Court, then sitting at Zaragoza. As a soldier, he fought in the reconquest of Granada. He became a deacon, a priest, an archpriest, and finally the prior of an abbey in Granada, whose income was derived from Jamaica. He spent most of his life as teacher of the young nobles at the Spanish court. As of 5 March 1520, he was the official historian of His Majesty, with a salary of 80,000 maravedis a year. He died in October 1526.

sage through those lands with steel, Pedro Arias [Dávila], whom I have mentioned earlier, has been sent with such a body of warriors.

While the preparations were being made in Spain, soldiers being recruited and armed, ships being built, that Vasco Núñez Balboa took it upon himself to try his luck at such a great enterprise. He gathered 190 men from those in the Darien and hit the road on the 1st of September of last year 1513. The small kings having been pacified, in part by force of arms, in part with blandishments and gifts from here, he crossed the mountains and saluted the sea, thus removing from Pedro Arias and his companions such a task and the glory attached to such a big enterprise.

They have written marvellous things about it. When I have received authentic copies, I will let you know...

Valladolid, 23 July 1514.



Vasco Núñez de Balboa, who became governor of the Darien after a coup d'état, went on to become the first European to sight the South Sea or Pacific Ocean in 1513, thus gaining glory for Spain and earning a pardon from King Ferdinand. (From the frontispiece of Vol. 2 of "*Fuentes históricas sobre Colón y América*", by Pedro Martir Angleria, edited by Joaquín Torres Asensio, Madrid, 1892)

Extracts from the Third Decade of the New World

Peter Martyr of Milan, apostolic protonotary, King's counsel, to Leo X, Pontiff Sovereign, about the New World.

Chapter I

Most Holy Father,

I had closed the doors upon the New World, as it seemed to me that I had covered those regions enough, when I received new letters that forced me to reopen those doors and take up my pen anew.

Vasco Núñez, after he had chased away from the Darien Captain Nicuesa and Judge Enciso, arrogated to himself the command with the connivance of his allies; I have already narrated that part.¹ I have received letters from him², and also from many of his companions, written in a military style. They tell us that he has crossed the mountains that separate our ocean from another southern ocean previously unknown. Tiberius did not write with more pride than Vasco, when he reported what Capri said about Seianus. However, I have borrowed from his and the other letters only the events that are worth mentioning. Not only has Vasco succeeded in conquering the good graces of the Catholic King who was irritated against him, but he has gained additional favors. He has received from the King, and his companions as well, privileges and honors as a reward for such deeds.³ Let Your Holiness pay attention, with serene mind and happy heart, to the narrative of those events, inasmuch as this Spanish nation, with varied works and many death-defying feats, has pacified not just centurions or legions but numberless thousands of men who ought to bow before your sacred throne.

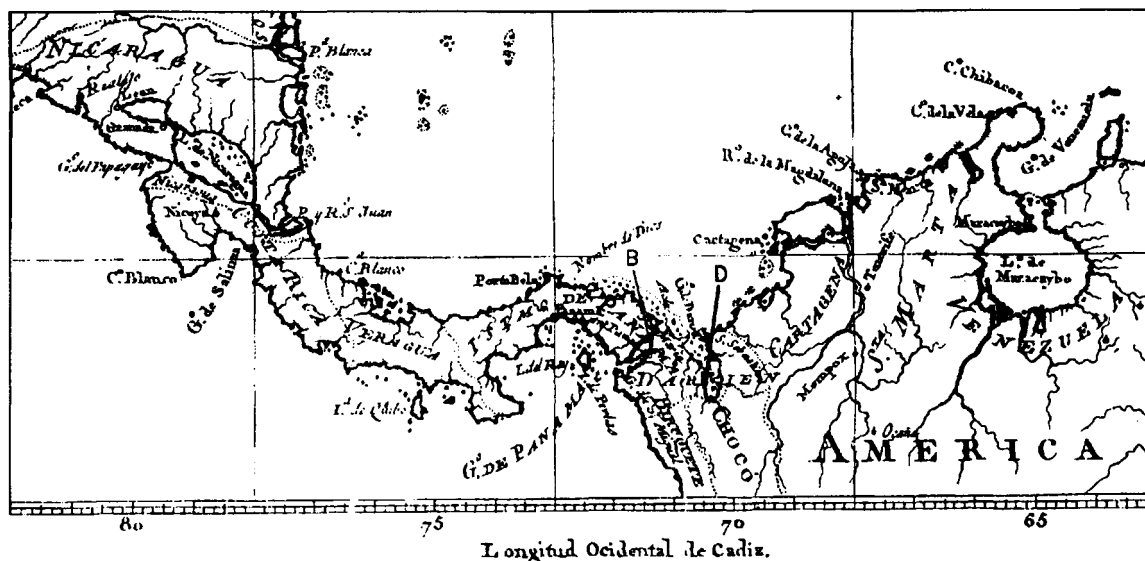
Vasco Núñez did not suffer idleness, because he was an impetuous spirit who could not stay still for long, or else for fear that another man would take away the honor of the enterprise. Many contend that he had been forewarned of the coming of Pedro Arias⁴. Maybe for both reasons, or maybe because he knew that he had irritated the King with his previous actions, he resolved to try, with a few others, a plan of conquest that he had heard the son of the [native] chief Comogro say would be impossible without at least one thousand men.

1 Ed. note: More details of the insurrection were given in his Second Decade.

2 Ed. note: Two of the letters from Balboa have been preserved. They were published by Navarrete, in his "Colección de los viages", vol. 3, pp. 358-375.

3 Ed. note: Gaffarel, who has written Balboa's history in French: "Nunez de Balboa", in which he has translated the two letters published by Navarrete, says that the favors made to Balboa by King Ferdinand included the rank of *adelantado* or lieutenant-governor of the provinces of Panama and Coiba. In addition, Governor Pedro Arias (who arrived at the Darien coast in June 1514) was to consult with him on all important matters.

4 Ed. note: Gaffarel says that he had indeed been warned by his friend, the *alcalde* Zamudio.



The Isthmus of Panama and the Darien colony (1513-1525). *An old map showing the Darien region at the eastern end of Panama. Balboa crossed the isthmus at the narrow neck between the Gulf of Darien and the Bay of San Miguel (approximate route shown as B). The letter D indicates the location of the Darien settlement of Santa Maria de Antigua, before the colony was moved to Panama in 1525.*

He then called a few veterans of the Darien and most of those who had just arrived from Hispaniola hoping to find more gold there. He formed a small troop of 190 armed men. It was at the kalends of September¹ of last year, 1513, that he departed. He was hoping to go by sea as far as possible. So, he left the Darien [colony] with one brig and 10 native canoes, each of them made of a single tree trunk.² He landed first in the land owned by his ally, Chief Careta, *cacique* of Coiba. He left his boats behind there and, praying to God for the success of his enterprise, he headed inland straight for the mountains.

The Spanish were then entering the land of Chief Poncha. The latter fled as he had done many times before. On the advice of the guides that Careta had given him, Vasco sent some messengers to him to offer guarantees against his enemies, friendship and great advantages. Soothed by our promises and our gifts and those of the Caretans, Poncha appeared in front of the Spanish and willingly contracted an alliance with them. Vasco persuaded him that he no longer had any reason to fear him. They then shook hands, embraced each other, and exchanged gifts. Poncha gave some gold, but a small

1 Ed. note: End of August and beginning of September.

2 Ed. note: He simply wanted to avoid the more southerly route through the marshes of the Atrato River delta.

quantity, worth about 110 gold pesos, each valued at one *castellano* each, the reason being that the previous year he had been despoiled, as I have said before.¹

Vasco, in order not to be outdone, gave him strings of glass beads, suitable for necklaces and bracelets, mirrors, brass bells and other European-made trade goods. The natives value those things highly, because they value above all what is foreign to them. In addition, Vasco gave Poncha a few iron axes to cut trees with; there is no other thing that they estimate more, because they have no metals except gold, and it is so difficult for them, without iron tools, to cut any sort of wood to build their houses and dig out their canoes. Now they do all their carpentry work with sharp stones which they find in streams.

Having made an ally out of Poncha, and no longer fearing for his rearguard, Vasco led his men through the mountains.² Poncha had given him some guides and porters who marched in front and opened the way. They had indeed to go through wild country without any trails, populated with wild beasts, and to climb steep hills. The natives maintain only rare communications between themselves; being naked and using no money, they have few needs to trade. When they do trade, they exchange gold with their neighbors for ornaments and useful furniture. As trade is practically non-existent, there are no practical trails between them. However, their scouts know some hidden trails which they use to lay ambushes or rob at night, or else to massacre themselves and reduce the others to slavery. Thanks to the efforts of Poncha's men and of his own carpenters, Vasco crossed fearsome mountains, and passed many streams and wide rivers, by building bridges with either wooden beams or woven lianas. He managed to keep his troop healthy. So as not to become boring, I skip over the many details of their immense labors, but I do not think I should omit the narrative of what happened with the caciques they met along the way.

Before they reached the peak of the mountain range, the Spanish entered the province of Quarequa³, governed by the cacique of the same name. The cacique came to meet them, with his people armed the native way with bows and arrows and with *mancanas* which are broad and long wooden clubs handled with both hands. They also have sticks with fire-hardened tips, and also spears which they throw with much skill. Quarequa received them with pride and hostility, ready to block their passage with a big crowd of his subjects. He asked where they were going and what did they want. Through the interpreters and with a ferocious aspect, he intimated that they should turn back if they did not want to be killed to the last man. While saying this, he came out into the open. He and his lieutenants wore clothes, but everybody else was nude. As our people did not want to turn back, he attacked them. The battle did not last long. Soon they felt the arrows from our "scorpions" [i.e. crossbows] and the shots from the

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- 1 Ed. note: The Spanish had raided his territory and found gold among the possessions the Indians had hidden inside wild rose thickets.
 - 2 Ed. note: Balboa's letters indicate that he had begun the climb on 6 September and left Poncha's village on 20 September.
 - 3 Ed. note: Pronounced kwarekwa.

muskets; upon hearing the latter, they thought we controlled lightning and thunder. They then turned their backs and took flight. Just like butchers cut into pieces the flesh of bulls and sheep before exhibiting them for sale, the same with the Spanish who chopped with a single blow the buttocks off one, the thigh off another, the shoulder off yet another. Treated so furiously, the cacique along with 600 others perished.

Vasco found Quarequa's home and in it an infamous vice. He found there the king's brother dressed like a woman, and around him many similarly-dressed attendants who, according to their neighbors, shared the licentious customs. Vasco ordered his dogs launched against them; they destroyed about forty of them. The Spanish indeed use fighting dogs against those naked peoples and the dogs attack furiously as if they were wild pigs or fleeing deer. The Spanish have found the dogs to be loyal allies, always ready to share the dangers, like the inhabitants of Colophon and those of Castabala who had trained canine troops to fight in wars, and had found them always ready to fill the first rank, never refusing to attack.

When the natives heard about the severity of our treatment of that obscene sort of beings, they gathered around Vasco as if he were Hercules. The people were shouting and pointing out those whom they believed were infected of that contagious vice, were spitting in their direction. Obviously, the contagion that had spread to the court people had not reached the common people. Raising their hands and eyes heavenward, they were indicating that God abhorred such a big iniquity. That was the reason why He had sent thunder and lightning, and floods that had destroyed their crops. They complained that as a result, they suffered hunger and sicknesses.

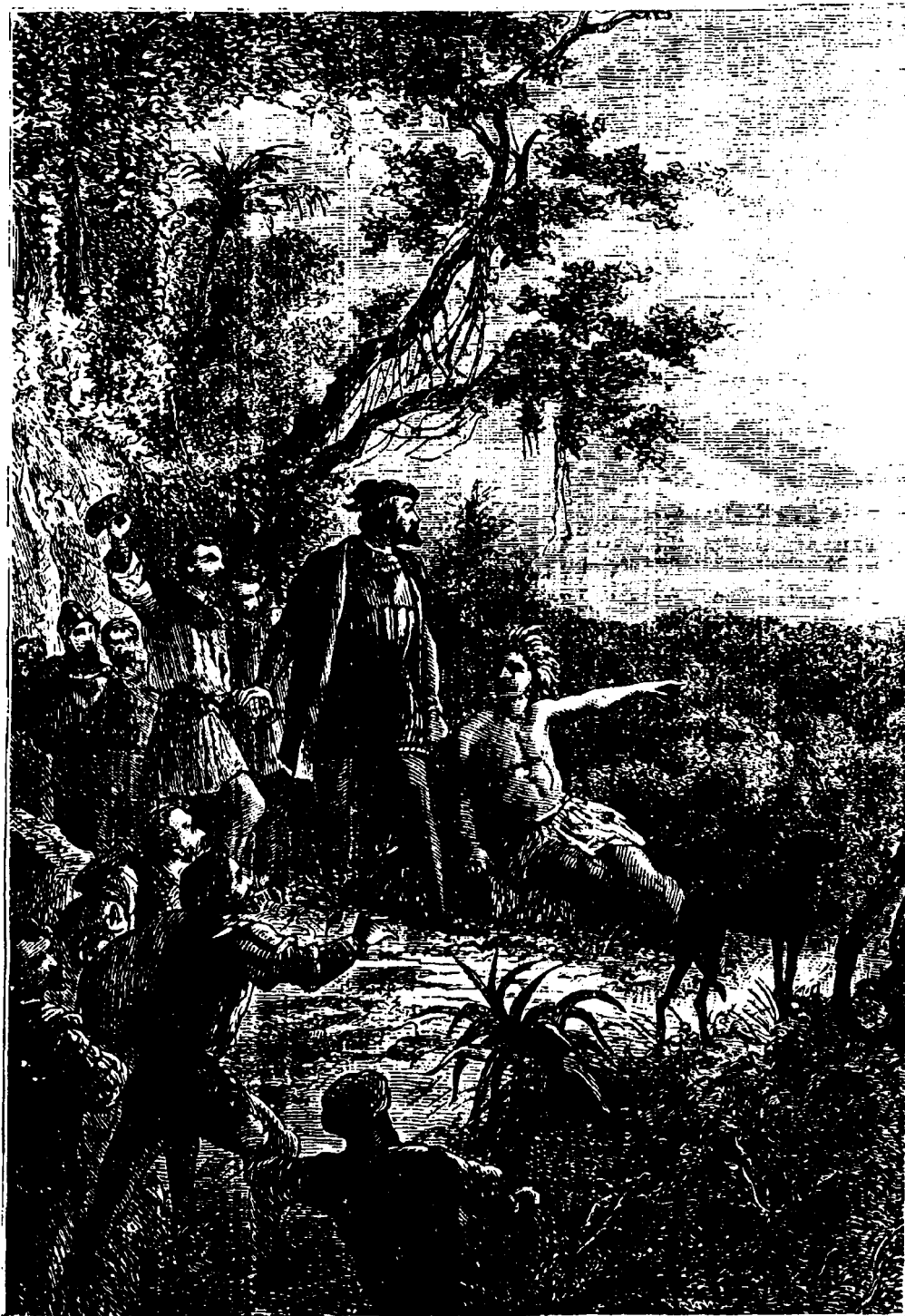
The natives do not worship any God except the Sun. They think that only He can give or take away the crops. They are, however, docile. They will be easily instructed in our true faith, if teachers can be found to go there. As far as their language goes, there are no sounds difficult to pronounce in it, so that all the terms of their vocabulary can be written and rendered in our Latin alphabet, as I have already said regarding the [language of the] natives of Hispaniola. It is a warrior race that up to now had been molesting their neighbors. The province is neither rich in gold nor noteworthy by its fertility. It is hilly and sterile. It is cold on account of the bareness of its mountains. For this reason, the leaders of this nation cover themselves, although the mass of the people must content themselves with what nature provides.

[Some negroes were native to America]

They found there some black slaves.¹ They inhabit a region only about two days distant from Quarequa, in which there are nothing but negroes. They are ferocious and very cruel. It is believed that a long time ago, some negroes from Ethiopia² were out as pirates and, following a shipwreck, established themselves in those mountains. The natives of Quarequa are having continuous warfare with those negroes; both sides mutually make slaves or kill one another.

1 Ed. note: Gaffarel points out that most of the conquistadors have reported a similar fact.

2 Ed. note: The generic term for Africa, although the word Guinea was similarly used.



Balboa sighting the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. (*From Jules Verne's The Exploration of the World, f.p. 220*)

[Balboa reaches the Pacific]

Vasco left many of his companions in Quarequa, because they had become sick, not being used to this life of excessive fatigue and privations.¹ With guides from Quarequa, he headed for the mountains. Between Poncha's court and the place where the other ocean can be seen, there are only six days of ordinary walking.² Vasco was able to execute this crossing only after 25 days of difficulties and great privations. Finally, on the 7th day of the kalends of October [i.e. 25 September], the quarequans pointed at a peak and told Vasco that the other ocean could be seen from there. Looking at it with avidity, Vasco ordered the troop to halt, then went on by himself and was first to arrive at the peak. He throws himself down, bends the knees, raises his hands to heaven and salutes the south sea. He writes that he gave infinite thanks to God and all the saints to have reserved such a glory for him, who had only an ordinary genius, no expertise and no nobility. After he finished his prayers at the fashion of military men, he called his companions and, with his hand, showed them the sea, the object of their search. They again fall on their knees and beg Heaven, specially the Holy Virgin, to look with favor on the rest of the enterprise, and to allow them to reconnoiter the country lying below their feet. His companions do the same and then shout with joy. With more pride than Hannibal showing Italy and the Alps to his soldiers, Vasco promises his companions great wealth: "Here is the ocean we longed for! Here you are, who have shared all my labors, here is the country about which the son of Comogro and the other natives have told us so many marvels!" That said, as a sign of possession, they erected altar-shaped piles of stones right and left, so that posterity would not accuse them of being liars.³

1 Ed. note: Only 77 men remained fit at that time. Balboa led them forward on 26 September 1513.

2 Ed. note: An English engineer who surveyed that same region in 1852, for the purpose of building a canal, has reported a width of about 35 miles at most of the crossing points (See Lionel Gisborne, "The Ithmus of Darien in 1852", London, 1853), but the necessity of cutting paths with machetes resulted in a progress of just over 1 mile an hour on average...

3 Ed. note: Here is the text of the official statement taken on the spot by the royal notary, Andrés de Valderrabano, and signed by all present: "The gentlemen, hidalgos and respectable men who were in search of the South Sea, in the company of the very noble captain Vasco Núñez de Balboa, governor in the names of their Highnesses of the Mainland, are as follows: firstly, Don Vasco Núñez who first saw the sea and showed it to the following: Andrés de Vera, priest, Francisco Pizarro, Diego Albitez, Fabian Pérez, Bernardino de Morales, Diego de Tejerina, Cristobal de Valdebuso, Bernardino de Cienfuegos, Sebastian de Grijalva, Francisco de Avila, Juan de Espinosa, Juan de Velasco, Benito Duran, Andrés de Molina, Antonio de Baracaldo, Pedro de Escobar, Cristobal Doza, Francisco Pesado, Alonso de Guadalupe, Hernando Muñoz, Hernando Hidalgo, Robio de Malpartida, Alvares de Bolano, Alonzo Ruiz, Francisco de Lucena, Martin Ruiz, Pascual de Malpartida, etc. etc. I, Andrés de Valderrabano, notary of their Highnesses at court and in all their kingdoms and domains, was present and attest to the truth of it all. I affirm that these 70 men are the first Christians to see the South Sea. I was with them and am counted among their number." While descending from the peak, they made incisions in the barks of many trees, writing the name of the King of Castile, and leaving here and there stone piles, until they reached the court of the southern cacique, whose name was Chiapes.



Balboa taking possession of the South Sea on 29 Sept. 1513.

Chiapes takes up arms and advances with a great crowd to stop them, not only from going through but also from stepping on his land. The Spanish, although few in number, form ranks and advance upon the enemy. They fire their muskets and launch their pack of hounds, commonly called *alanos*.¹ When they heard the echoes from the mountains as a result of the shots, when they saw the smoke made by the powder vomiting flames, and they smelled the sulphur, because the wind was carrying it their way, they gave up, terrorized as they were, or threw themselves upon the ground, thinking that lightning was hitting them. While they were thus prostrated, or fleeing, the Spanish, still in close rank advanced toward them, then they spread out to kill a few and take a large number of them prisoners. They had, in fact, decided to make friends of them and to explore in peace the country they occupied.

Vasco then occupied Chiapes' house and released the majority of those made prisoners during their flight, and sent them onward to their cacique to invite him to come back with promises of peace, generosity and friendship. Otherwise, it would be the ruin and destruction of his kingdom. In order to be more convincing with Chiapes, Vasco gave a few of the quarequan natives who had served as guides to accompany Chiapes' people.

¹ Ed. note: Gaffarel has translated this word to mean greyhounds, whereas most dictionaries say mastiffs, usually of a large kind, like great Danes.

In this way, Chiapes was persuaded, either by the quarequans who gave him reasons on behalf of their cacique, or by his own people, and he accepted the promise that had been given. He came out of his hiding place and returned to where our people were. Hands were shaken all around, friendship promised and a mutual alliance sealed with gifts.

Chiapes gave Vasco some gold worth 400 pesos in gold coins (I have already said that one ducat exceeds one peso almost by one quarter).¹ In order to reciprocate, Vasco gave some of our [European] things to Chiapes. Thus, both parts being contented, they spent a few days there while waiting for the arrival of those who had been left behind at Quarequa. That done, they dismissed their quarequans with small gifts.

Now guided by Chiapeans, and accompanied by Chiapes himself, the Spanish came down the mountains and reached the shore of the desired ocean in four days.² Their joy was great. Before witnesses and royal notaries, they took possession, in the name of the King of Castile, of this whole ocean and adjacent lands.³

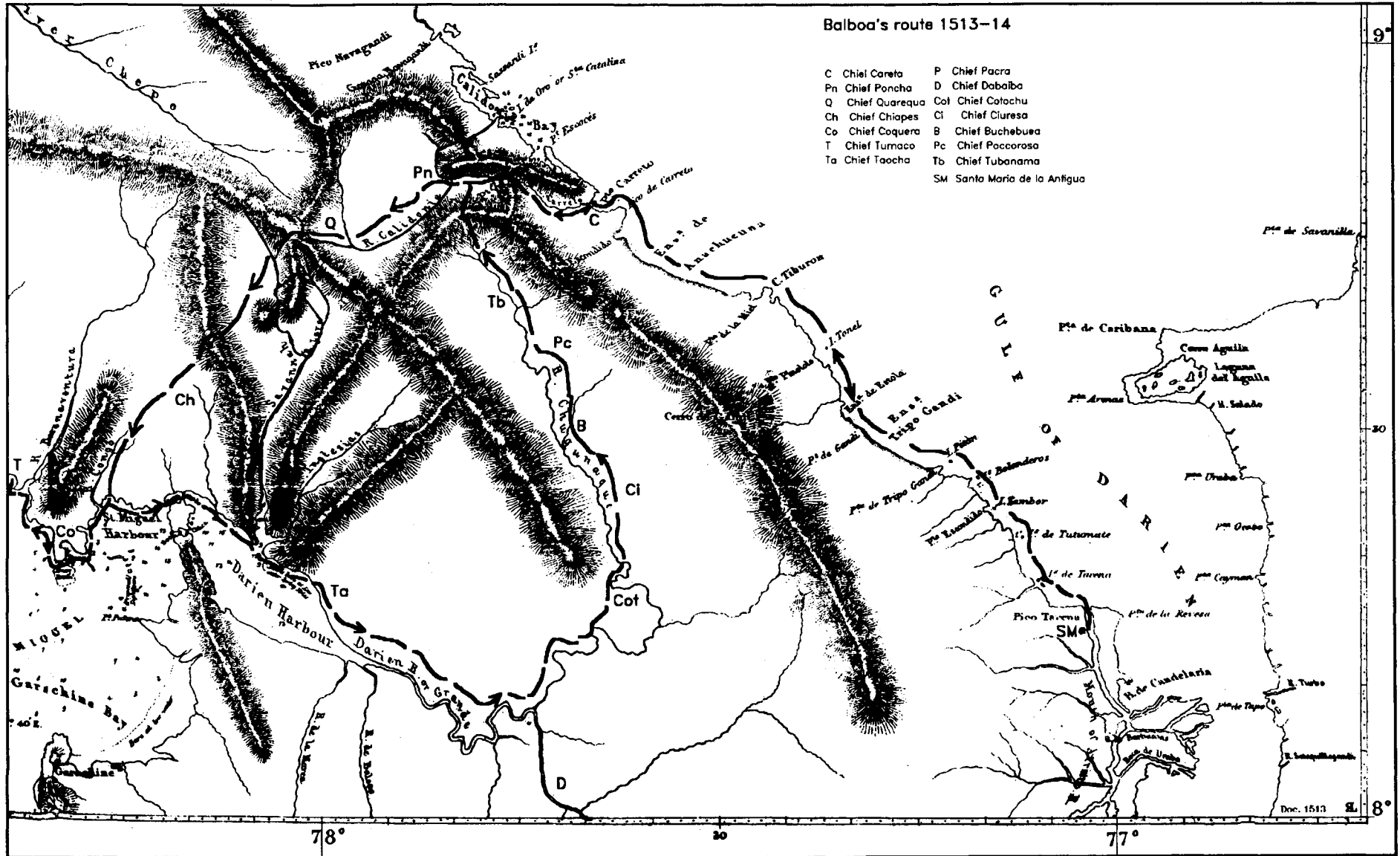
Vasco left part of his men with Chiapes, in order to be able to explore the surrounding country more freely. He borrowed from the cacique nine of those dugout canoes, which they call there *culchas*, and guided by Chiapes, with 80 of his men, he crossed a wide river to enter the land of another cacique named Coquera. This man, at first, wanted to resist and repel the Spanish. He tried, but with the same result as the other caciques. He was defeated and put to flight. However, persuaded by the Chiapeans, he returned. The Chiapeans had played the role of envoys from Vasco. "Those invaders are invincible, they had told them. Caress them and they are soft; resist them and they are cruel and severe. If you are their friends, our cacique and other caciques are there to prove it, they promise their assistance, protection and peace. If you refuse their alliance, watch out for ruin and death." Well then, Coquera was touched by these advances and came back toward our people, and gave to the Spanish 650 gold pesos worth of gold, and received from Vasco the usual presents, as he had done with Poncha.

1 Ed. note: So that 400 pesos was almost 300 ducats. This was no small amount, as 1 ducat was then worth exactly 375 maravedis, and 1 maravedi would buy about US\$1 worth of goods. Hence, about \$100,000 in all. This declared amount could indeed have bought Balboa a lot of pardon at King Ferdinand's court.

2 Ed. note: Balboa had sent 3 squads of 12 men each to scout ahead of him. They were commanded by Martin Alonso, Juan de Escaray and, the future conquistador of Peru, Francisco Pizarro. Alonso was the first European to reach the shore and one of his men, Blaz de Atienza, was the second.

3 Ed. note: Balboa himself reached the South Sea only on 29 September 1513, at the head of 26 soldiers. He immediately took possession of the ocean in the following terms: "Long live the high and powerful monarchs Don Ferdinand and Doña Juana, sovereigns of Castile, León and Aragon, in the name of whom I today take, for the royal crown of Castile, real, physical and actual possession of these seas, lands, coasts, ports and islands of the south, and all their dependencies, as well as of the kingdoms and provinces that are or may be dependent upon them, in any manner whatsoever, no matter what right or title that may be, old or new, in times past, present or future, without any contradiction," etc...

Re-construction of Balboa's route to the Pacific in 1513. Superimposed upon the survey map drawn by Gisborne in 1852. (From Gisborne's Darien Journal)



[Concluding note]

To summarize the rest of the story, as told by Martyr, Balboa first explored the gulf nearby which he had named Golfo de San Miguel, because he discovered it on 29 September, the feast day of St. Michael. The small fleet of canoes followed the shore until they came abreast of the Pearl Islands. By trying to reach them, they were almost all capsized. They moved further along the shore until they came to the territory of a cacique named Tumaco. He too fought the Spanish at first, then submitted himself and gave as his share of gifts some large pearls. The Spanish learned that within the gulf there was an island bigger than the others¹ where only one cacique rules and big pearls grow. So, Balboa wanted to attack at once with the help of Tumaco and Chiapes, but the chiefs refused on account of the bad weather at that time of year.

On the return trip to the Darien colony, Balboa decided to go by a slightly different route through the mountains. With guides from Chiapes, they crossed a large river and entered the territory of a cacique named Taocha who received them peacefully and provided his own guides, much food and some slaves to act as porters. They crossed the territory of a cacique named Pacra. Jaguars were terrorizing the local population. So it was that this Pacra was ordered killed by Balboa at the request of his allies. Out of 190 men he had left the Darien with, says Martyr, Balboa never had available more than 80 men in fighting trim. They finally came upon the Comogro River² and went through the territories of two caciques, Cotochus and Ciuriza, both allies of Comogro. They provided new guides. More forests and mountains were crossed, until they came upon marshes and upon the village of a chief named Buchebuúa, where there was not enough food. Then their path took them near the territory of cacique Chiorisos, who sent them some gold presents and received iron axes. Through the lands owned by Chief Poccorosa, more gold and less food. Then they came upon the territory of Chief Tubanama who had a fierce reputation with the Comogro people. He was captured, reviled by his Indian enemies, then ordered released by Balboa who received a large quantity of gold in return. The date was the last day of December 1513. Tubanama gave his son to the Spanish to be raised by them and become a future interpreter. Balboa and many other soldiers became sick with fever and had to be transported in hammocks by slaves. They finally arrived at the territory owned by their friend Chief Comogro, situated in a valley near the source of the Comogro River. This place was said to be about 70 leagues west of the Darien. During their absence, the old man had died and been replaced by one of his sons.

Upon leaving this territory, they again came back to that of Poncha. Back in Coiba, Balboa took his brig back to the Darien colony, a settlement called Santa Maria de la Antigua, in February 1514. A ship had come from Hispaniola. It returned soon after, carrying Balboa's long letter to the King.

1 Ed. note: The largest of the Pearl Islands is called Isla del Rey.

2 Ed. note: Since it is said later by Martyr that this river empties into the South Sea, we can assume that it was a tributary of the Rio Grande or Darien River, quite probably the Chugunaque River (See Gisborne).

The fleet of Pedro Arias arrived the following June. We learn that the Darien settlement was situated 25 leagues by water from Port Comogro, the point nearest to Comogro's town inland. This town was apparently no more than 26 leagues in straight line from the mouth of the Bay of St. Michael. Also the port of Poccorosa was located no more than 7 leagues from the port of Comogro. Tubanama's town was 20 leagues from that of Poccorosa. The Spanish had also heard about a chief named Dabaiba whose territory was along the middle course of the Rio Grande.

Arias replaced Balboa as governor, while Balboa continued to cover the route to the Pearl Islands which he explored. All the time he was preparing himself to become conquistador of Peru. However, Arias and his men were jealous and, in 1517, they arrested him on a trumped up charge of treason, sentenced him to death and beheaded him. Pizarro is now remembered as the conqueror of Peru. As for the Darien colony, it disappeared after the settlement was moved to Old Panama in 1525. Over three centuries passed before Balboa's old route was surveyed as the possible route for a canal across the isthmus.¹

1 Ed. note: Gisborne in 1852, Prévost in 1853.



Document 1518A

Magellan's petition to the King

Source: AGI Seville (old signature): Leg. 1, Papeles de Maluco, 1519-1547. Navarrete's Colección de los viages, iv, pp. 113-116. Summary in B&R I, pp. 251-253.

Memorandum to the King [supposedly by Magellan and Faleiro, dated March 1518] regarding the discovery of the Moluccan Islands, which they have proposed, and the favors they request for themselves.

Most Powerful Sir:

Inasmuch as with the help of God our Lord, we have to discover and open the way for the placing under the dominion of Y.H., many very advantageous islands and lands, what we beg Y.R.M. to grant us and reserve for us is as follows:

1° Firstly: that Y.H. will not give a permit to anybody whom he outfits for the discovery of our part [of the world] where we intend to go, God willing, from now for ten years, as we ourselves wish to do it with such good competence, and with as many ships as the other persons; about which Y.H. ought to have us notified, in order for us to respond whether we will do it or not; and if so, whether to do it ourselves or through other persons engaged by us for it.

[Official recommendations in margin:] *In this chapter, it is necessary before answering to know the proposed route, because it is possible to discover by various routes.*

2° Next: that out of all the profit and interest, which out of all such lands that we would discover, from rents as well as from dues, as well as any other thing, which will accrue to Y.H. after expenses, Y.H. will give us one twentieth of everything, with the title of his Admirals, and with the government of the said lands for us and for our legal heirs in freehold [i.e. in perpetuity].

In this chapter, one must know the quantity, and regarding the title of Admirals, there is a difficulty on account of the privileges of Admirals.

As for the government, Y.H. may be pleased to give it to them and to their sons, keeping the supremacy for Y.H., and provided the sons are their own and married in these kingdoms, and sufficiently skilled for it, and the government is left with his son.

In the jurisdiction by freehold, it is against the laws of the Kingdom, and it has been seen that it is very prejudicial to the King to have an Admiral hold jurisdiction by freehold in the Indies.

3° Next: that we may take to the said lands or islands that we might discover merchandise worth one thousand ducats (purchase price), to be used in the places that would seem preferable to us, each year at our expense; and which we could sell there and use [the proceeds] for what would seem suitable to us, and to bring back the return to these Kingdoms and Dominions of Y.H., by paying you one twentieth of it, to be free of any other duties, either common or to be imposed in the future.

The thousand ducats would be for the future, not for the voyage.

That provision be made for the spices to be free of tonnage fees and other duties when they arrive.

Regarding the duties, it is to be seen upon the return here, because there would be a discount applied to the tonnage fees.

This chapter appears imbalanced, because they offer one twentieth here, and in another that follows hereunder they request the fifth of the same quantity for themselves.

4° *Item:* that out of the islands that we might discover for Y.H., should they number more than six, we be favored with two of them, Y.H. selecting six first, and then from among all the others we could take the two that we think best, of which Y.H. would give us the lordship with all their present and future income, and with all the trade, without Y.H. taking more taxes than ten percent of our income, and this “in perpetuity” for us and for our heirs and successors.

That from these two islands which they would so chose they take the fifteenth part, and from the others the twenty-fifth.

5° *Item:* that from the returns of this first fleet, may it please God that we carry it out, whatever interest there may be from the things to be brought back from there, Y.H. should give us the fifth after expenses for the said fleet have been taken out, and also that on the return voyage we may bring aboard each ship to return here, one hundred quintals¹ of the same merchandise to be brought back for Y.H.

In this chapter, to be equal with the one above, the twentieth would suffice, or they should pay the fifth to the King.

That if the one thousand ducats are given to them, they should not ask for the one hundred quintals.

6° Next: that if some ships of Y.H., or of other persons trying it were to find or discover some lands or islands within the said ten years, that out of all the interest or profit

1 Ed. note: One quintal equals 100 pounds.

from them be given to us the twentieth part, and Y.H. would give it to us safe and sure, as if we had discovered them ourselves, given that we would have been its instigators.

In this [chapter] it is also necessary to indicate the limits.

That it be joined with the first chapter, because once the limitation has been indicated, it can be acted upon.

7° Next: that, Y.H. wishing to outfit at his expense with the said conditions, we would show him the great profits to be accrued to him from this [venture], and the things that there is in the islands and lands existing within the boundaries and demarcations of Y.H.

Let him declare.

8° *Item:* that if in the voyage of discovery one of the above-mentioned were to die, that Y.H. would hold the other and his heirs and successors to the contents of these chapters, as they would be held responsible being both alive.

*Fiat.*¹

9° *Item:* that Y.H. should order us to comply with all the above, with all the signatures and formalities that would ensure our security.

OK, this would be granted them.

[Alternative proposal:]

If the outfitting at his expense should not be agreeable to Y.H., and that he should be agreeable to having us go on this voyage of discovery at our expense and cost, what we humbly beg Y.H., and request be reserved for us, is the following:

1° Firstly, that all the land and islands that we, or the persons acting on our behalf, were to discover, be ours, with all the commerce, dominion and government, giving Y.H. the fifth of all net interest and profit which they would bring to us.

2 *Item:* that Y.H. would agree not to send ships of his, nor of any other persons, to trade at the said islands, nor bring or carry any merchandise whatever; and if anyone should do so, that in such a case, they would lose all their goods, which would be confiscated by us: to that effect, Y.H. would give us all the favor and assistance necessary to put it into execution.

3° *Item:* that Y.H. would not give a permit to anyone who would go on a voyage of discovery, nor would send anyone to do so during the ten-year period, inasmuch as we are involved in it or wish to be involved on our own account, or for other persons, therefore, if anyone should discover anything, the said party would be for us, as if we ourselves had discovered it.

1 Ed. note: An elegant way of saying: OK, or Let it be.

4° *Item*: that if during the voyage of discovery one of us should die, that Y.H. would have the other and his heirs and successors comply with all the contents of these chapters completely, the same as it would be, both being alive.¹

5° *Item*: that Y.H. would have us comply with all the above-mentioned, with all the signatures and formalities that would ensure our security.

1 Ed. note: As it turned out, Magellan's business partner, Ruy Faleiro, did not sail with the fleet. Some historians have said that the reason for the change was that Faleiro had become mentally ill. Others say that he had been promised the leadership of a follow-up expedition that was already being planned.

Document 1518B

Contract between King Charles I of Spain and Magellan regarding the discovery of the Spice Islands

Source: AGI Seville: Leg. 4 de Relaciones y Descripciones. Published in Navarrete's Colección de los viages, iv, pp. 116-121.

Contract and agreement that His Highnesses ordered made with Magellan and [his partner] Faleiro regarding the voyage of discovery to the Spice islands

In the file books which I, Francisco de los Cobos, Secretary, have of despatches to the India House of Trade and about the voyages of discovery to the spice islands, there is on record a provision confirming a certain contract which His Majesty had drawn up with Ferdinand Magellan and Ruy Faleiro. Its contents are, verbatim, as follows:

Doña Juana and Don Carlos¹, etc.:

Inasmuch as you, Bachelor Ruy Faleiro and Ferdinand Magellan, gentlemen born in the Kingdom of Portugal, have informed me that I, the King, through a Decree and Contract of mine, there should be prepared a certain record about the voyage which, with the help of God, you wish to undertake to discover what has until now not been found, which is within the limits of our demarcation that is not yet discovered, and to place them under our Lordship and dominion, as is set forth in greater detail in this my said Decree and record, whose contents are as follows:

Inasmuch as you, Bachelor Ruy Faleiro and Ferdinand Magellan, gentlemen born in the Kingdom of Portugal, wishing to render us a distinguished service, oblige yourselves to find in the domains that belong to us and are ours in the ocean sea, within the

1 Charles I of Spain was born in Belgium in 1500 and therefore was only 18 years of age then. He became Charles V of Germany, i.e. Holy Roman Emperor, when 20 years old. He ruled over Spain jointly with his mother, Queen Juana, who was insane.



Charles I of Spain, when he was being educated in Belgium. (From a bust in the Gruuthuse, Bruges, attributed to Conrad Meyt. Reproduced from McKew Parr's *Magellan*, p. 237)

limits of our demarcation, islands, mainlands, and rich spices, with other things by means of which we, and these our new kingdoms, shall be advantaged, we order that the following contract with yourselves be recorded:

Firstly, that you may with good fortune go forth and discover upon the ocean sea, within our limits and demarcation, and since it would be unjust that others should cross your path, and since you take the labors of this undertaking upon yourselves, it is therefore my wish and will, and I promise that, during the next ten years, I will give no one permission to go on discoveries along the same route and in the same regions as yourselves. Should anyone ask for a permit to go upon such an undertaking, we will, before we give it, inform you of it, in order that if you wish to do it within the time offered by them, you may be able to do it yourselves, provided you are as well equipped and have as many ships in as good conditions, and as well manned, as the others who wish to undertake the said discovery. It is understood, however, that if we wish to send other expeditions, or give permission to others by the western route, via the islands and the Mainland [of America], and via all the other parts that are discovered as far as the part that we wish in order to look for a strait in the said seas, we may do so if their intentions is to seek discoveries from the Mainland that is discovered to the South Seas, beyond the island of San Miguel¹, they can go ahead, and also if the Governor² and the people who are there now, or will be there by our command, from now on at the said Mainland or others of our subjects or vassals, wish to set forth on discoveries in the South Seas and to send ships thereto for the purposes of discovery, they then may do so without hindrance from what is stated above or from any clause of this agreement. If, however, you wish to go in search of discoveries in one of these regions, you may do so, provided you avoid what has already been discovered and found.

You must so conduct this voyage of discovery that you do not encroach upon the demarcation and boundaries of the Most Serene King of Portugal, my very dear and beloved uncle and brother³, or otherwise prejudice his interests, except within the limits of our demarcation.

And appreciating the resolve that has moved you to undertake this voyage of discovery in our service, for the services which you render us, for the aggrandizement of the royal power, for the labors and risks which you will assume, as a reward for it, **it is our wish and will that of all the lands and islands that you shall discover, to grant to you, and by the presents we do grant that, from all the profits and interests from all the lands and islands that you will thus have discovered, whether as income from duties or from any other thing that will accrue in whatever manner, you can take the twentieth part⁴** and shall besides receive the title of

1 Ed. note: San Miguel, on what is now King's Island in the Pearl Islands in the Gulf of Panama.

2 Ed. note: A possible reference to the Governor of the Darien Peninsula, and to a planned expedition to be led by Gil González Dávila.

3 Ed. note: King Manuel of Portugal had married Charles V's aunts Isabel and Maria, before marrying his sister Leonora.

4 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

Lieutenants and Governors of the said lands and islands for yourselves and your sons and heirs in freehold for all times, provided that the supreme [authority] shall remain with Us and with the Kings who will come after Us, and provided your sons and heirs be born in our Kingdoms, be married in them, and provided the said Governorship and title of Lieutenants after you shall remain with a son or heir, and about which we shall order that your letters patent and privileges be issued in due form.

You shall furthermore be recompensed by our giving you the permission and opportunity from this day henceforth to send yearly, in your own ships, or in whatever ships you may choose, the equivalent of 1000 ducats in purchase price to and from these lands and islands, sold and employed there in such form and manner as may seem to you best, or bring it back to these Kingdoms, by paying us as in royalty a **twentieth part**, without being obliged to pay any of the other usual taxes, including even those which shall thereafter be imposed. However, let it be understood that the above shall apply after you will have returned from this first voyage and shall not apply so long as you are still under way.

Next, that you may be still further recompensed, it is moreover our wish and command that of the islands which you will have discovered, after six of them have been selected for us, you may choose two from the remainder, of whose income and profit you shall have the fifteenth part, after deduction of costs.

Item, to further demonstrate our favor, it is Our will, inasmuch as we recognize the great expenditure of money and labor which this voyage will entail upon you and since we wish to recompense you, therefore, out of the net profits which you bring us you shall have the fifth part, after deduction of the expenses of the fleet.

And so that you may the better be able to carry out the above-mentioned project and the enterprise have the needed certainty of success, I declare that **I promise to outfit 5 ships for you**: 2 each of 130 tons, 2 each of 90 tons, and 1 of 60 tons, equipped with crew, food, and artillery, to wit that the said ships are to go supplied for 2 years, and with a crew of 234 men, including masters, able seamen, ordinary seamen and all the other people necessary, in accordance with the memorandum that is being prepared for that, and thus we shall order it to be carried out by our officials who reside in Seville, at the India House of Trade.

And because it is our will that what is stated above be secured to you and fulfilled, we desire that, if during the prosecution of the above voyage one of you should die, all the above-mentioned shall accrue to the one left living as though both were alive.

Also, so that confidence and order and the necessary certainty be maintained, we must and shall name a factor, a treasurer, and an accountant for the above-mentioned ships, to keep any and all the accounts and records of the said fleet.

This I promise you, attest and give you my royal word that I shall protect you according to the above, and to this end I give you this signature of my name in Valladolid on the 22nd of March, 1518.

I, the King.

By order of the King: Francisco de los Cobos.

[Confirmation:] So that the said contract and deposition may gain in compliance and be fulfilled more readily in all its terms, you have prayed for the favor that it be confirmed and ratified and, whenever necessary, renewed. We appreciate the usefulness of yourselves, and of whatever you may discover, to our realm, as well as the services which you, as I hope, will render us and our Royal Crown, and your personal ability, and the pains that the voyage and the discoveries will cause you. And to the end that an eternal memorial of yourselves and your services shall be set up, so that these services may be rewarded and others be encouraged to serve us equally well, we do hereby and voluntarily vouch for, confirm, and approve this contract and its contents with full knowledge of the facts and with absolute royal power, and do decree that it shall be executed and maintained, fulfilled in every particular, now and for all times, in accordance with its terms, by this original, or through a copy signed by a public notary, I enjoin Infante Fernando, our very dear and beloved son and brother, the princes, prelates, dukes, counts, marquis, nobles, masters of the Orders, their commanders and sub-commanders, governors of castles and forts, members of the Privy Council, judges, mayors, constables of our House, Court and Chanceries, and all the councils, Governors, bailiffs and their assistants, mayors, constables, stewards, elders, aldermen and any other authorities and officials of the cities, towns and villages in our kingdoms and domains, not only those now in existence but also those who will in the future come to be, who may chance to see the above contract and agreement, that they shall according to their duty recognize and execute it, and shall in no way act contrary to the contract or to any part of the same, no matter what laws and sanctions may be directed against it...

Should you wish a copy of this our letter or of the above contract, we authorize our treasurers and their lieutenants to deliver it to you whenever you need it and apply for it. We have commissioned our Grand Chancellor, the notaries, and other officials to execute, present, and confirm it, and not to cause you any difficulties in so doing, upon penalty of a fine of 10,000 maravedis to be paid to our Chamber... Moreover, I enjoin the man who will produce this document, or his copy of it signed by a public notary, to summon you to appear at our court, wherever we may at that time be residing, within the first 300 days; otherwise, he shall suffer the above penalty, and he must bring us a proof corroborated by any public notary that he has shown it to you so that we may know how our orders are being carried out.

Given at the city of Valladolid, on the 22nd of March of the year of our Lord 1518.
I the King.

I, Francisco de los Cobos, had this decree taken down from the above-mentioned file books, by order of the Gentlemen of the Royal Council, and I do hereby confirm the fact that it has been fully and exactly transcribed.

Valladolid, January 24th, 1523.

Francisco de los Cobos.

(Overleaf) **Portrait of Charles I of Spain, circa 1518, by Van Orley.** (*Original hanging in the Louvres, Paris*)



Document 1518C

Magellan—Letter of commission from the King

Source: Letter from the King, dated Valladolid, 22 March 1518. Original manuscript in AGI Seville: Reg. de Reales Cédulas leg. 2; also Torre do Tombo, Lisbon: Gaveta 18, maço 8, n° 39. Published in Navarrete's Colección de los viages, iv, pp. 121-122; also in ACL's Alguns documentos, pp. 418-419. Translation from Blair & Robertson I, pp. 271-275.

Title of Captains of the Fleet to Magellan and Faleiro

Doña Juana and Don Carlos her son by the grace of God Queen and King of Castile, etc.

Inasmuch as we have ordered that a certain contract and agreement be made with you, Bachelor Ruy Faleiro, and Fernando de Magalhães, gentlemen born in the Kingdom of Portugal, in order that you go and discover over the Ocean sea, and in order to make such a voyage, we have ordered that five ships be outfitted with crews and food and other things necessary for the said voyage, trusting that you are such persons as will abide by our service, and that you will faithfully execute what we have entrusted to you: **it is our wish and will to appoint you, and by the presents we do appoint you our Captains of the said Fleet¹**, and we authorize you so that, during the time of the voyage and until (with the blessing of Our Lord) you return to these our kingdoms, you may use and shall use the said office as our captains, both at sea and ashore, for yourselves and for your lieutenants, in any case and in everything relating to the said office, connected and belonging to it. You shall see to it that justice be rendered in the lands and islands to be discovered, in accordance with and in the manner usually followed by those who have been our sea captains until now.

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

By this our letter, we order the masters and boatswains, pilots, seamen, ship boys and pages, and any other persons and officials there may be in the said fleet, whatever persons who are and reside in the said lands and islands to be discovered, and to whom the contents of this letter may concern or affect, in whatever manner, that they shall regard, accept, and consider you as our Captains of the said fleet.

As such, they shall obey you and comply with your orders, under the penalty or penalties which, in our name, you shall impose or order imposed, and which by these presents we impose and consider them in fact imposed. We authorize you to execute sentence on their persons and goods. They are to respect and abide by all the honors, privileges, authorizations, liberties, preeminences, prerogatives and immunities which as our Captains you shall hold and enjoy, and which must be abided for you.

It is our wish and command that if during the voyage of the said fleet there should arise any disputes and conflicts, at sea as well as ashore, you shall deliver, determine and render justice with respect to them, summarily without hesitation nor question of law, and in order to deliver justice and decide about the said disputes, and for whatever else regarding the contents of this our letter, we grant you all the authorizations with their incident, dependent, annexed and connected articles. Let no-one therefore disregard them.

Given at Valladolid, on the 22nd day of the month of March 1518.

I the King.

I, Francisco de los Cobos, Secretary to the Queen and to the King her son, our Lords, had it recorded by their command.

[Endorsement:] Authorization as sea captains, given to Fernando Magalhães and to the bachelor Ruy Faleiro for the time they shall be in the fleet which Y.H. has ordered to be outfitted, until their return to Spain.

Johaanes le Sauvaige.

Fonseca, Archbishop and Bishop [of Burgos].

Registered. Juan de Samano.

[Seal:] Guilherme, Chancellor.

Document 1519A

Letter from the King of Spain to Magellan

Sources: Letter from the King of Spain to Fernando de Magalhães and Ruy Faleiro, dated Barcelona, 19 April 1519. Original in Lisbon, Torre do Tombo Archives: Corpo chron., parte 1ª, maço 24, n° 64. Published in ACL's Alguns documentos, pp. 422-430.

†

[From] The King,

[To] Fernando de Magallães and Ruy Faleiro, knights of the Order of Santiago, our captain-generals of the fleet which we have ordered organized to go on a voyage of discovery, and the other individual captains of the said fleet, the pilots, masters, boat-swains, and seamen in the ships of the said fleet:

Inasmuch as I have been assured by those who have actually been there, that the Molucca Islands are rich in spices—the chief article sought by the said fleet—I order you, the said Fernando de Magallães, to pursue a direct course to the above-mentioned islands, exactly as I have told and commanded you. And I order you all individually and collectively that, in the said voyage you heed strictly the opinion and decisions of the said Fernando de Magallães; and that, first and foremost, before sailing elsewhere, you proceed without fail to the said Moluccas, for by doing so you will perform our service. Afterwards you may seek whatever suitable things, in accordance with your orders. And none of you shall act contrary to this our will, in any manner, under penalty of loss of property and life.

Barcelona, April 19th 1519.

I, the King.

By command of the King:

Francisco de los Cobos.

Document 1519B

Final instructions given to Magellan by the King

Sources: Original ms., dated Barcelona, 8 May 1519, in AGI Seville: Papeles del Maluco, leg. 1, de 1519 a 1547. Published, in Spanish and in full, by Navarrete in his Colección de los viages, iv, pp. 130-152. An extract made by B&R I (pp. 256-259), is reproduced below.

Instructions which the King gave to Magallanes and to Falero for the voyage of discovery to the Molucca Islands

Summary

The instructions given to Magellan and Faleiro discuss more or less fully such points as the method and manner of navigation, e.g. information as to routes given to the other captains and pilots, method of signalling at night, and matters of procedures in case the ships became separated; the treatment of natives encountered, the treatment of other ships found trading in the spice regions "within our demarcation", such treatment being different if the ships are of Christians or of Moors; ransoms and exchange of prisoners; trade with the natives; division of prize money; re-provisioning the ships; distribution of rations; keeping of accounts; regulations regarding firearms; penalties for disobedience to the captain-generals; the taking of oaths; morals; discoveries; weights and measures used in trading; deaths of officers of the fleet; and cargoes.

Extract

Above all, the domains and demarcation of the King of Portugal must be respected. The exact locations of all lands must be recorded, and if these are inhabited they are to "try and ascertain if there is anything in that land that will

be to our interest.” The natives must be well treated, in order that food and water may be obtained.

When the land of spices is reached, “you shall make a treaty of peace or commerce with the king or lord of that land.” As high a valuation as possible is to be placed on the articles traded from the ships. The inspector-general and the accountant shall note everything in their books. Other ships found in the spice regions shall, if Christians, be warned not to trade further without permission, under penalty of seizure and confiscation of property; if Moors “not of the lands within our demarcation, you shall seize them in fair war”, and the gold, etc. found in their ships must be noted carefully in the books. Moors who may, by their rank, avail for ransom are to be well treated, but they may be sold as slaves. If Moors are found “who are from within our demarcation”, they must be well treated; and a treaty must be made, if possible, with their king or lord. If they do not desire peace, then the Spaniards may exercise a certain amount of cruelty against them to serve as a warning. Of the prize money or merchandise from the captured ships, certain percentages are to be given to all, these portions varying. The King’s share (one-fifth of the amount remaining, after deducting certain sums that go to the captain-generals, and the one-twentieth for the redemption of captives) is to be set apart for him. One-fifth of what remains shall be given the captain-generals. The remainder is to be divided into three parts “of which two parts are for us and the ships, and one for the crews”. Of the latter, ten parts are to be used for religious purposes.

Good treatment is to be accorded the natives in order that pleasant trade relations may be established. The physicians and surgeons are to take no money from the natives for medical services, not even from their enemies who are wounded in war. And the captain-generals must see that the men have no intercourse with the native women.¹

Entire freedom must be accorded every one to write what he pleases to Spain; and no letter must be seized, under penalties to be imposed by the captain-generals. They must guard against fire. **In case of the death of any of the crew, it is adviseable to get slaves to fill their places.**² Rations are to be given every two days, “and if it becomes necessary to shorten rations, they shall be shortened”. **Dissatisfaction as to the length of the voyage must not be expressed. The firearms are not to be discharged on any newly-found land “because the Indians fear this more than anything else”.** No weapons shall be sold, under penalty of loss of all property to the one so doing. Blasphemers, and card and dice players are not to be allowed to ship with the crew. The captain-generals have power to devise and execute punishments against disobedient men of their crews. Oath shall be taken before the captain-generals by all their crews to observe obedience and the King’s service. **If it should be necessary to**

1 Ed. note: See below for a complete translation of Articles 27 to 30 regarding the procedures regulating contacts with the natives.

2 Ed. note: This authorization may have led Magellan to take some Chamorro boys from Guam to Cebu.

seize water and provisions because of the hostility of the natives, it shall be done, but with as little scandal and show of force as possible.¹

Samples of all products must be brought from the lands discovered. "Ready-made clothes and other articles to give to the kings and other princes of these lands shall be carried." "And if the kings or lords of the land give any jewels or presents, they shall be ours, and the inspector-general or accountant shall place them in charge of the treasurer". No presents shall be given without permission of the officers of the fleet. Everything traded must be noted carefully and minutely in the books of the inspector-general and accountant. If the return cargo is spice, it must be obtained as clean as possible. The ships' cargoes must be traded first before any private business is attended to.

Full data must be recorded in the books regarding each member of the crew: his father and mother, whether he is single or married, etc., in order that his heirs may be known. Each person before embarking must have attended confession and communion. In case any officer dies, another is to be elected in his place, but one-half of all the pay, etc., that would fall to the said officer shall be given to his heirs, and the other half shall go to the one taking his place. Any Portuguese or other Christians found in the lands discovered must be treated well, in order to gain information from them. "If by any chance you should meet ships from Portugal within our limits, bid them quietly to leave the land, because in their own requirements given by our very dear and beloved uncle and brother, it is forbidden to them to enter or discover in the lands and limits belonging to us, and the same is forbidden to you by us." The cargoes must be given up by such ships, if not peacefully, then by means of force, provided that "you can seize it without much loss to yourself". A list is appended of the amount of freight that each one may take in the ships.

A copy of these instructions is to be given to Juan de Cartagena, the inspector-general.

This document was copied from his books by the Secretary Juan de Samano in 1524.

Translation of selected articles

27. You shall be careful, in the lands that you might discover and make a settlement in, when making contact or trading, to watch out how you go ashore, by placing continually forward one or two of those [Spanish] exiles whom you carry with you, the said persons are to go out with the person whom you carry as linguist, by taking along something to give to those ashore, because with gifts many times we have seen in the [West] Indies the gaining of goodwill of the natives of the land, more so than by the force of arms, by making them understand that we are not people who go and take anything of theirs against their will, without giving them something we bring. When trading and bartering your merchandise in exchange for those they have in their land, and when making peace and commerce treaties for the future: be continually on your guard, when

¹ Ed. note: See Article 46 fully translated below.

going ashore, go under guard with your weapons, and leave some people aboard the ships in case (God forbid) something might happen, and to lessen this risk do not stop sailing.¹

The procedure to make peace consists in seeking advice and agreeing among yourselves, then by making gifts, because they are the best ways to make them come with much kindness; still, beware you do not trust the natives [too much] because sometimes, on account of not going armed disasters happen. The main thing which we must warn you about is that, whatever the thing that you might barter with the Indians, you shall not cheat them in any way, and that you shall not break [the deal], and should anything happen, they should be the cause of it, even though it might require much work to come to an agreement. You shall not consent in any manner that any wrong or harm be done to them, so that fear will not cause them to get excited and rebel; rather, you shall punish those who do them harm. This way they will more easily seek friendship, and the knowledge of God, and of our holy Catholic faith, and [because] it is better to convert one hundred by this method than one thousand by another.

28. In the [lands] to be discovered you shall ensure that the people are treated in a manner to make them glad to deal with you, by making presents to the chiefs who govern the land. The main thing, which we hold to be much contrary to our service (and you are to order punished those who commit this infraction) is assaulting the native women. Above all, you shall never consent to have anyone touch a woman, because this is the main thing you must watch out for, the reason being that in all those parts the people, on account of this thing over and above all other, might rebel and do harm, and become less agreeable to making peace and trading ashore. Neither shall anything of whatever character be taken against their will.

29. In all the lands you might discover, try hard to get linguists to make contact in the other parts where you might go; you, and the others who go with you, shall treat them well, and dress them well. If, coming at one of those parts, you should find it convenient to let go some of them in order to make a verbal contact with the natives, you shall let them go and send them with clothes on, with a few presents, in order to be seen by the other natives and you shall display the merchandise that you carry with you, so that you shall be seen as traders and not people to take away anything from them by force. This is the procedure you shall follow in all the parts you might discover and settle to trade; and from Seville, an effort shall be made to provide two or three linguists in order for them to learn something from the others at the newly-found lands.

30. In the ports where water will have to be taken aboard, given that the lands are unknown, you shall have to be careful how to take it. The boats sent to get water should be continually on their guard; people should remain aboard the ships in case something might happen, and should it be inhabited land, you shall treat them with kindness, giving them continually something to be brought along, and trying to find out what there is in the land, and if you should think it advisable to leave there some of the exiles, in order for them, while you are proceeding with the voyage of discovery, to question the

¹ Ed. note: Which means that the ships should stay under sail, in the offing, while a party is ashore.

local people about what there is in the land, in order for you to learn upon your return what they have discovered and found out in the land, you may leave them, promising them a reward for the good news and a pardon for their crime, by discovering something that will be advantageous to the realm, and you have our power to grant such a pardon, the said power is granted to you as of now.

...

46. Should it appear to you a good idea to go ashore at any part of the islands and lands to be discovered to find out what there is there, or to make contact with the Indians, or to take on water, or other things necessary to the said fleet, and the natives oppose it in some way, you should make some sign of peace, and [if] with all this they still forbid your going ashore, you shall go out against their will, although it might be prejudicial to the said Indians, but you shall order all your people to do it with the least damage possible, and once ashore you shall then make signs of peace and friendship, trying by all possible means to come to a peaceful agreement with them. In case necessity makes you do something other than what you wish, make the least scene as possible. If you cannot take the land without much damage, consider first that it is better not to take it rather than make a scene and do a lot damage to them and to those of the fleet. Therefore, we order you to seek the advice [of your officers] before doing so, and to think about the best means possible to bring them to make friends with you, by giving them gifts from what you shall carry in the said fleet as we have expressly ordered.¹

1 Ed. note: It is ironic that if Magellan had strictly adhered to the above guideline, he might not have left his bones on Mactan Island in the Philippines...

Document 1519C

Magellan's last will and testament of 1519

Sources: Original of Magellan's will¹, dated 24 August 1519, in AGI Seville. Summarized in Navarrete's Colección de los viages, iv, p. lxxxix. A full English translation is said to appear in Guillemard's The Life of Ferdinand Magellan (London, 1890), appendix ii, pp. 316-326.

Summary of the testament of Fernando de Magallanes, made at Seville on 24 August 1519

He requests that out of the fifth part that he has, by contract made with the emperor, from the profit of the expedition which was then being made ready for the Moluccas, one-tenth should be taken out and divided into three parts: one of which to be given to the Victoria Convent of the Minor Brothers at Triana², where they should bury him should he die in Seville, and the other two-thirds of the said tenth part to be divided equally between the monastery of Monserrate of Barcelona and the convents of San Francisco of Aranda del Duero and Santo Domingo de las Dueñas in Porto³. That out of the revenue goods that he has in the fleet, and out of the property he owns in Seville, one-fifth should be for the celebration of masses for his soul and for what would seem appropriate to his executors. That the Governorship and Lieutenantship that Their Highnesses have granted him by way of primogeniture of the lands to be discovered, be devolved after his days, by order of regular succession, upon males and females, as

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- 1 This, according to some, is Magellan's second will; however, his so-called first will of 17 December 1504 has been proven a false one, concocted after Magellan's death by people who claimed to be his legal heirs and successors. Indeed, both his wife and son died before even one of Magellan's ships had returned to Spain, and his father-in-law soon died also.
 - 2 Ed. note: A suburb of Seville; actually across the Guadalquivir from Seville, and where many of the preparations for the voyage took place.
 - 3 Ed. note: In Portugal, his normal place of residence.



Magellan's effigy and eulogy in Latin. (Drawn by Thomas Derrick, from "The Effigies Regum" of Crispin de Passe)

follows: 1° upon Rodrigo, his son by his wife Doña Beatriz de Barbosa, who was then 6 months old; 2° upon the child or children whom his wife was expecting; 3° should the above and his lineage fail¹, upon his brother Diego de Sosa, employed in the service of the King of Portugal; 4° upon his sister, Isabel de Magallanes; and passing the lineage horizontally, should his wife outlive him, the owner of the primogeniture is to assist the latter with the fourth part of everything, plus 200 ducats.

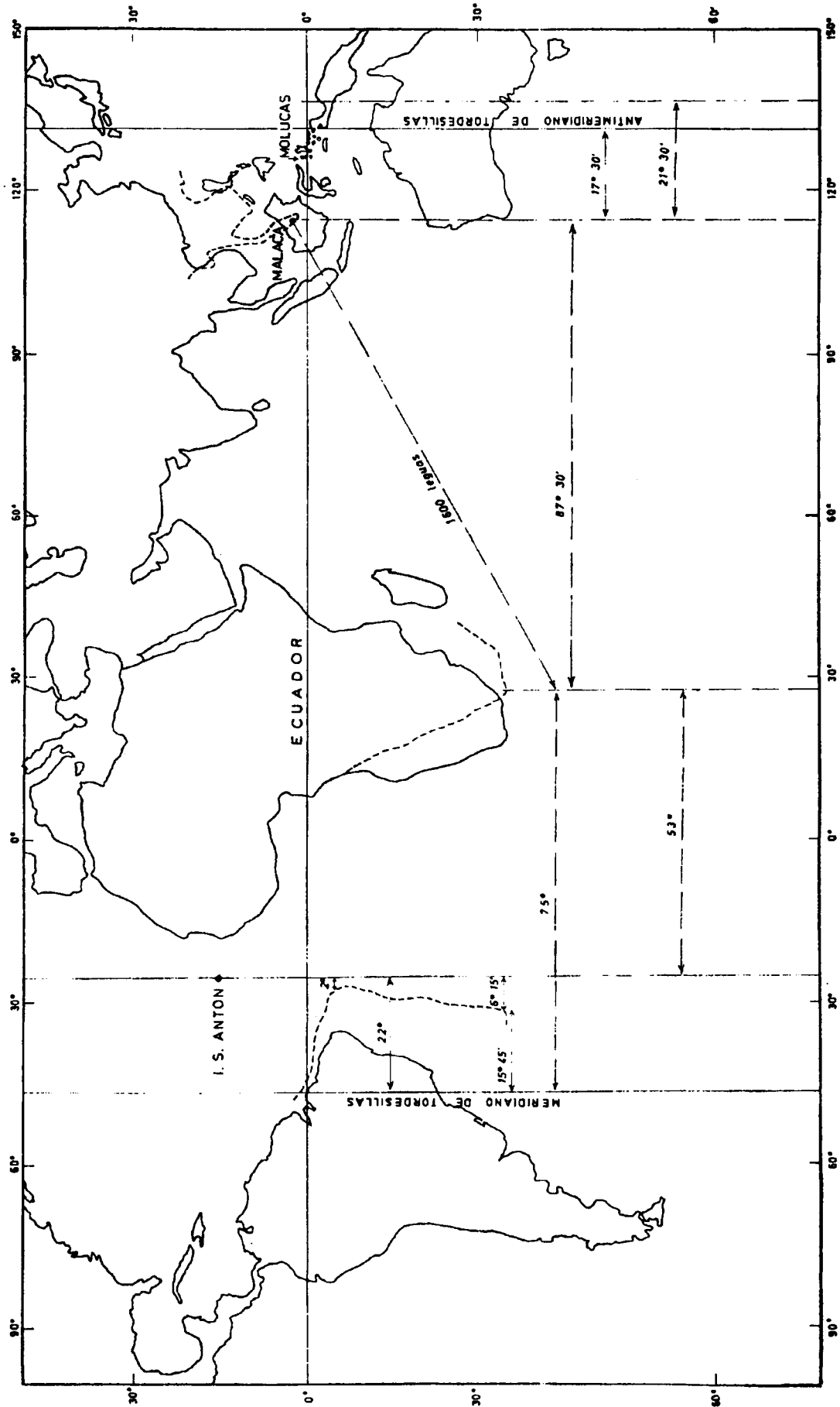
He imposes upon all the successors the indispensable condition to call themselves Magallanes, to use the coat of arms of the Magallanes, and to reside and marry in Spain. He also makes a provision so that the 50,000 maravedis of annuity [i.e. life-insured pension plan] on his life and that of his wife contracted for with the India House of Trade, the said wife is to assist his sister Isabel with 5,000 maravedis each year.

Of the rest of his freely-held property, he constitutes as heirs his children born and to be born, and he appoints his father-in-law, Commander Diego de Barbosa, as tutor to them until they reach 18 years of age, with the proviso that the fourth part of the income from the primogeniture be given to Doña Beatriz, another fourth being taken for himself, and with the remaining two to support the children and cover the charges of the governorship. He also appoints as executors the same father-in-law and Doctor Sancho de Matienzo, canon of Seville.

Magellan's coat-of-arms and specimen signature. *He had hoped to pass on his new titles to his son Rodrigo, but he died while still an infant. The motto "Ch[aridade] e fe" means "Charity and Faith".*



1 Ed. note: Something that really happened, because the said lady had a miscarriage and his first-born died in 1521.



Document 1519D

Magellan's last memorandum to the King

Sources: Memorandum from Magellan to the King, dated Seville, September 1519. Original in AGI Seville: Patronato, Legajo 34, doc. 13, ramo 2. Published in Navarrete's Colección de los viajes, iv, pp. 188-189; in Medina, i, p. 112; in Garrigós, ii, pp. 330-331; and in Texeira da Mota, pp. 177-178.

Memorandum left for the King by Fernando de Magallanes when he sailed, stating the latitudes and positions of the Spice Islands, and of the main coasts and capes included within the demarcation of the Crown of Castile

Almighty Sir:

Given that the King of Portugal may one day say that the Moluccan Islands are within his demarcation, and may order the alteration of the route maps, moving coastlines and shortening ocean spaces, without anyone recognizing it the way I would, as I know how this could be done, I wish, for the service of Y.H., to leave a record of the positions of the main lands and capes, not only their latitudes but also their longitudes. In this way, should this happen and should I be deceased, Y.H. will know the truth.

Item: The island of San Antonio, which is one of the Cape Verde Islands along the coast of Guinea [i.e. West Africa], from which the line of partition between these Kingdoms with that of Portugal was drawn, is at 22 degrees east of the line of demarcation.

Item: It is useful to know that the westernmost point of the said island is at 17 degrees of latitude.

(Facing page) **Division of the world according to the Treaty of Tordesillas, as interpreted by Magellan.** (From Texeira da Mota's "A viagem", 1976, f.p. 148)

Item: The Cape of San Agustin, which is in the land of Brazil within the demarcation of Portugal, is at 8 degrees of latitude, and at 20 degrees of longitude from the line of demarcation.

Item: Cape Santa María, which is in the same land of Brazil [owned] by Portugal, is at 35 degrees of latitude, and 6-1/4 degrees from the said island.

Item: The Cape of Good Hope is on the same east-west parallel as Cape Santa María; the said Cape of Good Hope is at 35 degrees of latitude [south] and 75 degrees of longitude east of the line.¹

Item: The said Cape of Good Hope is located along an ENE—WSW line with Malacca, and there is a distance of 1,600 leagues from the said Cape of Good Hope to the port of Malacca.

Item: The said port of Malacca is at 1 degree of latitude north, and from it to the other line of demarcation [i.e. the anti-meridian] which is to the east of it, there are 17-1/2 degrees.

Item: The Moluccan Islands are five in number; it is useful to know that the three of them that are nearest to the second line of demarcation, are lined up N-S at 2-1/2 degrees in longitude [east of it], and the middle island is below the equator.

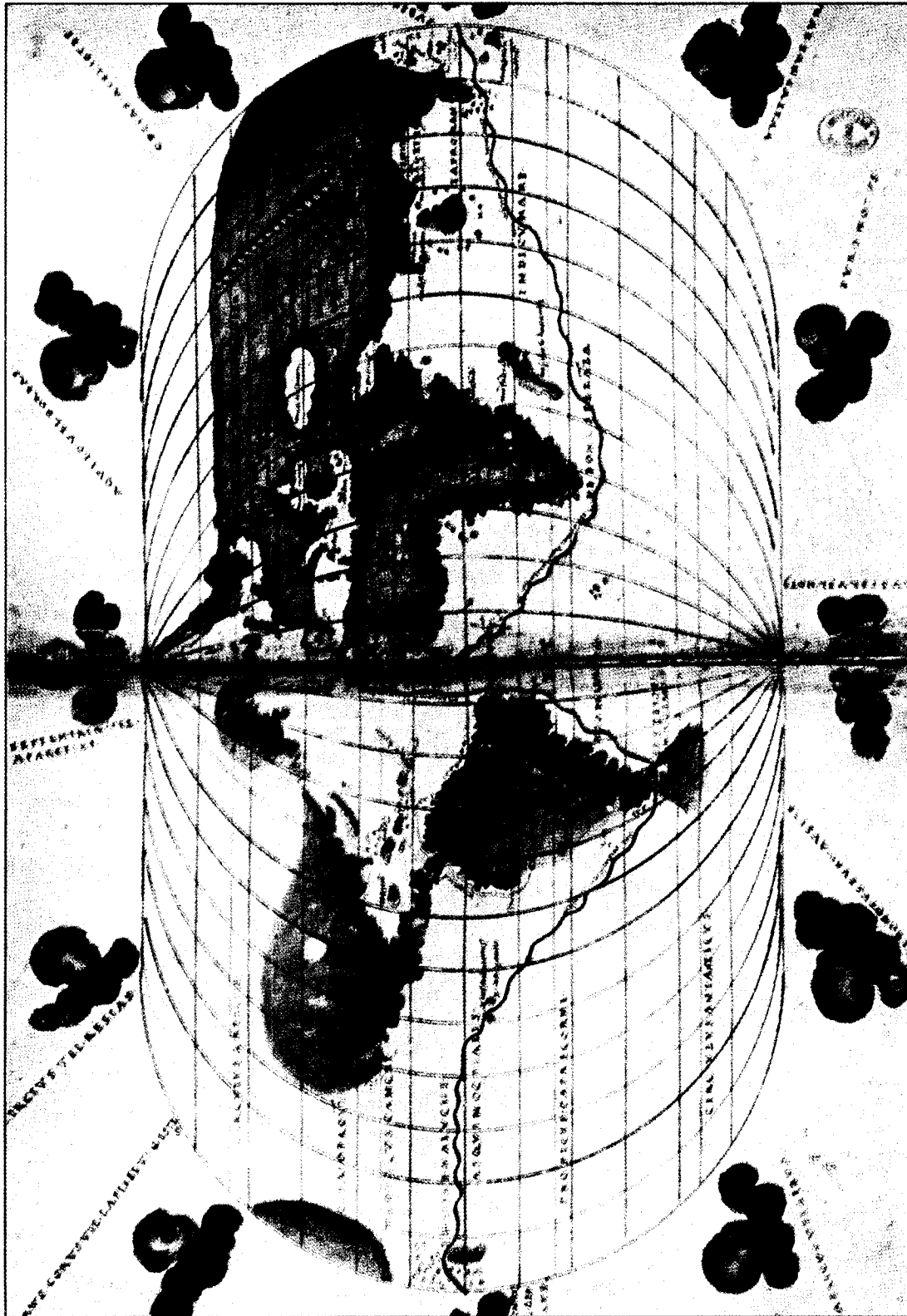
Item: The other two [Moluccan] islands are also laid out N-S like the first two [sic], and at 4 degrees east of the second line [of demarcation]; it is useful to know that two were placed north of the equator, and two south of the equator, by the Portuguese pilots who discovered them.²

And this memorandum which I am sending to Y.H. should be well preserved, as there may come a time when it will be necessary, and please excuse the differences; this I declare in all good conscience, having no other aim than to tell the truth.³

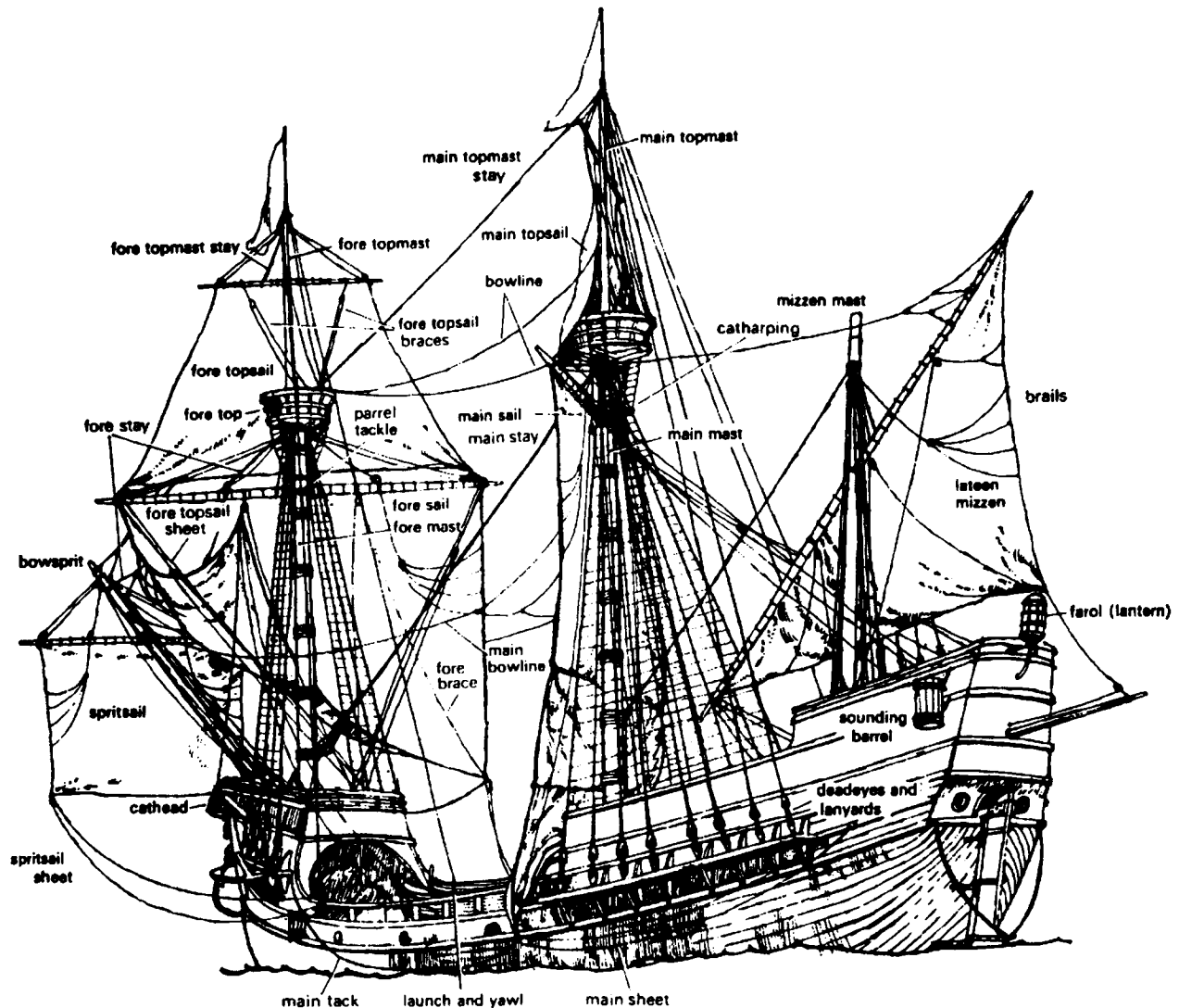
1 Ed. note: Navarrete made a mistake in transcribing “sesenta y cinco” (65), instead of “setenta y cinco” (75).

2 Ed. note: The secret contention was that the Portuguese did not own them, because they lied on the east or Spanish side of the anti-meridian. Furthermore, Magellan knew, from correspondence with his friend Fernão Serrão, and from Reinel’s maps (See Doc. 1519G), that the Portuguese had not taken possession of them yet, and he hoped to beat them to it.

3 Ed. note: Although this memorandum may have been used by the Spanish side at Badajoz in 1524, there was no direct mention made of it.



The track of the first voyage around the world as it appeared in Battista Agnese's nautical atlas of 1543. The historian Oviedo has declared: "Nothing more notable in navigation has ever been heard of since the voyage of the patriarch Noah."



Magellan's flagship *Trinidad* may have looked like this. *According to the best estimate, her dimensions were 25 meters in length, 7 meters in breadth, and 3 meters in depth of hold.* (From W. D. Brownlee's *First ships Around the World*, Minneapolis, 1977)

Document 1519E

Magellan's ships and their contents

Sources: AGI Seville: Papeles del Maluco, leg. 1 de 1519 a 1547. Published by Navarrete in his Colección de los viajes, iv, pp. 3-11, 162-188. The translation below is a corrected version of one found in Stefan Zweig's The Story of Magellan (New York, 1938), appendix iii, pp. 319-325. Ship illustrations for this chapter are from Walter D. Brownlee's The First Ships Around the World, Lerner Pubs., Minneapolis, 1977)

Preliminary note

The three ships that Magellan had when crossing the Pacific were:

- 1) the flagship **Trinidad**, of 110 tons¹, cost 270,000 Maravedis²;
- 2) the **Victoria**³, of 85 tons, cost 300,000 Maravedis; and
- 3) the **Concepción**, of 90 tons, cost 228,750 Maravedis.

The above costs represent the purchase price of the empty ships; the price included some minor equipment and one boat each, but excluded the sails, anchors, cables and other appurtenances.

The two other ships were: the **San Antonio** of 120 tons that turned back in the Strait of Magellan, and the **Santiago** of only 75 tons that was wrecked before they reached the Strait.⁴

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- 1 Ed. note: This measure was stated in "toneles", a measure of capacity used in Vizcaya, which was 20% bigger than the "toneladas" of 2,000 pounds used in Seville; so, roughly, one "tonel" was like 1 metric or long ton, and one "tonelada" like one short ton (See O'Scanlan's "Diccionario marítimo español", p. 526, for further details).
 - 2 Ed. note: It is not possible to give an exact equivalent value for the Maravedi in modern currencies, other than an approximate relative value derived from many comparisons between the costs then (See below) and comparable costs in modern times. This editor would venture to say that one Maravedi then (1519) was worth about US\$1 today (circa 1990). It is to be noted that one ducat was then worth exactly 375 Maravedis.
 - 3 Ed. note: Destined to become the first ship around the world. This ship had been built at Zarauz, west of San Sebastián in the Basque country.
 - 4 Ed. note: The editor has made great efforts to ensure the technical accuracy of the translation that follows.

List of the costs of Magellan's fleet

1. Ships and their gear.

228,750 Ms. is the value of the ship **Concepción**, 90 tons, including its gear and its boat.

300,000 Ms. is the value of the ship **Victoria**, of approximately 85 tons, with its gear and its boat.

330,000 Ms. was the cost of the ship named **San Antonio**, 120 tons, with its gear and its boat.

270,000 Ms. is the value of the ship named **Trinidad**, 110 tons, with its gear and its boat.

187,500 Ms. was the cost of the ship **Santiago**, 75 tons, with its gear and its boat.

24,188 Ms. includes the expenditure of 20,438 Ms. for bringing the ships from Cádiz and San Lúcar [de Barrameda] to Seville and 3,750 Ms., which the factor Juan de Aranda spent when he went from Seville to Cádiz in order to buy the ships.

13,482 Ms. was expended for day laborers to launch the ships from the stocks.

104,244 Ms. was the labor cost of the carpentry work on the five ships.

129,539 Ms. was the labor cost for the caulking of the ships.

6,790 Ms. was the labor cost for the woodworkers who sawed the planks for the above-mentioned ships.

175,098 Ms. was the cost of the wood for the [spare] spars and planks as well as for the smaller pieces of wood that were bought for repairs on the ships.

142,532-1/2 Ms. was expended for the metalwork on the ships' bottoms.

31,670 Ms. for the oakum bought to caulk the ships.

72,267-1/2 Ms. for pitch, tar, and oil for greasing and caulking the ships.

53,852 Ms. for tallow to rub into the ships.

149,076 Ms. was the cost of 173 pieces of sailcloth which were bought as reserve stock for the voyage.

32,825 Ms. for thread and needles for sewing the sails, as well as for the labor cost of those who sewed these sails.

37,437 Ms. was the cost of the masts and yards for the ships.

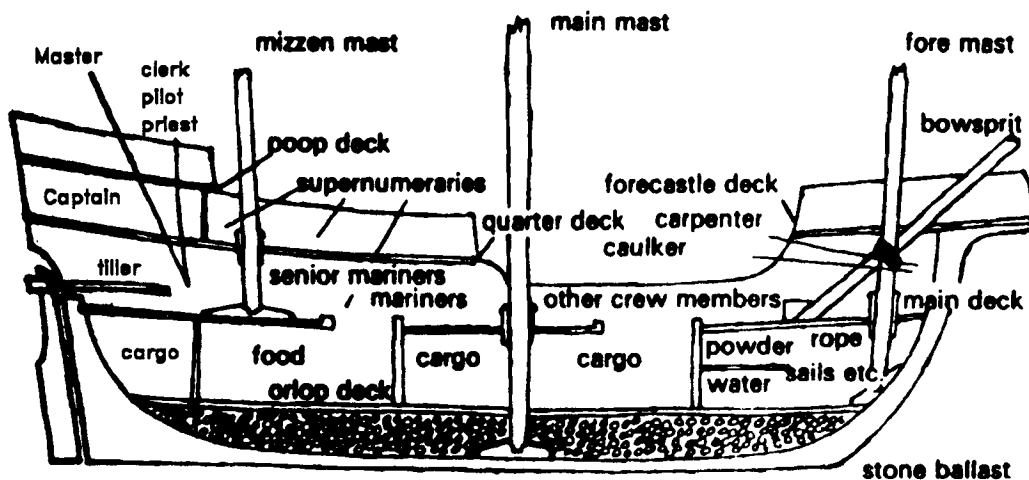
3,937-1/2 Ms. was the cost of a **skiff**¹ that was bought for the ship **Trinidad** to take on the voyage.

15,475 Ms. was the cost of the ships' pumps, nails, and tacks.

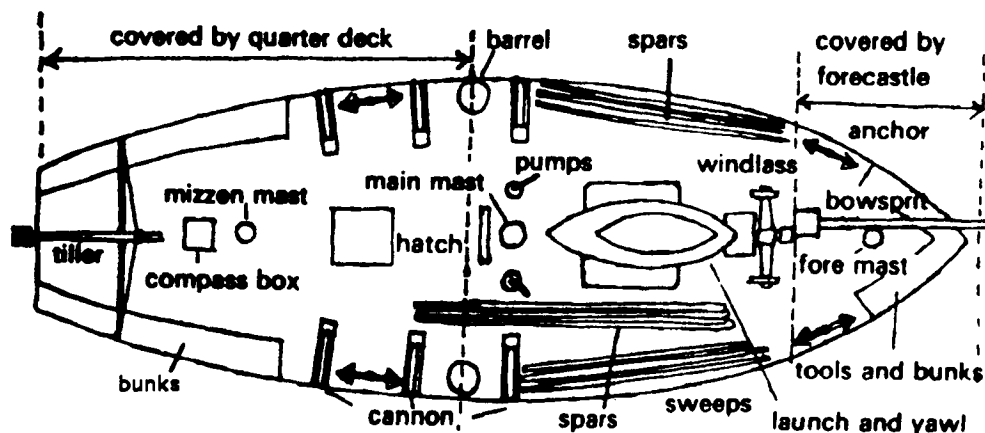
6,563 Ms. for the oars bought for equipping the ships.

1 Ed. note: This was the famous second boat of the flagship; hence, this was the price paid for Magellan's larger boat which was towed behind the **Trinidad** and which was stolen by the natives of Guam. It is no wonder that Magellan was made very upset by the incident.

Section along center of ship



Plan of main deck



9,364 Ms. was the cost of the leather chafing gear¹, shafts, and leather to make chaps for the pumps.

1,285-1/2 Ms. for six *broznos* [?] for pulleys.

3,687-1/2 Ms. for 3 *gurbias* [rolls of twine?].

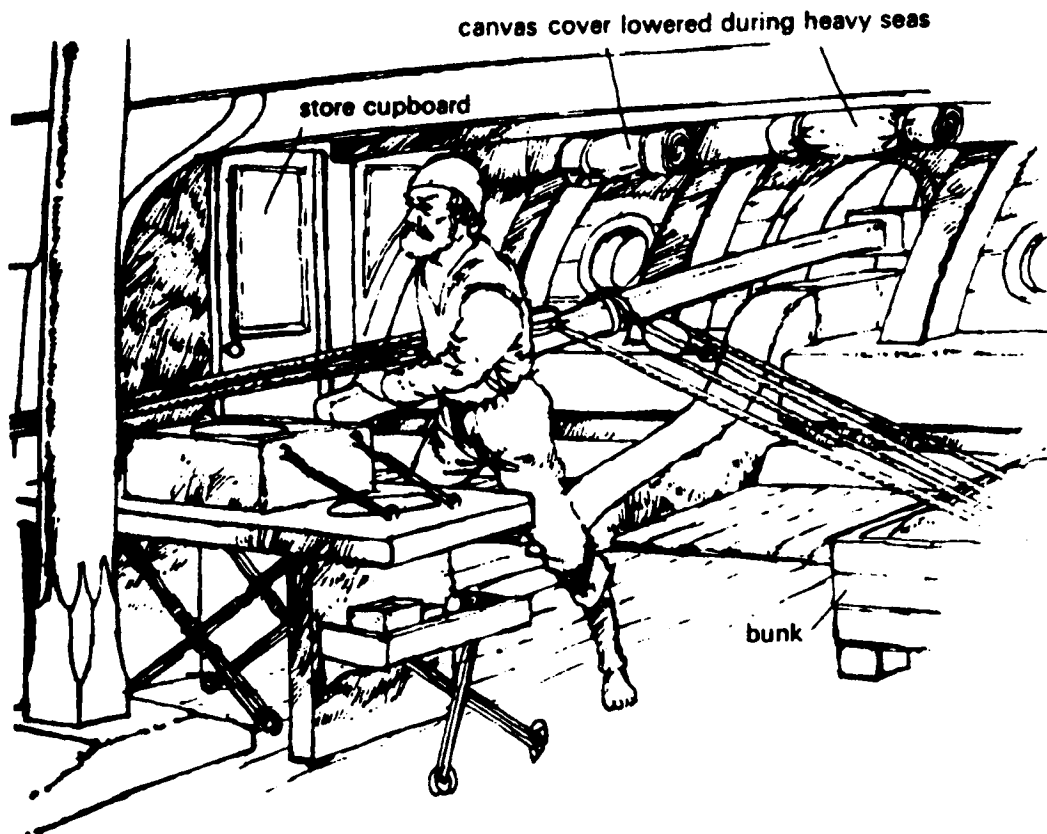
4,204 Ms. was the cost of 8 pulley blocks for launching the ships from the stocks.

34,672-1/2 Ms. was the cost of the tackle of the fleet as well as of the tackle required to rig them.

511 Ms. was the cost of 3 ladles for the pitch.

1,962 Ms. was the cost of 13 boatloads of ballast.

1 Ed. note: That was the leather that the crew ate to prevent starvation while crossing the Pacific.



The steering compartment below the quarter deck.

807 Ms. was the cost of 32 ells of burlap for making sand bags and other things necessary to ballast the ships.

438,335-1/2 Ms. was paid as wages and board for the ships' companies while they outfitted the ships for the voyage.

42,042 Ms. was the cost of 13 anchors bought for the ships.

1,008 Ms. was the cost of 8 large and small saws for the ships.

1,762 Ms. was the cost of assorted augers and drills for the fleet.

663 Ms. was the cost of 6 hoes [=trench spades] to launch the ships, that is to make the ditch for beaching them.

2,495 Ms. was the cost of 76 sheepskins for the brushes for tarring and greasing the ships, and for storage purposes on the voyage.

4,277 Ms. was the cost of wood fuel needed in caulking the ships.

1,054-1/2 Ms. was paid to the pilots who brought the ships from San Lúcar to Seville.

324,170-1/2 Ms. was the cost of 221 **quintals**¹ of cables, splices, and buoy lines as well as 1,000 **arrobas**² of hemp from which were made the rigging needed by the ships, spares included. Included also are the 38,972 Ms. for the labor and 14,066 Ms. which was the cost of the lines, buoy ropes, and bolropes.

25,029 Ms. was the cost of 80 flags, together with their painted decoration, and a royal standard of taffeta.

49,584 Ms. was the cost of the brigantine³ which was built.

84,144 Ms. of which Duarte Barbosa spent 7,500 Ms. in travelling from Seville to Bilbao [to place a purchase order], and of which Antón Semeño expended 3,750 Ms. in bringing the money to Bilbao [to pay the invoice], and of which 24,390 Ms. was paid for the loading of the ship which came from Bilbao. The remainder, 48,504 Ms., was spent on miscellaneous items for the ships and the carts.

[Sub-total: 3,350,034-1/2 Maravedis]⁴

2. Ordnance, powder, and incidentals.

160,135 Ms. was the cost of 58 cannon, 7 falconets, 3 large bombardes, 3 carronades. They all came from Bilbao in addition to the ordnance that the ships already had.

109,028 Ms. of which 104,200 Ms. was for 50 quintals of powder, and 4,828 Ms. for the freight charges from Fuenterrabía [in Vizcaya] to Bilbao.

5,477 Ms. was the cost of 165 pounds of powder bought in Bilbao for the training of the men.

11,633 Ms. was the cost of the iron and stone projectiles and balls for the ordnance of the fleet.

3,850 Ms. was the cost of the molds for making cannon balls for the carronades, falconets, and cannon.

39,890 Ms. was the cost of 221 arrobas and 7 pounds of lead, of which 84 arrobas were pounded into strips for caulking the seams of the ships, the rest going with the ships as spares, and to make pellets for the guns and arquebuses.

3,276 Ms. was expended for polishing the guns.

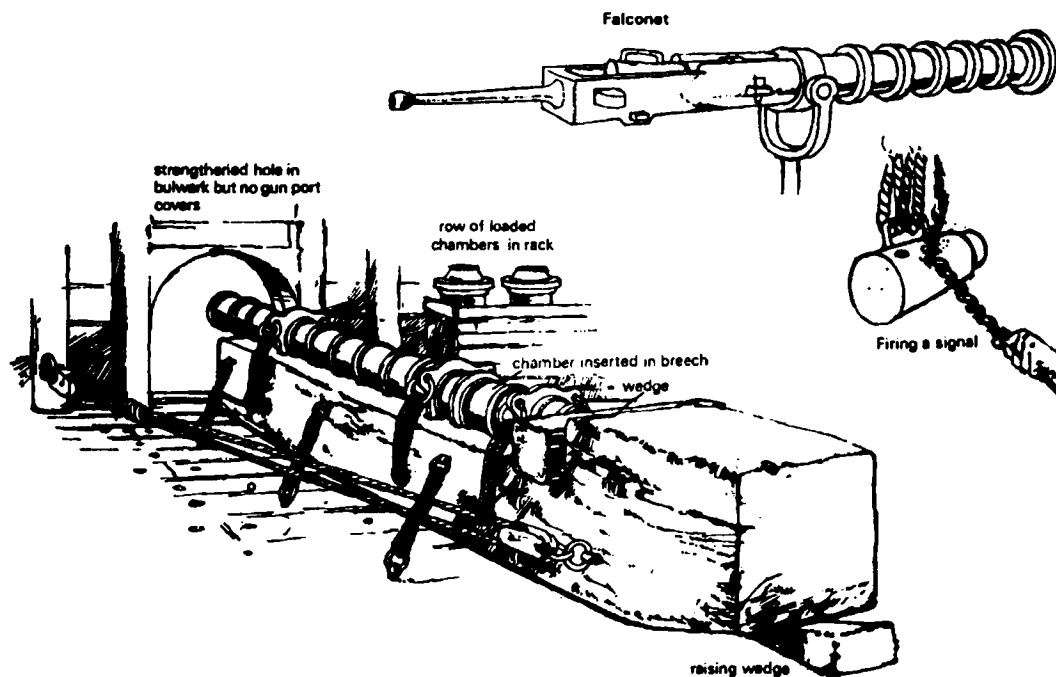
1 Ed. note: One quintal is also called a hundredweight in English, because 1 quintal equals 100 pounds (in the U.S.).

2 Ed. note: One arroba is one-quarter quintal, i.e. 25 pounds, or 11-1/4 kilograms.

3 Ed. note: Most likely, this brig remained with the India House of Trade in Seville, after it was used for shuttling cargo and people between Seville and San Lúcar de Barrameda in August & September 1519.

4 Ed. note: I have provided the sub-totals for checking purposes.

8,790 Ms., of which 4,290 Ms. was spent on food for the soldiers, on the days that they were on duty; and 4,500 Ms. was paid out to them in incidentals.
[Sub-total: 342,079 Maravedis]



3. Crossbows, arquebuses, armor, and other weapons.

110,910 Ms. was the cost of 100 suits of armor, with arm and shoulder pieces and helmets, and 100 breast-plates.

33,495 Ms. was the cost of 60 crossbows and 360 dozen arrows from Bilbao.

10,500 Ms. was the cost of 50 muskets from Vizcaya.¹

6,375 Ms. was the cost of 1 coat-of-mail and 2 complete suits of armor for the captain [i.e. Magellan].

6,800 Ms. was the cost of 200 round shields from Bilbao.

680 Ms. was the cost of 6 sword blades from Bilbao, as received by the captain.

¹ Ed. note: The word *escopetas* did not mean “shotguns” then, but flint-lock carbines, or light muskets. No doubt, some pistols of the same type were also included in this line item. The heavier muskets were then called *espingardas*, better translated by the English word “arquebuses”.

44,185 Ms. was the cost of 95 dozen spears, 10 dozen javelins, 1,000 lances, 200 pikes, 6 boarding pikes and 6 lance shafts from Bilbao.

2,499 Ms. was the cost of 120 balls of wire as spares for the crossbows and 7 *dantas para las mieses*¹, and what was used to refit 59 crossbows.

3,553 Ms. was expended to put the weapons in good condition as well as for 4 leather [straps or pouches] for stowing them aboard, and 6 pounds of emery for cleaning them, and for 3,000 tacks and 200 spare buckles.

5,611 Ms. was the cost of 50 [powder] horns for the arquebuses, 50 scrapers and 150 ells of wick.

[Sub-total: 224,608 Maravedis]

4. Provisions for the fleet and related expenses.²

372,510 Ms. was expended for biscuit, of which

363,480 Ms. was the cost of 2,138 quintals and 3 pounds of biscuit at 170 Ms. per quintal, and

6,375 Ms. was the cost of the 18 units of biscuit which they bought with the ship **Santiago Bretona**³, and

2,655 Ms. was laid out for the loan of the sacks and the transport of the biscuit.

590,000 Ms. for [sherry] wine from Jerez: 508 butts⁴ purchased at various prices for a total of 511,347 Ms.; for which an additional 78,653 Ms. was expended as follows:

37,870 Ms. for the freight charges;

18,428 Ms. for the cartage;

6,324 Ms. given to Gonzalo Díaz for the 93 days that he spent purchasing them;

3,320 Ms. for the hoisting of 420 casks;

-
- 1 Ed. note: Incomprehensible as it is. Literally, this could mean “scoops for the harvest, or for grain fields”, but this has nothing to do with crossbows. My guess is that it is a transcription error for “carcax para las saetas”, which would mean “quivers for the arrows”.
 - 2 Ed. note: Navarrete has given a detailed distribution list for each ship (*op. cit.*, pp. 10-11, 182-188). It is of little interest to us, since most of the food had been used before the crossing of the Pacific. Suffice to say that the food budget was based on rations required by 237 persons for 2 years; that is, there were 9 quintals and 17 pounds of biscuit per man, and 1 barrel, 20 arrobas and 2 tots of wine per man.
 - 3 Ed. note: Here we find a clue as to the origin of the ship **Santiago**; it had come from Brittany, and was probably bought from its owners while at Seville. Also, it comes as no surprise to find about 18 Frenchmen serving among Magellan’s crews. Seven of them served aboard this ship (See next document). They may have been the same men who had sailed her down from Brittany.
 - 4 Ed. note: Butts or *botas*. A *bota* is a liquid measure equivalent to 125 gallons or 516 litres.

6,115 Ms. was the cost of the cork and the [cart] sideboards, as well as of the couriers sent from Seville to Jerez with regard the the said wine;
 4,790 Ms. was spent by Juan Nicolás while he travelled to purchase it;
 and
 1,806 Ms. went to watchmen during the loading in Jerez and the unloading in Seville.

23,037 Ms. was the cost of 50 **fanegas**¹ of beans, 90 fanegas of chick-peas, and 2 fanegas of lentils.

58,425 Ms. was the cost of 47 quintals and 5 arrobas of edible oil.

62,879 Ms. was the cost of 200 barrels of anchovies and 166 dozen dried *alvarinos* and *cazones* [sturgeon?], as well as 9 dozen of *dentudos* [toothed fish] and 63 dozen of *cornudillas* [horned fish], and 17 arrobas 23 pounds of dried *vastinas* [?], and charges associated with them.

43,908 Ms. was the cost of 57 quintals and 12 pounds of bacon [i.e. dried pork bellies], purchased at various prices.

17,735 Ms., of which 14,000 Ms. was the cost of 7 cows bought in San Lúcar, 1,180 Ms. for 3 pigs, and the 2,500 Ms. spent for meat for the crew that took the ships down to San Lúcar and [while] in San Lúcar.²

26,434 Ms. was the cost of 984 cheeses, whose total weight was 112 arrobas and 16 pounds, and which were purchased at various prices.

393,623 Ms. was expended on the butts, casks³, and hogsheads, in which was stored the wine and water for the voyage, as well as for iron hoops and coopering, as follows:

230,017 Ms. for 417 casks, 253 butts, and 45 hogsheads, purchased at various unit prices, to store the wine and water for the said voyage;

125,973 Ms. for 3,293 hoops for the hogsheads, butts and casks;

4,925 Ms. for the jars to store the oil;

2,625 Ms. for 75 barrel hoops;

4,798 Ms. bundles of wicker carried as spares⁴;

4,216 Ms. for 43 sets of hoops also carried as spares;

3,511 Ms. for the cheese barrels, the coopering of 11 butts and 10 casks, and the 129 jars bought, in addition to those mentioned above, for the vinegar and other things necessary for the fleet.

[Sub-total: 1,588,551 Maravedis]

1 Ed. note: One fanega of Castile was equivalent to 55 or 56 liters (See B&R II, p. 147).

2 Ed. note: No doubt some live hens and ducks were also carried in coops on the deck.

3 Ed. note: Called *pipas* or pipes, which probably contained 105 gallons each.

4 Ed. note: Not all barrel hoops were made of iron. Some were made of twisted wicker.

5. Pantry items and other small articles for the fleet.

15,451 Ms. was the cost of 21 arrobas and 9 pounds of sugar, bought at 720 Ms. per arroba.

3,655 Ms. was the cost of 200 arrobas of vinegar brought from Moguer, as delivered to the docks.

2,198 Ms. was the cost of 250 strings of garlic and 100 bundles of onions.

5,997 Ms. was the cost of 18 quintals of raisins, sun-dried or lime-dried, purchased at various prices.

1,130 Ms. was the cost of 16 quarter-casks of figs.

2,922 Ms. was the cost of 12 fanegas of almonds in the shell, including transport.

8,980 Ms. was the cost of 54 arrobas and 2 pounds of honey in pots, including transport.

750 Ms. was the cost of 2 quintals of prunes.

1,554 Ms. was the cost of 3 jars of capers.¹

1,768 Ms. was the cost of [blank] crates of salt.

1,575 Ms. was the cost of 3 quintals and 22 pounds of rice.²

380 Ms. was the cost of 1 fanega of mustard.

5,779 Ms. was the cost of the quince paste for the fleet.

13,027 Ms. was the cost of the pharmaceuticals, the medicines, ointments, oils and distilled water.³

5,927 Ms. was the cost of 5 casks of flour, of which each ship in the fleet had its own [cask].

[Sub-total: 71,093 Maravedis]

6. Copperware and other cooking implements for the fleet.

21,515 Ms. was the cost of the copperware of the fleet, of which

6,165 Ms. was for 5 large cauldrons of copper which weighed 280 pounds;

3,700 Ms. for 5 copper kettles which weighed 132 pounds;

7,695 Ms. was for 2 copper ovens which weighed 171 pounds;

1,215 Ms. was the cost of a copper kettle weighing 27 pounds;

2,200 Ms. was the cost of a cauldron for heating pitch, weighing 55 pounds;

540 Ms. given to Cabrera, the coppersmith, to replace the copper bottom of one of the cauldrons, and 11 pounds of copper that was left over.

884 Ms. was the cost of 10 large knives for the ships.

1 Ed. note: An example of how expensive spices were in Europe at that time.

2 Ed. note: It is obvious that more rice was to be purchased elsewhere cheaper, perhaps in the Canary Islands.

3 Ed. note: A mortar and pestle set was purchased later (See below).

- 516 Ms. was the cost of 42 wooden pints [measures] for the rationing of wine and water.
- 3,440 Ms. was the cost of 8 arrobas of candles and the 42 arrobas of candles made with the tallow bought for the ships; also 20 pounds of wool waste which they took along to make more candles in case of need.
- 1,430 Ms. was the cost of 89 lanterns which the ships received.
- 495 Ms. was the cost of 9-1/2 pounds of ornamented wax candles which were provided for the blessing of the ships.
- 8,860 Ms. was the cost of 40 wagon-loads of wood which were bought for the fleet.
- 1,280 Ms. for 40 ells of linen, of which each ship received 8 ells for table cloths.
- 476 Ms. was the cost of 14 serving pans.
- 158 Ms. was the cost of 1 chain for the stowage area.
- 256 Ms. was the cost of 12 funnels with their iron pipes.¹
- 1,530 Ms. was the cost of 22-1/2 pounds of wax which the ships received for waxing the thread for sewing sails, as well as for the archer [sic]².
- 768 Ms. was the cost of 12 iron knives³ for the pantries of the ships.
- 204 Ms. was the cost of 5 large iron spoons.
- 5,834 Ms. was the cost of 100 wooden mugs, 200 bowls, 100 carving knives, 66 wooden platters, 12 mortars, 62 mess-dishes, all of which came from Bilbao.
- 240 Ms. was the cost of 20 binnacle lamps.
- 330 Ms. was the cost of 12 sheet funnels, 6 large and 6 small.
- 125 Ms. was the cost of 5 hammers.
- 995 Ms. was the cost of 18 mess-pans over and above the 14 included in this account [category].
- 653 Ms. was the cost of a mortar and pestle for the pharmacy.
- 3,622 Ms. was the cost of 35 padlocks which the stewards of the ships received.
- 2,891 Ms. was the cost of the leg-irons, manacles, and shackle chains for the fleet.
- 200 Ms. was the cost of 8 furling gaskets.
- 240 Ms. was the cost of 20 pounds of steel for reinforcing the picks and other tools.
- 297 Ms. for one arroba of marked weights of iron for the purpose of weighing the weights and other measures they might find in the lands to be discovered.⁴
- 2,400 Ms. was the cost of 50 hoes and mattocks.
- 1,600 Ms. was the cost of 20 iron bars and crow-bars for the ships.
- 2,531 Ms. was the cost of 56 iron picks and hammers, and 2 large iron sledges.
- 1,200 Ms. was the cost of 2 iron lanterns.

1 Ed. note: These items could be small bellows for the fire pit, rather than equipment for transshipping liquids.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps this word (*ballestero*) means some crossbow mechanism, rather than the crossbowman himself.

3 Ed. note: The word *calabozo* used in the original refers to a machete-like knife with a hooked tip.

4 Ed. note: No doubt, some scales and balances were also included.

360 Ms. was the cost of 8 pairs of tongs which the stewards received.

1,224 Ms. was the cost of 12 borers, 6 awls, 5 boat hooks, all of which came from Bilbao.

24,938 Ms. was the cost of 19 quintals and 12 pounds of iron in small bars which the stewards received.

10,639 Ms. was the cost of the matting and baskets for the fleet, of which 9,290 Ms. was the cost of 128 mats for [protecting fragile goods] in the storage areas, and

1,349 Ms. was the cost of 87 baskets for the service of the ships, and to take out [and distribute] the biscuit from the stores, and 22 panniers for the weapons.

30,254 Ms. was the cost of the fishing tackle divided up as follows:

8,500 Ms. for 2 draw-nets;

125 Ms. for 6 fish-hooks for a line;

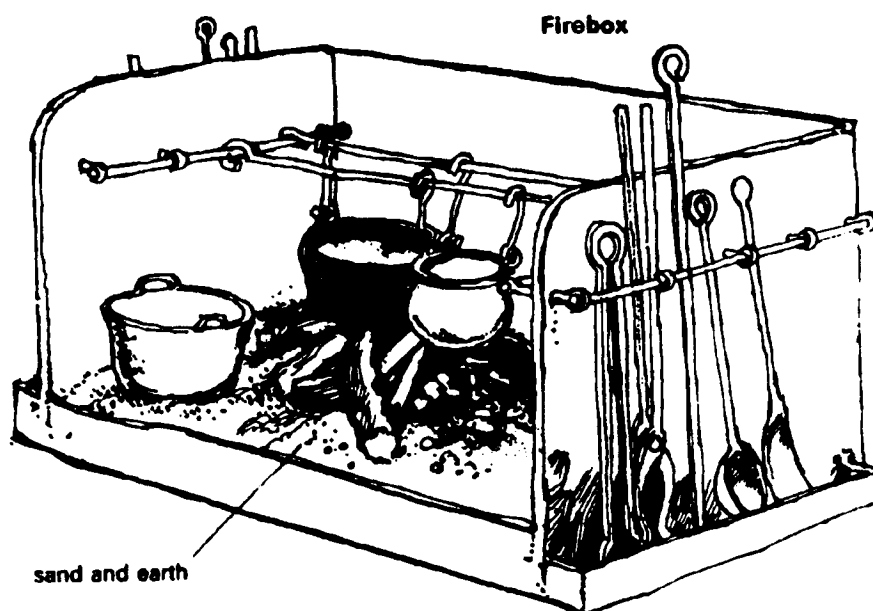
425 Ms. was the cost of the cork for the draw-nets;

8,663 Ms. was the cost of the flax and cord for fishing lines;

8,715 Ms. was the cost of the harpoons and tridents that came from Vizcaya;

3,826 Ms. was the cost of 10,500 fish-hooks.

[Sub-total: 132,385 Maravedis]



The portable kitchen.

7. List of many things that go with the fleet (cont'd).

- 9,147 Ms., of which
 3,000 Ms. for one fully-equipped forge, and
 6,147 Ms. for some large bellows, one anvil, and air pipes, which came from Vizcaya.
- 1,211 Ms. was the cost of 15 blank books, ruled, 5 of which for book-keeping and the rest to be given to the officers for record keeping.
- 2,635 Ms. went to the stevedores who loaded the ships.
- 2,125 Ms. was the cost of 2 hones and 1 grindstone for the two barbers who went with the fleet.
- 2,895 Ms. was the cost of 5 drums and 20 tambourines for the diversion of the crew of the fleet.¹
- 16,513 Ms. was the cost of the [religious] ornaments, with all the adornments, in order for the two [sic] priests who go with the fleet to say mass.
- 5,735 Ms. went to the pilots, 3,700 to those who brought the fleet from Seville to San Lúcar, and 1,985 Ms. to those who took the ships out of the harbor of San Lúcar.
- 11,250 Ms. went to Rodrigo de Garay for having served in the fleet from the beginning of the outfitting until it left Seville.
- 7,500 Ms. went to Juan de la Cueva, also involved with the business of the fleet for the same time period.
- 12,014 Ms. was paid for quicksilver [i.e. mercury] and vermilion² that were taken from the Almaden, along with the dressed skins, plaited wicker ropes, finishing material, and copper sheeting that come with them.
- 5,625 Ms. was received by the man who came from Portugal and was sent to the Court, to pay his expenses.
- 45,000 Ms. was paid to the couriers of the Royal Court and to Juan de Cartagena³.
- 6,750 Ms. was given to the caravel and for the food of the man who brought letters to the Canary Islands.
- 15,000 Ms. was received by Luis de Mendoza, the treasurer of the fleet, in [the form of] 40 ducats⁴, for the things that had to be bought in the Canary Islands.
- [Sub-total: 143,400 Maravedis]

1 Ed. note: No doubt the itemized list included some horns and bugles as well.

2 Ed. note: Also called cinnabar, mercuric sulphide, the principal ore of mercury. This was part of the trade goods carried by the ship (See list below).

3 Ed. note: The Inspector-general of the fleet.

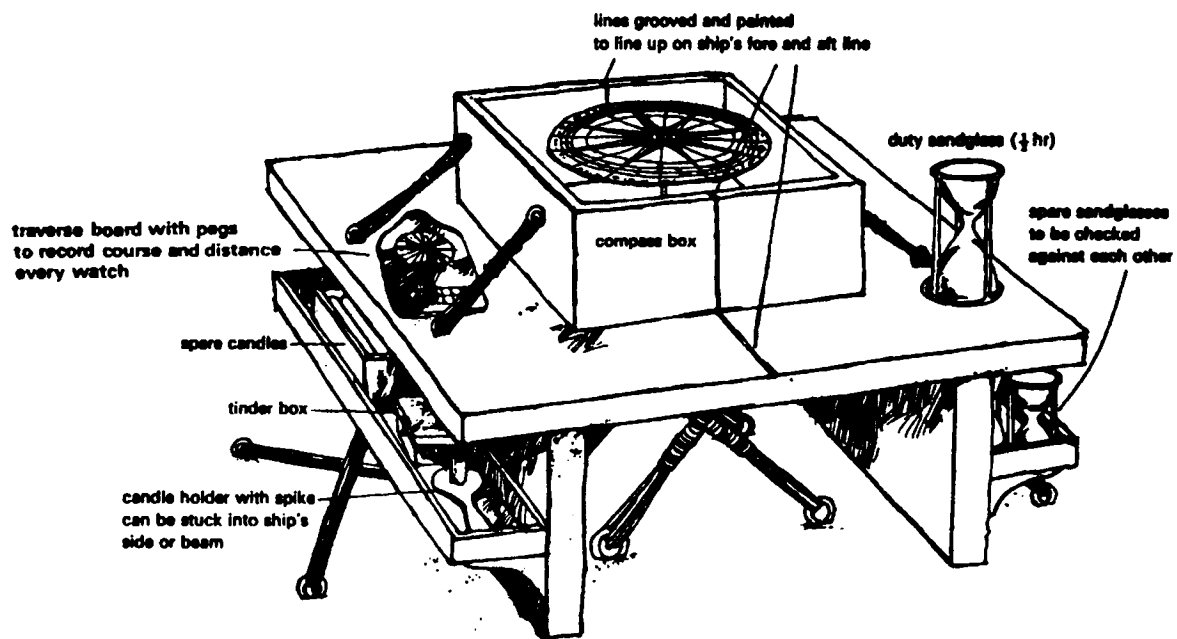
4 Ed. note: This item confirms that 1 ducat was then worth 375 Maravedis.

8. Merchandise carried by the fleet, and wages that have been paid to the crews of the fleet.

1,154,504 Ms. was paid in **wages** to the 237 persons of the fleet as an advance for 4 months.¹

1,679,769 Ms. was the value of the **merchandise** which the fleet took along for trade purposes and of the silk, clothes and other things to be used as gifts.²

Sub-total: 2,834,273 Maravedis.



9. Charts, quadrants, astrolabes, compass needles and hour-glasses given to the fleet.

68,182 Ms. was expended for nautical charts and quadrants, as follows:

1,125 Ms. went to Nuño García [de Torreño] to buy parchments to make the charts;

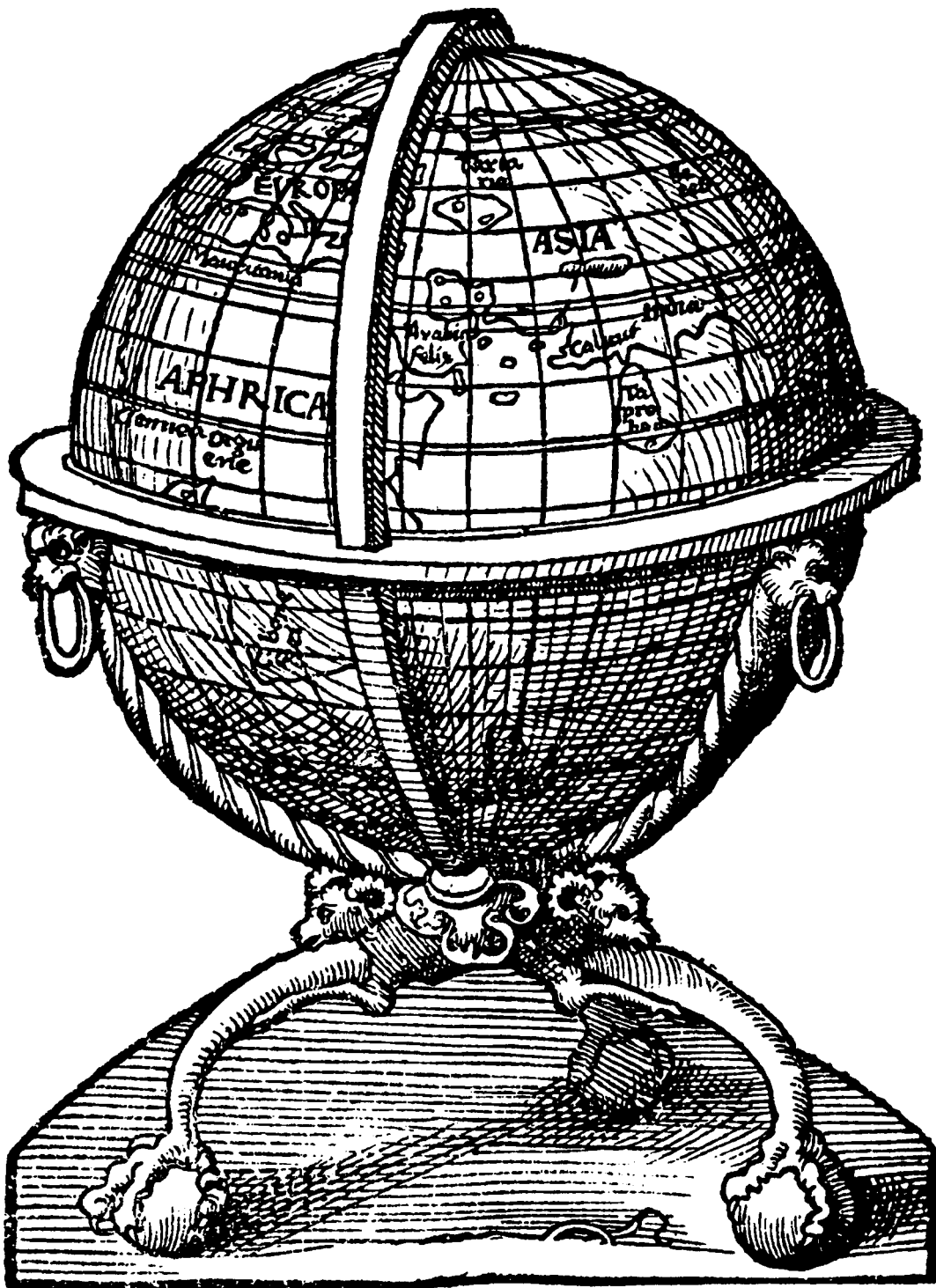
900 Ms. for a dozen parchment skins that were given to the above-mentioned;

1 Ed. note: This represents an average salary of about 15,000 Maravedis per man per year. This figure is a good yard-stick by which we can appreciate the real value of the Maravedi at that time. \$15,000 per year would seem like a reasonable average salary.

2 Ed. note: See detailed list given below.

864 Ms. for another dozen skins that were given to the said Nuño García;
13,125 Ms. for 7 nautical charts that he made at the order of Ruy Falero, at 5 ducats each;
11,250 Ms. paid to Nuño García for 11 nautical charts that he made at the order of Fernando Magallanes;
13,500 Ms. for 6 other nautical charts that Ruy Falero had made, one of which was sent to His Majesty;
1,121 Ms. for 6 wooden quadrants that Ruy Falero [had] made;
750 Ms. coming from a wooden astrolabe that Ruy Falero ordered made;
4,500 Ms. paid by Captain Magellan for a **globe** he ordered made for His Majesty;
4,500 Ms. that were paid to the said Magellan for 6 metal astrolabes, with their ruled lines;
4,080 Ms. paid to him also for 15 magnetic needles;
1,875 Ms. paid to him for 15 wooden quadrants, bronzed;
476 Ms. for some gilded compass cards in a box, along with the letter that he [Magellan] sent to His Majesty;
340 Ms. for a leather box that he had made in order to pack the globe;
612 Ms. for 12 hour-glasses bought by the Captain;
750 Ms. for 2 magnetic needles that the said Captain has with him;
600 Ms. for 6 pairs of compasses;
750 Ms. paid to Nuño García for 2 magnetic needles;
136 Ms. paid for the correction of a damaged magnetic needle;
884 Ms. was the cost of 4 big boxes for 4 magnetic needles that Ruy Falero had made;
6,094 Ms. for 16 magnetic needles and 6 hour-glasses sent by Bernardino del Castillo from Cádiz.

[Sub-total: 68,232 (not 68,182) Maravedis]



Magellan presented a similar globe to the King. (From Schöner's *Opusculum geographicum*, Nuremberg, 1533)

10. Summary of the total costs of the fleet.

3,912,241 Ms. [sic] was the cost of the 5 ships of the fleet with their equipment, ordnance, powder, armor, crossbows, arquebuses, lances, etc., which means that 5 ships had a total of 445 net tons, plus or minus 5 tons, which were outfitted at an **average cost of 8,791-1/2 Ms. per ton.**

415,060 Ms. [sic] for pharmaceuticals, copperware, fishing equipment, and courier service while the fleet was being prepared; and the nautical charts, quadrants, astrolabes, compasses, hour-glasses, magnetic needles, and other small but necessary articles for the said fleet.

1,589,551 Ms. [sic] for the biscuit, wine, oil, fish, meat, cheese, vegetables, as well as the casks, wine boots and butts, for the wine and water.

1,154,504 Ms. paid out as [advanced] wages for 237 persons with the captains and officers aboard the said fleet.

1,679,769 Ms. was the cost of the merchandise for trading, and the silk and woven clothes, and the other things for gifts, carried in the said fleet.

Total: **8,751,125 Ms.** [sic] expended for the said fleet.¹

Minus 416,790 Ms. which must be deducted for the things that were left from the fleet and were stored at Seville, hence:

Net total: **8,334,335 Ms.** actually spent for the said fleet, of which:

6,454,209 Ms. was contributed by His Majesty [i.e. 77%], and

1,880,126 Ms. was contributed by Christopher de Haro [i.e. 23%].

Merchandise to be traded for spices.²

20 quintals of quick-silver [mercury],

30 quintals of vermilion [cinnabar],

100 quintals of alum,

30 units of colored cloth³, at a unit cost of 40 Ms.,

20 pounds of saffron,

3 units [of fine fabric] at 20 reales each, silvered, colored and yellow,

1 Ed. note: Accounts are understated by 3,530 Ms. Anticipating future events, it can be mentioned at this point that the spice cargo of the only ship that returned to Spain was almost 21 metric tons of cloves; this was enough to cover the total costs of the fleet, and yield a profit of 346,212 Maravedis.

2 Ed. note: This list is not part of the above document, but comes from an order given by the King to the House of Trade, as published by Navarrete, *op. cit.*, p. 9, citing AGI Seville: *Casa de Contratación, legajo 2º, Libros de registros de Reales Cédulas y órdenes, libro 2º (1518-1522)*.

3 Ed. note: Probably of the calico type.

1 unit of *grana* [fine cloth] from Valencia,
10 quintals of ivory,
2 units of colored velvets,
200 simple colored bonnets,
200 colored *sejias*¹,
10,000 fish-hooks,
1,000 Maravedis worth of combs,
200 quintals of copper ingots,
10,000 mallets of yellow *matamundo*²,
2,000 brass bracelets,
2,000 copper bracelets,
200 small brass vessels of two types,
2 dozen large vessels,
20,000 jingle bells of three types,
400 dozen knives from Germany, of low quality,
40 units of colored buckram,
50 dozen scissors,
1,000 small mirrors, [but] 100 of them large ones,
100 quintals of lead,
500 pounds of crystalline [i.e. glass beads], which are [like] diamonds of all colors.

1 Ed. note: Unknown word, which could be a transcription error. Some guesses as to its meaning include: cheap serges, gaudy kerchiefs, sun-shades.

2 Ed. note: Literally “people killer”. Actual meaning unknown. Not found in any dictionary. Could be cheap brass.



Captain General Magellan on deck at the time of departure. (*Lithograph by C. W. Andrews in "La Ilustración Filipina", Manila, 1 May 1860*)

Document 1519F

Magellan's crews

Sources: Various lists in AGI Seville: (1) Casa de Contratación, Reales Cédulas, est. 41, caj. 6, leg. 2-25; Royal Order dated Barcelona, 5 May 1519; (2) Patronato: Simancas, est. 1, caj. 2, leg. 1/1 (Lista de la gente que fué en la Armada de Magallanes); (3) Simancas leg. 1 (Gente que murió en la nao Trinidad); (4) Armadas de la Guarda de las Indias etc. est. 3, caj. 1, leg. 1-15; (5) Contaduría, est. 1, caj. 2, leg. 2.

Published by (1) Navarrete, Colección de los viajes, iv, pp. 12-26, 381; (2) Medina, Colección de documentos, I, p. 113, 141, 171, 177; and (3) Garrigós, Colección general de doc. Is. Fil., Doc. N° 83, 85. Translated lists below have been adapted from the above documents, and from Oscar Koelliker's Die Erste Erdumseglung, Tables 8, 27 & 29.

Preliminary note

The original and basic crew list, for budget purposes, consisted of a total of 234 persons, to be distributed among the 5 ships in accordance with the first set of numbers below, but the official lists of those who actually sailed yield the second set of numbers. However, a few more men were recruited or volunteered at the last minute, so that probable final numbers are given by the last column, as follows:

	Plan 1	Plan 2	Final
Trinidad	55 men	65 men	70 men ¹
San Antonio	60 men	65 men	68 men
Concepción	45 men	50 men	52 men
Victoria	42 men	45 men	48 men
Santiago	32 men	40 men	42 men
	-----	-----	-----
	Min. 234	265	280 Max.

¹ This final number of 70 men aboard the **Trinidad** has been confirmed by Peter Martyr (See Doc. 1525).

A typical and basic crew (of 41 men) for one of Magellan's ships was, by order of rank, as follows:¹

1 captain, who was a gentleman or *hidalgo* in Spanish and did not have to know about ship handling;

3 supernumeraries, often gentlemen, who were social companions for the captain; they are often described as volunteers or reservists, whose pay was largely symbolic;

1 master, who was in charge of running the ship;

1 pilot, who was in charge of navigation;

1 clerk, who was a secretary for the captain;

1 chaplain (optional), who was a spiritual adviser to the whole crew;

1 boatswain (pronounced "bosun"), who was responsible to the master for working the ship and managing the crew;

1 surgeon, who was really a glorified barber in those days and was in charge of the pharmacy and looking after the sick;

1 *alguacil* (*constable, master-at-arms*) in charge of the soldiers and of the defence of the ship at sea; a more or less equivalent expression was "merino";

1 carpenter, to maintain the wooden parts of the ship;

1 caulker, to maintain the ship water-tight, who was equal in rank to the carpenter;

1 boatswain's mate or assistant;

1 steward, who looked after the storage and rationing of the provisions;

1 cook, to cook the meals;

2 assistant stewards, to distribute the rations; listed simply as ships' boys;

1 master gunner, experienced as an artilleryman; he could also be called a "merino";

2 gunners, to assist the master gunner and as gunsmiths;

6 mariners, who were experienced seamen in many sea trades, e.g. as helmsmen, coopers, sailmakers, painters, barbers, tailors, etc.;

7 able seamen, who were younger sailors with a few years of experience;

4 ordinary seamen, to do the above and all kinds of manual labor, e.g. cleaning the ships, rowing the boats, furling the sails, etc.; usually listed simply as *grumetes* or ships' boys;

2 cabin boys, who were also general-duty helpers;

By order of salary received, the listing was slightly different. The rates of pay for Magellan's crews were as follows:

- Captains and pilots: at the discretion of the King or the India House of Trade,
- Masters: 3,000 Ms. per month²
- Boatswains: 2,000 Ms. per month
- Carpenters: 1,875 Ms. per month
- Caulkers: 1,875 Ms. per month

1 Ed. note: See the book by Walter D. Brownlee: **The First Ships Around the World** (Minneapolis, 1977) for more explanations.

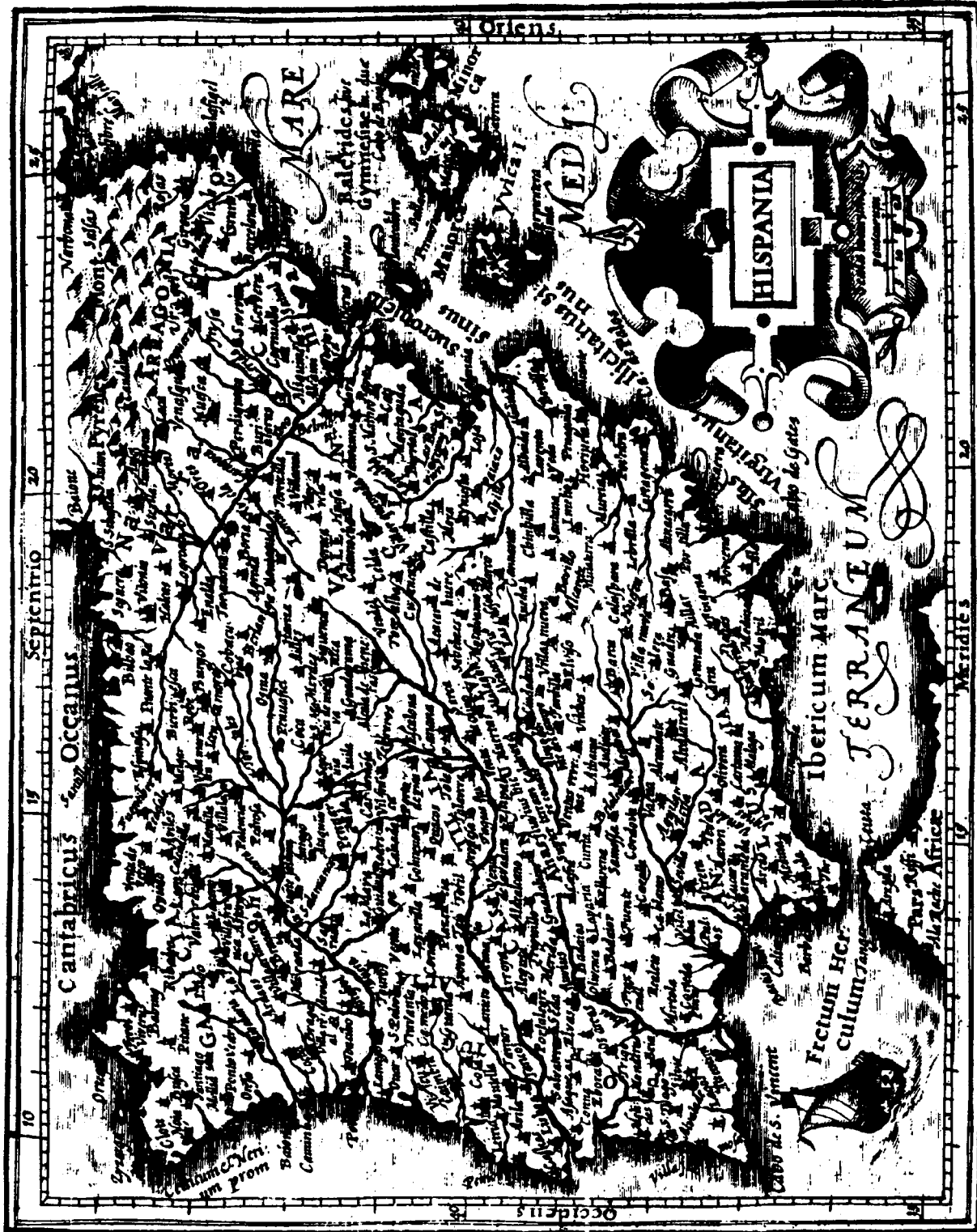
2 As a rough estimate of its value, 1 Maravedi is about equal to US\$1. See Doc. 1519E.

- Gunners: 1,875 Ms. per month
- Coopers: 1,500 Ms per month
- Stewards: 1,200 Ms. pr month
- Able seamen: 1,200 Ms. per month
- Ship's boys: 800 Ms. per month
- Pages: 500 Ms. per month.

Note: Servants and paid slaves received varying amounts in accordance with their abilities. As for supernumeraries, they received stipends varying from 800 to 1,500 Ms. per month, in accordance with their trade or profession.



Portrait of Captain General Magellan.





Part of the Iberian Peninsula. Columbus departed from Palos, and Magellan from San Lúcar after his ships were outfitted at Seville.

Individuals in Magellan's crews (1519) —A corrected list

I. Original crew of the Ship *Trinidad*¹

Nº	Job title	Last names	First names	Hometown ²	Editor's Comments
1	Captain General	Magellan,	Ferdinand	Porto, Port.	See Note ³
2	Pilot	Gómez,	Esteban	Portugal	Navarrete, iv, 155.
3	Clerk	Espeleta,	Leon de	---	Unknown origin.
4	Master	Poncerro,	Juan Bautista	Cestre, Genoa	See Note ⁴
5	Constable	Gomez de Espinosa,	Gonzalo	Espinosa	See Note ⁵
6	Boatswain	Alvo,	Francisco	Axio, Greece	See Note ⁶
7	Surgeon	Morales,	Juan de	Seville	At 25,000 Ms. p.a.
8	Barber	Bayas,	Marcos de	San Lúcar	See Note ⁷
9	Carpenter	---	Antonio	Genoa	See Note ⁸
10	Steward	Rodriguez,	Cristóbal	Lepe	Abbreviated R ^o s.
11	Caulker	(Reco)	Felipe (de)	Reco, Genoa	See Note ⁹
12	Cooper	Martin,	Francisco	Seville	Abbreviated M ⁱⁿ .
13	Seaman	Espinosa,	Francisco de	Brizuela	
14	"	Mafra,	Ginés de	Jerez	

1 Ed. note: Each man has been assigned a consecutive number for easy reference.

2 Ed. note: Hometowns are in Spain, unless otherwise mentioned.

3 Magellan's true original name, in Portuguese, was Fernão de Magalhães. His birthplace was Sabrosa, east of Vila Real in Portugal, although his usual place of residence was Porto.

4 Alias de Punzorol, Punçarol, Poncevera, Ponceron, depending on the list. Cestre is reported as being on the "ribera", which means the Riviera. Genoa, written Genova in Italian, is not to be confused with Geneva in Switzerland. This man is the most likely author of Doc. 1521D, attributed to "a Genoese pilot".

5 Future Captain of the *Trinidad*. Here is the first example of the common Spanish custom of differentiating between two individuals with the same family name by adding the name of his birthplace; this addition sometimes stuck. This was the case here, as Gonzalo Gomez later became simply Captain Espinosa. He was appointed *alguacil mayor* or First Constable of the Fleet, a high title but with a salary lower than that of a gunner, just 1,800 Ms. per month.

6 Later transferred to the *Victoria*. Author of one logbook (See Doc. 1521C1). Last name also written Albo; also Calvo (in error, in Herrera's *Décadas*). Residing at Rodas, but originally from Axio [which is Actium in northwest Greece]. As for Rodas, this is the island of Rhodes near Asia Minor.

7 Last name wrongly reported as either Vaycas or Bayabarboso elsewhere. "Marcos de bayas barbero" means "Marcos de Bayas, barber". He was from San Lúcar de Alpechin, not San Lúcar de Barrameda.

8 Simply known as "Maestre Antonio".

9 Last name unknown. Recorded (by his place of origin) as Felipe de Reco [= Reço?], and even Filipino de Troa, probably in error, on one list. Probably known simply as "Maestre Felipe".

15	Seaman	Pancaldo,	León	Savona, Genoa	See Note ¹
16	"	Pariante,	Juan	S. Remó, Gen.	See Note ²
17	"	Piora,	Francisco	Savona, Genoa	
18	"	Forte,	Martin	Cestre, Genoa	See Note ³
19	"	Hernandez Colmenero,	Antón	Huelva	
20	"	Rodriguez,	Antón	Huelva	Abbreviated R ^o s.
21	"	Sanchez,	Bartolomé	Huelva	
22	"	Natia,	Tomas de	Cestre, Genoa	
23	"	Martin,	Diego	Huelva	
24	"	Urrutia,	Domingo de	Lequeitio	See Note ⁴
25	"	Martin,	Francisco	Huelva	Same as N ^o 12?
26	"	Rodriguez,	Juan	Seville	See N ^o 67, 133, 137.
27	Master gunner	---	Andrew	Bristol, England	See Note ⁵
28	Gunner	---	Jean-Baptiste	Montpelier, Fr.	See Note ⁶
29	Gunner	Tanguay,	Guillaume	Groix, France	See Note ⁷
30	Ship's boy	(Goaloró)	Antonio (de)	Goaloró	
31	" "	Varela,	Anton	Noya	See Note ⁸
32	" "	(Ayamonte)	Francisco (de)	Ayamonte	See Note ⁹
33	" "	Santandrés,	Juan de	Cueto	Alias Santander.
34	" "	Toledo,	Blas de	Almunia	See Note ¹⁰
35	" "	"Moreno"	Antón	---	See Note ¹¹
36	" "	Gomez Gallego,	"Basco"	Portugal	
37	" "	Gallego,	Juan	Pontevedra	In Galicia.
38	" "	(Beas)	Luis (de)	Beas	See Note ¹²
39	" "	(Grijol)	Juan (de)	Grijol, Portugal	

- 1 Last name erroneously written Pancado on some lists. In both Italian and Spanish, the original meaning of Pancaldo is "Hot Bread". His hometown is spelled Savona in Italian. Some historians have ascribed to him the authorship of Document 1521D, in competition with Juan Bautista de Poncero (See N^o 4 above). Made a declaration (See Doc. 1522B5).
- 2 Last name also given as San Remo, or Ginovés (which means from Genoa). San Remo is on the Italian Riviera.
- 3 His last name, Forte, is not given by most lists, only his alias "Genovés". He deserted from the **Trinidad** in the Marianas in 1522 and was later killed by the natives of Maug Island.
- 4 Last name also reported as Barruti, Barrutia, Barote, and also Vizcaino. Lequeitio is a port of Vizcaya [=Biscay], between Bilbao and San Sebastián. He survived and eventually returned to Spain as he submitted a claim for back wages (See AGI *Patronato Legajo 35, Ramo 4, 1540-1559, 53 pages*).
- 5 Alias "Maestre Andrés". He died soon after the ships left Guam in 1521.
- 6 Alias Juan Bautista de Mompeller, in Spanish.
- 7 This is my conclusion, missed by all previous authors. His name is listed as "Guillermo Tanegui" from "Lila de Groya". This is obviously the small island of Groix (also written Groy), on the coast of Brittany, near Lorient. Left behind at Cebu.
- 8 Aliases de Noya, and Gallego, i.e. Galician. Noya is a place in Galicia, west of Santiago de Compostela.
- 9 Ayamonte is West of Huelva.
- 10 Listed as Blas Durango elsewhere. Almunia is in Aragon, just west of Zaragoza.
- 11 Alias Antón de color negro, or Antón Negro. Moreno means dark or black. He was a **paid** negro slave owned by Captain Espinosa.
- 12 It is said that Beas is in Galicia. Written Vea on the payroll. This boy is reported as Portuguese on one list, because of confusion between him and N^o 50.

40	Page	Gutierrez	---	Villasevil	In Asturias.
41	"	Atin,	Juan (Antonio)	P. Maur., Gen.	See Note ¹
42	"	Cruz,	Andrés de la	Seville	See Note ²
43	Servant	Rabelo,	Cristóbal	Porto, Port.	See Note ³
44	Supernumerary	Martínez,	Juan	Seville	See Note ⁴
45	Servant	Lopez,	Fernão	Guimarães, Port.	See Note ⁵
46	Supernumerary	Pigafetta,	Antonio	Vincenza, Italy	See Note ⁶
47	"	---	Jean	Anjou, France	See Note ⁷
48	"	Rodriguez,	Gonzalo	Portugal	
49	"	Sanchez Barrasa,	Diego	Seville	
50	"	Beja,	Luis Alonso de	Beja, Portugal	See Note ⁸
51	"	Barbosa,	Duarte	Portugal	See Note ⁹
52	"	Mesquita,	Alvaro de (la)	Estremoz, Port.	See Note ¹⁰
53	Servant	---	Nuño	Portugal	See Note ¹¹
54	"	(Díaz?)	Diego	Sanlúcar	Same as N° 208?
55	Page	Mesquita,	Francisco de	Estremoz, Port.	Son of N° 52?

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- 1 Last name Atin not given by most lists, but came from a note in the logbook of the **Trinidad** (See Doc. 1522B6). He came from "a port on the Riviera", says the main list; from "Moris" says Koelliker. This is Imperia on the Italian riviera, formerly called Porto Maurizio, then a part of the state of Genoa.
 - 2 Listed as Andrés Paye elsewhere. This should be written Paje or Page.
 - 3 Rabelo is said to have been a natural son of Magellan. He later was appointed Captain of the **Victoria**, fought at Mactan and was massacred at Cebu. The word "servant" is used here to translate the the Spanish "criado". Sometimes, it has been translated by the word "protégé".
 - 4 Last name written Miñez is not an alias, but an abbreviation of Martínez.
 - 5 Guimarães is N.E. of Porto. One list appears to say, in error I think, that he was a supernumerary, rather than the servant or protégé of Magellan that he was.
 - 6 This is the famous author of Doc. 1521A1, A2, B1, B2. He was from Vincenza, near Padua in Italy, not from Venice. Alias "Lombardo" or Lombard on some lists. Pigafetta was his correct name; so, Pigaphetis and other forms are transcription errors.
 - 7 Nicknamed "Petit-Jean", "Ti-Jean", or Juan Francés. Left behind at Cebu.
 - 8 Written Luis Alfonso de Gois elsewhere. Portuguese, but residing on the Spanish side of the border at Ayamonte, west of Huelva. Beja is NW of Ayamonte. Left behind at Cebu.
 - 9 A relative of Magellan (his wife's cousin, not his brother-in-law), the nephew of the commandant of the garrison of Seville. Probably residing at Seville. Had previously served with the Portuguese in the Indies, 1501-16. Was elected Captain of the **Trinidad** after the death of Magellan but was massacred at Cebu a week later.
 - 10 Another relative of Magellan (his cousin or nephew). See Navarrete, iv, p. 155.
 - 11 Said to be a native of Montemayor Nuevo. That would correspond to Montemor-o-Novo, east of Lisbon. Left behind at Cebu.

56	Page	Morisco,	Jorge	Lombardy	Slave. See Note ¹
57	Chaplain	Valderrama,	Pedro de	Ecija	See Note ²
58	Sup. & gunner	Sanchez,	Alberto	Córdoba	See Note ³
59	Servant	Gomez,	Pedro	Hornilla la Prieta	See Note ⁴
60	Armorer	Sanchez,	Pedro	Seville	See Note ⁵
61	Interpreter	(Malaca)	Enrique (de)	Malacca, Mal.	See Note ⁶
62	---	Torres	Lázaro de	Aracena	

II. Original crew of the ship San Antonio

Nº	Job title	Last names	First names	Hometown	Editor's Comments
63	Captain	Cartagena,	Juan de	Cartagena [?]	See Note ⁷
64	Accountant	Coca,	Antonio de	---	
65	Clerk	Guerra,	Gerónimo	Burgos	
66	Pilot	San Martin,	Andrés de	Seville	See Note ⁸
67	"	Rodriguez de Mafra,	Juan	Mafra	See Note ⁹
68	Master	Elorriaga,	Juan de	Guipúzcoa	See Note ¹⁰
69	Boatswain	Hernandez,	Diego	Seville	
70	Barber	Olabarrieta,	Pedro de	Bilbao	See Note ¹¹
71	Steward	Ortiz de Gopegui,	Juan	Bilbao	See Note ¹²
72	Caulker	(Bilbao)	Pedro (de)	Bilbao	
73	"	Goytisoló,	Martin de	Baquoio	
74	Carpenter	Sabta,	Pedro de	Bermeo	See Note ¹³
75	Cooper	Oviedo,	Juan de	Seville	

- 1 "Morisco" could have been his nickname. If so, he was Moorish, a converted Jew or Arab or a descendant of one of them. He is said, on the payroll, to have been a **slave** of Magellan.
- 2 It was he who said the first mass in the Philippines, at Limasawa I. Was left behind at Cebu.
- 3 Listed as supernumerary elsewhere, he doubled as a spare master gunner, as he was a "merino", which has the same meaning as "alguacil". Alias "Merino".
- 4 He was a servant of (Captain) Espinosa.
- 5 Listed as Pedro Sanildes (transcription error for Sanchez?) elsewhere, according to Navarrete.
- 6 A **paid slave** of Magellan whom he had bought in Malacca while still in the Portuguese service (See Doc. 1521I for his story). Accused of having instigated the Great Massacre of Cebu.
- 7 Also held the appointment of Inspector-General of the Fleet, having staff control over all the accountants. He was a protégé of Bishop Fonseca of Burgos, one of the supporters of the project.
- 8 San Martin held the appointment of "Pilot of His Majesty", something like an officer rank in the Spanish Navy. However, he was officially a cosmographer by profession. He was later transferred to the **Trinidad**. Since he was one of the victims of the Great Massacre of Cebu, his books were seized by the Portuguese in the Moluccas, then sent to Lisbon, but they were later lost.
- 9 He also held a royal commission.
- 10 Also listed as Elorreaga, Loriaga, Uriaga, and Hurriaga.
- 11 Another says that he was a servant of Antonio de Coca [Nº 64].
- 12 Called Juan Ortiz de Gopega, or Gopegar, in other transcripts.
- 13 Alias Sabtua, Savta, or Sauta.



The city of Seville at the time of Magellan. *The town of Triana appears in foreground. In this port, as shown, Magellan's five ships were outfitted for a voyage of discovery (1518-1519).*

76	Seaman	Olarte,	Sebastian de	Bilbao	
77	"	Ugarte,	Lope de	Ugarte [?]	
78	"	Segura,	Juan de	Segura	In Quipúzcoa.
79	"	---	Jean	Rouen, France	Alias de Francia.
80	"	(Medina)	Jácome (de)	Medina	See Note ¹
81	"	García,	Cristóbal	Palos	
82	"	Hernandez,	Pedro	Rivadesella	
83	"	Morales,	Fernando de	Seville	See Note ²
84	"	Rodriguez,	António	Moguer	A tinsmith by trade.
85	"	---	Francisco	Huelva	Nicknamed "the sailor".
86	"	Rodriguez,	Francisco/Juan	Huelva	Abbr. R ^o s. See N ^o 130.
87	"	Laredo,	Pedro de	Portugalete	
88	"	(Axio)	Simon (de)	Axio, Greece	See note for N ^o 6.
89	Master gunner	---	Jacques	Lorraine, France	Alias "Maestre Jaques"
90	Gunner	Dupict,	Roger	Meusnes, Fr.	See Note ³
91	"	Jorge,	Juan	Silvedrin	From Belgium?
92	Ship's boy	Avendaño,	Luis de	Galicia	
93	" "	Aguirre,	Martin de	Arrigorriaga	
94	" "	Columbazo,	---	Bologna, Italy	See Note ⁴
95	" "	(Medina)	Lucas (de)	Medina	See N ^o 80.
96	" "	Rodriguez,	Lorenzo	Moguer	
97	" "	---	Miguel	Pravia	In Asturias.
98	" "	Irun (Irançu),	Juan de	Iraza (?)	In Guipúzcoa.
99	" "	---	Juan	Genoa	Alias Ginovés.
100	" "	Orue,	Juan de	Munguia	
101	" "	---	Alonso or Juan	Santa María	See Note ⁵
102	Page	García,	Diego	Palos	Son of N ^o 81.
103	"	Rodriguez de Mafra,	Diego	Mafra	Son of N ^o 67.
104	Chaplain	Calmette,	Bernard	Latour, France	See Note ⁶
105	Supernumerary	Chinchilla,	Juan de	Murcia	
106	"	Escobar,	Antón de	Talavera	
107	"	Angulo,	Francisco de	Moron	

- 1 Name transcribed Mesina by most authors. This could either be Messina in Sicily, or Medina instead, a place now called Medina Sidonia, east of Cádiz.
- 2 Called Francisco de Morales in other registers, because of the abbreviation used for his first name.
- 3 Also badly transcribed as "Rojel de upret". His last name could also have been any of the following family names: Dupiet, Dupuis, Dupic, Dupret, etc. His hometown is listed as Monay; this is an old form for Meusnes.
- 4 Last name maybe Colanbaço, Colinbaço.
- 5 Aliases Alonso, or Juan, del Puerto or de Palos. Palos and Santa María del Puerto are neighboring places.
- 6 Listed as Fr. Bernardo Calmete. or Calmeta, from Laytora, in Spanish. There are many places called Latour in France. He was marooned in Patagonia, along with Captain Cartagena.

108	Servant	Molino (or Molina),	Francisco de	Baeza	See also N° 155.
109	"	Pella,	Roque	Salamanca	Alias Pelea.
110	"	Nieto,	Rodrigo	Orense	Alias Gallego.
111	"	Rio,	Alonso del	Burgos	
112	"	Balpuesta,	Pedro de	Burgos	
113	"	(León)	Juan (de)	León	
114	"	(Tuñon)	Gutierre (de)	Tuñon	See Note ¹
115	"	Sagredo,	Juan de	Revenga	See Note ²
116	"	Minchaca,	Juan de	Bilbao	Spare crossbowman.
117	"	Hernandez,	Antonio	Portugal	See Note ³
118	"	Gomez de Espinosa,	Juan	Espinosa	Servant of N° 64.
119	"	Urrea,	Pedro de	Bruges, Belg.	Servant of N° 64.

III. Original crew of the ship *Concepción*

N°	Job title	Last names	First names	Hometown	Editor's Comments
120	Captain	Quesada,	Gaspar de	---	See Note ⁴
121	Clerk	Heredia,	Sancho de	---	Left at Cebu.
122	Pilot	(López) Carvallo,	Juan	Portugal	Alias João Carvalho.
123	Master	Elcano,	Juan Sebastián	Guetária	See Note ⁵
124	Boatswain	Acurio,	Juan de	Bermeo	
125	Barber	Bustamante,	Hernando de	Mérida	See Note ⁶
126	Caulker	Basazabal,	Antonio de	Bermeo	See Note ⁷

- 1 Real last name possibly García. Listed as García de Tuñon elsewhere. Tuñon said to be in Asturias; perhaps this is Tineo.
- 2 A spare "merino" or master gunner. Listed as Sagredo elsewhere. Revenga said to be near Burgos; perhaps this is Ravena.
- 3 Hired as a linguist or interpreter. Officially recorded as being from Ayamonte, but Portuguese by nationality (Nav., iv, 155).
- 4 Captain Quesada was the protégé of the Archbishop of Seville (Nav., iv, 154).
- 5 Future captain of the *Victoria*, officially became the first man around the world. From Guetária, 3 km. west of Zarauz, itself west of San Sebastián in Guipúzcoa. Last name sometimes spelled Delcano or Del Cano. Would later take part in the Loaysa Expedition.
- 6 Bustamante was perhaps from Alcántara. He would also take part in the Loaysa Expedition. According to Barros (Décadas, ed. 1946, t. iii, p. 298), he died at the Maldive Islands aboard a Portuguese ship going from Malacca to India, ca. 1535.
- 7 Alias Basabal or de Bazaza.

127	Carpenter	Iraza,	Domingo de	Deva	See Note ¹
128	Steward	Campos,	Juan de	Alcalá de Henares	
129	Cooper	Perez,	Pedro	Seville	
130	Seaman	Rodriguez,	Francisco	Seville	See Note ²
131	"	Ruiz (Matamoros),	Francisco	Moguer	
132	"	---	Mateo	Corfu, Greece	See Note ³
133	"	Rodriguez,	Juan	Huelva	Born in Mallorca.
134	"	García,	Sebastián	Huelva	Alias de Huelva.
135	"	Gomez Hernandez	---	Huelva	
136	"	Iruna,	Lorenzo de	Socavila	See Note ⁴
137	"	Rodriguez,	Juan	Seville	Called "the Deaf".
138	"	Aguirre,	Juan de	Bermeo	
139	"	Ortega,	Juan de	Cifuentes	
140	Master gunner	Barge (or Barge),	Hans	Germany?	See Note ⁵
141	Gunner	---	Pedro	Brussels, Belg.	See Note ⁶
142	"	Argote,	Roldan de	Bruges, Belg.	See Note ⁷
143	Ship's boy	Olivar,	Juan de	Valencia	
144	" "	Lole,	Guillermo de	---	See Note ⁸
145	" "	Costa,	Cristóbal da	Jerez	Alias de Jerez.
146	" "	Guillén,	---	Galvey	See Note ⁹
147	" "	Alvarez,	Gonzalo	Vigo	See Note ¹⁰
148	" "	(Muguertegui)	Pedro (de)	Muguertegui	
149	" "	Isaurraga,	Martin de	Bermeo	Alias Insaurraga.
150	" "	Macías,	Rodrigo	Seville	
151	" "	Navarro,	Juan	Pamplona	

1 Listed as Yarza, Yarço, and Aroca elsewhere. See also N° 240.

2 Said to be Portuguese on another list. See also N° 86.

3 Last name unrecorded. Known as Mateo Griego [=the Greek], or Mateo de Gorfo [=Corfu].

4 Last name written Duirna elsewhere. Socavila is in Guipúzcoa.

5 Called "Maestre Hans", which was sometimes written, erroneously, Ans, Ance or Otans. He died in a Lisbon jail circa 1526. His last name sometimes written Vargne. Alias Alemán [i.e. German], but he could have been Flemish. See N° 186.

6 Last name unrecorded. Simply called "Maestre Pedro". Was his real first name Pieter, or even Pierre?

7 Alias Roldan de Argar. Could the first name be Roland?

8 Listed as Guillermo Irés in another register. Was Lole his hometown, or his last name? William Lord? Note that the same name had also appeared in the crew list for Columbus.

9 Galvey could be Galey (or Galez) on the French side of the Pyrenees. There is also a Gelbes in Portugal, and a Galway in Ireland. Is this a double billing for man N° 144?

10 IMPORTANT! Alias Gonzalo de Vigo. He deserted at the Marianas in 1522 and was picked up later by the Loaysa Expedition. See Doc. 1522C1 and 1526.

152	Ship's boy	(Tuy)	Juan (de)	Tuy	See Note ¹
153	Page	---	Juanillo	Galvey	See Note ²
154	"	Churdurza,	Pedro de	Bermeo	
155	Servant	Molino,	Luis de(l)	Baeza	See also N° 108.
156	"	Hernandez/Fernandez,	Antonio	Seville	But Portuguese.
157	"	Coto,	Alonso	Genoa, Italy	See Note ³
158	"	Díaz	Francisco	Madrid	Nicknamed de Madrid.
159	Supernumerary	Judicibus,	Martin de	Genoa, Italy	Extra Master gunner.
160	"	Silva,	Juan de	Azores, Port.	From Graciosa I.
161	Blacksmith	Hernandez,	Gonzalo	Santa María del Puerto	
162	Supernumerary?	Magalhães,	Martin de	Lisbon, Port.	See Note ⁴
163	Supernumerary?	Torre,	Juan de la	Seville	From Almonaster..

IV. Original crew of the ship *Victoria*

N°	Job title	Last names	First names	Hometown	Editor's Comments
164	Captain	Mendoza,	Luis de	---	See Note ⁵
165	Pilot	Gallego,	Basco	Portugal	See Note ⁶
166	Clerk	Mendez,	Martin	Seville	
167	Master	Salomon,	Antonio	Trapani, Sicily	
168	Boatswain	(Rodas)	Miguel (de)	Rhodes	
169	Constable	Peralta,	Diego de	Peralta	In Navarra.
170	Steward	Gonzales/Gonzalves,	Alonso	Portugal	See Note ⁷

-
- 1 Tuy is perhaps the island of Toja in Galicia. Also the man's alias may have been Gallego.
 - 2 Listed as the son of Juan Carvallo [N° 122] elsewhere. See also N° 146.
 - 3 Last name also written Cota, and Costa elsewhere. Alias Alonso Genovés.
 - 4 A cousin of Magellan. Alias de Mesquita?
 - 5 Mendoza also held the appointment of Treasurer of the Fleet.
 - 6 Strange that a man whose names indicate that he might have been Basque is listed as a Portuguese, but he was (Nav., iv, 155).
 - 7 Reported elsewhere as Afonso Gonzalvez, a native of Guarda in Portugal (east of Coimbra). Deserted from the *Trinidad* at the Marianas in 1522, and was later killed by the natives.

171	Caulker	---	Simon	La Rochelle, Fr.	Left at Cebu.
172	Carpenter	(Perez) de Griate,	Martin	Deva	See Note ¹
173	Seaman	Veneciano,	Miguel	Bresá	
174	"	Gallego,	Diego	Bayona	In Galicia.
175	"	Navarro,	Lope	Tudela	
176	"	---	Nicolás	Genoa, Italy	Nicknamed "Genovés".
177	"	---	Nicolao	Naples, Italy	Nicknamed "de Nápoles".
178	"	Sanchez,	Miguel	Rhodes	
179	"	---	Nicolao	Capua	
180	"	---	Benito	Albenga, Genoa	Nicknamed "Genovés".
181	"	---	Felipe	Rhodes	Nicknamed "de Rodas".
182	"	Villon,	Étienne	Troy, France	See Note ²
183	"	Griego,	Juan	Naples, Italy	
184	Master gunner	---	Jorge	Estric, Germany	See Note ³
185	Gunner	(Tours)	Filibert (de)	Tours, France	See Note ⁴
186	"	---	Hans	Ghent, Belgium	See Note ⁵
187	Ship's boy	---	Juanito	Somoroostro	See Note ⁶
188	" "	Arratia,	Juan de	Bilbao	See Note ⁷
189	" "	Ochote (de Randio)	---	Bilbao	
190	" "	Ayamonte,	Martin de	---	Deserted at Timor.
191	" "	(Tolosa)	Pedro (de)	Tolosa	In Guipúzcoa.
192	" "	Ortiz,	Sebastián	Gelbes, Port.?	See Note ⁸
193	" "	---	Antonio	Baresa, Genoa	
194	" "	Mavri,	Bernard	Narbonne, Fr.	See Note ⁹
195	" "	Gallego,	Rodrigo	Coruña	

1 Name on other lists: Garat, Garate, Yarat. Was it Uriarte?

2 Alias Estéban Breton. One list says that he came from Trosig, Brittany. This is probably Torcé, now in the Department of Ile-et-Vilaine. He made it around the world, but is not considered as one of the first men around the world, because he died near the Azores on 6 August 1522.

3 Alias Jorge Alemán, i.e. the German. Was probably nicknamed "Maestre Jorge", in a style used for all master gunners, or simply Georg by the other gunners. Could be Belgian. Could then Estric be Utrecht?

4 As stated in Spanish: Filiberto de Torres, Toriana. This is obviously Tours, capital of the old region of Touraine. One listing, reportedly says that his hometown was Hourienes; this is also an obvious transcription error for Touraine.

5 May have become master gunner later, or been simply confused with Maestre Hans [N° 140]. His hometown is listed as Agan, Spanish for Ghent. One list mistakenly gives his last name as Airés. He later took part in the Loaysa Expedition.

6 Alias Vizcaino. First name, reported as Machin, is probably a transcription error for Juanico.

7 Alias Juan de Sahelices, or Saylices.

8 Hometown is Gelver says Navarrete. Gelbes in Portugal says Koelliker.

9 On other lists, Cristóbal Mahuri, Bernardo Mauri.

196	Ship's boy	---	Domingo	Coimbra, Port.	Nicknamed Portugués.
197	Page	Zuñileta,	Juan (de)	Baracaldo	
198	"	Gallego,	---	Portugal	Son of N° 165.
199	Servant	Carvajal,	Francisco (de)	Salamanca	
200	"	Martin,	Juan	Aguilar del Campo	See Note ¹
201	"	Burgos,	Simon de	Portugal	
202	"	Saldaña,	Bartolomé de	Palos	Deserted at Timor.
203	Blacksmith	Rodriguez,	Gonzalo	---	
204	"	García,	Pedro	Ciudad Real	Nicknamed "Herrero".
205	Soldier (?)	Villalon,	Juan	Antequera	
206	"	Mora,	Alonso de	Évora, Portugal	See Note ²
207	Cooper	Córdoba,	Juan de	Sanlúcar	
208	---	Díaz,	Diego	Sanlúcar	Same as N° 54?

V. Original crew of the ship Santiago

N°	Job title	Last names	First names	Hometown	Editor's Comments
209	Captain	(Rodriguez) Serrano,	Juan	Seville	See Note ³
210	Clerk	Costa,	Antonio da	---	
211	Master	"Ginovés"	Baltasar	Riviera, Genoa	
212	Boatswain	Prior,	Bartolomé	Saint-Malo, Fr.	See Note ⁴
213	Steward	Díaz,	Gaspar	Azores, Port.	Or Días.
214	Caulker	García,	Juan	Genoa	
215	Carpenter	---	Richard	Normandy, Fr.	See Note ⁵
216	Seaman	"Flamenco"	Antonio	Antwerp, Belg.	See Note ⁶
217	"	Martinez,	Luis	Huelva	
218	"	García,	Bartolomé	Palos	

1 Another list says that he was from Seville.

2 Nicknamed Portugués.

3 Like Magellan, he was born in Portugal, as João Serrão, although he had Spanish citizenship. He held a double commission as Pilot of His Majesty. Left behind at Cebu; was probably massacred.

4 Alias Maló, and by error of transcription: Amaló, Malvo.

5 Other lists give his name as Ricarte, Rigarte, Ripart, Ryxart or Ruxar. Said to come from Bruz or Ebras in Normandy; my educated guess is that he was from Évreux, south of Rouen, if from Normandy, but there is also a Bruz, just south of Rennes, in Brittany.

6 Flamenco, meaning Flemish, is obviously a nickname.

219	"	García,	Juan	Palos	
220	"	---	Agustin	Savona, Genoa	Nicknamed Marinero.
221	"	Bocacio,	Alfonso	Bullulos	See Note ¹
222	"	Gascon,	Pedro	Bordeaux, Fr.	Alias Gaston.
223	"	"Marinero"	Domingo	---	
224	"	García,	Diego	Trigueros	
225	Gunner	Corrat (or Corral),	Laurent	Normandy, Fr.	See Note ²
226	"	Macia,	Juan	Troya	Alias de Troya [=Toja?].
227	Ship's boy	Díaz,	Pedro	Huelva	Alias de Huelva.
228	" "	Hernandez,	Alonso	Palos	Or Antonio Hernandez.
229	" "	"Negro"	Juan	---	See Note ³
230	" "	Blais,	Jean	Croisic, France	See Note ⁴
231	" "	Bello (or Brito),	Pedro	Palos	Or from Huelva.
232	" "	García,	Gerónimo	Seville	
233	" "	Arnaot,	Pedro	Horrai, France?	See Note ⁵
234	" "	García,	Pedro	Trigueros	See N° 224.
235	Page	"Flamenco"	Juan	Antwerp, Belgium	
236	"	"Paje"	Francisco	---	See Note ⁶
237	Supernumerary	Aroche,	Juan de	Aroche	See Note ⁷
238		Barrena,	Martín	Villafranca	In Guipúzcoa.
239		Lorenzo,	Hernan	Aroche	

-
- 1 Other lists say Alonso Socacio, Ocasio, or Bacaio. Probably Boccaccio is last name. It is also possible that Alonso or Alfonso was his last name, with Ocasio, etc. as first name.
 - 2 Said to come from Talesa; transcription error for Falesa, Spanish way of writing Falaise, a town south of Caen in Normandy.
 - 3 Was a slave of Captain Serrano [N° 209].
 - 4 Nicknamed Juan Breton. Hometown given as Cruesic; this is Le Croisic, west of St-Nazaire, in Brittany.
 - 5 Alias Breton. Therefore, his real name could have been Arnauld, Arnault or Arnotte. His hometown, reported as Horrai, could be any one of a number of places, e.g. Houry, Houssay, even Lornay, Lorey, Lorry, etc.
 - 6 Stepson of Captain Serrano. Left behind at Cebu.
 - 7 Aroche is a suburb of Seville. This man was a master gunner by profession.

VI. Unclassified¹

N°	Job title	Last names	First names	Hometown	Editor's Comments
240	Carpenter	Aroca,	---	Vizcaya	Same as N° 127?
241	Steward	Blas (or Braz),	Afonso	Portugal	
242	Caulker	Gutierrez,	Juan	---	
243	Caulker [?]	Indarchi,	Pedro de	---	See Note ²
244	Seaman	---	Bautista	Genoa	See Note ³
245	Ship's boy	---	Perucho	Bermeo	
246	" "	Alvarez,	Domingo	---	
247	" "	Gonzales,	Domingo	---	
248	" "	Zubillan,	Domingo de	Portugal	See Note ⁴
249	" "	Blanco,	Andrés	---	
250	" "	Gomez,	Antonio	Axio	See Note for N° 6.
251	" "	---	Juan	Portugal	= Juan Gallego?
252	" "	Blas (or Bras),	Juan	---	Same as N° 230?
253	" "	Gallego,	Gonzalo	---	
254	" "	Hurrira,	Rodrigo de	---	Left at Cebu.
255	Ship's boy(?)	---	Sebastian	Portugal	
256	" "	Ircepais,	Juan de	---	
257	Chaplain	Sanchez de Reina,	Pedro	---	
258	" "	Morales,	---	---	See Note ⁵
259	Soldier(?)	Rodriguez,	Hernando	---	
260	" "	Hartiga	---	---	Left at Cebu.
261	" "	Diugurria	---	---	
262	Soldier	Arias,	Diego	Sanlúcar	
263	Blacksmith	Hernandez,	Juan	Triana	
264	Servant	Aguilar,	Hernando de	---	See Note ⁶
265	" "	"Negro"	---	---	See Note ⁷

-
- 1 The total number of classified men, listed above, should have been 235, or 237, not as many as 239. So, either the slaves were discounted, and/or there are perhaps two persons who were doubly counted under aliases. The extra men in this unclassified category were probably hired at the last minute by Magellan and were not paid any advance. Furthermore, the names of other men hired at the Canaries were not well reported. This is understandable as the documents from the flagship *Trinidad* were seized by the Portuguese in the Moluccas.
 - 2 This "Maestre Pedro" was shanghaied at Tenerife, Canary Islands, on 1 October 1519. He returned in the *Victoria* and was one of those captured by the Portuguese at the island of Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands.
 - 3 Alias Bautista Genovés. Later assigned to the ship *Trinidad*, according to the payroll.
 - 4 Alias de Covilla. Later assigned to the ship *Trinidad*, according to the payroll.
 - 5 Called Licentiate or Bachelor Morales. First name unrecorded. Navarrete, iv, p. 107, gives the AGI reference for his having returned to Europe and been held in the Lisbon jail with Espinosa and the others: Simancas, estante 1, cajón 2, legajo 1: Maluco, etc., n° 24.
 - 6 Servant of Captain Mendoza [N° 164]. Left behind at Cebu.
 - 7 Said to be the negro slave of the Pilot Juan Carvallo [N° 122]. See another negro slave listed as N° 229.

VII. Additional names¹

Nº	Job title	Last names	First names	Hometown	Editor's Comments
266	Seaman	Roldan,	Francisco	---	Same as Nº 85?
267	Ship's boy	---	Diego	Seville	
268	" "	---	Juan	Muros	
269	Ship's boy	Basazabal,	Pedro de	---	See Nº 126.
270	" "	---	Antonio	Portugal	
271	" "	---	Esteban	Jerez	
272	" "	Maldonado,	Pedro		
273	" "	Hernandez,	Alvaro		
274	" "	Hernandez,	Sebastian		
275	" "	Alcazaba,	Antonio de		
276	" "	Alfonso,	Rodrigo		
277	" "	Tavira,	Diego de		
278	" "	Gomez,	Juan		
279	Supernumerary	Colin,	Juan		
280	"	Banchs [=Sanchez?],	Carlos		
281	"	Jimenez,	Antonio		
282	"	Palta,	Diego de		

VIII. Analysis of the composition of Magellan's crews and survivors**1. Original composition (1519) by nationality or origin:**

Spanish	172 = 66 % approximately;
Portuguese	29 = 11 % approximately;
Italian	24 = 9 % approximately;
French	18 = 7 % approximately;
Belgian	6 = 2 % approximately;
Other ²	12 = 5 % approximately.

2. Attrition:

	Men
a. Outward passage of the 5 ships:	
1519 Sept. 20 At the departure from Sanlúcar.....	265
1520 Jan-May Died in Brazil & Patagonia.....	4
July-Aug Died in a mutiny in Patagonia.....	4
Nov. 8 Deserted in the San Antonio.....	70

-
- Names found in accounting documents, recorded as having received a pay advance, but whose names do not appear in the above lists.
 - There were at least 10 different nationalities, excluding 3 black slaves of unknown origin.

Nov. 27 Died in the Strait.....	10	- 88

At the exit of the Strait.....		177
1521 Jan-Mar Died in Pacific & in Philippines	19	
April 27 Died in battle at Mactan Island.....	8	
May 1 Died in Cebu Massacre (27) and/or went missing (10).....	37	- 64

At the departure from Cebu.....		113
1521 July Deserted or captured at Borneo.....	5	
Oct-Nov Died in battles with pirates.....	5	
Dec. 20 (3 disappeared Moluccas + Lorosa).....	2	- 12

Complement at Tidore: Victoria 47 + Trinidad 54 = 101		
b. Aboard the Victoria back to Spain:		
1521 Dec. 21 At the departure from Tidore.....		47
1522 Feb. 5 Deserted at Timor.....	2	
July 9 Died between Timor & Cape Verde	13 ¹	- 15

At the arrival at Cape Verde Islands		32
1522 July 15 Captured at Cape Verde Is. ²	12	
Jul-Sept Died in Atlantic.....	2	- 14

First men around the world ³		18
c. Aboard the Trinidad in 1522:		
1522 Feb. Disappeared at Tidore.....	1	
April Left at factory at Tidore.....	5	- 6

" At the departure from Tidore.....		48
Sep-Oct Died in Pacific & deserted at Maug ⁴		- 30

" Captured by Portuguese at Ternate ⁵		18

1 Not counting 13 Asians. See list in Koelliker, p. 225.

2 Those who were captured by the Portuguese at Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, and later straggled back to Spain were: N° 71, 135, 142, 166, 181, 191, 200, 201, 215, 221, 222(?), 223, 243.

3 The 18 men who returned to Spain in the ship **Victoria** and were interviewed in Seville were: N° 6, 20, 26, 33, 36, 46, 123, 124, 125, 130, 149, 159, 168, 174, 177 (or 183), 178, 188, 197.

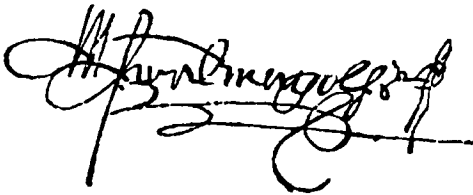
4 See Doc. 1522B6.

5 See list in Doc. 1522B4.

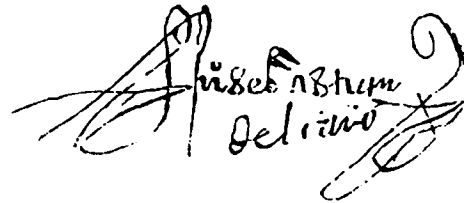
Nov-Feb	Died or stayed in the Moluccas	2	
1523	Died or stayed at Malacca.....	7	
1525	Died at Cochin & Lisbon prison.....	4	- 13

1527	Eventually made it back to Spain.....	5 ¹	

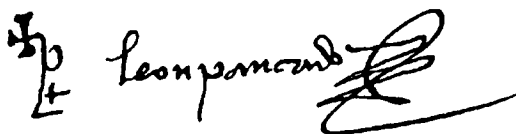
1 The 5 survivors of the **Trinidad** who luckily made it back to Spain were: N° 5, 14, 15, 137, and 258.



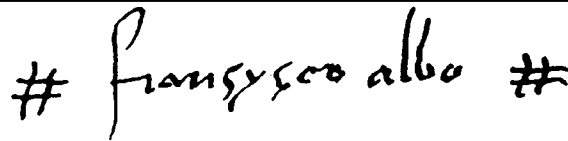
Hernando de Magallanes



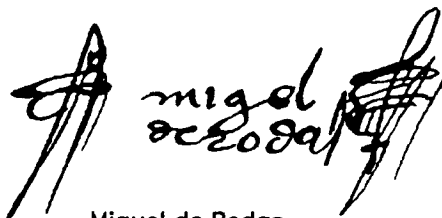
Juan Sebastian del Cano



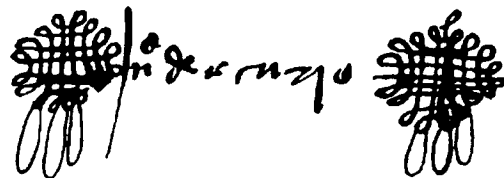
Leon Pancaldo



Francisco Alvo



Miguel de Rodas



Juan de Acurio

Facsimile signatures of some of Magellan's crew. Magellan [N° 1], Elcano [N° 123], Pancaldo [N° 15], Alvo [N° 6], Rodas [N° 168], and Acurio [N° 124].

Document 1519G

Letter from the Portuguese factor Sebastian Alvarez to the King of Portugal

Sources: ACL's Alguns documentos da Torre do Tombo, p. 432. Navarrete's Colección de los viages, iv, pp. 153-155.

Letter written in Seville to the King of Portugal by Sebastian Alvarez, his factor, concerning the setbacks suffered by Magellan and the steps and efforts [he] made to convince him and Falero to return to Portugal. He gives notice of the fleets being prepared for other destinations¹

Those who have just returned [from the Court] together to this city are Cristóbal de Haro and Juan de Cartagena, chief factor, and Juan Estéban, treasurer of this fleet, and in the instructions which they carry with them, there are articles contrary to the instruction [given by the King] to Magellan. The officials of the House of Trade having seen them, since they cannot stomach Magellan, they took the side of the newcomers. They called in Magellan, and asked him for the roll of the fleet; and why there was no captain in the fifth ship, except Carvallo who was not a captain, but a pilot. He answered that he wished to have it that way, to carry the lantern and that he would transfer to it now and then. They told him that she was carrying many Portuguese, and that it was not good to carry so many. He answered that he would do in the fleet what he wished

1 This letter to King Manuel of Portugal is dated Seville, 18 July 1519. It comes from the Collection of Muñoz, who made an extract from the original in Lisbon.

without giving them any account, which they could not do themselves without delegating the task to him. So many words, and bad ones at that, passed between them that the officials ordered the salaries to be paid to the sailors and soldiers, but to none of the Portuguese. About this they have written to the Court.

When I saw an opportunity for me to do what Your Highness has asked me to do, I went to Magellan's inn and found him collecting food items, preserves, etc., and told him that the above was the result of his bad project, and because it was to be the last time I was to speak to him as his friend and as a good Portuguese, he should think seriously about the error he was about to make. [I told him] that his answers in the previous conversations had given me hope that he would not do a thing so much against the service of Y. H., especially such a dangerous undertaking. He answered that it was a matter of principle for him to finish what he had begun. I responded that it was not an honor to gain something unduly, that even the Spaniards looked upon him as somebody base and a traitor against his own country. He answered that he thought he would render a service to Y. H. by not touching anything of his. I told him that it was enough to discover wealth existing within the demarcation of Spain in order to do some harm to Portugal. I omit many other exchanges that passed between us.

He asked me if I had a commission from Y. H. to speak to him. I answered that I did not merit such an honor, but that if he did what he had to do, Y. H. would consider himself well served. Finally, he said that he did not know how he could abandon the cause of the King of Spain who had shown him so much favor. I told him to do what he had to do and not to lose his honor, that it was regrettable that he had left Portugal because of a difference of 100 *reais* in living allowance which Y. H. had not given him in order not to break a royal order¹. With the coming of two instructions sent to him that were contrary to an earlier one, and to what he had contracted to do with King Charles, he would see if this slight would be regrettable enough to make him go and do what he must do, or come for what he had come.

He was really surprised that I knew so much. He then told me the truth: that the mail had already left; that he would not abandon the enterprise as long as none of the things contracted for were broken. So, he wished to know which favors Y. H. had promised him. I responded: What did he prefer? To see other contrary instructions, to have Rui Falero say openly that he would not follow his lantern, that he had to sail to the south, or else he would not go in the fleet? That he thought he was going as Captain general, but I knew otherwise, that he would be told only when there would no longer be any

1 In the books recording the *moradias* [living allowances] for the Royal House of Portugal for 1512, there can be seen the salary for one Fernão de Magalhães, son of **Pero de Magalhães**, [in his capacity] as a young gentleman, 1,000 rs. per month, and a daily allowance of barley. He signed as having received it on 12 June 1512. Also, in another book is shown that he received 1,850 rs. per month, and a daily allowance of barley, as a gentleman esquire, a promotion from young gentleman. He signed a receipt for same on 14 July 1512. Ed. note: Navarrete is incorrect here, as our Magellan was the son of Rui (not Pero) Magalhães. This other Magellan was still alive in 1525, and possibly in 1540 (See article by Alfredo Pimenta: "*Zweig e Fernão de Magalhães*", in *Bazar* (Sup. lit. de *A Voz*), Lisbon, 25 Feb 1938).



King Manuel of Portugal.
He ruled from 1495 to 1521.



recourse for his honor. That he should not pay attention to the honey that the Bishop of Burgos was putting upon his lips. That now was the time [to decide], that if he were to give me a letter for Y. H., I for his sake would carry it and look after his affair. He finished by telling me that he would not do anything until he had received the reply [he expected to receive] by mail.

I spoke with Rui Falero twice. He never told me anything other than he would not do anything against the King his Lord who was doing him so many favors. This was always his answer to whatever I told him. It seems to me that the tables are turned; if only Magellan could be won over, he would follow.

There are five ships in the fleet. They have 80 very small guns, and are manned with 230 men, most of whom have already received pay, except the Portuguese whom they did not want to hire at one thousand *reales*, etc.¹ The captain of the first ship is Magellan, of the second Faleiro, of the third Cartagena, of the fourth Quesada, a protégé of the Archbishop of Seville. The fifth one is without a captain; her pilot is Carvalho, Portuguese. They say that, once the bar has been crossed, her captain will be Alvaro de Mesquita from Estremoz.

¹ Ed. note: See previous Doc. 1519F. If by *reales* is meant *maravedis*, able seamen were offered 1,200 per month, but those classified as ordinary seamen (and ship's boys) only 800 per month.

There go the following Portuguese pilots: Carvalho, Estéban Gomez, Serrão, Vasco Gallego, who has been living here for some time; in addition, Alvaro and Martin de Mesquita, Francisco de Fonseca, Cristóbal Ferreira, Martin Gil, Pedro de Abreu, Duarte Barbosa, a nephew of Diego Barbosa, a protégé of the Bishop of Sigüenza, Antonio Fernandez, Luis Alonso de Beja, Juan de Silva.

Faleiro has his father, mother, and brothers here with him, one of whom he is taking along.

The fifth part of this fleet is [for] Cristóbal de Haro¹ who provided 4,000 ducats.²

The route that they say will be followed is from Sanlúcar straight to Cabo Frio³, leaving Brazil on the right until they pass the line of demarcation, and from there to sail westward and WNW straight to the Moluccas.

Reinel's globe of 1519

As for the said land of Maluco, I have seen it myself marked down upon the globe and chart which the son of Reinel has made here, and which was not finished when his father came here for him; his father completed it, and placed these Molucca Islands [upon it]. It is in accordance with this model that Diego Ribeiro is making all the charts for them, as well as the quadrants and spheres. Between this Cabo Frio and the Moluccas, along this route there are no lands drawn upon the charts that they carry.

Another fleet is being formed with 3 ships, whose captain will be Andrés Niño, and it carries two other small ones in pieces. It is bound for the mainland to the port of Darien. From there, they will go 20 leagues overland to the South Sea, transporting the two ships in pieces, and with them they will go to discover a thousand leagues and no more along the western coast of the land they call Catayo. In these ships, the captain general will be G. G. Dávila, the accountant at Hispaniola.

When the above fleets have gone, another will be made ready with 4 ships to go on the trail of Magellan and to his assistance. It is not known where it will be done; it was ordered done by Cristóbal de Haro.⁴

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- 1 In a letter written in Antwerp to the King of Portugal, in *[AGI, Patronato?, Legajo] 1, [doc.] 21, [ramo] 52*, one can see that Cristóbal de Haro with two other Haros, perhaps his brothers, were residents and traders there, and in 1517 they had contracted with Portugal about trading in Guinea [i.e. West Africa], where they sent a quantity of ships, but the Portuguese sent 7 of them to the bottom, at an estimated loss of 16,000 ducats. They request compensation, plus over 2,000 in damages.
 - 2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1519E. Haro provided exactly 23% of the total costs, i.e. 1,880,126 Maravedis, which, dividing by 375, are about 5,000 ducats.
 - 3 Ed. note: NW coast of Africa.
 - 4 Ed. note: This was to be the Loaysa Expedition and it was prepared at La Coruña, in Galicia.



Allegorical sketch of Magellan coming out of the Strait. Triumph appears evident as he discovers the Pacific Ocean. Patagonia is on the right and Tierra del Fuego on the left. (Drawn by John Stradan, and engraved by J. Galle, in 1522. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

Document 1521A1

Magellan's voyage — Primary account by Pigafetta, from French manuscripts

Sources: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: ms. 5650 and ms. 24.224, translated by R. Lévesque.¹

Crossing of the Pacific

On Wednesday 26 November 1520, we came out of the said strait² and entered the Pacific Ocean, where we stayed for three months and twenty days without taking on any food nor other refreshments, and ate nothing but old crumbled [sea] biscuits, full of worms and stinking on account of the urine filth that the rats had left on them and eaten the best part of them. We drank yellowish infected water. We also ate the raw hides that were on the main yard, to prevent the yard from chafing the rigging. They

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- 1 These two French manuscripts are believed to be copies of a master copy (now lost) presented by Pigafetta to Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes (later of Malta), and to Marie-Louise of Savoy, then Queen Regent of France. Manuscript 5650 is more complete, whereas ms. 24.224 is an expurgated version which omits some details dealing with navigation, warfare and sex. Also at BN Paris is a third manuscript, FR6117, but it appears to be extracts from the Simon de Colines' edition (See Bibliography at the end of this book).
 - 2 Ed. note: The Magellan Strait.

had been made very hard by the sun, rain and wind. We left them for four or five days in the sea, then we placed them for a while upon embers, and thus we ate them. If only we would have had enough saw dust [to eat] and rats, which cost half an *écu*¹ each, but we could not find enough.

Besides the above problems, the one I am about to describe was the worst. It was that the gums of most of our people would swell above and below so much that they could not eat and for that reason so many died, as many as nineteen died²; the other giant died from it³ and an Indian from the said place of Verzin⁴. However, besides those who died, some 25 to 30 became sick from various ailments, to the arms as well as to the legs, and to other places so that very few remained healthy. Nevertheless, by the grace of our Lord, I did not become sick.

During these three months and twenty days we were in an open gulf, where we must have covered four thousand leagues⁵ through this Pacific Ocean, which was properly called Pacific, because during the whole time we had no storm⁶, and saw no land except two small uninhabited islands, where we found only birds and trees. We named them the **Unfortunate Islands**. They are 200 leagues apart; there is no place to anchor because there is no bottom. There we saw many *tiburoni*, a kind of big fish they call shark⁷. The first island is a 15 degrees of latitude south, and the other island is in 9 degrees. With a southerly wind every day we made sixty or seventy leagues or more, sometimes with the wind behind, sometimes by luffing, or otherwise. If our Lord and his Mother had not helped us by giving us good weather to refresh ourselves with food and

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- 1 Ed. note: An old French coin worth from 3 to 6 pounds. However, this is usually taken as a translation of the original word "ducat". Half a ducat was then worth 187 maravedis, about as many dollars today.
 - 2 Ed. note: Only 11 died in the Pacific proper, according to the official count, but the rest died after having reached Philippine waters.
 - 3 Ed. note: A Patagonian Indian who also died from scurvy.
 - 4 Ed. note: Brazil, so called from the name of some wood used in the dye industry, and called "verzino" in Italian.
 - 5 Ed. note: A Spanish league at sea was 4 Roman miles = 5.9 km = 3.2 nautical miles, whereas an English league was only 3 nautical miles = 5.56 km.
 - 6 Ed. note: The word used in the text is "fortune". In Spanish maritime terminology of the period, the word "fortuna" meant strong wind, gale or storm. The word that is found in another French manuscript (the Nancy copy in the library of Yale University, formerly the Phillipps ms. 16,405) is "forte" which can also be interpreted as meaning "storm".
 - 7 Ed. note: That is, they were called *tiburones* by the Spanish.



Sketch map of the Unfortunate Islands as drawn by Pigafetta. *The direction north is toward the bottom of the page on all his map drawings, although in this case the relative position of the two islands is unchanged if one looks at them as shown. The identification of these two reef islets is discussed in Doc. 1521C2. Suffice to say that the first islet they saw corresponds either to Pukapuka or another islet of the Tuamotu Group west of Pukapuka, and the second one corresponds either to Vostok or Flint (S of Vostok). None of the Gilberts or Marshalls were seen.*

[for] other things, we would all have died of hunger in this very big sea. I believe that no man will ever [again] undertake such a voyage.

When we were out of that strait, if we had always sailed westward, we would not have found any land except the Cape of Eleven Thousand Virgins, which is the cape of that strait lying east-west in the ocean sea with Cape Deseado¹ in the Pacific Ocean, both capes being in 52 degrees latitude in the southern hemisphere.²

1 Ed. note: Respectively at the eastern entrance and the western exit of the Strait of Magellan.

2 Ed. note: Pigafetta means that if they had maintained the heading due west, they would, by following the 52° parallel around the globe, returned to the entrance of the Strait.



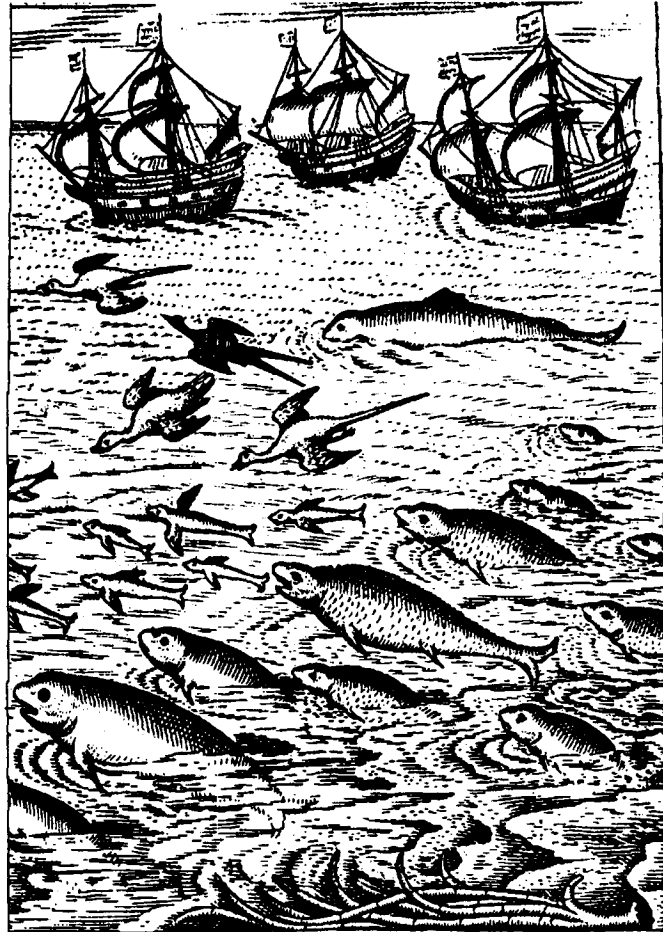
Magellan contemplating the Southern Cross. (*From an engraving by Lamessin, BN Paris*)

The southern sky does not have as many stars as the northern sky, as there can be seen many small stars together that are like two clouds a little apart, and a little fuzzy. In the middle of them are two stars, neither too big nor too bright, that move little; these two stars are the south pole.¹ Our loadstone still pulled toward the north pole, nevertheless not as strongly as when in its own [north] side. Consequently, when we were in that gulf the Captain General asked all the pilots still sailing which course they marked on their charts. They all answered by the course that he punctually gave them. He answered that they marked them incorrectly (which was a fact) and that it was proper to adjust the needle because it did not receive as much force as on its [north] side. When

¹ Ed. note: These stars possibly belong to the constellation Hydra, in the middle of the Magellanic Clouds, as they were later named in honor of Magellan.

we were in the middle of this gulf, we saw a cross of five [sic] very bright stars due west [sic] that are very close to one another.¹

During this space of two months and twelve days, we navigated WNW and NW by W, and NW² until we came to the equinoctial line which is 122 degrees from the Line of Demarcation³ After we had passed the equinoctial line, we navigated WNW and W by N, and afterwards we made 200 leagues westward, changing the course to W by S⁴ until we reached 13 degrees latitude north, so as to get near the land of Cape Gaticara [sic]. This cape (to be corrected by those who have studied cosmography) (because they have not seen it) does not lie where they think it is but toward the north in 12 degrees more or less.⁵



Three lonely ships over a deep gulf... (Adapted from de Bry's "Petits voyages", Part 4. Frankfurt, 1601)

- 1 Ed. note: The four stars of the Southern Cross. Obviously, they had to have been seen due south.
- 2 Ed. note: Ms. 24.224 and the Italian ms. (next document) only say NNW and have omitted "and NW by W, and NW", details which are important to figure out Magellan's route through the Pacific.
- 3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1494.
- 4 Ed. note: The original text is unclear about this heading. Either we retain "*a la carte [du ponnant vers]/(three words that are implied from earlier in the same sentence) le garbin*", which means "W by S", or what ms. 24.224, the unreliable manuscript in matters concerning navigation, says: "*tirant la volte de garbin*", which can mean "southwesterly" or in a south-west direction.
- 5 Ed. note: Ptolemy had placed Cape Catigara (whose modern name is Cape Comorin, the southern tip of India) south of the equator. It is in fact at 8 degrees 27 minutes latitude north.



Near Guam, the abundance of flying fish surprised them. *Pigafetta* wrote that the pastime and sport of the natives of Guam consisted in going out in their canoes to catch some of these flying fish with some fish-hooks "made of fish bones". (From a drawing inserted in an atlas by Mercator, 1595)

After navigating 60 leagues¹ along this route, in 12 degrees of latitude and 146 degrees of longitude², **on Wednesday 6th of March, we sighted a small island toward the NW, and two [sic] others toward the SW.** One of these islands was larger and higher than the other two. The Captain General wanted to touch at the biggest of these three [sic]³ islands to find refreshments, but it was not possible, because the people of these islands came aboard the ships and stole from us, so that we could not keep them off [although] we wanted to come to an anchor and lower the sails in order to go ashore, [but] with great skill and speed they stole from us the small boat, called skiff, which was tied to the poop of the ship of the said captain. Being very angry about this, he went ashore with forty armed men and burning 40 or 50 houses with many canoes and killing 7 islanders, they recovered their skiff. Soon after, we left following the same route. Before we went ashore, some of our sick people begged us, if we should kill any man or woman, to bring back their entrails because they would soon be cured.⁴

It should be pointed out that when we were wounding one of this kind of people with our [crossbow] arrows that pierced their body, they would look at the arrow, then pull it out with great wonder and soon after died.

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- 1 Ed. note: The Italian manuscript (See Doc. 1521B1) says 70 leagues.
 - 2 Ed. note: Longitude west of the Line of Demarcation. Pigafetta's longitude is 21 degrees in error, because 146°W of the Line is 146° + 47° = 193° W of Greenwich, or 167° E of it, whereas the actual position, upon sighting the islands, was 146° E. Also, his latitude was 2 degrees too low, a clue that he was copying positions from a pilot other than Alvo (See Doc. 1521C1).
 - 3 Ed. note: It is quite possible that Guam, when first sighted, appeared to be two separate islands. Many later navigators have reported being at first fooled in such a way, for instance, Golovnin in 1818. Pigafetta simply forgot to amend his first sketch map. Alvo, the former boatswain of the **Trinidad**, and at that time pilot of the **Concepción**, made no such mistake. By the way, those writers who have theorized that the expedition touched at Saipan, Tinian and Aguijan, because Pigafetta showed 3 islands instead of 2, have been fooled into thinking that Alvo could have been wrong on two counts: that his mention of only 2 islands was incorrect, and that his latitudes were in error by more than 3 degrees; both of these contentions are preposterous.
 - 4 Ed. note: Pigafetta does not say if their wish was granted.

(Facing page) **The probable track of Magellan's three ships in the vicinity of Guam in March 1521.** The logbook of the pilot Alvo (See Doc. 1521C1) reads: "*On this day [6 March] we saw land, and went to it, and there were **two** islands, which were not very large; and when we were between them, we turned to the SW, and left one to the NW, and then we saw many small sails coming to us...*"

A — *Rota and Guam sighted on 6 March 1521 when the ships were approximately at position 14° N and 146° E of Greenwich. Only Pigafetta recorded three (rather than two) islands; he probably saw Taipingot Peninsula in Rota as a separate island.*¹

B — *Heading changed to southwest.*

C — *Approached by native canoes and boarded by natives.*

D — *The natives refused to leave the ships and were forced overboard with lances, before the first tack was made.*

E — *The skiff of the flagship **Trinidad** was stolen by some natives.*

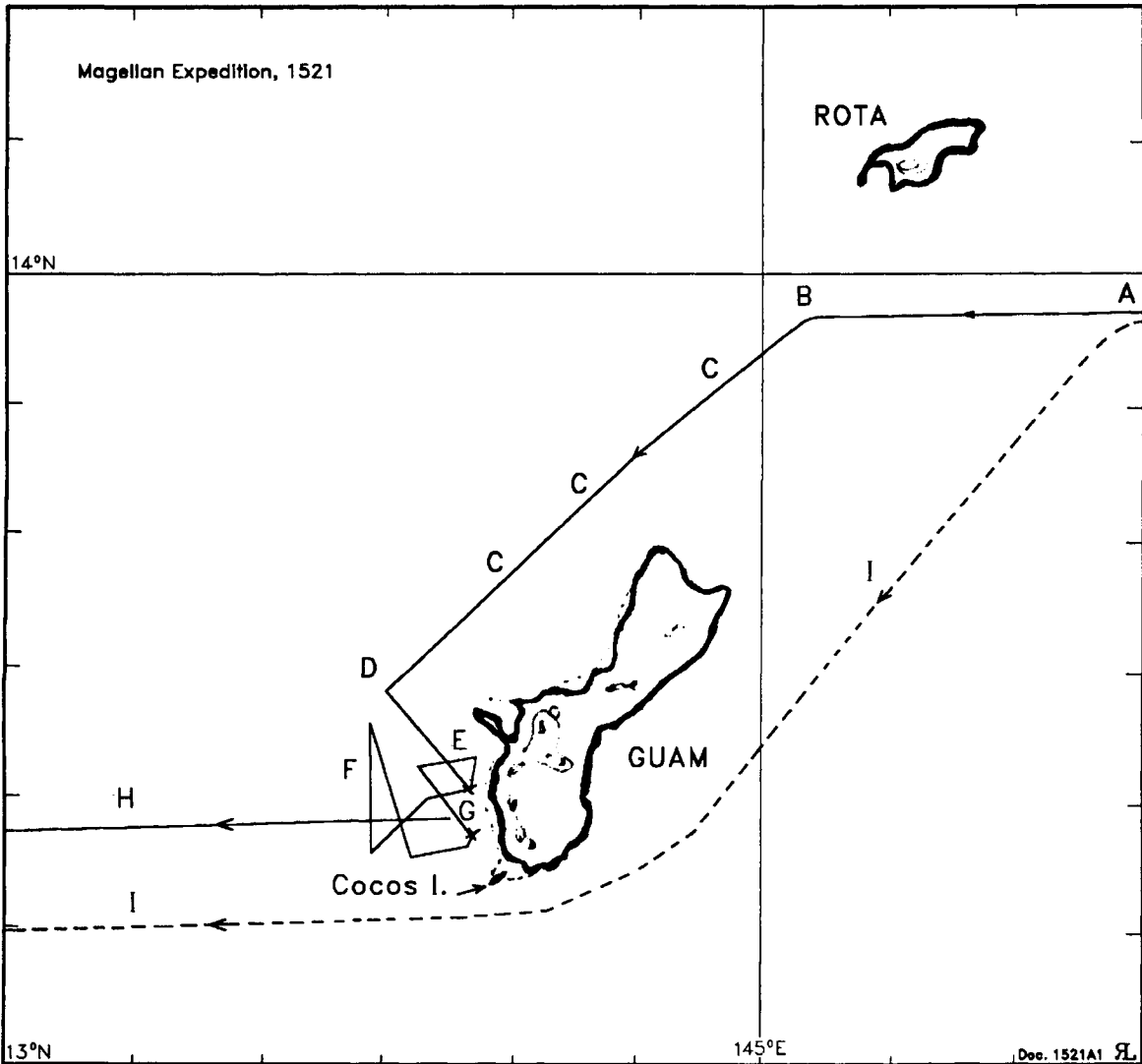
F — *The ships maneuvered all night to stay in the lee of Guam Island.*

G — *On 7 March, the ships anchored off the coast, bartered for food supplies and prepared to send a landing party ashore. On 8 March, a landing was effected and a village burned. More likely, it was Fuña or Fuñai, then the largest village on the island (located where old Agat used to be), rather than Ceti or Umatac.*

H — *Departure for the Philippines, at dawn of 9 March 1521.*

I — *Probable track, according to Guillemard; however, this author confused Guiuan in Samar with Agaña in Guam. In any case, an ordinary captain with a sick crew would not have risked passing to windward.*

1 There are two other likely reasons why Pigafetta recorded three islands instead of two: (1) he saw Guam as two separate peaks at first, and forgot to amend his notes; or (2) he recorded Cocos Island as the third island.





The first marines to land at Guam did so on 8 March 1521. (Adapted from C. Falkenhorst's *Weltentdecker und Weltunsegler*)



Magellan's landing party burned from 40 to 50 houses... They similarly destroyed many canoes to revenge the theft of Magellan's skiff. Opposition by Guam natives resulted in 7 of them being killed. (Adapted from an engraving in de Bry's *Peregrinationes*, 1599)

Soon after we left the said island and followed our route but these people, seeing that we were going away, followed us one league with 100 or more canoes, and came close to our ships showing us fish as if to give them to us, but they would shoot stones at us¹, then flee. While fleeing, they passed with their canoes between the boat we were towing at the poop and the ship going with full sail. However, it was done so quickly and with such a great skill that it was marvelous [to behold]. Seeing some of those women crying and pulling their hair out, we thought it was for the sake of those whom we had killed.²

Description of Guam

These people live in freedom and do as they please, because they have no lord or superior. And they go naked and some of them wear a beard. They have long hair down to the waist-line, and wear little hats like the people of Albania which are made of palm.³ These people are as tall as we are and are well built. They worship nothing. When they are born, they are white, then they become tanned. Their teeth are black and red.⁴ The women also go naked except that they cover their nature with a narrow strip, as soft as paper, that comes from the inner bark of the palm tree.⁵ They are beautiful and delicate, and whiter than the men; their hair is thick, loose, very black and so long that it reaches the ground. They do not go and work in the fields, but they busy themselves at home making cloth and baskets with palm leaves. Their food is from certain fruits called coconuts, and potatoes.⁶ There are birds, bananas as long as one palm⁷, sugar-cane

- 1 Ed. note: They were using slings to throw stones.
- 2 Ed. note: Perhaps, we can speculate that the bodies of some who had been killed were being carried away (to satisfy the request made by some of the sick sailors) or some natives had been kidnapped to work the ship, or both.
- 3 Ed. note: Those were conical in shape, such as those still worn by Guam natives as late as in the 19th century.
- 4 Ed. note: The black teeth came from a paste made from certain herbs and applied to the teeth for cosmetic reasons; Captain Wilson has described such a practice when he visited Palau in 1783. The red teeth came from chewing betel nut.
- 5 Ed. note: The experience of the deserter Gonzalo de Vigo, who lived in the Marianas from 1522 to 1526, was that the women normally did not wear even this minimal amount of clothing (See Doc. 1526A & B).
- 6 Ed. note: The words used by Pigafetta are Italian in origin. *Cochi* is the plural of *cocho* which is pronounced "coco" and means "egg" (in its shell); hence, the origin of the European word for "coconut". *Battate* came from the Spanish "batata" or "patata", a word borrowed from the natives of America; what is meant here is probably some other potato-like tuber, either yam or taro.
- 7 Ed. note: Ancient measure of length, which in Italy was about 25 centimeters.



First map of the Islands of Thieves (Guam and Rota). *Pigafetta sketched them, as usual at that time, with the direction south toward the top of the page. Hence, for comparison with a modern map, the book should be turned around 180 degrees. The mysterious third island shown next to Rota is probably Taipingot Peninsula, which is in fact a highland peninsula linked to the rest of Rota by a low-lying sandspit. (From Ms. 24.224 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris)*

and flying fish. These women anoint their body and their hair with coconut oil and *giongioli*¹ oil.

Their houses are made of wood covered with shingles made of banana [sic] leaves; they are six-fathom wide and have only one story. Their rooms and beds are furnished with woven mats which are made of palm and are very beautiful, and laid upon soft and delicate palm straw. These people do not have any weapons, but they use sticks that have a fish bone at the tip.² They are poor, but ingenious and great thieves. That is why we named these three [sic] islands the Islands of Thieves.³

The pastime of the men and women of the said place, and their sport, is to go with their canoes to catch some of these flying fish with some fish-hooks made of fish bones. Their canoes are fashioned as depicted below and resemble *fusolere*⁴, except that they are more narrow, some being black, white, and others red.

They have, [on the side] opposite the sail, a big pointed stick with poles going through it and in the water, in order to sail more safely. Their sails are made of palm mats sewn together, and shaped like lateen sails. Instead of a rudder, they have certain oars like shovels for fireplaces⁵. The said canoes do not have any difference between the poop and the prow, and look like dolphins leaping from wave to wave. Those thieves thought, by the signs they were making, that there were no other men in the world but themselves.

On Saturday, 16th of March 1521, we arrived at daybreak at a high island distant 300 leagues from the above-mentioned Island [sic] of Thieves. The said island is called **Zamal**.⁶ The day after, the Captain General wished to go ashore on another island, uninhabited and near the other, in order to be more secure and to take on water, as well as to rest there for a few days. That is where he had two tents put up for the sick and he had one sow killed for them.⁷

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- 1 Ed. note: An Italian word of unknown meaning, but probably beneseed or sesame seed oil.
 - 2 Ed. note: The slings they used to shoot stones could also have been considered lethal weapons.
 - 3 Ed. note: The Ladrones, as they were called in Spanish, had their name changed officially to Marianas only in 1668.
 - 4 Ed. note: Venitian rowing canoes.
 - 5 Ed. note: This could also be translated, less literally, by "peels for ovens", because this is what they looked like in shape.
 - 6 Ed. note: Samar Island in the Philippines. They were near its southern tip at 11 degrees latitude north.
 - 7 Ed. note: This pig must have come from Guam. Other supplies must also have been taken from Guam, even some prisoners. This being the fifth Sunday of Lent, dedicated to St. Lazarus, the Philippines were first given the name of Archipelago of San Lázaro.

Document 1521A2

Magellan's voyage—Primary account by Pigafetta—Extract from the French manuscripts themselves

Source: Same as for Document 1521A1.¹

Après avoir navigué soixante lieues par le susdit chemyn en douze degrez de largeur, et cent et quarante et six de longueur, le mercredi sixiesme de mars nous descobrismes une petite Isle a la volte du vent de maestral, et deux aultres tyrant au Garbin. L'une de ces Isles estoit plus grande et plus haultes que les aultres deux. Et le capitaine general vouloit aborder a la plus grande de ces troys Isles pour se refreschir de vivres. Mais il ne fut possible, pource que les gentz de ses Isles entrerent dans les navires et nous desroboient en sorte que on ne se pavoit garder d'eulx. Et voulant caler et amener les voilles en bas pour aller a terre, ilz nous desroberent avecq grande adresse et dilligence le petit bateau, qu'on dit esquif, qui estoit lié a la poupe de la navire dudit capitaine. De quoy fort courroucé alla en terre avecq quarante hommes en armes et bruslant quarante ou cinquante maisons avecq plusieurs barquettes et tuant sept hommes de ladicte Isle, rescouvrent leur esquif. Après soudain nous partismes suyvant le mesme chemyn. Et devant que descendre en terre aucuns des nostres mallades nous prierent si nous tuyons homme ou femme que leurs portissions leurs entrailles car soudain seroyent gueriz.

Il est a sçavoir que quand nous blessons quelcun de ceste maniere de gentz de nostre traict qui leur entroit dedans le corps, ilz regardoyent le traict puy le tiroient hors par grand merveille et incontinant apres ilz mouroyent. Tantost apres nous partismes de ladicte Isle suyvant nostre chemyn dont ces gentz, voyans que nous en allions, nous suyrent une lieue avecq cent barquettes ou plus, et se approchoyent de nos navires nous monstrant du poisson, faignant de le nous vouloir donner. Mais ilz nous tiroient des pierres, puy s'en fuyoyent, et en fuyant passoyent avecques leurs barquettes entre la

¹ Ed. note: Written in common French of the period. It has been transcribed by Jean Denucé who has combined the three French manuscripts extant. See previous document (1521A1) for a literal translation. Only the part about the discovery of the Marianas is reproduced here.

Antonio pigafetta nativo vicentino et
 chevalier de Rhodes et illustissime et
 tres excellent seigneur Philippe de Balleve
 vice-roy de Indes grant maistre de Rhodes
 son seigneur offermissime

D Orce quil y a plusieurs gentz curieux des choses
 et tres heurteid seigneur) qui non seulement
 se contentent de veoir et scauoir les grandes et merueilleuses
 choses que dieu ma permis veoir et souffrir en la langue
 et perilleuse navigation que Jay faicte / en apres escripte /
 Mais encors veulent scauoir les moyens et facons
 et le chemin que Jay tenu pour aller en adioustant
 se me creance a la fin si premierement ilz ne sont
 bien aduertiz et couurez du commencement. Et y estant
 Monseigneur Il leur plaiva entendre que me trouuant
 en espaigne Jay de la crainte nostre seigneur. Me
 ont cels digne a la court de serenissime Roy des
 Romains avec le Reuerend seigneur Monseigneur
 Cherygato, alors prebostaire apostolique et
 ambassadeur du pape seon diuisme lequel par
 sa bonte paruint de puis a leuesche de Apulie et
 premier aulte de Cheramo Et congnossant lant
 parlecture de plusieurs liures que par rapport
 de plusieurs gentz avec et entendu qui practiquent
 avec ledit prebostaire les tres grandes et esportables
 choses de la mer occiane Je delibeay avec la digne

First page of Pigafetta's account of Magellan's voyage. (From Ms. 5650 in
 the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

barque qu'on remarque par poupe et la navire allant a plaine voile. Mais c'estoit si promptement et avecq si grande adresse que c'estoit merveilles. Et voyons aulcunes de ces femmes qui cryoyent et se arrachoyent les cheveulx, et croy que c'estoit pour l'amour de ceulx que nous avions tuez.

Ces gentz vivent en liberté et selon leur volonté, car ilz n'ont point de seigneur ou superieur, et vont tous nudz, et aulcuns d'eulx portent barbe. Et ont les cheveulx longz jusques a la ceincture, et portent des petitz chapeaux a la facon de Albanoyz, et sont les chapeaux faitz de palme. Ces gentz sont grandz comme nous aultres et de bonne disposition. Ils n'adorent rien. Et quand ilz naissent, sont blancz, puis deviennent tanez, et ont les dentz noires et rouges. Les femmes vont aussi nues fors qu'elles couvrent leur nature d'une escorce estroicte et deliée comme papier qui naist entre l'arbre et l'escorce de palme. Elles sont belles et delicates et plus blanches que les hommes, et ont les cheveulx espartz, clers, fort noirs et longz jusques a terre. Elles ne vont point travailler aux champs, mais ne bousient de leur maison, faisans de la toille et des coffres de fueilles de palmier. Leur vivre est de certains fruictz nommez Cochi et Battate. La sont oyseaulx, figes longues d'une paulme, cannes doulces, et du poisson qui volle. Ces femmes oignent leur corps et leurs cheveulx avecq huile de cocho et de giongioli. Et leurs maisons sont faictes de boys couvertes de tables avecq fueilles de figuier, qui ont deux braces de longueur et n'ont que une estaige. Leurs chambres et lictz sont garniz de store, que nous disons des nattes, qui sont faictes de palmes et tres belles, et couchent sur la paille de palmes qui est molle et menue. Ces gentz n'ont point d'armes, mais usent de bastons qui ont au bout ung oz de poisson. Ilz sont pouvres, mais ingenieux et grandz larrons. Et pour l'amour de cela nous appellasmes ces troys Isles, les Isles des larrons.

Le pasetemps des hommes et des femmes dudit lieu, et leur esbat, est d'aller avecq leurs barquettes pour prendre de ces poissons qui vollent avecq des haims faitz de oz de poisson, et la facon de leurs barquettes est cy apres depaincte, et sont comme les fuselers, mais plus estroictes, aulcunes noires, blanches, et aultres rouges. Et ont de l'autre partie de la voile ung groz boys poinctu en la cyme, avecq pales traversez qui sont en l'eau, pour aller plus seurement a la voile, dont leurs voyles sont de fueilles de palme cousues, et en facon de voyle latine, au droit du tymont. Et ont certaines palles comme palles de foyer, et n'y a point de difference de la poupe et la proue ausdictes barquettes, et sont comme daulphins a saulter de unde en unde. Ces larrons pensoyent, aux signes qu'ilz faisoyent, que n'y eust point aultres hommes au monde sinon que eulx.




Navigation et descouuement de la Indie
superieure faite par moy Anthoine
Pigaphete Vincentin cheualier de Rhodes


Anthoine Pigaphete Patricien Vincentin et cheualier
de Rhodes. A Illustrissime et tres excellent Seigneur
Philippe de Villers Luscadam Inclite grand maistre de
Rhodes son seigneur obseruatissime.

¶ Que ce quil y a plusieurs gentz curieux
tres illustre et tres reuerend seigneur qui
non seulement se contentent de scouter et
scavoir les grandes et merueilleuses cho-
ses que dieu par sa permysse veult et souffrir en la longue
et perilleuse navigation que iay faite, cy apres escripte
Mais encores veullent scavoir les moyens et facons
et le chemin que iay tenu pour y aller non adiouxtant
ferme creance a la fin si premierement ilz ne sont
bien aduertis et cerciores du commencement.

¶ Pourtant Monseigneur il vous plaira en-
tendre que me trouuant en Espagne Lan de la nati-
uite nostre seigneur mil cinq cens dixneuf a la court
de serenissime roy des Rommains avecq le reuerend
seigneur Monsieur Francois Cherigato alors protho-
taire apostolique et ambassadeur du pape Leon
dixiesme. Le quel par sa secte paruint depuis a
leuesche de Apulnie et principaulte de Theramo
Et congnoissant tant par lecture de plusieurs liures

First page of the other Pigafetta manuscript in BN, Paris. (Ms. 24.224)


 NAVI
 GATION · ET
 deſcouuvement de la Inde
 ſuperieure et iſles de Malucque ou
 naiſſent les cloux de Girofle. ſau Le par
 Anthoine Pigafete Vincentin Cheuallier de Rhodes
 Com
 mançant en
 lan Mil v^o et xix^e


 Anthoine Pigafete Patricie Vincentin et Cheuallier de
 Rhodes. a Illuſtriſſime et tres excellent Seigneur Philippe de Villiers
 Leclercq inſigne grand Maſtre de Rhodes ſon ſigneur offerant ſonme.

NE AGE CITO,

First page of the Nancy codex of Pigafetta's account. First owned by Jean
 Cagnet, who inscribed it with his personal motto: "Ne age cito" which means "Do
 not act hastily". It became part of the Phillipps Collection (ms. 16405) in England.
 It is now located in the Beinecke Collection at Yale University in New Haven,
 Connecticut.

Antonio pigafeta patricio videntino et Audier de Rhoi al Ill^{mo} et
 Excellent^{mo} S^{mo} philipo de willes lisleadam Inclito gra^{mo} mar^{te} de Rhoi
 signor suo obsequentissimo

Perche sono molti curiosi Ill^{mi} et excell^{mi} signor che non solamente se
 contentano de sapere et intendere li grandi et admirabili cost^e che Dio
 me aconcesso di vedere et patire nela infrascripta mia longa et per
 colosa nauigatione. Ma anchora vogliono sapere li modi et modi et via
 che ho tenuto ad andare non profando ella Integritate al certo se
 prima ho arno buona Certezza del tutto pertanto sapera S^{mo} Ill^{mo} S^{mo}
 che ritrovandomi nel anno de la natiuita del n^{ro} saluatore .ii. m. lxxix
 di Spagna in la corte del Serenissimo Re de romani con el S^{mo} mons^{te}
 franc^o chiergato allora pratho ap^{osto} et oratore de la S^{ma} memoria de papa
 leone x^o che per sua vertu dapoi se arreso al Reg^{no} de aprentino et
 principato de teramo. Auendo yo hauuto gra^{te} notizia p^{er} molti libri
 letti et per diuersi persone che praticano con sua S^{ma} de grande et
 stupende costi del mare oceano deliberay con buona gratia de la magesta
 Certezza et del prefato S^{mo} fare experientia di me et andare a vedere
 g^{li} cost^e che potessero dare alguna satisfatione a me medesimo et potessero

First page of the Italian manuscript (L103 Sup) of Milan.

Document 1521B1

Magellan's voyage—Primary account by Pigafetta—the Italian manuscript

*Source: Italian manuscript L103 Sup. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, as edited by Carlo Amoretti in 1800 and translated by Pinkerton in Vol. 11 of his Voyages.*¹

Departure from the Strait, and thence to the Death of Captain Magellan...

On Wednesday, 28th November, we left the strait, and entered the ocean to which we afterwards gave the denomination of Pacific, and in which we sailed the space of three months and twenty days, without taking any fresh provisions. The biscuit we were eating no longer deserved the name of bread; it was nothing but dust, and worms which had consumed the substance; and what is more, it smelled intolerably, being impregnated with the urine of mice. The water we were obliged to drink was equally putrid and offensive. We were even so far reduced, that we might not die of hunger, to eat pieces of the leather with which the main-yard was covered to prevent it from wearing the rope. These pieces of leather, constantly exposed to the water, sun, and wind, were so hard that they required being soaked four or five days in the sea in order to render them supple; after this we broiled them to eat. Frequently indeed we were obliged to subsist on saw-dust, and even mice, a food so disgusting, were sought after with such avidity that they sold for half a ducat a piece.

Nor was it all, our greatest misfortune was being attacked by a malady in which the gums swelled so as to hide the teeth, as well in the upper as the lower jaw, whence those affected thus were incapable of chewing their food. Nineteen² of our number died of

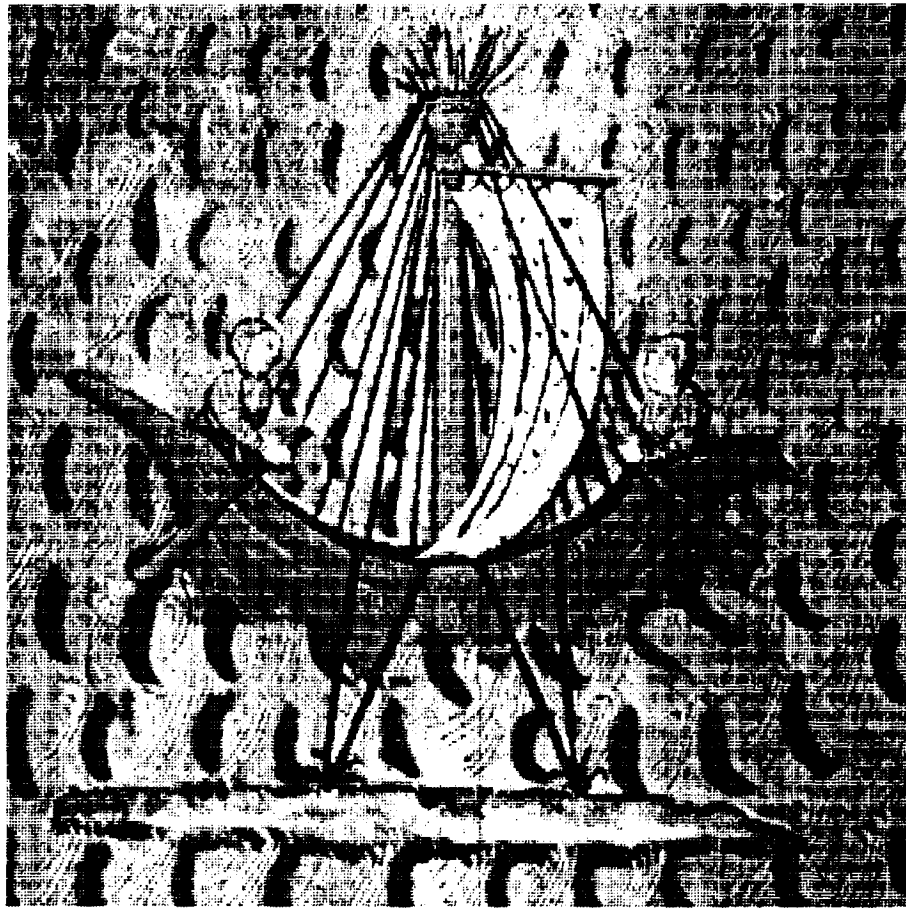
1 There are other English translations of the Ambrosian manuscript, notably by Lord Stanley of Alderley (Hakluyt Society, 1874), F. H. H. Guillemard (London, 1890) and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, 1906), but the above text by Pinkerton is more technically correct and its older style is interesting.

2 Ed. note: Exact number not given in the French manuscripts. Navarrete (iv, p. 54) says that, according to a document in AGI Seville, only 11 men died of scurvy during the passage from the Strait to the Ladrones. Therefore, the 8 others would have been either South American Indians or have died after leaving Guam.

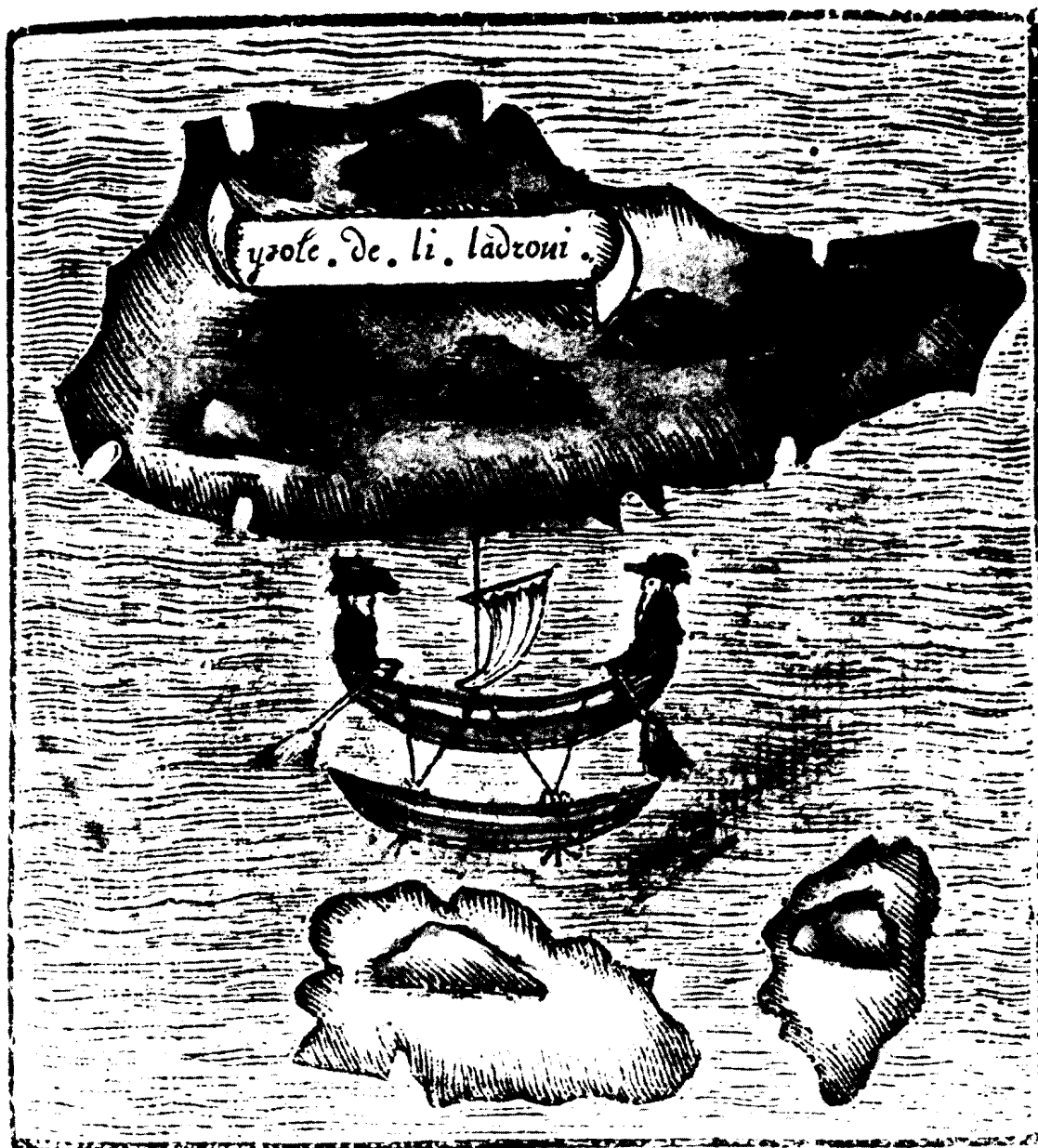


Guam and Rota according to one of the French manuscripts. (From the Nancy/Phillipps/Beinecke manuscript)

this complaint, among whom was the Patagonian giant, and a Brazilian, whom we had brought with us from his own country. Besides those who died, we had from twenty-five to thirty sailors ill, who suffered dreadful pains in their arms, legs, and other parts of the body; but these all of them recovered. As for myself, I cannot be too grateful to God for the continued health I enjoyed; though surrounded with sick I experienced not the slightest illness.



In the course of these three months and twenty days we traversed nearly four thousand leagues in the Ocean denominated by us Pacific, on account of our not having experienced throughout the whole of this period any of the least tempestuous weather. We did not either in this whole length of time discover any land, except two desert islands; on these we saw nothing but birds and trees, for which reason we named them *Las Islas Desdichadas* (the Unfortunate Islands). We found no bottom along their shores, and saw no fish but sharks. The two islands are two hundred leagues apart. The first lies in latitude fifteen degrees south, the second in latitude nine degrees. From the run of our ship, as estimated by the log, we traversed a space of from sixty to seventy leagues a day; and if God and his Holy Mother had not granted us a fortunate voyage,



Another version of Pigafetta's Islands of Thieves. Guam appears above Rota on this map from the Italian manuscript. (From Ms. L103 Sup., Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan)

we should all have perished of hunger in so vast a sea. I do not think that any one for the future will venture upon a similar voyage.

If, on leaving the straits, we had continued a western course under the same parallel, we should have made the tour of the world; and without seeing any land should have returned by Wished-for-Cape (*Il Capo Deseado*), to the cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, both of which are in latitude fifty-two degrees south.

The antarctic has not the same stars as the arctic pole; but here are seen two clusters of small nebulous stars, which look like small clouds, and are but little distant the one from the other. In midst of these clusters of small stars two are distinguished very large and very brilliant, but of which the motion is scarcely apparent; these indicate the antarctic pole.¹

Though the needle declined somewhat from the north pole, it yet oscillated towards it, but not with equal force as in the northern hemisphere. When out at sea, the captain-general directed the course the pilots should steer, and enquired how they pointed.² They unanimously replied they bore in that direction he ordered them: he then informed them that their course was wrong, and directed them to correct the needle, because, being in the southern, it had not an equal power to designate the true north as in the northern hemisphere. When in midst of the ocean we discovered, in the west [sic], five stars of great brilliancy, in form of a cross.

We steered north-west by west till we reached the equinoctial line in one hundred and twenty-two degrees of longitude, west of the line of demarcation...

After we had crossed the line we steered west-by-north. We then ran two hundred leagues towards the west; when, changing our course again, we ran west-by-south until in the latitude of thirteen degrees north³; we trusted by this course to reach Cape Gaticara which cosmographers have placed in this latitude, but they are mistaken, this cape lying twelve degrees more towards the north. They must, however, be excused the error in their plan, as they have not like us had the advantage of visiting these parts. When we had run seventy leagues in this direction and were in latitude twelve degrees north, longitude one hundred and forty-six degrees, on Wednesday the 6th of March,

1 Translator's note: The two large and brilliant stars mentioned by Pigafetta must be gamma and beta of the Hydra Constellation.

2 Translator's note: How they *pointed* by the compass, in what direction they steered. To *correct the needle*, is to add or diminish the degrees of its variation, that the compass may point to the true north.

3 Translator's note: From these data it is that I have pointed out on the chart the run of the squadron from the strait to the Ladrones islands. I drew a line in the direction north-west by west from Cape Victory towards the equator. Afterwards, leaving the equator at one hundred and twenty-two degrees from the line of demarcation, I traced a line to meet the former, running from north-west to south-east, and forming with it an obtuse angle, where the squadron changed its course. North of the equator I drew a line running west-by-north, about eight hundred miles, to thirteen degrees of latitude north, and thence to the Ladrones islands. I am well aware that the degrees of longitude being inexact, the rest must be very uncertain; but the course traced presents no difficulty, and seems to have a foundation. The track laid down as pursued by Magellan by other geographers is purely ideal.

we discovered in the north-west a small **island**, and afterwards two others in the south-west. The first [sic] was more lofty and larger than the other two. The captain-general meant to stop at the largest to victual and refresh, but this was rendered impossible, as the islanders came on board our ships, and stole, first one thing and then another, without our being able to prevent them. They invited us to take in our sails and come on shore, and even had the address to steal the skiff which hung astern of our vessel. Exasperated at length, our captain landed with forty men, burnt forty or fifty of their houses, and several of their boats, and killed seven of the people. By acting thus he recovered his skiff, but he did not deem it prudent to stop any longer after such acts of hostility. We therefore continued our course in the same direction as before.

On our entering the boats to land and punish the islanders, our sick people besought us, if any of them should chance to be killed, to bring them their intestines, persuaded that they would soon effect their cure.

When our people wounded any of the islanders with their arrows, (of which weapon they had no conception), and chanced to pierce them through, the unfortunate sufferers endeavoured to draw out these arrows from their bodies, now by one end, now by another; after which they looked at them with astonishment, and sometimes died of their wounds, a circumstance that did not fail to excite our pity. Still, when they saw us about to depart, they followed us with more than a hundred canoes, and showed us fish as if disposed to sell it, but when near us they pelted us with stones, and took to flight. We sailed through the midst of them under full sail, but they avoided our vessels with much dexterity. We likewise saw in their boats, crying and tearing their hair, some women, whose husbands probably had been killed.

These people are ignorant of any law, and are guided mainly by their inclinations. They have no king, nor any chief; adore no Being or image, and go naked. Some among them have a long beard, and black hair, tied over the forehead and hanging down to the girdle. They likewise wear small hats made of palm. They are of good size and well built. Their complexion is an olive brown, but we were told they are born fair, and become dark as they increase in years. They possess the art of staining their teeth red and black, which with them is a mark of beauty. The women are pretty, of handsome shape, and less dark than the men. Their hair is very black, sleek, and hangs to the ground. They go naked like the men, except their privities [sic], which they cover with a very narrow strip of cloth, or rather of the inner bark of the palm-tree. Their whole employment is in their houses, in making mats and baskets of the leaves of the palm-tree, and in other similar works. Both men and women anoint their hair, and the whole of the body, with the oil of the cocoa-nut and *seseli*.¹

These people live on birds, flying-fish, potatoes, a sort of figs half a foot long², sugar-canes and other similar productions. Their houses are of wood covered with planks, over which leaves of their fig-trees four feet in length are spread. They have tolerably

1 Translator's note: A species of small oily grain, very common in China, the *Ruphanus oleifer sinensis*, Linn.

2 Translator's note: These figs are bananas, or the fruit of the *musa* (*musa pisang*, Linn.).

decent rooms, with rafters and window frames; and their beds are pretty soft, being made of very fine matting of the palm-tree laid upon straw. Their only arms are a lance tipped with pointed fish-bone. The inhabitants of these islands are poor, but very dextrous, and above all at thieving; for this reason we gave the name *De los Ladrones* to the islands.¹

Their chief amusement consists in sailing about with their wives in canoes similar to the gondolas of Fusine near Venice², but they are still more narrow; all of them are painted, either black, white, or red. The sail is made of the leaves of the palm-tree sewed together, and has the shape of a latine [sic] sail. It is always placed on one side; and on the opposite side, to form an equipoise to the sail, they fasten a large wooden log, pointed at one end, with poles laid across and fixed in it, which keeps the boat steady, and admits of their sailing without apprehension; their rudder resembles a baker's shovel, that is to say, it consists of a pole fastened into a plank. They make no difference between head and stern, as they have a rudder at each end. They are excellent swimmers, and have as little fear of the sea as dolphins.

They were so astonished at the sight of us, that we had reason to believe they had never seen any other than the inhabitants of their own island.

The 16th of March, at sunrise, we found ourselves near an elevated land, three hundred leagues from the islands *De los Ladrones*. We soon discovered it to be an island. It is called **Zamal**. Behind this island is another not inhabited, and we afterwards learnt that its name is **Humunu**. Here the captain-general resolved on landing the next day to take in water in greater security, and take some rest after so long and tedious a voyage. Here likewise he caused two tents to be erected for the sick, and ordered a sow to be killed.

1 Translator's note: They were afterwards called *Las Islas de las Velas*, from the number of sails continually passing; and in the time of Philip IV, of Spain they were called Marianas, in honor of Maria [Ana] of Austria, his Queen.

2 Translator's note: Small long gondolas extremely narrow, used between Fusine and Venice.



This could be a portrait of Antonio Pigafetta. *Portrait of a gentleman, by Corneille de Lyon, which could be used to represent the social companion of Magellan, Antonio Pigafetta, Knight of Rhodes, and author of the best eyewitness report of the first voyage around the world. (Oil painting on wood. Galeria D'Este, Modena, Italy.*

Document 1521B2

Magellan's voyage—Primary account by Pigafetta—Excerpt from the original Italian manuscript

Sources: Robertson's 1906 edition of the Ambrosian ms. (B&R vols. 33-34). Checked against another ms. copy found in Chicago (Ayer ms. 1391 Vol. XXIII Doc. 5). It is worthwhile mentioning that Carlo Amoretti's published version of 1800 has not been followed here because it has been transformed into modern Italian by him.

Circa de setenta legue a la detta via in dodeci gradi di latitudine et 146 de longitudine Mercore a 6 de marso discopressemo una ysola al maistralle piccola et due altre al garbino. Una era piu alta et piu granda de laltre due. Il cap° generale voleva firmarse nella grande p^a pigliare qualche refrigerio ma non puote perche la gente de questa Izolla entravano nele navi et robavano qui una cosa qui laltra talmente que non potevamo gardarsi. Volevano calare le vele acio andasemo in tera, ne roborono lo squifo que estava ligato a la popa de la nave cap^a con grandiss^a presteza per il que corozato el cap° generale ando in tera con quaranta huomini armati et bruzarono da quaranta o cinquanta caze con molti barquiti et amazorono sette huomini et rehebe lo squifo. Subito ne partisemo sequendo lo medesimo camino. Inanzi que dismontasemo in tera alcuni nostri infermi ne pregorono se amazavamo huomo o donna li portasemo ly interiori per che subito sarebenno sani.

Quando serivamo alcuni de questi con li veretuni que li passavano li fianqui da luna banda alaltra tiravano il veretone mo diqua mo dila gardandolo poi lo tiravano fuora maravigliandose molto et cussi morivano. Et altri que erano feriti nel peto facevano el simile ne mosseno agran compasione. Costoro vedendone partire seguitorono con piu de cento barchiti piu de una legua. Se acostavano ale navi mostrandone pesce con similtatione de darnello ma trahevano saxi et poi fugivano andando le nave con velle piene pasa vano fra loro et li batelli con quelli sui barcheti molto destrissimi vedesemo algune femine in li barqueti gridare et scapigliarse credo per amore de li suoi morti.



Ognuno de questi vive secondo la sua volonta non anno signori. Vano nudi et alcuni barbati con li capeli negri fino a lo cinta ingropati. Portano capeleti de palma como li albanezi. Sonno grandi como nui et ben disposti. Non adorano niente. Sonno alivastri ma nascono bianqui. Anno li denti rossi et negri per che la reputano bellissima cosa. Le femine vano nude senon que dinanzi a la sua natura portano una scorsa streta sottile come la carta que nasce fra larbore et la scorsa de la palma. Sonno belle delicate et bianque piu que li huomini con li capilli sparsi et longui negrissimi fino in tera. Queste non lavorano ma stanno in casa tessendo store casse de palma et altre cose necessarie acasa sua. Mangiano cochi batate ucceli figui longui uno palmo canne dolci et pesci volatori con altre cose. Se ongieno el corpo et li capili con oleo de cocho et de giongioli. Le sue case tute sonno vacte di legnio coperte de taule con foglie defigaro de sopra longue due braza con solari et con fenestre li camare et li lecti tucti forniti di store bellissime de palma. Dormeno soura paglia di palma molto mole et menuta. Non anno arme senon certe aste con uno osso pontino de pesce ne la cima. Questa gente e povera ma ingeniosa et molto ladra per questo chiamassemo queste tre Isole le ysole de li ladroni. El suo spaso e andare con le donne per mare con quelle sue barquete. Sono como le fucelere ma piu stretti alcuni negri bianqui et altri rossi. Anno da laltra parte dela vella uno legno grosso pontino nele cime con pali attraversadi quel sustentano nel acqua per andare piu sicuri ala vela. La vela e di foglie de palma cosite insieme et facta amodo de latina. Per timone anno cete pale como da forno con uno legnio in cima. Sanno de la popa proua et de la proua popa et sonno como delfini saltar a lacqua de onda in onda. Questi ladroni pensavano ali segni que facevano non fusero altri homini al mondo senon loro.

Sabato a sedize de marso 1521 dessemo nela aurora soura una tera longi trecento legue delle ysolle de li latroni laquella ysola et se chiama Zamal...

(Facing page) Monument to Pigafetta in the town plaza of his hometown, Vicenza, west of Venice, Italy. (Frontispiece of the book "First Voyage Around the World", FBG Manila edition of 1969)



The unveiling of a monument to Pigafetta near Fort San Pedro in Cebu, Philippines, on 12 April 1980. The statue was sculpted by Abdulmari A. Imao, a Filipino artist, and the construction of the monument was a project of the Philippine-Italian Association whose president was then Mr. Bienvenido R. Tantoco, Sr. Among those present at the unveiling ceremony were (left to right): Mrs. Tantoco, Ambassador Giuliano Bertuccioli of Italy, Mrs. Fanfani, wife of the President of the Italian Senate, Mr. Tantoco, and others, among whom were the historian Carlos Quirino and the Mayor of Cebu City. (Courtesy of Bienvenido R. Tantoco, Sr.)

Document 1521C1

Magellan's voyage—Primary account by Francisco Alvo, from his logbook

Sources: The original manuscript of the logbook kept by Francisco Alvo or Albo is located in AGI Seville: Patronato: Simancas 1-2-1/1 n°5 (or 34). It is quoted as Doc. n° 137 in Torres y Lanza's Catalog, in Medina, Vol. I, p. 213, and in Garrigós' Collection as Doc. n° 115. Navarrete has also published it in Vol. IV of his Colección de los viajes, p. 216; he gives the old AGI reference as "Papeles del Maluco, 1519-1547, legajo 1". Juan Bautista Muñoz was one of the first historians who, in 1783, found this manuscript in the Simancas archives; it has since been moved to AGI Seville, and is kept there under modern number: Patronato leg. 34, ramo 5.

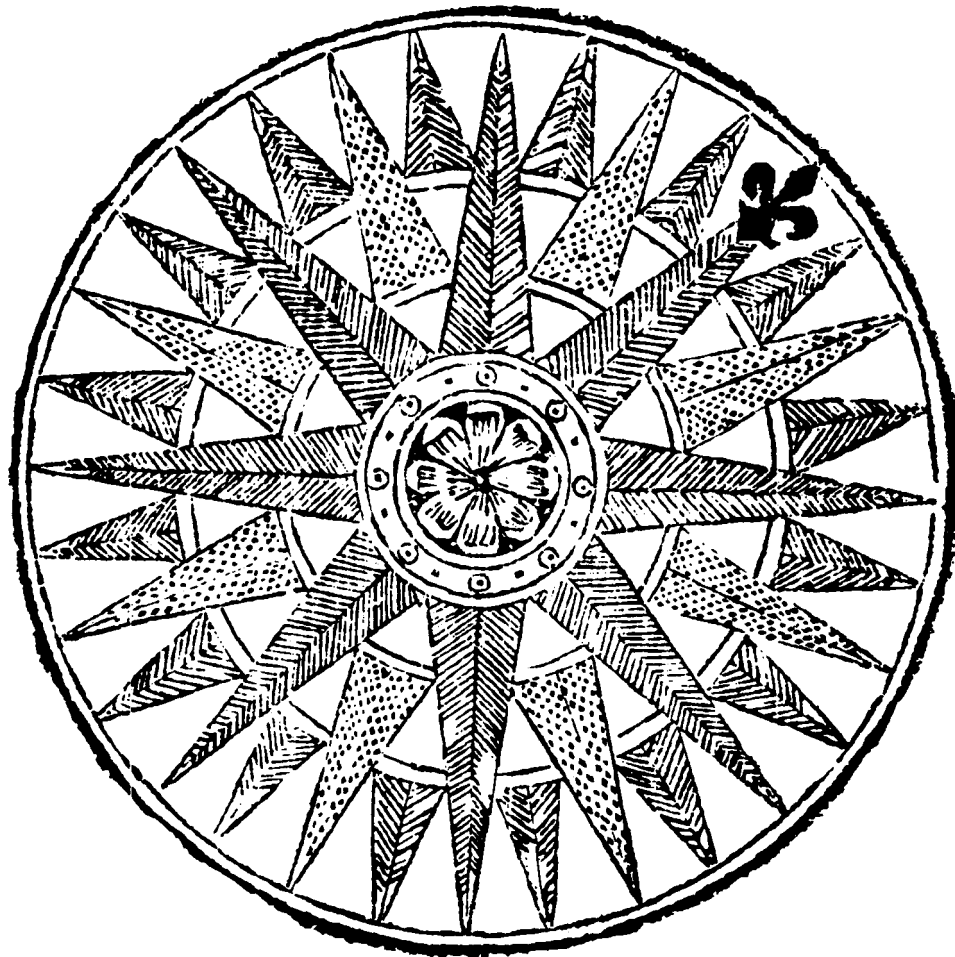
Journal or logbook of Magellan's voyage from Cape St. Augustine in Brazil, up to the return to Spain in the nao Victoria, kept by Francisco Alvo

[Crossing of the Pacific]

Coming out of this strait, the coast turns northward and on the left we saw one cape with one island, and we gave it the name of Cape Feroso and Cape Deseado¹, and it is in the same latitude as the Cape of the Virgins, which is the one at the entrance of the strait. From the said Cape Feroso we then went to the NW, and to the N, and to the NNE, and along this course we ran for two days and three nights, and in the morning we saw land, broken up like pinnacles that lie north-south (that is, the general direction of the coast of the south sea) at a distance of about 55 leagues from Cape Feroso and from the two pieces of land to us [there were] about 20 leagues; this land we sighted on the first day of December [1520].

Now I will begin the headings and latitudes of this crossing after this land, and on the first day of December when we were abeam of it, it is in 48 degrees [south].

1 Ed. note: Meaning Cape Beautiful and Cape Desired, at opposite ends of the island in question.



Winds in the Mediterranean Sea

Winds	Points	Degrees
<i>Tramontana</i>	N	0°
	N by E	11-1/4
	NNE	22-1/2
	NE by N	33-3/4
<i>Griego or Greco</i>	NE	45
	NE by E	56-1/4
	ENE	67-1/2
	E by N	78-3/4
<i>Levante</i>	E	90
	E by S	101-1/4
	ESE	112-1/2
	SE by E	123-3/4
<i>Siroco or Jaloque</i>	SE	135
	SE by S	146-1/4
	SSE	157-1/2
	S by E	168-3/4

and Points of the Compass Card.

Winds	Points	Degrees
<i>Austro or Noto</i>	S	180
	S by W	191-1/4
	SSW	202-1/2
	SW by S	213-3/4
<i>Garbino or Lebeche</i>	SW	225
	SW by W	236-1/4
	WSW	247-1/2
	W by S	258-3/4
<i>Poniente</i>	W	270
	W by N	281-1/4
	WNW	292-1/2
	NW by W	303-3/4
<i>Maestral</i>	NW	315
	NW by N	326-1/4
	NNW	337-1/2
	N by W	348-3/4

[1520] December.

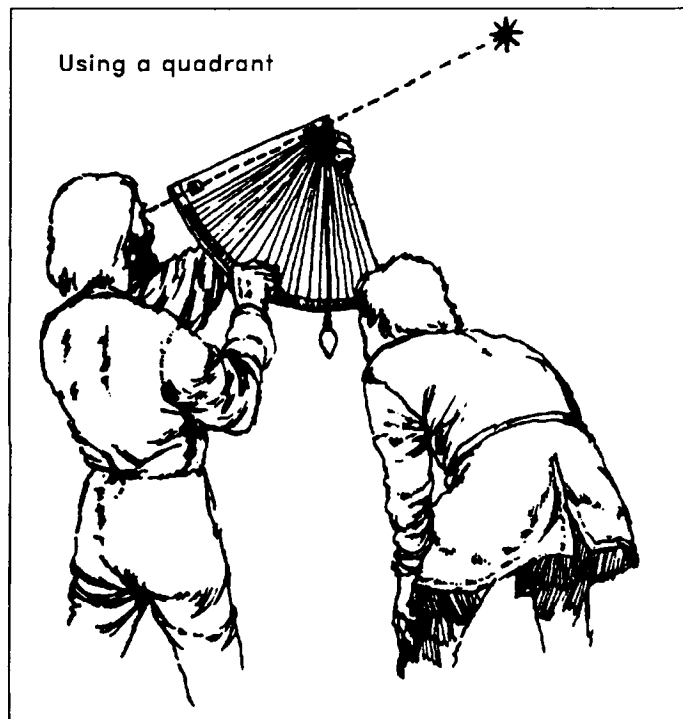
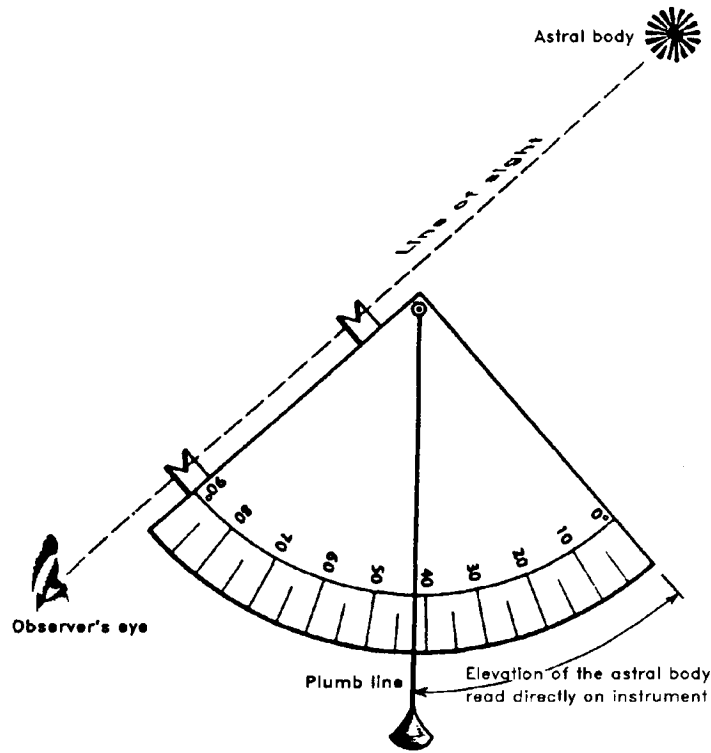
For the first 2 days of December, we did not take the [elevation of the] sun, but we went NNE, and we were in 47-1/4 degrees and on this day we found ourselves as much as [before as] this whole land is at the same latitude.¹

On the 3rd we went to the NW and found ourselves	in 46° 30'.
On the 4th [of the said month] to NW,	in 45-1/2
" 5th to N 1/4 NW [= N by W],	in 44-1/4
" 6th to NE 1/4 E [=NE by E],	in 44
" 7th to NE 1/4 E,	in 43-2/3
" 8th to NE 1/4 N,	in 43-1/4
" 9th to NNE,	in 42-2/3
" 10th to NE 1/4 E,	in 42°12'
" 11th to NE 1/4 E,	in 41-2/3
" 12th to NE 1/4 E,	in 41-1/4
" 13th to NE 1/4 N,	in 40
" 14th of the said month, to N,	in 38-3/4
" 15th to N 1/4 NE,	in 38
" 16th to N 1/4 NE,	in 36-1/2
" 17th to NW 1/4 N,	in 34-1/2
" 18th to N 1/4 NW,	in 33-1/2
" 19th to NW,	in 32-3/4
" 20th of the said month, to NW,	in 31-3/4
" 21st to NW,	in 30-2/3
" 22nd to W 1/4 SW,	in 30-2/3
" 23rd of the said month, to WNW,	in 30
" 24th to WNW,	in 29-3/4
" 25th to WNW,	in 29-1/2
" 26th to NW 1/4 W,	in 28-3/4
" 27th to NW 1/4 W,	in 27-2/3
" 28th to NW 1/4 W,	in 26-2/3
" 29th of the said month, to WNW,	in 26-1/3
" 30th to W,	12 leagues
" 31st to NW,	in 25-1/2.

1521. January.

On the 1st of the said month, to W 1/4 NW,	in 25°
" 2nd of the said month, to WNW,	in 24
" 3rd to NW 1/4 W,	in 23-1/2
" 4th to WNW,	in 22

¹ Ed. note: The ambiguity occurs in the original text as well. It seems to them as if they had not made any headway, as the land features on their starboard side looked the same.



"	5th	to W 1/4 SW,	in 23
"	6th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 22
"	7th	to W,	25 leagues
"	8th	to W,	23 leagues
"	9th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 22-1/4
"	10th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 22
"	11th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 21-3/4
"	12th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 21-1/3
"	13th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 21
"	14th	to NW 1/4 W,	in 20-1/2
"	15th	to WNW,	in 19-1/2
"	16th	to WNW,	in 19
"	17th	to WNW,	in 18-1/4
"	18th	to WNW,	in 17-1/2
"	19th	to NW 1/4 W,	in 16-1/4
"	20th	to NW 1/4 W,	in 15
"	21st	to SW,	in 15-2/3
"	22nd	to SW,	in 16-3/4
"	23rd	to W 1/4 NW,	in 16-1/2
"	24th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 16-1/4.

And in this neighborhood we found an islet with trees on it. It is uninhabited; and we took soundings at it, and found no bottom, and so we went on our course. We called this islet **San Pablo**, having discovered it on the day of his conversion¹, and it is 9(?) leagues(?) from that of Tiburones.²

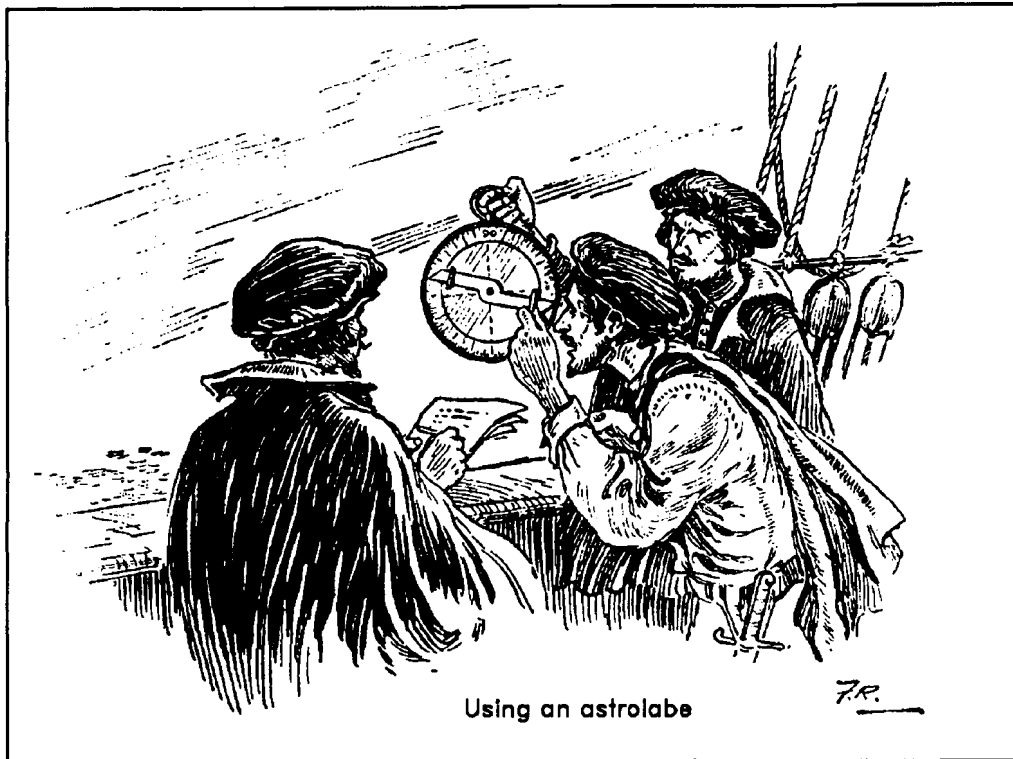
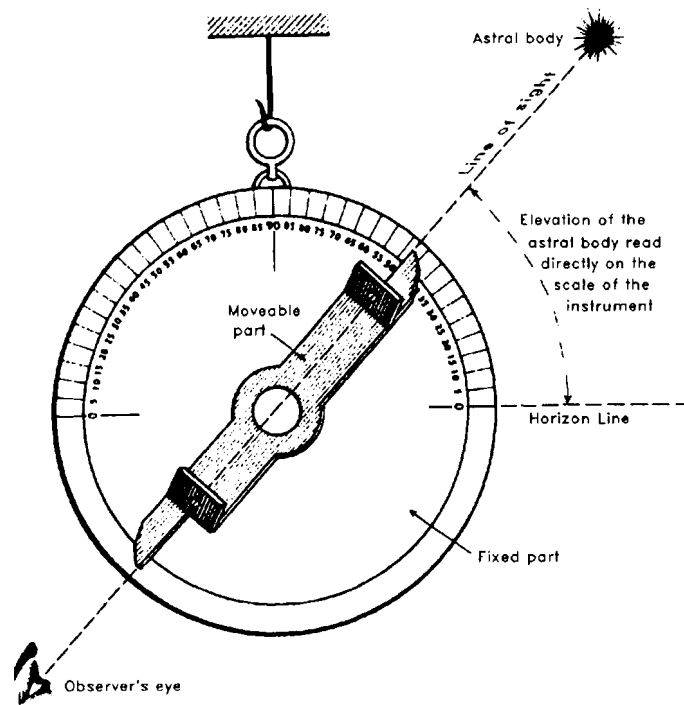
	On the 25th of the said month,	to NW 1/4 W,	in 15-3/4°
"	26th	to NW 1/4 W,	in 15-1/3
"	27th	to NW 1/4 W,	in 15
"	28th	to WNW,	in 14-1/2
"	29th	to WNW,	in 13-3/4
"	30th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 13-1/2
"	31st	to W 1/4 NW,	in 13-1/3

February.

	On the 1st day of February	to NW,	in 13
"	2nd	to NW,	in 12-1/2

1 Ed. note: The conversion of St. Paul is celebrated on January 25.

2 Ed. note: Obviously, these last 8 words were added later. Some copies of the manuscript, such as the one in the British Museum, say "9 leagues", but this is obviously an error. Navarrate says "9 degrees", but this must be in longitude, because the difference in latitudes is about 6 degrees. See Doc. 1521C2 for further discussion.



Using an astrolabe

"	3rd	to NW,	in 11-3/4
"	4th	to NW,	in 11-3/4

In this latitude we found an uninhabited island, where we caught many sharks, and therefore we gave it the name of **Tiburones** [or Shark] Island, and it is in relation with the Strait NW and SE, 1/4 E and W¹ and it is in 10-2/3° latitude S, and is distant [blank] leagues from the Ladrone Islands.

On the 5th February,	to NW,	in 10°
" 6th	to NW,	in 9-1/4
" 7th	to NW,	in 8-2/3
" 8th	to NW,	in 7-2/3
" 9th	to NW 1/4 W,	in 6-1/2
" 10th	to NW,	in 5
" 11th	to NW,	in 2-1/2
" 12th	to NW,	in 1
" 13th	to NW, in 30' on the side of the line where we find ourselves, [i.e. N].	
" 14th	to NW,	in 1°
" 15th	to NW,	in 1-3/4
" 16th	to WNW,	in 2-1/2
" 17th	to WNW,	in 3-1/2
" 18th	to WNW,	in 5
" 19th	to WNW,	in 5-3/4
" 20th	to WNW,	in 6-1/2
" 21st	to WNW,	in 8
" 22nd	to WNW,	in 9-1/2
" 23rd	to WNW,	in 11-1/2
" 24th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 12
" 25th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 12-1/3
" 26th	to W,	in 12
" 27th	to W,	in 12
" 28th	to W 1/4 NW,	in 13.

March, 1521.

On the 1st day of March,	to W,	in 13
" 2nd	to W,	in 13
" 3rd	to W,	in 13
" 4th	to W,	in 13
" 5th	to W,	in 13
" 6th	to W,	in 13.

1 Ed. note: Which means lying on a line NW by W—SE by E or at an angle of 123°3/4 clockwise from magnetic north.



On this day we saw land, and went to it, and there were two islands¹, which were not very large; and when we were between them, we turned to the SW, and left one² to the NW, and then we saw many small sails coming to us, and they ran so fast that they seemed to fly, and they had mat sails triangular in shape, and they ran both ways, for they made of the poop the prow, and of the prow the poop, when they wished, and they came many times to us and sought us to steal as much as they could; and so they stole the skiff of the flagship, and on the next day we recovered it; and there I took the sun, and this one island is in 12-2/3°, and the other in over 13°. ³ This island in 12° is with that of Tiburones WNW—ESE⁴, and we passed 20 leagues off the northern part. From the island in 12° we sailed on the 9th of March, in the morning, and went W 1/4 SW [i.e. west by south].

The Ladrone Islands are 300 leagues from Gilolo.⁵

(Facing page) **The bay at Umatac, Guam, where tradition says that Magellan landed on 8 March 1521 to recover his skiff that had been stolen by the natives. He burned over 40 houses and killed at least 7 men with crossbows and musket fire. However, the landing site could have been at other bays and villages up the coast, north of Umatac and south of Orote Point, quite possibly at what was then the most populated place, Fuña or Fuñai, where old Agat used to be located. (Photo by Burriss Studio, Agaña, ca. 1959. Courtesy of Domingo Abella)**

(Overleaf) **Monument to Magellan on the beach at Umatac, Guam. It was erected by the Guam Teachers' Association and inaugurated on 6 March 1926. (Photo by Burriss Studio, Agaña, ca. 1959. Courtesy of Domingo Abella)**

1 Ed. note: Rota and Guam.

2 Ed. note: Rota.

3 Ed. note: The southern part of Guam is actually in 13° and Rota is in 14°, so that Alvo's latitudes are well within the 1° of error which was a usual occurrence for expert pilots ashore in those days.

4 Ed. note: Which is to say that a line running from Guam back to Tiburones [Vostok or Flint] lies 112-1/2° from north.

5 Ed. note: Gilolo, or Giailolo, was then the name for the greater part of Halmahera Island in the Moluccas. A strait to the east of that island is still called Selat [meaning Strait in Indonesian] Djailolo.



Document 1521C2

Magellan's voyage—A study of Magellan's route across the Pacific

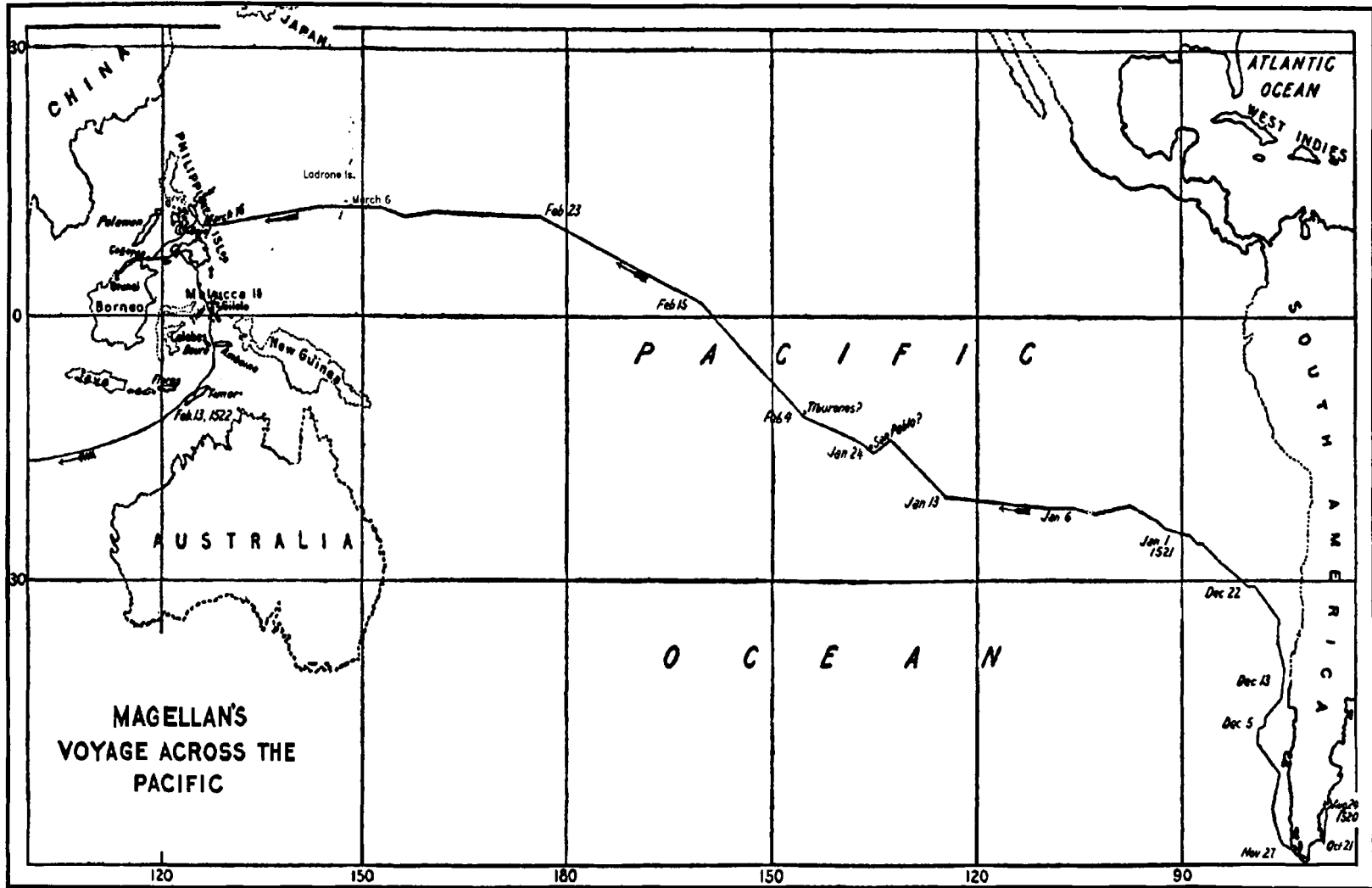
*Sources: Alvo's logbook (See Doc. 1521C1) and previous studies by the following authors: 1. George E. Nunn, "Magellan's Route in the Pacific", in **Geographic Review**, 24 (1934), 615-633; 2. H. E. Maude, "Spanish Discoveries in the Central Pacific; a Study in Identification", in the **Journal of the Polynesian Society**, 1959; 3. José Luís Morales, "Las derrotas de Magallanes y de Elcano en el primer viaje de circunnavegación", in Teixeira da Mota (ed.), **A viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a questão das Molucas** (Lisbon, 1975), pp. 343-360.*

Modern set of positions

From Alvo's logbook, which contains headings and observed latitudes for almost every single daily run in the Pacific Ocean, Magellan's route throughout the Pacific can be charted on a modern chart. Hence, the identification of the reef islets he called the Unfortunate Islands can be determined with some measure of accuracy. In the Museo Naval in Madrid, there is a file created in 1856 (ms. 96, fol. 258-260); it is an inconclusive analysis of Magellan's route made by the former Director of the Depósito Hidrográfico in Cádiz.

Without considering the effects of currents and magnetic deviations, Alvo's positions were converted to regular readings of latitudes and longitudes that can be plotted on a modern chart. This last part of the work was carried out by José Luís Morales for the second symposium on overseas history held in Lisbon in 1973.

The following data is based on Morales' published article; I have amplified his list of positions to include all daily positions given by Alvo, converting Morales' longitudes from W. of Cádiz readings to W. of Greenwich (by adding or subtracting 6°17' which is the difference between these two meridians). Morales has simply deducted his coordinates from the intersections of parallels expressing latitudes with successive headings. The only adjustments Morales did apparently was to take into account the known positions of one or more features along the Chilean coast and that of Guam. Hence, his longitudes in mid-Pacific seem to be off by 2-5 degrees.



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(Facing page) **Magellan's track across the Pacific.** *The most probable track has been plotted using the positions in Alvo's logbook. Note the two Unfortunate Islands discovered on January 24, 1520 (San Pablo which seems to be Pukapuka), and on February 4, 1521 (Tiburones which can be one of three reef islets: Caroline, Flint or Vostok). Thus, by a stroke of gook luck, the Magellan Expedition missed stumbling upon the major shoals of the Pacific: the Tuamotus, the Gilberts, the Marshalls, the Carolines, etc. (From John Fiske's "The Discovery of America", vol. 2)*

Approximate Plot of Magellan's Run across the Pacific

Date	Latitude	Longitude	Remarks
27 Nov	52°43'	74°42'W	Coming out of the Strait, in 1520.
29 "	50°55'	77°57'	Date not specified by Morales.
30 "	50°09'	77°57'	id.
1 Dec	48°00'	76°37'	
2 "	47°15'	76°07'	
3 "	46°28'	77°17'	Alvo says Lat. 46°30'
4 "	45°30'	78°45'	
5 "	44°15'	79°07'	
6 "	44°00'	78°	Position not given by Morales.
7 "	43°40'	77°47'	
8 "	43°15'	77°29'	
9 "	42°40'	77°08'	
10 "	42°12'	---	id.
11 "	41°40'	---	id.
12 "	41°15'	75°32'	
13 "	40°00'	75°10'	
14 "	38°47'	75°09'	
15 "	38°00'	74°57'	
16 "	36°30'	75°09'	
17 "	34°30'	76°32'	
18 "	33°30'	76°35'	
19 "	32°45'	77°37'	
20 "	31°45'	---	id.
21 "	30°40'	80°07'	
22 "	30°40'	83°07'	Morales' latitude of 31°15' is wrong.
23 "	30°00'	85°47'	
24 "	29°45'	---	Position not given by Morales.
25 "	29°30'	87°57'	
26 "	28°45'	87°44'	

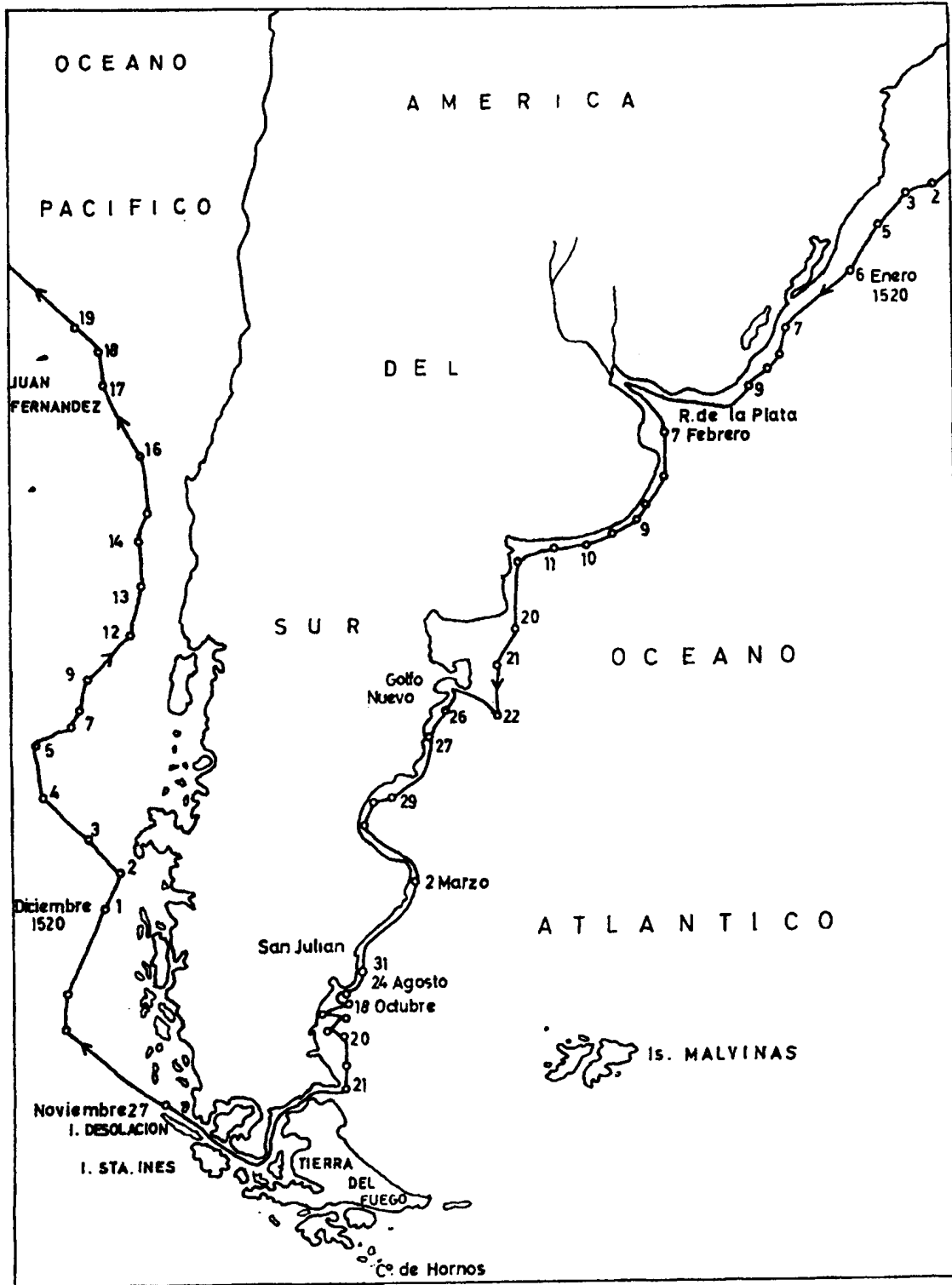
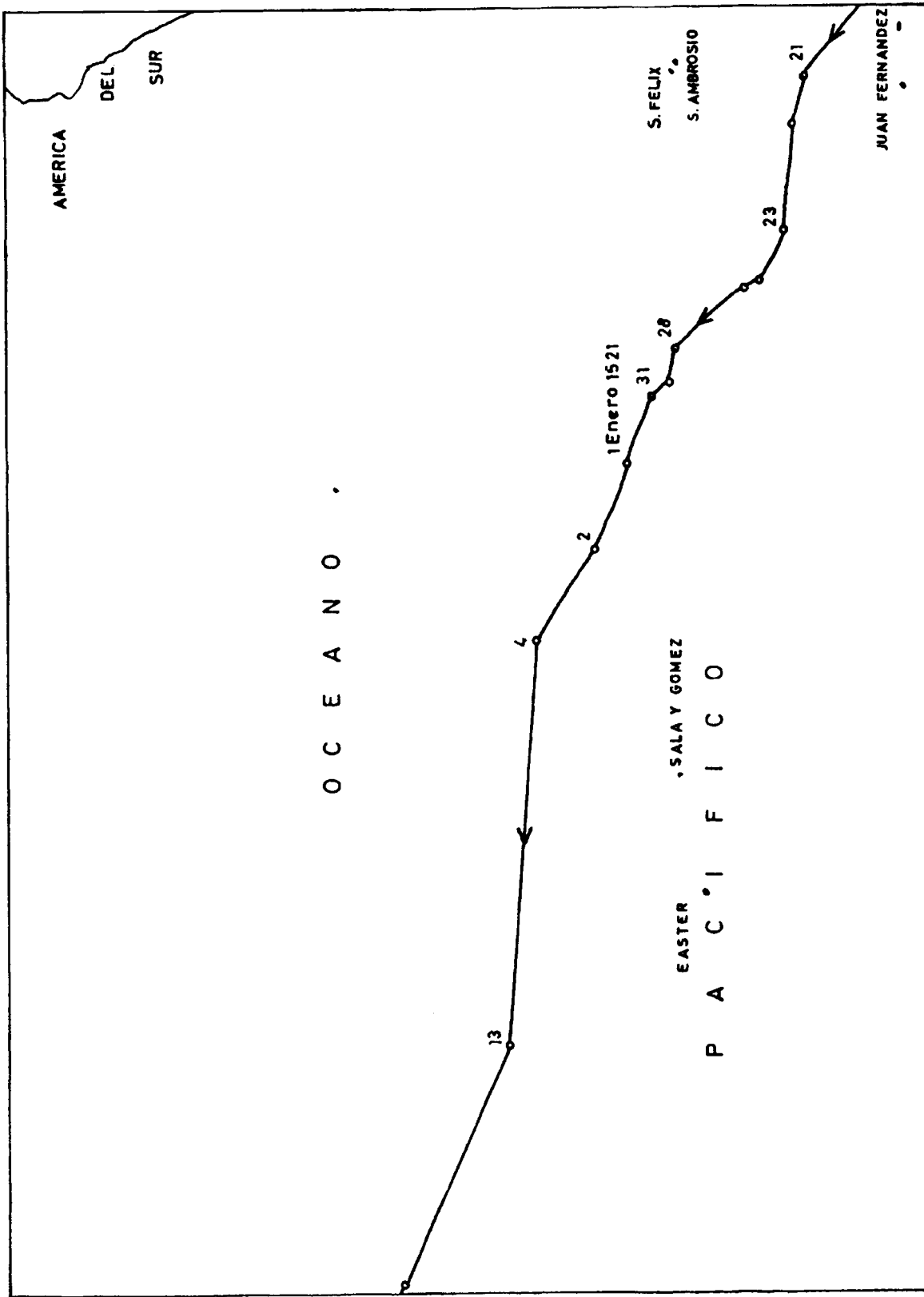


Plate 3 of Morales (See Sources above).

27 "	27°45'	---	Position not given by Morales.
28 "	26°45'	90°03'	
29 "	26°20'	90°32'	
30 "	26°20'	91°07'	
31 "	25°27'	91°47'	
1 Jan	25°00'	92°17'	Year 1521
2 "	24°00'	97°07'	
3 "	23°30'	---	Position not given by Morales.
4 "	21°57'	100°22'	
5 "	23°00'	---	id.
6 "	22°00'	---	id.
7 "	22°00'	---	id.
8 "	22°00'	---	id.
9 "	22°15'	---	id.
10 "	22°00'	---	id.
11 "	21°45'	---	id.
12 "	21°20'	---	id.
13 "	21°05'	114°37'	
14 "	20°30'	---	id.
15 "	19°30'	---	id.
16 "	19°00'	---	id.
17 "	18°15'	---	id.
18 "	17°33'	123°07'	
19 "	16°15'	---	id.
20 "	15°00'	127°20'	
21 "	15°40'	---	id.
22 "	16°45'	---	id.
23 "	16°30'	---	id.
24 "	15°23'	133°40'	Position of San Pablo . ¹
25 "	15°45'	---	Position not given by Morales.
26 "	15°20'	---	id.
27 "	15°08'	135°40'	
28 "	14°30'	---	id.
29 "	13°45'	137°57'	
30 "	13°30'	---	id.
31 "	13°15'	140°40'	
1 Feb	13°00'	---	id.

¹ Ed. note: Morales' position for **San Pablo** [= Pukapuka?]. Probable deduction from Alvo's logbook: 16° S. approximately. According to José de Espinosa's map, published in London in 1812, the longitude would be approximately 133°32' W. of Greenwich.



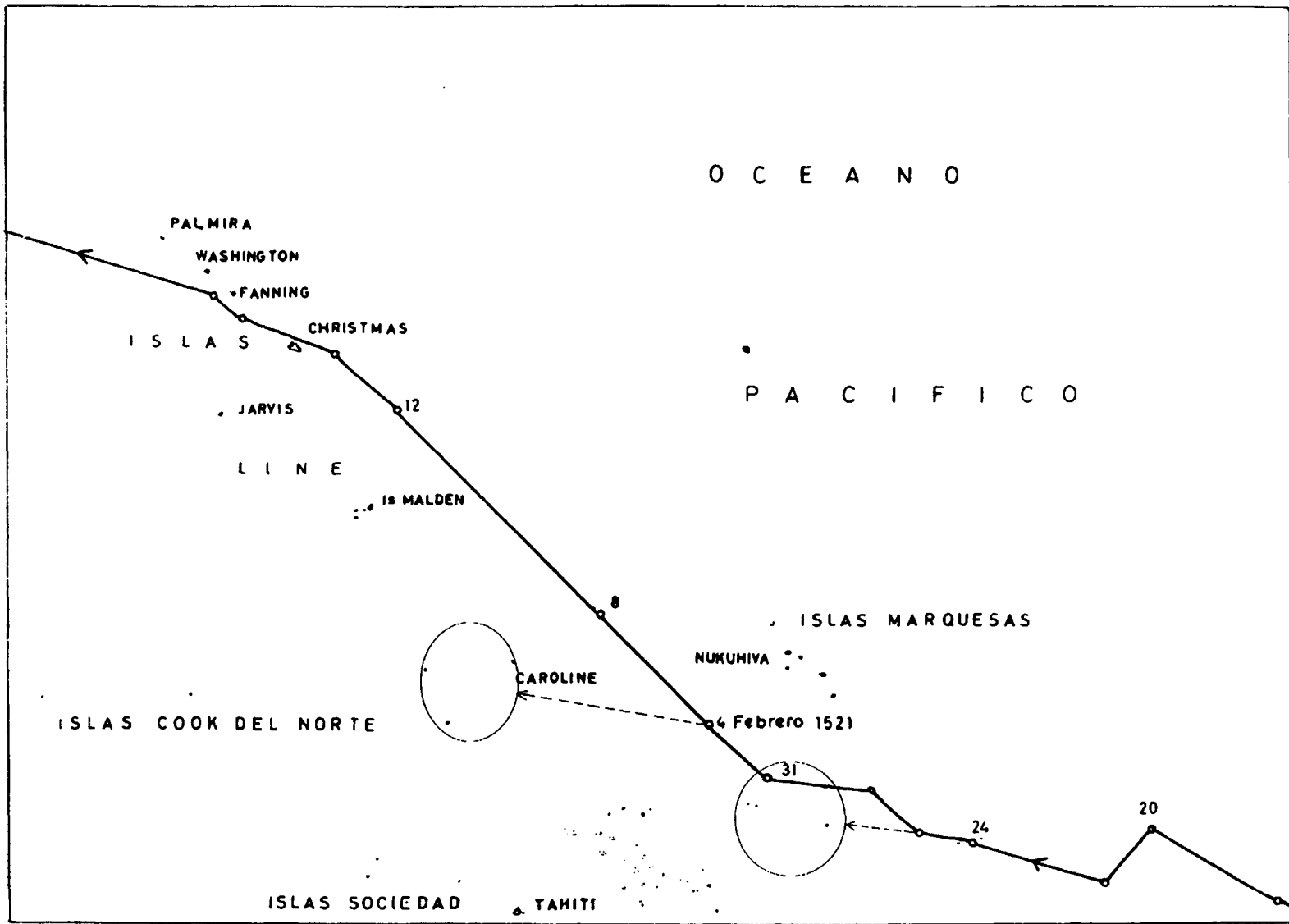
Place 4 of Morales.

2 "	12°30'	---	id.
3 "	11°45'	---	id.
4 "	11°15'	142°47'	Position of Tiburones . ¹
5 "	10°00'	---	Position not given by Morales.
6 "	9°15'	---	id.
7 "	8°45'	---	id.
8 "	7°40'	146°34'	
9 "	6°30'	---	id.
10 "	5°00'	---	id.
11 "	2°30'	---	id.
12 "	1°00'S	153°50'	Morales' latitude 0°05' is wrong.
12-13	0°00'	153°57'	Crossing of the Equator. ²
13 Feb	0°30'N	---	Position not given by Morales.
14 "	1°00'	---	id.
15 "	1°40'	155°57'	id.
16 "	2°30'	159°17'	Morales' latitude 3° wrong.
17 "	3°35'	161°17'	
18 "	5°00'	---	Position not given by Morales.
19 "	5°40'	---	id.
20 "	6°30'	---	id.
21 "	7°55'	173°07'	
22 "	9°30'	176°47'W	
23 "	11°30'	---	id.
24 "	12°00'	---	id.
25 "	12°20'	---	id.
26 "	12°00'	---	id.
27 "	12°00'	---	id.
28 "	13°07'	164°40'E	
1 March	13°00'	---	id.
2 "	13°00'	---	id.
3 "	13°00'	---	id.
4 "	13°00'	---	id.
5 "	13°00'	---	id.
6 "	13°48'	144°43'	Position given by Morales.
6 "	13°00'	146°	Approx. position when Guam sighted .

1 Ed. note: Position of **Tiburones** [= Flint?] as given by Morales and Espinosa. Latitude given by Alvo is 10°40'S.

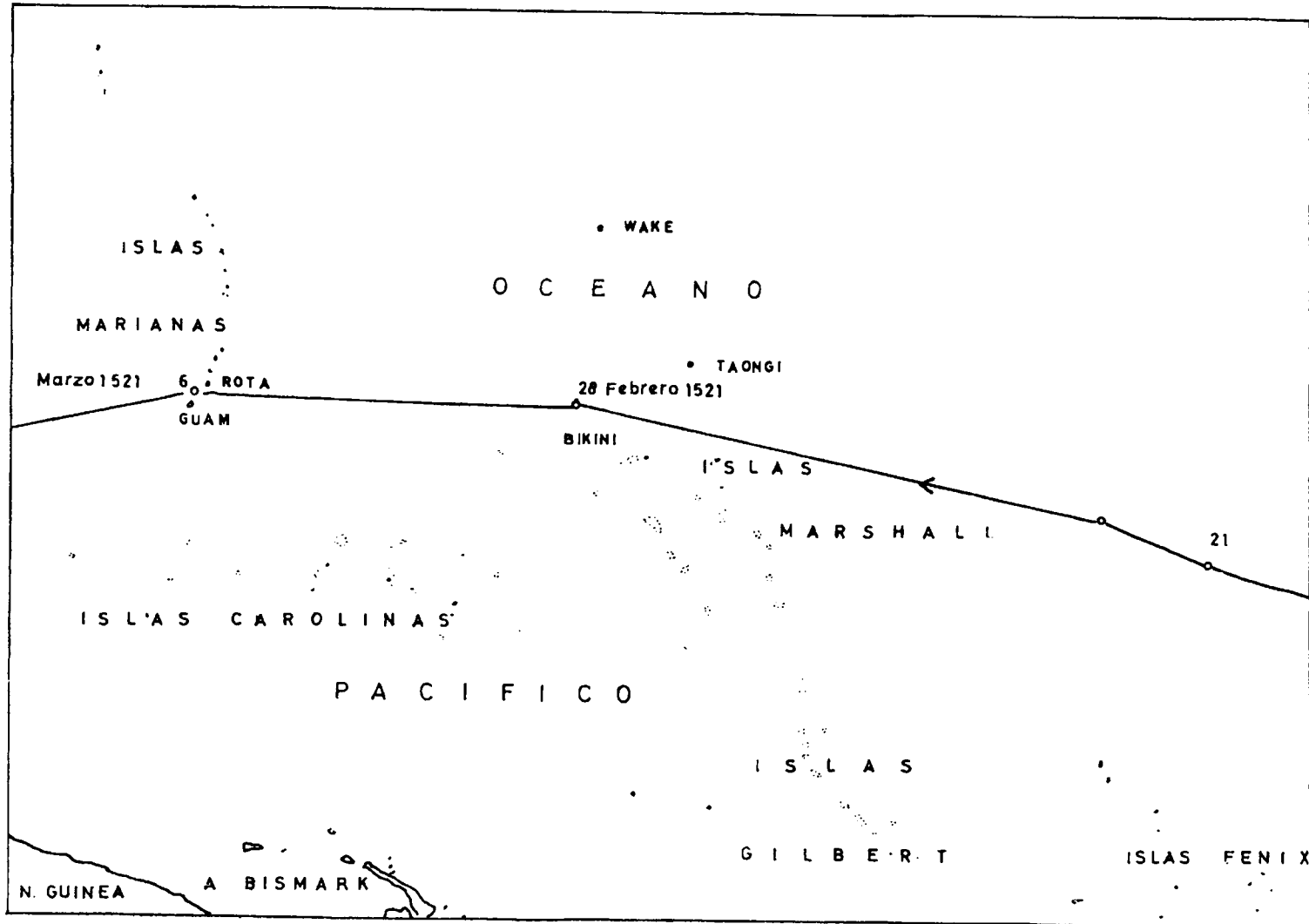
2 Ed. note: Position given by Morales. It was 166°W according to Koelliker, so 160°W would be a compromise.

Plate 5 of Morales.

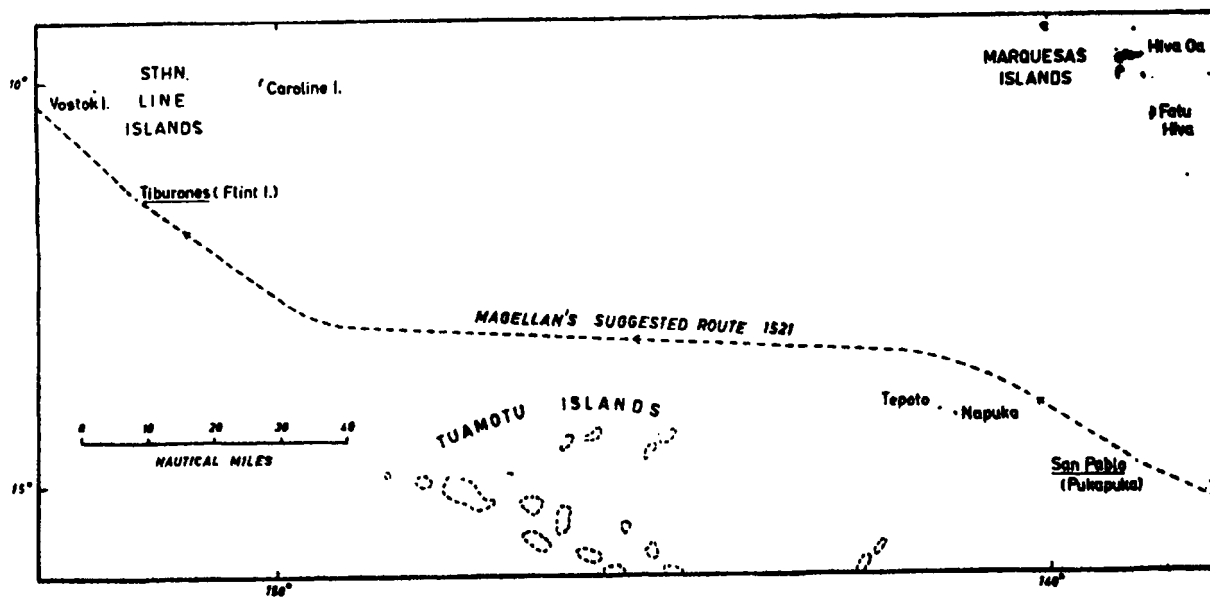


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Plate 6 of Morales.



-	12°	145°	Approx. position of S. part of Guam.
9 "	12°40'	---	Position given by Alvo [= Umatac?]
...			
16 "	10°00'	---	Latitude of Yunagan . ¹



Maude says Pukapuka is San Pablo and Flint is Tiburones.

¹ Ed. note: Latitude of Yunagan [= Guiuan], Philippines. It is closer to 11°. From the known position of Rota, Guam, and Guiuan (Samar), we deduce that Alvo's latitudes (above) were consistently about 1 degree too low while at sea, and 40 minutes too low while at anchor. Those are excellent results for the times, considering the probable inadequacy of his almanach.

Review of Maude's article

I agree with this author that *"throughout the period of the Spanish discoveries the calculation of longitude was hardly possible, except by the often inaccurate method of estimating from dead reckoning."* However, I do not entirely agree with him when he says that *"under the easy wind and weather conditions prevailing in the region the latitudes obtained can be relied on to within at any rate two or three degrees."* This margin of error would perhaps occur while at sea, but on land or when anchored, the latitude readings of the early Spanish pilots in the Pacific have consistently and remarkably been within one degree, a fact confirmed by modern marine charts for known locations.

Maude continues: *"In a few instances the identification of one island is at least partly dependent on that of another, and for this reason it proved necessary to establish the identity of Magellan's **San Pablo**... before proceeding to fix that of **Tiburones**... But here it must be confessed that the process of resolving the puzzle as to which Pacific island was the first seen by European eyes had its own satisfaction."*

He goes on to say that *"the various attempts which have been made to trace Magellan's route from the log show a remarkable similarity in their general outline, and all I have seen take him to the north of the Tuamotus and thence in a north-west direction between the widely spaced islands of the Line Group. Indeed, any deviation would have either brought him within sight of the mountainous islands of the Marquesas, visible for a considerable distance at sea, or else lost him in the intricate maze of the Tuamotu Archipelago."*¹

Maude continues: *"...Owing to the greater accuracy of the positions given by Albo over the often hearsay estimates of the other informants, our islands are likely to be situated not much more than a degree on either side of his latitude. Unfortunately, Albo gives the latitude of Tiburones but not of San Pablo, but taking this latter as the mean between his sights on January 24 and 25, or 16° S, we can expect San Pablo to be somewhere between 15° and 17° S and Tiburones between 9°40' and 11°40' S... One island, and one only, satisfies our criteria [for San Pablo] to a nicety: **Pukapuka**, in latitude 14°50' S and longitude 138°50' W². ... But if Pukapuka is San Pablo, we should be able to find the second of the Unfortunate Islands by sailing for approximately a further 200 leagues³ on the same courses that Albo took: and such a voyage will in fact bring us to the Manihiki group or Southern Line Islands of Caroline, Vostok and Flint..."*

1 First of all, the attempt made by Nunn is an exception, but as we shall see, his theory is not acceptable. The intricate maze of the Tuamotus did indeed pose a real problem; witness the story of the **Lost Caravel** by Robert Langdon (Sydney, 1975).

2 Ed. note: Maude used British Admiralty Chart N° 783 for these readings. Koelliker gives the position as 14°15'S and 138°48'.

3 Ed. note: As given by Pigafetta. Alvo had written a distance estimate, but numerous copyists have modified this figure or made transcription errors: 9 degrees, 9 leagues, etc.

“Which then of the three islands is Tiburones? From their position it could almost equally well be Caroline, Vostok or Flint; or, as in the case of many other identifications, we must turn to the internal evidence offered by the islands themselves...”

Caroline, in 10° S, is not a good candidate for Tiburones, according to Maude, because he thinks that it might have been inhabited at that time and that its shape as an atoll would have been reported.¹ However, the Morales track which, based on the actual position of Pukapuka, has been drawn 5° too far east, Caroline appears at first as a strong candidate for Tiburones. What does rule it out is the fact that the expedition would have run into Malden and Jarvis afterwards...

Vostok, in 10°05' S, is too small to be a candidate for Tiburones according to Maude. However, that is no reason to exclude it. I would not rely off-hand on the secondary account by Transylvanus to include or exclude Vostok as a possibility, because if one does so, the pair of islands Napuka and Tepoto, shown on Maude's chart (see above) would fit Transylvanus' description very well.

Flint, in 11°25' S and 151°48' W, is a better candidate according to Maude. However, I say that Vostok and Flint are equally good candidates, if one considers that their presence along Magellan's track would have resulted in the ships not hitting any of the other islands of the Line Group. However, if one considers Alvo's difference in latitude between San Pablo and Tiburones, about 5°20', then if Pukapuka is San Pablo, Vostok is therefore the better possibility, because the difference in latitude between Pukapuka and Vostok is closest to Alvo's 5 degrees plus.

We can unfortunately rely neither on Alvo's nor on Pigafetta's differences in longitudes, be they 9 degrees, 9 (or even 90) leagues, or 200 leagues...

I agree, however, with Maude when he concludes: *“It should be emphasized that the identification of Tiburones with Flint does not necessarily depend on San Pablo being Pukapuka. As far as latitude goes, San Pablo could be any one of the uninhabited islands of the north-eastern Tuamotus, and there are others at approximately the right distance and direction from Flint. For Pukapuka as San Pablo there are, then, admittedly alternative possibilities, if Magellan could have reached them without hitting, or at least sighting, some other island in the process, which seems doubtful; but for Flint as Tiburones there is really no alternative wherever one looks.”*

By the same token, I say, for Vostok as Tiburones the possibility remains that Napuka and/or Tepoto might correspond to San Pablo. So, to conclude, in the San Pablo “circle” of possibility we have 3 islets: Pukapuka, Napuka, and Tepoto, and in the Tiburones “circle” we have 3 islets also: Caroline, Vostok, and Flint. We have, therefore,

1 The fact that no lagoon was reported, but sharks were, has led Samuel Morison to favor Caroline I., because *“it is common knowledge in the Pacific that lagoons attract sharks”* (p. 412 of his **Southern Voyages**).

nine possible answers, that is, 9 possible pairs of islets. The most probable pairs, by decreasing order of relative importance, in my judgment, are:

1. Pukapuka—Vostok;
2. Pukapuka—Flint;
3. Napuka—Vostok;
4. Napuka—Flint.¹

Supplementary evidence

To help the reader make up his own mind, the following points are presented for consideration:

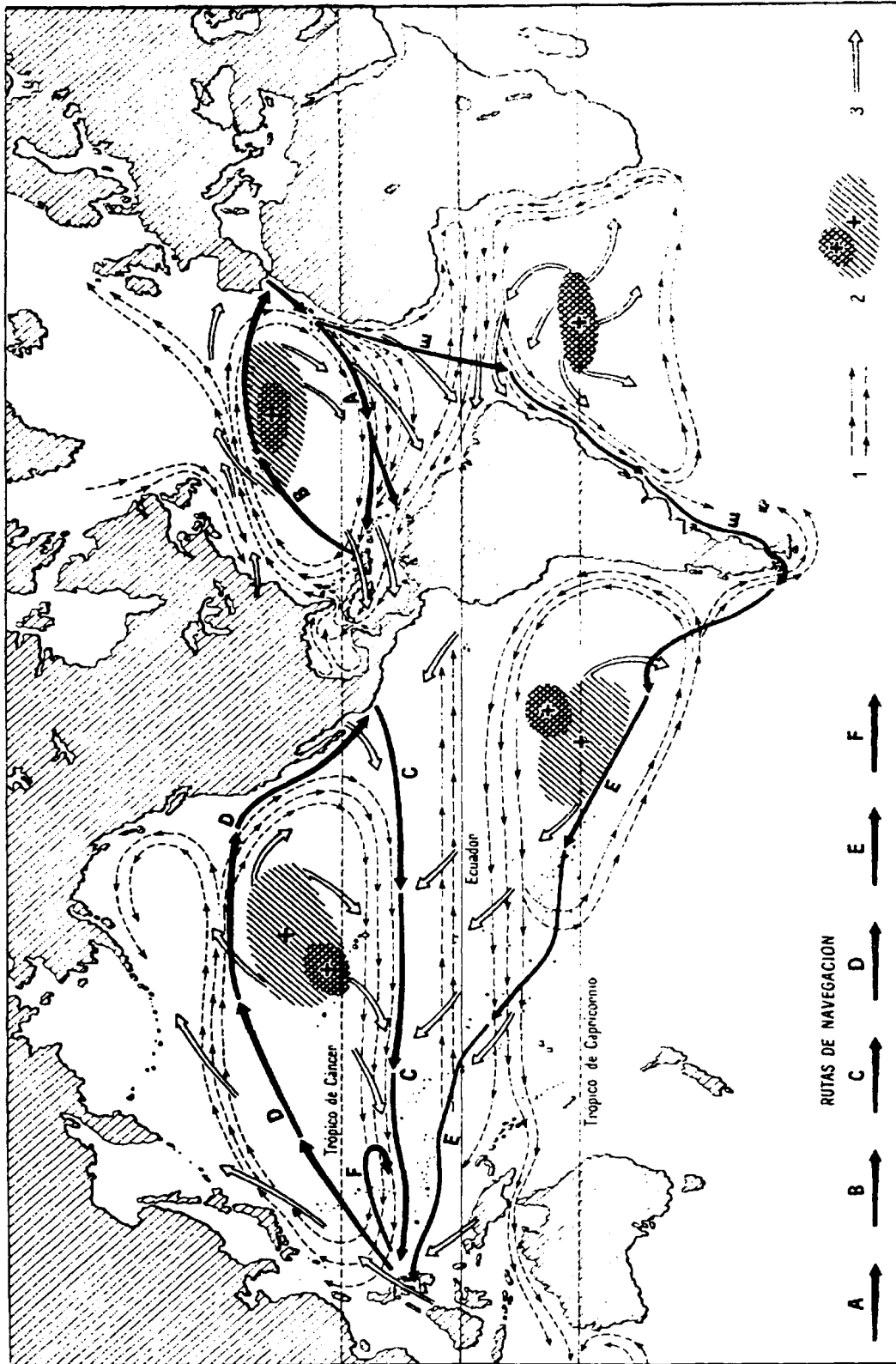
1. Is it possible that Alvo's stated distance between the two landfalls is really 9 degrees **in longitude**, as stated in Navarrete's transcript? Morales's difference in longitude is also 9 degrees, and the manuscript in the Museo Naval has computed this difference as 8°39'. If so, Pukapuka would be more easily paired with Caroline, and Napuka with Vostok.

2. If any credibility can be given to the distance stated by Pigafetta, 200 old Spanish leagues, this corresponds to $200 \times 4.23 \text{ km/league} = 846 \text{ km}$, and since 1 nautical mile = 1.85 km, this distance corresponds to $846/1.85 = 457$ nautical miles, which cannot be so accurate, but rather let us say 450 nm, plus or minus 50 nm. Even so, this is far off 8 or 9 degrees difference in longitude, as $9^\circ \times 60 \text{ nm/degree} = 540 \text{ nm}$ approximately, and should be greater, not less, as it is supposed to be a NW or hypotenuse distance, rather than simply that of the base of a triangle.

3. **The variation of the compass.**—At sea the compass swings as the ship rolls, pitches, and yaws, and the only way to check its accuracy is to take it ashore. Nevertheless, the variation of the compass, that is the difference between magnetic and true north, was already well known, if little understood, in Magellan's day. The amount of variation was readily found by comparing the bearing of the North Star or Southern Cross, with the compass north. The Genoese pilot (See Doc. 1521D) tells us that this variation reached "almost two-quarters to the NW", i.e. almost two points ($2 \times 11^\circ$) or about 20° W while crossing the Pacific.

4. As for the influence of winds and currents, in the Line Group area of the Central Pacific, the prevailing winds were favorable and would have resulted in a greater than average daily distance covered; the predominant currents in that area to the south of

1 Other authors have also proposed alternatives to Pukapuka as San Pablo. Two of them are Sharp (see remarks below) and O. H. K. Spate (pages 47-48, *The Spanish Lake*, 1979). They have placed the Tuamotu outlying islets of Angatau and Fangahina (SW of Pukapuka) in the San Pablo "circle", thus replacing Tepoto and Napuka. The controversy continues...



the equator run E to W and they would have resulted in some westerly drift, which Morales has obviously not taken into account.¹

(Facing page) **The great routes of navigation during the period of Spanish discovery (1492-1529)**, showing: 1) the maritime currents and their directions, 2) the zones of high atmospheric pressure (which vary slightly in location between summer and winter), 3) the prevailing winds and their directions. Route E is that followed by Magellan across the Pacific. (Chart by Instituto Cartográfico Latino).

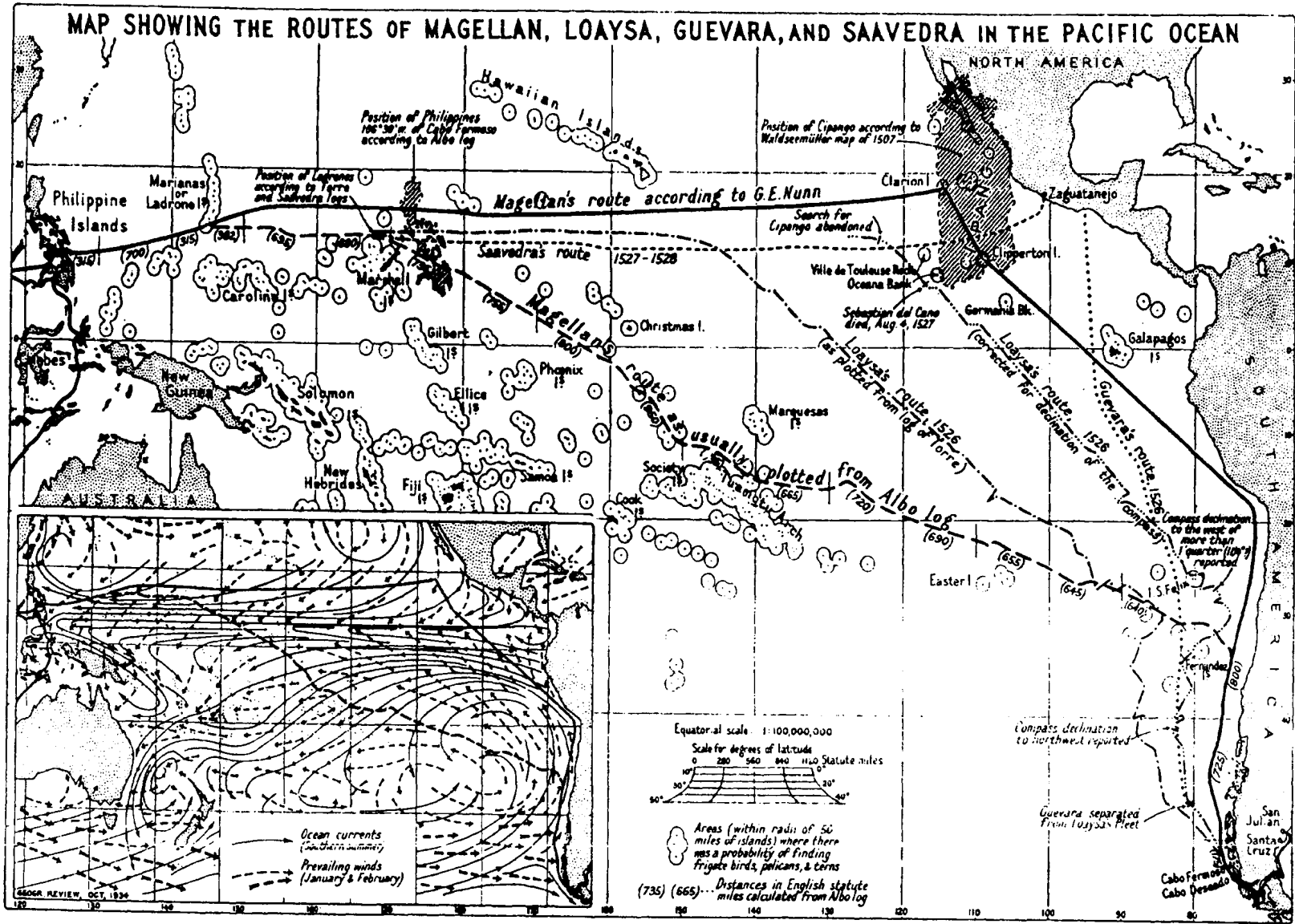
5. **Nunn's theory.**—This writer rejects the standard track between the Tuamotus and the Marquesas. Instead, he claims, preposterously, that Magellan proceeded much farther north, almost as far as Mexico, before turning westward. Nunn's theory is that Alvo's logbook was falsified and that "the latitude of San Pablo and Tiburones was altered to south latitude" from north; hence, his conclusion that "San Pablo and Tiburones may be identified with Clipperton and Clarion Islands, in latitudes 10°17' N, and 18° N."

(Overleaf) **Magellan's route in the Pacific according to Nunn (1934).** *His disregard of the primary evidence provided by the logbook (Alvo) and the eyewitness account of Pigafetta, and his reliance on secondary and tertiary historical accounts has led him to unacceptable conclusions.*

6. **Sharp's opinion.**—In his well-known book: **The Discovery of the Pacific Islands** (Oxford, 1960), Andrew Sharp expressed the following opinion:

*"The only islands which conform with Alvo's detail of the two islands south of the equator are either Fangahina or Angatau or Pukapuka for San Pablo, and Caroline Island or, less probably, Vostok, for Tiburones. Fangahina, Angatau, and Pukapuka are in the north-eastern sector of the Tuamotu Archipelago, their latitudes being 16, 15-3/4, and 14-3/4 degrees south respectively. Raroia and Takume, to the west of Angatau, being two islands close together, may be ruled out, since Alvo's details indicate that the island in question was seen in close quarters. Caroline Island and Vostok are two isolated islands close to latitude 10 degrees south some 600-odd miles beyond Fangahina, Angatau, and Pukapuka. Caroline Island has a bay on the western or lee side from the south-east trade wind, and is noted for its fish."*²

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- 1 Thomas Keller of Harvard University plotted the data in Alvo's log for Samuel Morison, subtracted up to 10°E from his courses, to account for compass variation, and this plot went by Pukapuka and Caroline Islands... Thus, by cutting in half the actual 20°E variation (given by the Genoese pilot), they more or less consciously have compensated for the unknown drift factor.
 - 2 Ed. note: According to the **Pacific Islands Pilot**, vol. 3, pp. 201-2.



Document 1521D

Magellan's voyage—Primary account by a Genoese pilot

*Sources: From four extant manuscripts¹ in Portuguese, one is now in the National Library in Lisbon², one in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, one in the National Library in Paris, and one in private hands.³ First published in 1825 by the Lisbon Academy of Sciences in *Notícias para a história e geografia das navegações ultramarinas, IV & VI*, it was also published in 1831 by António Nunes de Carvalho, as *O roteiro da viagem de Fernão de Magalhães*. The following English translation is from Lord Stanley of Alderley's *First Voyage around the World* (Haklyut Society, 1874).*

...That outlet and the entrance [of Magellan Strait] are in 52 degrees latitude [S]. They made a stay in this strait from the 21st of October to the 26th of November, which makes 36 days of the said year of 1520, and as soon as they went out of the strait to sea, they made their course, for the most part, to WNW, when they found that their needles varied to the NW almost two-quarters⁴, and after they had navigated thus for many days, they found an island⁵ in a little more or less than 18°, or 19°, and also another⁶ which was in 13° to 14°, and this is in south latitude; they are uninhabited.⁷ They ran on until they reached the line, when Fernão de Magalhães said that now they were in

1 This unnamed Genoese pilot with the Magellan Expedition was either Juan Bautista de Poncero or Leon Pancaldo. The original manuscript, which had been written in Italian, was seized by the Portuguese Governor of the Moluccas, António de Brito, when the ship *Trinidad* was forced back to the Moluccas in 1522. It was translated loosely into Portuguese by some unknown official and copied a few times.

2 Formerly the Biblioteca de San Francisco de Cidade.

3 Ed. note: According to Max Justo Guedes (p. 469 of Texeira da Mota's *A viagem de Fernão de Magalhães*), in 1972, the owner of the latter manuscript was Sir John Galvin, Loughlinstown House, Dublin, Ireland; before its sale in London in 1957, it had been in the library of the Celestine Convent in Lisbon.

4 Ed. note: Which means that compass variation was 2 points off, i.e. 23 degrees west.

5 Ed. note: San Pablo Island, perhaps Pukapuka today.

6 Ed. note: Tiburones, perhaps Vostok or Flint.

7 Translator's note: The Paris ms. of this account and Pigafetta place these two islands in 15 deg. and 9 deg. South latitude.

the neighborhood of Maluco, as he had information that there were no provisions at Maluco, he said that he would go in a northerly direction as far as 10 or 12 degrees, and they reached to as far as 13° N, and in this latitude they navigated to the W 1/4 SW, a matter of 100 leagues, where on the 6th of March 1521, they fetched **two islands** inhabited by many people, and they anchored at one of them, which is in 12° N. The inhabitants are people of little truth, and they did not take precaution against them until they saw that they were taking away the skiff of the flagship, and they cut the rope with which it was made fast, and took it ashore without their being able to prevent it. They gave this island the name of Thieves' Island.

Fernão de Magalhães seeing that the skiff was lost, set sail, as it was already night, tacking about until the next day. As soon as it was morning they anchored at the place where they had seen the skiff carried off to, and he ordered two boats to be got ready with a matter of 50 or 60 men, and he went ashore in person, and burned the whole village, and they killed seven or eight persons, between men and women, and recovered the skiff, and returned to the ships. While they were there they saw 40 or 50 **parãos**¹, which came from the same land², and brought much refreshments.³

Fernão de Magalhães would not make any further stay, and at once set sail, and ordered the course to be steered W 1/4 SW; and so they made land, which is in barely 11°...

-
- 1 Ed. note: The Portuguese word *parão* came from Asia (*parau* in Malayan), and has given rise to the more common word "proa" in English.
 - 2 Ed. note: No doubt from a different village on Guam.
 - 3 Translator's note: The Paris ms. has "much refreshments of fruit".

Document 1521E

Magellan's voyage—Anonymous Portuguese manuscript

*Sources: Original manuscript located in the library of the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, bound as Folios 239-254 of the Vossius Codex, n° 41 Cat. Voss. Lat. Fo. Bibl. Univ. Lugdano-Batavae.¹ It was published in the original Portuguese by M. de Jong in 1937: **Um roteiro inédito da circunnavegação de Fernão de Magalhães** (University of Coimbra, 1937). De Jong attributes the authorship of this tale to Diogo do Couto. However, a study made by Pierre Valière: **Le voyage de Magellan raconté par un homme qui fut en sa compagnie** (Paris, 1976), puts forward the idea that this manuscript is based upon the journal of Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, now lost.*

...

[Folio 247 verso] ...and, seeing himself in such an open sea for navigation, he took a northwest course looking for the equinoctial line. He sailed for two or more months on this course with good weather without ever [fol. 248 recto] seeing anything other than sea and sky; this run was always favorable to him, by the grace of God. Having advanced more than one thousand leagues, he found near the line **two islands**, not big ones, populated with brown people with loose hair, handsome, savage, naked without any clothes nor polish whatever.² These have small craft in which many of them came to our *naos*³ without any shyness as if they were good acquaintances and with the same boldness they took what they came across as if it were theirs, in such a way that they could not stop them peacefully until they aggressively repelled them with sticks. And they, having launched their small fleet, wanted to attack those in the naos and they shot arrows at them, but those in the naos, with little effort, defended themselves and killed

1 According to the Dutch historian P. A. Tiele [1834-1889], who left a note in French within the codex, this account would have been dictated by a person who had been in the company of Magellan, many years after his return to Europe.

2 Ed. note: The author means without refinement.

3 Ed. note: The generic term for ship. The Spanish used the word *nao* also, in addition to *nave* or *navio*, whereas *bajel* was their generic term for vessel.

many until they out-distanced them. They gave a name to these islands, the Islands of Thieves, on account of the bad boldness they say they found there and, because of these people and [because] the land [was] without provisions, they proceeded forward.

From these islands westward, along the line by 3 or 4 degrees of southern latitude¹, they sailed for 15 or 20 days in fair weather, for a distance that looked like 300 leagues or more without discovering any land, at the end of which they discovered many populated islands [i.e. the Philippines]...

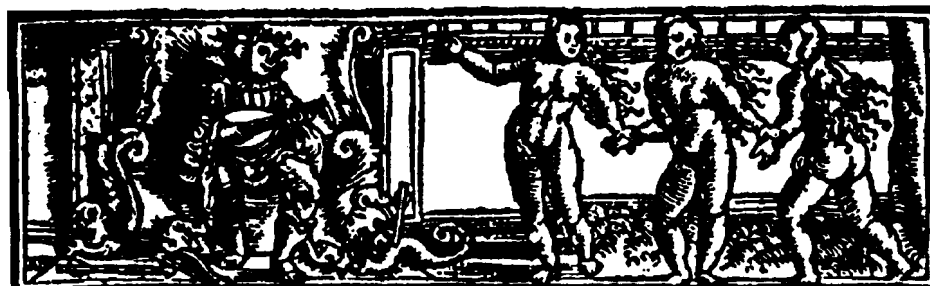
Original text of the Portuguese manuscript

[Folio 247 verso] ... *E vendose em mar tam livre para poder navegar, tomou a derrota do norueste buscando a linha equinocial. Pela qual derrota navegou dos meses ou mais com bom tempo sem nunca*

[folio 248 recto] *ver outra coisa senão mar e ceu, o qual naquella corda sempre lhe foi favoravel pela bondade de Deus. Tendo andado mais de mil leguas, achou perto da linha duas ilhas, não grandes, povadas de gente parda de cabelo corredio, gentios, salvages, nus sem vestido nem pollicia alguma. Estes tem almadias en que vierão às nossas naos muitos deles sem pejo nemhum como se forão muito conhecidos e com o mesmo despejo tomavam quanto achavam como si fora seu, de tal maneira que lho não poderam defender por bem até que por mal os lançaram fora às porradas e leles lançados com sua pouca força queriam offender os das naos mas das naos com pouco [os] das naos com pouco trabalho se defendiam e matavam muitos até se alongar deles. Poseram nome a estas ilhas, as ilhas dos Ladrões, pelo mal despejo que diz que neles acharam e por ser gente e terra sem proveito passaram adiante.*

Destas ilhas para ponente ao longo da linha em tres ou quatro graus da banda do sul navegaram quinze ou vinte dias com bonança, que parece ser caminho de treszentas leguas ou mais sem achar terra laguma, a cabo dos quales dias acharam muitas ilhas povadas...

1 Ed. note: The actual latitude was 13 or 14 degrees of north latitude. See previous and more authoritative accounts.



DE MOLVCCIS IN
 sulis, itemq; alijs pluribus mirãdis, qua
 nouissima Castellatorum nauigatio Se-
 reniss. Imperatoris Caroli .V. auspicio
 suscepta, nuper inuenit: Maximiliani
 Transyluani ad Reuerendiss. Cardina-
 lem Saltzburgerensem epistola lectu per-
 quam iucunda.



First edition of the account by Maximilian Transylvanus. Cover page of the Latin edition printed in Cologne in January 1523.

Document 1521F

Magellan's voyage—Secondary account by Maximilian of Transylvania

*Sources: Letter, in Latin, from Maximilian Transylvanus, secretary to Emperor Charles V, to his father Matthäus Lang, cardinal of Salzburg, dated Valladolid, 24 October 1522. There exists a manuscript copy of Transylvanus' letter in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. This copy was transcribed and published by Martín Fernández de Navarrete, in Vol. IV of his *Colección de los viajes* (Madrid, 1837, p. 267). However, the first edition of this letter was published by the addressee in January 1523 as: *De Moluccis insulis* [The Molucca Islands] in Cologne, Germany. This account of Magellan's voyage was the first one published in Europe after the ship *Victoria* returned to Spain. The first English translation was edited by Lord Stanley of Alderley (Hakluyt Society, 1874). Another translation was published by B&R in 1903. Unfortunately, as will be seen, this account by Max. Transylvanus omits all details about the stopover at the Mariana Islands.*

DE MOLUCCIS INSULIS

Most Reverend and Illustrious Lord:

My only Lord, to you I must humbly commend myself.

Not long ago, one of those five ships returned which the Emperor, while he was at Zaragoza some years ago, had sent into a strange and hitherto unknown part of the world, to search for the islands where spices grow. For although the Portuguese bring us a great quantity of them from the Golden Chersonesia, which we now call Malacca, nevertheless their own Indian possessions produce none but pepper. For it is well known that the other spices, as cinnamon, cloves, and the nutmeg, which we call muscat, and its covering [i.e. mace], which we call muscat flower, are brought to their Indian possessions from distant islands hitherto only known by name, in ships held together not by iron fastenings, but merely by palm-leaves, and having round¹ sails also woven out of palm fibres. Ships of this sort they call "junks", and they are impelled by the wind only when it blows directly fore or aft.

1 Ed. note: What sailors call "round" sails are actually square in shape. The sails of Chinese junks were made of bamboo strips.

Nor is it wonderful, that these islands have not been known to any mortal, almost up to our time. For whatever statements of ancient authors we have hitherto read with respect to the native soil of these spices, are almost entirely fiction, and partly so far from the truth, that the very regions, in which they asserted that these spices were produced, are scarcely less distant from the countries in which it is now ascertained that they grow, than we are ourselves...

Now it was necessary for our sailors... to sail around the whole world, and that in a very roundabout way, before they discovered these islands and returned to Europe; and, since this voyage was a very remarkable one, and neither in our own time, nor in any former age, has such a voyage been accomplished, or even attempted, I have determined to send your Lordship a full and accurate account of the expedition.

I have taken much care in obtaining an account of the facts from the captain of the fleet¹, and from the individual sailors who have returned with him. They also have made a statement to the Emperor, and to several other persons, with such good faith and sincerity, that they appeared in their narrative, not merely to have abstained from fabulous statements, but also to contradict and refute the fabulous statements made by ancient authors...

Some thirty years ago [i.e. in 1493], when the Spaniards to the West, and the Portuguese to the East, had begun to search after new and unknown lands, in order to avoid any interference of one with the other, the kings of these countries divided the whole world between them, by the authority probably of Pope Alexander VI, on this plan, that a line should be drawn from the north to the south pole through a point 360 leagues west of the Hesperides, which they now call the Cape Verde Islands, which would divide the earth's surface into two equal portions. All unknown lands hereafter discovered to the east of this line were assigned to the Portuguese; all on the west to the Spaniards. Hence it came to pass that the Spaniards always sailed southwest, and there discovered a very extensive continent, besides numerous large islands, abounding in gold, pearls, and other valuable commodities, and have quite recently discovered a large inland city called Tenoxtica situated in a lake like Venice.² Peter Martyr, an author who is more careful as to the accuracy of his statements than of the elegance of his style, has given a full but truthful account of this city.

But the Portuguese sailing southward past the Hesperides and the fish-eating Ethiopians³, crossed the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn [i.e. 23-1/2° S], and sailed eastward and discovered several very large islands heretofore unknown, and also the sources of the Nile and the Troglodytes.⁴ Thence, by way of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, they arrived at the shores of India within the Ganges, where now there is the very great trading station and the kingdom of Calicut. Hence they sailed to Taprobana,

1 Ed. note: Juan Sebastian de Elcano.

2 Ed. note: Tenochtitlán, now Mexico City, was built on islands within Lake Texcoco.

3 Ed. note: Name given by the author to the inhabitants of the west coast of Africa, called Guinea by other authors then.

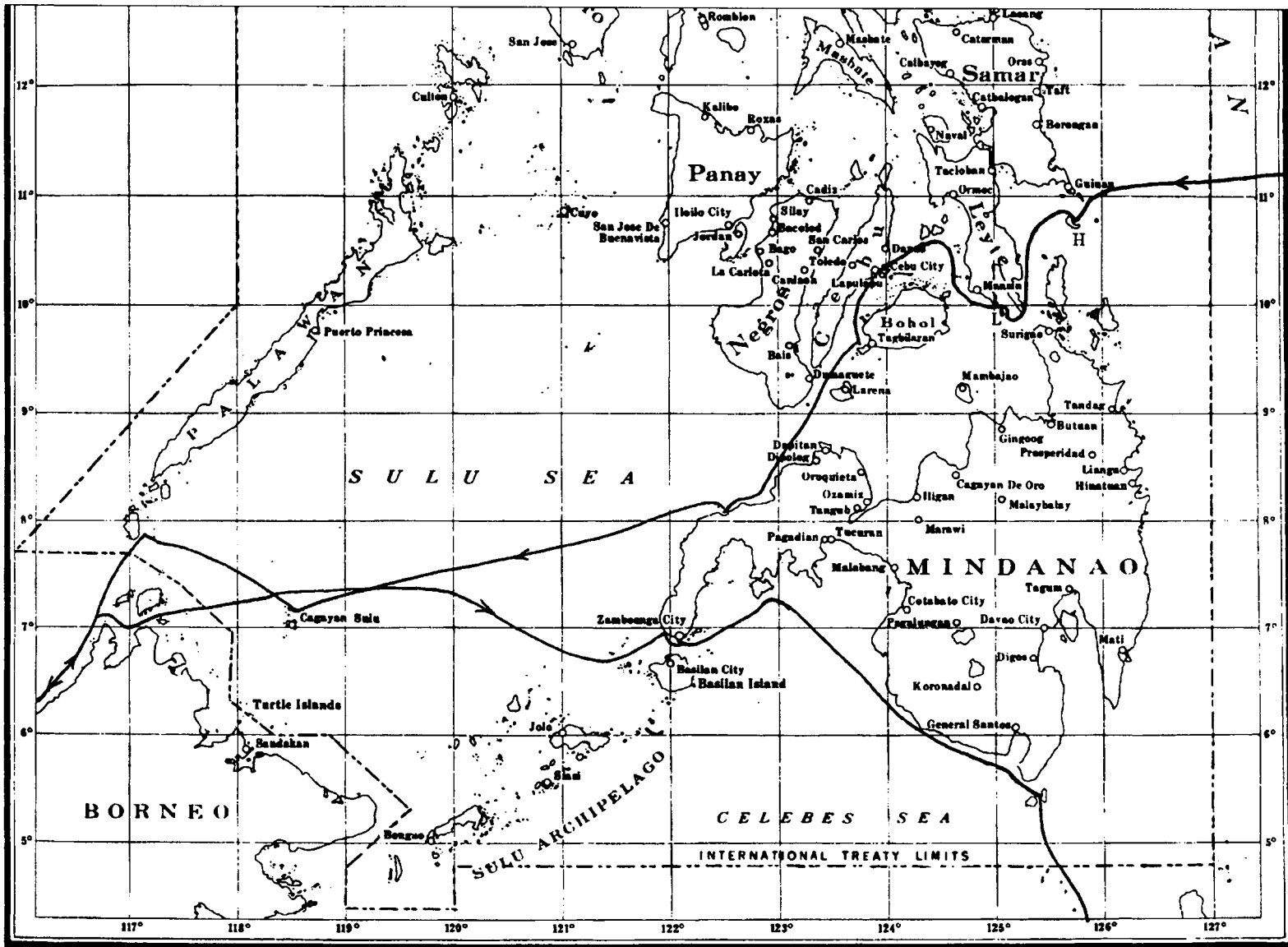
4 Ed. note: The Troglodytes were cave dwellers.

which is now called Zamatara [Sumatra], for where Ptolemy, Pliny, and other geographers placed Taprobana, there is no island which can possibly be identified with it. Thence they came to the Golden Chersonesia, where now stands the well-peopled city of Malacca, the principal place of business in the East. After this they penetrated into a great gulf, as far as the nation of the *Sinæ*, who are now called *Schinæ* [the Chinee or Chinese], where they found a fair-complexioned and tolerably-civilized people, like our folks in Germany. They believe that the Seres and Asiatic Scythians extend as far as these parts.

And although there was a somewhat doubtful rumor afloat, that the Portuguese had advanced so far to the east, that they had come to the end of their own limits, and had passed over into the territory appointed for the Spaniards, and that Malacca and the Great Gulf [i.e. Pacific] were within our limits, all this was more said than believed, until, four years ago, Ferdinand Magellan, a distinguished Portuguese, who had for many years sailed about the Eastern Seas as admiral of the Portuguese fleet, having quarreled with his king, who he considered had acted ungratefully toward him, and Christopher Haro, brother of my father-in-law, of Lisbon, who had, through his agents for many years carried on trade with those eastern countries, and more recently with the Chinese, so that he was well acquainted with these matters (he also, having been ill-used by the King of Portugal, had returned to his native country, Spain), pointed out to the Emperor, that it was not yet clearly ascertained, whether Malacca was within the boundaries of the Portuguese or of the Spaniards, because hitherto its longitude had not been definitely known; but that it was an undoubted fact that the Great Gulf and the Chinese nations were within the Spanish limits. They ascertained also that it was absolutely certain, that the islands called the Moluccas, where all sorts of spices grow, and from which they were brought to Malacca, were contained in the western, or Spanish division, and that it would be possible to sail to them, and to bring the spices at less trouble and expense from their native soil to Spain. The plan of the voyage was to sail west, and then coasting the southern hemisphere round the south of America to the Orient. Yet it appeared to be a difficult undertaking, and one of which the practicality was doubtful. Not that it was impossible, at first thought, to sail westward round the southern hemisphere to reach the east, but that it was uncertain, whether Ingenious Nature whose works are all wisely conceived had so arranged the sea and the land that it might be possible to arrive by this route at the Eastern Seas. For it had not yet been ascertained whether that extensive region, which is called *Terra Firma*¹, separated the Western [i.e. Atlantic] Ocean from the Eastern [Pacific], but it was plain that [the east coast of] that continent extended in a southerly direction, and afterwards inclined to the west. Moreover, two regions had been discovered in the north, one called Land of the Cod-fish² from a new kind of fish, the other called Florida; and if these were connected with *Terra Firma*, it would not be possible to pass from the Western Ocean to the Eastern. Since although much trouble has been taken to discover any strait which

1 Ed. note: The mainland, or South America.

2 Ed. note: A reference to Newfoundland.



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might exist connecting the two oceans, none had yet been found. At the same time it was considered that to attempt to sail through the Portuguese concessions and the Eastern Seas would be a hazardous enterprise, and dangerous in the highest degree.

The Emperor and his council considered that the plan proposed by Magellan and Haro, though holding out considerable advantages, was one of very considerable difficulty as to execution. After some delay, Magellan offered to go out himself, but Haro undertook to outfit a fleet at the expense of himself and his friends, provided that they were allowed to sail under the authority and patronage of His Majesty. As each resolutely upheld his own scheme, the Emperor himself outfitted a fleet of five ships, and appointed Magellan to command it. It was ordered that they should sail southward by the coast of *Terra Firma*, until they found either the end of that land or some strait, by which they might arrive at the spice-producing Moluccas.

Accordingly, on the 10th of August 1519, Ferdinand Magellan with his five ships sailed from Seville...¹

Yet even though our sailors in so long a voyage and in one so distant from the land lay down and mark certain signs and limits of the longitude, they appear to me rather to have made some error in their method of reckoning of the longitude than to have attained any trustworthy result. Meanwhile, however this may be, until more certain results are arrived at, I do not think that their statements should be absolutely rejected, but merely accepted provisionally...

The natives of all unknown countries are commonly called Indians...

(Facing page) **A modern map of the southern half of the Philippine Islands upon which the route taken by the Magellan Expedition in 1521 has been superimposed.** *The letter H indicates the position of Humunu or Humonhon Island, and L is Limasawa I. where the first mass in the Philippines was celebrated. (Map #3083 of the Philippine Coast and Geodetic Survey)*

1 Ed. note: See next document by Peter Martyr for a description of the voyage before they reached the Pacific.

[Crossing of the Pacific]

They kept on this perpetual course, with headings betwen west and north, in order to place himself once again under the equinoctial line, and he did not deviate from this course except when storms would sometimes prevent him from following a strait course. When they had in this manner been carried for 40 days by a strong and generally favorable wind, and had seen nothing but sea, and everywhere sea, when they had almost reached the Tropic of Capricorn once more, two islands were sighted, but small and barren. These they found uninhabited when they tried to land; still, they stopped there two days for their health's sake, and general recruiting of their bodies, for there was very fair fishing there. They named these the Unfortunate Islands by common consent.¹

Then they again set sail thence, following their original course and direction of sailing. And when, for three months and twenty days, they had been sailing over this ocean with very favorable winds, and had traversed an immense part of the sea—more vast that mind of man can conceive, for they had been driven almost continuously by a very strong wind—they were now at last arrived on this [N] side of the equinoctial line, and at last they saw an island, called, as they learnt afterwards **Inuagana** by the natives. When they had approached nearer, they discovered the altitude of the Arctic pole to be 11 deg. The longitude they thought to be 158 deg. west of Gades². Then they saw other and still more islands, so that they knew they had arrived at some vast archipelago. When they reached **Inuagana**, the island was discovered to be uninhabited.³

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- 1 Ed. note: This 2-day stopover did not happen at the Unfortunate Islands, according to the primary sources, but later at the Ladrones. It is possible, of course, that the ships stopped in the lee of Tiburones Island to fish for sharks.
- 2 Ed. note: West of Cádiz, i.e. 164°17' W of Greenwich.
- 3 Ed. note: Many historians have misconstrued the above-mentioned islands in the Archipelago of San Lázaro, later called the Philippines, for the neighborhood of Guam and Rota. Such is not the case, as **Maximilian simply did not mention Guam**. The islands which he mentioned can clearly be recognized along Magellan's route south of Samar and Leyte Islands. Inuagana and Acaca were not mentioned in the primary accounts, such as Pigafetta's. However, no credibility should be given to Guillemard (and others who copied him) who presume that Inuagana somehow corresponds to Agaña on Guam, and Acaca, if written Açaça, would somehow correspond to Sosa or Sonson on Rota. I have determined (See my book entitled: **The Philippines** (1980), after studying Pigafetta's detailed account of the arrival at Samar and consulting modern maps and charts, that **Inuagana corresponds to Guiuan**, the peninsula at the southern tip of Samar Island situated at about 11°, the reported latitude; Caliocon Island, which is like a continuation of the Guiuan Peninsula (see map), was then uninhabited. The natives they met lived on Suluan Island.

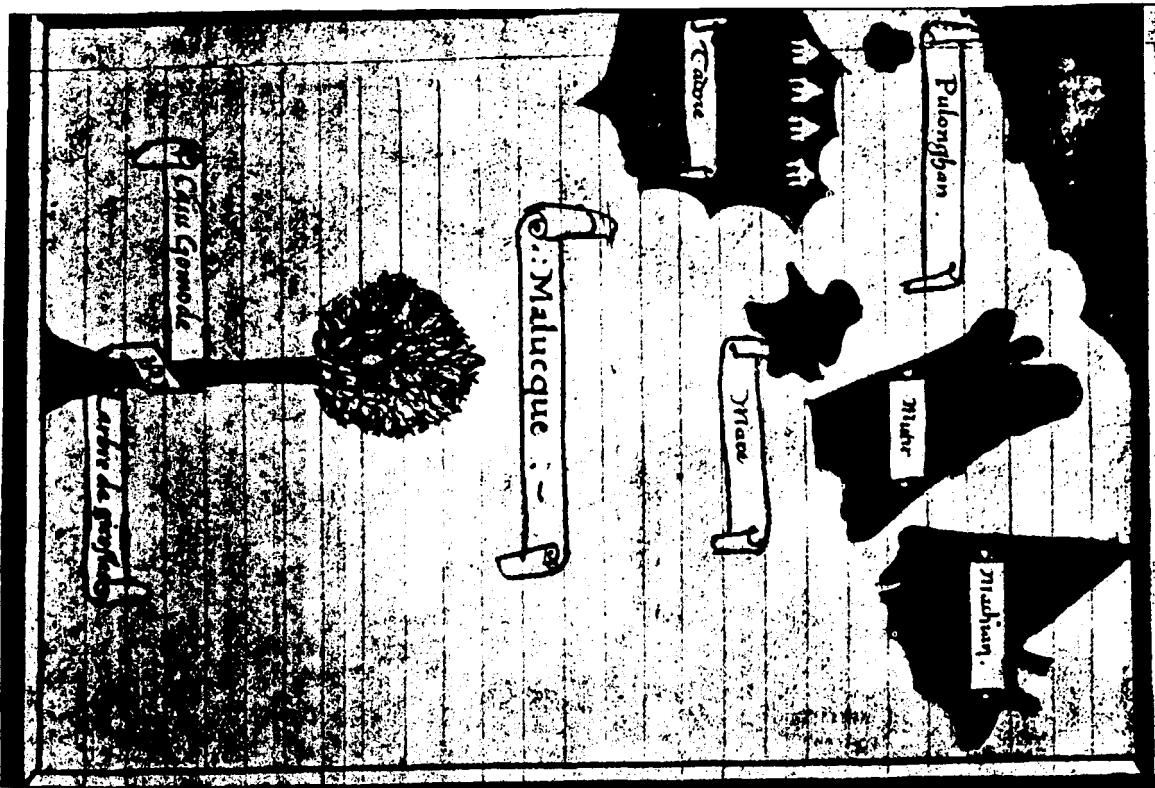
They then approached a rather small island, where they saw two Indian canoes—for that is the name by which this strange kind of boat is called by the [West] Indians. The canoes are cut and hollowed out of a single trunk of a tree, and hold one, or, at most, two men; and they usually speak by gestures and signs, as if the dumb were talking with the dumb. They asked the Indians the names of the islands, and where they could get provisions, of which they were in great want. They understood that the island in which they had been was called **Inuagana**, and that the one where they now were was **Acaca**, but both of them uninhabited.¹ They said that there was an island not far off, which was called **Selani**, and which they almost showed with their finger, and that it was inhabited, and that an abundance of everything necessary for life was to be found there. Our men, having taken in water in **Acaca**, sailed towards **Selani**; here a storm took them, so they could not bring the ships to that island, but were driven to another island called **Massaua**, where lives a king of three islands, after that they arrived at **Subuth**...²

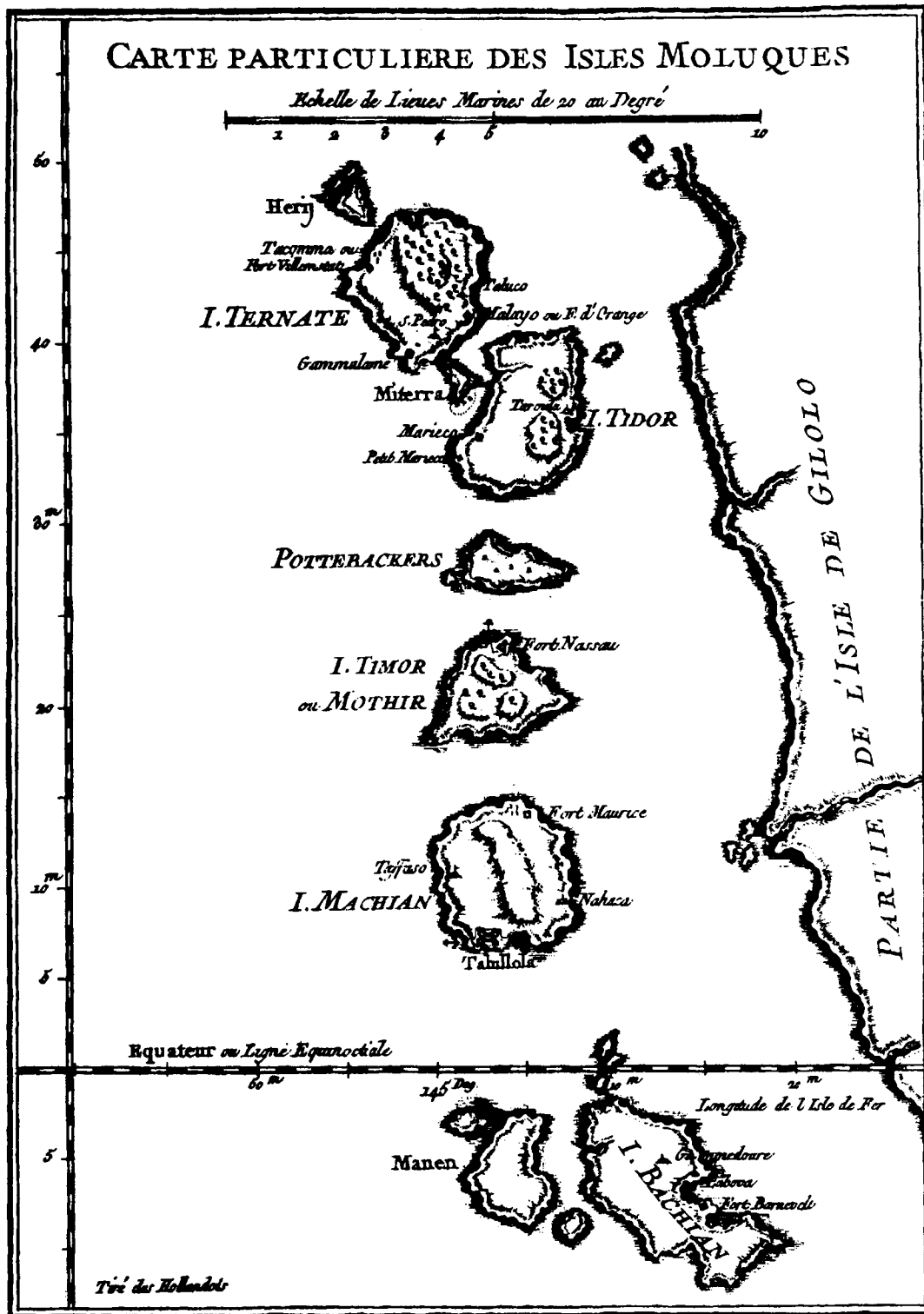
...But as our men were not in search of monsters but of spices, they did not pay attention to such stories, but sailed direct [from Mindanao] to the Moluccas, where they arrived in the 8th month after their admiral Magellan had been slain in the island of Mauthan [i.e. Mactan]. The Molucca Islands are five in number, and are called Tarante [Ternate], Muthil, Thedori [Tidore], Mare, and Matthien [Machian], situated partly to the south [of], and partly on the equator; the products are cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon; they are all close together, but of small size...

(Overleaf) **The Spice Islands or Moluccas were, as drawn by Pigafetta: Hiri, Tarenate [=Ternate], Maitar [=Mitterra], Tadore [=Tidore], Mare, Mutir [=Mothir], and Machian.**

The large inscription in French reads: "All the islands in this book are in the other hemisphere of the world at the antipodes." The inscription around the tree reads: "Caiu Gomode is the clove tree" [in the Moluccan language].

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- 1 Ed. note: **Acaca corresponds to Homonhon** Island, written Humunu by Pigafetta; it is where the expedition made the first stop; the Spanish referred to the place as the *Aguada* or "Watering Place", Pigafetta says, after they found two springs of clear water on it. A transcription error, no doubt, has converted *Aguada* into *Acaca*. In the days that followed, the Spanish also found signs of gold on this 40-square-mile island; hence the full name they gave to it: "the watering place of the good signs".
- 2 Ed. note: Working backward, *Subuth* being Cebu, *Massaua* is Limasawa Island south of Leyte, and *Selani* is a peninsula of southern Leyte north of Limasawa Island; this is confirmed by later accounts of the discovery of the Philippines. It is relevant to note at this point that the RAH Madrid ms. writes *Jubagana* instead of *Inuagana*, and *Acacán* instead of *Acaca*, *Selan* instead of *Selani*, and *Masana* instead of *Massaua*. So, transcription errors are always to be reckoned with.





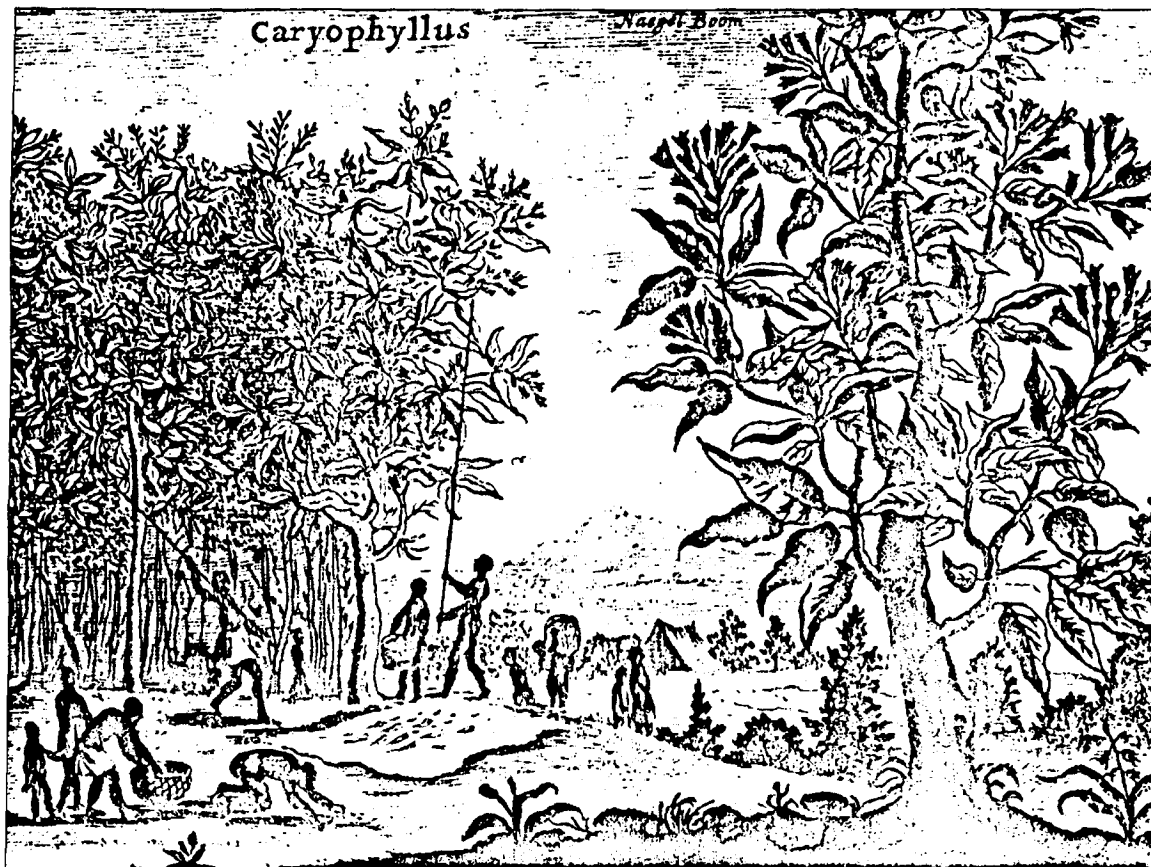
A 17th-century French map of the Moluccas. It is based on a Dutch original because Mare is called Pottebackers. Giallolo, or Gilolo, is the main region on the large island of Halmahera on the right.

But our avarice and insatiable desire of the luxuries of the table has urged us to seek spices even in those distant lands. To such a degree has the perversity of human nature persisted in driving away as far as possible that which is conducive to happiness, and in seeking articles of luxury in the remotest parts of the world!

[The Spice Islands]

Our men having carefully examined the position of each separate island, and also into the characters of the chiefs, sailed to Thedori, because they understood that this island produced a greater abundance of cloves than the others, and also that the king excelled the other kings in prudence and humanity. Providing themselves with presents they went ashore, and paid their respect to the king, and handed him the presents as the gift of the Emperor. He accepted the presents graciously, and looking up to heaven said: *"It has now been two years since I learned from observation of the stars that you were sent by the great King of kings to seek these lands. Therefore, your arrival is the more agreeable to me, inasmuch as it has already been foreseen from the significance of the stars. And since I know that nothing happens to man, which had not long since been ordained by the decree of Fate and of the stars, I will not be the man to resist the determinations of Fate and the stars, but will spontaneously abdicate my royal power, and consider myself in the future, as carrying on the government of this island as your king's viceroy. So bring your ships into the harbor, and order the rest of your companions to land in safety, so that now after so much tossing about on the sea, and so many dangers, you may securely enjoy the comforts of life ashore and recruit your strength; and consider yourselves to be coming into your own king's dominions."* Having thus spoken, the king laid aside his diadem, and embraced each of our men, and directed such refreshments as the country produced to be set on the table. Our men, delighted at this, returned to their companions, and told them what had taken place. They were much delighted by the graciousness and benevolence of the king, and took up their quarters in the island. When they had been entertained for some days by the king's munificence, they sent envoys thence to the other kings, to investigate the resources of the islands, and to secure the good will of the chiefs.



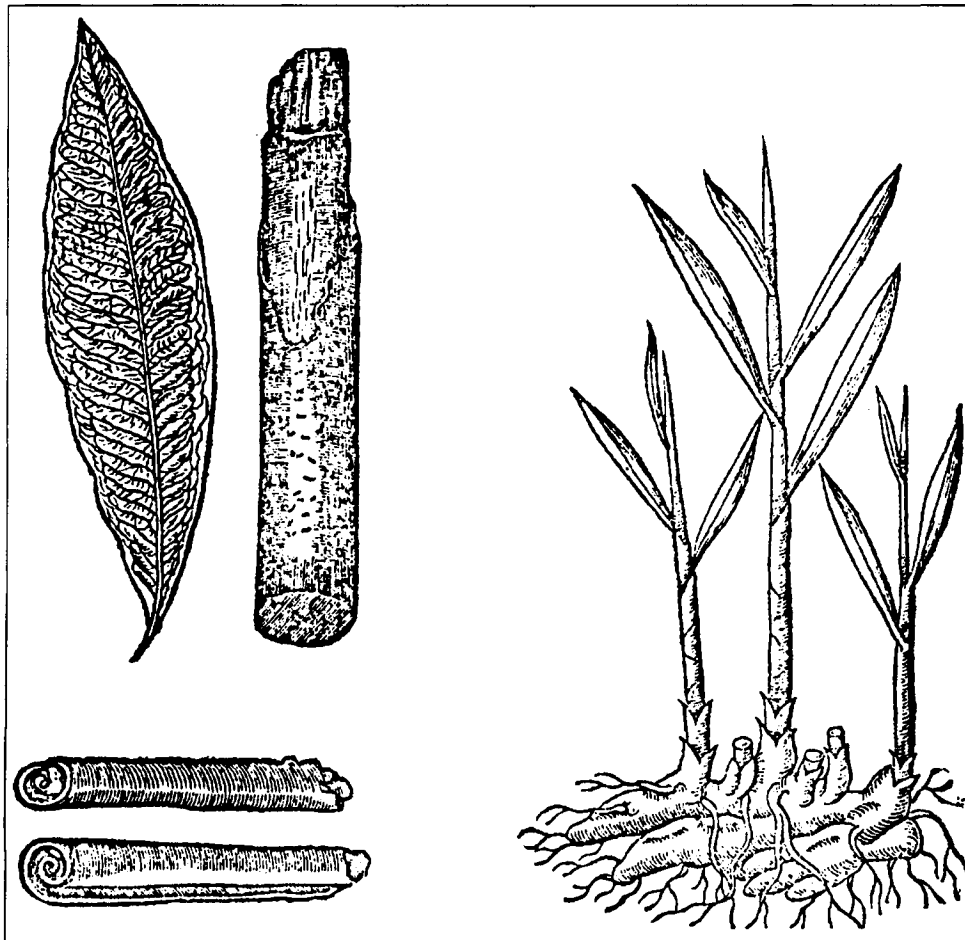


Harvesting clove in the Moluccas.

Tarante [Ternate] was the nearest; it is a very small island, its circumference being a little over six Italian miles. The next is Matthien [Machian], and that also is small. These three produce a great quantity of **cloves**, but every fourth year the crop is far larger than at other times. These trees only grow on precipitous rocks, and they grow so close together as to form groves. The tree resembles the laurel as regard its leaves, its closeness of growth, and its height; the clove, so called because of its resemblance to a nail¹ grows at the very tip of each twig; first a bud appears, then a blossom much like that of the orange; the point of the clove first shows itself at the end of the twig, until it attains its full growth; at first it is reddish, but the heat of the sun soon turns it black. The natives share groves of this tree among themselves, just as we do vineyards; they keep the cloves in pits, until the merchants come and take them away. The fourth island, Muthil, is no larger than the rest. This island produces **cinnamon**; the tree is full of shoots, and in other respects fruitless, it thrives best in a dry soil, and is very much like the pomegranate tree. When the bark cracks through the heat of the sun, it is pulled off

¹ Ed. note: From the word *clavus* in Latin.

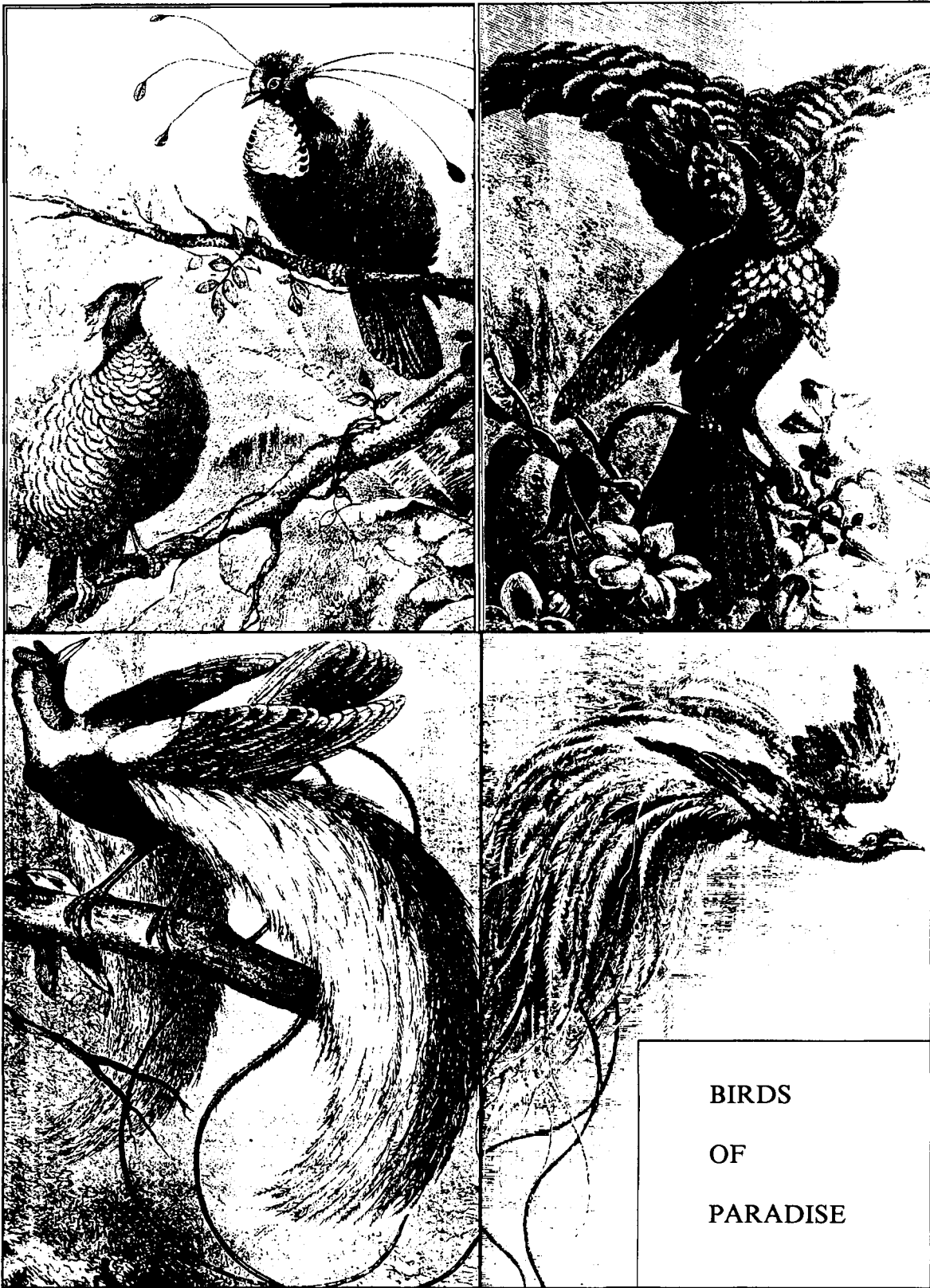
the tree, and being dried in the sun a short time becomes cinnamon. Near Muthil is another island, called Bada [=Banda?], the more extensive one of the Moluccas; in it the **nutmeg** grows. The tree is tall and widespread, much like the walnut tree; the fruit too is produced much the same way as a walnut, being protected by a double covering, first a soft envelope, and under this a thin reticulated membrane which encloses the nut. This membrane we [Germans] call *Muskatblüthe*, the Spanish call it *Macis* [mace]; it is an excellent and wholesome spice. Within this is a hard shell, like that of a filbert, inside which is the nutmeg properly so called. **Ginger** also is produced in all the islands of this archipelago; some is sown, some grows spontaneously, but the sown ginger is the best. The plant is like the saffron plant, and its root, which resembles the root of saffron, is what we call ginger.



Cinnamon and ginger.



The nutmeg tree. Mace is the shell covering the fruit. *(From the book by Davenport Adams: "The Eastern Archipelago", London, 1880)*



BIRDS
OF
PARADISE

Our men were kindly received by the various chiefs, who all, after the example of the king of Thedori, spontaneously submitted themselves to the Imperial government. But the Spaniards, having now only two ships, determined to bring with them specimens of all sorts of spices, etc., but to load the ships mainly with cloves, because there had been a very abundant crop of it this season, and the ship could contain a very great quantity of this kind of spice.

Having laden their ships with cloves, and received letters and presents from the chiefs to the Emperor, they prepared to sail away. The letters were filled with assurances of fidelity and respect; the gifts were Indian swords, etc. The most remarkable curiosities were some of the birds, called *Mamuco Diata*, that is the Bird of Paradise, with which they think themselves safe and invincible in battle. Five of these were sent, one of which I procured from the captain of the ship, and now send it to your Lordship, not that you will think it a defence against treachery and violence, but because you will be pleased with its rarity and beauty. I also send some cinnamon, nutmeg and cloves, that you may see that our spices are not only not inferior to those imported by the Venetians and Portuguese, but of superior quality, because they are fresher.

Soon after our men had sailed from Thedori, the larger of the two ships [i.e. the **Trinidad**] sprang a leak, which let in so much water that they were obliged to return to Thedori. The Spaniards, seeing that this defect could not be corrected except with much labor and loss of time, agreed that the other ship [i.e. the **Victoria**] should sail to the Cape of Cattigara [i.e. Cormorin], thence across the ocean as far as possible from the Indian coast, lest they should be seen by the Portuguese, until they came within sight of the southern point of Africa, beyond the Tropic of Capricorn, which the Portuguese call the Cape of Good Hope, from thence the voyage to Spain would be easy. It was also arranged that, when the repairs of the other ship were completed, it should sail back through the archipelago and the Vast [Pacific] Ocean to the coast of the continent which we have already mentioned [i.e. South America], until they came to the Isthmus of Darien, where only a narrow neck of land divides the South Sea [i.e. Pacific] from the Western [Atlantic] Sea, in which are the islands belonging to Spain.

The smaller ship accordingly set sail again from Thedori, and though they went as far as 12 degrees south, they did not find Cattigara, which Ptolemy considered to lie considerably south of the equator; however, after a long voyage, they arrived in sight of the Cape of Good Hope, and thence sailed to the Cape Verde Islands. Here this ship also, after having been so long at sea, began to be leaky, and the men, who had lost several of their companions through hardships in the course of their adventures, were unable to keep the water pumped out. They therefore landed at one of the islands called Santiago, to buy slaves. As our men, sailor-like, had no money, they offered cloves in exchange for slaves. When the Portuguese officials heard of this, they committed 13 of our men to prison. The rest, 18 in number, being alarmed at the position in which they found themselves, left their companions behind, and sailed directly to Spain. Sixteen months after they had sailed from Thedori, on the 6th of September 1522 they arrived safe and sound at a port near Seville.

These sailors are certainly more worthy of perpetual fame than the Argonauts who sailed with Jason to Colchis; and the ship itself deserves to be placed among the constellations more than the ship Argo. For the Argo only sailed from Greece through the Black Sea; but our ship, departing from Seville sailed southward at first, then through the whole of the West, into the Eastern Sea, then back again into the Western.

I humbly commend myself to your Most Reverend Lordship.

Written at Valladolid on the 24th of October 1522.

Your Most Reverend and Most Illustrious Lordship's most humble and perpetual servant,

Maximilianus Transylvanyus.

Cologne.—Printed by Eucharius Cervicornus¹ A.D. 1523, in the month of January.²

1 Ed. note: His real name in German was Hirschorn.

2 Ed. note: A second edition was printed in Rome in November 1523. As for a tertiary source like Oviedo's *Historia*, we find that it was plagiarized entirely from the above account by Transylvanus, but that the place names are those of the RAH manuscript. For Pigafetta's story of the discovery of the Philippines, see Lévesque (ed.), *The Philippines*. This story is not repeated here.

Document 1521G

Magellan's voyage—Official accounts by Peter Martyr

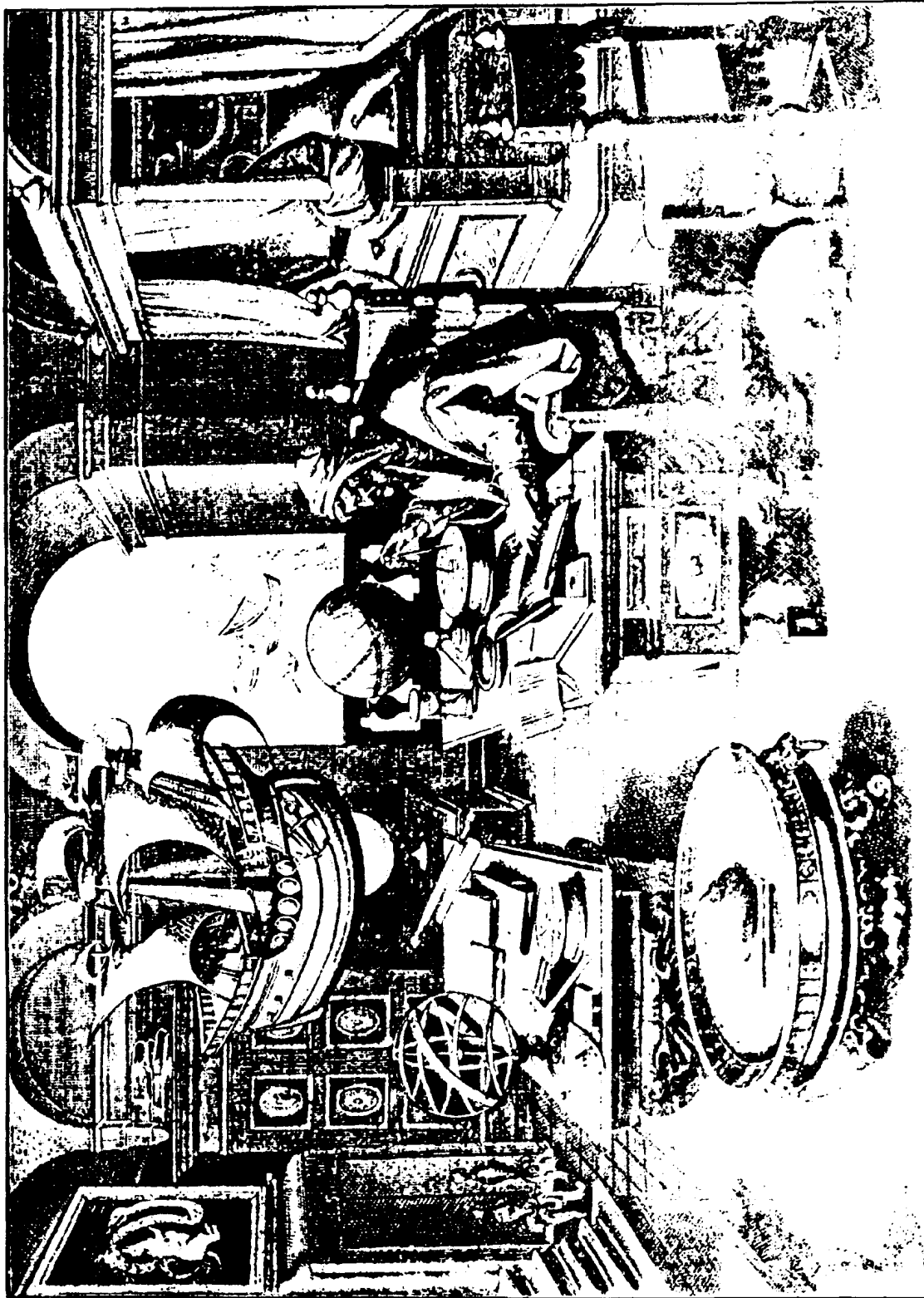
*Sources: Pietro Martire d'Anghiera [1455-1526], or rather Peter Martyr of Anghiera, was an Italian priest and scholar in the retinue of Emperor Charles V. He wrote an account of Magellan's voyage similar to that of Maximilian Transylvanus. His good friend, Pope Adrian VI, had requested a copy for publication. However, the Pope died before the report arrived at Rome in 1523 and this original was lost in the sack of Rome.¹ Hence, Peter Martyr had only his draft copy left. However, for years, he had in fact been compiling a major history of the period of European discoveries and keeping notes. This history was published in a series of eight books, each covering one decade. This voluminous work is entitled: **DE ORBE NOVO** or *The New World*. It was printed partly during his lifetime, and partly after his death which occurred at Granada in 1526. An English translation of the first three Decades was made by Richard Eden (London, 1555). Although a translation of this Latin text was also made in modern English by Francis A. MacNutt in 1912, I have preferred to make my own translation into English from a more scholarly translation into modern French made by Paul Gaffarel and printed in Paris in 1907. In addition, one short letter by Peter Martyr has been reproduced from his **Opus epistolarum**.*

FIFTH DECADE, CHAPTER VII

To His Holiness Adrian about the voyage round the world.

All the above stories had been written and were ready in my office, but secretaries were not available [to transcribe them], because we were separated by vast distances and the communications were not secure.

1 Ed. note: Giovanni Battista Ramusio [1485-1557], who published Transylvanus' letter in Vol. I of his **Delle navigationi et viaggi** in 1550, tells us the following: "The voyage was described in minute details by Peter Martyr, who belonged to the Council of the Indies of His Majesty the Emperor, and to whom was entrusted the duty of writing this history; and by him were examined all those who remained alive of that expedition, and who reached Seville in the year 1522. However, as it was sent to be printed in Rome, it was lost in the miserable sack of that city; and its present whereabouts are unknown. And he who saw it, and read it, bears testimony to the same."



A 16th-century cosmographer at work in his study. Peter Martyr lived in similar quarters while writing his Decades entitled "De orbe novo". (From a drawing by J. Stradan, 1520. BN Paris)

Suddenly the ocean brings forth new marvels and recent miracles. I will therefore finish this work with two appendices, that will be more important than all that preceded them. Firstly, I will speak about the voyage around the world, and the discovery of the islands that produce the spices; it is an extraordinary event that is hard to believe...

It was in Barcelona, when the Emperor was presiding over the parliament of Cataluña, and that Your Holiness was in charge of our imperial Council of the Indies¹ that, You will recall, there was given to the Portuguese Fernão Magalhães, who had abandoned the service of Portugal, the mission to visit the Moluccan Archipelago, where the spices grow. Magellan had indeed resided for seven years in Cochin, Cananor, Calicut, in Chersonesia which is also called Malacca, and he knew the position of those islands.² By sea, they are located not too far from Chersonesia, i.e. Malacca, and the other markets. Our Council, then chaired by Your Holiness, therefore entrusted this mission to Magellan, who left [Sanlúcar de] Barrameda, the port in the mouth of the Guadalquivir, on 20th of September 1519. He led a fleet of five ships: the flagship was called **Trinidad**, and the others **San Antonio**, **Victoria**, **Concepción**, and **Santiago**. They were manned with 237 men.³ Only two of those ships ever returned to Spain. One of them, after having abandoned the flagship, returned without having done anything.⁴ The second one⁵, three years after having left Spain (it was, indeed, on 6 September 1522 that she returned to her port of departure), re-appeared loaded with precious wood and spices. As for the crew, few of them survived and the admiral himself perished in one of the islands of the archipelago, at Mactan, killed by the islanders. We will give an account of this below. There exists between Spaniards and Portuguese an ingrained hatred. Magellan, under various pretexts he fomented himself, had on many occasions

1 Ed. note: The future Pope Adrian VI was born Adrian Dedel in the Low Countries, and was nicknamed Floriszoon. When he was dean of the University of Louvain, he became the tutor of Prince Charles, the future Charles V. In the summer of 1519, when he met Magellan, he was Cardinal of Tortosa, a member of the Council, but not yet its President (who was Bishop Fonseca of Burgos). Adrian later became Pope for only one year (1522-1523).

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1519D.

3 Ed. note: As we have seen in previous documents, the planned complement may have been 237 or so men, but there were so many supernumeraries, including Pigafetta, that the final total on board the five ships numbered about 280 men.

4 Ed. note: The **San Antonio** deserted the expedition in the Strait of Magellan and arrived back in Spain on May 6, 1521. Since the **Santiago** was shipwrecked in the Strait, Magellan had only three ships when he crossed the Pacific.

5 Ed. note: The **Victoria**.

some Spaniards slain, because they refused to obey him. I will mention it at the appropriate place. For now, I will concentrate on the narrative of the voyage.

First, they touched at the Fortunate Islands¹, then they came in sight of the Gorgades Archipelago, which their present owner, the King of Portugal, call the Cape Verde Islands. They then steered to the right [i.e. westward], turning their back to our continent, towards this great promontory that the Spaniards call the Cape of St. Augustine, and the Portuguese soon after called Cape of St. Mary. This promontory is situated at 5 degrees beyond the equinoctial line. They then proceeded southward as far as the gulf where, as I have narrated in a previous decade, Captain Solis, who had visited these shores with our fleet, was killed by the natives with some of his companions and eaten by them.² This gulf is located at 38° south of the equinoctial line. It has been baptized St. Mary's Bay; sometimes it is simply called the Bay.

Some men sent by Magellan went up the river that empties into this gulf. They had with them one of the ships and one boat. They saw three half-wild men, all naked, who exceeded the normal height of men by two cubits³. One of them, trusting us, boarded the boat. Our Spaniards, treated him well, thinking that they would thus attract his companions towards the fleet. He was therefore given some drink, food, clothing, and then let go, but he was never seen again, nor any of his people. However, some trees were discovered that had been marked with our axes, and a cross had been erected on top of another tree, but nowhere [else] was there a sign of our countrymen. This river is gigantic. Marvellous things are being said about it, just like this Marañon, located in Paria to the north, about which I have already spoken.⁴ They went up this river for about 20 leagues, and there were still 17 leagues from shore to shore. Its mouth is huge, it is true that many other rivers come to augment its volume. Far off shore, the water is still fresh.

When the Spaniards left this gulf, they found, a few degrees more to the south, a marked curving of the continent westward, and another great gulf they named St. Julian. There was in this gulf a secure port. The admiral ordered the ships to anchor there. At that time, the sun was on the way towards us and was leaving those lands. The cold became very intense when the sun crossed the constellation of the Capricorn; that

1 Ed. note: Not to be confused with the Unfortunate Islands in the Pacific, the Fortunate Islands are the Canary Islands in the Atlantic.

2 Ed. note: Three years earlier, Juan de Solis and 60 of his men had stepped ashore after entering Rio de la Plata. They were captured by the Querandi Indians who used a terrible weapon, later called "bolas" by the Spanish. Some of them were roasted and eaten in full view of those who had remained aboard ship.

3 Ed. note: This is what Gaffarel says in French, but Torres Asensio has said in Spanish the equivalent of "two palms".

4 Ed. note: He means the Amazon River. Paria is probably a transcription error for Darien.

is what happens at home when it is in the middle of the constellation of Libra. In this port, and for more than five months in a row, at the time we enjoyed summer, our men were delayed by the cold and by storms inside huts and shelters they had built upon the shore. It was, indeed, in April when they entered this port and they did not come out of it until September 9th.¹

It was also during their stay there that Magellan used severity against Captain Cartagena.² He was a confidant of the Bishop [Fonseca] of Burgos who, by royal assent, had been given to Magellan as a colleague and named second leader of the expedition. Under the pretext that he had conspired against him to kill him, Magellan put him ashore, along with a priest³, and give to both of them⁴ only a little bread and only one sword. He would have liked nothing better than to punish with death the mere thought they had had of killing him, but he feared the grudge of the Spaniards already excited against him, and did not dare undertake this responsibility. This deed has been reported in various ways; for all the other events the accounts are in agreement. According to some, Magellan acted properly in doing that; he did not, according to some others, and, if he showed such severity, it was because of old hatreds that were taking roots between the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

They were able, during this stay, to examine the huts of the natives. They are savages, without strength.⁵ They have only pelts for clothing. They are nomads, without a fixed residence, without any laws; very high in size. They called them Patagons.⁶

They left the port of St. Julian at the time the sun was coming back to the horizon; it was on September 9, 1521.⁷ At first, the direction of the antarctic pole was taken, and that for another 14 degrees.

I must digress once more. When Magellan was only a boy, he had vaguely heard some Portuguese speak about the existence in those seas of a strait, but the entrance was difficult to find, so that he did not know where to turn. Pure chance gave him what reasoning could not. A storm arose that was so terrible that it lifted one of the ships⁸ and threw it whole upon the rocks in the vicinity. The crew was saved, but the ship was broken up into pieces by the waves. Here was already one of the five ships in the fleet lost. At that time, on the left, there was the immensity of the sea, and on the right, there were mountains covered with snow. One of the ships, whose draft was smaller and that was looking for a harbor, was pushed by the fury of the waves very near the coast. Those

1 Ed. note: Torres Asensio has translated "24 August" thus correcting Martyr to agree with Alvo's logbook. Apparently, the 9th day of the kalends of September is in fact 21 August.

2 Ed. note: The captain of the **San Antonio**.

3 Ed. note: Father Bernard Calmette, N° 104 on my crew list, who was a Frenchman.

4 Ed. note: "To each of them", translates Torres Asensio.

5 Ed. note: This word "strength", or "force", can mean either physical body strength, or else arms, army, or fort.

6 Ed. note: The Patagonian Indians wore bits of *guanaco* pelts around their feet in winter. That is why they were called "pata cão" or "dog foot" by the Portuguese among the sailors.

7 Ed. note: The exact date, as I have said above, was probably 24 August.

8 Ed. note: The **Santiago**, a small ship of 75-ton burthen.



A 16th-century map of the Strait of Magellan, looking south. At the entrance of the strait (on the left) is Cape of the Virgins, and Cape Deseado, now called Cape Pilar, is at the exit (on the right).

on board sighted a narrow passage. They went into it and discovered a gulf 4 leagues in width and 6 leagues in length, in accordance with Spanish measures. The ship doubled back and announced that a passage had been found. I skip over many details; here are the general facts. They pretend that, in places, one could hit the mountains on both sides of the strait with stones from slingshots. The country around there is uninhabited. Upon both shores are found mountains with cedar trees. When they had crossed this first passage, they met with another strait a little wider, but still narrow, then a third one, and a fourth, beyond which another gulf opened up. The same way that on European maps we notice toward the Dardanelles two narrow straits that give access to an inland sea, likewise this strait contains three passages giving access to as many open spaces that are bigger. All those straits are full of small islands; that is why the Spanish were sailing with the fear of hitting reefs. Nevertheless, the sea was everywhere very deep...

In the middle of the strait the Spanish anchored in a sea shaped like a square. They found nothing worthwhile there, but it was there that one of the four ships stayed, the one bearing the name of **San Antonio**. The other ships thought that she would follow, but she stayed behind and turned back. She has been back for a long time and has placed many sad accusations against Magellan. We think that such a disobedience will not remain unpunished. There were then only three ships left to proceed forward. They had gone into the strait on October 21st; they left it on the 5th day of the kalends of December [27 November]. During that whole period, the days had been very long and the nights very short; this is understandable, given the shape of the terrestrial sphere.

[The crossing of the Pacific]

After leaving the strait, the Spanish went into another sea, a vast ocean; it is the ocean that is in opposition to our continent. It communicates with the sea which I have called the South Sea in my **Decades**, and which was seen for the first time by Vasco Nuñez [de Balboa] when he was being led by the sons of Chief Comogro.¹

The Spanish narrate that they sailed for three months and twenty days upon this huge ocean, and during this whole time saw nothing but sky and salt water. They suffered a lot from lack of food and from intense heat. During many long days, they had only a handful of rice to eat, only as much as the hand could hold, without the slightest bit of other food. As for water to drink, it was lacking so much that, in order to cook the rice, they had to add one third sea water and, when they wanted to drink it as is, they had to close the eyes, because it was all green, and to plug their nostrils, as it stank so much. While sailing upon this huge sea in a northwesterly direction, they crossed the equinoctial line for a second time and nearby discovered two uninhabited islands. They named them the Unfortunate Islands, because they were useless and sterile.

They then passed through a multitude of islands which they called the Archipelago, because of their similarity with our Cyclades in the Aegean Sea. They landed upon most of those islands which were separated from one another by narrow distances along a space of 500 leagues. They called them the Islands of Thieves and did not want to retain the native name.² The reason for this is because the islanders, although animated by peaceful intentions towards us, were stealing everything they could lay their hands on. They resembled this race of thieves whom the Italians call *Zingari* and who pretend wrongly that they are Egyptians.³ Among the objects that they stole was a boat that our people had used to go ashore. They had hardly turned their back that they made it disappear, but they were made to bring it back after having lost many of their own people. These islanders are naked and half brute. Among them, there grows a tree that bears cocos.

The largest of their islands is called Burneo.⁴ The Spanish affirm without hesitation that it has a circumference of 254 leagues... Around Burneo the sea is strewn with many small islands; two can be noted: Zubo [i.e. Cebu] and Matan [i.e. Mactan]... Magellan was killed with seven of his companions, and 22 others were wounded. Thus this brave Portuguese had his thirst for spices quenched...

1 Ed. note: Across the Isthmus of Panama in 1513 (See Doc. 1513).

2 Ed. note: The native name was left unrecorded. Martyr, like Transylvanus, has confused the Marianas with the Philippines.

3 Ed. note: The Gypsies are now known to have originated in what is today western India and Pakistan, and migrated to Europe through Asia Minor and perhaps Egypt as well. Since they were first called Egyptians, Gypsies is a contraction of that word in English. By the way, when I last visited Rome in 1990, I was harassed many times by groups of modern Zingari children.

4 Ed. note: Martyr did not obviously respect the chronological order of events, mixing the Philippines with the Ladrones, and now Borneo with the Philippines.

[The Moluccas]

In view of the [Philippine] islands, there were the so-desired Moluccas at some 175 leagues toward the equator, i.e. 10 degrees according to their accounting, but I admit that I do not understand their calculations. The ancient philosophers estimated the degree at 60 Roman miles, and each mile consisted of one thousand paces. The Spanish pretend that one league is equal to 4 miles at sea and only 3 miles ashore. If we accept the way Spanish sailors count, each degree consists of 15 leagues; for them, contrary to current thinking, the degree is 17-1/2 leagues.¹ Let the others figure it out; as for me, I give up.

Let us go back to the Moluccas. The Spanish finally got there. There are five main ones, which are either under or very near the equator. Each one is almost equal in circumference: four, five or at most six leagues. As a result of a quirk of nature, they are all dominated by a high mountain. It is here that the clove tree grows and ripens naturally. On the south [sic] side, five of the Moluccas are enclosed by a large territory called Gilolo.² The clove tree also grows on Gilolo, but it is acidic and half-wild, as it happens with the chestnut and the olive trees when they are not grafted. However, in all the smaller islands, the clove trees are all aromatic. It is interesting to hear the story of how the clove, according to the islanders, get its aromatic quality. They say that every day and three times a day, early in the morning, at noon, and late afternoon, a certain cloud, which they claim is sent from heaven, covers the peaks of the mountains where the clove tree grows. During that time, one cannot see the peaks of the trees, then after a while the cloud disappears. Thus the clove trees, which are trees that look much like the laurel trees, are fertilized by that air; they give as proof the fact that such a cloud never comes down to the lower parts of the island, and also because the clove trees that have been transplanted away from the hills do not grow well and do not give aromatic fruits.

In each one of the Moluccas, there is a plain reserved for the culture of rice. The Spanish stopped at one of the islands. Its king received them in peace and quite honorably. There were then only two ships left, given that they had destroyed the third, because, after the death of the captain and of their companions at the fatal banquet, there were not enough people to manage her. The surviving ships were named **Trinidad** and **Victoria**.

These islanders are almost naked. They use only some small aprons made of tree barks to hide their natures with. The king of this island told them that he had pleasure in welcoming them as guests, because, a few months before that, he had seen in the circle of the moon some strangers coming in by sea, and he declared that they looked exactly like the Spaniards.

Our people say that these islands lie at 5,000 leagues from Hispaniola, i.e. some 20,000 Italian miles. I think that they are mistaken. They report that the islanders are

1 Ed. note: I have corrected Gaffarel here; he wrote 70 instead of 17.

2 Ed. note: Apparently, the more modern word for this island, Halmahera, means great land. Gilolo is east, not south, of the main Moluccas.

happy, although they do not know about our bread, our wine, and have no meat from neither cows nor sheep. They make do with rice, which they cook in a thousand ways. They have another bread, used by the common people, which is made of the marrow, already old, of some [sago?] palms that have fallen by themselves. It happens indeed that, in thick forests where men do not live, tall trees sometimes fall as a result of hurricanes or because their roots can no longer find soil. Indeed, as the trees grow taller, they need stronger roots to keep them erect. So, for whatever reason, there are many fallen trees in the forest which then rot, turn white [with moss] and are eaten by worms. Indeed they make their common bread from the very heart of this palm. They cut the marrow into square shapes, then they make it into flour, let it dry, then knead and cook it. They have brought back a few pieces of these brick-like cakes. I myself wished to taste it; nothing is rougher nor more tasteless. It must indeed be the bread of the poor people who do not have any field in which to grow rice. It reminds me of what I have seen in the mountains, fields and villages where the inhabitants feed themselves with a bread which is not much better, almost black in color, made with seeds called *centeno* (rye) in Spanish, or else with ordinary or Italian millet, or something worse. Is it not the rule for capricious Nature to feed a few very well and leave the rest suffering from hunger, so that just a few enjoy the pleasures of refined eating? Nevertheless, people subsist everywhere, because nature requires very little and one can survive with almost nothing. All the people there raise goats and domestic birds. They have sweet cane similar to sugarcane. They also have some Carthage apples, which Italians and Spaniards call *granada* [pomegranate], medicinal fruits and all sorts of citrous fruits. Among the latter, the Spaniards recognize limes, lemons, oranges, grapefruits, citrons and a bigger citron, all different. From among the herbs that grow near the springs, why not cite the one I will call simply by the common name in Spanish *berro*, and which in Italy is called *cresones* [water cress]? Why not mention also another herb that grows among the others, that is poisonous, and that incites vomiting, and is called *anapelo* [wolf's-bane or aconite] by the Spanish...

[The coconut tree]

The islanders make some wine, not like ours from grapes because they do not grow in the Moluccas, but with various types of fruits; one of these is more commonly used. Among them, as among the inhabitants of our own continent, grows a tree that resembles a palm tree, but differs much from it by its products. This tree sprouts a dozen or more, up to twenty, bunches, each bunch having stems like a vine with grapes, but the fruits are covered with many layers of bark. When undressed, the fruits look like a small, round, melon, but its shell is almost as hard as a tortoise shell. These fruits are called *cocos*. The coconut is dressed with more layers of clothing than the edible palm nut, with the same woven filaments that bind them to one another, and it takes no less work to take them out of their envelope than with palmettos. Once opened, the coconuts are good to eat, and moreover are full of delicious liquor. A spongy matter adheres to the inside of the nut shell, two-finger thick, that looks like butter or fat on account of its

whiteness and softness, but much tastier. Once this mass had been detached from the inner shell, it is very good to eat. If it is turned over and left in its own shell used as a container for a few days, it melts and is converted into an oil which is sweeter than olive oil, and very healthy for the sick.

It is not the only service that nature has provided with this tree. The trunk [sic] is pierced, where the flowers sprout at the top, and they say that it distills drop by drop into a vessel placed there to collect it a liquor that is good to drink, very tasty and very healthy.

The islanders busy themselves with fishing, as their waters are full of many kinds of fishes, among them one which is a real little monster. It is a little less than one cubit in length, with a protruding belly and raised shoulders that are not covered with scales but with very hard leather. It has a pig's snout. Its forehead is adorned with two bony horns. Its shoulders have two hard lumps.¹

The king, upon whose territory the Spanish had landed, imagining that they had been brought to him by some divine power, asked them what they wanted, what they had come for. They answered: "Spices." He then said: "What we have, you can take." Then he called on his island subjects and ordered them to show to our men what each one had accumulated as far as clove. Permission was granted for our people to carry these piles away, after a suitable compensation had been given. Indeed, when the clove is ripe, the islanders collect it into piles in their houses and wait for the traders, as they do for any other product. From here, aboard big ships called junks, it is then taken to markets in Calicut, Cochin, Cananor and Malacca. The same is true for pepper, ginger, cinnamon, and all these other delicacies that are not necessary, and which make women out of men.

In the five [central] islands of the Moluccas, the only spice that is grown is clove, although they are not far from the islands where the other spices grow. It was the Moluccan islanders who reported this fact to the Spaniards, and they had it confirmed by an act of piracy they committed. Well, when they had left the big island of Borneo and the other islands in its vicinity (where Captain Magellan was killed in one of them), while they were on their way to the Moluccas, they chanced upon one of these big native ships called junks.² This ship was caught off guard. It was full of merchandise, among other things all kinds of spices other than clove, although in small quantities, but they were in excellent quality, as though freshly harvested. These ships do not dare make long crossings, because they are not built with enough craftsmanship to be able, like ours, to withstand storms, and the sailors aboard are not expert enough to sail with anything but a tail wind. The said craft was carrying to a neighboring island some local

1 Ed. note: That is a good description of the *lactoria cornuta* or long-horned cowfish, also found in Micronesia (See Amesbury and Myers' "Guide to the Coastal Resource of Guam: Vol. 1—The Fishes", p. 131).

2 Ed. note: These native ships were in fact very large double-outrigger canoes, commonly used for long-distance inter-island trading. The Spanish and the Portuguese were to encounter many more of these over the next century or so, and they were in time better described. The word junk became exclusive to Chinese ships.

products: rice, coconuts such as we have described above, chickens, ducks, and many other edibles. A few nuggets of gold were also found aboard. The Spanish indeed had a feast as a result, but it was at the expense of innocent parties who had not suspected their passage.

They therefore decided to load the two remaining ships with clove. Because there was not enough of it in the island where they had landed, its king visited the neighboring islands that are in sight. In fact, out of the five Moluccas, four are in sight of one another. The fifth one [i.e. Machian] is a little farther than the eye can see, but not much more.

There they were, the two ships full of recently-picked clove. They also brought along some branches still bearing their fruits. It was a pleasure for all those at court to see those branches and smell the fruits still clinging to them. It turns out that their smell was not much different than that of clove sold by druggists. I was given many of those branches. I have given away many so far, but I still have a few left to distribute which I will keep in reserve until I hear from Your Holiness if he already owns some.

As I have said, the two ships were loaded with clove. Let me narrate the rest of the voyage. One of them, the **Trinidad**, was worm-eaten, rotten and drilled through by worms which the Italians call *bissi* and the Spanish *broma*, so much so that through her sides as well as through her bottom the water was passing as through a sieve. They did not dare such a long navigation without first repairing the damage. The **Trinidad** was therefore left behind and to this day, we have had no news of her.¹ If she still exists, we do not know. So, out of five ships, only two have returned: the **Victoria**, just now, and the **San Antonio**, last year. As for the crews, few men have returned.

[The return of the Victoria]

What is left to narrate is the return voyage made by the **Victoria**, because she came back to her point of departure by another route. The whole voyage has lasted three years less a few days. Because of a series of misfortunes, all the leaders have been left along the way. But what is unheard of, and had never been tried since the beginning of the world, this ship has followed a parallel and done a complete circuit around the earth.

If this feat had been done by a Greek, what stories their writers would not have invented about it! What exactly was performed the ship of the argonauts, which they say, without shame and in complete seriousness, that it was taken into heaven? If we reflect just a little upon this, it had left the town of Argos to go to the Pontus.² It arrived at Oetes and Medea with its load of heroes: Hercules, Theseus, and Jason. I do not know what they did. The people still do not know what is really meant by the Golden Fleece. As far as the distance between Greece and the Pontus, even the children in the lowest classes have learned about it; it is no bigger than the fingernail of a giant.

1 Ed. note: Martyr wrote this at the end of 1522. See immediately below, and also the two letters he wrote about Magellan reproduced at the end of this chapter.

2 Ed. note: The Pontus Euxinus was the Black Sea.

Let us now try and explain how the Spanish have gone around the world, because it is hard to believe. Well then, let us prove it. Let Your Holiness have a globe brought to Him, upon which have been drawn the earth's continents. Let Him begin with the columns of Hercules, otherwise known as the Strait of Gibraltar. By turning left, one comes upon the Fortunate Islands, commonly called the Canaries. Between them and the coast of Africa, by going due south, one finds other islands, belonging to the Portuguese, and called by them the Cape Verde Islands; they are the Gorgades of Medusa in Latin. Here we have to pay attention, because this is the beginning of something admirable. From the Hesperides¹, the Portuguese cross the equinoctial line, and also the Tropic of Capricorn and as far as the last promontory of the Mountains of the Moon which they call the Cape of Good Hope in common language and is located at 34 degrees from the equator; others say it is 2 degrees less. After they have rounded this cape, they make their way eastward, pass the entrance to the Erythrean [i.e. Red] Sea and Persian Gulf, by the mouths of the Indus and Ganges Rivers, as far as Golden Chersonesia, to which they have given the name of Malacca, as I have already said. We have already covered half of the circuit around the globe. All the cosmographers have written that, out of the 24 hours it takes for the sun to complete its circuit, twelve of them have already been used up. Let us now measure the second half. To do this we have to return to the Gorgades.

Our fleet of five ships left this archipelago on the left, and taken the opposite direction, showing their poops to the Portuguese poops. It then coasted that continent of ours whose [eastern] extremity belongs to the Portuguese. It advanced beyond the 50th antarctic degree, as we have already narrated. I do not mention the exact degree, because the estimates differ, although by a small amount. The Spanish followed the setting sun, as the Portuguese have followed the rising sun, and they arrived at the back of the Moluccas, islands that are not far from where Ptolemy has placed Gatinara [Cati-gara] and the Great Gulf. What can I say about the Great Gulf and Gatinara? They say that they did not find them where Ptolemy had placed them. However, I will have another opportunity to come back to this point. Let us come back for now to our voyage around the world. So it is that another route was found to reach the Golden Chersonesia, completely opposite to that taken by the Portuguese. It is by way of the Golden Chersonesia and following the route taken by the Portuguese [in reverse] that this ship [i.e. the Victoria], the Queen of the Argonauts, has returned to the Hesperides.

When she arrived in view of the Gorgades [Cape Verde Is.], she lacked everything. A boat manned by 13 men was sent ashore to ask the Portuguese for some fresh water and food, but not for free. There, the Portuguese officials, who imagine that their right eye is being pulled out when they hear of a prince, other than their own, has made a profit out of spices, seized the boat and its crew. This was contrary to a treaty arrived at when Pope Alexander VI divided the world. The royal officials at the Hesperides were also on the lookout for the ship, and it would have been easy for them to capture her. However, sensing that their companions had been arrested, before the Portuguese

1 Ed. note: The Hesperides of Ptolemy correspond to the Azores, I think.

ships could attack them, they raised the anchor and escaped, leaving in the hands of the Portuguese thirteen of their companions. Out of the 60 who had embarked at the Moluccas¹, only 31 were left. However, the Portuguese later released the 13 prisoners, by order of their King.

If I had to refer to the worries, the dangers, the thirst, the lack of sleep, the fatigue they experienced by having to pump day and night the water that was coming in through cracks and holes, my narrative would become too long. Let me just mention that aboard this ship, with more holes than a well-made sieve, there were 18 men² more tired than the most beaten work horses. They have sailed for so long that they say that have covered by zigzagging here and there 14,000 leagues, although the circumference of the earth is less than 8,000 leagues.³ However, nobody among them knew the exact route to take to reach the so-desired islands by a different route than that taken by the Portuguese.

Plans are being made to pursue an enterprise so well undertaken. What will be resolved, what will be convened with the Portuguese, who complain that they have been gravely harmed by this voyage, I will let You know. The Portuguese assert that the Moluccas are located within the limits that have been assigned to them by His Holiness Pope Alexander VI, with a convention between the Kings (of Castile) and that of Portugal. They say that they [i.e. the Moluccas] are [like] villages, farms and towns bringing their products to the markets of Malacca, Calicut and Cochin, and that everywhere else the peasants bring what they grow and raise to the towns and fortresses. We, on the contrary, contend that it was they who have usurped the Moluccas, given that they are outside of the line going from pole to pole and separating the Orient from the Occident. Your Holiness knows the question well, as it has been discussed before Him so many times.

There is one more thing I should mention that may fill the readers with wonder, specially those who think they have a perfect knowledge of celestial phenomena. When the **Victoria** arrived at the Gorgades, the sailors thought the day of the week was a Wednesday, but it was a Thursday. That is why they say that they have lost one day during their three-year voyage. I told them: "Look, your chaplains have led you in error when they forgot to include that one day as part of their ceremonies, or when reciting their breviaries." They answered me: "What? Do you think that we all fell into the same mistake, particularly the men with courage and experience? It is relatively easy to keep track of the months and days, and many of them had with them some books of hours and they knew perfectly well what prayers they had to say every day. There certainly were no mistakes made about the hours reserved for the Holy Virgin, before whom we knelt at every moment to implore her assistance. Many people spent their time reciting

1 Ed. note: There were 47 Europeans and 13 Asians (See the last page of Doc. 1519F).

2 Ed. note: Not counting the Asians this time.

3 Ed. note: Let me remind the reader that this figure should be 6,300 leagues, at 17-1/2 leagues to one degree x 360°.

those hours and the office of the dead. Well then, you should look somewhere else for an explanation. It is certain that we have lost one day.”

Some would give one reason, others other reasons, but they all agreed on that one point: they had lost one day. “Friends, I said, remember that the year that followed your departure, the year 1520, was a leap year. It is perhaps what has led you astray.” However, they insisted that they had given 29 days to the month of February of that year, although it is usually shorter, and that they had not neglected the *bis sexto* of the kalends of March either. The 18 men who have returned from the expedition are almost all illiterate¹, but, when interrogated one after the other, they gave the same answers.

Being very anxious to solve this puzzle, I went to see Gaspar Contarini², who is ambassador of his illustrious Republic of Venice at the Emperor’s court, and is a better-than-average scholar in many disciplines. We discussed in many ways this event never observed before, and have come up with the following probable explanation. The Spanish ship departed the Gorgades going westward, which is the same direction taken by the sun. Therefore, it followed the sun, and each day was somewhat longer than the previous one, in relation with the distance covered. Consequently, when it completed the voyage around the world, which the sun does in 24 hours, it had gained one full day. Thus, it was one day behind those who had stayed in one place. In the same manner, if a Portuguese fleet were to continue its route toward the east, and follow the just-discovered route, to return to the Gorgades, it is clear that, by losing a little time every day, it would have in fact gained one full day. If, on the same day, a Spanish fleet and a Portuguese fleet had left the Gorgades and poops to poops, one going west and the other going east, and after a while and by different routes, had met once again at the Gorgades on a certain Thursday, the Spanish who would have lost one day would think that day to be a Wednesday, whereas the Portuguese, having gained one day, would think the day of the week was a Friday. Let the philosophers discuss this problem with deeper arguments if they wish. For now, I have given my opinion and nothing else.

I have said enough about the voyage around the world, about the islands where the spices grow, and about new lands. Let us get back to Mexican affairs. I will summarize them as much as possible, because so much work makes me tired, on account of old age³ in whose talons Your Holiness saw me the last time. Old Age is flying me rapidly toward the arms of Decrepitude, his rapacious sister. Nevertheless, I would enjoy spending more time along the pathways here below.

1 Ed. note: Martyr had obviously not met Pigafetta, or, for some reason, chose to ignore his Italian compatriot.

2 Ed. note: G. Contarini [1483-1552] eventually became a cardinal. He was a diplomat and author of political and religious books.

3 Ed. note: Martyr was then 67 years old. He died 4 years later.

Letter from Peter Martyr to the Marquis of Vélez and the Marquis of Mondéjar (his pupils), dated Valladolid 4 November 1522

... Let us talk about something else. It seems to me that you have seen some brief notes about the islands where spices grow, discovered by the Spanish. This matter is gnawing at the entrails of the King of Portugal. He says that they are the suburbs of Malacca, which most people equate with Golden Chersonesia, because they are in the vicinity and from there people go to the fairs of Malacca for island trading. Cesar [i.e. Charles V] will plead the case as a done deal. The King of Portugal will argue that they are within the limits that Pope Alexander VI has marked as his. There will be a question raised: if measuring degrees of latitude is easy, the measurement of the degrees of longitude is on the other hand difficult. There will be discussions and they will drag on. The ins and outs of such important discussion will not be left in the hands of lawyers, nor in the depth of their arguments; their nitpickings are like spider webs.

However, as it took three years for a fleet, about which I think you have received some news, to go completely around the parallel, with their prows always pointing at the setting sun, until one of them returned to the Orient [sic] loaded with spices, and during this voyage they found out that they had lost one day, two things that seem impossible to those of weak minds, you will see some day in the narrative of this event properly discussed. Well then, I am writing my fourth Decade, to follow my first three Decades of the New World that have seen the light thanks to the industry of the printers. This one about these new things, I ought to send to the Pope. That is all for now. Take care.

Document 1521H

Magellan's voyage—Letter from a Spanish spy in Portuguese India to the King of Spain

Source: Original ms. in the Simancas Archives: Secretaria de Estado, leg. 367, fol. 94, as given by B&R I, pp. 92, 297-301, 343: Extract of a letter from the Indies, dated Cochin, 23 December 1522. The information is hearsay evidence from 2 young sailors of the Magellan Expedition who had deserted at Timor. As expected, the report is somewhat garbled.

Extract of a letter from the Indies

...

After I had written the above to your Lordship, Iñigo López arrived on the 18th [December 1522] from Malacca with the news that the Spaniards were in the Moluccas; that three vessels had left Spain under the command of Fernando Magallanes... He continued on his forward course [through the Pacific] although he had but little food and water, and finally came in sight of an island which was the island of Borneo. They tried to land there against the will of the inhabitants. A great fight ensued between them, in which Magallanes and many of his fighting men were killed. When the fleet, deprived of many men, was at the point of having contemplating surrendering to the natives ashore, a Portuguese pilot¹ who had come with Magallanes, came forward, took the tiller, and steered for the Moluccas. When he reached them, he found there one of the men of Don Tristan de Meneses (may God have him).² They grabbed him and learned from him everything they wanted. Then they carried on their trade at leisure and with the goodwill of those ashore disposed of their red bonnets and clothes which they carried with them. In exchange, those ashore loaded their vessels; these left the Moluccas laden with cloves, but in very poor condition as to their rigging and hulls.

1 Ed. note: This pilot was Juan Bautista, according to Governor Brito (See Doc. 1521J).

2 Ed. note: This man was named Pedro de Lorosa.

They left two or three men with small boats and defenses, and some shot to use for signals. It was their intention to go with these ships by way of the Maldivé Islands because the route they [first] intended to follow could be dangerous. However, the weather made them land at Borneo from which place one of the vessels [i.e. the **Victoria**] which was in the better condition started for those kingdoms [i.e. Europe], and may God grant her relief! The other vessel [i.e. the **Trinidad**] returned with 60 hands to the Moluccas because it was leaking badly and not in a condition to undertake the voyage. They resolved to stay at the Moluccas with their artillery and wait there for news of the vessel which had left for Spain; may it please our Lord not to bring her there unless it be for His service! All this news was had from two common sailors of the said vessels who had remained at Borneo for fear of embarking in them while in such a poor condition. From this place, Don Juan¹ brought them to Timor² where Pedro Merino was in charge of the soldiers, and from there he took these two sailors to Malacca where he found Iñigo López about to leave [for India]. Joining with him, they both arrived safely at Cochin with the Spanish sailors from whom was obtained all the above information.

[To] His Sacred Cesarean and Catholic Majesty,
[Dated] From Cochin, 23 December 1522.

[Endorsement:] Advices of Magellan's voyage and of his death, and news from Portuguese India.

(Overleaf) **Photo taken on the 450th anniversary of the first mass to have been said in the Philippines, on 31 March 1971. The site at Limasawa Island is now owned by the Philippine Independent (or Aglipay) Church. (Courtesy of the Ayala Museum-Library and Iconographic Archives, Manila)**

1 Ed. note: Bautista, as mentioned in the note above.

2 Ed. note: As a matter of fact, the two common sailors had deserted at Timor. From Doc. 1522E, we know their names: Martin de Ayamonte [N° 190] and Bartolomé Saldaña [N° 202].



Document 1521I

The story of Enrique, Magellan's slave

Sources: (1) Martín Fernández de Navarrete's Colección de los viajes..., tome iv, p. lxxxv, translated by R. Lévesque.; (2) Sylvia L. Mayuga, "The Mysterious Enrique", in Bulletin Today, Manila, April 24, 1982; and (3) R. Lévesque's riposte in the same newspaper, April 26, 1982.

Elements in the controversy about who was the first man around the world: Magellan, Enrique, or Elcano?

1. About Magellan's Slave, by M. F. de Navarrete.

When Magellan was in India in the service of the king of Portugal, he bought a slave in Malaca, who was a native of the Moluccas according to some writers, and of Sumatra according to others¹; he gave him the name of Enrique, and in Spain taught him the Spanish language, which he learned to speak with much perfection and *hablaba muy ladino*². He served his master and the Spanish as an interpreter at the islands of India, given that from Malaca to the Philippines the Malay language was spoken or was understood; but not in the others, as it happened at the Ladrones Islands, today the Marianas, where our navigators would perhaps have been received better if, by understanding the local language or through a skilful interpreter, they could have made the natives know of their peaceful intentions or of the harm they could do to them.

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- 1 Author's note: Gomara (chap. 91) says that he got the slave in Malaca, and on account of his being from the islands in question he was called "Enrique de Malaco" [sic]. Pigafetta and his translator assure us that he was a native of the islands of Maluco [sic], and similarly Maximilian of Transylvania (para. 13), adding that he bought him Calicut way, at the city of Malaca.
 - 2 Author's note: As Max. Transyl. says, in his paragraph 13. Editor's comment: That is, he spoke Spanish very smartly, like a poliglot.

Gomara supposes that Magellan had, in addition to the [male] slave, "a female slave from Sumatra who understood the language of many islands, whom he bought in Malaca", and that at the Ladrones, where they stole things like gypsies, they were saying that the natives came from Egypt, "according to what Magellan's female slave who understood them was saying".¹ No other contemporary writer talks about this female slave, and it appears that, since the use of the Malay language was not in use beyond the Philippine Archipelago², the female slave would have been hard pressed to understand that of the inhabitants of the Marianas, being from Malaca, while on the other hand, they understood Enrique the slave in the islands of the San Lazaro Archipelago.³

It is also very worthwhile to note the contradiction existing among some classical writers regarding the perfidious advice that, on account of personal resentments, Magellan's slave gave to the king of Cebu about the intentions and project of the Spanish against his person and state, in order to incite him to take revenge and finish with them, as he did achieve in part treacherously and inhumanly.⁴ Pigafetta and Gomara, Maximilian Transylvanus and Oviedo, who usually follow him, all say it that way; however, Barros attributes exclusively this event to the fact "that the enemy kings had convened to make peace among themselves as long as the king of Cebu would kill all the Christians"; and Herrera says only that the banquet affair was "at the instance of the other four kings who had threatened him (the king of Cebu) that if he did not kill the Spaniards and take their ships, they would destroy his land and kill him."⁶ Father San Roman does not mention the [involvement of] the slave either; rather, that the kings in the vicinity plotted with the king of Cebu, making peace [with him] on the condition that he would then get rid of the Spaniards as best he could, and the barbarian agreed. This author adds that he saw a logbook and narrative in the hands of a pilot who was in Magellan's fleet, and referred to these events as an eyewitness; the said document was owned by the licentiate Céspedes, cosmographer of H.M.⁷ Behind the above judi-

1 Author's note: Gomara, chap. 91, p. 82; and 93, p. 86.

2 Author's note: Pigafetta, p. 72 & p. 236.

3 Author's note: Pigafetta, book 2, p. 72. Editor's comment: Gomara is an unreliable source of information compared to Pigafetta. I think that Navarrete makes too much of this. Interesting though it would be to learn that Magellan kept a female slave aboard his ship, the simple truth may be that Gomara's printer made two small typographical errors, when he transformed "esclavo" [male slave] to "esclava" [female slave]; Gomara may have been speaking about Enrique all along.

4 Editor's note: When some two dozen Europeans were massacred during a feast given in their honor.

5 Author's note: *Década III*, book 5, chap. 10.

6 Author's note: *Década III*, book 1, chap. 9, p. 14.

7 Author's note: [San Roman, "Hist. gen. de la India oriental"] book 2, chap. 25, p. 345.

cious and worthy historians comes Faria in his *Asia portuguesa*¹, Lafitau in his *Historia de los descubrimientos y conquistas de los portugueses*², and Robertson who also did not admit this [version of the] incident.³

It is true that Juan Sebastian de Elcano, in answer to the questions that the mayor [of Seville] Leguizano put to him as well as to Francisco Alvo and to Fernando de Bustamante when they returned to Seville in the nao *Victoria* about various events of the expedition, he said that “after the death of Magellan they fled from this island (of Cebu) because they killed 27 of their men with 3 captains on account of a treason perpetrated by a slave of Fernando de Magalhães, and they went off to other islands... and that the reason for the treason by Magellan’s slave was because Duarte Barbosa [Magellan’s brother-in-law] called him a dog”.⁴ The other witnesses say nothing about this, and they talk about Magellan with more moderation than Elcano, who incriminates him in everything, with a certain obvious prejudice, and this is not surprising when, in the inquiry ordered by Magellan at the port of San Julian [in Patagonia] into the assault committed by Gaspar de Quesada, the result was, according to various declarations from witnesses, that the same Elcano was one of the actors in the uprising fomented by the captains of some ships against their general. This weakens considerably his impartiality in this occasion; and more so when, among the persons sacrificed by the king of Cebu at the fatal banquet of 1 May 1521, is included the same slave Enrique de Malaca.⁵ It is normal to expect that the petty king would have saved him from this fiasco, and reserved him a better fate, had he been his confidant and the perpetrator of such a horrendous fate for the Spaniards.

Furthermore, based on documents, we have the notice that Magellan brought, in addition to Enrique the slave, another named Jorge; well, the heirs of that famous discoverer, when they claimed in 1540 the back wages which had not been paid, and those of other relatives who had gone with the fleet, asked also for “*those of Enrique and Jorge, slaves whom Magellan took along as interpreters*”, according to what is found in AGI Seville and was communicated to us by Mr. Cean in 1805.⁶

1 Author’s note: Tome I, part 3, chap. 5, para 10, p. 209.

2 Author’s note: Tome II, book 8, p. 37. Ed. comment: Father Joseph Lafitau, S.J., “Histoire des découvertes et conquestes des Portugais”, 2 vols., Paris, 1733.

3 Author’s note: [William] Robertson, “Histoire de l’Amérique”, book 5.

4 Author’s note: See p. 288 [of his Col. de viages].

5 Author’s note: See p. 66 [of his Col. de viages], where the list of those who died at the banquet is inserted, copied from the one quoted on p. 65, and existing in AGI Seville when it was copied and checked [by Muñoz] on 20 November 1793.

6 Ed. note: As this Jorge is not mentioned in connection with the Ladrones nor the Philippines, we can suspect that he had died before reaching them.

2. The Mysterious Enrique, by Sylvia L. Mayuga.

For those with a moment to spare for intriguing historical questions, April of 1982—461 years since Ferdinand Magellan came to grief on our [Philippine] islands—seems like a good time to give space to one history lover's thesis. Was the first man to circumnavigate the globe neither Portuguese nor Spanish but a native of these islands?

Here is our friend's imaginative leap:¹

"In the annals of Antonio Pigafetta, Magellan's official chronicler, mention is made of a certain 'Enrique de Malacca', recorded as a man-servant of Magellan during his military service in Malacca under the Portuguese flag."

"You will remember that in the 1450s to 1460s, the race between Portugal and Spain laid emphasis on profitable spices from the Indies. By 1511, however, Cortés had sacked Mexico for gold. The commercial fashion of the time was slowly turning from spices to gold."

"Now historians record that Magellan had brought with him to Spain from Asia this Enrique whom he eventually introduced to King Charles I of Spain. Could the lowly indio have merited a royal audience because he possessed some special knowledge of a gold route?"

"Enrique joined Magellan's fleet from Cadiz [sic] (where Pigafetta joined the party) to Patagonia, and from Patagonia to Guam. In Guam (Magellan labelled it "Los Ladrones", if you will recall), a native Guamanian, Omatuc of the Chamorro tribe, boarded Magellan's ship as a guide to local waters.² Magellan's first sighting of the Philippine archipelago was the southern tip of Samar and his first landing was in the Waray-speaking island of Homonhon. Here was the thoroughly stimulating first sight of gold-bedecked natives! Magellan's party met with the natives and both Enrique and Omatuc were asked to speak with them but neither could be fully understood. After a few days' rest in Homonhon, the party sailed southwesterly and landed on the island of Limasawa. It was here, in Cebuano-speaking Limasawa, for the first time, that Enrique successfully conversed with the natives!"

"Charles Parr, in his biography of Magellan, records this event as follows: "Enrique hailed them with an invitation to come aboard and to Magellan's immense delight, he

1 Ed. note: Her "friend" (and mine as well) was Antonio S. Araneta, Jr. whom I first met in the library of the Lopez Museum in Manila while he was researching this question and I was researching a sequel to my first book: "The Philippines—Pigafetta's Story of Their Discovery by Magellan" (1980).

2 Ed. note: Unfortunately, there is no evidence in the primary or secondary accounts to prove the existence of such a person.

was answered in his (Enrique's) native tongue... a rapid exchange ensued with Enrique trying to persuade the natives to trust the bearded white men to come aboard.”¹

“The “balanghai” with a single square sail drew near. Under a roof of nipa thatch, a dignitary reclined on mats with a number of attendants about him. Enrique once more engaged in fluent conversation. Significantly, the Chamorro Omatuc could not be fully understood.”

*“Now we know from Tomé Pires in [his] **Suma Oriental** that there were Filipino colonies (at the time called “Luçones”) in Malacca at the time of the Portuguese invasion. With Cebu and Jolo, Malacca was a trading center. Magellan was later to encounter a Moorish trader in Cebu. It is highly possible that Cebuanos were around Malacca at the time.”²*

“It could well be that Enrique, recruited by Magellan in Malacca, not understood by the Waray-speaking natives of Homonhon in spite of racial similarity but understood by the Cebuano-speaking people of Limasawa, was actually a native of Cebu!”

“After Magellan's death, Enrique is recorded as having organized the massacre of Duarte Barbosa and the 28 or so other Spanish officers on board. Enrique then stayed behind in Cebu while the rest of Magellan's fleet sailed back to Spain. Had Enrique come home?”

“And so, while the Spaniards glorify Sebastian de Elcano who headed the voyage back to Spain as the first man to circumnavigate the globe and the Portuguese claim the honor for Magellan, it could well be that it was Enrique—who waded ashore first with his Cebuano-speaking kin—was technically the first to circle the globe!”

“Here is one Stefan Zweig³ writing of the subject in 1938: “Now came the wonder. The islanders surrounded Enrique chattering and shouting, and the Malay slave was dumbfounded, for he understood much of what they were saying. He understood their questions. It was a good many years since he had been snatched from home, a good many years since he had last heard a word of his native speech. What an amazing moment, one of the most remarkable in the history of mankind! For the first time since our planet had begun to spin upon its axis and to circle in its orbit, a living man, himself circling that planet, had got back to his homeland. No matter that he was an underling, a slave, for his significance lies in his fate and not in his personality.”

Thereby, ends our friend, the story of another typical Pinoy fate, making history not by intention but by sheer luck!

1 Ed. note: Charles McKew Parr's "Ferdinand Magellan, Circumnavigator" (New York, T. Y. Crowell, 1964), pp. 343-4. Omatuc was invented by Parr for this, his historical novel about Magellan. He took his name from Umatac, the village in Guam where he supposedly was kidnapped from.

2 Ed. note: We know, from Brito and other Portuguese historians, that Moluccans were also there, with their spices, etc.

3 Ed. note: Stefan Zweig's "Conqueror of the Seas. The Story of Magellan" (New York, Viking, 1938), p. 234. Another historical novel...

3. Enrique was not a Cebuano, by Rodrigue Lévesque.

Mr. Ben F. Rodriguez
Editor, Bulletin Today
Recoletos St., Intramuros
Metro Manila

Dear Sir:

Today, April 28 [1982], marks the 461st anniversary of the death of Magellan on Mactan Island near Cebu. On this occasion, I would like to answer Sylvia L. Mayuga's unnamed friend (**BT** April 24) who claims that Enrique, the slave bought by Magellan in a previous trip to Malacca could well be "a native of Cebu". It may be true that "in Cebuano-speaking Limasawa... Enrique successfully conversed with the natives" but if one refers to Pigafetta's account, it is said that he could make himself understood only by the king "because", as Pigafetta says, "in those countries the kings know more languages than the ordinary people" (See my translation of two original Pigafetta manuscripts in old French: **The Philippines: Pigafetta's Story of Their Discovery by Magellan**, Lévesque Publications, 1980).

I have made a study of the basic sources concerning the discovery of the Philippines and my book on the subject contains, among other things, a lexicographic study of the Cebuano language. Before interpreting the historical facts, I believe we should always go back to original sources as later historians tend to romanticize the events of long ago. Pigafetta wrote that Henry the interpreter was "born in Sumatra, otherwise known as Trapobana". The other eyewitness accounts of the first trip around the world do not contradict Pigafetta; I am referring to the logbook by Alvo, the account of a Genoese pilot and the report by the geographer San Martin [as interpreted by Barros].

Second-hand reports of the voyage contain full explanations but again the researcher must beware of the existence of inadequate English translations of the original documents. The first published work about Magellan (and Henry) was by a certain Maximilian of Transylvania. Maximilian lived at the Spanish court at Valladolid and is described by his contemporaries as a secretary to Charles V, head of the Holy Roman Empire. Max listened to Pigafetta's verbal report to the court, to that of Sebastian de Elcano and the other survivors who accompanied him (only 35 men survived from an original crew of 280 sailors and supernumeraries). Max, as the Filipino historian Carlos Quirino has written, was "the forerunner of our present-day reporter". He was able to interview the three survivors who came to the court and in October 1522 wrote up a long letter, in Latin, to the Cardinal of Salzburg (said to be his real father), and the latter had the letter printed in Cologne in January 1523. This book was reprinted and translated into many languages very soon after and that explains, in part, why Pigafetta's manuscripts were not published during his lifetime as Maximilian had jumped the

gun on him... The modern English versions of Maximilian's book, like that in Blair and Robertson (1903)¹, generally say something like this about Henry: *"Magellan had been the owner of a slave, a native of the Moluccas, whom he had formerly bought in Malacca; and by means of this slave, who was able to speak Spanish fluently, and of an interpreter of Subuth, who could speak the Moluccan language, our men carried on their negotiations."*

So we learn that two interpreters were needed because **Enrique could not converse in Cebuano**. The original text by Maximilian is much more explicit on that score. A 16th-century Spanish translation was published in 1837 by the Spanish historian, Martin Fernández de Navarrete (*Colección de los viages y descubrimientos...*, Tome IV, page 271) and can be translated literally as follows:

"It should be mentioned that Captain Magellan had a slave, who was born in the Molucca Islands, where spices grow and which were the final destination of his trip, and whom he had bought Calicut-way in the city of Malaca, when he was there in the service of the king of Portugal, and bringing him to Spain had shown him the Spanish language, which he learned very perfectly, and spoke very "ladino" (that is, fluently, like a native Spaniard). By means of this slave, Magellan could make himself understood by and converse with the king of Cebu, not because the slave knew or understood the language of that land, but there was there with the king of Cebu an "indio" of his who had been in the Moluccas, and knew the Moluccan language very well, and with him the slave of Magellan could make himself understood, so that by means of these two interpreters our people could make themselves understood by those of Cebu, Magellan speaking Spanish to his slave, and the slave to the "indio" of Cebu, and the "indio" to the king his lord".

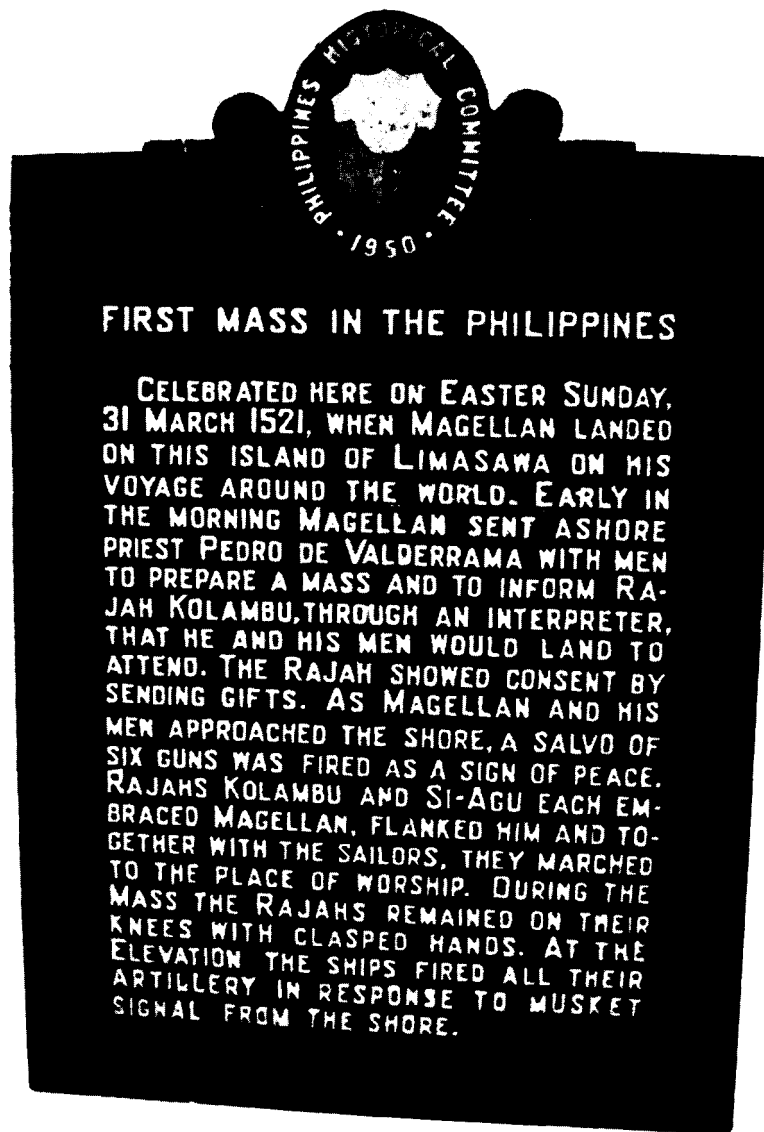
The above account by Maximilian of Transylvania is the main evidence pointing out that **Henry was either a Moluccan, or else an Indonesian (from Sumatra)**. Was Henry born in the Moluccas or in Sumatra? Navarrete (tome iv, page 57) warns us that early historians, like Herrera and Oviedo, often confused the two terms Malaca and Maluco (Molucca). My humble opinion is that Pigafetta, who has written the first vocabularies of both the Cebuano and Moluccan languages, and who had to act as interpreter after the desertion of Henry at the Great Massacre of Cebu, could not have been mistaken on that subject. We must give full credence to his long verbal explanations on how the Spanish could communicate with Cebuanos because his verbal account, as recorded by Maximilian, was corroborated by two other eyewitnesses. Whether or not Henry survived the massacre and eventually returned to his homeland in the Moluccas, it can be said that he was **the first man around the world** if only because he had crossed the meridian of the Moluccas by the time he reached Cebu.²

(Signed:) Rodrigue Lévesque

1 Emma Helen Blair & James Alexander Robertson (eds.). "The Philippine Islands 1493-1898" (Cleveland, Ohio, A. H. Clark, 1903-08), Vol. I, p. 306.

2 However, if he indeed had been born in Sumatra, it cannot be said that he circumnavigated the world.

P. S. Thank you for publishing a review of my latest publication about the Philippines in this morning's newspaper. I am referring, of course, to the book: **They Refused to Die** by Col. Ongpauco as reviewed by Gen. Carlos Quirino. I may add that a third book: **The Treasure of Limahong** is being printed now and will come out in 2-3 weeks... Thank you.



This plaque marks the site of the first mass at Limasawa I. It was placed there by the Historical Committee in 1950. Father Pedro de Valderrama, N° 57 on my crew list, was the officiating priest. (Courtesy of the Ayala Museum-Library and Iconographic Archives, Manila)

Document 1521J

Magellan & Espinosa—Account by António Brito, Portuguese Governor of the Moluccas

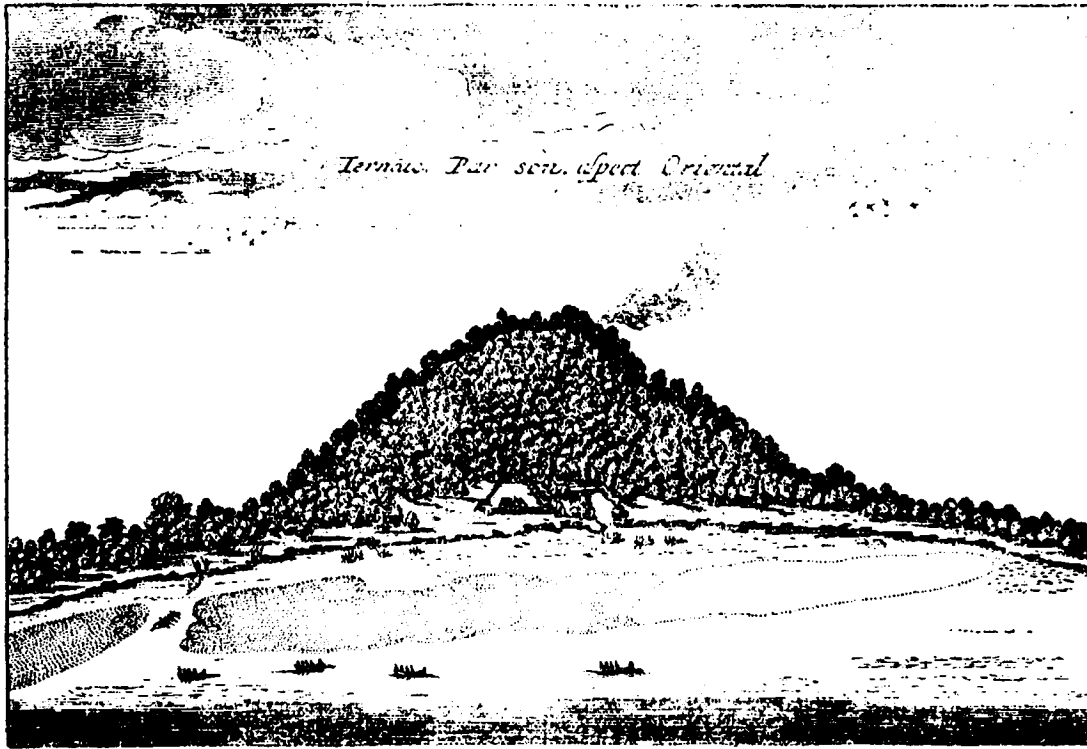
*Sources: António Brito, Portuguese governor of the Moluccas from 1522 to 1525, seized the **Trinidad** and Espinosa's crew when they turned back to the Moluccas, at the end of an unsuccessful attempt at reaching Panama. Brito wrote a letter to King John III of Portugal on 3 May 1523 in which he narrated the voyages made by Magellan and by Espinosa, evidently based on the captured records and his interrogations of the surviving crew members. This letter, in Portuguese, is found in the Torre do Tombo Archives in Lisbon: Gaveta 18, Maço 2, Doc. n° 25. This fragmentary letter has been published, in the original Portuguese, in Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (ACL)'s *Alguns documentos do Arquivo nacional da Torre do Tombo, acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas* (Lisbon, 1892), pp. 464-470. Juan Bautista Muñoz, has transcribed this manuscript and his notes are found in the Muñoz Collection in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Martín F. de Navarrete has translated Muñoz' text into Spanish and published it in his *Colección de los viages*, vol. iv, pp. 305-311. I have translated the latter text into English.¹*

Letter from Antonio Brito to the King of Portugal about some events in the Indies and those about Magellan's voyage

I wrote from Banda the news which I found there about the Spanish² and I sent letters to a certain Pedro de Lorosa³ who went off with them. I left Banda on 2 May 1522, to see if I could seize from them the nao [i.e. the **Trinidad**] that left in second place, as the other [i.e. the **Victoria**] has already left three months ago.

I arrived at Tidore on 13 May 1522. The Spanish had been there and had loaded two of the five naos that had left Spain and I learned that the first one had departed four months ago. The second one left one and a half months ago; she did not go with the

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- 1 Muñoz' transcript, however, may be an abridged Spanish version of the original Portuguese text.
 - 2 Ed. note: This may be the letter Brito wrote to the King on 11 Feb 1523, in Torre do Tombo's Gaveta 18, Maço 6, Doc. 9 (See Mitchell's *Elcano*, 1958, p. 75).
 - 3 Ed. note: Lorosa had been with Francisco Serrão in Ternate. At that point, Brito already knew that he had gone off with Espinosa. When the **Trinidad** returned to Ternate, Brito had Lorosa decapitated as a traitor.



The eastern side of Ternate in a 16th-century engraving.

other because she sprang a leak when they were just about ready to go. She was unloaded and repaired. I found five Spaniards [there], one of them a factor with merchandise, another a gunner. With the factor Rui Gaguio, I sent word to the King [of Tidore] to deliver the Spaniards to me, the artillery and the property, and to ask him why, as the Portuguese had discovered that [place] some time ago already, he had admitted the Spanish. He answered that he had admitted them as merchants and more by fear than willingly. The next day he sent me three Spaniards and a little merchandise. I already had another [Spaniard] with me from the time I left Banda, as he had gone there to reconnoiter the place and to trade. The last one was then absent, at Moro¹ Island 60 leagues from the Moluccas.

The next day, the King came to see me. He re-iterated his allegiance to Your Highness and excused himself for the deed, all of which can be used as proof against the Spanish themselves. He was asked to make a deposition so as to oblige him always, because I certify to him that these Spaniards will be delivered to Your power, as if they were Christians and vassals of yours.

1 Ed. note: Often used for Morotai Island.



A more modern view of Ternate, looking south toward Tidore. (From Guillelard's book *"The Life of Ferdinand Magellan"*, 1891)

I found the whole land full of tin crosses, some of silver, showing a crucifix on one side and Our Lady on the other. They were selling bombards¹, arquebuses², crossbows, swords, spears and [gun-] powder. The crosses which I have just mentioned to Your Highness were all bought by me; they had been selling them with full knowledge of what they were.

After I had been there two days, there came a bastard son of the King of Ternate to take me to his island. He is its present ruler on behalf of the heir, an 8- to 9-year old child whose father died 7 to 8 months before my arrival. This island is the biggest and main one of the Moluccas, where Francisco Serrão³ had always resided and also Don Tristan de Meneses when he came here. Later on, his mother, who is the actual regent, also came. They swore allegiance to Your Highness. I did not mention the subject of the fort, as I wish to see all the islands first. Having now seen them, it appears that it must be done in this island as it is larger than Tidore and Tidore has no harbor.

1 Ed. note: Ancient thick pieces of ordnance of the carronade type.

2 Ed. note: Smaller pieces of ordnance, called *espingardas*, which were heavy muskets.

3 Ed. note: A former friend of Magellan when both were together in Malacca.

Being ashore, the people suffered, and after two months, out of the 200 men I had brought with me, I was left with 50 healthy ones (about 50 died); with so few people, the fort was started.

On 20 October 1522, I received notice that a nao was cruising behind these islands. I thought that they might be Spaniards. After all, they had taken that route [to the east]. I sent three ships to bring her in to me, and they did so, and with her 24 Spaniards.¹ They said that, not wanting to go back the way they had come, as it would be such a long voyage, they had resolved to go to the Darien². They found scarce winds because they had not known how to use the monsoon, and they went as far north as 40 degrees. According to their account, they had made 900 leagues when they turned back. When they left, they had 54 men; 30 died³ when in 40 degrees. An inventory was made of the property belonging to the King of Spain, and the letters and the astrolabes were taken.⁴

The unloading of the nao was begun. She was old and leaking much; after eight days, she opened up and they lost 40 bars of cloves.⁵ The wood served for the fortress and her rigging for some other ships.

After ten to twelve days, I took down the declarations of the captain and of the master. They said that the ship owners of this fleet were the Bishop of Burgos and Cristóbal de Haro.⁶

1 Ed. note: Some of them died soon thereafter, as only 18 were reported officially as having survived the ordeal, plus 3 others from the factory in Tidore. See Doc. 1522A & 1522B5.

2 Ed. note: The Isthmus of Panama

3 Ed. note: See Document 1522B5 for the list of the dead. They did not die in 40° but near the Marianas and between the Marianas and the Moluccas.

4 Ed. note: The letters referred to above were probably the letters that Magellan had brought with him aboard the *Trinidad*, among them being the letters written between 1513 and 1515 by his friend Francisco Serrão (written Serrano in Spanish) when he lived in the Moluccas between 1512 and 1521. Brito had already found Magellan's letters in the effects left by Serrão and sent those to Portugal. The so-called papers probably included Magellan's own logbook (now lost) and the log, almanach, etc. left by the royal pilot and cosmographer Andrés de San Martín who was among those who succumbed in the Great Massacre of Cebu. We get confirmation here that the Magellan Expedition had been using astrolabes, and not merely quadrants, cross-staff or some other less accurate instruments for determining the sun's elevation. Hence, a good pilot in a pacific sea could easily have gotten readings within 1 degree of accuracy, and the accuracy of the latitude depended heavily upon the data found in their almanachs. Apparently, Magellan's pilots had been provided with the *Liber directionum* of Regiomontanus as an almanach. Also the tables of Abraham Zacuto, the famous Jewish astronomer, whose figures for the inclination of the ecliptic had become generally adopted, had been lent by San Martín to Elcano who used them on the *Victoria's* homebound voyage.

5 Ed. note: Also written "bahars". Navarrete says that a "bar" held 5 large Spanish quintals, which were of 100 pounds each, so that 40 bars were a total of $40 \times 5 \times 100 = 20,000$ lbs. or 10 short tons.

6 Ed. note: According to source documents in AGI Seville, the Crown (through the Bishop as President of the Council of the Indies) paid for 77% and Haro for 23% of the total costs. See Doc. 1519E.

Here is [a narrative of] the voyage they made from Spain to the Moluccas.

After they left Seville, they made a stopover in the Canary Islands, [etc.]...

After they found themselves out of the strait into the high seas, they steered straight for the line on account of the intense cold they were experiencing, and when they were in 32 degrees they took the direction WNW; along that heading they ran 1600 leagues. Here they found two uninhabited islands, 200 leagues apart; and along the same course they crossed the line and went to 12 degrees on the north side. From there, they steered westward 500 leagues and hit some islands in which they found many savage people. So many of them entered the naos that when they tried to tack back, they could no longer throw them out of the naos except by using lances upon them. They killed many savages, and these savages just laughed thinking it was just some kind of enjoyment.

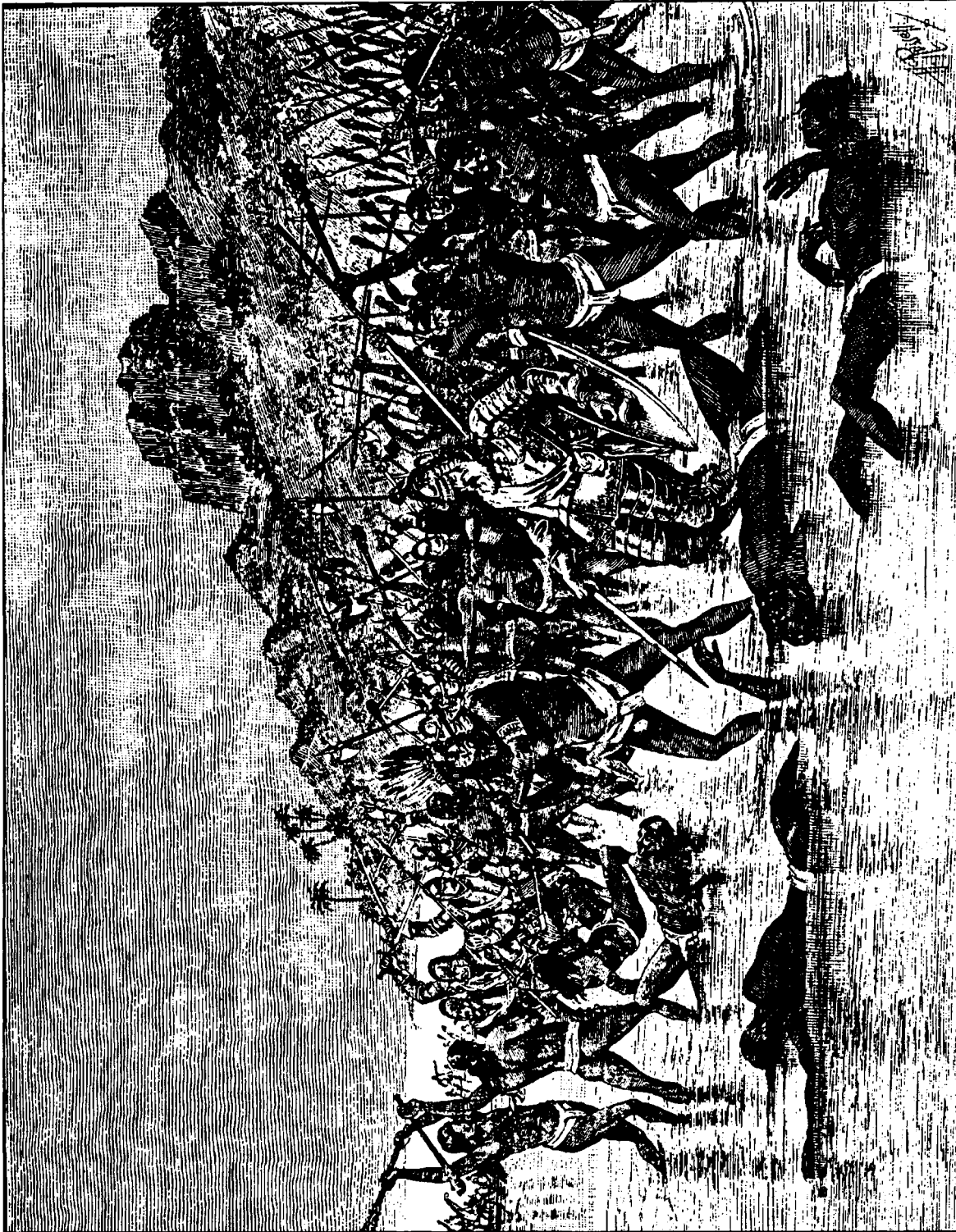
Always following their route westward, except when they were taking the sun to find out where they were since they were then steering one point off the said course, until they came to an island they called "the first one". It is in 12 degrees north.

Right away, through many islands, they came to one called Mazaba [i.e. Limasawa] which is in 9 degrees. The King of Mazaba took them to another island called Zubó [i.e. Cebu] which was big, where he [i.e. Magellan] stayed for about one month, and he made most of the people and the King Christians. The King of Zubó sent for the Kings of the other islands to come to him, and two of them not having wanted to come, later when Magellan learned of it, he decided to go and engage them in a fight, and went to an island called Mathá [i.e. Mactan]. He put one hamlet on fire, and not happy with this he headed for a big populated place, where fighting with the savages, the latter killed him, one of his servants and five Spaniards. As for the rest, when they saw the captain dead, they withdrew to the boats.

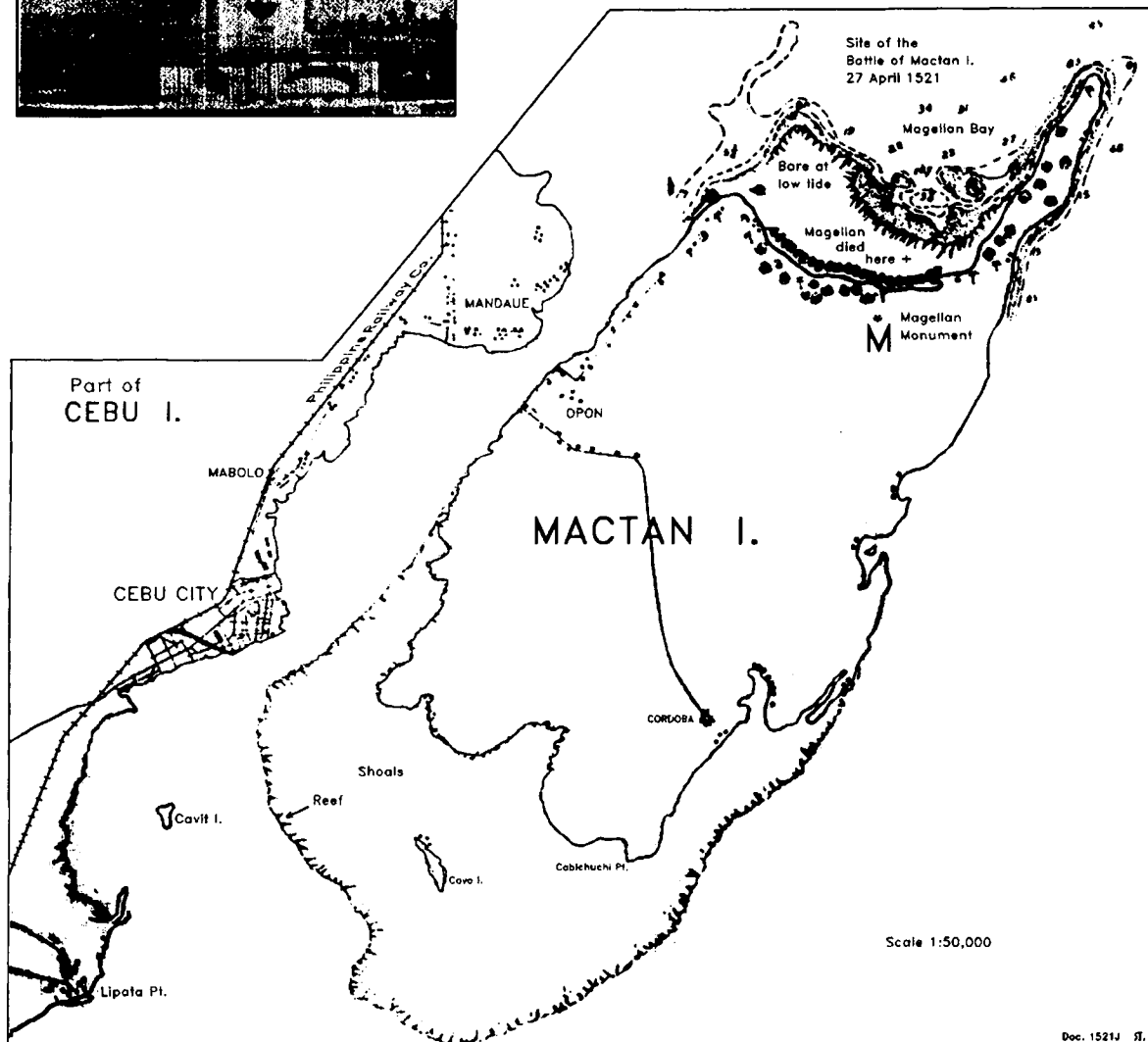
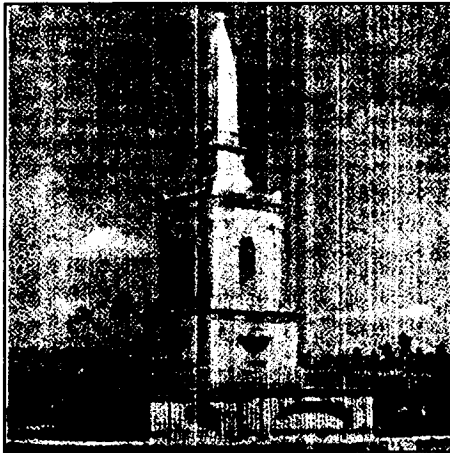
[etc. etc...]



The Battle of Mactan Island, 27 April 1521. *The men of chief Lapulapu attack Magellan and a small band of Spaniards. Pigafetta says: "Crossbowmen were shooting from afar"... and those fighting "had water up to their knees". Seven Europeans died on the spot, along with 4 native allies from Cebu, and 15 enemies. Another European died from his wounds 4 days later.*



The death of Magellan, on Saturday 27 April 1521. *Pigafetta says: "These people... threw themselves upon him with their hardened spears and with those javelins, so much so that they killed the mirror, the light, the comfort and our true guide."*



Map of Mactan Island where Magellan was killed. Note the location (M) of the Magellan Monument (see inset). (Adapted from the book: "Celebración del cuarto centenario del descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes, 1521-1921", Manila, 1921, p. 18)

The property left with the Spanish at Tidore was 1,125 quintals¹ and 32 pounds of copper and 2,000 pounds of quick-silver, and two quintals of iron and three bombards with iron stock, one being a porthole-type [carronade] and two mortar-type, and 14 iron culverins², without any chambers, and three iron anvils, of the type that can be fitted with a *fugareo*³ and another large one, 9 crossbows, 12 arquebuses, 32 breast plates, 11 throat pieces, 3 helmets, 4 anchors, 53 iron bars, 6 iron culverins, 2 iron falconets, 2 large iron bombards with 4 chambers and 1,275 quintals of cloves...

With Don García I have sent 17 Spaniards for them to pay what they owe⁴ to Jorge de Albuquerque, so that the Captain Major of the Indies can send them [onward], in accordance with what Your Highness ordered me to do in the instruction. They are: Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, captain, Juan de Campos, the factor who had remained with the property in Tidore, Alfonso de Costa who had gone to see about trading with Banda, Luis de Molino, Diego Diaz, Diego Martin, Leon Pancaldo, pilot of the nao, Juan Ruiz⁵, Ginés de Mafra⁶, Juan Novoro⁷, S. Remo, Amaló⁸, Francisco de Ayamonte, Luis de Veas⁹, Segredo¹⁰, Master Otans¹¹, Anton Moreno.

Four have been left here: 1° the master of the nao named Juan Bautista, who is the most knowledgeable of all of them, and has sailed in naos belonging to Your Highness; he was the one who commanded and to whom after the death of Magellan is due the credit for having brought his fleet to the Moluccas; 2° the clerk, a good sailor and pilot; 3° the boatswain; and 4° a carpenter with what is necessary to repair this ship with which I am sending them by way of Borneo, from where there are 100 leagues to Malacca, a route regularly taken by many junks. By way of Banda, it is necessary to wait for the monsoons, and it takes one and a half years to take a message [through] there and get a reply. By this other route, they will be able to come here from Malacca in one month. Apart from that, Borneo is one of the richest islands to be found in these parts, where there is much gold, camphor, and a very good trade to be had in many parts... Simon de Abras¹² goes as captain [of the ship].

1 Ed. note: Of cloves (see below for a repetition).

2 Ed. note: According to the original inventory, the *Trinidad* was carrying 14 mounted guns at the departure from Spain.

3 Ed. note: *Fugareo* = *fogueiro*(?) in Portuguese; perhaps this is a fire pit, or some bellows.

4 Ed. note: Brito had probably imposed a fine upon them.

5 Ed. note: Or Rodriguez (the Deaf), according to Document 1522B.

6 Ed. note: After his return to Europe, this Mafra wrote or dictated a narrative entitled: *Descripción de los reinos... Libro que trata del descubrimiento y principio del estrecho que se llama de Magallanes*. The ms. was found in the National Library in Madrid by Antonio Blásquez y Delgado Aguilera, and published by him in his book: "Tres relaciones", (Madrid, 1920).

7 Ed. note: That is, Navarro, according to Document 1522B.

8 Ed. note: That is, Malvo, the Frenchman from Saint-Malo, according to Document 1522B.

9 Ed. note: Vaes, says Document 1522B.

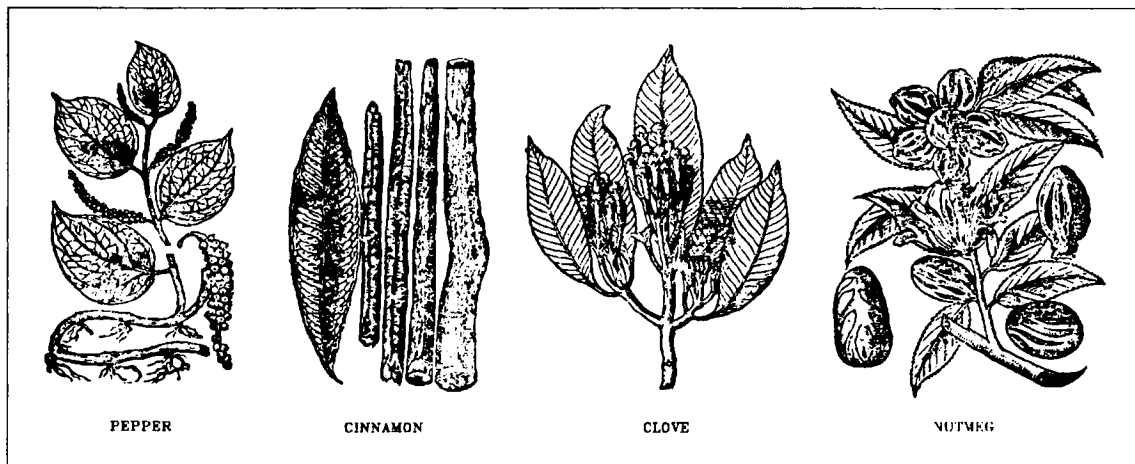
10 Ed. note: Juan de Sagredo, says Document 1522B.

11 A transcription error for Hans.

12 Ed. note: Transcription error made by Navarrete. Simão de Abreu was his correct name. See, for instance, Galvão's "Tratado dos descobrimentos" for the year 1523.

With respect to the master, the clerk and pilot, I am writing to the Captain Major to the effect that it would be for the greater service of Your Highness to have them decapitated rather than sending them overthere. I have retained them in the Moluccas, because it is a sick land, with the intention that they will die here, not daring to have them decapitated because I ignored whether Your Highness would be pleased by it or not. I am writing to Jorge de Albuquerque to have them detained in Malacca, a place which is not very salubrious either.

In this ship, I am sending to Garcia Chainho 250 quintals of cloves. In these Moluccan Islands, I will be able to gather in a year or so some 4,000 bars of cloves. Out of the copper I took from the Spanish, I coined money to pay the people... I hope to finish this fortress very soon... I have completed the whole of the wall along the shore which is 27 fathoms in length and 12 feet in width, and the donjon in two garrets... I am writing to Chainho to have him send me some tin to coin money with, because I believe that these people here will accept it better than copper, and with it I will be able to buy all the cloves.



The main spices produced in the Moluccas. (*Sketches from a 1597 English botany book*)

Document 1522A

Espinosa's account of his attempt to reach Panama and of the discovery of the Northern Mariana Islands

Sources: Letter from Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, former captain of the Trinidad, to the King of Spain, dated Cochin (India), 12 January 1525. Manuscript located in AGI Seville, General: est. 145, caj. 7, leg. 7 and transcribed by Garrigós (Doc. N°198) and by Llorens Asensio. Translation by R. Lévesque.

Letter to His Majesty from Gonzalo Gómez Espinosa, captain of the nao Trinidad of Magellan's fleet, giving him an account of his departure from the Moluccas in 1522, and of his return in distress to Tidore seven months later, with the discovery of 14 islands in the northern hemisphere, etc., dated Cochin 12 January 1525.

†

Sir,

Your Sacred Majesty will now learn about the things that have occurred after the nao **Victoria** left the Moluccas. It was necessary for us to stay with the other nao, [i.e. the **Trinidad**]. With much labor and much danger, we careened her and were busy with the careening and the transport of cloves during four months at the island of Tidore where its King made us welcome in the name of Y.S.M.

From this island, Sir, I took my departure on 6 April 1522 and we made our way towards the mainland where Andrés Niño built the caravels¹ which is in the South Sea where, Sir, I found that from the Moluccas to the first land there were as many as 1,800 leagues; the said land, for most of the way, would bear to the E 1/4 NE [= E by N].

1 Ed. note: Towards Panama, but Espinosa could not have known then (in April 1522) that Gil González de Avila and Andrés Niño had **already** gone to explore the Pacific coast toward Nicaragua and as far as Tehuantepec (Mexico) in February 1522. His destination must have been simply the reach the place that he knew had been discovered by Núñez de Balboa in 1513.

Along the way there, Y.S.M. will learn how **I discovered fourteen islands** which were full of an infinite number of naked people, the said people being of the same color as the people of India. There, Sir, I took an interpreter to learn what they contained and, because we could not understand the language, I did not learn what the above-mentioned fourteen islands contain.¹

Sir, they are from 12 degrees as far as 20 degrees north of the equinoctial line. That is why, Sir, I took my departure from these islands on St. Barnabe's Day² and continued my route where Y.S.M. will learn that I went on ploughing the sea and making efforts to give a good account of myself. I went up, Sir, as far as 42 degrees on the north side where, Sir, it became necessary for me to cut the castles and the quarter-deck because the storm was so big and the weather so cold that aboard the nao we could not cook any food. That storm lasted twelve days and because the people did not have any bread to eat, most of them lost weight and when the storm had passed and the people could once again cook food, on account of the many [intestinal] worms that we had, it gave them nausea which affected most of the people. When I saw the people suffering, the contrary weather and that I had been at sea for five months, I turned back to the Moluccas and by the time we got to the Moluccas it had been seven months at sea without taking any refreshments and when I got to the islands of the Moluccas I found, Sir, three hundred Portuguese who were building a fortress on Ternate Island.

There I was rewarded for my labor by threats of being hanged from the yardarms and the seizure of the nao loaded with cloves and of all the equipment. I found, Sir, that they had also seized the factory of Y.S.M. and the clerk and four other men who were also captive in many leg irons. That, Sir, is what they did to me and to the other people whom I had with me, dishonoring me and saying that I was a thief in front of the native people and not paying attention to me at all and saying: "Now we'll see who [will prevail], the King of Spain or that of Portugal".

Now Y.S.M. will learn that they took from me all the nautical charts, the logbooks, the astrolabes, the quadrants, the nautical books³ with all the equipment of the pilots and more.

1 Ed. note: As we shall soon learn from other evidence (the Genoese pilot, Doc. 1522C), the native Chamorro they took along at least gave him the names of the 14 Mariana Islands correctly, but this information was later seized by the Portuguese.

2 Ed. note: On June 11th.

3 Ed. note: The Spanish word *regimientos* means printed reference books, almanachs and tables for determining latitudes from astral positions.



Ternate and the fortress built by the Portuguese in 1522. Governor Brito began the building of this fortress on Ternate Island to establish Portuguese hegemony in the Moluccas. The Dutch later improved and maintained the colony.

Sir, they took from my chest your Royal standard which I kept very well folded and packed, the one Y.S.M. gave upon leaving on the voyage of discovery, saying very loudly: "This is [made of] a better cloth than that of the Moros".¹ That is why, Sir, I asked for an inventory listing of all they had taken, to which the captain and the officers replied, about the inventory list I was asking from them, that I should thank God that it was not given in the form of a hanging from a yardarm.

So it is that they kept me and the 21 of us in prison for four months and from here they took me to the Banda Islands which belong to Y.S.M. From those islands, Sir, they took me to Malacca where they kept me five months and from Malacca they took me to be presented to the Governor of India at the city of Cochin, where they load the pepper, and I have been here ten months. The said Governor told me he would give passage to me and the people who had come with me. Now Y.S.M. will learn that this viceroy whom the King [of Portugal] has sent to India had me arrested when he learned that I was in this city of Cochin, threatening me and telling me that he should have my head cut off, dishonoring me with many bad words, and that the others should be

1 Ed. note: Implying the opposite, of course. The Moluccan natives were Moslems. There is a document in AGI Seville about the 8 flags that had been specially made for Magellan:
"Nº 85.—Detailed list of the costs made for Magellan's fleet, in which appears the cost of the flags and who made them.—Year 1518-1519.—AGI 32-3-7-26 : On 15 November of the said year [1518], there were paid to Diego Fernandez, painter, for 8 flags that he painted, one of the Consolation of Our Lady, and another with the royal standard, and 6 with the insignia of Santiago [St. James]; the flag of Our Lady and the royal standard were 6 reales each, and the others were 2-1/2 reales each, for a total of 27 reales."

hanged. It had been one month that I was in prison when I requested that on behalf of the King of Portugal and of Y.S.M. they give me a passage which they refused to give me. Y.S.M. will learn that I have been in prison for twenty seven months.

From there I have petitioned You and I requested many times to be given [money to buy] food from the property of Y.S.M. which they took from me in the Moluccas. They told me to bring another one, [because] this one already had an owner. Thus Y.S.M. will learn that out of 21 men that we were in the Moluccas, for lack of food and as I had gone myself to look for some, they went away with the junks and native ships, so that, Sir, here in Cochin we are now only six men. Hence Y.S.M. will learn that the lack of food is more painful to us than the imprisonment because, Sir, we are treated worse than if we were in Barbary.

That is why I kiss the hands of Y.S.M. and hope that You will remedy this [situation] and be willing to free us from the power of Christians and may remember my services. That is the favor I beg of Y.S.M.

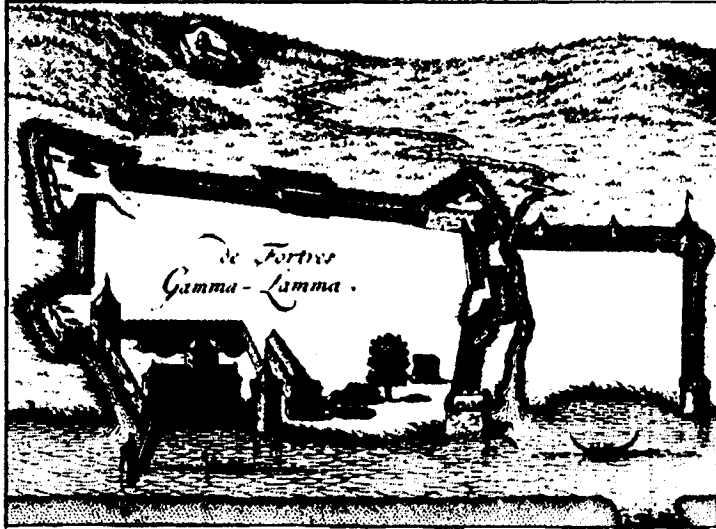
Sir, Y.S.M. should not underestimate the islands of the Moluccas and of Banda and Timor because, Sir, they are three of the best orchards there are in the world, the Moluccas for clove, Banda for nutmeg and mace¹, Timor for sandal-wood. Hence, Sir, Y.S.M. will learn that among all the [other] islands that have been discovered none of them have such products. It is also certain, Sir, that they belong to your Royal crown. However, I let Y.S.M. know that in India they are making ready a fleet of many *fustas* and ships to go to the Moluccas to fight the Spanish if they should go there, of which Don Pedro de Castelblanco is Captain Major.

Sir, the donjon of the fortress in the Moluccas is 14 feet in width; I paced it myself with my feet. Also, Sir, they say here that, even if the said King of Portugal were to let go of the said Moluccas, they themselves would not let them go, but instead defend them very well. Also, Sir, they are sending another good fleet to Banda of which Francisco de Saa [i.e. Sá] goes as Captain Major, to build another fort. Sir, my opinion would be to cut off the roots so that the branches would not grow too much.

Sir, I write no more because Taimo [or Taimon], a servant of Doña Leonor², will give Y.S.M. a more complete report about what goes on here. This man always was a [ship] captain and he knows very well what has happened in these parts. Hence Y.S.M. should believe him because he is a man who has served the King [of Portugal] and has given a good account of himself with everything he has entrusted him with. Y.S.M. will learn that he had recommended the said Taimo [or Taimon] as Captain Major of Malacca, which is one of the best captainships there are in these parts. I leave unsaid all the wrongs that I have suffered here because he has seen how they have refused to give me a passage. He has sworn never to take up arms here in India until he has told the King all that they have done to me here. Sir, the said Taimo [or Taimon] has consented

1 Ed. note: Mace is a spice made from the dry outer covering of the nutmeg.

2 Ed. note: This Doña Leonora [1498-1558] was the sister of Charles V. She became the wife of King Manuel of Portugal in 1518; after he died 3 years later, she moved to France to become the wife of Francis I, but Espinosa did not know that yet.



Close-up view of the fortress where Espinosa and his men were held prisoners (in lower left corner).

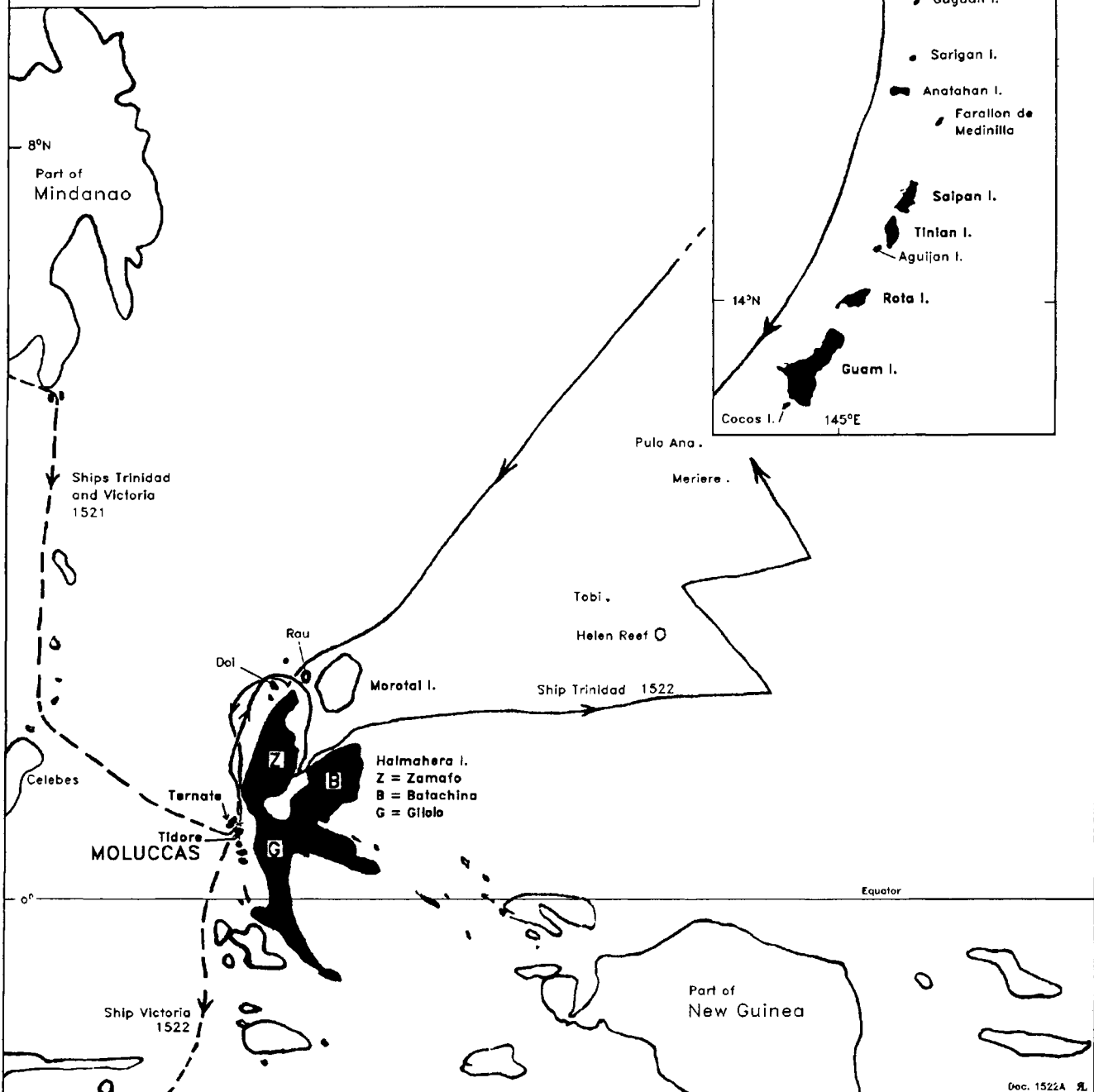
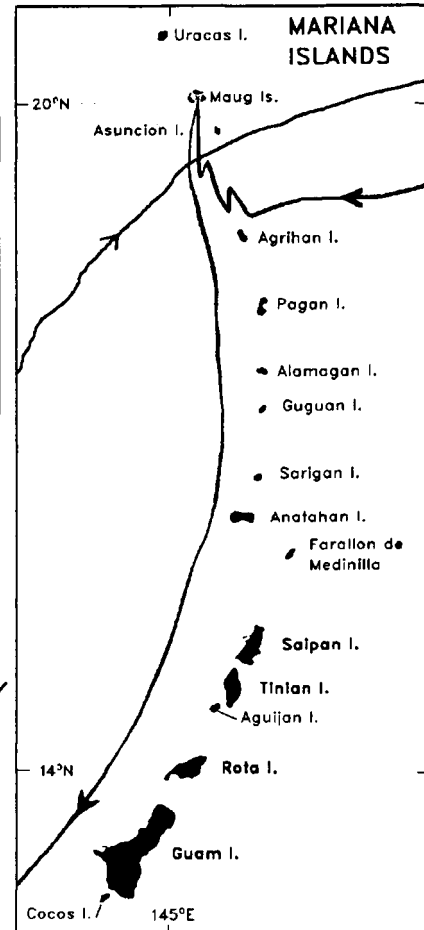
to lend me in the name of Y.S.M. a little money because he saw that I was much in need of it for my expenses. He carries a receipt from me. I beg Y.S.M. to reimburse him out of my wages.

Made in Cochin on the 12th day of January of 1525.

Your loyal vassal

[Signed] Gonçalo Gomez de Spinosa [sic].

Part of the track of the ship *Trinidad*, Captain Gómez de Espinosa, as he attempted to reach Central America in 1522 but was forced back to the Moluccas. The ship, mostly loaded with cloves, left Tidore on 6 April 1522 and went to the Port of Kau in Zamafo to pick up food supplies. It left Kau on 25 April and met headwinds that prevented a route to Central America via Chile. After changing course, the *Sonsorol Islands* were discovered on 6 May, Asunción in the Northern Marianas on 11 June. On the return voyage, they could not touch at Agrigan as intended, but went to anchor at Maug instead, at about the end of June. They arrived back at the Moluccas at the end of October and fell under the power of the newly-arrived Portuguese governor, António Brito.



Doc. 1522A 9

Actual transcript of Espinosa's letter to the King

Carta a S. M. de Gonzalo Gómez Espinosa, capitán de la nao Trinidad, de la Armada de Magallanes, dándole cuenta de su salida del Maluco, en 1522 y arribada a Tidore siete meses después, con el descubrimiento de 14 islas en el hemisferio del Norte etc., fecha en Cochín a 12 de Enero 1525.

†

Señor,

Sabra vuestra sagra majestad las cosas que ahora han sucedido despues que la nao vitoria [sic] partio de maluco nos fue necesario de quedar con la otra nao con mucho trabajo y mucho peligro la corejimos y estovimos in corejilla y en cargalla de clavo quatro meses en la ysla de tidori [sic] en la qual nos hizo el Rey della muy buena compañía en el nombre de vuestra sagra majestad y desta ysla señor me parti seis dias del mes de abril de mill y quinientos y veinte y dos años y hizimos nuestro camino para yr a demandar la tierra firme donde hizo andres niño las caravelas que es en la mar del sull donde señor hallava que de maluco a la primera tiera no avia sino mill y ochosientas leguas la qual tiera me demorava la mas parte del camino a leste quarta del nordeste y en el camino a quinientas leguas de maluco sabra vuestra sagra majestad como descubri quatorze islas las quales heran llenas de infinitisima jente desnuda la cual jente hera de la color de la jente de las indias donde señor tome lengua para saber lo que avia en ellas y por no entender la lengua no supe lo que avia en las estas dichas catorze islas.

Señor estan desde doce grados hasta veinte grados de la parte del norte de la liña hequinunçial por lo qual señor parti destas el dia de san bernabe siguiendo el dicho mi viaje donde sabra vuestra sagra majestad que anduve arando la mar haziendo mis fueras para dar buena cuenta de mi donde señor hallege hasta quarenta y dos grados de la parte del norte donde señor me hizo menester cortar los castillos y toldas porque la tormenta hera tan grande y los frios heran tan grandes que en la nao no podiamos hazer de comer la qual tormenta duro doze dias y porque la jente no tenia pan que comer enflaquesio la mas parte della y quando la tormenta fue passada que torno la jente a hazer de comer de llazor¹ que tenemos mucho les dio fasti[di]o donde adolesio la mas parte de la jente y quando vi la jente doliente y los tiempos contrarios y avia sinco meses que andaua por la mar arrybe sobre maluco y antes que llegase a maluco avia siete meses que andaua por la mar sin tomar refresco ninguno y llegado a las tieras de maluco halle señor trezientos honbres portogeses que estauan haziendo una fortaleza en la isla de ternate donde fue tan bien reçibido sobre mi trabajo que me amenazauan de me ahorcar de las antenas y tomandome la nao cargada de clao con todos sus aparejos y halle que tambien señor avian tomado la fatoria de vuestra sagra majestad y el escriuano y otros quatro hombres que estauan con el presos con muchas prisiones y assi señor hizieronme a mi y la otra jente que conmigo tenia dezonrandome y diziendo que era la

1 Ed. note: Apparently the contemporary slang word for some intestinal worms, according to Navarrete.

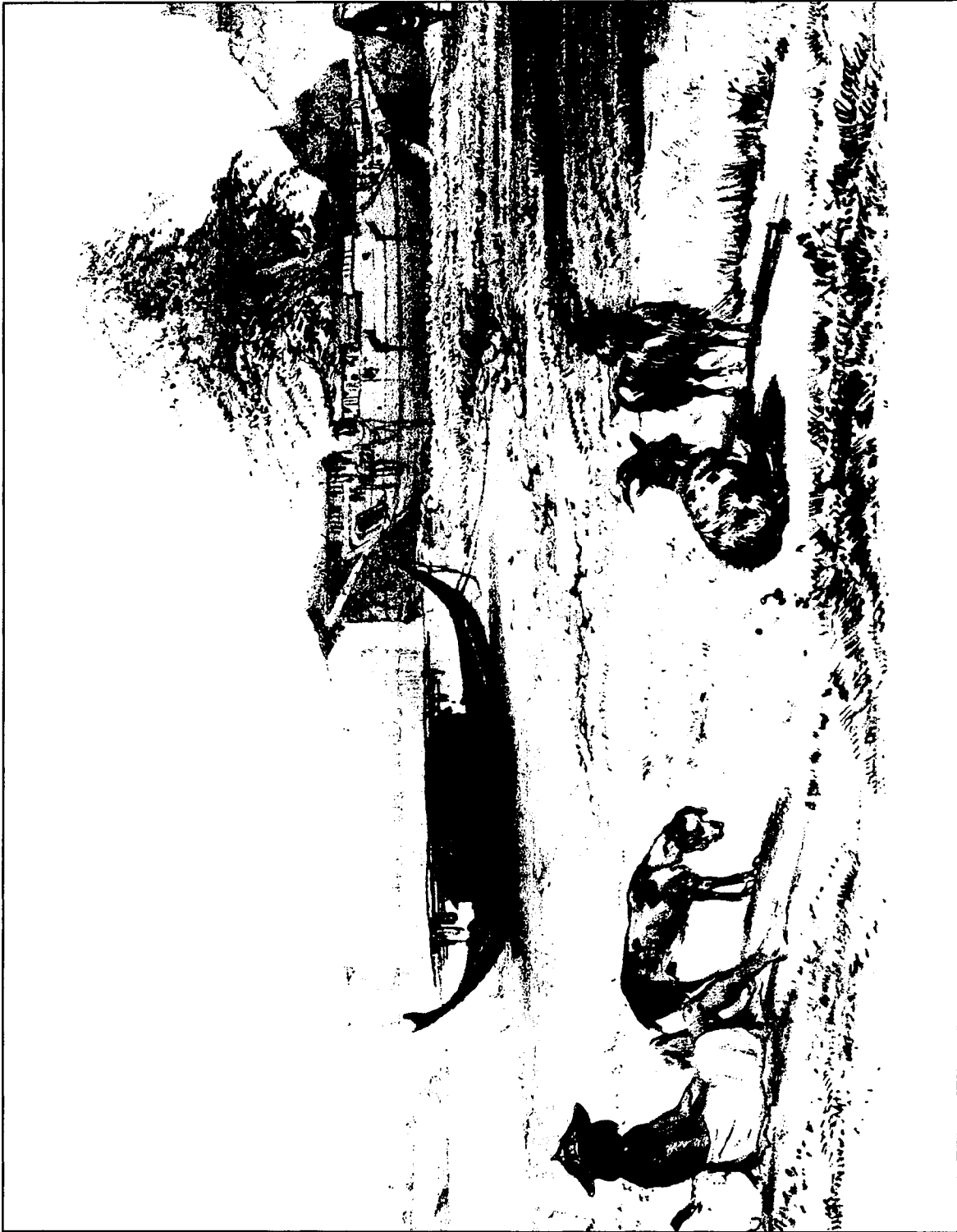
dron delante de la jente de la tierra y que no me tenian en cuenta ninguna y diziendo agora veremos quien es el rey de castilla o el de portogal donde sabra vuestra sagra majestad que me tomaron todas las cartas de marear y libros de derotear y estrolabios y quadrantes y rejimientos con todos los aparejos de pilotos y mas señor me tomaron de mi caxa vuestra vanderá real la qual tenia muy bien plegada y cojida la qual vuestra sagra majestad dio para ir a descubrir el dicho viaje diziendo a grandes boses mejor ropa es esta que ropa de moros por lo qual señor yo le demande conossimiento de todo lo que me avia tomado donde me respondió el capitan y los ofiçiales que el conossimiento que yo les demandaua que agradiesse a dios como no me le dauan ahorcandome de una antena y assi me tovieron preso quatro meses a mi y a veinte y un hombre que heramos y de aqui me llevaron a las islas de banda las quales islas son aquellas que dan la nuez moscada y la masa las quales islas son de vuestra sagra majestad y destas islas señor me lleuaron para melaca donde me tovieron sinco meses y de melaca me llevaron a presentar al governador de la yndia en la çibdad de cochín donde se carga la pimienta donde ha diez meses que estoy diziendome el dicho governador que me daria pasaje a mi y a la jente que conmigo venia agora sepa vuestra sagra majestad que este visorey que enbio el rey a la yndia me mando prender quando supo que yo estava en esta çibdad de cochín amenazandome y diziendome que me cortasen la cabeça y dezonrandome con muchas malas palabras y diziendo que a los otros ahorcase dende day a un mes que yo estava preso de la prission requeri que de partes del rey de portogal y de vuestra sagra majestad que me diesen pasaje el qual no me quisieron dar sabra vuestra sagra majestad como ha veinte y siete meses que estoi preso donde le requeria y requeri muchas vezes que me diesen de comer de la hazienda de vuestra sagra majestad que me tomaron en maluco y me dizian que traxiese otra que esta dueño tenia y asi sabra vuestra sagra majestad que de veinte y un hombre que estavamos en maluco por falta de comer y por yr llo a buscar yranse con los juncos y navios de la tierra donde señor agora nos somos aqui en cochín sino seis hombres lo qual sabra vuestra sagra majestad que el comer que no tenemos nos es mayor pena que la presion [sic] porque señor somos peor tratados que si estoviesemos en la beruería.

---y en esto beso las manos de vuestra sagra majestad que ponga remedio en esto y nos quiera sacar de cativos de poder de cristianos y se acuerde de mis servicios que esta la merçed que yo demando a vuestra sagra majestad señor no tenga vuestra sagra majestad en poco las islas de maluco y las de banda y timor por que señor son tres verjeles los mejores que ai en el mundo maluco por el clavo banda por la nuez moscada y masa timor por el sandalo donde señor sabra vuestra sagra majestad que en todo lo descubierto no se hallan otras yslas que tengan tales frutos esto es asi sierto que son de vuestra corona Real mas hago saber a vuestra sagra majestad como en la yndia se haze una armada de muchas fustas y navios para yr a maluco para pelear con los castellanos si alla fueren donde va por capitan mayor don pedro de castel blanco señor la torre del omenaje de la fortaleza de maluco es de catorze pies en ancho de muro que yo la medi con mis pies y tambien señor aca se dize que aunque el dicho Rey de portogal large el dicho maluco que ellos no lo quieren largar sino defendelle muy bien tambien señor en-

bian otra buena armada para banda donde va por capitan mayor francisco de saa a hazer otra fortaleza señor mi paresçer seria que se cortasen las rayzes porque no cre-siessen tanto las ramas señor no escrivo mas por que taimon [or taimo] criado de la reina doña lionor dara a vuestra sagra majestad cuenta mas por entero las cosas que aca pasan el qual anduvo siempre por capitan y sabe muy bien todo lo que en estas partes se a pasado lo qual vuestra sagra majestad le puede dar credito por que es hombre que ha servido bien al rey y ha dado mucha buena cuenta de si de todo lo que le an encargado y sepa vuestra sagra majestad como el dicho taimon [or taimo] le dava que fuese por capitan mayor de la mar de melaca el qual es una de las mejores capitancias que ai en estas partes y dexo todo por los agravios que el vido que me hizieron aca por que no me quissieron dar pasaje el qual hizo juramento de nonca tomar armas en la mano haca en la yndia hasta que contase al Rey todo lo que aca me han hecho señor el dicho taimon [or taimo] tuvo por bien de me emprestar en el nombre de vuestra sagra majestad un poco de dinero por que el vido que yo le tenia mucho de menester para mi despensa el qual lleva un conosimiento mio suplico a vuestra sagra majestad que de mi sueldo çe lo mande pagar.

Fecha en cochín a los 12 días de henero de 1525 años.

Su leal vasallo gonalo gomez de spinosa—(hay una rúbrica).



The wreck of the Trinidad in the harbor of Ternate Island. *This drawing can be used to represent the hulk of Magellan's flagship which ended up on the beach at Ternate.*

Document 1522B

Espinosa's voyage—Other primary source documents from AGI

B1. Joint letter of Juan Bautista and Leon Pancaldo, to the Emperor, from their prison in Mozambique, dated 20 Oct 1525. [not reproduced]

B2. *Patronato, legajo 34, ramo 24*: 1526 deposition by Captain General Espinosa and others held in prison in Lisbon, 2 pages. [not reproduced]

B3. *Patronato, legajo 34, ramo 16*: 1527 report to the *Casa de Especería* by Captain General Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa upon his return to Spain, 2 pages. [not reproduced]

B4. *Patronato, legajo 24, ramo 27*: 1527 testimony of the survivors from the Moluccas of the flagship *Trinidad*, 38 pages. [not reproduced]

B5. *Declaraciones que dieron en Valladolid Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Leon Pancaldo y Ginés de Mafra sobre los acontecimientos de la nao Trinidad en las Molucas*. [Declarations made at Valladolid by Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Leon Pancaldo and Ginés de Mafra regarding the happenings of the *nao Trinidad* in the Moluccas].

*Sources for Doc. B5: AGI Seville: Papeles del Maluco de 1519 a 1547. Published by Navarrete, in his Colección de los viajes, tome iv, pp. 378-388. On 2 August 1527, the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo was mandated by the Council of the Indies to interview three of the survivors of the *Trinidad* shipwreck. The notary Francisco de Briviesca took down their depositions on 5 August 1527, as follows.*

The said Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, having been sworn in due legal form, was read the said deed and commission given by the gentlemen President and members of the Council of the Indies to the Lord Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, member of the said Council, and having been reminded to say and declare under oath what he knows and what occurred regarding that, said:

That what he knows and saw is, that this witness, as captain, a post he was elected to after the death of Magellan, arrived with the nao **Trinidad** and the nao **Victoria** at the island of Tidore, which is in the Moluccas, and that there he loaded both naos with clove and other things, and merchandise they bartered for in the said island; and that the nao **Victoria** came to Spain, with Juan Sebastian de Elcano as her captain, and that this witness stayed behind with the nao **Trinidad**, because she was leaking and could not sail, and that he unloaded and careened her, loaded her again, and left with her with a load of cloves. He carried something like a thousand quintals¹ of cloves, more or less, counting what some of those in the nao had brought along. They sailed for about 7 months, more or less, without being able to find a port. On account of the storm² and contrary weather they turned around and sought the Moluccan Islands, and anchored on the coast of Zamafo, near the island of Doy. There he learned that Antonio de Brito, a captain of the King of Portugal, with Portuguese crews was at the island of Ternate, which is next to Tidore Island, about half a league, more or less, and that he was building a fort there.

He wrote him a letter, through the clerk of the said nao **Trinidad** who was called Bartolomé Sanchez [N° 21], requesting him [i.e. Brito] and asking him in the name of His Majesty to send him some relief and assistance to take the said nao to the said island of Tidore from where he had departed, because the crew of the said nao was sick, and many of them had died, and he did not have a crew to take her in. Seeing that a crew was not coming, for fear of losing the nao upon the coast because he had only one small anchor down and he could not put down more for lack of a crew, he weighed the anchor, and set sail. He came to anchor at the port of Beneconora.³ That is where Simon de Abreu came, with Duarte Rager, the clerk of the factory of the King of Portugal and other people in a *coracora*⁴ and behind them came a *fusta* and a caravel in which came García Manrique and Gaspar Gallo as captains.

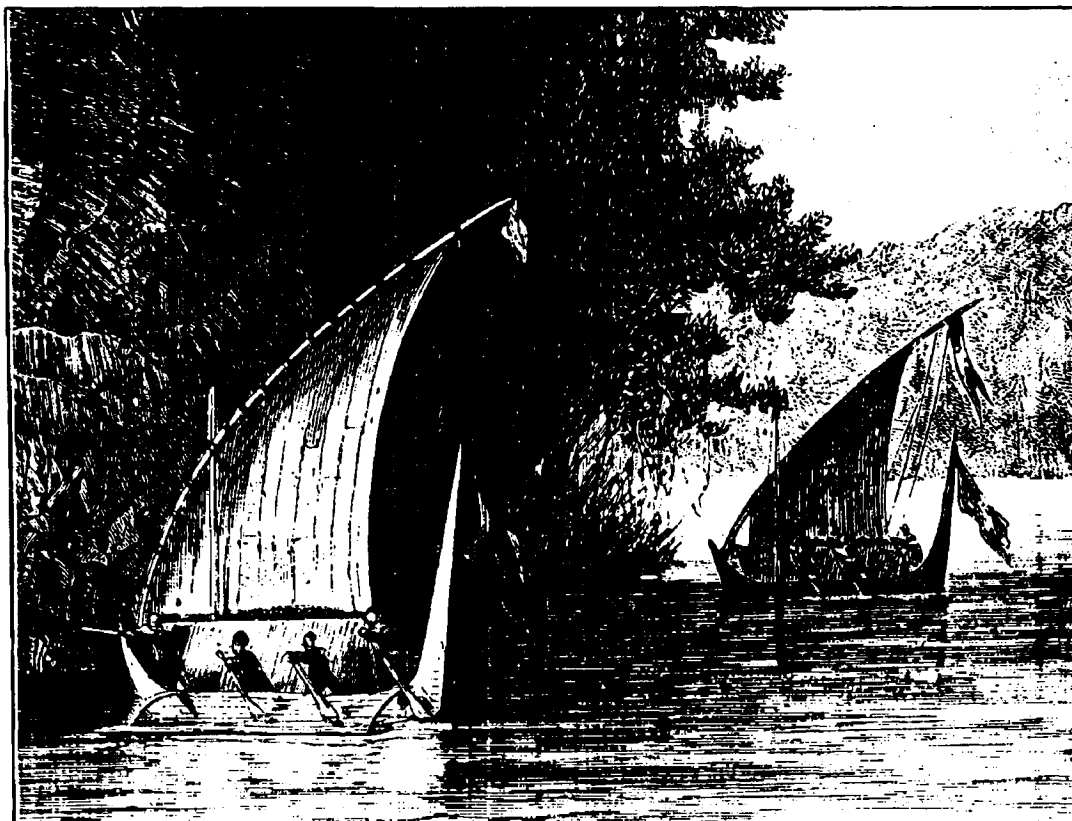
They all came aboard the said nao **Trinidad**, and there the said Simon de Abreu gave him a letter from the said Antonio de Brito in answer to the one this witness had

1 Ed. note: About 50 short tons.

2 Ed. note: The Spanish word "fortuna" is here again used to mean "strong wind" or "storm" and has obviously nothing to do with fortune.

3 Ed. note: This may be a misprint for Gamoconora, which is the name of a nearby volcano.

4 Ed. note: A large native double-outrigger canoe. Sometimes spelled "caracora".



“Coracora” or outrigger canoes used in the Moluccas. (From Davenport Adams' *The Eastern Archipelago*, London, 1880)

written to him through the clerk of his nao; this clerk did not return because they arrested him. After having given the letter¹, because they had received an order from the said Antonio de Brito, they took from the said witness all the letters, astrolabes, quadrants, reference books, and other things they carried for the navigation. Later on, they began to take over the nao with their crew, and they set sail, and went to anchor at the port of Talangomi between the islands of Tidore and Ternate, and from there they brought this witness in a boat, as well as others who came in the said nao, to the fort that the said Antonio de Brito had in Ternate.

1 Ed. note: This letter, in Portuguese, was brought to Spain by Espinosa and was also published by Navarrete, *op. cit.*, p. 295. It reads as follows: *“Sir. Before Bartolomeu Sanches arrived, I learned that you had arrived in this nao, and later that same day I sent two ships and a fusta to look for you. Today Bartolomeu Sanches arrived and gave me your letters, in which you request me to send for that nao so that the nao may sail. I have sent this coracora in which goes the Administrator of Ternate and the Chief Warden of this fort with twenty Portuguese men among whom are the sailors that brought her, and also there goes one [blank, another coracora?] of the [blank] with food supplies, to see you later, Sir. They will bring the nao for you, and the ships will be with you shortly with more crewmen [to be made available], if necessary. I trust in your favor. On this day the 21st of October of 1522. António de Brito.”*

This witness asked to be given a certificate listing what came in the said nao when they were unloading her in order to report to His Majesty, and they replied to him that, if he asked [for it] many [more] times, they would give it to him up there in a yardarm... In the said fort, he found the following men in irons:

- [1.] Juan de Campos [N° 128];
- [2.] Diego Arias [N° 54 or 208]¹, who claims to be from San Lúcar;
- [3.] Alonso Ginovés [N° 157]², sick;
- [4.] Luis de Molino [N° 155] was at large, and this [witness] had him come to the fort under a safe-conduct, but when he came to the fort they put him in irons. These people were those who had remained at the said island of Tidore with the property and factory of His Majesty in a house they had built there. They told this witness how the said Portuguese had wrecked the house that His Majesty owned in the said island of Tidore, and taken all the merchandises they had to trade and some clove they had, and that they took as well the receipts they had for the clove already paid for, which they would have received at harvest time, and whatever they had by way of rigging from the naos, and other things they had for barter. They had been held prisoners for about five months more or less.

From there they were taken to Banda, where they were four months more or less, and from there they took them to Java, and from there to Malacca, and they delivered them to Jorge de Albuquerque, and from there they took them to Cochin where they stayed a long time until they took this witness, with Ginés de Mafra and Master Hans, to Lisbon where they were kept at the *Limonero* [= Lemon Tree], which is the public jail, and where died the said Master Hans [N° 140], and this witness and Ginés de Mafra were released because of His Majesty's letters. This is what he said that he knew and remembered about the above-mentioned, and that he knows it because he saw it and was present in it, or heard about it as stated.

He was asked by the said Lord Bishop what was in the nao that was taken from them, besides the said clove that he had already mentioned, and how many persons were taken prisoners with this witness to the said fort, and how they were called. He said that they seized from them two bombards of thick iron, one small metal cannon, eleven iron cannon, two iron falconets, and other personal weapons, ordnance, and munitions from the nao, and much iron in bars, much rigging from the other two naos that had been lost, and their chests with a few things and the documents that they carried, and that **the persons who were made prisoners with this witness were seventeen in number**, both the healthy and the sick, and that they were called (those he remembers):

- [1.] Juan Bautista [de Poncero, N° 4 in Doc. 1519F],
- [2.] Leon Pancaldo [N° 15],
- [3.] Ginés de Mafra [N° 14],
- [4.] Juan Rodriguez Sordo [i.e. the Deaf, N° 137],
- [5.] Master Hans [N° 140],

1 Ed. note: Not Arias, but Dias, says Brito.

2 Ed. note: This Genoese was called Alonso da Costa, says Brito.

- [6.] Diego Martin [N° 23],
- [7.] Malvo [N° 212],
- [8.] San Remo [N° 16],
- [9.] Juan Navarro [N° 151],
- [10.] Francisco de Ayamonte [N° 32],
- [11.] Juan de Sagredo [N° 115],
- [12.] one black man [N° 35], and
- [13.] Bartolomé Sanchez [N° 21]...¹

B6. Another version of the 5 Aug Declarations of Espinosa, Pancaldo and Mafra.

Source: Synopsis of B5 file above, by Muñoz, and reproduced by Navarrete, op. cit., iv, pp. 369-371.

In Valladolid on 2 August 1527, having come to the said court Captain Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Spanish [sic], of 48 years of age, and Ginés de Mafra, of 33 or 34 years of age, and Leon Pancaldo of 45 years of age, a native of Savona in Genoa, who had remained with the nao **Trinidad**, the gentlemen President and members of the Council of the Indies gave a commission to Dr. Beltran, of the said Council, to take their deposition under oath using the questionnaire of Dr. Ribera in Badajoz² before Francisco Briviesca, notary, and on 5 August the said declarations were recorded as follows:

That [out of] the five ships with which Magellan had left, one turned back to Spain, another was taken apart and burned by necessity, and another was lost in a storm off the coasts of Brazil.

That Magellan died after having passed the Strait of All Saints³, and Duarte Barbosa succeeded him after having been elected by all; then he died and Juan Carvallo, who was pilot major, was elected, and, as the people became dissatisfied, they took the post away from him and they elected Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, he who proceeded with the **Victoria** and the **Trinidad** as far as Tidore.

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- 1 Ed. note: The declaration of Leon Pancaldo adds nothing new, except that he specifies that the seized documents and logbooks had contained “the route taken and the islands discovered by them”, that “he had written his books in Italian”, that the total number of men seized from the **Trinidad** were either 17 or 18 in number, that the black man was named Anton [Moreno] and that those not remembered by Espinosa included “Anton de Bazaza, boatswain [N° 126], Master Antonio, carpenter [N° 9], Gerónimo Garcia [N° 232], and Pedro de Huelva [N° 227, an error, as he had died on 18 Sep 1522].” These men had, of course, visited the Marianas three times. The testimony of Ginés de Mafra adds nothing new, except the name of the 17th (or 18th) survivor of the 1522 voyage is given as Luis de Vaes (transcription error for Veas) [N° 38]. It should be recalled that one of the prisoners was the Portuguese Pedro de Lorosa, who had joined at Tidore; he was judged a traitor and executed by Governor Brito.
 - 2 Ed. note: The same format with 19 questions used with 16 of the survivors from the **Victoria** at the Conference of Badajoz, on 23 May 1524.
 - 3 Ed. note: Soon to become known as the Strait of Magellan.

That the deeds of ownership of Tidore and of the other islands were passed before Martin Mendez [Nº 166], accountant who came in the **Victoria**.

That in imitation of the King of Tidore those of Bachian, Ternate and other islands swore allegiance, offering in tribute a few bahars (a measure of about 4 quintals) of cloves, blankets, parrots and feathers, straw boxes, etc.: they were in Tidore from November 1521 to April 1522.

That having distributed as many as 1,800 quintals of cloves in the ships **Victoria** and **Trinidad**, because the latter leaked a lot, they agreed to send the **Victoria** with her captain Juan Sebastian del Cano by the Portuguese route, and to have the **Trinidad** stay and be made ready to go to New Spain; about 60 people stayed, and as it took as much as 4 months to get the nao ready, they left five men in the house they had built to store the leftover clove, the tools and merchandise, and to continue to buy clove and to represent H.M., and then they set sail. They sailed from 6 April 1522 until the end of October, a little over 6 months, having spent 4 of them in getting up to 43 degrees of latitude North, where they experienced very strong winds and much cold; the other 2 months were spent returning to the Moluccas, near which they anchored at a port of the island of Chirola south of Gilolo.¹ With a favorable wind they later arrived at another port situated about 30 leagues from Ternate, which is called Benaconora. At that time, there were only twenty or so people, and they were very sick, and upon learning that the Portuguese had arrived at Ternate with 7 ships they asked them for help, and within a few days a *coracora* came, and behind it a caravel and a *fusta* with many Portuguese and a few Indians from Ternate (resentful against the Spaniards because they believed that their not having gone to their island had been to think of them as less important than those of Tidore). The said men took them as prisoners to Ternate, the same as they had done to the four who had remained at Tidore, as Master Pedro had died after the house of the Spanish had been destroyed. The Portuguese at Ternate first built a wooden fort, then they began another made of stone, in whose construction they tried to have our people work, and after some time had passed (about 4 months) they sent them to Banda and to Malacca and other parts, from which places they managed to get to Lisbon. There they were prisoners, but in the end they gained their freedom and came back to Spain.

That no Portuguese fleet nor any other Christian prince had been there nor taken possession before our fleet; it was only learned that a certain Francisco Serrano had been there, who was a great navigator and a good friend of Magellan, who, for fear of the King of Portugal and of his people, had fled Malacca in a junk of the type that traded there from the Moluccas. He died in Tidore, to the king of which he had said many times when shaking his hand, that those islands were of the King of Spain.

The Portuguese having learned the whereabouts of Serrão and about the Magellan Expedition, fearing the two might meet, a certain Don Tristão [de Meneses] went from India to look for him with a small *fusta*, something like six months before the fleet of

1 Ed. note: Chirola is perhaps the same as Chaol (= Morotai) in previous documents, but it is north, not south, of Gilolo.

H.M. arrived. When he did not succeed in having him follow him, it is said that he was given poison, and thus he died some 15 to 20 days later. Those of Tidore made war on Don Tristan, and killed about 7 to 8 Portuguese of his, and made him flee. With Don Tristan went a Portuguese named Pedro Alfonso de Lorosa, who returned to India, and fearing that they would take him on account of something that had happened, he fled in a junk to Ternate, where he was found by our people. He embarked with them aboard the **Trinidad**, and at the return he was decapitated by the Portuguese because he had been a protégé of Serrano and had gone to the Indies looking for his friend who had gone with the Spaniards, with the intention of informing the Emperor about the wealth of those islands.

The reason for the recent visit by seven Portuguese ships with up to 700 men, Captain Antonio Brito, they say it was on account of news about Magellan's fleet¹ in which they knew no more than 240 men had gone, and they considered that many of them had [already] died.

B7. List of the people who died aboard the nao Trinidad in 1522, all of whom had been in the Marianas two or three times.

Sources: AGI Seville: Simancas, legajo 1. Published as Document N° 201 in Garrigós' Colección general de documentos, Barcelona, Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1918-23. Summarized by the Viscount of Lagoa, from which the following is taken.

- On 10 August 1522 died the Italian caulker Juan García [N° 214].
 " 23 " Marcos de Vayabarboso [N° 8].
 " 29 " the supernumerary Alberto Sanchez who held the post of master gunner [N° 58].
- On 2 September 1522 died Juan Martin of Seville [N° 200].
 " 4 " the Portuguese ship's boy Juan [N° 251].
 " 5 " Juan de Grisol or Grijól [N° 39].
 " 10 " the ship's boy Blas Durango [N° 34].
 " 13 " Guillermo Yres [N° 144].
 " 15 " the ship's boy Pedro Breton or Arnaot [N° 233].
 " 17 " Juan Blas [N° 230 or 252].
 " 18 " Pedro Díaz of Huelva [N° 227].
 " 19 " Sebastião the Portuguese [N° 192].
 " 21 " the ship's boy Juan Gallego or de Rodas [N° 37].
 " 25 " the surgeon of the **Trinidad**, Dr. Juan de Morales [N° 71].
 " 27 " the supernumerary Fernando Lopez [N° 45].
 " 30 " the Genoese sailor Benito [N° 180].
 " 5 October 1522 died Ruiz Matamoros or Francisco Ruiz [N° 131].

¹ Ed. note: Received by mail from Lisbon to India as a result of the report made to the King of Portugal by his agent Alvarez. See Doc. 1519G.

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|------|---|--|
| " 5 | " | the sailor Juan Rodriguez of Seville [N° 133]. |
| " 6 | " | Alonso (or Antonio) Hernandez or de Palos [N° 228]. |
| " 13 | " | the Basque sailor Juan de Aguirre [N° 138]. |
| " 14 | " | the Basque carpenter Domingo de Ycaza or Aroca [N° 127 or 240]. |
| " 14 | " | the Portuguese steward Braz Afonso [N° 241]. |
| " 18 | " | the page Andrés de la Cruz of Seville [N° 42]. |
| " 19 | " | the Genoese page Juan Atin [N° 41]. |
| " 20 | " | the page Juan Yres [N° 40 or 153]. |
| " 22 | " | the sailor Sebastian de Huelva or García [N° 134]. |
| " 22 | " | two black slaves belonging, one [N° 229] to [Captain] Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa and one [N° 265] to the pilot Juan Carvallo. |
| " 27 | " | the gunner Juan de Troya [N° 226]. |
| " 29 | " | the ship's boy Pedro de Huelva or Bello [N° 231]. |
| " 30 | " | the ship's boy Jerónimo Sevillano or García [N° 232]. |

Document 1522C

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

Source: Same as for Document 1521D.

They left on the 6th of April of the era of 1522, and they took their route for the mainland of the Antilles¹, by way of the Strait [of Magellan], by which they had come out [into the Pacific], and then they sailed northward until they went out of the said islands of Ternate and Timor [rather Tidore], and then they sailed along the island of Betachina [i.e. Halmahera], to the NNE for 10 or 11 leagues, and after they steered something like 20 leagues NE, and thus they arrived at an island, which is called Domy [i.e. Doi], which is in 3 degrees and a half on the SE side², and from here they sailed to the east 3 or 4 leagues, and came into sight of two islands, one big and the other small. The big one is called Chãol, the small one Pyliom³, and they passed between it and Bate-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Espinosa—Original text by a Genoese pilot

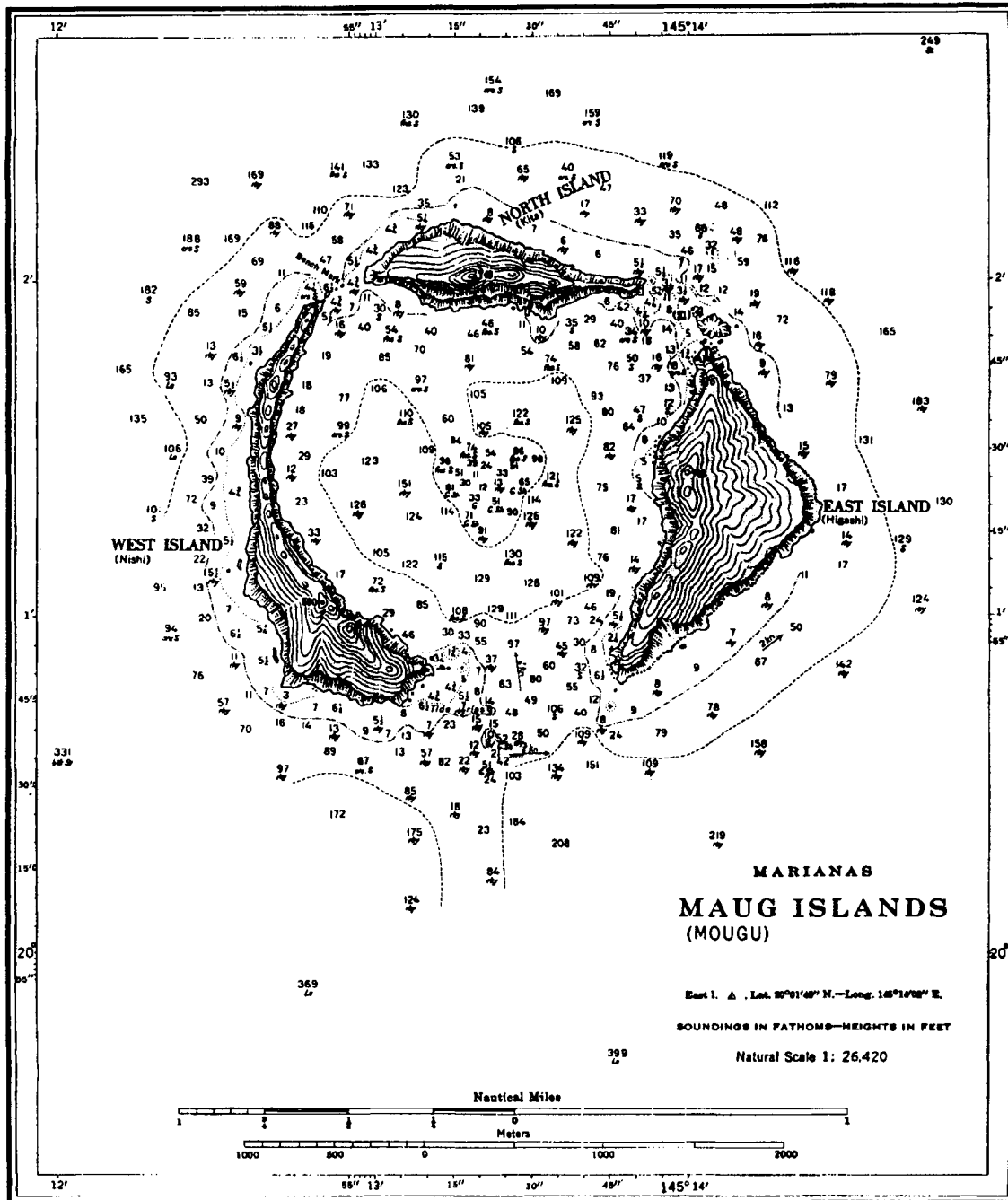
Source: Nunes de Carvalho's book reproducing this manuscript. Also extracts by the Viscount of Lagoa, following the copy published by the Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Document 1522D

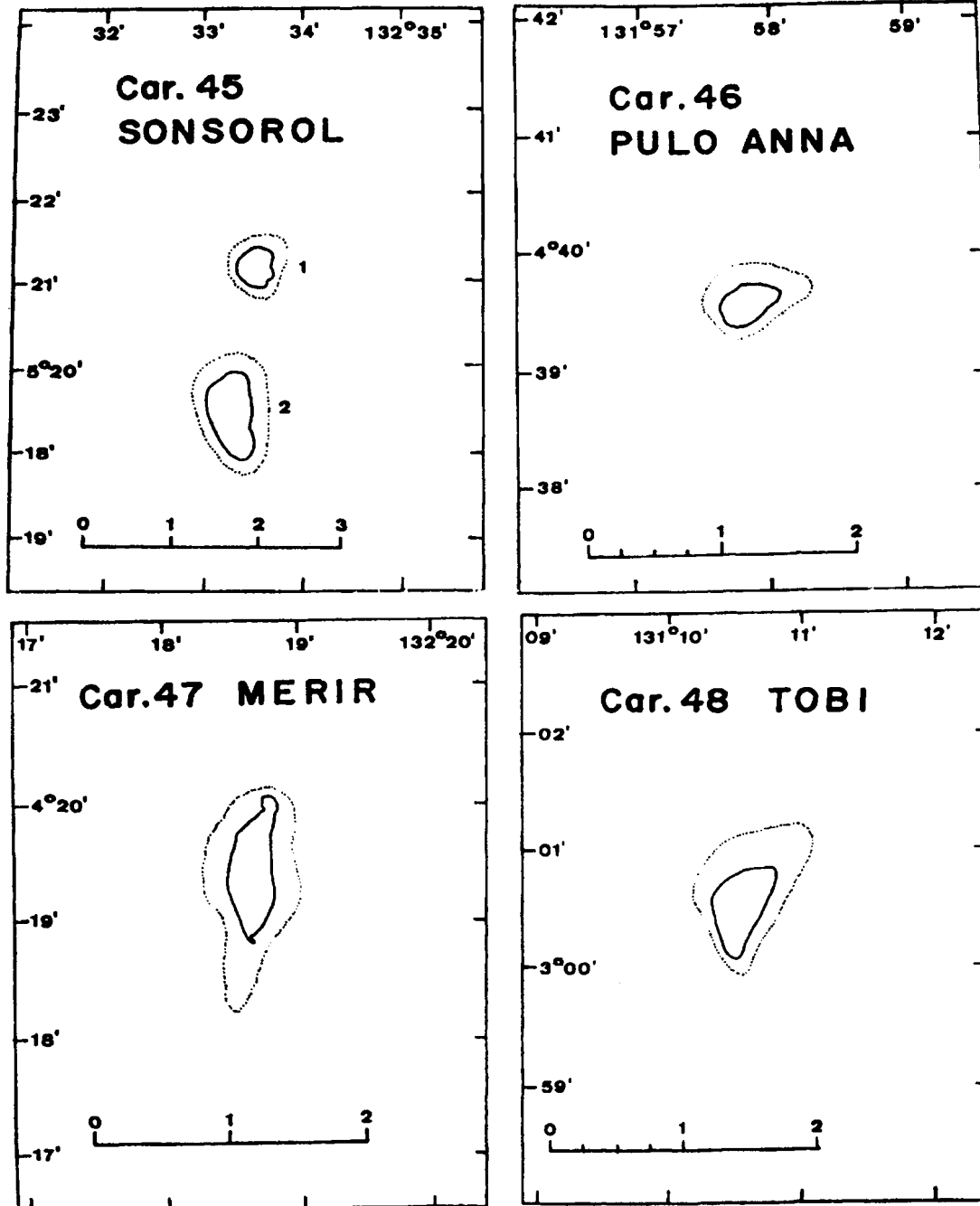
Espinosa's voyage—Secondary account by António Galvão pointing at the discovery of the Sonsorol Islands

Source: António Galvão's Tratado dos descobrimentos, 4th edition, 1987 (pp. 124-5, 245-6). This edition reproduces two versions: the edition "princeps" of 1563 and the "updated" 1944 third edition annotated by the Viscount of Lagoa. The original text (reproduced below) has been followed. Note that a primitive English translation of the first edition of this book has also been published by Richard Hakluyt in 1601.

...

In this same year of 1522, and in the month of April, the other nao of [the] Magellan [Expedition] left the island of Tidore, with Gonçalo Gomez de Espinosa as her captain. On the way to New Spain, because the winds were scarce, they steered to the northeast. In 36 [sic] degrees on the north side, [they saw] **two islands**¹

¹ Ed. note: The latitude given by Galvão must be wrong, as 36° N is in Japan. The Viscount of Lagoa says (and I agree with him) that "there must be a typographical error or an error made in the transcription of Galvão's manuscript". However, this is the evidence for Espinosa having discovered a group of two islets (insignificant enough to have been forgotten by him by the time he wrote his 1525 letter to the King), somewhere between the Morotai Strait north of Gilolo (Halmahera) and his landfall in the Northern Marianas (Asunción). The islands or island groups lying in his path were: a) Tobi, b) one of these: Merir, Pulo Ana, or Sonsorol; c) Palau; d) one of these: Yap, Ngulu, Ulithi, or Fais, and e) Guam and Rota. Guam and Rota, whose position he knew, would have been recognized by him immediately. The most likely islands are the two islets of **Sonsorol**, located just below 6° N. The error made in transcribing 6° into 36° was an easy one to make. Tobi, Merir, Pulo Ana and Fais are all single separate islands. Palau, even Angaur and Peleliu, if sighted, would have resulted in the very significant discovery of the Palau Group. Yap is also significant in size. The atolls of Ngulu and Ulithi are not so easily excluded, but their nature as atolls would have been a novelty (Ulithi also covers such a large area), unless the ship passed far off to the east of them, with two of their easternmost islets seen from the masthead. However, this latter possibility would seem too far-fetched to merit serious consideration.



The Sonsorol Islands were first discovered in 1522. They were named the St. John Islands by their first European discoverer, Captain Espinosa. They were to be re-baptized the St. Andrew Islands in 1710. As can be seen above, the other small islands in the vicinity are single islets and could not have been the ones sighted by the ship Trinidad. (From E. H. Bryan, Jr.'s book: "Guide to Place Names", 1971)

to which they gave the name of **San Juan**.¹

Following the same course they went on to touch at another in 20 degrees, which is called **A Grega**.² Its people, innocent as they were, wished to come aboard the nao, and they seized a few of them to show them off in New Spain.³ They went on for four months along that course, until they reached 42 degrees, where they saw seals and dolphins.⁴ The climate was so cold and stormy that they could not feed themselves there; rather they turned back [in distress] toward the Moluccas. Consequently, they were the first Spanish to place themselves on that side in such a great latitude. When they returned to the Moluccas, António de Brito was already building a fort.

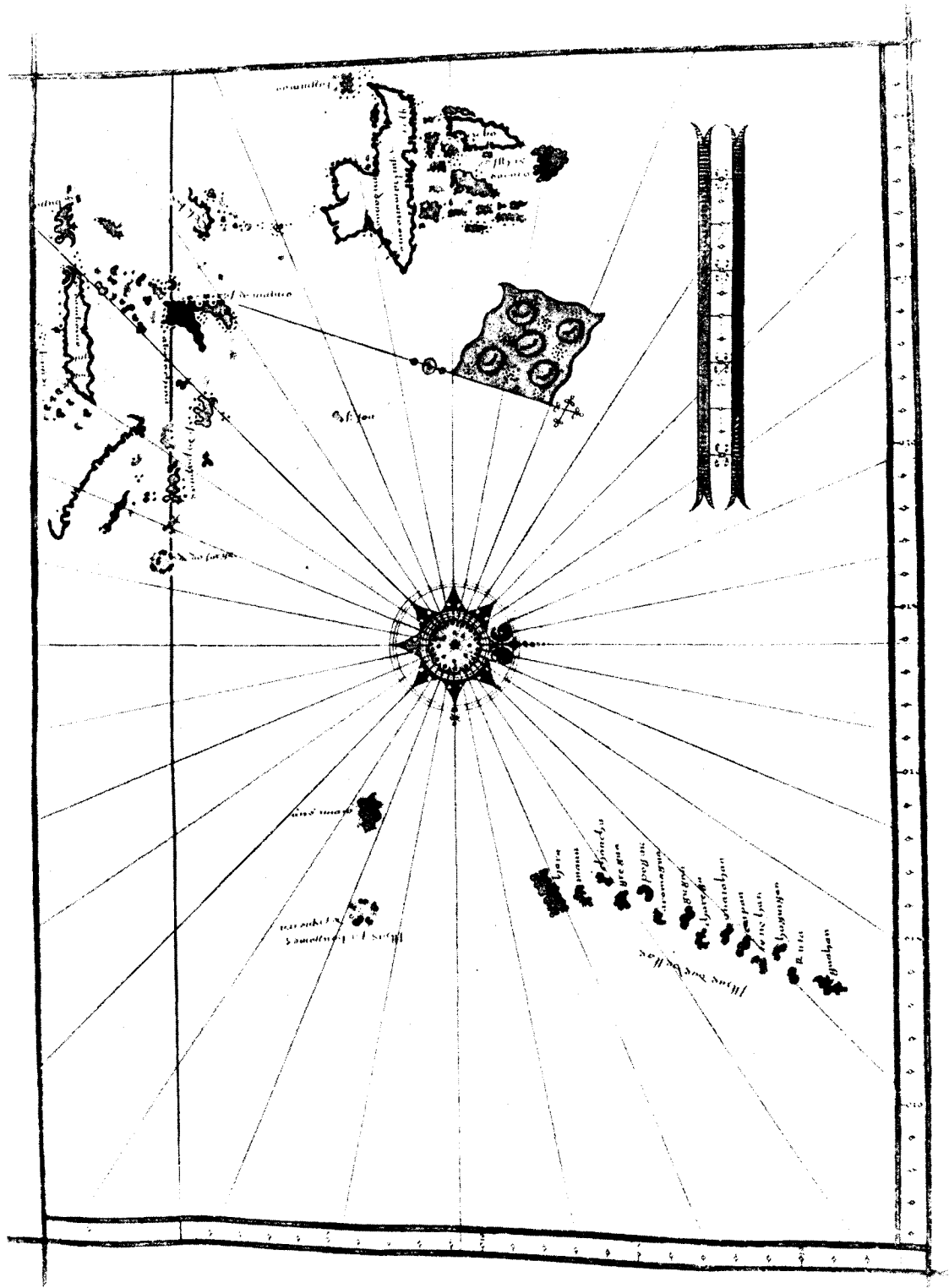
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- 1 Ed. note: There exists a more solid proof for this discovery of Sonsorol by Espinosa in 1522. It appears on a Portuguese map of the area, based on Spanish and Portuguese explorations up to the 1540s, which shows Sonsorol as "S. João" at about 6° N (See map below). By the way, the Viscount of Lagoa opted for the identification of Warwick and Warren Hastings Islands, i.e. the two separate islets of Merir and Pulo Ana, instead of Sonsorol. His evidence comes from tertiary (and therefore less reliable) sources, e.g. Herrera, Barros, and Castanheda, and it is to the effect that, on May 3rd [rather than May 6th], they discovered two islands which they called San Antonio. However, as pointed out by Sharp (p. 11), May 6th is the feast day dedicated to St. John, not just St. John the Apostle, but also St. John the Damascene. Finally, one may ask: Why did it take one month to reach Sonsorol after leaving Tidore? There is evidence (See the previous account by the Genoese pilot) pointing out that they first stopped on the eastern side of Halmahera to pick up supplies, then they tried to make an eastward passage by a southern route toward the Strait of Magellan but that they were becalmed; we are told that the winds failed them.
 - 2 Ed. note: We can easily recognize **Agrihan** Island in the Northern Marianas, in about 19° N. The island name might even have been written **Agregã** in the manuscript, a common feature for words ending with the letter "n". However, it was the intended stopover point on the way **back** to the Moluccas, **Asunción having been visited first on 11 June**.
 - 3 Ed. note: Only one Chamorro was taken according to primary sources.
 - 4 Ed. note: The word "toninhas" means dolphins or porpoises, although it can perhaps be misunderstood to mean whales; it cannot, however, refer to tunnies (tuna fish), as Hakluyt thought.

(Facing page) This Portuguese map, circa 1545, is the definite proof that the Spanish ship *Trinidad*, Captain Gomez de Espinosa, discovered Sonsorol and the Northern Marianas in 1522 and that an unidentified Portuguese ship, Captain da Rocha, along with Pilot Gomez de Sequeira, discovered Ulithi in 1525. Because the convention showing the direction North as being on top of a chart or map was not yet firmly adopted, the names of the Marianas (here called Islands of the [lateen] Sails) appear upside down. It appears that the draftsman, who wrote them upside down, made the wrong guess. However, the list is remarkably correct and the information had to have been seized by the Portuguese from Captain Espinosa after he turned back to the Moluccas. The information itself must have come from the Chamorro Indian whom Espinosa had taken from Asunción and returned to Maug. This information was to be corroborated 4 years later by the Galician deserter, Gonzalo de Vigo, and again this information was seized by the Portuguese in the Moluccas. The Spanish themselves lost track of the correct native names for the islands (as evidenced by this map) until they occupied them in 1668.



The "**Ilhas das vellas**" = *Ilhas das Velas* or Islands of the [Lateen] Sails, another name for the Ladrões or Marianas:

1. **Guahan** = Guajan (for many centuries until the spelling was changed to Guam),
2. **Ruta** = Rota (but for a long time the Spanish thought its real name to have been Sarpana),
3. **Haguigan** = written Aguijan today,
4. **Tenehan** = Tenian or Tinian today,
5. **Çaapan(?)** = Saipan today,
6. **Anatahan** = Anatahan today also,
7. **Charega** = Sarigan today [here we can see that the sound for "ch" and "s" could be confounded],
8. **Gugan** = Guguan,
9. **Aromagua** = Alamagan today,
10. **Pagan** = Pagan,
11. **Gregua** = Agrigan or Agrihan today,
12. **Chancha** (or Chanchã) = Original name of Asunción [Assumption in Spanish], then pronounced something like *As Sonson*, or *Songsong* for the name of its chief,
13. **Maua** = Maug today,
14. **Hora** = Urac or Uracas today.

Apart from the Molucca Is., highlighted with a flag symbol, the cartographer has shown the "I. de Papuas" or Papua I. and also those "de Don Jorge" [de Meneses] lying east of the Moluccas. On a 1544 map by Sebastian Cabot, such islands are labelled: "Archipelago de papus donde enverno don Jorge" [Archipelago of Papua where Don Jorge spent a winter]. Also of interest is the note written on top of Mindanao: "Aqui ha muito ouro" which means "Here there is much gold", as well as the Visayan Islands discovered up to that time (ca. 1545) labelled: "Ilhas de ouro", the "Islands of Gold".



Portuguese map, ca. 1545, recording many new discoveries. (Plate 52D of Vol. I of A. Cortesão & A. Teixeira da Mota's "Portugaliae monumenta cartographica", Lisbon, 1960. See facing page for explanations)


TRATADO.


Que compôs o nobre & notaue
l capitão Antonio Galvão, dos
diuerfos & desuayrados caminhos,
por onde nos tempos passados a pi-
menta & especcaria veyo da India ás
nossas partes, & a si de todos os des-
cobrimentos antigos & modernos,
que são feitos ate a era de mil & qui-
nhentos & cincoenta. Com os nomes
particulares das pessoas que os fi-
zeram : & em que tempos &
as suas alturas, obra ce
to muy notaue l &
copiosa.

Foy vista & examinada pela Santa Inquisição.

Impressa em casa de Ioam da Barreira impres-
or del rey nosso seuhor, na Rua de sã Mamede

Title page of the first 1563 edition of Galvão's Treatise. The second edition of 1731 bore the full title: "Tratado dos descobrimentos antigos, e modernos..." [Treatise on ancient and modern discoveries].



Portrait of António Galvão, Governor of the Moluccas. *He was governor of the Portuguese Moluccas from 1536 to 1540. (Drawing from the second edition of his book, 1731)*

Galvão's original Portuguese text

*Neste mesmo ano de 522 & mes Dabril, partio a outra nao que com o Magalhães fora da ylha de Tidore, capitam della Gonçalo gomez despinosa[;] na volta da nova Espanha por escassear o vento, governaram ao Nordeste em trinta [sic] & seis graos da parte do norte, [e viram] duas ilhas a que poseram nome de **sam Joam**, & polo mesmo rumo foram ter a outra em vinte graos, que se chama a **Grega**, a gente della como innocente, se veyo meter na nao, & [dos quais] tomaram alguns pera levar da-mostra aa nova Espanha. Forão quatro meses nesta volta, ate se poerem em quarenta & dous graos, onde viram lobos marinhos, & toninhas, & era a Crima tam fria & destemperada, que se nam podia[m]sostentar nella, pello que tornaram arribar a Maluco, com tudo forã os primeiros Espanhoes que se poseram daquela banda em tam grande altura: & quando tornaram a Maluco, acharam ja neste anno Antonio de Brito fazendo fortaleza.*

Document 1522E

Elcano's voyage—Return of the ship Victoria to Spain

Sources: Alvo, Pigafetta, and other primary sources. As summarized by Navarrete, iv, pp. 85-97.

The ship Victoria under the command of Juan Sebastian de Elcano returning from the Moluccas bound for Spain¹

This nao left Tidore on 21 December 1521 with 60 crewmen, including 13 Indians from that island. They went to Mare Island where they took on wood. They left it the same day heading SSW toward Motil, from where they continued on the same heading to Maquian, and from there SW by the other islands that are recorded² as far as Latalata.

From Latalata SW 1/4 W as far as the island called Lumutola³; west of it is another called Sulan⁴, both islands being surrounded by many shoals. From there they headed south toward an island called Buro, and in the middle of these three, there is another called Tenado. East of Buro there is a very big island called Ambon where they make

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- 1 Ed. note: There has been a running controversy between Spanish historians as to the correct spelling of Elcano, or del Cano. The interested readers can consult a 100-page book about this matter by Nicolás Soraluze: "Defensa del apellido familiar de Juan Sebastian del Cano" (San Sebastián, 1881).
 - 2 Ed. note: By Alvo as Quayoan (Kayoa today), Laboan, Bachian. From Pigafetta's sketch maps, we can deduce that the **Victoria** went by the islands whose modern names are Laigama, Siku, Gumorka, Gafi, and Twali Bezar.
 - 3 Ed. note: Lisamatoela today.
 - 4 Ed. note: Soela Besi today.

many cotton clothes, and between it and Buro there are some islets to watch out for, and for this reason one must pass on the east side of the island of Buro.¹

The latitudes of these islands are: Lumutola 1°45'S, Tenado 2°30', Buro 3°, whose latitude was observed on 27 December, being on the south side of this island which is located with respect to Bachian NE 1/4 N—SW 1/4 W, and it is 194° in longitude.

On the 28th, they were in the vicinity of Buro, and that of Bidia which lied eastward of it.

On the 29th, they were in 3°51' [S] latitude directly abreast of the island of Ambon.

On the 30th, they had a good breeze.

On the 31st, they were ENE—WSW with the island of Ambon distant some 12 leagues.

[1522. January]

On 1 January they were in latitude 4°45'.

On the 2nd, in 5°30' and the heading was SW.

On the 3rd, they headed SSW as far as 6°15' in latitude, then they veered to NW.

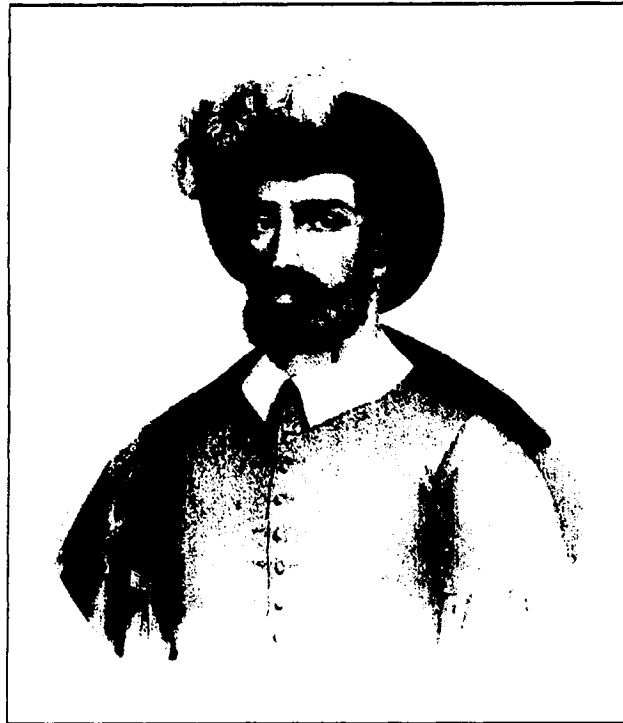
On the 4th, they continued NW and they were in 5°45'.

On the 5th, in 6°14'.

On the 6th, in 7°02'.

On the 7th, in 7°30', and the heading was SW.

On the 8th, in 8°07' with the same heading. On this 8th day, they saw a few islands running east to west; they passed between two of them whose names are Maluco [sic] and Aliquirá [sic].² Between them are two smaller ones, inhabited, which once the strait is entered bear to starboard. This strait is located with respect to Buro E 1/4 NE—



Portrait of Captain Juan Sebastian Elcano.

A shrewd sailor who rose to become the leader of the Magellan Expedition after the latter's death at Mactan Island. (From a lithograph by J. Donon, in "Historia de la Marina Real Española", Madrid, 1854)

1 Ed. note: According to Pigafetta, they then headed SW by W to Solor, Adoenara, Lomblen, and east to Alor Island where they spent some time, before touching at Timor.

2 Ed. note: These two seem to correspond to Lomblen and Adoenata.

W 1/4 SW, something like 50 leagues, and they were covered with stormy weather from the south. And having sailed along them they anchored at the last one, called Malua¹, which is in 8°20' S. The others are called Liaman, Maumana, Cisi, Aliquira, Bona, Maluco, Ponon [=Pantar?] and Bera [=Wetar?].

In Malua they found pepper, a long kind and a round kind. The long one comes from a plant similar to ivy, which sticks to trees, the fruit being stuck to the trunk, and the leaf is like that of the mulberry. The plant of the round pepper is almost the same as the other, but the fruit grows in ears like that of corn. All the fields are full of these plants.²

They left Malua and headed south to the island of Timor. On the north side of this island, there is a section of coast running east to west for something like 10 leagues. It was the land closest to them, and it is in 9°. It is located with respect to Buro NE 1/4 N—SW 1/4 S, and is found in longitude 197°45'. They sailed along this stretch of coast from east to west until they came to the town of Queru³, and they continued as far as that of Mambay; the coast between these two towns runs NE 1/4 N—SW 1/4 S. They anchored at Mambay next to a port which is called Batutara.⁴

The island of Timor is a big one with many towns. In it there is a very good sandalwood, ginger, much gold, and it has many people sick with buboes. Here there was a dispute among some of the crew, who secretly fled from the nao. Two of them stayed ashore; they were the ship's boy named Martin de Ayamonte [N° 190], and Bartolomé de Saldaña [N° 202], a soldier who had been a page of Captain Luis de Mendoza. They took on board some white sandalwood and a lot of cinnamon. On 5 February, the latitude was observed at 9°24'S.

They left Mambay, and on 8 February they observed the latitude of 9°10'S when they were abreast of the western tip of Timor, which is laid out ENE—WSW with respect to its eastern cape.

On the 9th, they observed the latitude of 9°35' while being near the more offshore cape of the island, where the coast turns SW and S.

On the 10th, they observed 9°28', and the cape of the whole island bore south.

On the 11th, they observed 9°35', and there was a breeze.

On the 12th, the breeze continued, and they found themselves with little difference from where they were on the previous day.

On the 13th, they observed 10°32', while they were near two islands that are located ESE—WNW [sic] with respect to the western cape of Timor.⁵ From this point, they took their departure for the Cape of Good Hope, heading SW, and on this day they lost sight of the island of Timor.

1 Ed. note: Alor today.

2 Ed. note: These notes about pepper come from the historians Herrera and Oviedo, both secondary sources.

3 Ed. note: This appears to be at or near Dili today.

4 Ed. note: At or near Atambua today.

5 Ed. note: The two islands in question lie SW of that cape.

On the 1st day of March, in latitude 26°20'S they were following a heading of WSW.

On the 9th, in latitude 35°52'S the WNW wind failed them; they layed to with all sails furled until the 14th when, a little after noon, they made sail westward with very little wind.

On the 16th, in latitude 36°38'S they reduced to the foresail, and in the morning, raised the main-sail heading S 1/4 SW.

On the 18th, in latitude 37°35', as it is said in Alvo's logbook: "*While taking the sun's elevation, we saw a very high island¹ and went to it to anchor, and we were unable to make it. We lowered sails and waited out until the morning, when the wind was westerly. We made another tack to the north with the lower sails. That was on the 19th, and we were unable to take the sun's elevation that day. We were E—W with the island and it is in 38° S. It appears to be uninhabited and does not have any trees at all; it is about 6 leagues in circumference.*"



Amsterdam Island, discovered by the ship Victoria in 1522. Captain Elcano in the ship Victoria bumped into this island in the Indian Ocean on 18 March 1522. (From J. Commelin's "Voyagien naer de Oost-Indien", 1646)

¹ This is Amsterdam Island which is in the latitude given by Alvo (38°S) and at 84° longitude E of Cádiz (78° E of Greenwich) according to the map drawn by Commander of the Royal (Spanish) Navy José de Espinosa.

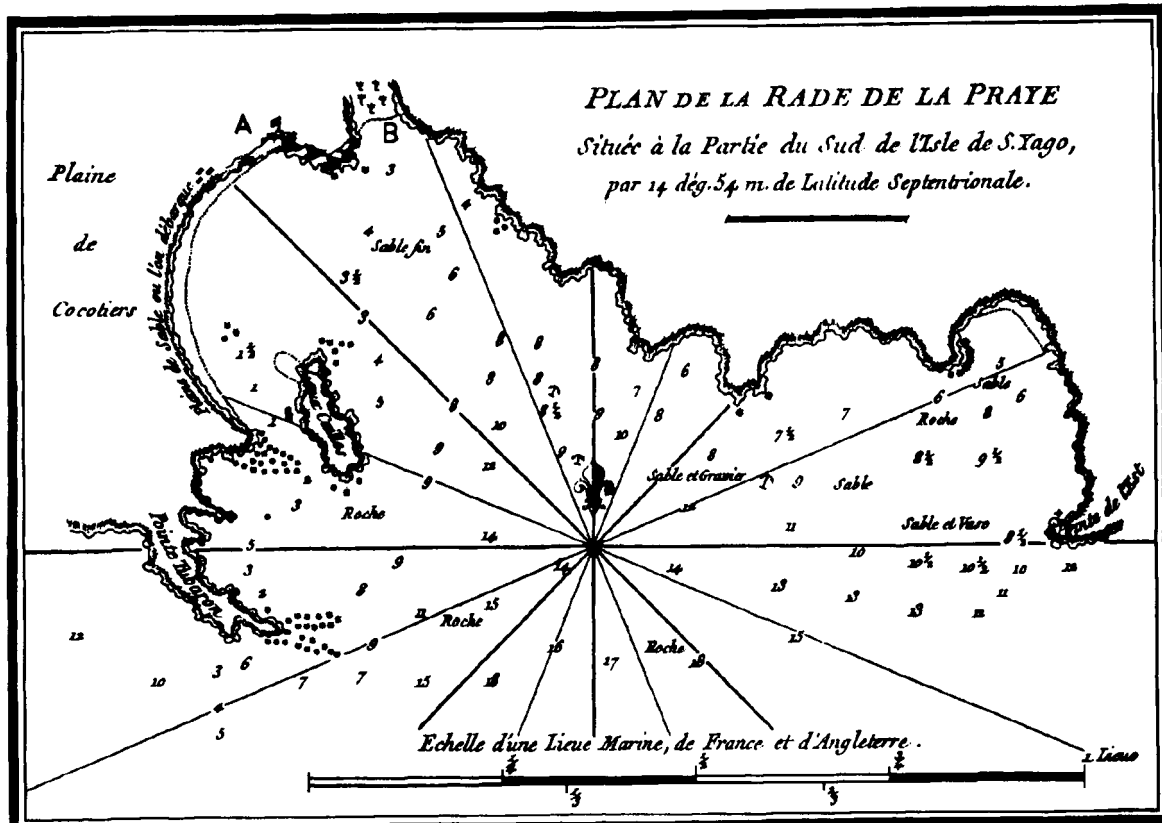
[To summarize part of the story: They went as far south as the 40th parallel and stayed near it for two more months, before heading northwestward toward the Cape of Good Hope. On 8 May, when they expected to see it, they saw land at 33° S but found out they were east of it by 160 leagues. All their food, except rice was gone by that time, as the meat they had taken on board at Timor had not been salted and had become rotten. Some sailors wanted to sail to Portuguese Mozambique, but the majority opted for going to Spain without delay.

On the 16th, they sighted the Cape of Good Hope and changed course to WSW. Between the 7th and 8th of June, they crossed the equator at 10° W of Greenwich, i.e. south of Liberia. They followed the African coast from Guinea Bissau (today) to Cape Verde (Senegal) which they reached on the 1st of July. On that day, they took another vote to decide whether they should go to the Portuguese colony of the Cape Verde Islands to buy food; the starving majority voted in favor. A total of 21 people (12 Europeans and 9 Indians from Tidore) had already died by that time. On the 8th, at 14°47' they sighted the island of Santiago.]

On the 9 July 1522, says Alvo's logbook: "*We anchored in the port of Rio Grande and were received very well. We were given as much food as we wanted, and this day was a Wednesday, but they had it to be a Thursday, and thus we thought that we ourselves had made a mistake of one day.*¹ *We stayed until Sunday evening and set sail for fear of bad weather and crossed the port. In the morning, we sent the boat ashore to buy more rice that we needed, while we tacked back and forth until it returned.*"

The nao was leaking badly. During the voyage a few sailors had died. Among those remaining few could work the pumps, as most of them were sick. They wished to buy bread, meat and a few negro slaves to work the pumps, and, because they had no money, they thought of paying with cloves. To that effect, they had taken three quintals [300

1 Ed. note: The pilots had made no error. Because they had followed the sun around the world (the first time in history that this had been done), each day would be a little longer than the previous one, so that anyone reckoning the time by the calendar would have lost a total of 24 hours. Although this time trick was soon understood for what it was, the Spanish would continue for many centuries to apply the Madrid calendar as they travelled westward to Mexico and onward to Micronesia and the Philippines, whereas the Portuguese would do the same while they sailed eastward. That is why the day of the week was always one day apart when the two nationalities met in the Moluccas... Later on, after the Gregorian calendar came into use in 1582, and before England adopted it in 1752, the discrepancy for the English and the Dutch was larger by 11 or 12 days. It remained so for the Russians when they began to explore the Pacific, because Russia did not abandon the Julian calendar until 1917.



Map of the port of Praya at Santiago I., Cape Verde Islands. *This is the likely place where the Victoria sought relief, as mentioned by Alvo the pilot. The letter A indicates the site of the Portuguese fort, and B the watering place.*

pounds] of cloves in the boat. We continue with the entry of the 14th in Alvo's logbook: "We sent the boat ashore for more rice and it came back at noon. It went back again and we waited until night came and it did not return. We waited until the next day, and it never returned. Then we came back nearer the port to see what was going on, and a launch came over, and we were told to give ourselves up, that we would be sent [to Portugal] aboard the nao that comes from the Indies, and that they would place their people in our nao, that the officials had so ordered. We in turn asked them to send back our people with the boat, and they told us that they would bring back the answer from the

*officials. We told them that we would make another tack to wait [for the answer. However,] we made another tack and set all sails and fled with only 22 men, counting the sick and the healthy. That happened on Tuesday 15 July. On the 14th, I took the sun's elevation, and this port is at 15°10' [latitude N]."*¹

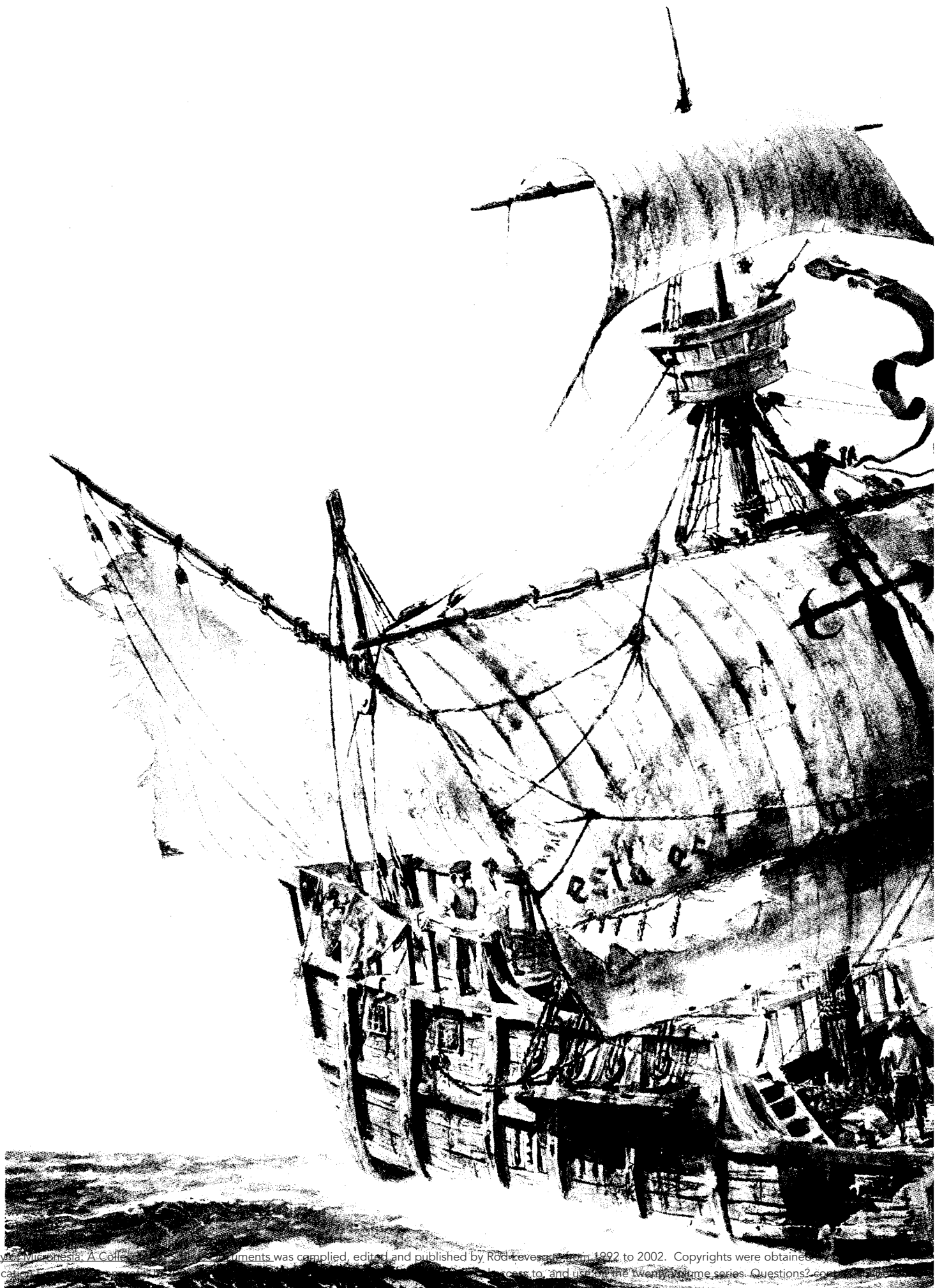
They reached the area of the Azores in August and on 4 September they sighted Cape San Vicente. On 6 September 1522, they arrived at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, which they had left some 3 years less 14 days earlier, having sailed, by their reckoning, 14,000 leagues.²

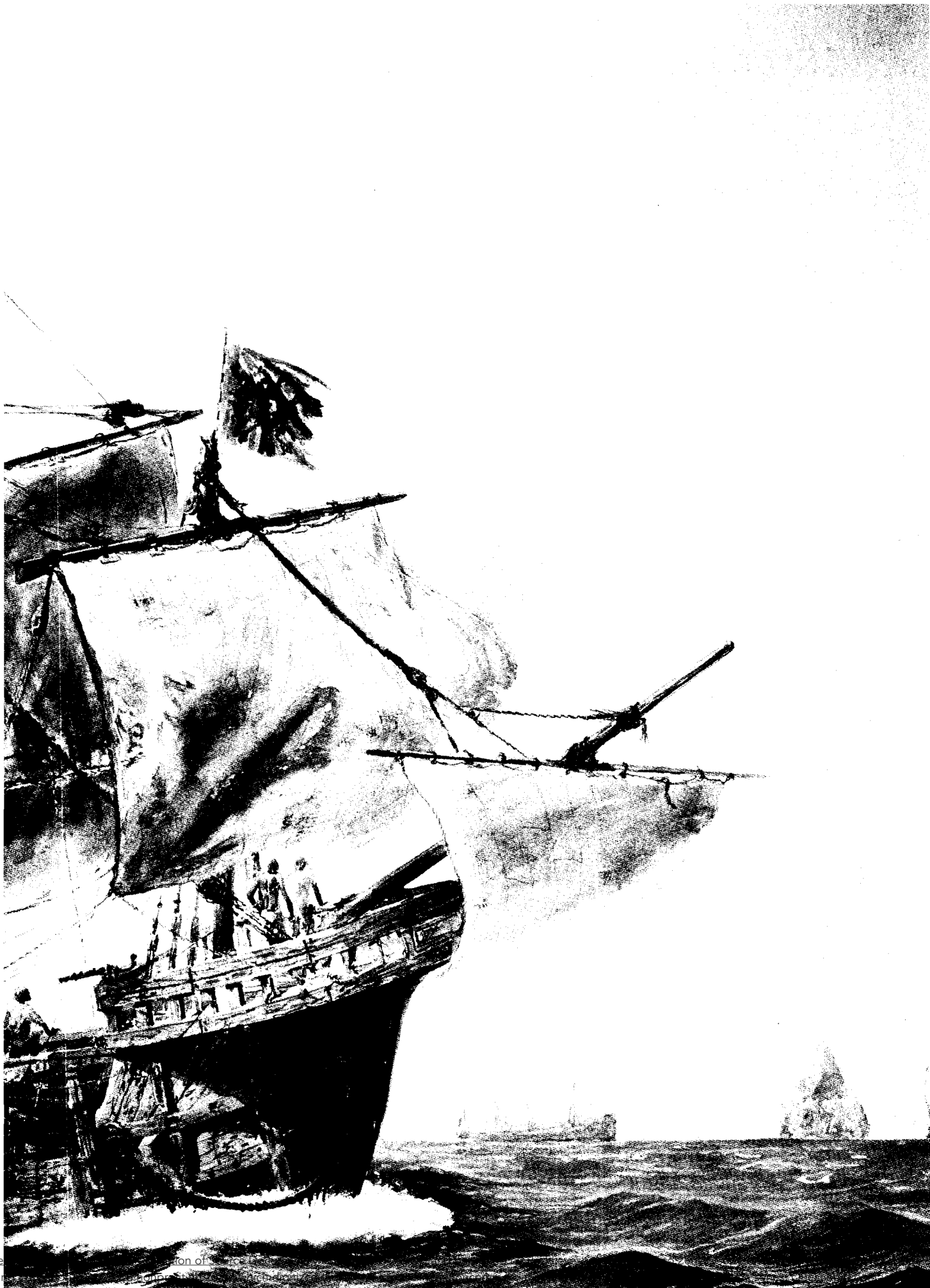
Between the Moluccas and Sanlúcar, a total of 15 individuals of the crew of the nao had died, not counting the two who deserted at the island of Timor, nor the 12 left at Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands. They 18 survivors were all skinny and in a bad state of health when they arrived at the port. Captain Juan Sebastian de Elcano had completed his voyage with them. Many of the 13 Indians from Tidore had also perished aboard the nao. From among the Indians who survived³ and wished to meet the Emperor and see these kingdoms, there was a sharp one. The first thing he did was to ask how many reales was worth 1 ducat, how many maravedis in 1 real, and how much pepper was given for 1 maravedi, as he went from store to store enquiring about the price of spices. This was the reason why this man never returned to his country, although the other Indians were repatriated.⁴

Elcano and the most senior men of his expedition later went to Valladolid, with the permission of the Emperor, to present the natives and products from those faraway islands, the gifts and offerings of their kings, and above all [some samples of] the precious spices brought by the Spanish by a route different from that of the Portuguese, something which had been the main objective of the enterprise so happily concluded. The Emperor received them with much grace and attention, saw and examined with satisfaction everything presented, rewarded everyone with generosity, distinguishing the leaders with honors. The nation applauded them and her poets celebrated these new argonauts...

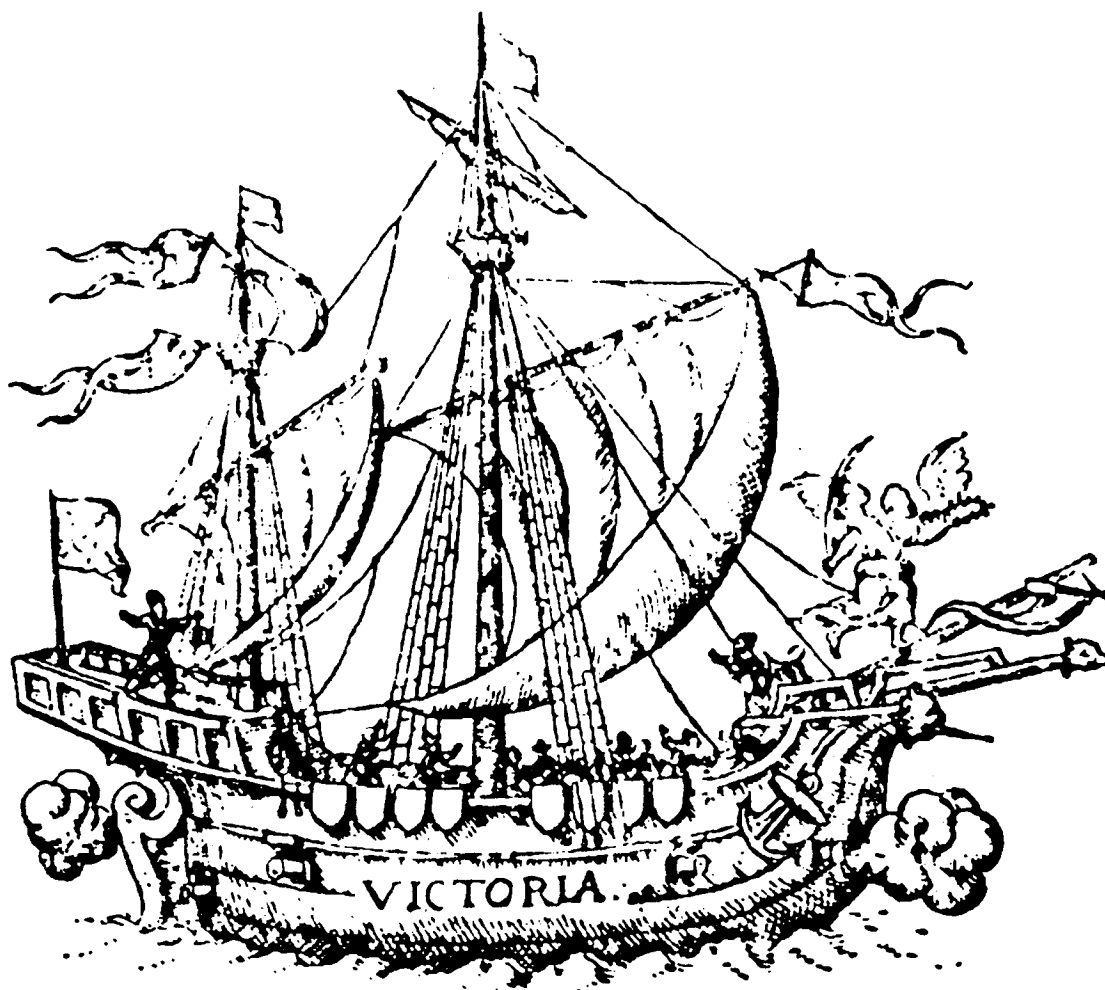
(Overleaf) The ship Victoria, Captain Elcano, passing near Cape St. Vincent on the last leg of the first voyage around the world. (Painting by G. Aledo, Museo Naval, Madrid)

- 1 Ed. note: The number 22 must include 3 Indians from Tidore, because one man, [the French sailor] Esteban Villon [N° 182] died on 5 August, and there were 18 Europeans who arrived back at Sanlúcar. The names of the people who returned and died aboard the returning **Victoria** is kept in AGI: *Estante 3, cajón 1, legajo 1, doc. 15* entitled: "*Armadas de la guarda de las Indias, etc.*" Twelve crewmen [and 1 Indian] were left behind in Santiago and were later repatriated by a Portuguese ship.
- 2 Ed. note: At 4 miles to a Spanish league, this represents a run of 56,000 miles. Pigafetta says the total was 14,460 leagues.
- 3 Ed. note: About 3 or 4 in number.
- 4 Herrera, *Década 3, lib. 4, cap. 4*. The text that follows is from Navarrete's prologue, page lxix and following.







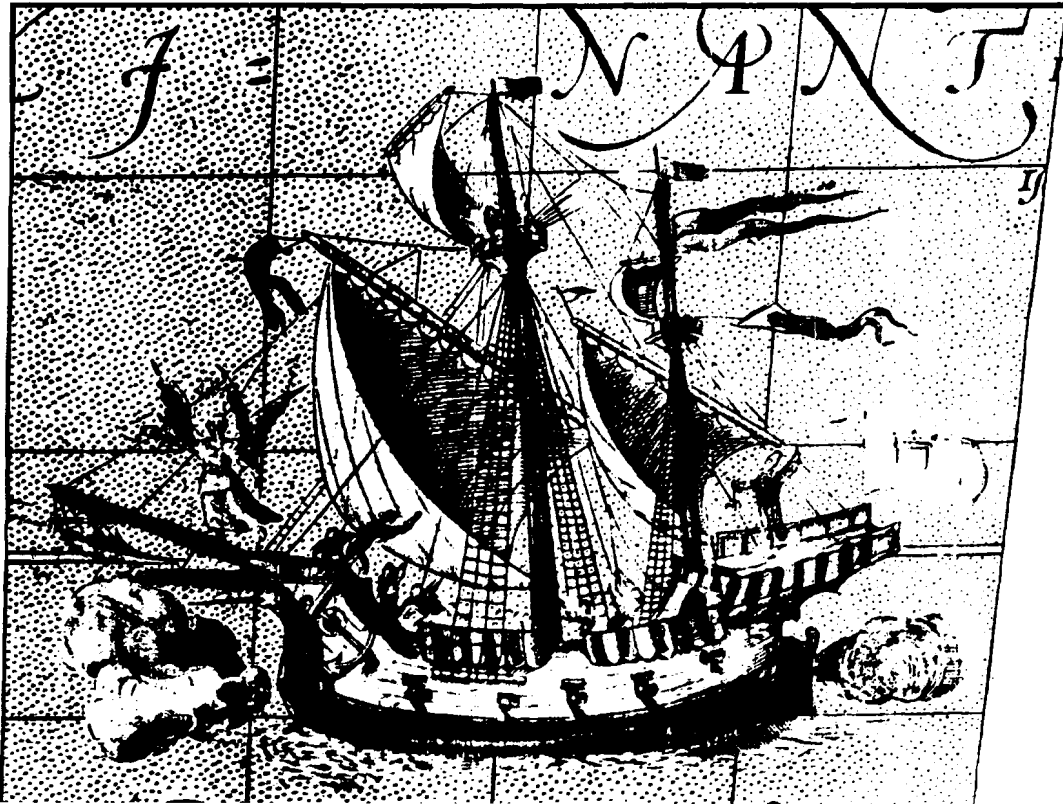


The good ship Victoria at the end of her epic journey. Her figurehead has been reproduced as a monument near the "pelota" court in Guetaria, in Guipúzcoa, about 7 km from Zarauz, the port where she had been built in 1515. The fate of the Victoria has been made known by the chronicler Oviedo. She was sold for 106,274 Maravedis and made two voyages to Hispaniola, then she disappeared on the second return voyage without any trace. Her remains lie somewhere on the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean.

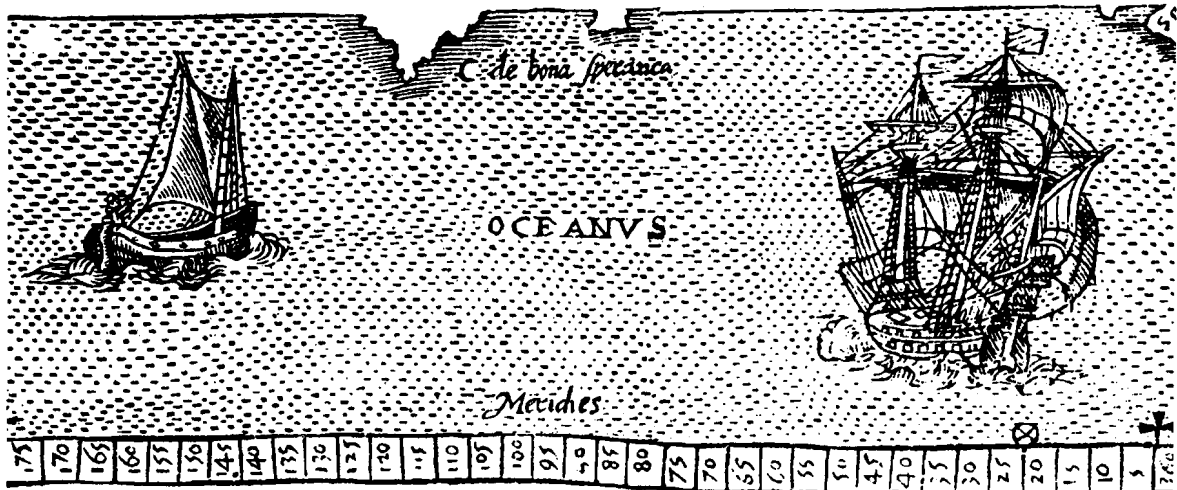
(Facing page:) The Victoria. (From Tome 6 of Armando Melón y Ruiz de Gordejuela's "Magallanes y la primera vuelta al mundo", Barcelona, 1952)



The Victoria was glorified as the most famous ship ever. This is taken from a woodcut in L. Hulsius' book "Sammlung von Schiffahrten" (Nuremberg, 1603); it was copied by Henry Stevens in his book "Johann Schöner" (London, 1888). The caption shown around the figure reads: "(De Magell. navi)—Prima ego velivolis ambivi cursibus orbem. Magellane novo te duce ducta freto. Ambivi, meritoque vocor Victoria; sunt mi Vela alae, precium gloria; pugna, mare" which says something like: "Out of Magellan's ships, I was the first one to sail in both hemispheres of the earth... I doubly deserve the name Victory; my sails are like wings, etc."



The Victoria was first eulogied by Ortelius on a 1589 map.



The ship Victoria in the Indian Ocean. As it appears on a map by Robert Thorne (See full reproduction in Doc. 1525)

AN ODE TO JUAN SEBASTIAN ELCANO

Por tierra y por mar profundo,
Con imán y derrotero,
Un Vascongado el primero,
Dió la vuelta a todo el mundo.

(From Couch. **Arte de navegar**)

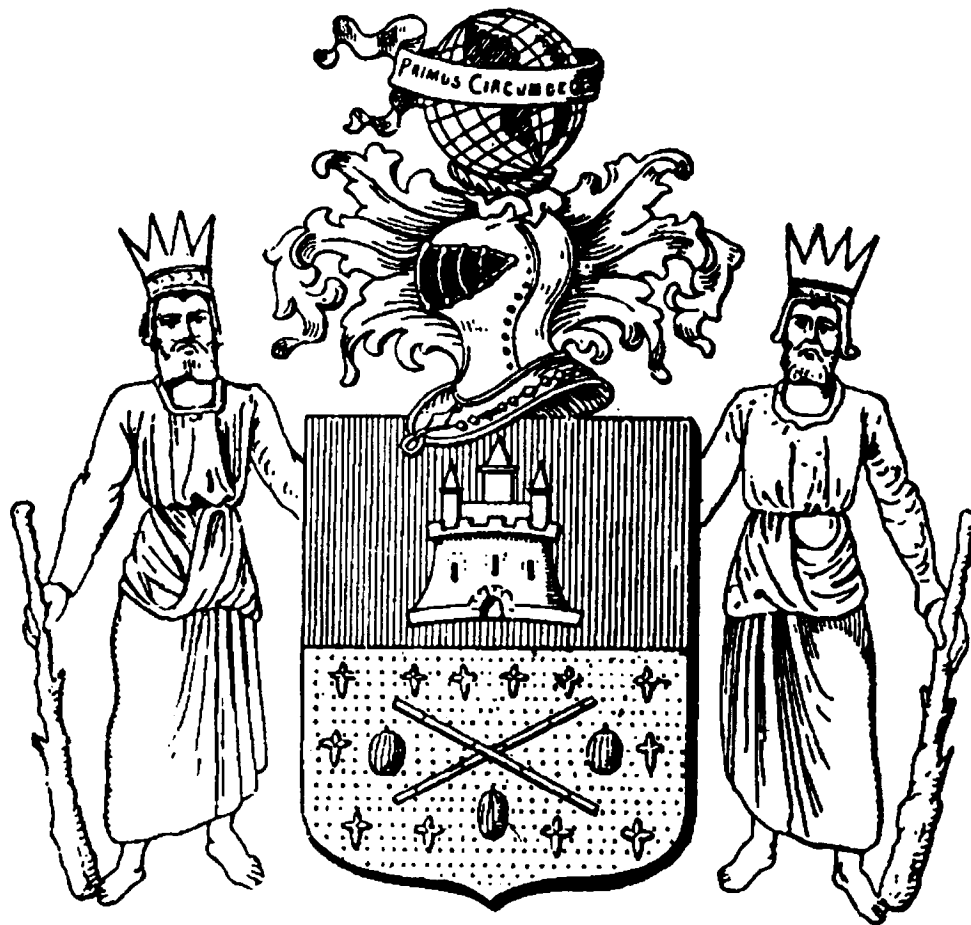
Through many a land and ocean,
With compass and astrolabe,
A Basque sailor named Elcan'
Was the first man round the globe.

(Translated by R. Lévesque)

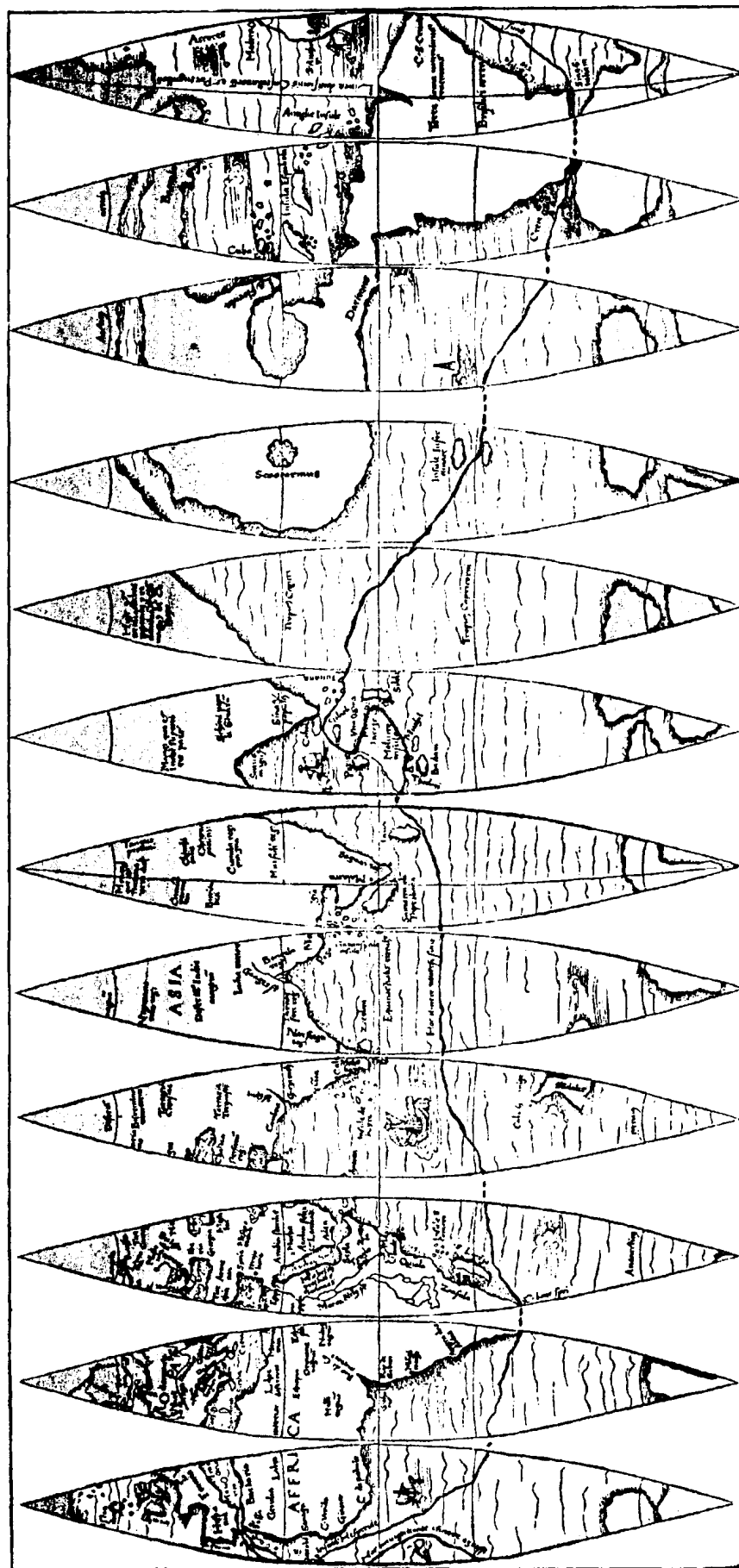


Statue of Elcano at Guetaria, his birthplace, before 1936.

In 1936, it was moved to the Paseo Nuevo in San Sebastian. (From Koelliker's book: "Die erste erdumseglung", 1908.)



Actual coat-of-arms granted Elcano by Emperor Charles V. It consists of a gold castle on a red field, and below this two cinnamon sticks in saltire proper, three nutmegs and twelve cloves. As supporters, two native kings crowned, each holding in the outer hand a spice-branch proper. Above the castle is a helmet surmounted by a globe bearing the motto: "Primus circumdedisti me". (From Guillemard's "The Life of Magellan", 1891)



Schöner's Globe of 1523 with the track of Magellan's ships. (From Johan Schöner's "De nuper sub Castiliae". Original in Ch. H. Kalbfleisch Collection, N.Y.)

Document 1522F

Letter from Captain Elcano to Emperor Charles V, dated 7 September 1522

*Sources: Translated by Mairin Mitchell, Elcano, the First Circumnavigator, Herder, London, 1958, from **Abhandlung der I. Kl. der Bayerischen Akademie den Wissenschaften, Bd. IV, Vol. I, p. 103.** Also in **Raccolta... Colombiana, Rome, 1894, Part III.** Also in Medina's **Descubrimiento del océano Pacífico, iv, pp. 289-294.** This letter has also been translated by Morison (**Southern Voyages, pp. 471-473**). The original of Elcano's letter has been lost, but one copy translated into Latin, and two in Italian exist; one of the latter is in the Archives of Ragusa, Sicily (See Eugen Gelcich's **Zwei Briefe über die Maghellanische Weltumseglung, Vienna, 1889**).*

Letter from Captain Elcano to the Emperor Charles, dated Sanlúcar de Barrameda 6 September 1522

Dated September 6th, 1522, San Lúcar.¹

To His Most Exalted Majesty:

Your Most Exalted Majesty should know that we, now only 18 men, have arrived, with one of the five ships which Your Majesty sent out to find the Spice Islands under Captain Hernando de Magallanes, of glorious memory.

In order that you should be informed as to the weighty events of our journey, I write in brief to you as follows:

¹ Ed. note: This date was based on ship time; the true date was 7 September.



Cinnamon and pepper being harvested in the Moluccas. These drawings are not very accurate. (From Thevet's "Cosmographie universelle", 1537)

We reached 54° beyond the Line where day and night are the same, at which point we found a channel which led into the sea between the territory of Your Majesty and India. This channel was 100 leagues in length.

Entering into this sea, although favored by winds we voyaged for three months and twenty days without sighting land¹, except for two small uninhabited islands.² Then we came into an archipelago of many islands rich in gold. Here our captain, Hernando Magallanes died, with many others. Owing to loss of men, we could not navigate farther; we destroyed one ship, and with the remaining two we went from island to is-

1 Elcano is evidently alluding to the arrival of the vessels at Humunu, in the Philippines. They had previously made a landfall at Guam in the Marianas, after a voyage of 99 days.

2 Ed. note: Since Elcano wrote this when he was sick and weak, he can be forgiven for forgetting about the Marianas. However, this first news of his journey made the round of the Emperor's court, and is responsible for the same omission made by some early writers, such as Transylvanus and Martyr.

land, until, with God's help, we found the Moluccas, which occurred 8 months after the death of our captain.¹ We thereupon loaded the two ships with cloves.

Your Majesty should know that, sailing to those islands of the Moluccas, we found camphor, cinnamon and pearls.

When we wished to leave these islands to return to Spain, we noticed a big leak in one of the two ships, which could not be repaired except by unloading. By reason of this, much time passed before we were in readiness for sailing homeward via Java and Malacca.²

We were pledged either to die or to worthily serve Your Majesty in pursuing the voyage farther, so that we could bring you information concerning the aforementioned discovery, God's grace permitting.³

On this course, we discovered many very rich islands, among them Banda, where nutmeg grows and the mace blooms, also Java⁴ where pepper grows, and Timor where sandal-wood is abundant; on all these islands there is also much ginger. We are bringing with us specimens of all these spices, taken from the islands mentioned, to show to Your Majesty. At the same time we are bringing back treaties of friendship with all the kings and rulers of the said islands, signed by their own hands, wherein they pledge themselves to belong to Your Majesty.⁵

When we had left the last island behind, we subsisted for 5 months on nothing but corn⁶, rice and water, not going near to any land, for fear of the King of Portugal, who had left orders in all his territories for the capture of our fleet, so that Your Majesty should never again hear anything of it.

1 Ed. note: Actually it was less than 7 months after the death of Magellan that the **Trinidad** and the **Victoria** reached the Moluccas.

2 Ed. note: They did not approach either of those places. In fact, there is a transcription error here. Medina (and Morison) wrote them as "Zabba and Melua". Zabba is Java, but Melua is Malua, i.e. Alor, north of Timor (See Doc. 1522E).

3 Ed. note: A piece of text is missing, resulting in some confusion. According to Medina (and Morison), the full paragraph should read as follows: "*Wishing to leave the said Isles of Maluco to return to Spain, there was found a very big leak in one of the ships, so that it could not be repaired without unloading; and the season having passed for ships to sail to Zabba and Melua, we resolved either to die, or honorably to serve Your Majesty by informing him of the said discovery, to depart with one ship only, and she [being] in such a [bad] state because of the teredos that only God knows.*"

4 Their route did not take them to either Banda or Java. They did, however, obtain a good deal of information about both places during their anchorage at Buru.

5 Ed. note: An abstract of these treaties, by Elcano himself, has been found in AGI: *Indiferente general, Legajo 1525*.

6 Ed. note: Corn in the English sense. Morison thinks this could be wheat, which was supposedly grown in Timor at that time.

On this course 22 men died from hunger; the lack of means of subsistence compelled us to stop at the Cape Verde [Islands]. The Governor of the island [of Santiago] took from us our skiff with 13 men¹, and wanted to send me, with the entire cargo, to Portugal, in a ship which had come laden with spices from Calicut; he declared that no-one except the Portuguese should venture thither to explore the spiceries. With the object of overpowering us, he armed 4 ships. With my company I determined to die rather than fall into the hands of the Portuguese. It so fell to us, overstrained at the pumps, working at them day and night, and more exhausted than men have ever been before, that with the help of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, we continued under sail, and after voyaging for three years, ran into the harbor of San Lúcar.

I ask Your Majesty now to ensure the freedom of the 13 men who have for so long served Your Majesty, to claim them as required.² They will count it as their gain to know that we have given practical proof that the earth is a sphere; having sailed round it, coming from the West, we have come back through the East.

I ask Your Majesty, in recognition of the hard work, hunger and thirst, cold and heat, which our men have borne in the service of Your Majesty, to graciously ensure their release, and to award them the freight we have carried home.³

I close herewith, kissing Your Majesty's hand and feet.

Written aboard the ship **Victoria**, in San Lúcar, a.m., 6 September, 1522.

Captain Juan Sebastian Delcano.

1 Ed. note: Twelve Europeans and one Indian from Tidore whom they had named Manuel (See Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 176).

2 Ed. note: They were released 5 months after their arrest.

3 Ed. note: To release them from the obligation of paying duties on their personal bags of spices.

Chronology of events affecting Elcano, from September 1522 when he arrived in the Victoria, until July 1525, when he left with the Loaysa Expedition. (Adapted from Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-173)

8 Sept. 1522: Casts anchor at Seville.

9 Sept.: Elcano leads the 18 [European] survivors [and at least 3 natives of Tidore] to fulfil vows of thanksgiving in the church of Santa Maria de la Vitoria in Triana [facing Seville], and Santa Maria de Antigua, Seville Cathedral.

13 Sept.: Charles V replies to Elcano's letter.¹

End of September: Elcano, with Alvo and Bustamante, arrive at Court, Valladolid.

18 Oct.: A Commission of Enquiry into the San Julian Mutiny and the death of Magellan takes the depositions of the 3 men.²

31 Oct.: The Emperor writes to his aunt, Margaret of Austria.³

23 Jan. 1523: The Emperor announces the reward of an annual **pension** [of 500 ducats] to Elcano.⁴

13 Feb.: The Emperor pardons Elcano for his sale of a ship many years earlier to some foreigners [to pay the crew].

20 May: The Emperor announces that Elcano has the right to use a **coat-of-arms**.

20 May 1524: The Emperor grants a special licence to Elcano to have two armed men as a personal bodyguard.⁵

1 Ed. note: The Emperor expressed "infinite thanks" to Elcano for bringing his ship safely home. He was ordered to appear at Court, there to give a verbal account of the voyage, and was to bring with him "two of the most reliable and best-informed men". Realizing that neither they nor the captain would have suitable apparel after such a voyage, His Majesty ordered the India House of Trade to provide them with what was necessary. Elcano chose Alvo the pilot, and Bustamante the barber, as his two companions, leaving the gentleman Antonio Pigafetta to make the journey on his own.

2 Ed. note: Original in AGI: *Patronato Simancas, 1- 1-1/1 n° 19*. See Mitchell, pp. 178-182. In accordance with Elcano's verbal report, the Royal Geographer, Nuño García, made a map of the world on vellum, richly colored in gold. Unfortunately, only part of this map is extant; it is kept in the Royal Library at Turin, the city where García was from.

3 Extract from this letter: "*The armada which left 3 years ago for the Spice Islands has now returned after visiting those islands, where neither the Portuguese nor any other people have ever been [a little white lie!]. In proof of this, one of our ships has returned loaded with cloves and with specimens of all the other spices, such as pepper, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, and also sandalwood. Further, I have received tokens of submission from the rulers of four of these islands... My captains have confirmed that they have sailed all around the world. And in order to take advantage of this achievement, and in furtherance of the Christian faith, I plan to arrange for a second expedition to be sent to the Moluccas.*" (From the Staatsarchiv, Vienna: A.3 (2.a) 1519-1522, Correspondenz Karls V mit Margarethe von Parma).

4 Ed. note: Alvo the pilot, and Miguel de Rodas, Master, were to receive annual pensions of 500,000 Maravedis. All 18 survivors were to receive the "fourth part of the twentieth" of the Crown's share of the spice cargo.]

5 Ed. note: In response to a petition by Elcano, as certain people had threatened him with physical harm.

11 April to 1 June: Elcano appears at the Conference of Badajoz as a witness for the Commission of Enquiry concerning the ownership of the Moluccas.¹

23 May: Interrogation of 16 of the survivors of the Magellan Expedition.²

1 June: Elcano presents a summary and a **chart** showing the Spanish claims to the Moluccas.

15 Apr 1525: The Emperor orders that the promised payment of the annual pension to Elcano be made only after his return from a second voyage to the Moluccas.³

April: In Portugalete, near Bilbao, Elcano supervises the preparation of 4 ships for the Loaysa Expedition to the Moluccas.

7 May: The Emperor directs that officers may contribute to the equipment of the fleet. Elcano contributes 400 ducats.

13 May: The Emperor gives written directions that Elcano is to succeed Loaysa in the event of the death of the latter.

July: Elcano brings his 4 ships to La Coruña.

24 July: Elcano sails from La Coruña as Pilot Major of the fleet and captain of the **Sancti Spiritus**.⁴

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1524B.

2 Ed. note: 11 of them had arrived aboard the **Victoria**, 5 were former Cape Verde prisoners.

3 Ed. note: The pension was never paid to his heirs either, regardless of their many claims.

4 Ed. note: See Doc. 1526A for the follow-up story.

Document 1524A

The Treaty of Vitoria

Sources: AGI Seville: Papeles del Maluco, de 1519 a 1547, Legajo 1. Reproduced in Navarrete's Colección de los viages, iv, pp. 320-326. Translated in B&R 1: 159-164.

Treaty between the Emperor and the King of Portugal concerning the limits and possession of the Moluccas

Introductory note

This treaty was negotiated in the city of Vitoria, in Vizcaya, Spain, and signed on 19 February 1524. The negotiators acting for Spain were the following: Mercurino de Gattinara¹, Grand Chancellor of his Majesty; Hernando de la Vega, Commander-in-chief in Castile of the order of Santiago; García de Padilla, Commander-in-chief of Calatrava; and Doctor Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal, all members of the Privy Council. Those acting for the Portuguese monarch were: Pedro Correa de Atubia, Lord of the town of Velas, and Doctor Juan de Faria, both members of the Privy Council.

The Treaty of Vitoria proper

Thereupon the said representatives of the said King and Queen of Castile, etc..., and of the said King of Portugal, etc..., said:

That, inasmuch as some doubt exists between the said Lords, their constituents as to the possession and ownership of the Moluccas, each one claiming that they fall within the boundaries of their demarcation—which must be determined in accordance with

¹ Ed. note: Born in 1465. Having become a widower, he was appointed Cardinal in 1529. He died at Innsbruck on 5 June 1530.

the terms of the compact and treaty negotiated between the Catholic Sovereigns Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, etc..., and the most exalted and excellent King Don João, King of Portugal, etc..., (may he rest in peace)—therefore, they, jointly and severally, in the said names, and by virtue of the said powers incorporated above, for the sake of peace and concord, and for the preservation of the relationship and affection between their constituents, authorize, consent to, and ratify the following:

Firstly, there shall be appointed by each one of the parties to this treaty three astrologers, and three pilots and sailors, for the determination of the demarcation, which must be made according to the terms of the said treaty.

These men must assemble, and they shall assemble, by the end of the month of March first following, or before that time if possible, at the boundary line between Castile and Portugal, between the towns of Badajoz and Yelbes¹; in order that by the end of May next following, of this present year, they may determine, in accordance with the terms of the said treaty, the said demarcation, taking a solemn oath as soon as they have assembled, and before attending to anything else, in the form prescribed by law and before two notaries (one for each side) with public declaration and testimony, swearing in the presence of God and the blessed Mary, and upon the words of the four holy Gospels, upon which they shall place their hands, that, laying aside all love and fear, hate, passion, or any interest, and with regard only to securing justice, they will examine the rights of the two parties involved.

Likewise three lawyers shall be appointed by each side, who, within the same period, and at the same place, and after having taken the said oath with all the solemn forms and in the manner above-said, shall inquire into the possession of the Moluccas, and receiving the proofs, documents, treaties, witnesses, and rights that shall have been presented before them, shall determine the possession, doing everything that seems necessary for making the said declaration, just as they would do in court. Of the three above-mentioned lawyers, he who is named first in the commission shall take charge of assembling all the other deputies of his side, in order that greater care may be exercised in the negotiations.



King John III of Portugal [1521-1557].

1 Ed. note: Better known as Elvas today.

Further, during the said period and up to the end of the said month of May, next following, neither of the parties to this treaty shall despatch expeditions to the Moluccas, for purposes of trade or barter. But if, before the end of the said period the question of possession or ownership shall be determined, then the side, in whose favor the right of each of the said questions is declared, may despatch expeditions and may barter. And in case the question of ownership and demarcation is determined, then that of possession shall be understood to be decided and absorbed. If only the question of possession is determined by the said lawyers, without their being able to determine that of ownership, as aforesaid, then what still remains to be determined of the said ownership, and likewise of the possession of the said Moluccas, shall, in accordance with the said treaty, remain in the same condition as before this present compact. All of the above must and shall be investigated without any prejudice to the rights of ownership and possession of either side, in accordance with the said treaty.

But if, before the conclusion of the said period, it shall appear to the said lawyers first named in the commission, as aforesaid, that the settlement can, in all probability, be concluded and determined with some further continuation of the time set, as above said; or if another good way or manner of procedure, by which this matter could be determined better under one heading or another, to wit, that of the possession or that of ownership, should offer itself to them, the two lawyers, as aforesaid, may, in either of these cases, prolong, for so long a time as seems convenient to them, the brief determination of the matter. During the period of the said continuation, these lawyers, and all the other deputies, each one in his own capacity, may investigate and ascertain, and they shall investigate and ascertain, just as if this extension of time were within the principal period named in their commission. But the said time shall be understood to be continued under the same conditions and obligations as hereinbefore stated.

And all the actions taken in this case shall be signed by the two notaries appointed in his name by each of the parties to this treaty, as aforesaid. Each notary shall write the actions taken by his side, and the other, after having confirmed and collated them, shall sign them.

Item: Each one of the sides must obtain the ratification and confirmation of these articles from their said constituents, within the twenty days first ensuing.

etc.

Final summary note

The strict observance of the above is promised in the fullest of terms by the representatives of the two sovereigns, in the names of their respective constituents. The oath is taken in the usual way. Within twenty days of the date of the treaty, the respective representatives must exchange confirmations written on parchment and signed with the names and sealed with the hanging leaden seals of their constituents.

The signatures affixed to the treaty are:

Francisco de Valenzuela, secretary and knight of the Order of Santiago;

Pedro de Salazar, captain of their Majesties;

Pedro de Ysasago, *contino*¹ of their Majesties;

Gregorio Casgas, Alvaro Mexia, and Sebastian Fernandez, servants of the said ambassador Pedro Correa de Atubia;

Juan de Samano;

and those of the negotiators.

¹ This was an ancient office of the House of Castile.

Document 1524B

The Conference of Badajoz April-May 1524

Sources: Extracts from documents at AGI Seville: Patronato Real, Legajo 5. Copied by Juan Bautista Muñoz whose transcripts are kept at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Reproduced by Navarrete in his Colección de los viages, iv, pp. 326-368. Translated by B&R 1: 165-221. What follows is the summary of the above records of proceedings made by Muñoz himself, from Nav. iv, pp. 355-368, and B&R 1: 165-187.

Extract made by Juan Bautista Muñoz of the records of the trials of possession and ownership of the Moluccan Islands, at the conference held at the boundary line between Badajoz and Yelbes, in 1524

Conference about the Moluccas, 1524-1527: Trial of Possession

April 11.

I. On the bridge over the river Caya, situated on the boundary line between Spain and Portugal the 23 deputies exhibited their authorizations. This first day passed in reading the Treaty of Vitoria, negotiated on 19 February 1524, and the letter of commission of the nine judges for Spain; the recall of [the pilot] Esteban Gomez, who *does not understand why he should take part in negotiations for our service*¹, and the appointment in his place of Fray Tomás Duran dated Burgos, 20 March 1524; the appointment of the nine Portuguese judges; the appointment of one attorney for Spain, and two attorneys for Portugal; and a secretary for Spain, and the same for Portugal.

1 Ed. note: The real reason was that Gomez had a conflict of interest, as he had dual citizenship. He was born in Portugal (See Doc. 1519G, and Navarrete, iv, p. 155). However, he was in fact recalled and placed in command of a caravel on an expedition to discover a northern passage, to find an alternate route to the Moluccas, if possible.

II. They took the solemn oath to act in the sight of God and conscientiously.

III. The judges ordered the attorneys of either side to state their side of the case, and to proceed with the matter.

IV. The attorneys disputed as to who should act as plaintiff. Each one wished the other to act in this capacity. The Spanish attorney asserted that this affair was at the instance of Portugal, and that the ambassadors had been sent for this purpose by that country. The Portuguese attorney asserted that there was nothing upon the matter in the treaty, as was well known to Spain. The day was spent thus.

April 14.

On the said bridge. The Portuguese attorneys presented a notification, asserting that they made no petition; they said that the King had had possession of the Moluccas for more than 10 years; therefore, Spain ought to ask for and accept the witnesses which, according to the terms of the Treaty of Vitoria, they were prepared to give as their proofs.

The Spanish attorney gave answer, insisting that the King of Portugal had moved first in this matter, and therefore should be the plaintiff. As to the rest he said that the suit was obscure, vague, and general, insufficient to form a case of possession, and to pass a sure sentence upon it, let them specify wherein they thought the treaty was not observed, and let them attempt the fitting remedy and interdict, and he will answer them.

April 20.

In the chapter room of the main church of San Juan at Badajoz. The attorney for Portugal said that it was not apparent from the records that his King had moved first in this matter, nor even if such a thing should be apparent, could it be called a provocation, because this matter was between those who could not be coerced into judgment, since they recognize no superior. As to the claim that their suit was vague, that was no reason why it was not a suit. They stated clearly that their king had been in possession for ten years or more. Therefore, Spain should act as plaintiff.

April 21.

Under the same heading. The attorney for Spain insisted upon what was said before, adding only that in regard to this matter being started by Portugal, they denied what they knew to be so, and such a thing could be proved quickly. As to Portugal's saying she had been in possession furnished no reason why Spain should be plaintiff.

April 22.

Ibid. In a meeting of the judges, the three lawyers of Portugal gave expression to the following interlocutory opinion: that each side should make cross-examinations according to law, in order that they might examine the witness produced by the attorneys. Thus the latter could offer any writs, proofs, and documents from which they hoped to gain aid in this case, so that, when everything was seen and examined, this case and the doubt as to whom the possession belonged could be determined.

The three Spanish lawyers declared that the petitions of the Portuguese attorneys had no place, and therefore within three days they would state and plead their right.

The Portuguese judges said that both informal opinions agreed on each side pleading its right, but the Spanish judges did not state in theirs whether they should be by court or by petition, and they therefore asked them to make such a declaration. The Spanish attorney said that the opinion of his side was clear and there was no occasion for the suit.

The official judges for Spain made the same assertion.

May 4.

At Yelbes, in the town hall. The attorneys for Portugal replied that they would receive some wrong from the opinion of the Spanish judges, because the latter claimed wrongly that they were the plaintiffs; that the two interlocutory decisions of either part were not the same. And they asserted that to be in accord with justice, and the Treaty, which was in harmony with the opinion of their judges, they ought to form a court of cross-examination and furnish as proofs to the attorney for Spain these things placed before them. And if they would not do this, then it was evident that the delay in the case was due to the Spanish judges and attorney.

May 6.

Ibid. The attorney for Spain denied that the parties to the suit could compel the arbitrators to submit to their opinions. He defended the opinion of his judges; demonstrated that the contrary was unjust and null and void, because they demand witnesses and proofs to be received without a suit, debate, or conclusion preceding, a thing quite contrary to all order in law. He impugned the secret motive that could provoke the Portuguese judges to their interlocutory opinion, the apparent meaning of which was to make a summary investigation concerning the possession in order thereby to clear the way for the decision of ownership, thus making defendant and plaintiff change places. This had no place in the proceedings because they could not prepare the decision in which they did not make investigations. Further it would be a perversion of the order given by the two sides, both for petitioner and possessor, and clearly what they would do would be null and void. For this and other reasons the opinion of the Portuguese judges had no value. They ought to conform to ours, and not doing so, it is evident that they are guilty of the time already lost and which will be lost.

May 7.

Ibid. The Portuguese shattered at length the reasons of Ribera¹ with texts from Bartulo² and Baldo³, and concluded by saying that the opinion of the Spanish judges was null and void and wrong, and ought to be rectified. Without doubt this was the instruction received from the court.

May 13.

At Badajoz, in the council house of the said town. The attorney for Portugal petitioned that the reply of the attorney for Spain should not be read, because it should

1 Ed. note: Ribera was the attorney-general for Spain (See below).

2 An Italian jurisconsult, born at Sasso-Ferrato in Umbria in 1313, and died at Perugia in 1356.

3 One of the brothers Pietro [1324-1406] and Angelo [1328-1407] Baldo de Ubaldis, both eminent Italian jurisconsults.

have been presented in the conference before the 12th. There was a dispute on this point, but it was read. It contradicted the other side, and insisted on the same thing as before. At the end it threw the blame for the delay on the Portuguese deputies, inasmuch as they would not come to an agreement with the intention of their Majesties that the cases be determined in the time allotted.

The same day, *ibid.* In the afternoon meeting, Ribera said that the onslaught of the Portuguese deputies on the preceding afternoon had been expected, and it was understood that today was the first meeting at which he ought to speak. Therefore, he asked that the petition which precedes be admitted and be placed on the record. This was ordered.

May 18.

Ibid. In the afternoon the vote of the Portuguese judges taken in the morning of the same day was made public, namely, that they clung to their opinion, and threw the blame for the delay on the opposite side.

May 19.

The vote of the Spanish judges was made public. It was of the same effect. They added that the judges of Portugal should consider whether they could find any expedient or legal form, whereby the remaining time should not be lost, without prejudice to their declaration. The Portuguese judges asserted the answer given at Yelbes, whereupon Ribera presented a petition, setting forth the intention of their Majesties, and throwing the blame on the other side for not having even commenced the case by wishing for proof without suit or foundation.

May 23.

At Yelbes, in the town hall. The attorney for Portugal said that, with regard to the fault of the others who would not make use of the remedies provided by law in such cases, they found no other expedient except the one they had set forth in their interlocutory opinion.

May 24.

Ibid. The judges for Portugal declared they had a letter from their King, in which he told them that the Emperor was writing to his deputies to agree to resolve themselves into court for cross-examination and to extend the time. In the afternoon the judges for Spain answered that they were ready for any good expedient and method whereby this negotiation could be brought to a speedy close, in accordance with their Majesties' wish. Those of Portugal replied that they did not answer whether they had such a letter from the Emperor, and if there was any delay, they were to blame.

May 25.

Ibid. In the morning the judges for Spain said that, inasmuch as the matter upon which they had been notified was a weighty one, they would defer their answer until the next morning of the 27th. Then the attorney Ribera presented a paper wherein he stated that the attorneys for Portugal ought to be compelled justly to act as plaintiffs, as in fact they had proved themselves to be in their petitions, conforming themselves therein with their sovereign who had provoked and commenced this negotiation. There-

fore, they were acting contrary to their words and deeds. The judges for Portugal ought to act in accordance with the interlocutory opinion of Spain, so that the case might be valid. We did not have to solicit proofs and witnesses, since our rights were so well known. But could we solicit such things without a preceding sentence in accord with the suit depending upon the petitions, etc.? Outside of this, since sentence must be passed jointly on possession and ownership, and the judges appointed for this purpose by the King of Portugal having placed a thousand impertinent obstacles in the way, it is evident that the deputies on the other side were avoiding the judgment and suit, and were eluding and losing the time of the compromise. Then he petitioned that they act in accord with his petition.

May 27.

Ibid. The Emperor's deputies, in answer to the notification of the 24th, said that, although it was proper that their interlocutory opinion be acted upon, nevertheless, because their Majesties wished the affair settled within the time agreed upon, they would agree that the attorneys of each side should plead their rights within three days.

In the afternoon meeting the deputies of Portugal responded saying that the answer was unsatisfactory. It was unnecessary to have the attorneys of each part plead, since such a thing had been ordered without avail on the 11th of April. Therefore, they insisted upon the interlocutory assembly.

May 28.

Ibid. The attorneys for Portugal presented a writ to the effect that the time limit expired on the last of May, and the matter was in such shape that it would be finished briefly, for, with regards to the ownership, their attorneys were unanimous on three points, except in matters of slight moment, in which they could soon agree. In the matter of possession, the witnesses of both sides were present, and such an expedient could be adopted that this case could be determined immediately. *"Therefore, we petition,"* said they, *"for an extension of the time limit. In this will be done what ought to be done, and what the Emperor seems to wish, since he has told the ambassadors of our King that your Graces could extend the time, and were empowered to do it by the said Treaty."*

The Licentiate Acuña answered immediately that prorogation was an act of jurisdiction, and should be determined on the boundary line, where, according to the order, they must meet during the last three days; and that he was ready to discuss the matter on Monday, May 30th with the Licentiate Acevedo, the member first-named on their commission.

Acevedo consented, and they agreed to meet on the said day at seven in the morning.

May 30.

When the deputies met on the boundary line, Acevedo gave his vote, namely, that bearing in mind the Treaty and that the matter could be settled briefly, the two cases be continued through June.

Acuña's vote was to the effect that it stipulated in the Treaty that, if the case was in such shape it could be settled in a short time. In the matter of possession there was no case nor any sign that there would be one during the month. In that of ownership, they differed from the very first point—some insisting that they should count from the island of Sal, and others from that of San Antonio [in the Cape Verde Islands]. He thought the time spent here by the deputies would be lost, and his presence was necessary in the employment and discharge of his duty. He did not see any expedient but to refer the matter to their principals. Therefore, it was his opinion that the matter should not be continued.

Immediately the attorneys for Portugal declared that their King had written to the Emperor, both upon the question of proceeding by means of courts of cross-examinations and upon that of continuing the case, and as a favorable reply was expected within 8 to 10 days, they should at least prorogue it until that time. To this effect notification should be made by Licentiate Acuña and Acevedo.

Acuña answered that he had given his final answer in his reply. On the 31st there would be no meeting in regard to the possession.¹

Conference of 1524 to determine the possession and ownership of the Moluccas--Trial of Ownership

April 11.

On the bridge over the Caya River, there assembled Licentiate Cristóbal Vasquez de Acuña, a member of the Council, Pedro Manuel, a member of the *audiencia*² and chancery of Valladolid, Fernando de Barrientos, a member of the Council of the Orders³, Don Hernando Colón, Simon de Alcazaba, Doctor Sancho de Salaya, master of theology, Fray Tomás Duran, Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, **Captain Juan Sebastian del Cano**; likewise Licentiate Antonio de Acevedo Coutiño, Doctor Francisco Cardoso, Doctor Gaspar Vasquez, all three of them at the discharge of the King of Portugal; Diogo Lopes de Sequeira⁴, of the King's Council and his chief magistrate; Pedro Alonso de Aguiar, gentleman of the said King's household; Francisco de Melo, master of holy theology; Licentiate Tomás de Torres, physician of the said King; Simon Fernandez, Bernaldo Perez, knight of the Order of Christ—arbitrators appointed by Spain and Portugal.

In the presence of the secretaries Bartolomé Ruiz de Castañeda and Gomez Yañes de Freitas, the treaty appointments, etc., were read. And the witnesses, Doctor Bernaldino de Ribera, attorney at the chancery of Granada, and attorney-general for Spain;

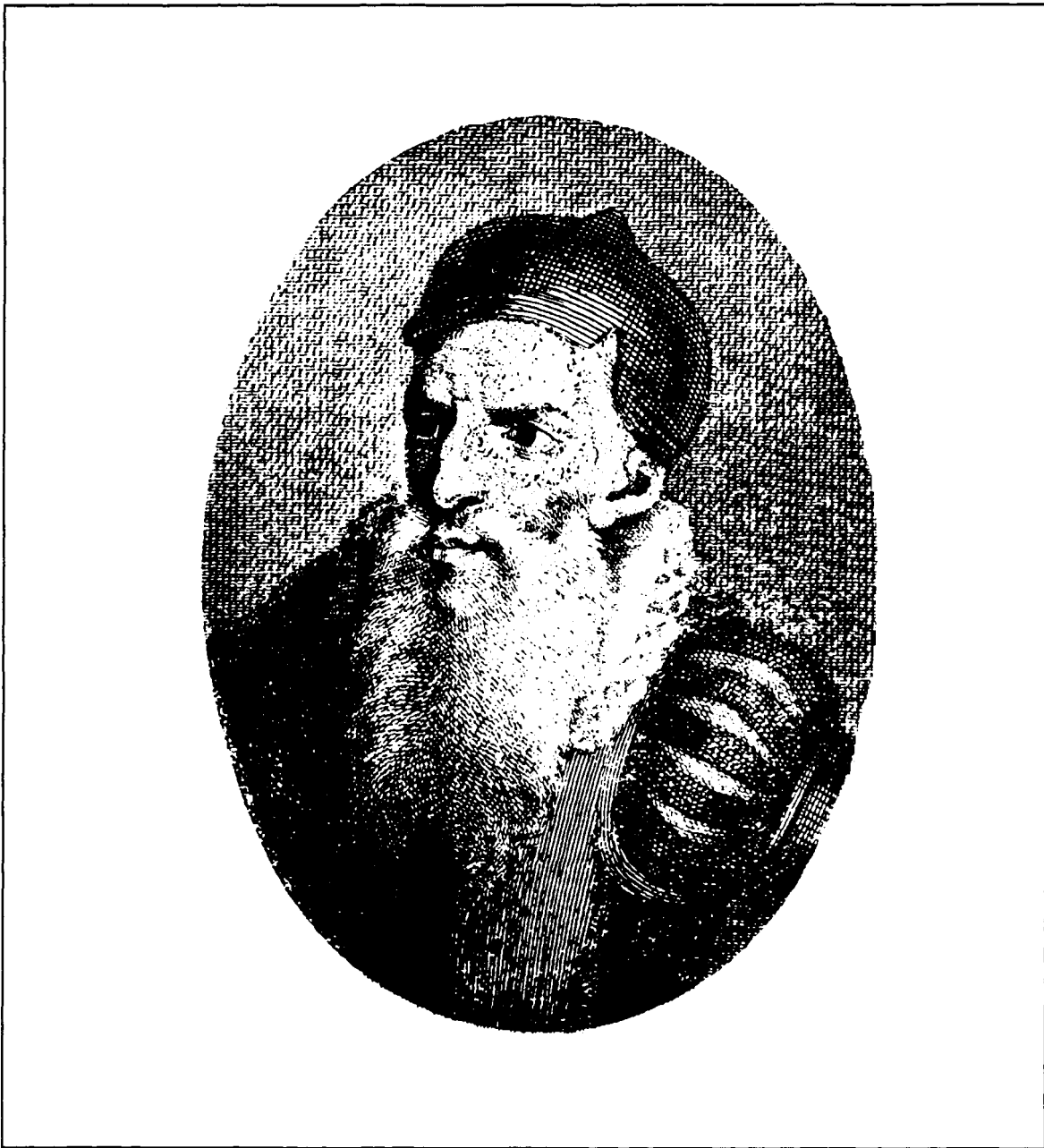
1 This original document is in folio bound in parchment; 43 sheets have been used.—Note by Muñoz, cited by Navarrete.

2 Ed. note: A tribunal or court, usually for a province; also the audience chamber.

3 Ed. note: The four military orders in question were those of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara, and Montesa.

4 Ed. note: Former Governor of India from 1518 to 1522.

and Licentiate Juan Rodriguez de Pisa, advocate to their Majesties; and Licentiate Alfonso Fernandez and Doctor Diego Barradas, attorneys-general for Portugal took the solemn oath.



Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was Governor of India, 1518-1522. *He became an adviser for the Portuguese side at the Conference of Badajoz. (From "Retratos, e elodios dos Varões, e Donas", Lisbon, 1817)*

Upon this day, the Portuguese attorneys declared that Alcazaba could not take the oath or act as a judge, inasmuch as he had fled from Portugal with intent to be disloyal to his King, who had, for good and sufficient causes, refused him certain rewards, and had ordered him tried for certain offenses committed in India. This was the reason for his flight, and therefore, he was a suspicious person and ought not act as a judge. The attorneys asserted strenuously that they would not assent to anything Alcazaba did, and that their King had written the Emperor to appoint another in his place.

Nevertheless the judges ordered that he be sworn in and he took the oath with the others. Immediately Doctor Ribera, attorney for Spain, said that the reasons were trifling, and seemed to have been invented to delay the case. A copy was given to the attorneys for Portugal and the day of

April 12.

Ibid. The latter said that they held their suspicions justly, and therefore the King had written to the Emperor, etc.

April 20.

At the chapter room of San Juan, the cathedral of Badajoz. A despatch from the King of Portugal was read, removing Bernardo Perez from participation in the case, "because of certain reasons that move us"¹ and appointing in his place Master Margallo. Another provision of their Majesties was read, removing Simon de Alcazaba, "because he must occupy himself with matters connected with our service," and appointing in his stead Master Alcaraz.—Dated Burgos, 10 April 1524. Secretary Cobos.

Margallo and Alcaraz took the oath and the matter of the demarcation was begun, by the reading of the Treaty of Tordesillas of 5 June 1494², with the confirmation given to the same at Arévalo, on 2 July, of the same year; and the agreement of 7 May 1495, as to the prorogation of the ten months allowed for the caravels to determine the said demarcation.

April 23.

Ibid. They began to treat formally of the matter, and in accordance with what had been discussed before, the attorneys propounded three questions:

1st. In what manner should the demarcation be determined.

2nd. How the Cape Verde Islands should be situated and located in their proper place.

3rd. From which of the said islands they should measure the 370 leagues.

The judges for Spain voted that these questions should be examined in this order.

May 4.

In Yelbes, in the town hall. The attorneys for Portugal deferred their voting until this day, and voted that the order of examination should be in the inverse order. Immediately the deputies for Spain declared that in order to avoid discussions they made the declaration of the following writ. In substance this was reduced to saying that they

1 Note by Muñoz: Could he have been refused by the Emperor in reprisal for the refusal of Alcazaba? Could the said Perez be a Spaniard?

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1494. This date should be 7 June.

ought to determine first the manner of locating the islands and to choose the meridian for the 370 leagues. But this matter being easy and one of pure reason, it ought not obstruct the investigation of the other two, and therefore they would summon the attorneys within three days, to give their decision as to the first question. And they would treat immediately of the other two, since the time limit was short, and already they had lost time enough, both because of the refusal to accept Alcazaba and the illness of certain Portuguese deputies.

The Portuguese deputies voiced the following expression in the afternoon: that the reason for not meeting sooner was because certain of the Spanish deputies were not empowered. Moreover they insisted that the first point to be discussed was the one declared by them, but they agreed to the declaration of the attorneys concerning it within three days.

May 6.

Ibid. In the morning the attorneys discussed the matter. They sent for the **sea-charts and globes** of each side which each desired. Several examinations were made. The same discussion was continued in the afternoon, and voting was deferred until

May 7.

Ibid. In the morning the Portuguese representatives said that sea-charts were not as good as a blank globe with meridians as it represents the better shape of the world. Then they discussed the best means of putting the lands, islands, and coasts upon it, as they were quite prepared to do this.

The judges for Spain said that they preferred a spherical body, but that the maps and other proper instruments should not be debarred, in order that they might locate the lands better upon the said body.

May 12.

In Badajoz, in the chapter room of the said church. The judges for Spain said that on 4 May they had ordered the attorneys to discuss the question of the island from which the 370 leagues should be measured; that their intention was to hear them *viva voce*; that time was short, and they summoned them for the following day.

May 13.

At Badajoz, in the town hall. Having given notification, the official attorney of their Majesties and Licentiate Juan Rodriguez de Pisa, of the Council and advocate in this case, discussed the law. The attorneys for Portugal talked also. Then the judges for Spain voted as follows: as to the island from which we should begin to reckon the 370 leagues, it is our opinion that it should be the most westerly, San Antonio. They proved this conclusively both by the natural meaning of words, and by the intention and purpose of the Portuguese King to have it as far west as possible. It was also evident from other documents¹ that Portugal had 100 leagues on the other side of the islands, and

1 He alludes to the bull, says Muñoz. Ed. note: That would be the Bull of 1493 (See Doc. 1493).

270 more were conceded to her.¹ Then the 370 leagues must begin from the most westerly, that of San Antonio. It was signed at the bottom by the astrologers and pilots alternately in the following order: D. Hernando Colón, Fray Tomás Duran, *Magister*, Doctor Salaya, Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, Master Alcaraz, **Juan Sebastian del Cano**.²

In the afternoon the judges for Portugal rendered the following vote: that the measurement of the said 370 leagues should be made from the island of Sal or Buena Vista, which were on the same meridian. They adduced several trifling reasons which are not worth recording. They signed at the bottom: Francisco de Melo, Diego Lopez de Sequeira, Pedro Alfonso de Aguiar, Masters Margallo, Licentiate Torres, Simon Fernandez.

May 14.

Ibid. Having discussed the matter with respect of the judges for Portugal telling those for Spain that they should give the form of their agreement, the latter presented the following writ: "*The principal grounds upon which the judges for Portugal take their stand is, because in the treaty of 1494 it is stated that the caravels shall sail from the Canaries to the Cape Verde Islands, of which the first and principal ones are Sal and Buena Vista Islands, as if that more than disposed of the voyage, and it was only necessary to finish the measurement.*" Then they confirmed the reasons given in their former paper and showed conclusively that the judges for Portugal ought to act in accord with them, or the blame for the delay would be theirs, etc.

May 18.

Ibid. The judges for Portugal say that they cannot act in accordance with them, because the treaty states that the measurement shall begin at the Cape Verde Islands, and this must not be understood indefinite, in such manner that it signifies all of them, but it must be from a meridian where several islands are found. This is the case at the islands of Sal and Buena Vista. They repeated this with the terms *a quo* and *ad quem*, and other subtle phrases, and concluded their long writ by saying that those of Spain should act with them.

The judges for Spain presented the following writ immediately: notwithstanding the contention in regard to the place from which they should calculate the 370 leagues—to which they thought those from Portugal should conform themselves through fear of God—that they thought it best to pass beyond this question, and to locate the seas and lands on the blank globe. Much advantage would be derived from this. By so doing, they would not be standing still and doing nothing. The location of the said lands and seas had no connection with the discussion, but perhaps it would prove to whom the Moluccas belong no matter how the line be drawn. Therefore this ought to be done without awaiting the replies or debates which they have insinuated in their discussions, since they had not come here for debates nor to expect other agreement than the determining of justice. Then the judges for Spain notified those of Portugal that they were

1 Ed. note: By the Treaty of Tordesillas (See Doc. 1494).

2 This is doubtless the paper presented by Hernando Colón, for it says *spherical* and contains other sentences peculiar to it.

acting up to what they said, and would continue to do so. And they would cast the blame upon them as acting contrary to right and law, and it could be seen that they were persisting at their attempt at delay, etc.

In the afternoon the judges for Portugal made answer asserting that their vote was in accordance with law, and they hoped those from Spain would act in harmony with it. Moreover they agreed to pass on to the other matters of this negotiation.

May 23.

[Captain Elcano's Map]

In Yelbes, in the town hall. The judges for Spain said that, in accordance with the agreement, they had brought in **the map showing the navigation from Spain to the Moluccas**. In this was set down especially the Cape of San Agustin in Brazil, in 8 degrees of latitude south, and in 20 degrees of longitude west of the island of San Antonio; likewise was shown the whole coast as far as the strait of the Moluccas [i.e. the Strait of Magellan] whose entrance lies in 52-1/2 degrees of latitude south and 4-1/2 degrees of longitude farther west. The map contained also all the Moluccan Islands, Gilolo, Burnel [i.e. Borneo], Tincor [i.e. Timor], and many others which were named by Captain Juan Sebastian [Elcano], navigators who sailed in the **Victoria** and who were present at the assembly¹, and others who together with the foregoing discovered them, calling them the archipelago of the Moluccas; and being situated in 2 degrees on each side of the equinoctial, and lying a distance of 170 degrees from the meridian of the Cape of San Agustin and 150 from the divisional line. They handed this map to the judges for Portugal as that they might examine it, and petitioned them to show their navigation [eastward].

In the afternoon those acting for Portugal said that the foregoing map was of use only in determining the third point, for the Cape Verde Islands were not on it, with the exception of a portion of the island of San Antonio. *"Many other lands were lacking and, above all the Line of Demarcation was drawn contrary to our opinion, nor is it sufficient to say that it was the navigation of Captain Juan Sebastian del Cano. Likewise we showed a similar map on which the Moluccas were 134 degrees distant [eastward] from Sal and Buena Vista, quite different from theirs."* But inasmuch as neither touched upon the case, they notified the Spanish deputies to present maps containing all the necessary lands, and *"we would do the same."*

1 Ed. note: Note that on the map attributed to him (previous page), the portrait of St. Sebastian, his patron saint, appears. Sixteen of the 18 survivors were subjected to a questionnaire of 19 questions by Dr. Ribera on 23 May 1524 (See Navarrete, iv, pp. 368-371). Their depositions were taken by the Bachelor Miguel del Prado, lieutenant-mayor of Badajoz, before Sebastian Rodriguez, notary. All of them declared that the Magellan Expedition left in September 1519 and arrived at Tidore in November 1521; that the king of Tidore and those of the neighboring islands swore obedience to the King of Spain, in the name of whom they took solemn possession of the Moluccas.

Immediately the Spanish deputies petitioned that both maps be signed by the secretaries, and they showed theirs with all the Cape Verde Islands added to it, and some lands which the judges for Portugal had indicated as missing, so that on their part this did not remain to be done.

The Portuguese map contained Cape Verde with the Rio Grande¹ to the Arbitro [=?], but no more; and toward the north Cape Bojador², which lies 13-1/2 degrees from Cape Verde.

Item, an islet called Ascension, and then nothing to the Cape of Good Hope, which was a NW direction with a north-south distance of 52-1/2 degrees, and a run of 60 degrees.

Item, a nameless bay.

Item, Cape Guardafui³ whither it was navigated from [the Cape of] Good Hope to the NE, with a north-south distance of 50-1/2 degrees, and a run of 56 degrees.

Item, Cape Cormorin⁴ whither it was navigated from Guardafui in an east-west direction, 1/2 degree NW⁵, 5 degrees E, and a run of 20 degrees⁶.

Item, to Sumatra and up to the point called Ganispola⁷, a run of 15-1/2 degrees, from which point to the Moluccas it was 27 degrees.

Thereupon the judges for Portugal, with the exception of Francisco de Melo, who had departed, said they would answer the other points made by the deputies from Spain in the morning.

May 24.

Ibid. The judges for Spain presented the following writ: “*To say that the maps were only for the purpose of locating the Cape Verde Islands is strange, inasmuch as we are discussing the bringing by each side of our respective navigations, in order to determine the distance to the Moluccas, as witness the members of the Council, who were and are present. It is also strange that among such persons they should withdraw the plans and maps of their navigation, and not allow us to examine them. In our navigation, the only thing necessary is to see the distance in dispute, and we will locate on it anything else they wish. The line is drawn according to our opinion. Let them do the same on theirs meanwhile, in order that it may not prove an obstacle to the third point. As to what they say about their map being like ours, it is not so, for they have located only capes*”

1 Ed. note: Rio Grande corresponds to the area of Guinea Bissau today.

2 Ed. note: Cape Bojador is written Cape Boujdour today. It is located in the former Spanish Sahara, about 11 degrees north of Cape Verde (Dakar).

3 Ed. note: Cape Guardafui is the tip of the Horn of Africa, in Somalia, west of Socotra Island.

4 Ed. note: The southern tip of India.

5 Ed. note: By way of the coast of Yemen.

6 Ed. note: “5 degrees east”, say both Navarrete and B&R, but if the run from Cape Guardafui to Cape Cormorin was 20°, then the E-W distance must have been about 19°.

7 Ed. note: The only possible reference I have found about Ganispola is the mention of some Gavanspale Islands shown north of Sumatra on an old map (Plate XL, in Nordenskiöld), which may correspond to the Nicobar Islands.

and points. Our map shows the entire navigation as far as the Moluccas just as they saw it therein. As to the principal matter that there are 134 degrees eastward from Sal [Island] to the Moluccas, that is a matter we shall look into, and discuss, and say what we shall deduce as the truth. As to whether we have located the Cape Verde Islands properly, why was there no doubt about that when they agreed to it yesterday afternoon, when they compared them with the book by Domingo Lopez de Sequeira, wherein the whole world is shown with meridian circles? Pedro Alfonso de Aguiar assured Licentiate Acevedo, who showed doubt upon the matter, many times about this. But for greater abundance of proof we are going to bring back the maps so that they will be sure of it."¹

Then the following writ of the judges for Portugal was read. In substance it said that the maps presented by Spain located the Cape Verde Islands farther west than they should be; that it was unnecessary to present maps showing their navigations, since the only thing they ought to discuss was the location of the Cape Verde Islands.

Then the judges for Spain offered for a second time their map with the Cape Verde Islands, from which the measurements were taken.

In the afternoon the Portuguese deputies said in substance that the navigations should not be examined, but only the location of the Cape Verde Islands with their respective distances. This ought to be done in order to determine the meridian at the 370 leagues.

The Spanish deputies declared immediately that they were ready to do this, without prejudice of going on to the decision of the negotiations.

Those from Portugal measured the maps, finding several differences between the Spanish one and their two—a large one and a small one.

Those from Spain petitioned that the differences be pointed out and that the Portuguese deputies should state what they considered the truth; and that they were quite ready to acquiesce.

May 25.

Ibid. Those of Portugal declared that they found differences in this place of 1 degree, in that [place] of 5 [degrees], which they should try to reconcile. Neither had those of Spain shown the locations of the Canaries and Cape San Vicente², and it was necessary to have these lands indicated.

The Spanish deputies offered a map with the lands in question, saying that, if this was the opinion of the Portuguese deputies they would conform to it, only they would take back the map presented first, being ready to conform with this opinion in order to get rid of the disputes which were blocking the decision.

The Portuguese deputies said it was quite late, and they would give their answer on the next day.

1 This writ seems to be an answer to the following one, but they are shown in the order written.

2 Ed. note: This cape is the SW tip of Portugal, near Sagres.

May 27.

Ibid. The judges for Portugal asserted in regard to the location of the Cape Verde Islands: “*We locate the island of Santiago in 5-1/4 degrees of longitude from Cape Verde; ¹ the islands of Sal and Buena Vista in 4; San Antonio in 8; and San Nicolas in 5-1/2.*” The judges for Spain gave immediately as their opinion that the island of Santiago was in 5-2/3 [degrees] of longitude from the meridian of Cape Verde; those of Sal and Buena Vista 4-2/3; that of San Antonio 9, being in 18 degrees of latitude.²

May 28.

By common consent **both sides presented globes showing the whole world**, where each nation had placed the distances to suit themselves. The measurements were taken and the secretaries ordered to set them down.

The measurements continued in the afternoon. Numberless differences were found, such as the globe of the Portuguese deputies showed 137 degrees of longitude from the meridian of the islands of Sal and Buena Vista to the meridian passing through the Moluccas; while that of the Spaniards showed 183. Both were measured eastward with a difference of 46 degrees.³

At adjournment of this meeting they agreed to meet upon the 30th upon the bridge of Caya to discuss and examine everything useful for the negotiations.

May 30.

[Methods for determining longitudes]

Monday, on the said bridge. The judges for Portugal presented the following notification, read by Francisco de Melo: that because of the differences in the globes they believed it necessary to investigate and make certain of the longitudes in question. For this they proposed four methods, namely:

1 Ed. note: I. e. the cape itself, on the coast of Africa, near Dakar, Senegal today.

2 The original signatures of Colón, Duran, Zalaya, Villegas, Alcaraz, and Cano follow.

3 Ed. note: This difference of 46 degrees in longitude represents a distance of over 5,000 km along the equator...

the first, on land by taking distances from the moon to some fixed star, as might be agreed upon;

the second, to take the distances of the sun and moon in their risings and settings, and this upon land having its horizon above the water;

the third, by taking a degree of the sky without any limit for sea and land; and

the fourth, by lunar eclipses.¹

“Let us examine the method that we must use,” they say, *“and let us consider how to end the negotiation. If the time remaining seems short, it should be prorogued as long as necessary and for such prorogation we notify,”* etc., and they did notify Acuña and Acevedo to prorogue it for all of June.

Acevedo gave his vote.² Acuña said that he heard it, and Don Fernando Colón read immediately the following writ, which in brief showed the subterfuges of the judges for Portugal, the differences between the said judges and the globes which they presented concerning the distance from the meridian of Sal eastward to the Moluccas, for they say it is 137 degrees but in one globe there were 134 degrees and in another 133, a difference which proved falsehood; that both word and drawing showed their [i.e. the Spanish] truth, and reasons and experience prove the said distance to be 183 degrees, and by the western route 177. The principal matter could have been determined in the allocated time; and this proposition of methods, which would require a long time, proved that they wished to delay matters. Neither was one month sufficient for the examination by these methods foreign to the spirit of the treaty, and they were opposed to this thing. They notified the Portuguese deputies to vote definitely on the demarcation and ownership at four o'clock in the afternoon on the following and last day of the time allocated. If they did not do so they would be to blame...We protest that we shall vote, etc.

1 Ed. note: Blair & Robertson, in the errata and addenda to their series (Vol. 52, p. 325) give the comments of Prof. Winslow Upton, then Director of the Ladd Observatory at Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island): *“The first and second methods enumerated in this quotation refer to that now (1907) known as the Method by Lunar Distances, which was already in use in the 16th century. In the former the position of the moon was to be determined by its measured distance from some star, in the latter from the sun. Since risings and settings at an assumed horizon are specified, it is probable that the distance between moon and sun was determined by the time interval of their respective risings and settings. The fourth method is that still known by the same name. The statement of the third method is obscure. It may mean that the longitude was to be found by a measured distance on the surface of the earth from a station whose longitude was already known. This distance could be turned into difference in longitude if the length corresponding to a degree of longitude in that latitude were first determined. This method is used today in geodetic operations.”*

2 The same as in the trial of possession.

Licentiate Acuña immediately handed in a negative vote on the question of continuation, as is seen in the record of the trial of possession. The notification of Acevedo and the confirmation of Acuña are also the same as in the said records.

May 31.

Ibid. In reply to the deputies of Spain, those of Portugal presented a writ to the following effect: that the case was far from being in a state to pass a definitive sentence upon it. Only three preliminary points had been touched upon, and the principal things have not yet been discussed. Therefore they were to agree upon the distances by virtue of certain observations; to place, by common consent, the lands and seas on a blank globe; and to draw the line of demarcation. The difference in our globes proved nothing. Also they [i.e. the Spanish] had altered their only globe and map, based on the voyages of Juan Sebastian del Cano. Therefore believing that all the globes and maps were in error, we have proposed certain astrological methods. Meanwhile we cannot vote, etc.¹

“Therefore in concluding, we assert, both on account of the reasons abovesaid, and for many others which incite us to this decision, that we find the location of the Moluccas not to lie in the longitude declared by the deputies of the King of Portugal, but where we claim and proved by our sea chart. Consequently we assert that they lie and are situated a distance of 150 degrees west of the line of demarcation, as we have shown in these discussions. It results then that the distance eastward from the said line to the said Moluccas is 210 degrees, and according to this the ownership and lordship of the Moluccas pertain to their Majesties. This is our vote and decision, and thus we declare to and notify the said deputies of the King of Portugal, that since our vote is just and in accordance with right, they conform to the same.

*Don Hernando Colón, Fray Tomás Duran, Doctor Zalaya, Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, Master Alcaraz, Juan Sebastian del Cano.”*²

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- 1 Ed. note: Thereafter, Don Fernando Colón read the opinion of the Spanish astronomers and pilots, to the effect that the line of demarcation had to be measured from the island of San Antonio, “that the Moluccas fall many degrees within their Majesties’ demarcation.” Consequently, the anti-meridian passed through Malacca on the Spanish charts of the post-Magellan period, whereas the truth, which was uncovered much later, is that it ought to have passed a little east of the Moluccas. The summary of the document follows.
 - 2 Ed. note: There are also on record the individual opinions of Hernando Colón, of Fray Duran, Sebastian Cabot and Juan Vespucci.

Document 1524C

Letter from Peter Martyr to the Archbishop of Cosenza, dated Burgos, 14 July 1524

Source: See sources for Doc. 1521G, e.g. Martyr, De orbe novo, Paris, 1907, pp. 567-573.

To the Archbishop of Cosenza, to be offered to His Holiness¹

SIXTH DECADE

Chapter I

Before you returned to Rome, at the end of your mission to Spain, so useful and so honorable that two Popes² have entrusted you with, at the time Spain was not enjoying the presence of her king who had gone to seek the imperial crown that had been offered to him, you do not ignore, I think, that, among the noble Spaniards who, in the New World, explore the southern coasts of the continent, a distinguished one is Ægidius Gonzalez, more commonly called Gil Gonzalez...³

1 Ed. note: Giovanni Ruffo de Forli, formerly Apostolic legate to Spain, and Archbishop of Cosenza, was the author's protector with Pope Leo X (1513-1521). Martyr had corresponded with him as early as 1493, but regularly only as of 1509.

2 Ed. note: Leo X and Adrian VI.

3 Ed. note: He had gone to the Darien in January 1523.

Chapter IX

Let me pause here a while, after having dictated the above. My secretary had already put on his hat, but he will wait. Here, just now, Diego Arias, the son of Governor Pedro Arias¹, has come to see me...

When you find an opportunity, please kiss the feet of His Holiness [Pope] Clement.² The Spaniards will believe in the worth and merit of His Holiness as long as he will believe in yours. Indeed, because they have long appreciated you, they think it appropriate that the powerful of this world keep you informed of their affairs. Princes are often judged definitively on the choice they make of their ministers.

Here is a third news that has just arrived. Since the mail has not yet left, His Holiness, I think, will derive some pleasure in knowing about it. In the decade I dedicated to Pope Adrian³, where I gave a description of the Moluccas, where the spices grow, I had alluded to the debate between Spaniards and Portuguese concerning the ownership of that archipelago. We are so persuaded that the archipelago in question is contained within the limits assigned to us by Pope Alexander, that we have had built for a new expedition⁴, and at considerable cost, in a port on the coast of Biscay⁵, at Bilbao, **six ships**, equipped with whatever they needed. We had decided to send off that fleet, at about the spring equinox, from a port in Galicia which you know, Clunium.⁶ This port had been designated for the spice trade, because it is more accessible to all the traders from the northern countries, and that they can visit the India House of Trade there more easily than at Seville, or even more than in Portugal where the goods from the Indies arrived only after long detours.

For their part, the Portuguese, understanding that they would become ruined, if this enterprise were to succeed, begged us not to inflict such harm upon them, without having studied their claims first. They assert that the Moluccas have been discovered by them first and visited by their sailors, that they are located within the limits assigned to them and not to the Emperor, viz. on this side of the [line at] 370 leagues beyond the islands situated off Cape Verde; this cape is called by Ptolemy Risardinum, and we think such islands correspond to the Gorgades.⁷ The Emperor, who prefers justice and truth to fortune, above all when a king is his cousin, and, if one believes a public rumor, will soon become his brother-in-law⁸, has granted them a hearing and consented in having their claims examined. The ships have already been stopped, the supplies remain un-

1 Ed. note: The Governor of Darien, Panama today.

2 Ed. note: Giulio de Medici had become Pope Clement VII on 19 November 1523. He died on 26 September 1534.

3 Ed. note: See Doc. 1521G.

4 Ed. note: The Loaysa Expedition.

5 Ed. note: The port of Portugaleta.

6 Ed. note: Clunium is the Latin name of La Coruña.

7 Ed. note: The Cape Verde Islands.

8 Ed. note: Charles V, indeed, married the Princess Isabel of Portugal, in 1526; she gave birth to the future Philip II in 1527.

used, and the officers and seamen who had been selected for this expedition are unhappy.

It has been decided¹ that some astronomers, cosmographers, mariners and juriconsults appointed by both sides would meet in the town of Pax Augusta, commonly named Badajoz, because it is on the border between Portugal and Spain.

From both sides, they have gone there. It was during the calends of April, more or less, that they began to argue and discuss. The Portuguese, being resolved not to give in on any point, do not admit any of the reasonings put forward by our negotiators. The Spanish would like to have the 370-league line begin with the westernmost of the Gorgades Islands, the one that is called San Antonio, and they say that this island is situated at 9-1/2 degrees of longitude from the known meridian of the Fortunate Islands.² The Portuguese, for their part, insist in proposing that this line must begin [to be measured] from the first one of those islands, Sal Island, which is situated at only 5 degrees of longitude from the same meridian.

Here is the reasoning of the Spanish. If, between two neighbors discussing the border between their fields, a judge were named to decide their dispute, given that John already owns a well-known field, and that Frank his neighbor is to enter into the possession of another field located 100 paces away, there is no doubt possible. Indeed, if one had to start measuring the distance from the point where John's property begins, John might as well give up his land, because it would be entirely comprised within Frank's allocation. Therefore, either you renounce your rights to the Cape Verde Islands that you have owned up to now, or else accept the distance beginning with the westernmost of those islands. You must accept one or the other of these options. The debate was long. No conclusion was reached.

If the Portuguese had indeed accepted the decision of the Spanish representatives, they would have had to recognize that they had violated, not only the Moluccas near China and the big ocean, as well as the Promontory of the Satyrs³ and Gilolo, but also Malacca occupied by them for some time already.

(Facing page) **Part of Asia, according to Ptolemy, in the Rome edition of 1490.** *The imaginary Cape of the Satyrs appears on the equator, on the right-hand side of this partial map. The Satyr Islands are off this cape, and are described by the caption: "Qui has inhabitant caudas habere dicuntur." [This is where they say that the inhabitants have tails]. Satyrs were mythological men with goat legs. (From Nordenskiöld, **Facsimile-Atlas**, Stockholm, 1889, Plate XXVI)*

1 Ed. note: By the Treaty of Vitoria (See Doc. 1524A).

2 Ed. note: The Canary Islands.

3 Ed. note: The identity of this cape cannot be determined from Ptolemy maps of the period (e.g. Strasbourg, 1522). One must go back to an older edition (e.g. Rome, 1490) to find such a promontory, shown lying on the equator, in the China Sea, east of Chersonesia, Malaysia today.

The Spanish actually claim that the authority of Ptolemy, and of other authors who did not agree on the length of a degree, is sufficient to establish the little value of the Portuguese claims. The Portuguese contest them with arguments of like nature. Let us note, however, that those of our mariners who have come back from this long navigation have received from the main king of those islands, the king of the island where they loaded their ship named **Victoria** with cloves, some letters and superb gifts, as a splendid proof of the allegiance which they have sworn. As for the Portuguese, they show no treaty signed with any of those kings. However, they say that the Portuguese name has been heard there, and that Portuguese [people] have been seen there. It is true, say our people, but there has never been more than one¹, a fugitive at that, who was afraid to pay for his crimes. Furthermore, no other proof of commercial relations was put forward.

The decision to be taken by the Emperor in our Royal Council is still uncertain. It is certain that, for the Portuguese, it will be very hard to be forbidden from known lands, and, for the Spanish, to lose such a beautiful opportunity for wealth will not be pleasant. May God help us!

Good health to you.

Burgos, 14 July 1524.

Chapter X

[The Conference of Badajoz, cont'd]

Many pirates and soldiers of the King of France, with whom we are at war, have closed all the [mail] routes, at sea and overland. Such is the difficulty of our times! I am therefore sending you this letter in two copies, because you wish to know the news from the other world.

In order to solve the dispute with the Portuguese that I told you about, 24 negotiators had been selected, all experienced men. There was one [sic] from each discipline, I mean, 6 astronomers, 6 jurisconsults, 6 cosmographers, and 6 mariners. You know only a few of them, and His Holiness knows none of them. They have all come back.² They have given a report to our Council, and soon will report about their proceedings at that conference. Don Fernando Colón, the second son of Christopher Colón, the discoverer of the New World, who is a very learned man, and 3 jurisconsults, Licentiate Acuña and Licentiate Manuel, both auditors, the first one in the Royal Council and the second one in the chancery of Valladolid, and with them Licentiate Perisa³ of the chancery of Granada have, apparently, first exposed their case. Nothing more than what I have reported earlier has been done.

On the deadline fixed by the Emperor, which was the last day of May, the judges representing Spain have rendered their decision on the bridge of the River Caya, situ-

1 Ed. note: Martyr may refer to Pedro de Lorosa, rather than to Francisco Serrano.

2 Ed. note: From Badajoz, to Burgos where the Court was residing.

3 Ed. note: This name does not appear in the proceedings. It is a misprint for either Ribera or de Pisa. I opt for the latter.

ated on a river which is used as the border between Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese, who had everything to gain by postponing the reading of the sentence, did not succeed in getting it delayed by one day, not even by one hour. The decision was that the Moluccas are situated, according to the opinion of ancient and modern authors, at more than 20 degrees inside the limits assigned to Spain. The same applies to Malacca and Trapobana, if however Trapobana corresponds to the island which the Portuguese call Sumatra. The Portuguese went back home very dispirited and recriminating against what had happened. They refused to give up any of their claims. We have even learned that their young king had despatched a large fleet and that they whisper that they will destroy our vessels, should they show up in those parts.

As for us, on the eve of the calends of July, in our Council of the Indies, we have been of the opinion that the Emperor should order the departure of our fleet of 6 vessels, before the end of next August! They will not be instructed to engage in a war, if they meet with a superior Portuguese fleet. Has not the Emperor at his disposal, and on the continent a ready-made vengeance, in case the treaties are violated at sea? Portugal is indeed, as you know, sort of surrounded by Spain; actually, the whole part of Portugal containing its most flourishing towns, is sort of blocked by Medina del Campo, a remarkable town, by Salamanca, Avila, Segovia, Toro¹, the happy kingdom of Toledo, and many other regions thrown between the Guadiana and Duero Rivers. I have often mentioned this in my previous decades; in olden days Portugal was but a county of Castile, which was granted, in the category of a kingdom, by an obliging king to one of his grandsons.²

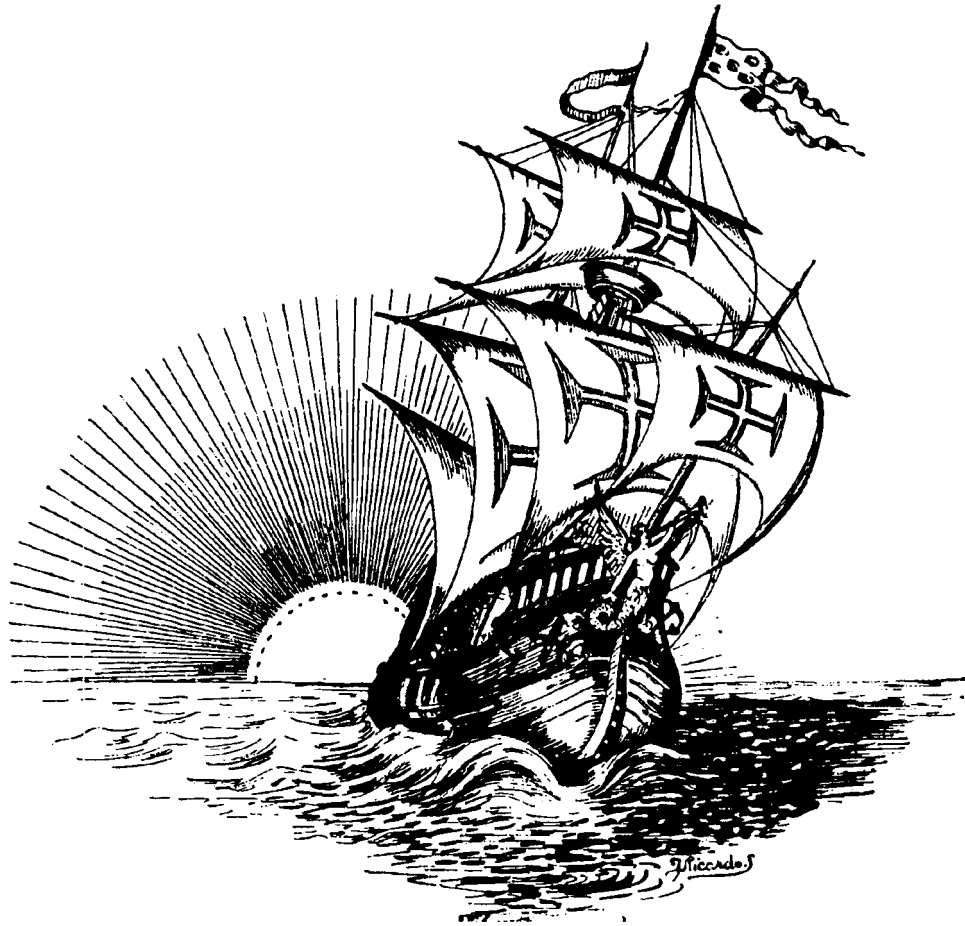
It has also been decided that a certain Esteban Gomez, also expert in the art of navigation, would seek another way, between the Land of the Cod-fish³ and Florida which have belonged to us for a long time, to go to Cathay [i.e. China]. He is entrusted with only one caravel and his only instructions will be to look for, inside the multiple and vast inlets of our Ocean, a possible passage to the kingdom of the one commonly referred to as the Great Khan.

[End of the 6th Decade]

1 Ed. note: A small town west of Valladolid, which must have lost some of its former importance.

2 Ed. note: Martyr does not mention that when Portugal was a county, it was then confined to the region between the Douro and Minho Rivers. The same region became an independent kingdom in 1139. Lisbon was recaptured from the Arabs soon after that, in 1147, but southern Portugal only one century later, in 1249.

3 Ed. note: Newfoundland today.



The Santa Maria de la Victoria, Loaysa's flagship. At daybreak on 24 July 1525, she led the way out of the port of La Coruña, bound for the Moluccas.

Document 1525A

**Letter from Peter Martyr to Pope
Clement VII, dated Toledo, 13
September (?) 1525**

Source: See sources for Doc. 1521G, e.g. Martyr's De orbe novo, Paris, 1907, pp. 717-721, 734-738.

**To His Holiness Clement VII, the eight decade of
Peter Martyr d'Anghiera of Milan, protonotary,
member of the Imperial Council**

EIGHT DECADE**Chapter I**

Most Holy Father, I have received the diploma on parchment which Your Holiness has conferred upon me, sealed according to custom with the fisherman's ring. It contains two parts: the first is a congratulation for my history of the New World that I had addressed to your predecessors; the second is an imperative order entreating me not to let the follow-up events disappear into oblivion...

Chapter IX

...

In one of my Decades, which the Bachelor Antonio Tamarano, my representative, has delivered to Your Holiness, the one which begins by the word *Priusquam*, I have

spoken at length about the fleet sent to the Moluccas¹, where the spices grow and which are situated under the equinoctial line, or at least very close to it. I have also spoken about the negotiation undertaken with the King of Portugal in the town of Pacensis², commonly known as Badajoz. The Portuguese received a contrary verdict there, but they did not accept the sentence.

[The Loaysa Expedition]

The fleet, whose outfitting had been interrupted, was sent to Bilbao in Vizcaya after the breakdown of the negotiations, then to Ferrol, a port in Galicia, the safest of all the ports, and one that could accomodate all the ships that travel the seas.³ It was at about the calends of June of this year of 1525.

It has been provided with everything necessary for a long navigation and also to engage in battle if it were forced to accept one. It waited at anchor for a few days for favorable winds. It is composed of seven ships; four of them have a capacity of 220 tons. There are also, to use common words, two caravels. The seventh one is what is called in Spanish a patache. Finally, the pieces for an eighth vessel are being carried; it will be assembled as soon as the port of destination has been reached, at the island of Tidore, one of the Moluccas. It is at this island, as we have narrated it in the book on the voyage around the world, addressed to Pope Adrian, that one of the two ships that had survived, stayed for a while, with 50 crewmen. As soon as they get there, the idea is for the two small-draught vessels to explore the archipelago and examine carefully all the lands situated under the equinoctial line, either beyond or within the said line.

As long as that fleet stayed in its home port, the King of Portugal, brother-in-law and cousin of the Emperor, did not cease to beg and sollicit that such a great loss be not imposed upon him, but, as the Emperor did not wish to alienate Spain which is like the heart of the Empire and of all his kingdoms, he did not agree to consent to his request. It was therefore against the opinion and against the desires of the Portuguese that the fleet set sail, pushed by favorable winds, on the feast day of St. James, patron saint of Spain.⁴ When the anchors were weighed, the trumpets were heard, the drums

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- 1 Ed. note: Martyr was then 70 years old, and as he said himself in his book, his memory had started failing him. The Decade whose first word was *Priusquam* was the 6th Decade (Doc. 1524C). He spoke in general terms of the Moluccas in his 7th Decade.
 - 2 Ed. note: Pacensis, the genitive form of Pax, which stands for Pax Augusta, as is mentioned in Doc. 1524C.
 - 3 Ed. note: That is, in the bay between Ferrol and La Coruña.
 - 4 Ed. note: The departure actually occurred on 24 July 1525, on the eve of St. James Day.



The seven ships of the Loaysa Expedition leaving Spain.

were beaten, and the guns were discharged as a sign of joy, so much so that the sky seemed ready to fall and the mountains trembled.

On the eve preceding the departure, the captain of the fleet, Fray García Loaysa¹, knight of San Juan, the man who four years earlier had been sent as an ambassador of the Emperor to the Great Turk, swore an oath in the hands of Count Fernando de Andrade, Governor of Galicia, the man who had before beaten the French General Aubigny in Calabria², and those of the Viceroy of Galicia. The other captains swore their oath in the hands of the admiral, the soldiers and servants in those of the captains. Loaysa then received from the hands of Andrade and the Viceroy, with great ceremony and with the applauses of all those present, the royal standard that had just been blessed. He left them ashore and took the opportunity of favorable winds to depart.

The Spanish have promised, in conformity with the orders of the Emperor, to write to our Council, of which they are dependent, when they will have reached the Canary Islands and are heading south.

García Loaysa is himself in charge of the flagship. The captain of the second ship is Sebastian El Cano [sic], he who brought the **Victoria** back to Spain loaded with cloves and had to leave behind his other ship damaged by storms. The captains of the third and fourth ships are Pedro de Vera, and Rodrigo de Acuña, the latter being of noble birth; both of these have already been captains in charge of fleets many times, and they have distinguished themselves by their exploits and have a great reputation. The fifth ship is under the command of Jorge Manrique, the brother of the Duke of Najera; he is younger and less experienced than his colleagues, but of higher birth. He has nevertheless accepted to hold a lower position, because he has recognized, not without reasons, that he had to yield before other more experienced captains. The captain of the sixth ship is a nobleman³ from Córdoba named Hozes.⁴ It is also a gentleman who is in charge of the small patache...⁵

The route to be followed by the fleet will be the same as that followed by Ferdinand Magellan when he went around the world, crossing what philosophers call the torrid zone, and pushing forward into the antarctic hemisphere beyond the Tropic of Capricorn.

1 Ed. note: This is García Jofre de Loaysa, whose Fray title indicates that he was a commander of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He should not be confused with his relative, the celebrated Dominican, also named Fray García de Loaysa.

2 Ed. note: Stewart d'Aubigny, Marhall of France, died in 1544. He had crossed the Alps with Charles VIII, and been in all the Italian wars with Louis XII and François I. He won the Battle of Seminara, in Calabria, but was weakened by it and soon retreated (1495). It is to that alleged victory that Martyr, an Italian, refers.

3 Ed. note: This word, from the Latin, was probably used to translate the Spanish word *hidalgo*, or gentleman.

4 Ed. note: His full name was Francisco de Hoces.

5 Ed. note: He was Santiago de Guevara, Elcano's brother-in-law.

Also headed in that direction is another fleet under the command of Sebastian Cabot, an Italian. I have spoken of him and of Magellan in the book about the voyage around the world dedicated to Pope Adrian, and in the preceding Decade addressed to Duke Sforza. Two more fleets are being prepared in the Guadalquivir. They will go first to Hispaniola and other islands, San Juan¹, Cuba otherwise known as Fernandina, and Jamaica, from where I get some income, and to which has been given the new name of Santiago. From there, they will split and go to the new continent and to New Spain that Cortés has conquered. I have to write about the greatness and the resources of the latter possession one day. Therefore, for now, there will be as many fleets ploughing the ocean waves, as many ships going and coming to the New World as there are merchantmen coming from Italy to the Lyon Fair, or from France and Germany to the fairs of Antwerp in Belgium.

I would like very much, Most Holy Father, to be able to introduce myself inside your apartments, and, through some slit, watch the joy that will come from your heart and appear upon your face, when you learn for the first time about these discoveries, when you are given such curious details about countries hitherto unknown, when you learn that they have been given spiritually, as a wedding gift, to the Church, the spouse of Christ, and that Nature is inexhaustible in its bounty, thanks to God's mercy. So, if there are any more secrets left to be discovered, you and the Emperor are better be prepared to learn about them. Your Holiness will have to be satisfied with what is being offered to him now, as if the feast had barely begun.

I wish you a happy life.

From the Imperial city of Toledo in Carpetania and at the Imperial Court, on the 13th of the calends² of the year 1525.

Chapter X

...

Let us go back to Esteban Gomez, about whom I have spoken at the end of my book starting with the word *Priusquam*. I had said that he had been sent with one caravel to seek a strait that must exist between Florida and the Land of the Cod-fish. Gomez did not find any strait nor Cathay, as he had promised to do, and he has returned 10 months after his departure. I had always thought that the suppositions of this brave man were without any foundation, and I had said so openly; he did not lack supporters. He has, however, discovered some interesting and useful countries, which correspond exactly with our parallels and our polar degrees. Licentiate Ayllon, one of the members of the Hispaniola Council, has explored the same countries with two ships and accompanied with his friends and servants. They are countries situated north of Hispaniola, Cuba

1 Ed. note: Puerto Rico.

2 Ed. note: The month is not mentioned, but it has to have been August, or September.

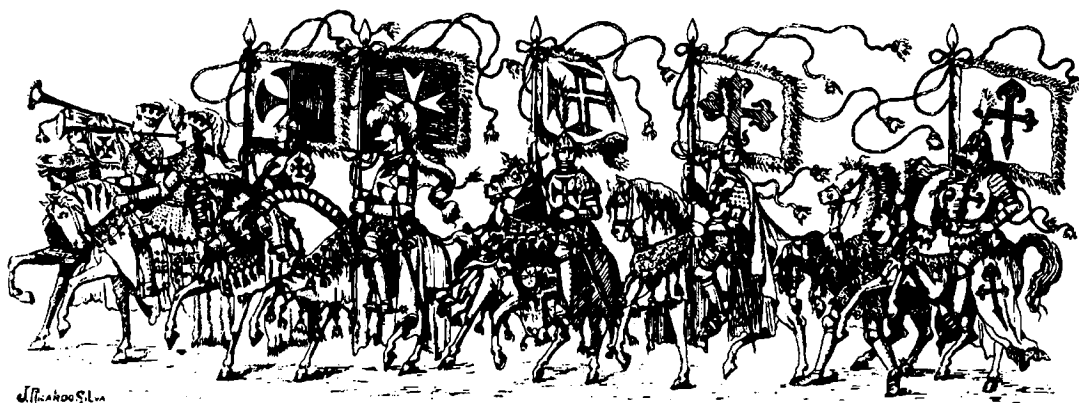
and the Lucayan [i.e. Bahamian] Islands. They are not far from the Land of the Codfish [i.e. Newfoundland], from Chicora [sic] and from Duraba [sic], about which I have spoken extensively before.¹ After having described the way of life and customs of those nations, after having enumerated the excellent ports and huge rivers, the Spanish say that they have met with flat lands full of yews, oaks, olive trees, some wild grapes which climb around the trees in the forest, and all the species which grow in Europe. It is not in a mere summary, but in a huge pile of letters that they have given detailed accounts. However, what need do we have of something that can easily be found in Europe? It is southward, not toward the frozen north that all of those who are in quest of fortune should go, because below the equator everything is rich.

Your Holiness will learn something funny about this voyage, and a remarkable rumor which soon disappeared.

Esteban Gomez had in fact discovered nothing that he had been seeking. In order not to come back empty-handed, and contrary to our instructions which forbid any violence against the natives, he filled his ship with natives of both sexes, all innocents and half-naked, who are content with living in huts. He had no sooner arrived back at his port of departure that an individual, hearing about the arrival of the ship, and the ship being full of slaves, mounted his horse without more ample news and galloped toward us, and [upon arrival] blurted out: "*Esteban Gomez has come back with a ship full of cloves and precious stones.*" He hoped to get some kind of reward from us. Without paying any attention to the idiocy of this man, all of those who had voted in favor of Gomez went off throughout the Court shouting happily; they were proclaiming loudly that Gomez had brought back not slaves (*esclavos*) but cloves (*clavos*); they were thus removing the beginning of the word. In Spanish, servants are indeed called *esclavos* and cloves *clavos*. However, when it was learned later that *esclavos* had been transformed to *clavos*, everyone would laugh at Gomez' supporters and at their happy antics. If they had remembered that the heavenly radiations that are communicated to earthly substances ready to receive them cannot create aromatic odors, except in the countries situated close to the equator, they would have also remembered that Gomez, during the 10 months that he was away, could not have met any clove trees.

I was busy writing this appendix when the wheel of fortune turned in its usual manner and confirmed the saying that it never brings an ounce of honey without also throwing a bit of gall into one's plate at the same time, and sometimes even more than that. The streets of the illustrious city of Toledo were resounding to the sound of trumpets, the beating of drums, and the concert of flutes in honor of the betrothal and the renewal of the alliance with the King of Portugal, already the brother-in-law and cousin of

1 Ed. note: The Licentiate Lucas Vasquez Ayllon had discovered in North America the lands called Chicorana and Duhara. Some neighboring countries were called Xapida, Hitha, Tihe, etc. They were probably all located where the coasts of the Carolinas and Virginia are today.



In August 1525, the streets of Toledo were resounding with trumpets, the beating of drums, and the concert of flutes in honor of the betrothal of the Emperor Charles V with the sister of the King of Portugal.

the Emperor, as a result of his consent to becoming the husband of his nubile sister, and of the dispatch of the young English princess—something all Spaniards insisted upon—when a serious and deplorable news was learned, which filled the heart of the Emperor and all the Spaniards with disgust.¹

[The Trinidad Affair]

In my book about the voyage around the world, dedicated to Pope Adrian, I had said that the ship that was in company with the **Victoria**, whose name was the **Trinidad**, had become damaged and had been left at Tidore, one of the Moluccas that produce the spices. Seventy men were aboard this ship.²

Without mentioning the officers, I know all their names because of the account book which we have at our disposal. The **Trinidad** had been repaired. She had been loaded with cloves and precious stones, and was on her way back to Europe [sic] when we met with a Portuguese fleet. The captain of this fleet, a certain Jorge [sic] de Brito³, sur-

- 1 Ed. note: One can almost be sure that the letter the Emperor had just received was the one written to him by Captain Espinosa from Cochin on 12 January 1525, and hand-carried to Toledo by his friend Taimo (See Doc. 1522A).
- 2 Ed. note: This is a confirmation of the final number of people aboard the ship, at the departure from Sanlúcar. However, only 54 men were left behind to man the factory and the **Trinidad**, at the departure of the **Victoria** from Tidore (See Doc. 1519F, section VII). Martyr himself, at the beginning of this document, says that 50 men had been left behind.
- 3 Ed. note: As Espinosa does not mention Brito by name in his letter, we can only surmise that Martyr heard it, wrongly as it turned out (his first name was Antonio) from Taimo.

prised her, and took her to Malacca, which is believed to correspond to Golden Chersonesia.¹ He made sure he despoiled her of everything on board. The saddest part of the story is the fate met by the ship's sailors. The sea's fury was unleashed against them so much that, shaken by continual storms, most of them perished of hunger and weariness.

As for Jorge de Brito, it is said that after the capture of the **Trinidad**, he went off to take possession of our Moluccas, which are seven in number, and to build a fortress in one of them. He apparently got hold of everything that had been left in those islands for trading purposes. The value of those two acts of plunder amounts to over 200,000 ducats.² This value is according to the report made by the sailors and the officers who have survived and returned in the **Victoria**.

Christopher de Haro was, in his capacity as factor, the director general of this enterprise for the purchase of the spices. He is a man in which our Council had great trust. He has given me the names of the five ships that were in the same fleet as the **Victoria**, as well as those of all the crewmen and the lowest of servants aboard them. He has made a presentation before our Council assembled to hear him, to show how he had arrived at this figure for our losses. Indeed, he has shown in detail how many spices there were aboard the **Trinidad**, and how many merchandises had been left to purchase them either at Machian, belonging to King Zabazutta, and one of the seven that produce spices, or at Tidore that belong to a neighboring king, and in the care of his son, his stewards and the main lords of the two monarchs. It was Juan de Campos [N^o 128] who had been entrusted with those merchandises.³ As far as the merchandises³ are concerned, Haro enumerated the quantity of steel and copper sheets, of coarse fabric and fine linen of all kinds, pitch⁴, quicksilver, mineral oil, *solimain*⁵, gold paint for paintings, coral, red umbrellas, hats, mirrors, glass beads, bells, spoons, arm-chairs fit for a king, without mentioning the weapons with their necessary munitions, left in the archipelago for trading purposes with the royal officials, the steward and the treasurer, charged with purchasing the spices to load the ships with, when they will go back.

We do not know yet what decision the Emperor will take. I think he will not let it be known for a few days, because of the renewal of the alliance with Portugal. Even though twins have been born, it does not mean that such an insult should go unpunished. I believe that the affair will be treated peacefully at first, but I also hear a news that will not please the King of Portugal. The Emperor, despite his goodwill, will not be able to hide his unhappiness, when the owners of the freight will address themselves to him for some redress. To refuse justice to an enemy would be an act of dishonesty. How can one not

1 Ed. note: Shown on the Ptolemy map (of Rome 1490, see earlier) as "*Aurea Chersonesus*", i.e. Malaysia today.

2 Ed. note: At 375 maravedis each, this value is over 75 million maravedis, about as many dollars today.

3 Ed. note: To be compared with the detailed list, part of Doc. 1519E. They differ somewhat.

4 Ed. note: The French word used by Gaffarel is *poix*, which could also mean lead, if used for caulking.

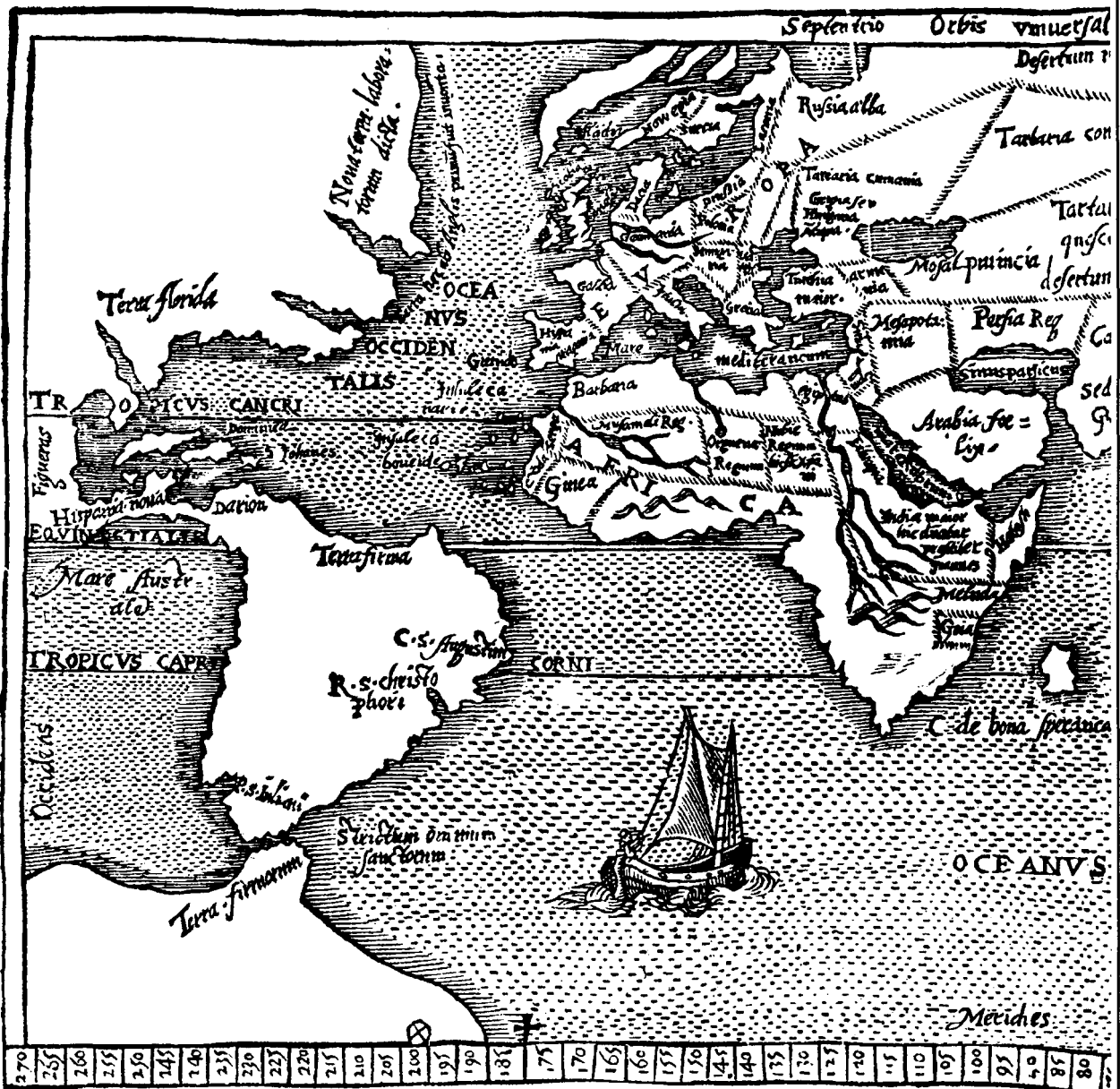
5 Ed. note: A French word whose meaning is not known. Perhaps this is cinnabar.

refuse to do the same to one's subjects? It is said that some Portuguese veterans fear that their kingdom may be destroyed as a result of those bold attacks. They are also far too arrogant with the Spaniards! Without the products they get from Spain, would they not die of hunger? Was not that kingdom at the beginning only a small county of Castile? That is why the Spaniards are highly impatient. They would like the Emperor to make efforts to have Portugal come under the domination of Spain. King Philip, the Emperor's father, once thought of doing so, and he did not hide his feeling on the matter. Only time will tell what the sentence will be.¹

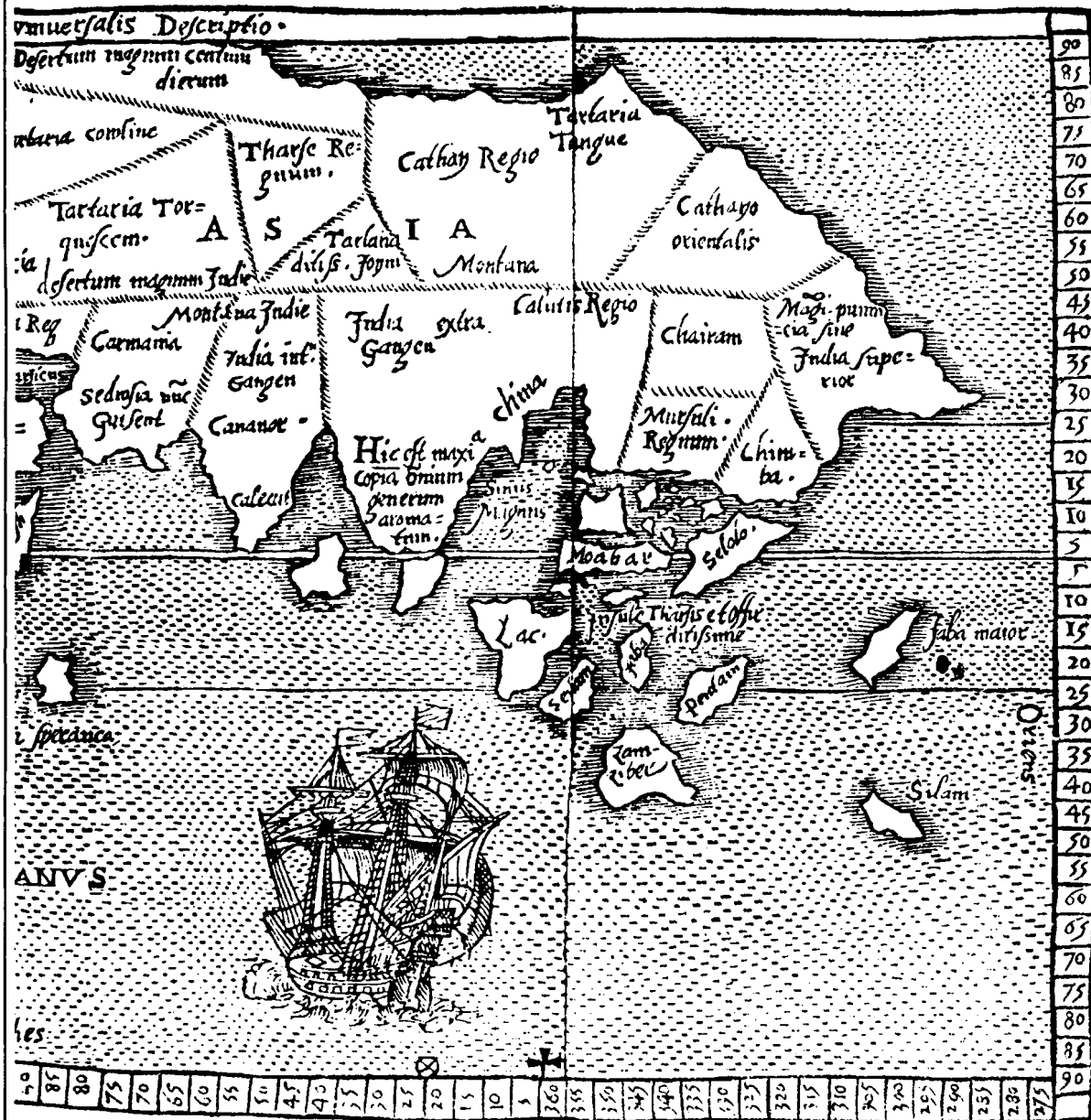
In the meantime, I bid good health to Your Holiness, whose feet I humbly kiss.²

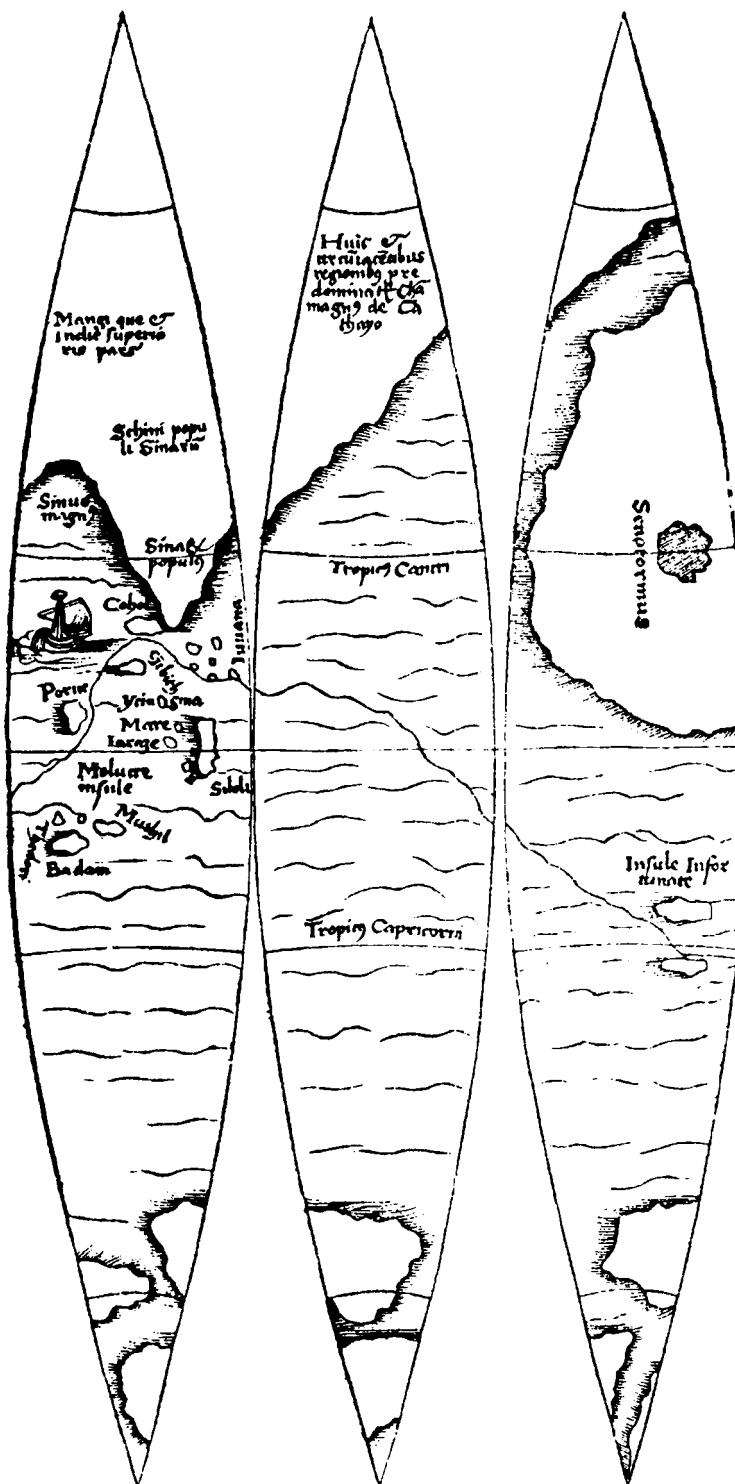
1 Ed. note: The Spanish got their wish in 1580, when the two countries were united, but the union lasted only 60 years.

2 Ed. note: This is how Martyr's Decades end. He died a few months later, but his patrons saw to it that his final decades were also published.

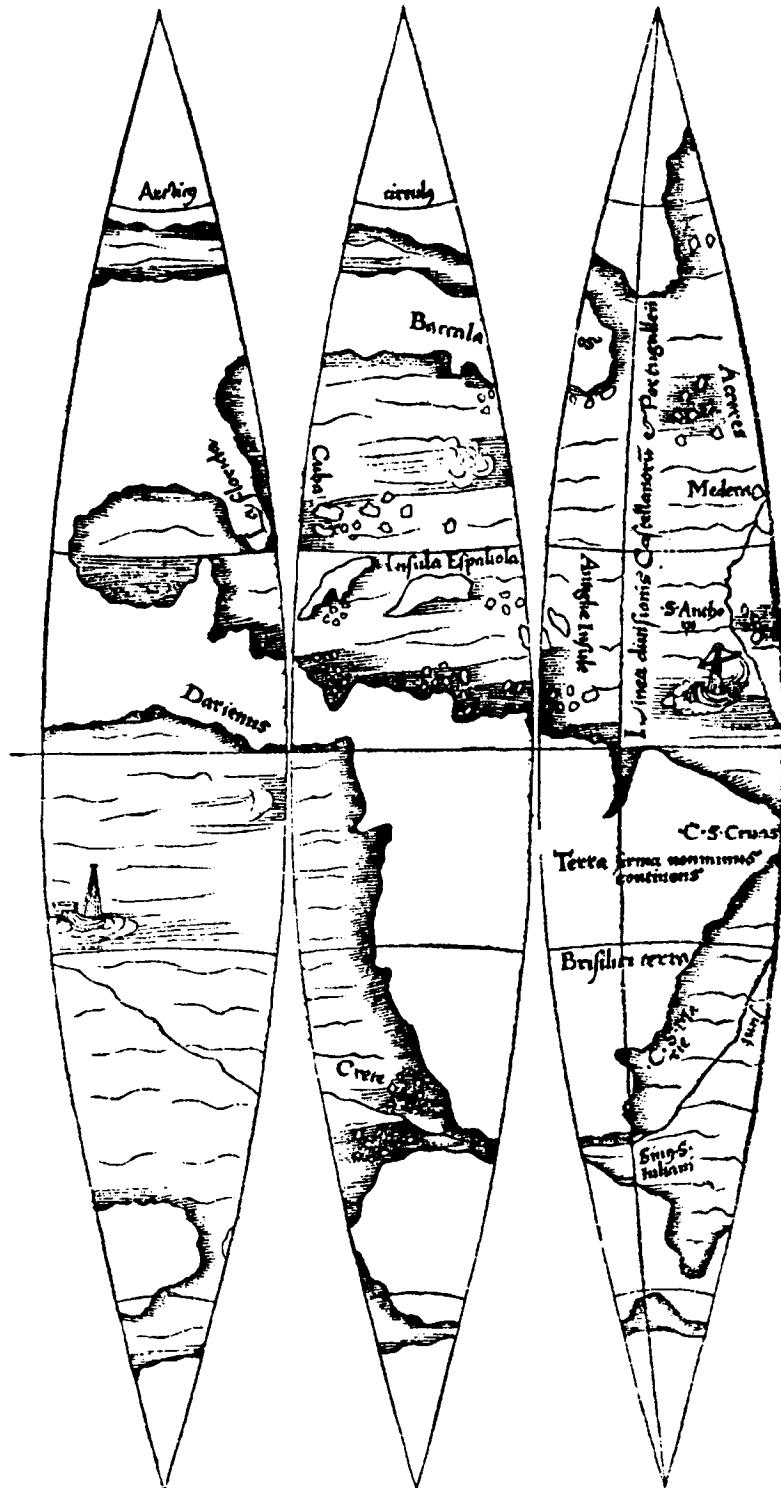


Map of the World in 1527, published in England, and based on information gathered in Seville by an English merchant, Robert Thorne. None of the discoveries made by the Magellan Expedition appears on this map. It is said by Harrisse (Cabot, p. 176) that this map is based on that of Nuño García Torreño. However, Nordenskiöld (Facsimile-Atlas, p. 103) has said that, as regards the Old World, it is an exact copy of the map in Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* of 1515.





Part of a globe of the world made in Nuremberg, circa 1540. Obviously, only the published narratives of Transylvanus and Martyr seem to have been used by its author, because the track of the Magellan Expedition through the Pacific shows the Unfortunate Islands of San Pablo and Tiburones, but omits the Ladrones. In some respects it is similar to Schöner's globe of 1523.



Another part of a globe of the world, Nuremberg, circa 1540. It mentions Ivuana [Guiuan], Yriasina [Limasawa], Gibith [Cebu], and Cohol [Bohol] in the Philippines, as well as Porne [Borneo]. Among the Moluccas, there are mentioned: Mare, Iaraze [Ternate], Muthil, Thedori [Tidore], and Badam [Bachian], next to Siboli [Gilolo]. Such transcription errors were common. Note the Line of Demarcation.



Map of the New World in the 1540 Basel edition of Ptolemy. Notice the Unfortunate and Thieves' Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

Document 1525B

Da Rocha's voyage—Secondary account by Galvão pointing at the discovery by the Portuguese of the Sequeira or Ulithi Islands in 1525

Source: Same as for Doc. 1522D (pages 134, 257-258).

Introductory Note

The only primary evidence we have of this voyage is the Portuguese map, published ca. 1545, reproduced previously as part of Doc. 1522D. The Sequeira Islands are shown correctly there as an island group or atoll labelled: “Ilhas q. achou gomez de sequeira”, which means “Islands found by Gomez de Sequeira”. Just to the west of the Sequeira Islands, there appears a large island labelled something like “momcgua” or “momegug”, which can be recognized as Mogmog, the name of what was politically the most important island of the Ulithi group for centuries. Hence, we can conclude that the Portuguese map-maker put down the Sequeira Islands at two places, i.e. at the same latitude but a different longitude.

As far as the latitude is concerned, the center of the above islands are shown at about 6° N on the map. However, let me hasten to add that they appear, more correctly, at about 10° N on another, anonymous, Portuguese map drawn ca. 1560 (See Doc. 1550.).

Galvão's original text

Neste anno de 525, estando dom Jorge de Meneses capitam de Maluco¹, elle [e] dom Garcia anriquez mandara[m] huma fusta descobrir contra ho norte, hy[v]ja por capi-

1 Note by Viscount de Lagoa, editor of the 3rd Portuguese edition of 1944: “There is an error here on the part of António Galvão, because the voyage of Gomes de Sequeira did take place in 1525 but Dom Jorge de Meneses only arrived at the Moluccas in the middle of 1527.” In fact, Meneses arrived at the Moluccas in May 1527, as is certified by an eyewitness, Father Urdaneta. It was Garcia Enriquez who had replaced António de Brito.

tam della Diogo da rocha, & [por] piloto Gomez de sequeira, que depois andou por piloto na carreira da India. Em nove ou dez graos daltura, acharam humas ilhas juntas, [e] andaram por antrellas: poseram lhe [o] nome [de] as Ylhas de Gomez de sequeira por ser o primeiro piloto que as descobrio, donde se tornaram aa fortaleza, por derredor da ilha da Batachina [e a] do moro.

Translation by Hakluyt

In this yeere 1525 Don George de Meneses, captaine of Maluco, and with him Don Garcia Henriquez, sent a foyst to discouer land towards the north, wherein went as captaine one Diego de Rocha, and Gomes de Sequeira for pilot who afterwards went as pilot on an Indian voyage.¹ In 9 or 10 degrees they found certaine islands standing close together, they passed among them, and they called them the Islands of Gomes de Sequeira, he being the first pilot that discovered them. And they came backe againe [to the fort] by² the Island of Batochina do moro.³

1 Ed. note: The original text says that Sequeira subsequently acted as a pilot on the regular run between Portugal and India.

2 Ed. note: The original text means “going around”.

3 Ed. note: The island of Gilolo or Halmahera, and that of Morotai. This translation is from Richard Hakluyt’s “The Discoveries of the World...by Antonio Galvano, Governor of Ternate...”, London, 1601.

Document 1525C

Da Rocha's voyage—Tertiary account by Faria e Sousa

Source: Manuel de Faria e Sousa, "Asia Portuguesa", Tome I, Chapter X, as translated by John Stevens: "The Portugues Asia: or, the History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portugues", London, Brome, 1695.

Chapter X.

...

4. Antony de Brito at Maluco, seeing he was not relieved, desired (the last year) a successor might be sent him, D. Garcia Enriquez who then commanded the cruisers upon the coast of Malaca went thither.

5. He arrived at Ternate, where some differences arose between him and Brito¹. They agreed among themselves, and by consent sent a Portugues with a small vessel to discover the islands called Celebes, where they heard was great plenty of gold; and being upon his return, was carried away by a storm to the eastward, till he lost his account, and unexpectedly fell into a great and beautiful island. The inhabitants [were] most simple, and treated them with great affection. Of colour more inclined to white², of body strong and comely, lank hair, and long beards, their cloaths of very fine mats; their food, roots, cocos and figs³. Their language was not understood, but they dealt by signs. By tokens they gave to understand that in the mountains there was gold, where-

1 Ed. note: The disagreement had to do with Brito not wanting to give up command until he had finished building a vessel he had on the stocks (See Doc. 1525D).

2 Ed. note: A better translation would be "not so dark as the negros".

3 Ed. note: That is, bananas.

of they made no use; they had no knowledge of iron, or any other metal. They left this island, which they called of James Lopez de Sequeira the name of the pilot, and returned to Ternate after eight months¹, whence Antony de Brito was then departed, leaving D. Garcia the command of the fort.²

-
- 1 Ed. note: The word James is not in the original. Stevens has made a mistake here when he tried to correct the author; Diogo Lopez de Sequeira was Governor of India from 1518 to 1522 and had nothing to do with the pilot Gomez de Sequeira. Also, other accounts say that they actually spent 4 of those 8 months (that is, from October 1525 to January 1526) at the islands in question, arriving back at Ternate perhaps in March 1526.
 - 2 Ed. note: Garcia Enriquez was in command a little over one year, until he was replaced by Jorge de Meneses in May 1527. Meneses was later replaced by Tristão de Atáide who governed until the arrival of António Galvão on 25 October 1536, who stayed until about 1540.

Document 1525D

Da Rocha's voyage—Tertiary account by Andrade

Source: Francisco de Andrade, "Cronica do muyto alto e muyto poderoso rey destes reynes de Portugal dom Ioão o III", Lisbon, Rodriguez, 1613; part 1, chapter 92, folio 110v.

Andrade's text

Iorse d'Albuquerque...se partio para a India...chegou a Cochim, onde deu novas do que era passado em Malaca & Maluco este anno de 1525, que he o que se segue. Atras fica dito que Antonio de Brito & dom Garcia anriquez em Maluco se concertarão que Antonio de Brito no agosto seguinte entregaria a fortaleza a dom Garcia, & se passaria a hum lugar duas legoas da fortaleza ate acabar hum junco que aly fazia, & o levar comsigo para Malaca. Durando este tempo Antonio de Brito armou huma fusta com vinte & cinco Portugueses, de que fez capitão o almoxarife, em que meteo muytas roupas, & a mandou que fosse resgatar ha ilha dos Celebes, onde lhe dizião que avia muyto ouro, que era sessenta legoas de Ternate: chegado o nossos ha ilha, forão recebidos dos moradores della com muyto gasalhado, porem quando souberão que os nossos hi[v]jão resgatar ouro, receosos de que depois de feito o resgate os quisessen roubar, & fazer-lhe alguns males, detriminarão tomar a fusta, & dar a morte a todos os nossos que não ficasse quem pudrise levar a nova a Ternate, & huma noite estando elles dormindo dentro na fusta seguros & descansados, os da terra con suas armas se vierão ha praya, donde sarão outros a nado que cortarão a amarra da fusta & a começarão a alar a temporem tanto que tocou o sentirã os nossos que tomando as armas começarão a ferir y matar os que acharão diante, tam que os outros se puserão todos em fugida & os nossos forão dali correndo outras ilhas, onde os não quizerão consentir com que lhes foy forçado voltarem para Maluco, & por lhe serem os ventos contrarios forão por outro caminho, em que correrão grandes tormentas, & forão ter a huma ilha onde acharão bom recolhimento & gasalhado de que a gente assy homes como molheres são de bons corpos, & baços da cor: os vestidos erão compridos da cinta para baixo somente, é se cubrião com outros muyto bons feitos de palha de junco: a terra era muyta viçosa de arvoredos & rios dagoa, ha nella muytas galinhas cabras, & cocos & he tão sadia que dos nossos os que hi[v]jão doentes em entrando nella receberão saude, aqy se detiverão coatro meses

ate que tiverão moução para se tornarem a Maluco, onde forão recibidos com muyta festa porque os tinham por perdidos.

Translation of the above

Jorge de Albuquerque left for India...later arrived at Cochin where he gave news about the events in Malacca and in the Moluccas in the year of 1525, which is the one that follows. It has already been said that Antonio de Brito and Don Garcia Enriquez in the Moluccas agreed between themselves that Antonio de Brito would turn over the fortress [in Ternate] to Don Garcia the following August [1526], and that he would transfer himself to a place two leagues from the fortress until he had finished a junk that he was building there, which he would then take with him to Malacca.

Meanwhile Antonio de Brito outfitted a *fusta* with 25 Portuguese men, the captain of whom was the customs officer, and in her placed many cloths, and send her on a trading voyage to the island of the Celebes, where they had told him there was much gold, and which was 60 leagues from Ternate. When our people arrived at the island, they were received by its inhabitants with much hospitality. However, when they learned that our people were trading [for] gold, [our people] were afraid that after the trading was over they would be robbed and harmed. They determined to take the *fusta* and to kill all our people so that none of them could take the news to Ternate. One night when they were sleeping aboard the *fusta*, safe and resting, those from ashore with their weapons came down to the beach, while others swam out to the *fusta* and cut her moorings and began to drag her toward the shore but in such a way that she touched or our people became aware of it, and they then took up arms and began to wound and kill those they found aboard, so much so that all the others took flight.

Our people left there and ran to other islands [but] they did not wish to permit them [to stop there], so that they were forced to return to the Moluccas. Because the winds were contrary, they took another route and met with big storms, and [finally] came to an island where they found a good welcome and hospitality.

The people there, men as well as women are of good body and dark in color. The clothing covered [the body] only from the belt downward and they covered themselves with some other ones finely made of straw from rushes. The land was very lush with groves and waterways. There are in it many hens, goats and coconuts. There were so many of them that those of our people who were sick when they arrived there received health. They stopped there for four months until they got the monsoon in order to return to the Moluccas, where they were received with much festivity because they had been given up for lost.¹

¹ Ed. note: Again, there is evidence, in Barros and Castanheda (See next document by Lessa), that they stayed at Ulithi from 1 October 1525 to 20 January 1526.

Document 1525E

Da Rocha's voyage—Accounts by Barros and others, analyzed by Lessa

Source: Extracts from an extensive study made by William Armand Lessa, an anthropology professor, entitled "The Portuguese Discovery of the Isles of Sequeira", and published by the University of Guam in Micronesica 11:1 (1975):35-70. Other, original sources, are given by this author (See comments and footnotes below).

Introduction

The first recorded interaction between natives of the Caroline Islands of Micronesia and Europeans took place in 1525 when a Portuguese galley came upon an island in the open sea northeast of the original Moluccas or Spice Islands, off the western coast of Halmahera. The small vessel was captained by one Diogo da Rocha, who had arrived in the Indies by way of Africa. With Gomes de Sequeira as his pilot, he had reached Celebes on a trading expedition for gold, having been sent there from the Portuguese stronghold in Ternate by Antonio de Brito, captain of the Moluccas. Leaving Celebes in August or September of 1525, after having been menaced by the wary inhabitants, he wandered from island to island in the Molucca Passage, and then was driven 200 to 300 leagues to the northeast by a storm. On October 1 he encountered a large island in the western Carolines where he and his exhausted men remained with the friendly inhabitants for four months to recuperate and await favorable winds. The island—actually a group of islands—was located at nine or ten degrees north latitude and was given the name Ilha de Gomes de Sequeira. Rocha left the place on January 20, 1526, and soon reached Ternate... My purpose is to identify the Isles and to ascertain the facts concerning their discovery.

Historical Sources

Apparently the one who has left us the earliest disclosure of the Portuguese incident was the Spaniard Andrés de Urdaneta, a survivor of the second crossing of the Pacific after Magellan. Stranded in the Moluccas in 1526 after the flagship of García Jofre de

Loaysa was destroyed, he returned to Spain in 1535 in Portuguese ships via the Cape of Good Hope and gave us a report there to the emperor concerning Portuguese maritime holdings in the East Indies. In it he said: "To the northeast of the Moluccas in an archipelago of islands which are very close together, which a *fusta* of the Portuguese discovered 200 leagues from the Moluccas, and they are from 3 to 9 degrees north."¹

...

The next account, in point of time, is much fuller and has been left to us by the Portuguese historian, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, in his *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*²... Castanheda's account is an excellent one and is rivalled only by the next version, which is the most used.

This notice is that of João de Barros (1496-1570), another sixteenth-century historian, who published it nine years after that of Castanheda, which it greatly resembles. The narrative appears in Barros' well known *Terceira década da Ásia* (1563: 259v-260v):

...
"With the change of seasons, because the waters between that large number of islands in the [Moluccan] passage that they were trying to traverse are a vortex with the winds and ocean currents, the fusta was snatched up and carried into a very wide sea without their knowing where they were, running always towards the rising of the sun.³ Finally, after having lost any notion as to their whereabouts, and running at God's mercy with a tempest at the stern that was swallowing them—for it was a sea unsheltered by islands and they did not dare nor were they able to take another course—it seemed to them that they had run about three hundred leagues. Going along, relying more on the mercy of God than any confidence in their navigation, one night in the midst of all this to their greater disorder the pin of the rudder jumped out of its gudgeon. As it was night they could not repair it and they waited until morning came, at which time they were consoled because they found themselves near a large island that appeared to them very beautiful with a wooded freshness. Having adjusted the rudder, whose disrepair was the reason why they had not got lost by running past the island, and by having had to wait until morning, they landed.

The people came to receive them, showing by many signs the great pleasure and surprise they had on seeing them. And in truth, as evidenced by the assured manner in which they went near [the Portuguese], it appeared that they were a people who had never received any harsh treatment or harm whatsoever, because they approached our men with simplicity. Because of their simplicity and assurance one of our men was sent

1 Ed. note: Obviously, if the islands lie close together, they cannot be spread over 6 degrees of latitude. Either "3" is a typographical error for "8", or else Urdaneta meant that the ship crossed 6 degrees of latitude during the voyage. The original Spanish paragraph is as follows: "Al Nordeste de Maluco está un archipiélago de islas que están muy juntas, que descubrió una fusta de portugueses docientas leguas de Maluco, y están dende tres grados hasta nueve de la parte del Norte." ("Colección de documentos inéditos ... Indias", Series I, 40 vols., Madrid, 1864-1884; specifically vol. 5, page 63).

2 Volume VI, pp. 188-189.

3 Ed. note: This does not necessarily mean that they were carried due east, but eastward.

in their company to see their chief. Since some slaves that [the Portuguese] were carrying from the nearby islands of Maluco did not understand their language, they found through gestures that the natives had been there many hundreds of years. They were more white than black; both men and women were quite pleasant in appearance, with happy faces, quite friendly, neither too thin nor fat, without a sign of physical ailments. The men had long beards like ours, and straight hair. Their dress consisted of woven mats, which were very soft and flexible, and which served them as our shirts do us. Above them they wore other mats more coarsely woven without any shape whatsoever, like merely a loose piece of cloth that covered them from the waist down.

When the chief saw our man he expressed great happiness, and because of the easiness and mildness [of the natives] everyone thought that the people of that island were of simple rationality, without any malice, fear, or cautiousness, such as our men had seen in the isles of the Orient; whereof, it seemed to them that they were amidst the simplicity of the First Age. Their food consisted of some roots like yams, legumes, coconuts, and figs like those of India.

During the four months that our men stayed there waiting for the monsoon in order to return to Maluco, they showed them samples of iron, copper, tin, and gold. Only of the latter did they show any knowledge, and by gesturing with their hands they informed us that this metal was found in a high mountain to the west of the island.¹ They had large proas, but since our men did not see them use iron they asked them how they made them. They showed them fish spines² which they used for cutting and which were such that our men were able to use them just like iron.

Finally, as the time for sailing came, the island's position was marked down and placed on a navigational chart by Gomes de Sequeira, who was the pilot, and after whom it was named. They left on the twentieth of January [1526], having informed those simple people that they would return, all of them showing that they regretted their departure. Making their voyage they reached Maluco eight months after they had left, and found that their property had been sold and placed in custody, as they do with the deceased.”

In a seldom-noted passage appearing laconically in his posthumous *Quarta decada da Asia*, Barros has a puzzling passage saying that in 1527 [sic] Jorge de Menezes “sent Gomez de Sequeira to seek provisions in the isles of Mindanao, who being led astray by a storm discovered many islands close together, in ix or x degrees north, which were given the name Isles of Gomez de Sequeira.” (Barros, 1615:55). Here Barros is specific about latitude, whereas in the long account above appearing in the *Terceira decada* he writes only of a distance of 300 leagues in an easterly direction...

-
- 1 Ed. note: Since we now know that neither Yap nor Palau contains any gold, and we also know that drift voyages from the western Carolines to the Philippines had taken place since time immemorial, the natives could only have meant that gold existed in the Philippines.
 - 2 Ed. note: I agree with the author when he says, later, that only shell tools could have been meant by this bad expression.

Geographic clues

Any effort to identify the Isles of Sequeira must rely heavily although not exclusively on the geographic clues provided by the historians' statements. Most obvious of these is the latitude of nine to ten degrees north at which, according to Barros, Galvão, and Couto¹, the islands were said to be located. We can place some confidence in the ability of the Portuguese to be fairly accurate in determining latitude, for at that time the cross-staff and the astrolabe had been in use for some time. Longitude, on the other hand, was another matter, the chronometer not having been devised as yet, and the Portuguese do not even provide a crude estimate of it.

Castanheda, Barros, Maffei², and Sousa³ do say, however, that the *fusta* was blown about 300 leagues from what must have been the Molucca Passage. Urdaneta says 200. The old Portuguese league was just under four land or statute miles⁴, so the distance involved was approximately 1200 [statute] miles maximum and 800 minimum. Given the crude methods for determining the distance traversed in an hour or a day, and the conditions of enormous stress to which the men and their vessel were subjected, these distances can only be very approximate.

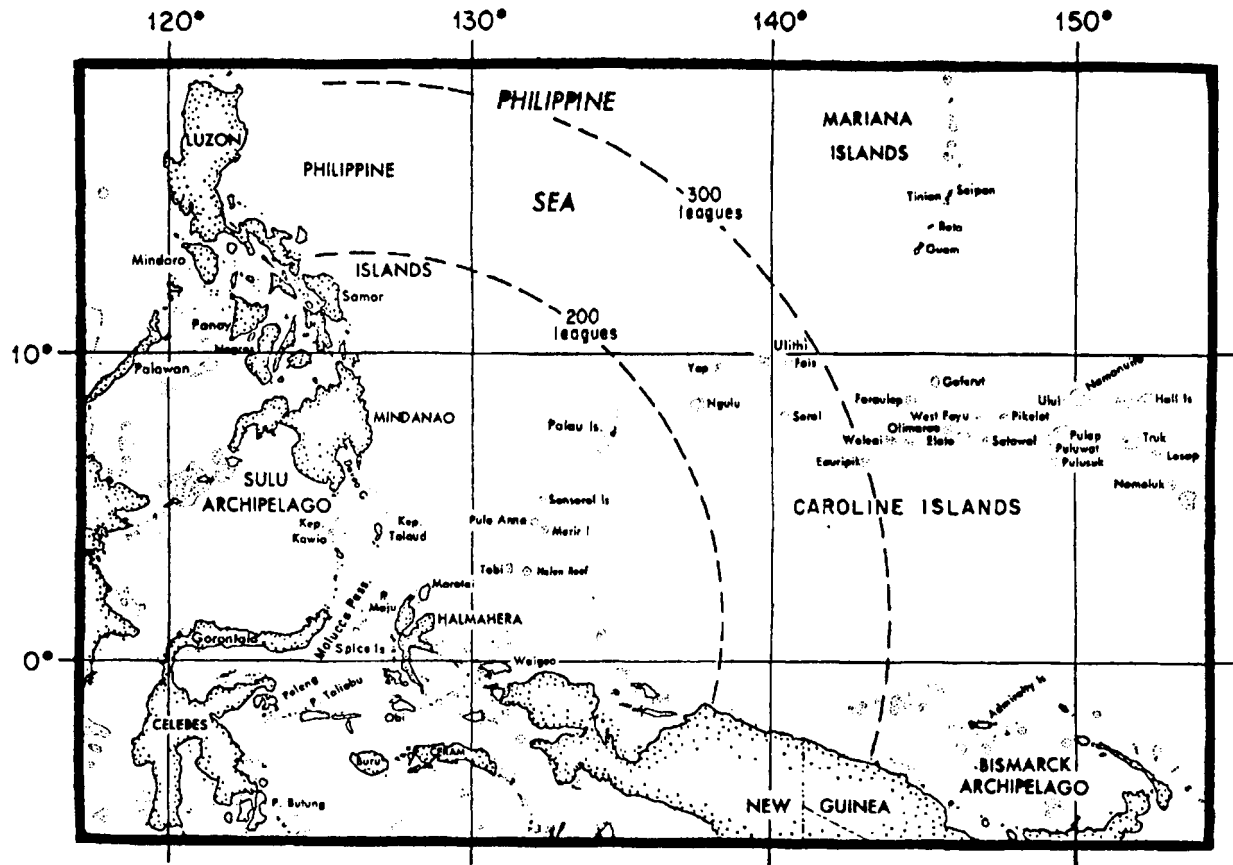
It is important to note that the accounts say that the *fusta* was carried to an open sea, in what Urdaneta says was a northeast direction. True, Barros and Sousa imply the direction was eastward, but they use the more literary terms *nascimento do sol* and *contra o nascente*, respectively, to indicate this direction. In this instance, northeast is more credible than due east, as the latter would take one into empty space until one reached distant Kapingamarangi Atoll or the Gilberts. Moreover, the winds in August and September, when the Portuguese were attempting to return to Ternate from Celebes, come predominantly from the south and southwest in the Molucca Passage, and southeast and east, with a slight increase in southerly winds, in the ocean area as far as far as 10° N of the Passage. Because of the southerly element of the wind during the two months in question, a northeast rather than a direct east direction is all the more plausible as being the path into which the *fusta* was forced...

1 Diogo do Couto, "Terceira quarta da Asia", Lisbon, Crasbeek, 1602; page 67.

2 Giovanni Pietro Maffei, "Historiarum Indicarum", Florence, Iunctam, 1588; page 168.

3 Fr. Luis de Sousa, O.P., "Annaes de el rei Dom João Terceiro", Lisbon, Sociedade propagadores dos Conhecimentos Uteis, 1844; pages 263-64.

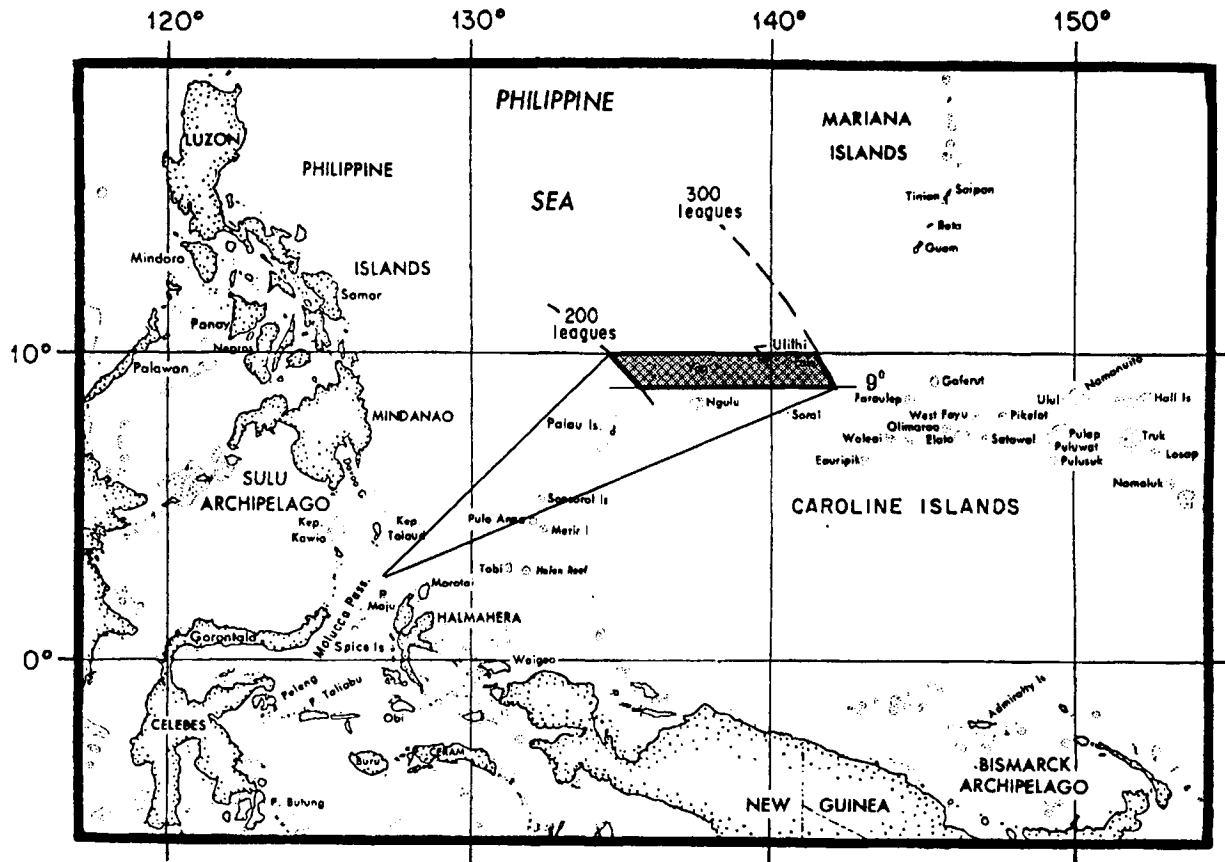
4 Andrew Sharp, "The Discovery of the Pacific Islands", London, OUP, 1960; page 3. Ed. note: The Spanish and the Portuguese league is more generally reckoned to be exactly 4 land miles, i.e. 3.2 nautical miles, or 5,920 meters.



Map given by Lessa to illustrate the discovery of the Sequeira Islands.

Two remaining geographical clues are at our disposal, the first being that the island group was large and the second that the *fusta* sailed between the islands. The latter, especially, has more significance than might appear at first glance, as we shall see later.

An ambiguous geographical feature is whether the locale of the Portuguese's sojourn was a single island or a group. Even though it is referred to as "a large island" by Castanheda, Maffei, Andrade, and Sousa, this would appear to be a loose use of the word. The terms "archipelago of islands" (Urdaneta), "some islands" (Galvão), and "many islands" (Couto) seem to be a correct description and will be here accepted as indicat-

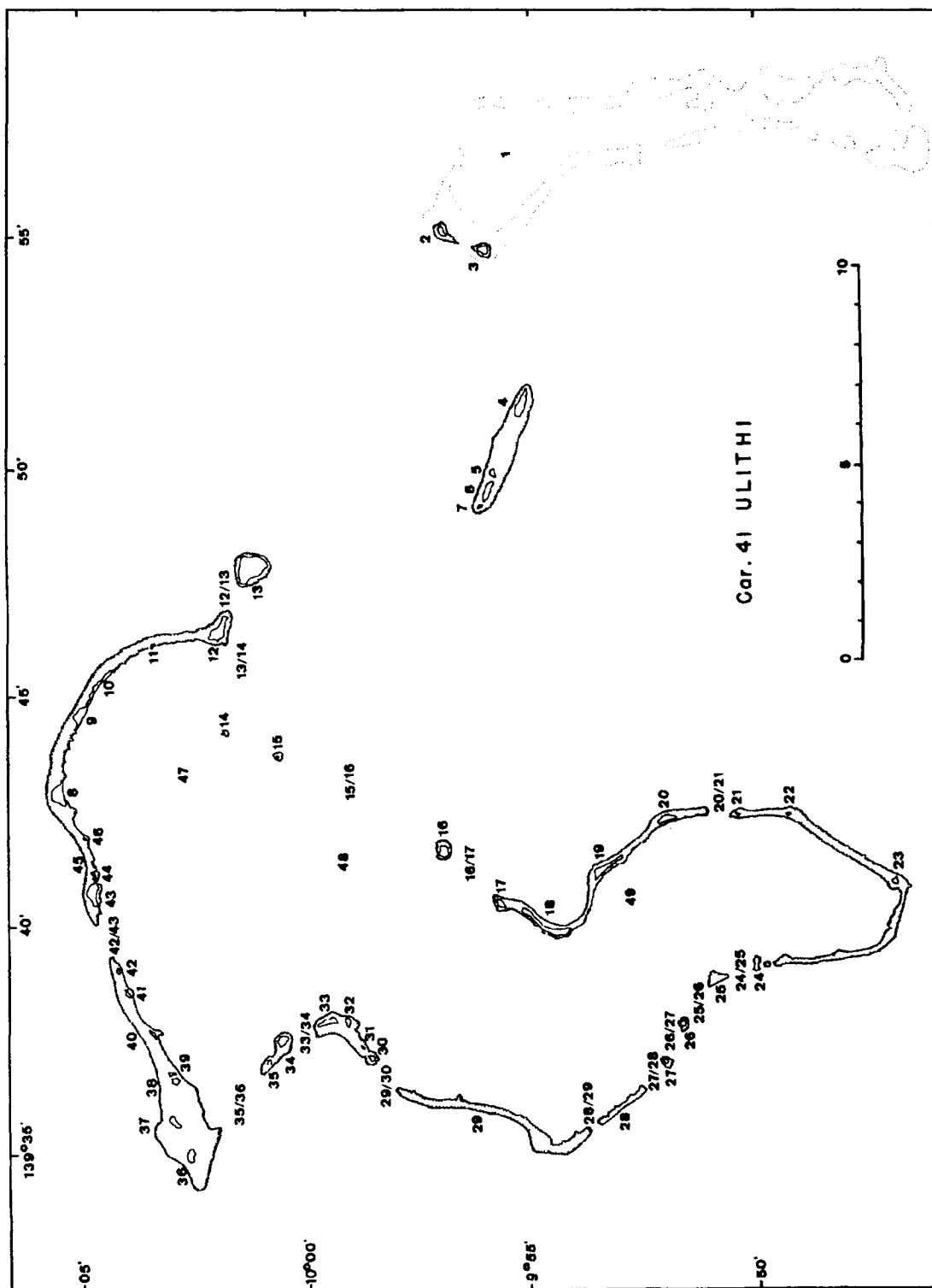


The same map with the search area defined by distances and latitudes. It lies between NE and ENE of the Molucca Passage.

ing what the historians had in mind, particularly in view of their use of such terms as “close together”, “went between”, and so on.

Notwithstanding mention of plentiful fresh water on the Isles of Sequeira by Castanheda and even “rivers of water” by Andrade, we cannot include this as one of the clues because we do not really know what these two historians had in mind. “Rivers of water” is probably a figure of speech denoting an abundance of water...¹

1 Ed. note: Lessa goes on to discuss anthropological and biological clues, which cannot be discriminating enough because they are present throughout the western Carolines. However, the reference to the presence of goats is probably fanciful. As far as possible identification of the Sequeira Islands by previous authors, I agree with Lessa that their analysis was either incomplete or not very scientific. Some of those who speculated were as follows: Palau is supported by Captain Burney and Cortesão; Ngulu by Meinicke; Yap by Sharp. Yap or Ulihi was chosen by Coello. A more extensive study by Agustin Krämer, the leader of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition of 1907-1910, supports Ulihi over all others, even other atolls farther east.



Map of Ulithi, identified as the Sequeira Islands of 1525.
 (From E. H. Bryan, Jr. "Guide to Place Names", Honolulu, Bishop Museum, 1971)

Ulithi Atoll

The easternmost and last place remaining to be considered as the Isles of Sequeira is Ulithi, the most spacious atoll in the western Carolines. Its northernmost latitude is 10°05'N. It is about 22 miles long from north to south and 14 miles wide at its northern extremity, being composed of about 30 islets, all reef fringed and arranged in something of the shape of a mushroom whose cap has been partly detached from its stem. Not included in the atoll proper are a long bank, submerged except for two islets, that is located about 15 miles eastward of Ulithi, and a detached reef with several small islets on it that lies between Ulithi and the bank. Not only is Ulithi oriented in a north-east direction from the Molucca Passage, it is at the right latitude and distance, being about 270 leagues or 1080 miles away. Thus, the atoll has vital geographic features conforming to those mentioned by the Portuguese historians.

...

The anthropomorphic features meet the requirements. My observations on 59 males taken in 1947 show that skin color, as seen on the inner side of the upper arm, is predominantly light brown in terms of the von Luschan chart (color nos. 15, 17, 18), with 50.9 percent of the subjects falling in this category. Reddish brown skins (nos. 12, 13, 14, 16) are found in 28.8 percent of the subjects. Medium brown skin colors (nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25) occur in the remainder of the cases, or 20.3 percent. None of the subjects showed dark brown or black skin color, although cheek colors are noticeably darker than arm colors, and in many cases display a yellow brown range (nos. 6, 19, 20) not found on the arm.¹

...

Were it not for the "high mountain to the west of the island" most writers would readily qualify Ulithi as the Sequeiras. At 10° the atoll is at the right latitude. It is at the right distance from the Molucca Passage. With its numerous islets it can be thought of as an "archipelago", having none of the extreme compactness of Yap. Certainly its islets invite "passing between" them... Ulithians knew Yap well and they would not have said that there was gold there, because it would have been so obviously untrue.² If we accept Ulithi as the Isles of Sequeira, it would not offend credibility for us to say that the mountain to the west was in the Philippines, where we know from the historical records that Ulithians have been stranded time and again by the elements, often to return to their homeland after a long stay there.

...

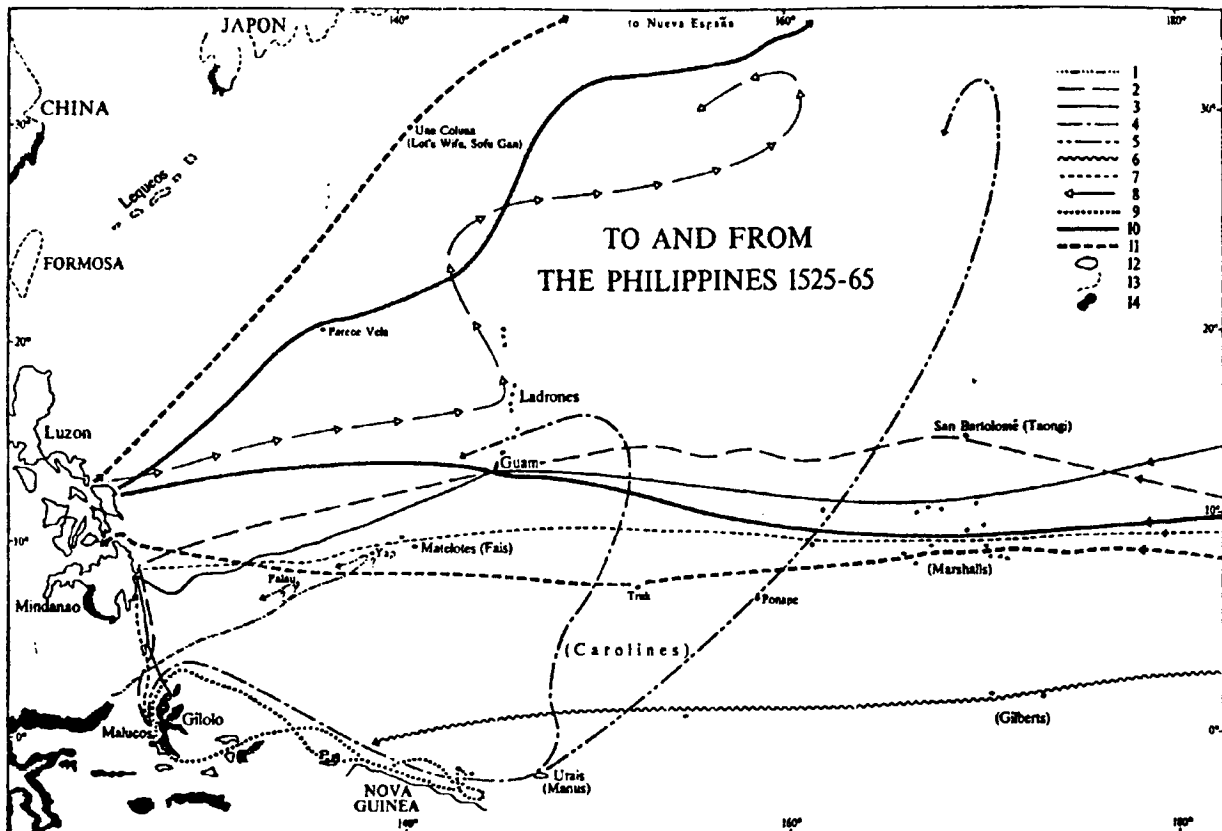
Fortunately, however, other kinds of evidence immensely favor Ulithi as being the islands marked down on his map by Gomes de Sequeira, at the same time insuring its selection by the elimination of each of all the other possible candidates sponsored by

1 Ed. note: All this is well and good, but the people living on Ulithi in 1947 were not the same as those living there three centuries before... The same comment would apply to other points he makes about beards, hair, modern clothing, etc.

2 Unless they were thinking of something else, such as yellow ocher. But whatever it was, the "mountain" did not have to be on one of their own islands.

interested historians, geographers, and anthropologists. The one thing that has served for so long as a deterrent—the mountain to the west of the island—proves to have been a needless obstacle that is easily removed when the records are examined from all possible facets.

This, then, is the solution to a vexing problem surrounding an obscure discovery by the Portuguese, who had entered the open Pacific from the west five years after Magellan had entered it from the east by way of the Strait. It has strong implications for the identification of other Carolinian islands whose locations have long been steeped in controversy.



Probable tracks of Ships Through Micronesia, 1525-1565. (From O. H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake*, 1979, p. 92)

Legend:

1. Da Rocha's voyage (Portuguese), 1525-26;
2. Loaysa's voyage (Spanish), 1526;
3. Saavedra's voyage (Spanish), 1527;
4. Saavedra's first return attempt, 1528;
5. Saavedra's second return attempt, 1529;
6. Grijalva's mutineers, 1536-37;
- De Castro's voyage (Portuguese, not shown), ca. 1538;
7. Villalobos' voyage (Spanish), 1542-43;
8. De la Torre's return attempt, 1543;
9. De Retes' return attempt, 1545;
10. Legazpi's voyage (Spanish), 1564, and Urdaneta's successful return, 1565;
11. Arellano's successful return, 1564-65;
12. Reasonably-known coasts, ca. 1550 (but ca. 1575 in the Philippines);
13. Vaguely-known coasts;
14. Portuguese contacts by ca. 1545.

Document 1526A

Introduction to the Loaysa expedition

Sources: Among others, M. F. de Navarrete, "Colección de los viages...", Vol. V, Madrid, 1837; Henry Raup Wagner, "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America", San Francisco, 1926; Samuel Eliot Morison, "The European Discovery of America—The Southern Voyages, A.D. 1492-1616", New York, OUP, 1974; Nicholas P. Cushner, "The Isles of the West—Early Spanish Voyages to the Philippines, 1521-1564", Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila, 1966; etc.

Original organization of the Loaysa expedition

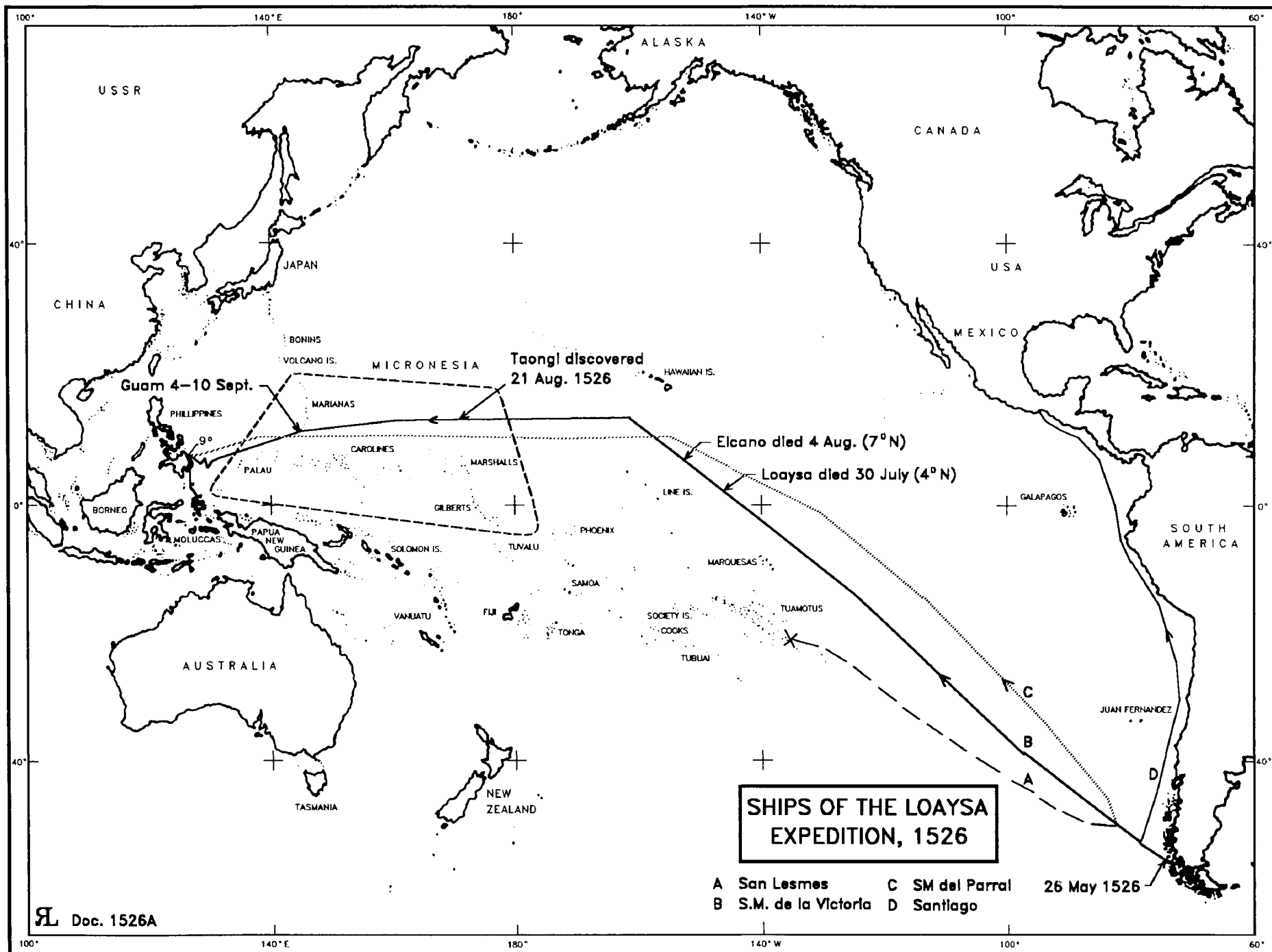
Name of the vessel	Tons	Men	Captain	Note
1. Santa María de la Victoria	300	150	García Jofre de Loaysa	1
2. Sancti Spiritus	200	(?)	Juan Sebastian de Elcano	2
3. (La) Anunciada	170	(?)	Pedro de Vera	3
4. San Gabriel	130	(?)	Rodrigo de Acuña	4
5. San Lesmes	80	(?)	Francisco de Hoces	5
6. Sta. María del Parral	80	(?)	Jorge Manrique de Nájera	6
7. Santiago	50	(?)	Santiago de Guevara	7

450 men in all.

Notes.

1. After his death, Loaysa was succeeded as captain by Juan Sebastian de Elcano, and in succession by Toribio Alonso de **Salazar** (who was in charge while the Victoria crossed Micronesia), Martín Iñíguez de Carquisano, then Hernando de la Torre. The master was Juan Huelva, and the original pilot was Martín de Uriarte. This ship was the only one that reached the Moluccas. Urdaneta says (Doc. 1526D) that the flagship had a capacity of 350 tons.

2. His ship having become a wreck in the Strait, Captain Elcano later transferred to the Victoria. Another veteran of the Magellan Expedition, Hernando de Bustamante



[N° 125], was with him. One of Elcano's assistant was Andrés de Urdaneta who later wrote two accounts and a few declarations (See next documents).

3. Cushner says that the capacity of the *Anunciada* was only 120 tons (a misprint). Vera was a *contino*, or official of the royal court. The *Anunciada* turned back at the Strait. Navarrete says that it was seen later by the *San Gabriel*; it was said to be going to the Moluccas by way of the Cape of Good Hope, but it was never seen again.

4. Acuña was soon demoted and replaced by Martín de Valencia when the ships were off Africa (See Markham, *Early Spanish Voyages*, London, 1911, p. 42, and Medina, *Documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile*, III, pp. 346-347). After being separated from the fleet in a storm in the Strait, this ship deserted and wound up on the coast of Brazil near Santos where it was captured by French galleons. The crew walked to Pernambuco and took a Portuguese ship back to Spain (See Pastells, *Historia general*, I, page 116).

5. The caravel **San Lesmes** disappeared after they had entered the Pacific. It now seems like it chose lower latitudes and was wrecked in the Tuamotus. One whole book was written about the fate of the *San Lesmes* by Robert Langdon: *The Lost Caravel* (Sydney, 1975). See below for more details.

6. The caravel **Santa María del Parral** made it across the Pacific on its own but was driven aground at Sarangani, an island SE of Mindanao. Captain Manrique had been killed earlier by a mutinous crew.

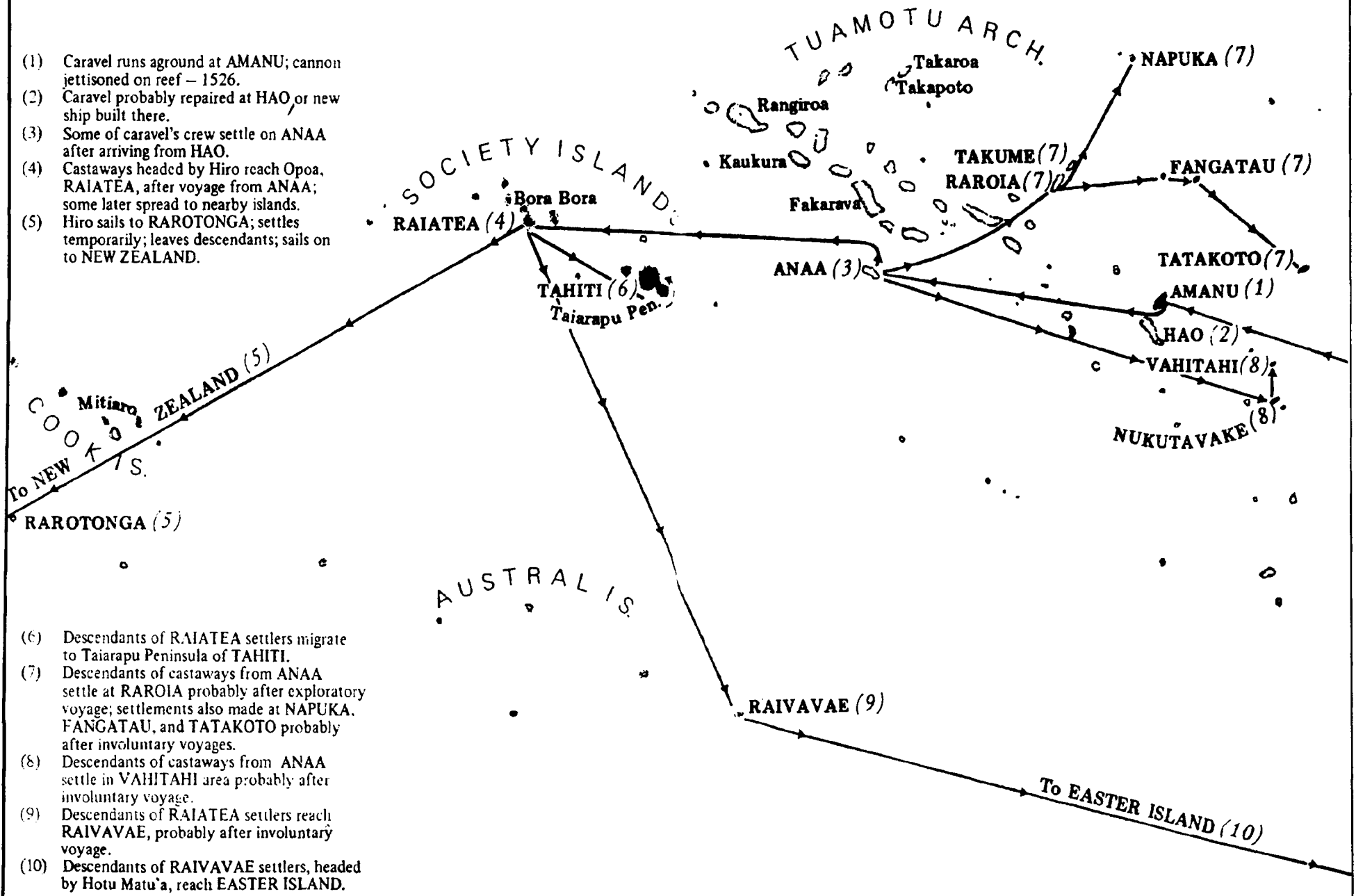
7. This patache, or pinnace, had a capacity of 50 tons, according to Spanish documents, not 70 as Morison has said. Captain Guevara was Elcano's brother-in-law. After entering the Pacific, it headed north along the coast and ended up in Tehuantepec, Mexico. None of these ships ever made it back to Spain. Out of the two ships that made it across the Pacific, only 8 men were repatriated by Portuguese ships in 1536, and the soon-to-be-famous Urdaneta was among them.

The Lost Caravel, a solved mystery?

The historian Robert Langdon has put forward the theory that the **San Lesmes** was wrecked on an atoll to the east of Tahiti, that the crew survived and intermarried with the local women, and that over the next 250 years they and their descendants spread to many Polynesian islands. He claims that the castaways established Hispano-Polynesian dynasties, that they grafted elements of Iberian culture, and that much that has previously been attributed to the genius of the Polynesians was, in fact, derived from Europe. Langdon contends, for example, that the castaways strongly influenced canoe-building and navigational techniques in Polynesia and that some of the elaborate "Polynesian" chants were actually adapted from the Bible. Two of his most remarkable conclusions are that the mysterious inscribed tablets of Easter Island owed their origin to the castaways' writing system, and that the so-called fleet that has long been thought to have carried the Maoris from eastern Polynesia to New Zealand about 1350 A.D. was, in fact, an expedition of 16th-century Spaniards trying to get home by way of the Cape of Good Hope!

APPARENT CHIEF MIGRATION TRAILS OF "SAN LESMES" CASTAWAYS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

- (1) Caravel runs aground at AMANU; cannon jettisoned on reef – 1526.
- (2) Caravel probably repaired at HAO or new ship built there.
- (3) Some of caravel's crew settle on ANAA after arriving from HAO.
- (4) Castaways headed by Hiro reach Opoa, RAIATEA, after voyage from ANAA; some later spread to nearby islands.
- (5) Hiro sails to RAROTONGA; settles temporarily; leaves descendants; sails on to NEW ZEALAND.



- (6) Descendants of RAIATEA settlers migrate to Tairapu Peninsula of TAHITI.
- (7) Descendants of castaways from ANAA settle at RAROIA probably after exploratory voyage; settlements also made at NAPUKA, FANGATAU, and TATAKOTO probably after involuntary voyages.
- (8) Descendants of castaways from ANAA settle in VAHITAHU area probably after involuntary voyage.
- (9) Descendants of RAIATEA settlers reach RAIIVAAE, probably after involuntary voyage.
- (10) Descendants of RAIIVAAE settlers, headed by Hotu Matu'a, reach EASTER ISLAND.

Partial crew list of the flagship *Santa Maria de la Victoria*

Langdon, in his Appendix A, has given a list of 118 names that he has compiled from various sources out of a total of 450 men that comprised the Loaysa expedition. Seventy of the 150 men of the flagship are also listed. Some of the most important men aboard, as well as the known survivors, are as follows:

Last Name	First Name	Provenance	Remarks
Loaysa	García Jofre de	Ciudad Real	First captain.
Elcano	Juan Sebastián de	Guetária	Ex-Magellan Nº 123. Became 2nd captain.
Salazar	Toribio Alonso de	Asturias.	Accountant. Became 3rd captain.
Iñiguez de Carquisano	Martín	Elgóibar, Quip.	Master-at-arms. 4th captain. Poisoned in Moluccas.
Torre	Hernando de la	Burgos	Soldier. Became 5th captain. Wrote a report (Doc. 1526B).
Uriarte Montemayor	Martín de Pedro de	Basque ?	Pilot. His loogbook copied by De la Torre. Seaman. Wrote a letter to the King of Portugal.
Maruecos	Juan de	Lepe, Andal.	Seaman. Alias de Lepe. Returned to Spain. Made a declaration.
Urdaneta	Andrés de	Villafranca	Returned to Spain. Wrote many reports (Doc 1526C+). Later became famous.
Poyo Paris [sic]	Macías del Francisco de	From Murcia Greek	Pilot. Returned to Spain. Made a declaration. Seaman. Returned to Spain. Wrote an account. Ex-Magellan Nº 17?
Bustamante Salinas	Hernando de Diego de	Mérida ?	Ex-Magellan Nº 125. Wrote a letter. Seaman. Killed in Moluccas. Wrote a letter.
---	Master Hans	Ghent, Belg.	Soldier. Ex- Magellan Nº 186. Deserted.
Argote	Roldan de	Bruges, Belg.	Soldier. Ex- Magellan Nº 142. Wounded.
Islares	Martín de	Laredo, Vizc.	Seaman. Later with Villalobos.
León	Arias de	León?	Supernumerary. Returned to Spain.

Captain Elcano, the first man around the world, came back to the Pacific to die

After all the ships of the expedition had been scattered to the four winds, the flagship *Santa Maria de la Victoria* was alone on a track a little more northward than that of Magellan. Sickness aboard killed many, including the commander, Loaysa, who died on 30 July. When they opened the sealed envelope, they discovered that Elcano had been selected to replace him. However, he himself was sick in bed, and died five days later, on 4 August 1526; his bones were committed to the sea, east of the Marshall Islands.

As far as the *Santa Maria del Parral*, nothing much is known about her independent track across the Pacific, except that she eventually reached the Philippines, and was wrecked in Mindanao. There are no separate accounts of her voyage.

The discovery of Taongi on 21 August 1526

Andrew Sharp has summarized it in this way:

“On 21 August 1526 land was discovered to the north. De la Torre said they stood off for the night, and in the morning came close to the island without finding bottom. The latitude on the south side was taken as 14 degrees 2 minutes north. Two of the sides appeared to be about 10 and 9 leagues long. In the interior of the west part there was a big lagoon, the water of which looked very green, with big trees to the east. To this island they gave the name **San Bartolomé**. They could not land because of the current. Leaving San Bartolomé on 23 August, the **Santa Maria de la Victoria** proceeded west in search of Magellan’s Ladrões, which they reached 12 days later, being hailed from a canoe by Gonzalo de Vigo...”

(Facing page) **Map of Southeast Asia in 1522 by Nuño García de Torreño.** *It is part of a map of the world drawn by this cartographer of the House of Trade, dated Valladolid October 1522. Because Captain Juan Sebastián Elcano was also in that city at the same time, in connection with an investigation into the mutiny that had occurred at San Julián in Patagonia, it has been inferred, correctly I think, that up-to-date information for the map was provided by Elcano to García. It is a pity that the only part of the map that now exists is the half from Africa to the Philippines. However, the portion reproduced on the next page is sufficient to give an idea about how the survivors of the Loaysa Expedition used it when they travelled from Mindanao to Tidore. The proof that they had a copy of this map aboard the flagship is provided by Uriarte’s log-book, under the dates 6 September 1525 and 16 June 1526 (See Navarrete, V, pages 245 & 271). The original of the above map is in the Royal Library in Turin, Italy. The Loaysa Expedition also had a copy of the official “pattern” as well, one chart authored by Diego Ribero. (From Teixeira da Mota’s “A viagem”, f.p. 522)*



Document 1526B

Salazar, ex-Loaysa—Report by Hernando de la Torre, with extracts from Martin de Uriarte's logbook

*Sources: Report by Hernando de la Torre to the King, dated Tidore 11 June 1528 and incorporating the logbook of the voyage; manuscript found in the Spanish archives at Simancas by Muñoz and copied by him in 1783. This transcript by Muñoz, bearing the marks "N° 4" and "N° 244 Simancas, Descripciones y observaciones de viages", is now in the British Library under **BM Additional ms. 17626**. Original now at AGI. The author of the log is the pilot Martín de Uriarte. Navarrete has also reproduced this document in Vol. V of this "Colección de los viages", pp. 241-313. It also appears in the Rivadeneira Collection, Vol. 77, pp. 125-171. This report was carried to Spain by way of Portugal by Captain Saavedra, the leader of the next expedition.*

Extract from Muñoz' transcript

[Folio 1]

S.C.C.M. Hernando de la Torre servidor e vasallo de V. Rl. M. que al presente soy Capitan General e Gobernador en esta isla de Maluco i sus demarcaciones de V.M. beso las sacras manos e pies de V.M. a quien me paresce, i es justo que haga relacion, pues Dios me ha hecho tanto bien e merced que en mi tiempo mas que en ninguno de los Capitanes pasados que han seido oviese lugar i oportunidad para escribir a V.M. con esta Caravela que aqui V.M. mando enviar de la nueva España para saber destos desterrados hijos de Eva que siempre a V.M. clamamos por socorro de que tanta necesidad tenemos, pues que tan buena a seido mi ventura que en mi tiempo llegase a estas partes; es razon que muy por extenso yo de cuenta a V.M. de lo que en ellas nos ha sucedido despues que llegamos aqui en esta Isla de Tidore...

...

[folio 1v]...

"En el nombre de Dios i de N^a S^a la virgen Maria lunes a veinte e quatro dias del mes de Jullio año de mil i quinientos i veinte e cinco años vispera de Señor Santiago antes del dia partimos de la Coruña en nuestra derrota la buelta del cabo de Finesterra, en este dia [no] se tomo el sol.

...
Jueves a 9 del dho [=dicho] mes [de Agosto de 1526] no tome el altura, hecimos camino [folio 22v] al oes norueste 37 leguas acudionos el punto en el cartear en 12 grados escasos, este mismo dia acordaron todos los oficiales de la nao con el Capitan de no correr mas al Nortef[,] porque se nos murio mucha gente, habimos de hacer la via de las Yslas de Maluco.

Viernes 10 de dho mes tome el altura en 12 grados i 25 minutos a la parte del Norte de la linea hecimos camino al oeste tomando del Noruestef.] 32 leguas.

Sabado a 11 de dho mes de Agosto tome la altura del sol en 12 grados i 35 minutos, este dia tenia el sol de cenique i caminamos al oeste tomando del norueste 42 leguas.

Domingo 12 de dho mes tome el altura en 12 grados i 36 minutos hecimos camino al oeste 40 leguas.

Lunes a 13 del dho mes tome el altura del sol en 12 grados i 38 minutos hecimos camino al oeste tomando del norueste 43 leguas.

Martes a 14 del dho mes tome el altura del sol en 12 grados i 38 minutos hecimos camino del oeste 40 leguas.

Miercoles 15 del dho mes tome el altura del sol en 12 grados i 32 minutos a la vanda del Norte de la linea iquinocial caminamos al oeste tomando del norueste 32 leguas.

Jueves 16 del dho mes tome el altura del sol en 12 grados i 3 minutos hecimos camino al oeste tomando del norueste 4 leguas.

Viernes 17 del dho mes tome el altura del sol en 12 grados i 32 minutos hecimos camino al oeste tomando del norueste 34 leguas.

Sabado a 18 del dho mes tome el altura del sol en 12 grados i 35 minutos de la vanda del norte de la linea aquinocial hecimos camino al oeste tomando del norueste 30 leguas.

Domingo 19 del dho mes de Agosto tome el altura en 13 grados i 25 minutos i causolo porque la corriente nos havia hechado a la vanda del norte, este mismo dia i la noche pasada caminamos al oeste i respondiome el punto al oeste quarta del norueste 28 leguas.

Lunes 20 del dho mes tome el altura en 13 grados i [folio 23] 34 minutos hecimos camino al oeste i acudiome el altura con el punto al oeste quarta del norueste 30 leguas.

*Martes a 21 del dho mes tome el altura en 13 grados i 35 minutos, hecimos camino al oeste 18 leguas, este mismo dia Martes despues de medio dia descubrimos **tierra** por la parte del Norte i luego amuramos para alla i llegamos a 3 leguas della, i era ya la tarde i no hosamos ir mas adelante, hecimos luego el bordo de la mar por la noche i pasada la segunda guardia de la noche hecimos el bordo de la tierra en busca de la Ysla.*

Miercoles por la mañana a la 11 oras llegamos junto con ella a menos de 1 legua i hechamos las honduras i no fallamos fondo, este mismo dia Miercoles a medio dia tome el altura al costado desta Ysla de la parte del sur en 14 grados i 2 minutos, correse esta Ysla por la parte del sur una punta que tiene al Este con otra que tiene al Oeste les nordeste oes sudueste habra 10 leguas[,] desta punta del oes sudueste se corre hasta otra punta questa de la parte del norueste se corre [nor-]ueste sueste tomando de la quarta

*del norte sur habra 9 leguas[,] dentro desta Ysla a la parte del oeste se avia una laguna muy grande i parecia el agua muy verde[,] al Leste desta laguna havia grandes arboles, aqui handovimos todo este dia i la noche nunca la podimos tomar porque la corriente nos havia hechado a sotaviento della i ansi acordamos de ir en busca de las Yslas de los Ladrones i de Maluco: pusimos el nombre a esta dicha Ysla **Sn. Bartholome** porque havia 2 o 3 dias que era pasado su dia.*

Jueves 23 del dho mes tome el altura en 13 grados i 2 tercios, hecimos camino al oeste tomando del sudueste 20 leguas.

Viernes 24 del dho mes tome el altura en 13 grados i 18 minutos de la parte del Norte de la Linea, hecimos camino al oeste quarta del sudueste 42 leguas, estoy de la Ysla de Sn. Bartholome leste oeste quarta del Nordeste sudueste 70 leguas.

Sabado 25 dias del dho mes tome el altura en 13 grados i 25 minutos hecimos camino al oeste 48 leguas.

Domingo 26 del dho mes tome el altura en 13 grados [folio 23v] i 25 minutos, hecimos camino al oeste quarta del sudueste 47 leguas.

Lunes 27 del dho mes de Agosto tome el altura en 13 grados i 38 minutos hecimos al oeste tomando del nord[ujeste 28 leguas.

Martes 28 del dho mes tome el altura en 13 grados i 28 minutos hecimos camino del oeste tomando del sudueste una quarta hecimos 8 leguas.

Miercoles 29 del dho mes tome el altura en 13 grados i 18 minutos, hecimos camino al oeste tomando del norueste 24 leguas.

Jueves 30 del dho mes tome el altura en 12 grados i 45 minutos, hecimos camino al oeste quarta del sudueste 25 leguas.

Viernes 31 del dho mes tome el altura en 12 grados i 27 minutos, hecimos camino al oeste quarta del sudueste 25 leguas.

Sabado primero del siguiente mes de Septiembre del dho año no tome el altura porque no parecio el sol, hecimos camino al oeste i heche punto por la singladura i halle que haviamos andado 25 leguas.

Domingo [a 2] del dho mes tome el altura en 12 grados i 2/3 hecimos camino al oeste guiñando al norueste por causa de los aguazeros, hecimos 28 leguas.

Lunes a 3 del dho mes no tome el altura, hecimos camino al oeste 25 leguas.

*Martes a 4 del dho mes amanesciendo vimos tierra i era una de las **Yslas de los Ladrones** quel otro viage habian descubierto, i quando la vimos estabamos norte sur con ella en la Ysla de la parte del sur i amainamos para ir sobre ella i llegando zerca della se nos hizo el viento algo mas escaso i el aguazo que nos hechaba para fuera handovimos barlobenteando todo este dia i la noche.*

Miercoles a 5 del dho mes ansi mismo handobimos no la pudiendo tomar i nos vino una canoa con ciertos hombres de la tierra i de lexos nos saluo uno dellos que dentro en la canoa venia a la usanza i manera despaña, en lo qual no marabillamos mucho dello, i hecimos el que viniese avado¹ i el no hosava venir sin que le diesemos seguro, i

1 Ed. note: Transcription error for “avordo”, rather “a bordo”. It is highly unlikely that it is “a nado” (by swimming) because most sailors then could not swim.

Indios de la
 Este mismo día miércoles a la noche surpimos en esta Isla
 una punta que haze en medio de la Isla de este habia
 12 leguas desta punta que esta en medio hasta el Cabo del Oeste
 i se llama Nordene indiente, habia 10 leguas dentro de estos
 Cabos hay buenos Surfidones en esta ensenada del Nordeste
 indiente, estovimos nos otros juntos en lo brava, la Isla es
 unta de razonable manera encima xera toda despoblada
 desde Redon de la mar mucha gente della son hombres de
 buenos cuerpos andar desnudos en Carnes a mostrando
 las naturas las mugeres un: mismo, tienen guerra
 unos Pueblos con otros, en cada Pueblo hay su Rey i adoran
 en los muertos, i quando enterran un hombre principal
 ven questa comida sacan los huesos i adoran ellos, an si me
 mo hacen hierros de dadas con los huesos de sus Enemigos,
 hay mucha Arceite de color que hacen al sol i muchas faras
 de muchas maneras i matan mucho pescado con anzuelos
 de palo i de hueso i con cordeler que hacen con cortera de
 las, en esta Isla nos dixeron que havia otras 12 Islas de la
 misma calidad sino que en algunas dellas havia mucho

A page from Uriarte's logbook for Wednesday 5 September 1526, when his ship was at Guam. He was scandalized to see the natives, women included, wearing no clothes whatsoever. (From the Muñoz transcript from the original that was in the archives in Simancas in 1783, now in BM London, Addl. ms. 17626, folio 24)

ansi le dio el Capitan[,] el Capitan Toribio Alonso de Salazar que al presente era Capitan de la nao, [folio 24] i ansi entro en la nao el dho que nos havia saludado i dixo que era de la nao quel otro viage havia quedado en Maluco quando la otra fue a Castilla i ellos que partieron de maluco con la dha nao por la tierra del Divan¹ ques en la contra costa de las Indias de Castilla, i los tiempos hallaron contrarios i se volvieron a Maluco i se les murio mucha gente en el camino i que aportaron a una Ysla questava al Norte desta en questabamos agora al presente, i por miedo de la muerte huyeron el i otros dos companeros, i ansi se fue la nao a Maluco sin ellos, i estoviendo en aquella dha Ysla dixo que havian matado los Yndios a los otros dos sus companeros i a[fe]ll que le truxieron unos Yndios de la mesma Ysla a esta Ysla en que agora el al presente estaba.

Este mismo dia Miercoles a la noche surjimos en esta dha Ysla i correse por la parte del Norte desdel cabo del este hasta una punta que haze en medio de la Ysla Leste oeste habra 12 leguas [,] desta punta questa en medio hasta el cabo del oeste i se corre Nordeste Sudueste, habra 10 leguas [,] dentro destes cabos hay buenos surgideros en esta ensenada del Nordeste Sudueste, estovimos nosotros surtos en 40 brazas, la Ysla es alta de razonable manera lacima rasa toda y es poblada dende rededor de la mar [con] mala gente[,] son hombres de buenos cuerpos handan desnudos en carnes amostrando las naturas las mugeres ansi mesmo, hacen guerra unos pueblos con otros, en cada pueblo hay su rey i adoran unos muertos, i quando entierran un hombre principal i ven questa comido sacan los huesos i adoran ellos, ansi mesmo hazen hierros de lanzas con los huesos de sus enemigos, hay mucha azeite de cocos que hazen al sol i muchas frutas de muchas maneras i matan mucho pescado con anzuelos de palo i de hueso i con cordeles que hazen con cortezas de arboles, en esta Ysla nos dixieron que havia otras 12 Yslas de la misma calidad sino que en algunas dellas havia mucho [folio 24v] arroz, i ansi mismo en esta Ysla tomamos muchos palominos que tenian lo Yndios en jaulas que ellos no los comian, i ansi mismo en esta Ysla muchas aguas i buenas i esta Ysla tiene una Ysla pequena al norueste [sic]² i es llana i de muy grandes arboledas i muy poblada de gente, habra media legua de la una a la otra.

Viernes a 7 del dho mes de Septiembre tome el altura en esta bahia desta Ysla en 13 grados.³

Domingo 9 del dho mes tomamos 11 hombres desta Ysla de los que venian a vender sus cosas i los tomamos para esclavos por descanso de la gente de la nao porque haciamos mucha agua por mandado del Capitan Toribio Alonso de Salazar.

Lunes a 10 del dho mes antes que amanesciese partimos desta Ysla para ir en busca de las Yslas de Maluco haciendo el camino del oes sudueste y a medio dia tome el altura en 12 grados i 35 minutos.

Martes 11 del dho mes tome el altura en 12 grados i 8 minutos i estava de la dha Ysla de los Ladrones 35 leguas es nordeste oes sudueste de la vanda del norte de la linea.

1 Ed. note: Transcription error for "Darien".

2 Ed. note: This must or should have been written or transcribed as "sudueste". See translation below.

3 Ed. note: There is no entry for Saturday 8 September.

Miercoles a 12 del dho mes tome el altura en 11 grados i 54 minutos hecimos camino al oes sudueste 15 leguas.

Jueves 13 dias del dho mes de Septiembre tome el altura del sol en 11 grados i 18 minutos a la vanda del Norte hecimos camino al oes sudueste 23 leguas.

Viernes 14 del dho mes tome el altura en 10 grados i 54 minutos de la parte del Norte de la linea equinocial hecimos camino al sudueste quarta del oeste 38 leguas.

Sabado 15 del dho mes tome el altura en 9 grados i 11 minutos hecimos camino al sudueste quarta del oeste 23 leguas.

Domingo 16 del dho mes no tome el altura por que no parecio el sol hecimos camino al sudueste quarta del oeste 35 leguas por la singladura.

Lunes 17 del dho mes tome el altura en 7 grados escasos; hecimos camino al sudueste 38 leguas; esta noche dió un aguacero de viento que nos hizo correr al norte, y pasada la medianoche dimos las velas y hecimos camino al norueste que no nos cabía más largo.

Martes 18 del dho mes tome el altura en 8 grados y un tercio, y causolo que habiamos corrido la noche pasada al norte, y la corriente iba para el norte y de aqui volvimos nuestro camino del sudueste.

Miercoles 19 del dho mes tome el altura en 8 grados y 5 minutos; hecimos al sudueste quarta del oeste 20 leguas.

Jueves 20 del dho mes no tome el altura que no parecio el sol; hecimos camino al oeste; halle por la singladura que habiamos andado 14 leguas.

Viernes 21 del dho mes tome el altura en 7 grados 55 minutos; hecimos camino al oeste 13 leguas.

Sabado 22 del dho mes tome el altura en 8 grados a la parte del norte de la linea; hecimos camino al oeste, tomando del norueste 8 leguas.

Domingo 23 del dho mes tome el altura en 7 grados y 25 minutos; hecimos camino al sudueste curta del oeste 15 leguas.

Lunes a 24 del dho mes tome el altura en 7 grados y 5 minutos; hecimos camino al sudueste quarta del oeste 12 leguas.

Martes a 25 del dho mes tome el altura en 6 grados y 4 minutos; hecimos camino al norueste quarta del oeste 20 leguas.

Miercoles a 26 dias del dho mes de setiembre tome el altura en 5 grados y un tercio a la banda del norte de la linea; hecimos camino al sudueste 20 leguas. Este dia en la noche nos dio el viento al sudueste y corrimos al norueste quarta del oeste.

Jueves 27 del dho mes tome el altura en 5 grados y 7 minutos; hecimos camino al norueste quarta del oeste 20 leguas.

Viernes 28 del dho mes tome el altura en 6 grados y 8 minutos a la banda del norte de la linea; hecimos camino al norueste 20 leguas.

Sabado a 29 del dho mes tome el altura en 7 grados y 2 tercios a la banda del norte de la linea; hecimos camino al norueste quarta del oeste 15 leguas.

Domingo 30 del dho mes tome el altura en 7 grados y 43 minutos; hecimos camino al norueste tomando del oeste 15 leguas.

Lunes a primero dia del siguiente mes de octubre del dho año, tome el altura del sol en 8 grados y 28 minutos; hecimos camino al norueste tomando del oeste 8 leguas, con aguaceros que nos echaban al norte.

*Martes 2 dias del dho mes, en saliendo el sol vimos **tierra**; estaba por la parte del oeste 12 leguas de nosotros, y tuvimos calma, que la nao no caminaba ninguna cosa, sino que nos echaba el aguaje para el norte; tome el altura en 8 grados y 55 minutos a la parte del norte.*

...

Jueves a 11 del dho mes ... estudiendo surto en esta bahia, tome el altura en 8 grados y 4 minutos..."

...

Y porque Saavedra puso tan buena diligencia con tanto trabajo y peligro, cumplio el mandato de V.M. tan bien, y tiene deseo de hacer muchos mas servicios a V.M., merece que V.M. le haga muchas mercedes, porque nadie se le puede hacer conforme a sus servicios sino V.M.; y ansi se le suplico de mi parte, y ansi quedo esperando el socorro de V.M., la cual Dios Todopoderoso con acrescentamiento de mayores reinos guarde y prospere.

Desta isla i muy leal cibdad de Tidore dia de Corpus Cristi 11 dia del mes de Junio de mill e quinientos e veinte [i ocho].

[Signed: De la Torre]

Visto. Simancas 30 de Septiembre 1783.- Muñoz.

Translation of De la Torre's report

Sacred Cesarian Catholic Majesty,¹

Hernando de la Torre, servant and vassal of Your Royal Majesty, who is presently Captain General and Governor at this island of the Moluccas within the limits of Y.M., kisses the sacred hands and feet of Y.M. to whom it seems proper that I send a report, because God has shown me so much good and favor that it is in my time, rather than at the time of any of the other Captains of the past, that he has given a place and opportunity to write to Y.M., with this caravel² that Y.M. has ordered sent here from New Spain to find out about these exiled sons of Eve who are always requesting succor from Y.M., because we have so much in need of it. Well, my own good fortune has been such that in my time we reached these parts; that is the reason for me to give Y.M. a full account of what has occurred to us in them, after we arrived at this island of Tidore...

1 Ed. note: Based on the above transcript by Muñoz and Navarrete's edited version.

2 This caravel was the Florida, Captain Saavedra, sent by Cortés from Mexico. It had arrived at Tidore on 30 March 1528.

Extracts from Uriarte's logbook

"In the name of God and of Our Lady the virgin Mary, on Monday 24th day of July 1525, on the eve of the feast day of St. James, before daybreak we left La Coruña, headed for Cape Finisterre. On that day the sun[']s elevation] was [not] taken.

...

Saturday 26 May, we came out of the Strait with the wind SW, and it was the feast day of San Alfonso and the eve of Trinity Day.

From Saturday 26 May when we came out of the Strait until Sunday noon today 27 May, we made our way with the needle to the NNW, and covered 25 leagues from Cape Deseado. I did not apply a correction to the needle, because the sun did not appear to take the elevation and see how much westing the needle was making.

Monday 28 May, the sun was taken in $41^{\circ}14'$, we ran NW and reached 85 leagues from Cape Deseado.

Tuesday 29th day of May, the sun was not taken because it did not appear. We headed NW and made 15 leagues.

Wednesday 30 May, the sun was not taken. We headed NW and ran for 12 leagues.

Thursday 31st day of May, I did not take the sun because it did not appear. We ran NW $1/4$ W for 15 leagues.

Friday 1st day of the following month of June of the said year, the sun was not taken because it did not appear. We ran WNW and made 30 leagues with the wind NW [sic]. On this day, neither the caravels nor the patache appeared.

Saturday 2nd day of June, I did not take the sun because it did not appear. The wind blew from the South and we took in the sails. After the first watch, we ran with [only] the lower foresail and, on Sunday, with a heavy sea and force of wind, we ran N $1/4$ NW for a distance of 40 leagues.

Sunday 3rd of June, I did not take the sun because it did not appear. We ran N $1/4$ NW with a southerly, and throughout the night with the lower foresail, and on Sunday we raised the mainsail and ran for 24 leagues.

Monday 4th of June, the sun was taken in $42^{\circ}1/2$. The resultant course made from Cape Deseado to here was NW, and we were 200 leagues from Cape Deseado along a line bearing NW—SE with it.

Tuesday 5 June, the sun was not taken because it did not appear. We headed WNW and ran 20 leagues. Tuesday at night, from noon until midnight, we headed NW and ran 12 leagues.

On this day, after midnight, until Wednesday noon today 6th of June, we headed N and made 7 leagues. On this day the sun was taken in 41° . This latitude gave us a point which was with respect to Cape Deseado 288 leagues along a NW—SE line with the cape. From Santa Cruz until here, the needles showed some westing.

From noon today until Wednesday night, we headed N with a westerly, and covered 13 leagues.

From midnight on, the wind turned to NW and we headed NE 1/4 E until today Thursday 9 o'clock, and ran 8 leagues. At 9, we tacked to W with the same wind. On this day which is 7 June at noon, the sun was taken in $39^{\circ}2/3$.

Friday 8th of June, from Thursday noon until today Friday before noon, we headed SW 1/4 W with a light NW wind. We ran 10 leagues and on this day the sun was not taken.

Saturday 9th day of the month of June, since Friday afternoon the wind turned to SW, and we ran until evening with the lower sails; then about nighttime we took in the lower mainsail, because we were hit by much wind, and we ran with only the lower foresail, and we ran with it until today noon; during the whole of last night, we changed course many times, first NW 1/4 N, then NNW, and finally NE 1/4 E, because the wind was rotating and we were forced to run before it. All these conjectured headings resulted in a run to the NNW 37 leagues; on this day, the sun was taken in 38 degrees.

Sunday 10 June; from Saturday noon until today noon we headed NNE, and ran until today morning with the lower foresail and mizzensail, and covered 20 leagues; we found ourselves 355 leagues from Cape Deseado; on this day the sun was taken in 37 degrees.

Monday 11 June, the feast day of San Bernabé, the sun was taken in 35 degrees, and on this day the sun was in the Tropic of Cancer; the heading was NW and we figured that we had covered 45 leagues, putting us $387\text{-}1/2$ leagues from Cape Deseado.

Tuesday 12th day of June, I did not take the sun because it did not appear, and from Monday noon until today in the morning, we headed NE 1/4 N, and covered 13 leagues with the wind NNW; on this day in the morning we tacked to WSW for two hours, and then tacked back to NE with the same wind.

Wednesday 13 June, the sun was taken in 32 degrees $1/3$, we headed NNW and the resulting run for Tuesday and today Wednesday was NNE, with 50 leagues covered during these two days, placing us at 400 leagues from Cape Deseado.

Thursday 14 June, the sun was not taken because it did not appear; we headed NE 1/4 E with the wind NNW, and made 25 leagues.

Friday 15th of June, the sun was not taken because it did not appear; we headed NE and covered 25 leagues.

Saturday 16 June, the sun was taken in 29 degrees $1/2$; he headed N 1/4 NW 21 leagues, and it was according to the map of **Nuño García** 435 leagues from Cape Deseado and, following this chart SW [SE?], I end up 37 leagues on the NE side of Cape San Ildefonso which is a cape in the Strait; and according to the map of **Diego Rive-ro**, I am from Cape Deseado 460 leagues, and going SSE, I end up 30 leagues on the SW side of Cape Deseado.

Sunday 17 June, the sun was not taken because it could not be taken well.

Monday 18 June, the sun was taken in 28 degrees $2/3$; Sunday and Monday we headed WNW and it appeared that we had covered 30 leagues during these 48 hours.

Tuesday 19 June, the sun was not taken; until Monday after midnight, we headed W 1/4 SW and covered 7 leagues, and afterward on Tuesday before daybreak, we tacked

to NE; this until the afternoon, and we headed NE 1/4 N with scarce winds and made 5 leagues.

Wednesday 20 June, the sun was not taken, and from Tuesday afternoon the wind blew from SSW; we headed NW 1/4 W and made 13 leagues; and until now I have not given the leeway to NW of the needle, which was by now more than one point.

Thursday 21th of the said month, the sun was not taken; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Friday 22nd of the said month, I took the sun in 27 degrees and 4 minutes; we headed WSW.

Saturday 23th of the said month, I took the sun in 27 and 10 minutes; we headed W and a little SW.

Sunday 24th of the said month, I took the sun in 26 degrees 1/2.

Monday 25th of the said month, I took the sun in 26 degrees and 50 minutes; we headed W and a little SW.

Tuesday 26th of the said month, I did [not] take the sun; we headed WSW and at night we had so much wind that we could not maintain the sails.

Wednesday 27th day of the said month, I took the sun in 24 degrees; we headed NNW.

Thursday 28th of the said month, I took the sun in 24 degrees; we headed NNW.

Friday of the said month the 29th, I took the sun in 23 degrees 1/4; we headed NNW.

Sunday¹ 1st day of the following month of July, I took the sun in 21 degrees and 8 minutes; we headed N and somewhat NW.

Monday 2nd day of the said month, I took the sun in 20 degrees and 18 minutes; we headed N and a little NW.

Tuesday 3rd day of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed W 1/4 NW.

Wednesday 4th day of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed W 1/4 NW.

Thursday 5th day of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed WNW.

Friday 6th day of the said month, I took the sun in 18 degrees and 14 minutes; we headed WNW.

Saturday 7th of the said month, I took 27 degrees and 6 minutes; we headed WNW.

Sunday 8th of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed WSW.

Monday 9th of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed NE.

Tuesday 10th of the said month, I took the sun in 16 degrees and 4 minutes; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Wednesday 11th of the said month, I took the sun in 15 degrees and 8 minutes; we headed NW.

Thursday 12th of the said month of July, I took the sun in 13 degrees and 18 minutes; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Friday 13th of the said month, I took the sun in 12 degrees; we headed NW.

Saturday 14th of the said month, I did not take the sun nor did we cover any distance because we were becalmed.

1 Ed. note: There is no entry for Saturday.

Sunday 15th of the said month, I took the sun in 12 degrees and 12 minutes; we headed W 1/4 NW.

Monday 16th of the said month, I took the sun in 11 degrees 1/2; we headed NW.

Tuesday 17th of the said month, I took the sun in 9 degrees 3/4; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Wednesday 18th of the said month, I took the sun in 8 degrees and we headed NW 1/4 W.

Thursday 19th of the said month, I took the sun in 7 degrees and 2 minutes; we headed NW and a little W.

Friday 20th of the said month, I took the sun in 6 degrees and 25 minutes; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Saturday 21st of the said month, I took the sun in 5 degrees and 38 minutes; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Sunday 22nd of the said month, I took the sun in 6 [4?] degrees and 25 minutes; we headed NW.

Monday 23rd of the said month of July, I took the sun in 2 degrees and 35 minutes; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Tuesday 24th of the said month, I took the sun in 1 degree and 46 minutes; we headed NW and a little W.

Wednesday 25th day of the said month, I took the sun in 41 minutes; we headed NW; this elevation in degrees and minutes has been for southern latitudes.

Thursday 26th of the said month, I took the sun in 20 minutes on the north side of the equinoctial line; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Friday 27th of the said month, I took the sun in 2 degrees and 28 minutes on the N side; we headed NW.

Saturday 28th of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed W.

Sunday 29th of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed NW.

Monday 30th of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed NW.

Tuesday 31st of the said month, I took the sun in 4 degrees and 28 minutes.

Wednesday 1st day of the said month of August, I took the sun in 5 degrees and 16 minutes on the north side; we headed NW.

Thursday 2nd of the said month, I took the sun in 6 degrees and 35 minutes; we headed NW.

Friday 3rd day of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed W.

Saturday 4th of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed NW.

Sunday 5th of the said month, I did not take the sun; we headed NW.

Monday 6th of the said month, I took the sun in 8 degrees 2/3; we headed NW 1/4 W.

Tuesday 7th of the said month, I took the sun in 9 degrees 2/3; we headed NW.

Wednesday 8th of the said month, I did not take the sun because it did not appear; we headed NW 1/4 W. Since yesterday noon until today noon we covered 26 leagues.

Thursday 9th of the said month, I did not take the sun; we made 37 leagues to WNW, with the chart marked off at just under 12 degrees. On this very day all the officers on board agreed with the Captain not to go further north. Because many of our people were dying, we had to make our way to the islands of the Moluccas.¹

Friday 10 of the said month [of August 1526], I took the sun in 12°25' N of the Line. We ran W by N 32 leagues.

Saturday 11 of the said month, I took the sun in 12°35'. Today the sun was at the zenith². We ran W by N 42 leagues.

Sunday 12 of the said month, I took the sun in 12°36'. We ran W 40 leagues.

Monday 13 of the said month, I took the sun's elevation in 12°38'. We ran W by N 43 leagues.

Tuesday 14 of the said month, I took the sun's elevation in 12°38'. We ran W 40 leagues.

Wednesday 15 of the said month, I took the sun's elevation in 12°32' N of the equator. We ran W by N 32 leagues.

Thursday 16 of the said month, I took the sun's elevation in 12°3'. We ran W by N 4 leagues.³

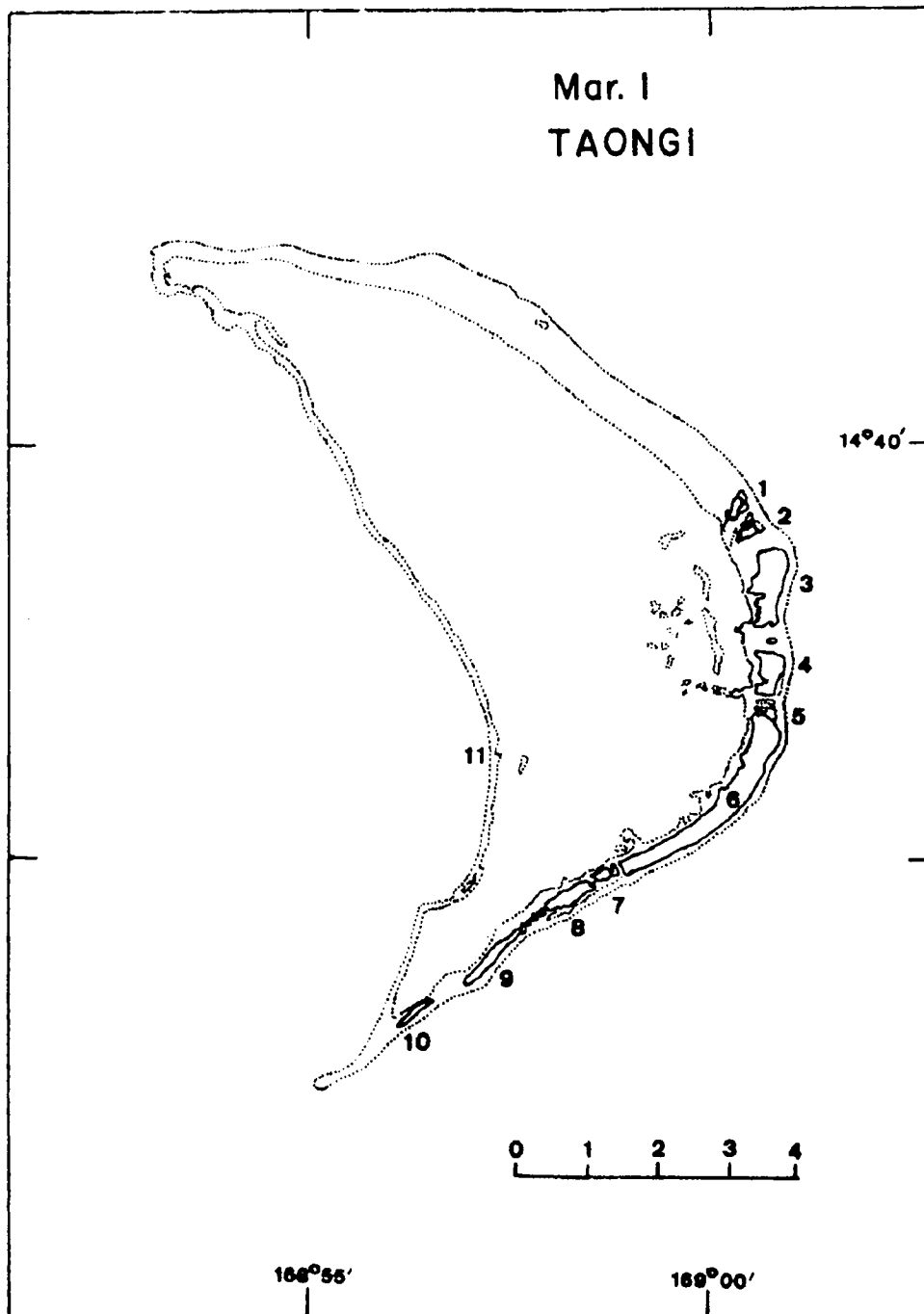
Friday 17 of the said month, I took the sun's elevation in 12°32'. We ran W by N 34 leagues.

Saturday 18 of the said month, I took the sun's elevation in 12°35' N of the equator. We ran W by N 30 leagues.

Sunday 19 of the said month of August, I took the sun in 13°25' and the reason for it was the current that pushed us northward. On this day and past night, we headed W but the point on the chart gave me a run of WNW 28 leagues.

Monday 20 of the said month, I took the sun in 13°34'. We ran W but the elevation gave me a point WNW 30 leagues.

-
- 1 Ed. note: According to Navarrete (Vol. V, p. 46, footnote) who in 1812 re-constructed the track of the Victoria across the Pacific, on top of a chart drawn by Spanish Navy Captain José de Espinosa y Tello in 1812-14, and who corrected it for the known position of Taongi, the ship must have crossed the equator at a longitude of 143°50' W of Cádiz, i.e. 150° W of Greenwich. Dr. Helen Wallis in her thesis has argued that a better estimate for the crossing of the equator was 144° W of Greenwich. Loaysa died soon after, near 4°N, and Elcano followed him a few days later, near 7°N.
 - 2 Ed. note: A puzzle to me, but perhaps not to a true navigator. The sun was at the zenith at noon on that day, 11 August. Shouldn't the latitude then have been about 16° rather than 12°? Was he using a cross-staff, a quadrant or an astrolabe?
 - 3 Ed. note: The transcript says 4 leagues, but was probably 40 leagues, the average daily run that week.



Map of San Bartolome or Taongi, discovered 21 August 1526. (From E. H. Bryan, Jr., "Guide to Place Names", Honolulu, 1971)

[The discovery of Taongi]

Tuesday 21 of the said month, I took the sun in 13°35'. We ran W 18 leagues. Today, Tuesday, after noon we discovered land to the north and then we changed course toward it. We came to within 3 leagues of it, and it was already late afternoon so that we did not dare go closer. We then stood off it all night, and after the second night watch, we veered toward land looking for the island.

Wednesday at 11 in the morning we came near it less than one league and we took soundings but did not find bottom. Today Wednesday at noon, I took the sun being next to the south point of the island in 14°02'.¹

On the southern side of this island, it has a point in the east that is connected to another in the west along a line that runs ENE—WSW for about 10 leagues. From this WSW point, it runs to another point in the NW along a line bearing NW1/4N² for about 9 leagues.

Inside this island on the west side, there was a very big lagoon whose water looked very green. On the east side of this lagoon, there were big trees. Here we beat all day and night without being able to reach it because the current had carried us downwind from it. Thus we agreed to go in search of the Islands of the Ladrões and the Molucas. We named the said island **San Bartolome** because his feast day was celebrated 2 or 3 days earlier.³

Thursday 23 of the said month, I took the sun in 13°40'. We ran W by S 20 leagues.

Friday 24 of the said month, I took the sun in 13°18' N of the Line. We ran W by S 42 leagues. I am from the Island of San Bartolome E by N—W by S 70 leagues.

Saturday 25th day of the said month, I took the sun in 13°25'. We ran W 48 leagues.

Sunday 26 of the said month, I took the sun in 13°25'. We ran W by S 47 leagues.

Monday 27 of the said month of August, I took the sun in 13°38'. We ran W by N 28 leagues.

Tuesday 28 of the said month, I took the sun in 13°28'. We ran W by S for 8 leagues.⁴

Wednesday 29 of the said month, I took the sun in 13°18'. We ran W by N 24 leagues.

Thursday 30 of the said month, I took the sun in 12°45'. We ran W by S 25 leagues.

Friday 31 of the said month, I took the sun in 12°27'. We ran W by S 25 leagues.

Saturday 1st of the next month of September of the said year, I did not take the sun because the sun did not appear. We ran W and I pointed by dead reckoning and found that the daily run had been 25 leagues.

Sunday [2nd] of the said month, I took the sun in 13°40'. We ran W then yawed to NW on account of the squalls. We ran 28 leagues.

Monday 3 of the said month, I did not take the sun. We ran W 25 leagues.

1 Ed. note: The exact latitude, for a point 3 miles south of the south point, is 14°30'N. This is an error of less than half a degree, an excellent result for the times.

2 That is NW by N. Navarrete has given it as "a line running NW5°N—SE5°S", which means the same thing. In any case, the island is much smaller than they estimated it to be.

3 Ed. note: In fact, the feast day was to be celebrated 2 days later, 24 August.

4 Ed. note: Perhaps this run was 18, rather than simply 8, leagues.

Tuesday 4 of the said month, at daybreak we saw land and it was one of the **Ladrones Islands** which they had discovered during the other voyage. When we sighted it we were due south of the southern part of the island. We lowered the sails in order to go to it, and upon nearing it the wind became somewhat scarce and the squall was taking us away. We stood off the whole of that day and night.

On Wednesday, the 5th of the said month, we continued maneuvering without being able to make it. There came to us one canoe with certain men from the land and from afar one of them aboard the canoe hailed us in the manner and style of a Spaniard, which did not fail to surprise us very much. We invited him aboard but he did not dare to come without our first giving him safe conduct. The Captain gave it to him; the Captain of the nao was then Toribio Alonso de Salazar.

So the said man who had hailed us came aboard and said that he was from the nao [Trinidad] that on the other voyage had remained behind in the Moluccas when the other [the Victoria] had gone to Spain.¹ They had left the Moluccas with the said nao to go to the land of Darien which is the coast opposite the Spanish [West] Indies. They met with bad weather and returned to the Moluccas. Many of their people died along the way. Then they touched at an island [i.e. Maug] that was north of this one where we were now at present [i.e. Guam]. For fear of dying, he and two other companions deserted there, and thus the nao went off to the Moluccas without them. While they were at the island in question, he said that the Indians killed the other two of his companions and as for himself, some Indians from the same island brought him to this island where he now lived at present.

[Description of Guam]

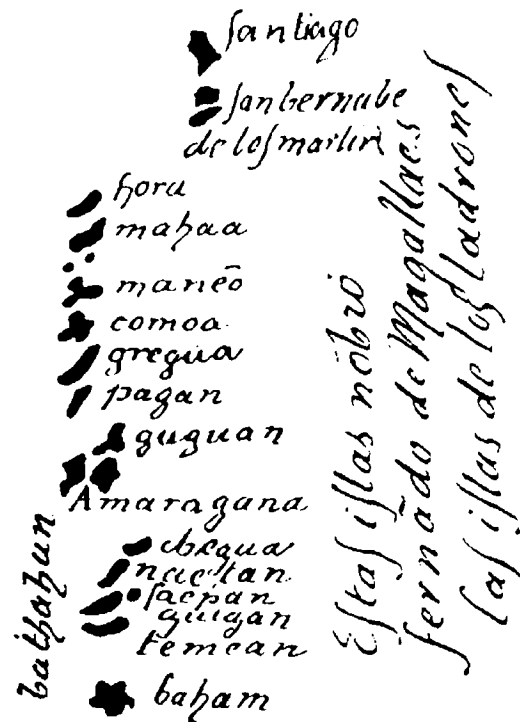
On that same Wednesday at night, we anchored at this island. The land on the north side runs E—W from the eastern cape to a point in the middle of the island² something like 12 leagues. From this point that is in the middle to the western cape, it runs NE—SW something like 10 leagues. Between these two capes, there are good anchorages. In this NE—SW bay, we were ourselves anchored in 40 fathoms.

The island is reasonably high and totally bare on top. It is populated along the coast by bad people. They are men with good bodies. They go around naked in the flesh, showing their natures, the women as well as the men. They make war one town against another. Each town has its own king. They worship some dead people. When they bury one of the leading men and they see that [the body] is rotten away, they pull out the bones and worship them. They as well make tips for lances out of the bones of their enemies. There is plenty of oil from coconuts which they make in the sun.³ There are many fruits of various types. They kill [sic] plenty of fish with fishhooks made of either wood or bone and with lines which they make out of tree bark.

1 Ed. note: He was Gonzalo Alvarez de Vigo, N° 147 on Magellan's crew list.

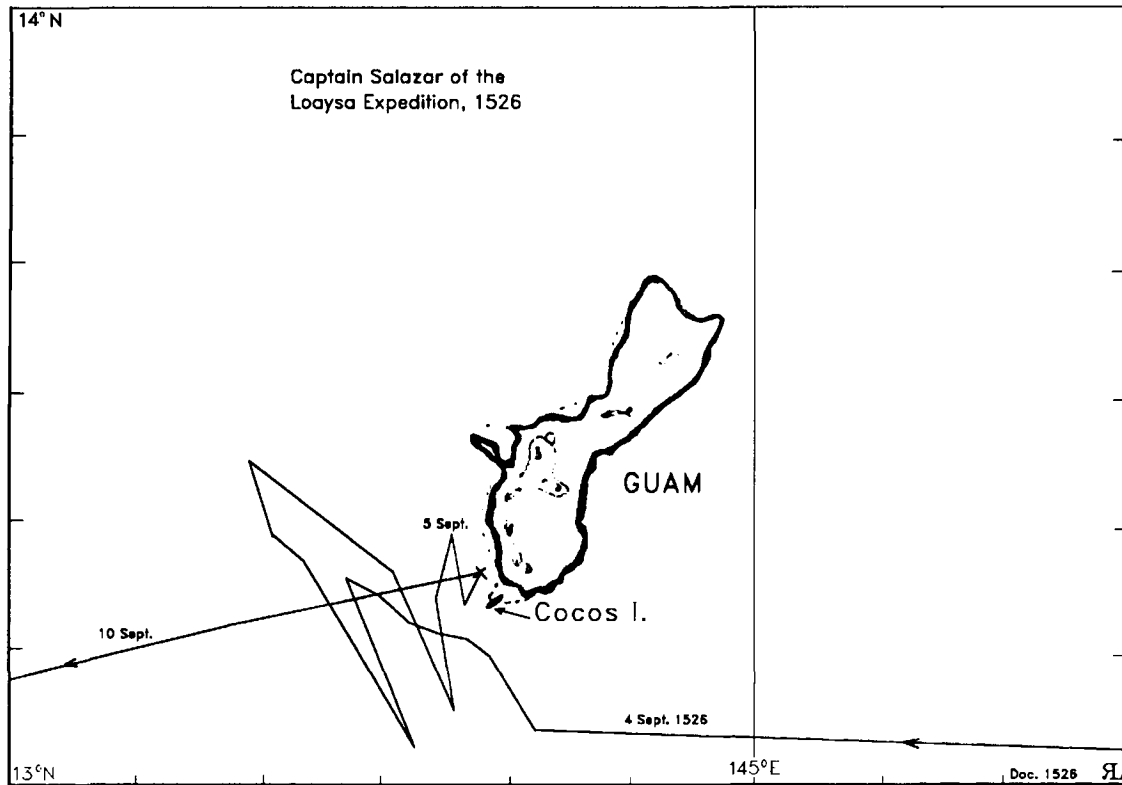
2 Ed. note: Orote Point.

3 Ed. note: That is what is said literally. What is meant, of course, is that they make sun-dried copra from which they later express the oil.



Map of the Ladrone or Marianas by Sebastian Cabot, 1544. The information for it may have come from the deserter Gonzalo de Vigo. The three islands at the top belong to another group. The caption on the right means: "These islands were named by Fernando de Magallanes the islands of the Ladrone". This list of 13 (rather than 14) islands is to be compared with those appearing of the Portuguese map in Document 1522D:

1. Baham = Guahan or Guam;
2. Bathahun = Rota(?); if so, the island itself is missing;
4. Temean = Tinian (also written Tenian);
3. Guigan = Aguijan;
5. Saepan = Saipan;
6. Naetan = Anatahan;
7. Chegua = Sarigan;
9. Amaragana = Alamagan;
8. Guguan = Guguan;
10. Pagan = Pagan;
11. Gregua = Agrigan;
12. Comoa = Asunción today, then Sonson, hardly recognizable;
- Maneo = No corresponding island, but probably a duplicate of the Maug Islands;
13. Mahaa = Maug (shown correctly as consisting of 3 islets);
14. Hora = Urac or Uracas.



The track of the Santa Maria de la Victoria, Captain Salazar, in the vicinity of Guam in September 1526, as described by Martín de Uriarte.

At this island, we were told that there are 12 other islands of the same type except that in some of them rice is plentiful.

Also at this island we took many doves which the Indians keep in cages but do not eat themselves. Also, in this island there is an abundance of water, and good too. This island has a small island to the northwest [sic]¹; it is flat with big trees and is very populated. There is about half a league from one to the other.

Friday on the 7th of the said month of September, I took the sun in this bay of this island in 13 degrees.²

1 Ed. note: An obvious transcription error for southwest, because only Cocos I. can fit this description.

2 Ed. note: The wide bay NW of Cocos is at 13°15', a remarkably accurate result for the time. By the way, there is no entry for Saturday 8 September.

[11 Guamanians become slaves for one month]

Sunday 9 of the said month, we took 11 men from this island from among those who had come to sell their things and we took them as slaves in order to provide the people of the nao some rest because it leaked badly. This was by order of Captain Toribio Alonso de Salazar.¹

Monday, on the 10th of the said month, before daybreak, we took our departure from this island to go in search of the Moluccas, heading WSW and at noon I took the sun in 12°32'.

Tuesday 11 of the said month, I took the sun in 12°8' and I was from the said island of the Ladrones 32 leagues ENE—WSW on the north side of the Line.

Wednesday on the 12th of the said month, I took the sun in 11°54'. We ran WSW 15 leagues.

Thursday the 13th day of the said month of September, I took the sun's elevation in 11°18' N. We ran WSW 23 leagues.²

Friday 14 of the said month, I took the sun in 10°54' N of the equatorial line. We ran SW by S 38 leagues.

Saturday 15 of the said month, I took the sun in 9°11'. We ran SW by W 23 leagues.

Sunday 16 of the said month, I did not take the sun because it did not appear. We ran SW by W 35 leagues by dead reckoning.

Monday 17 of the said month, I took the sun in just under 7 degrees³; we made SW 38 leagues; this evening we were hit by a wind storm that made us run N, and past midnight we made sail and headed NW as we could not follow a greater heading.

Tuesday 18th of the said month, I took the sun in 8 degrees 1/3, as a result of the northward run of last night, and the current ran northward and from here we returned to a SW heading.

Wednesday 19th of the said month, I took the sun in 8 degrees and 5 minutes; we headed SW 1/4 W 20 leagues.

Thursday 20th of the said month, I did not take the sun because it did not appear; I found by dead reckoning to have covered 14 leagues.

Friday 21st of the said month, I took the sun in 7 degrees and 55 minutes; we made W 13 leagues.

Saturday 22nd of the said month, I took the sun in 8 degrees north of the line; we headed W and a little NW 8 leagues.

Sunday 23rd of the said month, I took the sun in 7 degrees and 25 minutes; we headed SW 1/4 W for 15 leagues.

Monday 24th of the said month, I took the sun in 7 degrees and 5 minutes; we headed SW 1/4 W for 12 leagues.

1 Ed. note: This last sentence was probably added to Uriarte's text by De la Torre, to cover himself.

2 Ed. note: This is the date generally regarded as the day Captain Salazar died.

3 Ed. note: So they passed west of Yap and Palau without sighting either group. They were then hit by a big storm that forced them to zigzag until they reached Mindanao at the beginning of October.

Tuesday 25th of the said month, I took the sun in 6 degrees and 4 minutes; we headed NW 1/4 W for 20 leagues.

Wednesday 26th of the said month of September, I took the sun in 5 degrees and 1/3 on the north side of the line; we headed SW 20 leagues. On this day, during the night the wind hit us from the SW and we ran NW 1/4 W.

Thursday 27th of the said month, I took the sun in 5 degrees 7 minutes; we headed NW 1/4 W for 20 leagues.

Friday 28th of the said month, I took the sun in 6 degrees 8 minutes north of the line; we made NW 20 leagues.

Saturday 29th of the said month, I took the sun in 7 degrees 2/3 on the north side of the line; we headed NW 1/4 W 15 leagues.

Sunday 30th of the said month, I took the sun in 7 degrees 43 minutes; we headed NW a little W 15 leagues.

Monday the 1st day of the following month of October of the said year, I took the sun in 8 degrees 28 minutes; we headed NW a little W 8 leagues, with squalls that pushed us north.

Tuesday 2nd day of the said month, when the sun came out we saw **land**; it was to the west 12 leagues from us, and we were almost becalmed as the nao did not make way, but the current was taking us north. I took the sun in 8 degrees 55 minutes.

Wednesday the 3rd day of the said month of October, I took the sun in 8 degrees 58 minutes; we were not making any headway, and stayed in the same parts as yesterday.

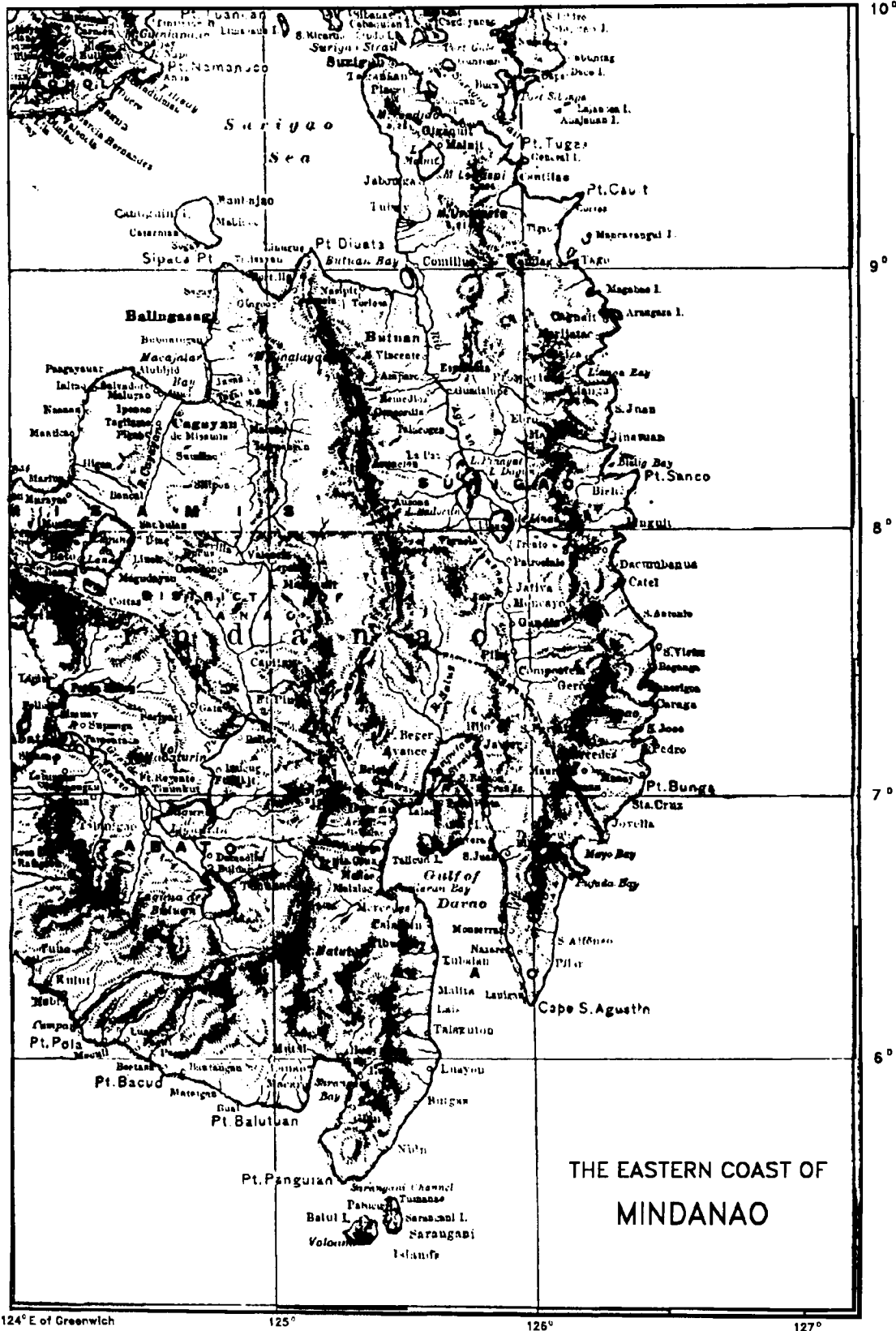
Thursday 4th of the said month, I took the sun in 9 degrees. We did not make any headway since yesterday on account of the great calm, except that the water was taking us here and there.

Friday 5th of the said month, I did not take the sun as it did not appear, and we were still becalmed.

Saturday 6th of the said month, we got a northwesterly and we went in search of the land that we had seen in the SW, and we got near the land, but did not find bottom to anchor. So, as we were coasting the island, we saw a bay that went inland for 4 to 5 leagues, and we went in that way as far as one league, and anchored among some islands that were inside in 40 fathoms.

Sunday 7th of the said month, the boat went ashore to see which land it was and what people were there, and whether there was a better anchorage further inside. I found that there was an anchorage and good running waters.

Monday 8th of the said month, we raised anchor from where we had been, and went through the bay up as far as the cape of the bay, and anchored in 50 fathoms; the whole bay is also soundable. Abreast of this anchorage, at 1/4 league, there were many very good rivers, and we picked one that looked suitable. While we were there, the king of a town visited the nao with much friendship, and brought many chickens to sell, and the captain bartered them for some [strings of] glass beads. This king and a few of those who came with him had some earrings of gold that might weigh from 1 ducat to 1-1/2 ducats each, and they were giving each one for half a fathom of beads. The captain did



Map of the east coast of Mindanao Island.

not consent nor wished to mention gold, so that they would not think that we coveted it, and thus it was done.

Tuesday next, the 9th of the said month of October in the morning, the boat went ashore. While we were making friends with the local king who wished to give us some provisions, there came a man from Malacca, and he told the king not to give us anything nor make friends with us, that eventually we would kill them; this man was saying that, thinking we were Portuguese, as he already knew their ways. As he was saying this, they all fled and we could never engage conversation with them, and so the boat returned to the nao without anything collected.

Wednesday 10th of the said month before daybreak, the 11 slaves whom we had taken at the island of the Ladrones fled in the same canoe that we had taken from them, and so we were at this port in which we could never make friends with those ashore nor see any provisions.¹

Thursday 11th of the said month, the boat went ashore once more, and they took one Indian from the land with one pig, and so they brought him to the nao out of spite, as they had not wished to give us any provisions for our moneys. This island is called Polo.² Its people are heathens, they worship idols; these idols are fashioned by them with wood, and they paint them as best they can like our *santos*. In every village, there is a king; some of them are at enmity with one another. The Indian we took told us that there is much gold in the western part of the island, where they would take it from below the ground and sift it with some racks, according to what he told us by signs. While we were anchored in this bay, I took the sun in 8 degrees 4 minutes.³

Monday 15th of the said month of October, we departed this port in this island to go to another island that is called Cebu, which is to the northwest. However, when we were outside the capes, we were hit by a wind from the NNW, contrary to our purpose, and so we had to turn back to go in search of the islands of the Moluccas. The said island on its east side runs NW—SE.”⁴

...

De la Torre's mention of Saavedra's ship and how he learned about the fate of his companion ship Parral

While our men were fighting at the said place of Toguale [in Gilolo], about which I have given an account to Y.M. above, they saw a nao sailing that came from the high sea in search of the Moluccas, and it came near this town where our men were fighting

1 Ed. note: It is not known whether some of the Guamanians ever made it back home, but it is quite possible. However, one year later, two Guamanians were reported as still living along that coast (See Doc. 1527B).

2 Ed. note: My educated guess is that the word “polo”, or something like it “pulo” or “pulô”, simply means “island” in most languages of the area, and was not its proper name.

3 Ed. note: From the latitude and earlier description, it appears that this bay was Bislig Bay, called Bisaya Bay in other accounts.

4 Ed. note: It is N by W, almost N—S. The excerpt from the log ends here.

and they, thinking it might be a Spanish ship, fired a shot with an arquebus and three or four with a carbine so that the ship would recognize that there were Christian people there and would stop for the night and wait until morning for further signal from the shore. The captain and the people aboard the ship did understand and they then responded with another three shots from the ship itself. That night the ship tacked offshore and in the morning tacked back to shore; as our men heard that the nao had responded, they went that night to Gilolo [town] to inform the king about the ship, in order for him to give them two or three proas in order to go with two or three men to find out from that ship what people they were, and where they came from. The king then ordered to give three well-equipped proas to those who wished to go, and they in turn left that same night and met the ship at daybreak. They saluted them and asked them where they came from. They answered that they were from Spain and vassals of Y.R.M., and they brought out a royal banner by which our men recognized the truth of what they said, and then they went aboard the ship and were happy with one another. Three men stayed aboard the ship and one returned to Gilolo to tell the king about the ship in question being from Spain, and to ask for a proa to come to Tidore and let me know, and also to ask for help because a fusta had already left Ternate to go to the said ship, as the night before they had heard the gunners.

When it was learned here which ship it was, the joy was so great that we could not believe it, but the messenger was in a hurry, because he said that the Portuguese fusta was bombing the ship and that he had heard the shots as he was coming [to Tidore]. Our own fusta was then made ready (it was already on standby) and it left at nightfall with 40 well-equipped men.

The Portuguese had gone to the ship with their fusta and asked those aboard where they came from. The captain of the ship answered that he was from Spain. The Portuguese asked which country he was from, Castile or Portugal? The captain answered once more that he was from Castile, and a vassal of Y.M. The captain of the fusta said: Well and good, that is what we need in these islands. The captain answered that he came in search of the Moluccas, because there was there a governor and captain general of Y.M. and that he was bringing him some provisions, to which the captain of the fusta answered that there was no captain nor governor, as he had called it, in these islands; rather, a nao from Castile had arrived whose captain had been Commander Fray García de Loaysa, who had died along the way, and that the nao had taken port here and had become lost inside the port here, that they had then built a small ship and they had all embarked in it to return to Spain; that this land belongs to the king of Portugal, and he requested the captain of the ship, in the name of the King of Portugal, as a fortress had been built in the island of Ternate, that he should go there to anchor, that he would be given everything he needed there, because the King of Portugal has so ordered. The captain of the ship answered that he did not bring instructions from Y.M. to that effect, but rather he was to go directly to the island of Tidore, and that once he had complied with his orders, if he should not find any Spaniard at the island of Tidore, he

would then go to the fortress of the King of Portugal; then he requested the captain of the fusta to let him pass to comply with what Y.M. had ordered.

When the captain of the fusta saw that his talking and promises got nowhere, he then ordered that a large mortar gun that they carried in the middle of the bow be fired. Fire was applied to it three times, but it pleased God Our Lord that it never caught. Meanwhile, our men were not responding. When the Portuguese saw that their gun did not fire, they began to unload the cannon by its mouth; meanwhile, they began to fire some smaller guns to which the ship responded in kind. At about this time, the wind arose and the ship moved so fast that the fusta could neither catch nor overtake it. They went to put themselves in the harbor of Gilolo, and anchored there, because they were unable to come to Tidore...

The ship came later in company with the fusta and many other proas that were towing it, and came to anchor here at the island of Tidore, on Monday 30th day of the month of March of the year 1528. Now I should say more about the ship and the things it carried.

As it were, the three ships that Don Hernán Cortés, governor of New Spain, had made ready in the South Sea were despatched in accordance with what Y.M. had ordered him, in order to come to these parts of the Moluccas to look for Commander Fray García de Loaysa, God bless his soul. These ships made it to the Ladrões Islands in sixty days, and five or six days before they got to them, two ships got separated; so that left one who was the flagship which, at something like 90 leagues from Tidore, at an island on the north side of the line, called Bisaya, it ransomed three men who had come in the caravel named **Santa María del Parral** which had been lost there, as Y.M. will see later. At about 200 leagues from this island here, the pilot of this ship whom Don Hernán Cortés had sent died, and it was left without another knowledgeable about latitudes, and they sure were lucky to be able to make it this far. Later on, the work of repairing it was begun, and then it was despatched quickly to let Y.M. know what was happening here.

On Wednesday 28 April of the said year, while the ship was being repaired and careened, I sent a proa to the island of Machian with four men from among our Spaniards to get goats for provisioning the ship...

...

On the 22nd day of the month of May, after the seizure of the [Portuguese] galley, the Portuguese received six ships to their succor from Malacca; they were: one galiot, one brig, three ships and a large junk. As captain of the fleet, there came Gonzalo García de Acevedo; he brought in all 150 men, and with those in the fortress, that made a total of 190.

Y.M. will learn that, after we lost the caravels **Santa María del Parral** and **San Lesmes**, and the patache [Santiago], we never heard anything from them until we got to these islands of the Moluccas. After 10 months had passed, which was in October 1527, I received news from some Indians from the islands of the Celebes who came to these islands how they had heard overthere in the islands of the Celebes that at an is-

land named Sarangani one nao had been lost, and they were saying that it came from Spain; that the Indians had killed and taken prisoners those who came aboard the said nao, and that they had taken and stolen all the goods and guns, as well as all the other things aboard; and then, after they had so taken it, they set fire to the nao in order to recover the ironworks, because they could not take advantage of them any other way.

As for myself, I then wished to send someone to find out what nao it was, but I did not have any ship with oars, and not enough proas to spare, on account of the Portuguese being in Ternate, I did not dare send any so as not to abandon the country, as the Portuguese would have taken possession of it. They were then very powerful in it, because they had one fusta, one boat, one brig, two caravels, and many men, almost twice our number. Rather, I was waiting for this fusta of Y.M. that was being built at Gilolo, and some proas that were being built here at Tidore. Then, after the said fusta and proas were completely finished, and ready to go on the said voyage, I received the news that a nao had come from Spain and that it was as far as 10 leagues from the island and place of Gilolo, and as soon as I learned of it, the fusta and the proas being ready, I then sent them to learn what nao it was and to assist it against the fusta and boat of the Portuguese who were bombing it. When the Portuguese learned that our fusta was coming to the rescue of the nao, they returned to Ternate and their fortress. When our fusta came alongside the nao, it asked who they were, and they answered that they had come from New Spain on orders from Y.M. and despatched by Hernán Cortés, marquis and governor of New Spain, that the captain was Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón, who had brought along two other ships, and that they had become separated on the other side of the Ladrones Islands, and that they had never seen them again. So, they all came to this port, the fusta, the proas and the said ship. Captain Saavedra Cerón then stepped ashore and gave me a letter from Your Royal Majesty addressed to Commander Loaysa, may he rest in peace, and [the copies of] another letter and the instruction from Y.M. to Hernán Cortés for him to despatch these ships in relief of Commander Loaysa and his fleet. After I had received them, I undertook to despatch the said captain Saavedra to let Y.M. know the events here.

Y.M. will learn that the three men from the caravel **Santa María del Parral** who were ransomed by Captain Saavedra, as I have said above, gave me an extensive account of the manner in which the said caravel was lost. One of the men was named Sebastián de Porto; he told me that they had arrived at an island that is called Bisaya, where we ourselves had anchored with this nao, and that upon arrival they sent the boat ashore with 14 well-equipped men, and with them the Bachelor Tarragona to make friends and peace with the Indians, in order to obtain some food supplies which they then needed. Upon arriving ashore, the Indians then came to them to find out who they were, and so they began to make peace as best they could, by embracing one another in sign of friendship. Bachelor Tarragona gave them some trade goods and by signs they told them they would come back the next day to the beach with many pigs and foodstuffs, and that it the understanding they had of what the others were saying with their signs, because they had no other language with which to communicate. With this

much, they returned to the caravel, and Bachelor Tarragona narrated to Don Jorge [de Manrique], captain of the caravel, how he had made friends with the Indians and how he had arranged for them to bring many pigs and other foodstuff the next day when they went with the boat. That night, Don Jorge and Bachelor Tarragona talked it over and agreed that the next day the same Bachelor would go back with the boat ashore with 13 or 14 men to barter for the said food supplies as agreed with the Indians. Later in the morning, Bachelor Tarragona entered the boat with the said men and went ashore to get the said supplies. After he was gone, Captain Don Jorge and all the people left aboard the caravel were very happy, giving thanks to God for having brought them to a plentiful land.

This same day, at perhaps 10 o'clock, five large canoes came alongside with much food and all the Indians in them brought their bows and arrows, lances, and shields. The captain ordered that no-one was to barter anything on the pain of death, saying that the boat was ashore, and there they would find the food cheaper, so he ordered the canoes to go away, that he did not wish to barter anything. When they saw that we did not barter anything with them, they went toward the shore where the boat had gone. So, the poor people aboard were left with the great desire to see the boat return to kill the great hunger they had, and while they were with this worry, night fell and the boat had not returned. Everyone was wondering what could have happened to it. Some were saying that it was delayed on account of the quantity of food, while others were saying that perhaps they had gotten into some disaster with the Indians about the barter. As talks progressed, midnight arrived and still it had not come; so, they fired two or three shots to see if they would be answered but they did not. Thus, the whole night was spent with much pain and suffering, and they remained there for the whole of the next day and night, and the boat never came; they realized then that the boat had indeed been lost.

[The strange story of the mutiny aboard the Parral]

He ordered those with some food left to lock it up. When the said Sebastián del Porto saw that the captain had ordered those with any food left to lock it up, and also because the captain had threatened him to the effect that at the first land encountered he would punish him for a certain grudge he held against him, for fear of that, and on account of the hunger that tormented him, he decided to abandon the nao and go ashore with the hope that one day some ship would come from Spain and take him, that he could not stand so much hunger and labor, so he put it into practice.

His two other companions, who are called Romay and Sánchez respectively, narrated to me, after the said Sebastián had gone, the rest of the story. The following day in the morning, Don Jorge ordered the sails to be set to get near the shore to look for his boat and people. When they got near the shore, they saw many Indians on a beach, and asking them as best they could about the boat and people, the Indians made a sign with their hand to their throat, as if to cut it, the better to say that they had all been killed. Upon seeing such signs, they believed it was true, and so, they moved beyond a point 2 or 3 leagues from there. They anchored and stayed there for 4 or 5 days, and

no canoe ever came alongside. When they were about to leave, a leading man from the country came with 2 or 3 canoes loaded with food, and the captain asked that only one canoe would come at a time, and that they would barter for everything they had brought. The Indians understood them very well; the leading man ordered the canoes to move off, and he came with his to barter everything they had brought. After everything had been bartered, he went ashore and said he would return the next day to bring many pigs and other food, and so he did; then the next day in the morning, there came alongside another 7 or 8 canoes with much foodstuff and, following the same procedure as the previous day, what they had brought was bartered.

When they had already almost finished trading, Don Jorge and his brother Don Diego were on the poop channels attending to the said trade, and Benavides had his chest sticking out over them; the Indians who were trading, when they saw that, took Don Jorge and Don Diego by the arms and legs and threw them overboard; they never appeared. Then, the Indians who were in the other canoes began to throw many poisoned arrows, stones and other weapons they had brought, and they hit Juan de Benavides with a poisoned arrow in the chest and he later died that night. They also killed two other men who were sick over the quarterdeck. Those aboard the nao, not knowing what to do, a gunner decided to let them have it from a gun he had already primed, and he fired without aiming, so, they pulled off a little from the nao, and then he primed for another shot and fired again, so that they went back ashore. Those aboard the nao were all left saddened and disconsolate because of the great disaster that had befallen them, having lost the boat with 14 men, and now to have their captain killed, with his brother, and three more, leaving only 19 of them alive. They began to weigh an anchor they had overboard but they could not lift it on account of their small number. So, they let go of the cable and made sail, going wherever the wind and current would take them, because they did not have a pilot nor seaman, nor anyone who knew how to manage the sails. At the end of two or three days of sailing that way, they arrived in view of an island called Sarangani, and when they got near it, they saw a very good beach and they all discussed among themselves about what to do, and all agreed that, without a captain nor pilot nor able seamen, not even a boat, that a storm one night could throw them against the coast where they would be lost, so they all agreed to drive the caravel aground on that beach in Sarangani. However, as they were arriving near the beach, they were jumped by a headwind which cast them aside upon some rocks. The caravel was left leaning over on one side, and the Indians of the island came and began to fight with them. They shot back with some carbines and guns and made the Indians flee. The next day the Indians returned in larger numbers and began battle with many arrows, stones, lances, short spears and many other weapons, in such a way that they made them retreat to the poop. This man affirms that a servant of Don Jorge named San Miguel was killed then and there by a stone that hit him on a cheek. They threw him overboard and, for this reason, they retreated and give up. The Indians came into the nao, killed a few of them, and captured the rest, taking the goods and all the rest, as I have

already said to Y.M. Those who were captured in the nao, they say there were 7 or 8 of them alive, that they were distributed and some sold to other islands.

Four to five days after Captain Saavedra had arrived, I ordered that three proas be made ready to go to those islands to look for the two ships that had come in his company, and to look for the men of the **Parral** left there. Well then, in the said proas, there were 10 Spaniards, including Sánchez and Sebastián de Porto. Then on Easter Sunday of this year, in the morning, Sánchez and Romay came to see me to ask permission to go to a place on this island to look for food to be taken by Sánchez, as he had to go with the proas. I told them to go and get what they wanted.

On that same day, at 2 in the afternoon, many Indians from a place of this island called Mariecu, which is facing Ternate, came to me with Sánchez and Romay whom they held prisoners with their hands tied and their shirt off, and they said that they had tried to flee to Ternate. They denied ever having had such an intention but had been going around the island looking for a goat. As for myself, I thought it was so, because they had recently come to this country and did not yet know the local idiom, and thinking that the Indians had done it to rob them, I therefore did not pursue the truth further.

Two days hence, the proas left to look for the ships and Sánchez with them. At the end of 4 or 5 days after their departure, there came to me a certain man called Pedro de Raigada, supernumerary aboard Y.M.'s fleet. He told me how Romay had told him one night, when he slept at his inn, that if he promised to be discreet he would tell him a little secret. He promised to do so, then the said Romay told him: "You should know that the Indians who brought me the other day were right, because we surely would have gone to Ternate." Pedro de Raigada asked him why he was going to Ternate and Romay answered: "Pedro, I will tell you. You should know that everything we said about the loss of the caravel, and everything else, is all lies." Pedro answered: "In what way?" "You should know that Sánchez, myself, another called Fernando del Oyo, yet another Juan de Olave and four or five others more, all in all about 9 or 10 companions, we killed Captain Don Jorge, his brother Don Diego and Benavides, and after they were dead threw them overboard. After we had done that, we drove the caravel aground upon its side at Sarangani where the loss was complete. That is the reason why he feared the proas going overthere to ransom the Spaniards who are still there, that the evil they had done could not but be discovered, and they were going to Ternate on account of this fear.

When I saw such a big clue, thinking that it could be so, I ordered Romay to be arrested. Later, I had certain questions put to him in the case, and he denied everything, saying that it was all false, that someone was trying to frame him, upon which I had some treatment applied to him. Still he said that it was false, that some people were doing him harm. I, seeing that nothing, not even torture nor treatments they applied to him made him say anything, I agreed to have him put in jail until the return of the three proas that had gone in search of the ships, in order to get the truth out of Sánchez.

Therefore, I ordered that a proa be sent to contact the three proas; I ordered the arrest of Sánchez, and so the proa went after them, and found them at the port of Zamafó, which is land belonging to the king of Tidore, and it gave the letters it carried to the Spaniards. As for Sánchez, as he had anticipated what it could be, became fearful at the approach of the proa and the handing over of the letters, he then tried to go ashore, saying that he was going to relieve himself, with a sword in the hand, and he no longer returned. Meanwhile, the others in the proa read the letters that I was sending, and saw what I was telling them, they began to call after him, but he did not answer. A few days later, it was learned that he was at a place in Ternate. The three proas returned from that port, the Indians saying that they did not wish to go farther, because the wind and sea were stormy, that the proas would get lost, and so, they returned to this port of Tidore. Therefore, the said Romay will remain in prison until the truth is learned about his crimes.¹

...

Y.M. will learn that at the time that Captain Saavedra came, we had a great need of many things: lead, as well as other ball-type ammunition for the cannon and other shots, and many other things. He arrived at just the right time and we were all made happy with his arrival. We all marvelled at the fact that it had come from New Spain, because here we had had very little news about that country. He brought many things of which we were in extreme necessity, for example, he brought a very good pharmacy with many drugs and ointments, and many other things belonging to the said pharmacy; he also brought three brass cannon, and left two of them here with 7 or 8 iron arquebuses and many other things, except gunpowder, which he did not bring, and at the departure they were to have given him some powder. It is surely one of the greatest services that Don Hernán Cortés has done to Y.M. by doing his best to fulfill his mandate. Not only did he despatch these three ships, but later undertook to build and equip four more to come to these parts, the better to comply with what the service of Y.M. requires.

Because Saavedra did his best with so much work and risk, fulfilled Y.M.'s mandate so well, and wished to do more to serve Y.M., so, I beg of you on my behalf, and await

¹ Ed. note: De la Torre does not mention the follow-up story of the execution of Romay, that followed a letter sent by a Flemish soldier who had witnessed the crimes, one of the five or so who had remained behind as a slave somewhere in the Celebes Sea.

succor from Y.M. whom God Almighty may keep and give to him additional kingdoms.

From this island and very loyal city of Tidore, on the day of Corpus Christi, the 11th day of the month of June 152[8].”

[Signed by De la Torre]

Transcribed at Simancas, 30 Sept. 1783.- Muñoz.¹

1 Ed. note: Juan Bautista Muñoz was a Spanish historian who, by order of King Carlos III, had transcribed a mass of documents in AGI Seville, at Simancas and other places, in order to publish an official history of Spanish discoveries. Only Vol. I, about Columbus, was published under the title: “Historia del Nuevo Mundo” (Madrid, 1793). However, official funding was withdrawn apparently because the first book had hurt the pride of many Spaniards. After the death of Muñoz, which occurred before 1799, his collection of transcripts passed to the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. James Robertson (See his “Bibliography of the Philippine Islands”, Cleveland, 1908; pp. 30, 374) says that part of this collection was re-copied (or “separated” from the original collection) and ended up mostly in the Lenox branch of the New York Public Library (bequeathed by Mr. Rich, who had acquired it from Ternaux-Compans, who himself had got it from a certain Uguina) and some went to other places too, witness the above transcript in London.

Document 1526C

Salazar, ex-Loaysa—First eyewitness account by Urdaneta

Sources: Original in AGI 1-2-1/4, R.36. Navarrete's "Colección de los viages" (Madrid, 1837), vol. V, doc. 26, pp. 401-439; Pacheco et al. "Colección ... de Indias", 1ª serie (Madrid, 1866), vol. V, pp. 5-67; also in the Rivadeneira Collection entitled "Biblioteca de autores españoles", in which Vol. 77 is an edition of Navarrete's vol. V, pp. 226-250. Andrés de Urdaneta¹ wrote this report while he was at Valladolid on 26 February 1537; it is the most comprehensive report for the period 1525-1535. Most, if not all, the documents relating to Loaysa's voyage are still kept at AGI Seville, Legajo 1º, Papeles del Maluco desde 1519 a 1547. The original of this report is in Patronato 1-2-1/4, r 36-1-2-3/6, nº 1, rº 6. However, even Navarrete used the transcript that Muñoz made of them in the 1780s. The present account is taken from Tome 36 of the Muñoz Collection in RAH Madrid.

Extracts from the original report

Relaciones del viage hecho á las islas Malucas ó de la especiería por la armada las órdenes del Comendador García Jofre de Loaysa, hecha por el Capitan Andrés de Urdaneta

"S. C. C. M.

La relación que Andrés de Urdaneta hace á V.S.M., de la armada que V.M. mandó para la Especiería con el comendador Loaysa, el año de 525, es lo siguiente:

Partimos de la Coruña con siete navíos, viéspera del bienaventurado señor Santiago, é fuimos en busca de las Canarias...

¹ Ed. note: Robertson (B&R II, p. 33) says that Urdaneta was born in 1498, at Villafranca, in Guipúzcoa. If so, he was not just 18 years old (as some historians have said) when he visited Guam for the first time, but 28 years old. He had already had a short military career and fought with the Spanish army in Germany and Italy, reaching the rank of captain. After returning to Spain, he studied mathematics, astronomy and navigation before joining the Loaysa expedition. He remained in the Moluccas from 1526 until 1535, when he went back to Spain. He moved to Mexico in 1539, passing by Santo Domingo where he was interviewed by Oviedo. He refused the command of an expedition to the Moluccas, which was eventually commanded by Villalobos (1542). Rather, his goal was to become an Augustinian friar; he was received into that order in 1552. We will see later how the King was able to convince him to join the Legazpi expedition that left the port of Navidad for the Philippines in November 1564.

...
Desembocamos el estrecho, por el mes de Mayo de 526, la nao capitana, é las dos carabelas, y el pataxe; é dende a pocos días hubimos muy gran tormenta, con la cual nos desderrotamos los unos de los otros, que nunca más nos vimos, e con las grandes mares que había, abrióse la nao por muchas partes como estaba muy atormentada, que nos hacía mucho agua en gran manera que con dos bombas á malas penas nos podíamos valer, é cada día nos pensábamos de anegar, é por otra parte acertaron el mantenimiento, por causa de muchos hombres de la nao que se perdió haber entrado en ella: é asi por una parte trabajar mucho, é por otra comer mal, pasábamos mucha miseria y algunos perescian; entre los cuales murieron el contador Texeda é Rodrigo Vermejo, piloto de la dicha nao.

A 30 dias del mes de Julio, murió el Capitan general, Frey García de Loaysa, é vista una provision secreta de S.M., fue jurado por Capitan general Juan Sebastian del Cano, el cual proveyó a un sobrino del dicho Loaysa por contador general, por quanto estaba vaco, é á Martin Perez del Cano por piloto, é á Hernando de Bustamante, de contador de la nao, que tambien estaba vaco por la muerte de Iñigo Cortés de Perea.

A 4 dias de Agosto del dicho año de 26, murieron el capitan Juan Sebastian del Cano y el sobrino del comendador Loaysa, que era contador general. Hicimos capitan por votos á Toribio Alonso de Salazar, el cual proveyó por contador general á Martin Iñiguez de Carquisano, y en su lugar proveyó por alguacil mayor á Gonzalo de Campo. Así mismo murió el thesorero de la nao, y proveyeron en su lugar á Gutierre de Tuñon.

En este tiempo andábamos muy trabajados é fatigados, catorce ó quince grados de la banda del Norte, en busca de Cipango; é como la gente andaba muy fatigada, así del mucho trabajar de la bomba como de la mar, é del poco comer é beber é muy ruin, muríanse cada día; é por este respecto acordamos de arribar á nuestro camino para Maluco.

*Yendo así nuestra derrota, descubrimos una isla en 14 grados por la parte del Norte; pusímosle por nombre **San Bartholomé**, la cual dicha isla parecia grande, y no le pudimos tomar, é anduvimos nuestra derrota para Maluco.*

*Y despues que partimos desta isla, en obra de doce dias, hubimos vista de las islas de los **Ladrones**, en 12 grados de la parte del Norte, donde surgimos con la nao. Aqui hallamos un gallego, que se llama Gonzalo de Vigo, que quedó en estas islas con otros dos compañeros de la nao de Espinosa; é [mataron] los otros dos, quedó él vivo, el cual vino luego á la nao é nos aprovechó mucho, porque sabia la lengua de las islas.*

Estas islas son trece, por dicho de este Gonzalo de Vigo, y están dende 12 grados hasta 19, é córrense Norte-sur. En estas islas no hay ganado ninguno, ni gallinas, ni otras animales ni bastimentos, escepto arroz, que hay en gran cantidad, y pescado y cocos y aceite de cocos y sal. Los indios destas islas andan desnudos, que no traen ninguna cosa sobre sí; son hombres bien dispuestos, y traen los cabellos largos, é la barba complida; no tienen ninguna [her]ramienta de hierro; labran con pedernal; no tienen otras armas, sino [h]ondas y unos palos tostados, con unos hierros de canillas de hombres muertos y de huesos de pescados.

En estas islas tomamos once indios para dar á la bomba, porque habia en la nao muchos hombres dolientes; y en acabando de tomar nuestra aguada, luego partimos para Maluco, y el gallego vino con nosotros por su propia voluntad.

A cabo de once ó doce dias, que estuvimos en estas islas, partimos de ellas, y antes de los ocho dias se nos murió el capitan Salazar, y hecimos capitan á Martin Iñiguez de Carquisano, que era contador general al presente; y así mismo murió Juan de Huelva, maestre de la dicha nao, é proveyeron en su lugar á Iñigo de Lorriaga, por maestre.

Obra de quinze dias despues que partimos de las islas de los Ladrones, hubimos vista de una isla grande, que se llama Bendanao; é fuimos á surgir en un puerto que se llama Bizaya; é luego fuimos con el batel en tierra y tomamos plática con la gente de la tierra, porque el gallego sabia hablar un poco lengua malaya, y se entendia con ellos; é luego nos trujieron un puerco é gallinas, como que querian vender, mas no los quisieron vender. Esta gente desta tierra es ataviada; andan vestidos con paños de algodón y seda, y tambien traian vestidos de raso de la China, y andaban todos armados, sus azagayas en las manos é sus alfanjes é sus guirrises, que son á manera de puñales, y sus paveses. Es gente muy atraicionada é belicosa...

Aqui tomamos un indio, que llevamos á Maluco...

Translation of Urdaneta's account

Narratives of the voyage made to the Moluccas or Spice Islands by the fleet under the command of Commander¹ García Jofre de Loaysa, made by Captain Andrés de Urdaneta.

Sacred Cesarian Catholic Majesty,

The narrative that Andrés de Urdaneta makes to Your Sacred Majesty, about the fleet that Y.M. sent to the Spice Islands with Commander Loaysa, in the year of 1525, is as follows:

He left the city of La Coruña with seven ships, on the eve of the blessed St. James, and we went in search of the Canary Islands...

...

We came out of the Strait during the month of May 1526, with the flagship and the two caravels and the patache. Within a few days we were hit by a very big storm, as a result of which we were all separated from one another, and we never saw any of them again. With the great seas we had, the nao opened up in many places because she was under considerable stress. She was leaking so much that with two pumps going we could hardly stay afloat. Every day we thought we would founder. On the other hand, they

¹ Ed. note: Loaysa was a commander of the military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, formerly the Hospitalers, also known as the Knights of Rhodes, and soon to become re-named the Knights of Malta in 1530, when Charles V ceded that island to them.

shortened the rations, on account of the many men from the nao that was lost [i.e. the *Sancti Spiritus*] who came aboard. Thus, either because of too much work, or of the bad food, we had much misery and a few perished.¹ Among those who died were the accountant [Alonso de] Tejada and Rodrigo Bermejo, pilot of the said nao.

On the 30th day of July, the Captain General, Fray² García de Loaysa, died. Inasmuch as there was a secret order from Y.M. to that effect, Juan Sebastián del Cano was sworn in as Captain General. He in turn appointed a nephew of the said Loaysa as Accountant General, as the post was vacant, Martín Pérez del Cano as pilot, and Hernando de Bustamante as ship accountant, because that post was also vacant on account of the death of Iñigo Cortés de Perea.

On the 4th day of August of the said year of 1526, Captain Juan Sebastián del Cano and the nephew of Commander Loaysa who was Accountant General, both died. We elected Toribio Alonso de Salazar as captain. He in turn appointed Martín Iñiguez de Carquisano as Accountant General, and in his place he appointed Gonzalo de Campo as master-at-arms. The ship treasurer also died, and they appointed Gutierre de Tuñon in his place.

During that period we were sailing very weary and tired, in 14 or 15 degrees north of the equator, in search of Cipango [i.e. Japan]. However, because the people were very tired, as a result of the labor involved in working the pump, the [rolling] sea, as well as from the lack of food and drink, and their very bad condition, people were dying every day. For this reason, we agreed to change our course for the Moluccas.

While we were thus on our course, we discovered an island [Taongi] in 14° N. We named it **San Bartholome**. The said island seemed big, but we were unable to stop at it, and we continued our course for the Moluccas.

After we had left this island, something like 12 days later, we sighted the **Ladron Islands** in 12° N³ where we anchored with the nao. Here we found a Galician, whose name is Gonzalo de Vigo, who remained at these islands with two other companions from Espinosa's nao [Trinidad]. They [killed] the other two, but he was kept alive. He then came to the nao and was very useful to us because he knew the language of the islands.

[Description of the Ladrones]

These islands are 13 in all, according to this Gonzalo de Vigo, and they lie between 12 and 19 degrees, along a north-south line. In these islands, there is no livestock whatever, no chickens, nor any other animals nor food supplies, except rice, which they have in abundance, as well as fish, coconut, coconut oil, and salt. The Indians of these is-

1 Ed. note: Urdaneta says, at the end of his report, that a total of 40 men died between the Strait and the Moluccas.

2 Ed. note: The title of Fray, which comes from the Latin "Frater" for "Brother", did not mean that he was a religious friar. Members of military orders were sometimes called thus.

3 Ed. note: Uriarte says, more correctly, 13° N.

lands go around naked; they do not wear a single thing over themselves. They are well-built men. They wear their hair long and full beards. They do not own any tools made of iron. They work wood with flints.¹ They have no weapons other than slings and some fire-hardened sticks whose tips are made from the shin-bones of dead men and from fish bones.

At these islands we took 11 Indians to work the pump, because there were many sick men aboard. After we had finished taking on water, we left for the Moluccas. The Galician came with us on his own free will.

After we had spent 11 or 12 days in these islands², we took our departure from them, and before 8 days had elapsed our Captain Salazar died.³ We made Martín Iñiguez de Carquisano our captain, he who had just been Accountant General. Juan de Huelva, the ship master, also died and they appointed Iñigo de Lorriaga in his place, as master.

After something like 15 days following our departure from the Ladrone Islands, we sighted a big island, whose name is **Bendanao** [Mindanao]. We sent to anchor in a bay called Bisaya⁴. Then we went ashore with the boat and spoke with the people ashore, because the Galician could speak the Malay language a little, and he could be understood by them. Later on, they brought us a pig and some chickens, as if to sell them, but they did not wish to sell them⁵. The people of this land are dressed up; they wear clothes made of cotton and silk, and they also brought satin clothing made in China. They all carried weapons, their spears in the hands and their cutlasses, their *kris* which are like daggers, and their tall shields. They are very treacherous and bellicose people...

Here we took one Indian whom we brought to the Moluccas...

[The end of the ship Parral]

In the year of 1528, when Saavedra came from New Spain, he found in the islands of the Celebes, some three Spaniards from our fleet, in an island called Sarangani; two of them were Galician and the other Portuguese, and they were from the caravel **Santa María del Parral**. The said Saavedra ransomed them, because the Indians sold them, as they kept them as slaves; he took them along to the Moluccas.

The said men told us that the first island at which they arrived with the caravel before coming to the Archipelago of the Celebes was in Bendanao [Mindanao] at the port of Visaya. When they sent the boat ashore to get food, the Indians ashore seized and killed all the men who were aboard. When those aboard the caravel saw this, they made sail to go to the Moluccas. While passing next to an island called Sarangani, they were hit by a crosswind and were lost.

1 Ed. note: The Spanish word “pedernal” could also be interpreted as meaning “stone tools”.

2 Ed. note: They spent 6 days there, from 4-10 September, according to the log.

3 Ed. note: This man, who had become captain at the eastern limits of Micronesia, died at its western limits, west of Palau.

4 Ed. note: This bay corresponds to Bislig Bay today.

5 Ed. note: Only on one occasion, when they were refused, probably because they were not Portuguese.

When the Indians ashore saw this, they attacked them, captured and killed all [sic] the Spaniards aboard the said caravel. As the Indians had them in their power, they sold them to the other islands. They said that there were 7 or 8 more men in the said islands of the Celebes.

As the said Hernando de la Torre learned that there were more Christians to be found in the said islands of the Celebes, he ordered to send 5 or 6 proas to ransom the said Christians who could be found in the said islands of the Celebes. When the said proas were about to leave, one of the [above] Galicians revealed himself to a Galician who had come aboard our nao, [saying] that the Indians at Visaya had taken the boat of the said caravel with all the people in it, and that afterwards there was a **mutiny** aboard the caravel, and that they had thrown Captain Jorge de Manrique overboard, as well as Don Diego, his brother, and a certain Benavides, alive, and in the water they had killed them with lances; these two Galicians had been involved in it and they wanted to pass to the Portuguese because they feared that the truth would come out.

The said proas departed for the said islands of the Celebes with the said two Galicians aboard, with the Portuguese man and other Spaniards, because they knew the language of those islands. Three or four days later, this other Galician in our company revealed what the other had revealed to him. Upon learning of it, the said Captain Hernando de la Torre sent a very light proa after them, with an order for them to be brought back to the Moluccas as prisoners under guard. So, the said proa left, overtook the others at the place in Zamafo and then one of the Galicians sensed something and fled from there into the bush; afterwards, he passed to the Portuguese. They captured the other two and brought them back to Tidore, although the Portuguese man was not guilty, because he had not been part of it.

They gave a few blows with a rope to the Galician, by which they made him confess what he had done; the captain ordered him to be dragged, and later quartered. This was done, and we never again sent for the other Christians to be ransomed; they still remain there.

I, and Macías del Poyo, the pilot, who had remained in my company, were in the Moluccas until February 1535.¹

...

1 Ed. note: Hernando de la Torre and some others had left earlier. Urdaneta and Poyo were given permission to go to Malacca aboard a trading junk owned by a Portuguese merchant named Lisuarte Cairo. They went by way of Banda, where they stopped until June 1535, then via Java (port of Paranuca), they arrived at Malacca at the end of June. They left Malacca aboard a junk owned by a Portuguese on 15 November and went by way of Ceylon to Cochin, where they rejoined Captain de la Torre. However, the Spanish went to Portugal in two Portuguese ships, Urdaneta and Poyo being aboard the nao **San Roque**. De la Torre and four others boarded the nao **La Gallega**, but his report to the King was entrusted to Urdaneta for safe-keeping. The ships were part of a fleet of 5 ships that left Cochin on 12 January 1536 and, after a short stopover at St. Helena Island, the fast sailer San Roque which had left the other ships behind, arrived at Lisbon on 26 June 1536.

[Papers seized at Lisbon]

At the time we disembarked at the said city of Lisbon, the Major Guard¹ looked me over very well, first my person, then my box, where they found inside a letter pouch the report and the [covering] letter that Hernando de la Torre was sending to Y.M., which the said Major Guard of the naos that come from India took from me, although I made much fuss. In addition, they took from me the accounts book of the nao in which we went to the Moluccas, with another large [record] book of mine and certain letters from Spanish men from our company who stayed behind in Portuguese India. We were also bringing along sketches of the Molucca and Banda Islands and other islands drawn on white paper, which had been sealed with letters carrying [ordinary] messages in order to make them less obvious, but they took them also. Also, they took from the said box the logbook of the voyage [of the Victoria] we made from here to the Moluccas and consequently the log of the voyage made by the caravel [Florida] that went from New Spain to the Moluccas, with other records and notes. All of this was taken away by the Major Guard without any official receipt nor anything else, but by force.

When I saw that the said Major Guard had taken from me all the above said in such a discourteous manner, I decided to go and complain to the King of Portugal, at the city of Évora, where he presently was, and when I came there I went directly to the Ambassador [Luis] Sarmiento to whom I reported how I was coming from the Moluccas and when at the time of disembarking at Lisbon the Major Guard had taken all the said papers from me, and, because they did not wish to give them back to me, I had come to complain to the King. Y.M.'s ambassador told me not to give any thought about speaking or complaining to the King of Portugal for that, but rather to seek cover as fast as possible and then come to Y.M. to give a report of all that had passed, the better to serve Y.M.'s interests.

So, I hit the road to come to Y.M.² and give a complete report about this and all the rest, leaving behind in Lisbon a daughter I had brought from the Moluccas and other things.

While I had gone to Évora, as the King of Portugal learned that we had disembarked at Lisbon, he sent for us and, not finding me there, they took the said pilot to the city of Évora where the Court is residing. The said pilot, when he came to Évora, went directly to the hotel of Y.M.'s ambassador and told him who he was, and how he had come there upon orders from the King. When the ambassador saw this, he advised him to absent himself, and he gave him a horse to flee with; so, he came to this Court.

³
...

1 Ed. note: This was the equivalent of the Coast Guard, or military police from the Navy.

2 Ed. note: The Spanish Court was then residing at Valladolid.

3 Ed. note: There follow descriptions of the islands in and around the Moluccas which Urdaneta describes here from memory. Among them are the following noteworthy bits of information.

[News about islands in the western Carolines]

Northeast of the Moluccas there is an archipelago of islands that are close together, which were discovered by a Portuguese fusta [See Doc. 1525B], 200 leagues away, from 3 degrees as far as 9 degrees north.

North of the Moluccas is Talao [Talaud Is.] in 5 degrees north. We anchored at this island with the nao when on our way to the Moluccas, and the Indians of the said island told us that east of it there were two islands where there is much gold; they are named Gallilu and Lalibu.¹

...

Made at Valladolid on 26 February 1537.
Andrés de Urdaneta.

1 Ed. note: Here is a tantalizing idea: are the islands in question the first mention of Babelthuap and Peliliu? However, one of the Talaud Islands is called Salebabu on one map; the Indians perhaps referred to two of the other islands in their group, or even to some off the New Guinea coast.

Document 1526D

Salazar, ex-Loaysa—Second eyewitness account by Urdaneta, ending June 1535

Sources: A manuscript of 59 folio sheets in the library of the Royal Palace at Madrid. It is bound with another, anonymous, account in a codex labelled "Relación de Indias". Urdaneta's account begins on folio 17. The manuscript has been published by Father Fermín de Uncilla as Appendix 1 of his book entitled "Urdaneta y la conquista de Filipinas" (San Sebastián, 1907). It is clear that Urdaneta consulted the report by De la Torre (Doc. 1526B) when he wrote this longer report.¹

Narrative of the voyage of the fleet of Commander García de Loaisa to the Spice Islands or Moluccas in 1525, and the events that occurred there until 1535, by Captain Andrés de Urdaneta

On Monday 17 July 1525, we left the city of la Coruña for the Moluccas, where the clove grows, with seven ships, manned with 450 men, more or less, and the ships well armed, with guns and munitions, as well as many other weapons. The Captain General and the captains and general officers of the said fleet were as follows:

Commander Fray García de Loaisa of the Order of Rhodes, Captain General of the said fleet and Governor of the Moluccas and their vicinity, who went aboard the flagship, whose capacity was 350 tons;

Juan Sebastián del Cano, a native of the town of Guetária, captain of the second nao named *Sanctispiritu*, of 205 tons;

Pedro de Vera, Captain of the third nao named *La Anunciada*, with a capacity of 200 tons;

Don Rodrigo de Acuña, Captain of the fourth nao named *San Gabriel*, with a capacity of 150 tons;

¹ Ed. note: This is the report that the naval guardsmen had seized from Urdaneta when he landed at Lisbon in 1536. It was finally recovered for Spain from the Torre do Tombo, after the unification of the kingdoms in 1580. De la Torre's report was similarly recovered.

Don Jorge Manrique, Captain of a galleon [sic] named *Santa María del Parral*, whose capacity was 80 tons;

Francisco de Hoces, Captain of the other galleon named *San Lesmes*, whose capacity was 80 tons;

Santiago de Guevara, Captain of a patache named *Santiago*;

Alonso de Tejada, Accountant General;

Diego de Covarrubias, Factor General.

...

On Saturday 26 May 1526 we came out of the Strait with the wind SE and we headed NW.

On Thursday 31st of the said month, a fresh breeze hit us in the night. We were pushed by a strong wind from the NE and on Friday morning we were missing the two galleons and the patache. We were hit by more bad weather and fog.

On Saturday 2 June, the wind blew from the south with such fury that we were pushed north with bare poles until Sunday when we set sails again. We never saw the galleons nor the patache again.

On Friday 8 June, we were hit by a strong wind from the SE shifting to S and SW with such fury that, not being able to use the sails, we ran before the wind with [only] the bulging lower fore-sail. From the time the wind slackened, we were left with such heavy swells from three quarters that we thought that they would destroy our nao. We were overwhelmed with the many leaks that the nao had, because we had up to three fathoms ripped off the stern, through which we had a large quantity of water coming in, although we had patched it up at the Santa Cruz River [in the Strait] with sheets of lead as best we could. The quantity of water leaking in was so great that we could not get rid of it [even] by working two pumps [continuously] for at least three hour-glasses.

Sunday on the 24th of the said month of June, the pilot of the flagship, Rodrigo Bermejo, died. It was a great loss to our navigation, because he was a very good pilot. They appointed Martín Pérez de Elcano, brother of Captain Juan Sebastián, in his place.¹

Friday 13 July, there died Alonso de Tejada, Accountant General of the Fleet, and they appointed Alvaro de Loaysa, nephew of the General, to replace him in his post.

Monday 6 August² the magnificent Juan Sebastián de Elcano, Captain General and Governor, died, and they appointed as captain Toribio Alonso de Salazar, *contino*³ of Your Majesty and naval treasurer, a field appointment, who presently was aboard the said nao. This Toribio Alonso de Salazar had sailed aboard the galleon **San Lesmes** as its treasurer and while in the Strait the Captain General was informed about a certain rebellion that he had been involved in with the intention of fleeing back to Spain in the galleon, so that Commander Loaysa ordered him to transfer to the flagship, in order to hold an inquiry against him and to punish him. He sent the Treasurer General

1 Ed. note: Originally the pilot of the Sancti Spiritus. He died in the Pacific.

2 Ed. note: The generally-accepted date is 4 August.

3 Ed. note: An ancient office to the royal House of Castile.

Diego de Solís to become her captain because Francisco de Hoces, captain of the said galleon, was then sick and near death.

On this same day and time, the Accountant General Alvaro de Loaysa also died; Martín Iñiguez de Carquisano was put in his place, and Gonzalo de Campo, steward of the Captain General, as master-at-arms.

Thursday 9th day of the month of August, we found ourselves in 12° N of the equinoctial line, having headed continuously NW 1/4 N [NW by N] since Cape Desired which is at the exit of the Strait. From here on, the captain and the officers agreed that we would go in search of the Ladrone Islands, that we would get relief by not placing ourselves at a high northern latitude, because we were losing many people, because over 30 men had already died since we had left the Strait and all these people who died did so as a result of their gums swelling so much that they could not eat anything and in addition their having a chest pain with this. I myself saw them pull out of a man's mouth a piece of gum flesh as thick as a finger and the next day he had them as big as if they had removed nothing from him.

It is my belief that, if Juan Sebastián de Elcano had not died, he would not have arrived at the Ladrone Islands so soon, because his intention had always been to go in search of Cipango; that was why he ran so much closer to the mainland of New Spain.

[The discovery of Taongi]

Tuesday the 21st of the said month of August, we found ourselves in 13°35' N. At the hour of Vespers we discovered land toward the north. We then lowered sails in order to go there and we got to within three leagues from it but, because it was late, we did not dare go nearer. Then we tacked off and after the second night watch we tacked back in search of the island but the strong current that existed at daybreak carried us toward a point that juts out westward.

At about 10 a.m. we arrived at [a point] less than one league from the land, we threw the lead and did not find bottom. At this point or cape, the [sun's] elevation was taken next to the southern part of the island in 14 degrees. From this point of land in the southern part of the island, there is another point in the east which lies along a line running ENE—WSW with respect to the western one, something like 10 leagues. From the WSW, it runs to another point which is in the NW along a line bearing NW 1/4 N [i.e. NW by N] for something like 9 leagues. Inside this island on the western side, there was a big lagoon whose water looked very green. On the east side of this lagoon, there were tall trees. Here we sailed that day and the following night and we simply could not reach it because the current and the wind had pushed us to leeward of it and thus we agreed to go in search of the Ladrone Islands. We named this island **San Bartolomé**.¹ There were at this island an abundance of fish, bonitos and many booby birds.

1 Ed. note: It is obvious that Urdaneta has borrowed the description of Taongi directly from the copy of Uriarte's logbook which De la Torre included in his report (Doc. 1526B).

From the 9th of August until we saw the above-said island, we had run 350 leagues due west with the sea taking us westward.

[The stopover at Guam]

On Tuesday the 4th day of September, we sighted land at daybreak and it was one of the Ladrone Islands that had been discovered in the other voyage. When we saw it, we were due south of its southern part.¹ We cut the sails in order to go close to it. As we approached, the wind died down somewhat and the squall was taking us away. We tacked back and forth the whole of that day and the following night.

On the following day, Wednesday following, we were carrying on the same way and many canoes came alongside, with Indians and among them there was one coming with a Spaniard aboard, who hailed us from afar in the manner of Spain², of which we were very surprised. We waved to him to make him come aboard, but the said Christian was requesting a safe-conduct before he would come aboard. Captain Toribio Alonso de Salazar gave it to him and thus he came aboard.

This man was a native of Galicia and his name was Gonzalo de Vigo. He came completely naked, except that a piece of mat covered his privy parts. His hair was very bristly and so long as to reach down to below his buttocks.

He told us that he was from Magellan's fleet, from the nao commanded by Captain Espinosa, that had tried to go to New Spain. They had turned back to return to the Moluccas by way of one of these islands of the Ladrones. **The nao was anchored at the penultimate island** [i.e. Maug] among the 13 stretching northward³, when he and two others went ashore from the nao.⁴ They had stayed behind for fear of dying because at that time many people were dying aboard the nao. The nao had gone to the Moluccas and the Indians had killed his two companions at the same island where they had deserted. He had come along with some Indians from that same island to where he was at present **and he had been in the said Ladrone Islands for 3 years.**⁵ There are

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- 1 Ed. note: Here again Urdaneta has borrowed from Uriarte's log. However, I duplicate this text here, because he has added some interesting comments of his own which I will thereafter emphasize.
 - 2 Ed. note: Urdaneta himself related this story to the historian Oviedo in 1539, and he added then that the stranger called out: "En buena hora vengáis, señor capitan, maestro, y compañía" which means: "Good for you to have come, Captain Sir, Master, and Company."
 - 3 Ed. note: Some bad English translations have said "next island to the north" instead of "the one before last", and this has led others to think that Espinosa had stopped at Rota.
 - 4 Ed. note: As I have said in a previous document (1522C), these two others were one Italian by the name of Martin Forte, N° 18, and a Portuguese, Alfonso Gonzalvez, N° 170.
 - 5 Ed. note: In fact, Gonzalo de Vigo spent 4 years and over 2 months in the Marianas (from the end of June 1522 to the beginning of September 1526).

13 islands and they stretch from north to south, **being close to one another according to what this Galician said.**

That same day in the afternoon we anchored at the said island. It runs northward from the eastern [sic] point as far as a point [i.e. Orote] that juts out in the middle of the islet [sic], E—W. There is something like 12 leagues from this point that is in the middle of the island, that is the western cape, [then] it runs NE—SW something like 10 leagues. Between these two capes, there are good anchorages in this NE—SW bay. We ourselves were anchored in 150 fathoms.¹

This is a reasonably-high island. On top it is bare. It is completely populated along the beaches.² The men have good **and hard** bodies. They walk around naked in the flesh, exhibiting their natures, the women as well as the men, **except that the women cover their privy parts in front with some tree leaves in the following manner, by tying a string around their waist and from that string they hang the leaf that swings from side to side in front of their nature. Because sometimes the wind carries away that leaf, they always carry other leaves as spares. Both women and men wear their hair very long and loose. They go around continuously chewing a certain leaf with one acorn [i.e. betel nut] and lime all mixed up, which leave their lips red and are good for the gums which they blacken. This is called *pinanco* in Moluccan. From these islands as far as Portuguese India, all the Indians eat [sic] it. All these Indians of these Ladrone Islands go around anointed with coconut oil and their teeth are black. They blacken them with the sap of a certain plant. Some of them let their beards grow long as we do.**

They make war among themselves. The weapons they have are slings, and fire-hardened sticks. They also place at the tip of some sticks the shinbones of men they have killed in battle, and which they also use to fight with. Each village has its own chief. They do not have any metal whatever; hence, they are very fond of iron, so much so that they would give anything they own for whatever thing made of iron that can cut and make holes. If one does not wish to trade it for their goods, they would grab it if they could, or steal it, and flee with it. It happened aboard the nao that many of them stole from our waists our machetes, knives or daggers and then dived into the sea with them. On account of such thieveries, they call them the Islands of Thieves.

These people worship the skulls of their fathers and grand-parents; such skulls they dig out of the ground as soon as they have lost their flesh, then anoint them with oil and keep them in their houses in order to worship them. They have no possessions whatever. As for tortoise shells, they praise them very much for making combs and hooks to fish with. They work [wood] with flints [i.e. stone tools]. The foods they have are rice, although there is little of it, potatoes, bananas, coconuts, and from these coconuts they

1 Ed. note: Transcription error. Uncilla wrote “CL fathoms”, but should have written “XL fathoms”, i.e. 40 fathoms, instead.

2 Ed. note: It is noteworthy that Urdaneta has eliminated the phrase to the effect that the island was populated “by bad people” from De la Torre’s report.

make oil to anoint themselves with. There are also many kinds of fruits to eat which are different from those at home. As for fish, they kill many with hooks.¹

The **canoes** they use for fishing are small and they have a counterweight on one side, made of a big piece of wood shaped like a tunny fish. This counterweight is always kept to windward. It is fastened to two sticks that come out of the hull of the canoe. The canoe is made with two prows, which without any interruption can become poop as well as prow. It runs as swiftly one way as the other. The sails are lateen, made of closely-woven mats. They run fast under sail. In order to tack, they do not turn the canoe around but only the sail; they tack with the poop, which is the same as the prow and thus the counterweight remains continuously to leeward.

One custom they have in these islands is that all the unmarried men who are ready for women carry two rods in the hand.² All of them, men and women, generally carry with them, and always so along the footpaths, some mat baskets, very well crafted, and inside them they carry the *pinanco* that I have said they ate earlier. The bachelor Indians who carry the rods have such a freedom that they may enter the house of whatever married Indian whose wife pleases them and make use of her for whatever they like in complete confidence. If by chance, at the time the lad wants to come in, the husband happens to be at home, then, as soon as the other enters, the *pinanco* baskets are swapped, the husband goes out, and the lad stays inside. The husband cannot go home until he learns that the other one has left.³

1 Ed. note: A literal translation meaning, of course, that they catch many fish using fishhooks.

2 Ed. note: These rods may have been similar to the love sticks used in the Truk lagoon until modern times. However, in describing them, Oviedo, quoting Urdaneta himself, says that the lads carried one, not two, small rods that were painted, or white (“una verguilla o varica pintada, o blanca.”).

3 Ed. note: The *macho* Spaniards could not have imagined that the women of the Ladrões were then considered superior to men, kept control over sexual matters, and naturally had a choice in accepting (or rejecting) such young lovers.

In these islands, many very fine mats are produced. These Indians are very strong. Two of these Indians can lift half a butt full of water, carry it and place it inside the boat. There was one Indian who took a bar of iron weighing up to 25 or 30 pounds by one end, lifted it and swung it three or four times over his head.

There are no kinds of livestock whatever in these islands, not even chickens nor any other [land-based] birds, except some turtle doves or birds that look very much like them.¹ **They keep the said doves and raise them in their houses where they keep them in some cages and they train them to fight against one another and they place bets on which one will win.**²

They also have salt, which they make in the following manner: they take sea water and put it in some canoes ashore in the sun. Then they leave them there something like 40 days and after that they boil that water and it thickens and turns into salt.

There are 330 leagues from these islands to San Bartolomé [Taongi].³

In some of these islands, they harvest much rice and from there they supply some of the other islands where they do not have as much as they need.⁴

At this same island, there is a small[er] island in the northeast [sic]⁵ and it is full of many trees and populated with people; there is something like half a league from one to the other. The [sun's] elevation was taken inside the bay where we were anchored and it was 13°.

On Monday the 10th of the said month of September, we left these islands to go in search of the Moluccas, heading WSW.

On Saturday the 15th of the month of September, Captain Toribio Alonso Salazar died. **There were some disagreements over who should become captain, because some wanted Martín Iñiguez de Carquisano, the Accountant General, and**

1 Ed. note: Oviedo, quoting Urdaneta, says that a few gulls and pelicans were also seen. The scientific expeditions of the early 19th-century were to determine that the doves of the Marianas were a species unique to the islands. There is also a rail that is native to Guam.

2 Ed. note: No wonder the switch to fighting cocks was easy to make later on. The above remarks constitute the true story about the fighting doves of Guam. Callender, who published the first English summary of the Loaysa Expedition (in his "Terra Australis", Edinburg, 1766), borrowing from secondary sources (Herrera and Oviedo) was the first one to mention instead "the talking doves" of Guam. Somehow, he transcribed the word "pelear" into "hablar". Captain Burney (in his "Chronological History", 1803), also quoting from Herrera, has perpetuated the same nonsense about turtle doves that were taught to speak, sort of like mynah birds in the Philippines... Here again, I must repeat that the truth always lies closer to original sources.

3 Ed. note: The exact distance is closer to 400 leagues, i.e. a difference of 24 degrees in longitude (169° - 145°) at a latitude of about 13-14° from the equator.

4 Ed. note: It would have been interesting if Urdaneta had mentioned the rice-producing islands. Perhaps they were Tinian and Saipan. However, we were told earlier that rice was not plentiful in Guam.

5 Ed. note: We have already met with this transcription error, copied from De la Torre's report. There is no doubt that Cocos Island, southwest of Guam, is the island in question.

others wanted Hernando de Bustamante, the ship accountant who had been appointed by Captain Juan Sebastián de Elcano after the death of Iñigo Cortés de Perea, the accountant of the said nao. In order to avoid conflicts, we all agreed that the captain should be elected by [secret] votes. Thus, we all voted, some for the said Iñiguez de Carquisano and the others for the said Hernando de Bustamante, but before the votes were counted, Martín Iñiguez came to realize that Bustamante had more votes and he grabbed the votes from the clerk and threw them overboard. However, the great quarrel still had to be resolved, and we came to the following terms: that the said Martín Iñiguez and Bustamante would govern and administer jointly until we reached the Archipelago¹, and if there we did not find news of the other naos, then we would elect a captain by votes, and in the meantime we would continue without a general and without appointing a captain.

Juan de Huelva, the master of the said nao, died near the Ladrones, and was replaced by Iñigo de Lorriaga, the boatswain of the said nao.

On Tuesday 2nd day of the month of October, when the sun came out, we saw land west of us at about 12 leagues, and it was the island of Bendanao [Mindanao].

This same day, Martín Iñiguez de Carquisano² called to the poop cabin Hernando de Bustamante and all the officers of the said nao, as well as Gonzalo de Campo, the master-at-arms, and 15 or 16 men who were aboard the nao, and he gave them a speech, saying that we all saw that we were at the archipelago of the Celebes [sic] and very near the Moluccas, that there was a great scarcity of people aboard the nao and that it was a great disservice to His Majesty to go on without a captain and leader, because it could happen that we could meet with some Portuguese ships or Indian junks; on account of not having a captain, named and sworn in, some disaster could happen to us as it happens with disobedient and unruly men, so he asked of us and begged us in the name of God and that of His Majesty to agree to name, and accept to swear in, himself, the said Martín Iñiguez de Carquisano, inasmuch as His Majesty had ordered it so in an instruction that he showed to us there and then, to the effect that, in the absence of the Captains that His Majesty had appointed therein, they should be general officers and they should obey his officials whom he appointed after them. Therefore, to him belonged and corresponded the said captaincy, because he was an official of his Majesty as well as being Accountant General at present, that there was no other general officers aboard, also because he was more skilled and able for the said command and task than Hernando de Bustamante.

Afterward, within the hour, we all answered, except Bustamante, that it seemed to all of us that what he had said was very well, and that we were ready and prepared to do and comply with what he ordered. Then all those in the nao

1 Ed. note: The Archipelago of San Lazaro, or the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: Remember that this scheming official would later be poisoned in Tidore, probably by his own men, although the Portuguese were blamed for it.

swore to obey him from then on, except Bustamante who did not want to. However, when he was ordered into shackles, he became very frightened and he thus was forced to swear to obey him as well.

On Wednesday the 3rd day of the said month of October, the said Martín Iñiguez filled the posts of general officers of his Majesty and other officers, as follows: Martín García de Carquisano as Treasurer General; Francisco de Soto as Accountant General; Diego de Soler as Factor General; and Gutierre de Tuñon as ship treasurer.

On Saturday the 6th of the month of October we anchored at the island of Bendaño at one league offshore, inside a bay which enters as many as 5 leagues inland. From there we sent the boat farther inland to see which island it was and if there were people in it, and also to learn if there was a good anchorage...

Document 1526E

Salazar, ex-Loaysa—Letter from Bustamante and Salinas to the Emperor, dated 3 May 1529

*Sources: Original in Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Transcribed by Muñoz and published by Navarrete, "Colección de los viages", vol. V, doc. XVI, pp. 314 et seq., and reprinted in the Rivadeneira Collection, vol. 77, pp. 177-181.*¹

Letter written to the Emperor by Hernando de Bustamante and Diego de Salinas, informing him of various events that occurred in the Moluccas and India up to 1529

Sacred Cesarian Catholic Majesty,

After that other letter had been written and sent with Gutierre de Juno [i.e. Tuñon] aboard the caravel **La Florida** that had come from New Spain, I will tell Y.M. what has happened, and that is, the said caravel returned here on 19 November 1528 without being able to go to New Spain. After having sailed 800 leagues, they found contrary weather and returned here. The said caravel came in a very rotten state, so much so that there does not remain one plank that has not been replaced by another, and even a sheathing on top of that, so that it will be safer for another voyage to give news about us to Y.M. What occurred to them during the [1528] voyage was that, while they were taking on food 180 leagues from here, the four Portuguese, whom I mentioned in the other letter were aboard the said caravel, one of the two gentlemen whom I said were aboard, whose name was Simón de Brito, and the other three, plus one slave of

1 Ed. note: Bustamante, a former barber with Magellan, was a ship accountant with Loaysa; after having written this letter, he deserted to the Portuguese at Ternate and later died at the Maldivic Islands while travelling from Malacca to India aboard a Portuguese ship. Salinas was the royal factor who was killed accidentally by a Portuguese arquebus at the surrender in Gilolo on 26 November 1533.

theirs, took the boat from the said caravel and went off in the daytime in view of everyone, without anyone being able to stop them nor learn anything more about them. So, they left without the said boat [and went] as far as the said 800 leagues.

Before the said caravel returned, some news came here from a place in Zamafo, which belongs to this king of Tidore, that they had made prisoners some three or four men and they did not know whether they were Portuguese or Spanish. To find out who they were, it was arranged to have them brought over, although they were over 100 leagues from here, and they found them to be the said Simón de Brito and one of the other Portuguese who had fled with him. The latter was a Galician who had been the mate of a galley that had been taken from the Portuguese. The others had taken the boat and had gone no-one knows where. These men were brought here as prisoners under guard, and the Captain General had a charge drawn against them, for such and such a crime, so that Simón de Brito, on account of his being a noble gentleman, was decapitated, dragged and quartered, and the mate was hanged.

In addition, a process was held against Romay who, as I said in the other letter, had taken part in the death of Don Jorge Manrique, captain of the caravel **Santa María del Parral**. He confessed having taken part in the death of the said Don Jorge and of all the others who were killed aboard the said caravel. Justice was done to him by dragging him, garrotting him and quartering him.

...

I do not write to Y.R.M. about the prices that the merchandise is worth here and those that should be sent to these countries, because I do so to the officials of the House of Trade, particularly quantities and qualities of all the things that they are responsible to provide. If Y.S.M. or his very high Council, wishes to see it, I have enclosed a copy that will go with a copy of the letter addressed to them care of Gutierre Tuñon, who carries a letter for Y.S.M., and another with Alvaro de Saavedra, the captain who has come from New Spain, addressed to the officials of the city of Mexico, for them to forward it with their own letters. In these letters, as Y.M.'s very loyal vassal and a person who knows well about it all, I say the truth of everything that happened here.

Hernando de la Torre, who is now Y.S.M.'s captain and governor at these islands of the Moluccas, has not wished to write to Y.S.M. at the same time as the officials, although he has been requested to do so, so that neither I nor the others should be responsible for this shortcoming. He has not even wished to send a messenger acceptable to him and to the others to tell the truth about what is going on here, and he has provided instead Gutierre de Tuñon, I do not know why, if not to convince Y.S.M., if something has happened against Y.S.M.'s instructions, that they both were not at fault, one for having been the cause of it with other accomplices, the other for having agreed to it as a person who could not look beyond the present; Y.S.M. will however learn the truth of it all.

I have sent an extensive account to the officials of all those who died from the men who had come in this fleet. It covers a total of 80 persons for the period when we were in company with the other naos and afterwards; 71 died of natural causes and 9 were

drowned when the nao **Sanctispiritus** ran aground. There were 9 killed by the Portuguese and at places owned by Ternate, plus one that was hanged because he had been involved in the killing of Don Jorge Manrique, plus the Portuguese and the Galician who were sentenced to death for having taken the boat from the caravel that had come from New Spain, and one negro from the said caravel who was going to Ternate. Three men stayed behind at Gomera [in the Canary Is.]; 5 have gone over to the Portuguese, one of them taking along one of the Portuguese prisoners; and two others who had come over from the said Portuguese.

There are 73 of us left here, including 7 men who had come from New Spain (there are always many sick ones), plus 3 ship's boys, 1 seaman and 8 slaves who have come from Ternate from the Portuguese camp. We have here one fusta and a brig that was built at Gilolo with the help of the king of Gilolo, plus the fusta that was taken from the Portuguese...

On 11 April 1528, Hernando de la Torre, who is now Y.S.M.'s Captain General at these Molucca Islands, arrested Hernando de Bustamante, treasurer of the nao **Sanctispiritus**, who is at present accountant, with respect to an inquiry that he had secretly held against him, and although he has released him many days ago already, he has never returned the account books to him, nor the record of the deaths up to 18 April of this year of 1529, reason for which he has been unable to attend to many things, and what he has done he has been unable to record it in the books to be able to report everything to Y.S.M., as the Captain General had them in his possession without recording anything that was happening. Please Y.S.M., do not blame the said accountant nor any other official...

In the company of Gutierre de Tuñon, the captain general is sending Manuel Fernández Lobo, Portuguese, who is one of those taken with the galley and also a gentleman, to give an account of everything that has occurred with the Portuguese, before our arrival as well as afterwards, given that he was an eyewitness to it all and will tell the truth as a gentleman and the honorable person that he is. Two other Portuguese, sailors from among the prisoners, are also being sent because we have been informed that there are no seamen there and so as not to give two seamen from the few left here with us.

...
We have found nothing here left over from the **Magellan expedition**; no men either, because everything and all had been taken by the Portuguese. They had taken 7 men to India, one of whom was Espinosa. The Portuguese who have come over to us say that he had gone to Portugal and, while he was in prison, Y.S.M. had sent to the King of Portugal for him, that he had been sent to you and that Y.S.M. had given him some favors. If that is so, Y.S.M. is better informed that what we could write from here, because some say it one way, and others another way. The said Manuel Fernández will tell what he knows about it.

...

There was found here a letter from Juan de Campos¹ in the hands of the [local] governor, who is the son of king Almansoor, a bastard, who is called Guichilrrade [i.e. Cachil Rade], in which it is said what happened here and how the Portuguese had seized him, Antonio de Brito being captain there, and six others who were here at Tidore with him, along with the goods that Captain Juan Sebastián [de Elcano] had left here; a copy of it goes with the letters that the captain general is sending to Y.S.M...

The ship that was built here could not be made ready to be sent with this caravel or by way of the Cape of Good Hope, because it was built with haste and by new officials, so it turned out that it was impossible to sail with it, because most of the planking became rotten; therefore, in order to get the iron back, it was burned.

Aboard the caravel **Florida**, which came from New Spain, 58 quintals, 3 arrobas and 24 pounds net of clove have been loaded by the people mentioned in the list that goes with the letter from the officials of Your Majesty. As far as Y.S.M.[’s share], he did not wish nor could load it, allowing the rest to be loaded without taking any advice from either the captain or the officials. The officials of Y.S.M. in Mexico are being advised about this, so that they will recover the duties from it.

On 3 May 1529, died Jorge Fernández, from Avila, who had come from New Spain. There is nothing more to tell Y.S.M. except to pray God to let Y.S.M. live in your sacred state for many years to come in prosperity with an increase in many more kingdoms and dominions until he has regained the Holy House in Jerusalem.

Sealed on 3 May 1529.—

[To your] Sacred Catholic Cesarian Majesty.—

Your most humble and loyal vassals who kiss the sacred feet of Y.S.C.C.M.—

Hernando de Bustamante.—

Diego de Salinas.

1 Ed. note: The factor whom Espinosa had left at Tidore in 1522.

Document 1526F

**Salazar, ex-Loaysa—Other existing
primary accounts****F1. Letter from Alfonso Mexía to the King of Portugal, dated
Cochin 30 December 1528.**

Source: Original in Torre do Tombo, Gaveta 1º, mazo 41, nº 41. Translated into Spanish by Navarrete and published in his "Colección de los viages," vol. V, between Docs. XIII and XIV.

A nao of the Spaniards has arrived at the Moluccas, and our captain overthere has gone to her to make certain representations, and the Spaniard did not wish to yield to him; therefore, our people went to Tidore and when they arrived, it was fortified with entrenchments and guns with the manner of a fortress. Our people bombed their nao which they say has been left in no state to sail. At that time, Don Jorge [de Meneses] had not yet arrived there; he was the captain of two ships and 70 men. From Malacca they write that G. Gómez de Azevedo was making ready to go there with 100 men and one ship, two brigs and one large boat.

**F2. Letter from Pedro de Montemayor to the King of Portugal,
dated Cochin 14 January 1533**

Sources: Original in Torre do Tombo, transcribed by Muñoz and published by Navarrete, op. cit., Doc. XIX. This letter was written in Portuguese by a Portuguese accountant named Fernão de Lemos on behalf of Montemayor.

On 11 July 1527, our Captain General Martín Iñiguez [de Carquisano] died and he was honorably interned by us in Our Lady of the Rosary. It became well known among us that he died of poison that Dom Jorge de Meneses had ordered be given to him, and they also threw some into our well, but Our Lord took care of us, so that only our captain died, and later that same day we elected as our captain general and governor Hernando de la Torre who, from that time until now is His Majesty's captain general and who, following orders, has come to India. The said Hernando de la Torre has done many deeds in the service of Your Highness, as he shall see from the letters from his captains and other people, which are manifest and cannot be denied. At the time the said Hernando de la Torre was elected governor, he began with much diligence to com-

plete the preparations of the ship that was to be sent with news to His Majesty, and, given that we had not yet made peace between us and the Portuguese, we held talks among ourselves and at the time of Dom Jorge de Meneses, captain of Ternate, he sent one man whom we picked up, and he was a Spaniard; so, we treated him as best we could. Some 15 days later, other Portuguese came over, as they used to do, but they carried some fire materials in order to burn our ship and they delivered it into the hand of that Spaniard who had fled from them to us, in order for him to leave inside the ship. He did so and the Portuguese were waiting for him; they picked him up and they returned to Ternate. So, that is how they burned our ship and it could not be of any use to us anymore...

On the 22nd of May 1528, after the capture of the galley, there came from Malacca six Portuguese relief ships, which were one galliot, one brig and three more ships and one large junk. As captain of them all came Gonzalo Gómes d'Azevedo and he brought 150 men who, with the 50 Portuguese already in the Moluccas, made a total of 200.

The caravel that had come to us from New Spain was despatched soon after by the same route that it had come, because the Emperor had so ordered, and at that time one Portuguese came over to us from the fortress at Ternate, whose name was Simão de Brito, and he said he defected to us because he had killed a certain Diogo Gaga, and that he feared he would be arrested for that, that he came to serve the Emperor. He swore to be his servant and vassal. Because we had a need for a pilot, he offered to guide the caravel to New Spain. So, he took the post of pilot and the caravel was despatched. At 200 leagues more or less from the Moluccas, he agreed with other Portuguese to rebel and steal the said caravel, but there were not enough of them to manage it, so he decided to steal the ship's boat with other things, and he carried it out. That is why the ship did not make the voyage, which it would surely have made, and all on account of the sins of Simão de Brito who later came into the hands of Hernando de la Torre who had him executed, the better to serve Your Highness and the Emperor.

The caravel sailed for 8 months, lost without a boat, at the end of which it turned back to the port of Tidore where we were. It was repaired again, a boat built, and it was despatched once more for New Spain. It sailed for 6 or 7 more months without making the passage, and again turned back to us. The said caravel, when it returned the second time, we had already lost the country and thus, that was the end of the caravel.

...

I, Fernão de Lemos, accountant of Your Highness in these parts, attest that the above was written at the request of Pedro de Montemayor at Cochin on the 14th day of January of 1533.

I kiss the royal hands of Your Highness.—

Pedro de Montemayor.

F3. Another report by Hernando de la Torre about the events in the Moluccas from 1529 to 1533, undated but begun in 1533 and completed on 15 August 1534

Sources: Original in AGI. Published by Navarrete, op. cit., Doc. XX.

On the 28th day of October of the year 1529, the Spanish who had been with Commander Loaysa being at the island of Tidore, the Portuguese who were at the island of Ternate came upon them with all their power with many Indians who were their friends...

When this captain Hernando de la Torre was here in Zamafo, on the 8th of December of the said year of 1529, there arrived the caravel named **La Florida**, that had gone from the island of Tidore to New Spain and, on account of contrary winds, had turned back. In it were 22 persons; five had died. They wrote about its arrival to the king of Gilolo and the king answered that he had received believable news to the effect that the Portuguese in Ternate had prepared a great fleet to come against them and take the caravel from them. So, they, according to the agreement, agreed to move to Gilolo, because they thought they would be in a better position to defend themselves there, the better because the king of Gilolo had more people and food in reserve and that such were already lacking there. So, they boarded the caravel and the brig and went overthere. During the voyage, as they could not round a point of the island of Gilolo, they were forced to return to Zamafo with the caravel, but the brig rounded it and went to Gilolo...

On the 26th day of the following month of August [1530], the Spanish made peace with the Portuguese and the local peoples, the ones with the others, with their capitulations...

On the 3rd of November of the said year, one galley, one ship and one junk arrived at Ternate with 70 Portuguese. As captain came a certain Gonzalo de Pereira, who became captain and governor in replacement of Don Jorge de Meneses. With this man were confirmed the terms of the peace agreement made with Don Jorge de Meneses...

On the 26th of November of the above-said year [1533], there came to Ternate a Portuguese captain named Tristão de Atáide with two caravels. As soon as he arrived, he despatched a proa with some letters he carried from the Governor of India for the king of Gilolo and for Captain Hernando de la Torre, in which he thanked them for their intercession between the queen of Ternate and the Portuguese. Aboard these caravels came back Pedro de Montemayor whom the captain had sent to the Governor of India for the latter to certify what had been done between His Majesty and the King of Portugal regarding the commerce with the Moluccas, because they had already been in those parts for 7 years, and they had begged him, on account of their diminished numbers and no longer being able to live off the land, to send them some help for their living expenses and some nao in which to return to Spain. The Governor answered that he had only heard about the agreement through letters and that he was sending them 2,000 cruzados on the Emperor's account and a nao of up to 200 tons. When this was learned by those of Gilolo (the news of which could not be kept secret), they began to

revolt, saying publicly among themselves that they [i.e. the Spanish] had to be killed if they tried to go. When they realized that the Portuguese were responsible for their going, they stopped taking food to the fortress as they used to do. For this reason, the captain of the Portuguese, Tristão de Atáide, ordered them to do as before and bring them the foodstuff as they used to, but they refused, so he decided to go upon them with a good-sized fleet. As for us, being only 17, with most of that number being sick, we could not sustain ourselves nor defend ourselves from them, so we came to terms with Tristão de Ataide. When we came out [to give ourselves up], they wounded Y.M.'s factor, Diego de Salinas, who died a short time later in the fortress. That Tristão destroyed and burned the place of Gilolo, although the people there had set up our guns at their places as best they could, but he brought all our artillery to the fortress in Ternate. Here the 2,000 cruzados were delivered to Captain Hernando de la Torre, who distributed them between himself and his companions, and also allotted all the leftovers from Gilolo, about which he left a recognition of debt in the name of His Majesty in favor of the Portuguese with their captain Tristão de Atáide.

On the 17th of February 1534, they embarked for India aboard the nao sent by the Governor and, by way of Amboina where they took on food, went from there to Banda, and from there they stopped at the island of Java for almost two months on their way to Malacca, taking in refreshments, and from there to Malacca on the 15th of August of that same year.

F4. Declaration of Juan de Mazuecos, made at Palencia on 17 September 1534

Sources: Original in AGI. Published by Navarrete, op. cit., Doc. XXI.

[Not reproduced]

F5. Letter from [Tristão de] Atáide to the Count of Venuoso, dated Maluco 20 February 1534.

Sources: Torre do Tombo, Gaveta 18, Maço 8, N° 15. 4 leaves, beginning with: "De India me despachó el Governador Nuño de Acuña¹ ..." and ending with: "No he visto animal tan cruel como este Alcaide."²

[Not reproduced]

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- 1 Ed. note: Nuño da Cunha was Viceroy of Portuguese India in the early 1530s. It is strange that this letter was written in Spanish by a Portuguese official to a Spanish count.
 - 2 Ed. note: James Robertson (B&R 53:241) says that there is a transcript in the Lenox branch of the NYPL.

F6. Two declarations made by Andrés de Urdaneta and Macías del Poyo, a short one made at Valladolid on 4 September 1536, and a longer one made on 25 October 1536.

Sources: Original in AGI 1-2-1/4, R.34. Navarrete, vol. V, Doc. XXII and XXIV.¹ Excerpts from the latter follow.

...
[Question] 22. *Item*, let the witnesses declare if it is true that they brought with them an account of the whole voyage with latitudes, recorded in detail and collected in a book, and other charts specifically including the log of the voyage to the said islands and the South Sea; and how the said witnesses came this year of 1536 to the kingdom of Portugal aboard a Portuguese nao that took them to the city of Lisbon, and that the Major Guard posted there by the most serene King of Portugal, took a letter pouch that the witnesses carried, inside which there was an account of everything said above, as well as a letter that Hernando de la Torre was sending to H.M., that they also took the account book of H.M.'s nao that had gone to the Moluccas, and another book and charts upon which were drawn the islands of the Moluccas, Banda and other islands, that they also took the logbook of the voyage from New Spain to the Moluccas, and other writings and records regarding the above, all of which they refused to give back and they were left in the possession of the said Major Guard. Let them say what they know.

The said Andrés de Urdaneta, from Villafranca which is in the province of Guipúzcoa, having been sworn in in due form, and having had the questions of the interrogation put to him, said the following:

... To the 22nd question, he said that this witness had in his possession all the records, books and charts mentioned in the question, and when he entered Portugal, the Guard, at the time of disembarkation, took them all from him, and refused to give them back, although he had requested it many times. Before he had been advised that the King of Portugal had ordered his capture to prevent him from coming to report to H.M., so that this witness came on the sly to these kingdoms, and that later on the said King of Portugal sent from Évora for him and his companion to Lisbon, where they were. Given that this witness had come away, they did not find him but they took away Macías del Poyo, the pilot, his companion, to Évora. He does not know what happened there, only what he has heard about it, that he [Poyo] got away from the guards who were bringing him and went secretly to Luis Sarmiento, H.M.'s Ambassador in Portugal, who told him to come over without saying on word to the King of Portugal and gave him a horse to leave with.

1 Ed. note: Macías del Poyo was the pilot of Saavedra's Florida on the first return attempt in 1528. The inquiry was begun at the end of 1536 and the last deposition taken about February 1537.

... He was asked about the general questions, and he said that he was 28 years old¹ more or less, and that he is not concerned with the rest. And that is the truth based on the oath he has taken, and he signed it with his name.— Andrés de Urdaneta.

The said Macías del Poyo, from the city of Murcia, having been sworn in in due form, and been asked the questions of the said interrogation, said the following:

... To the 22nd question, he said that this witness and his companion Andrés de Urdaneta carried all the records mentioned in the question, which came inside a box of the said Andrés de Urdaneta, and at the time of disembarking in Lisbon the Major Guard of Lisbon took them from him and, although this witness and his companion asked for them, they did not want to return them; that the King of Portugal sent from Évora for this witness and his companion, as he learned about their arrival; that when they asked the Major Guard for the records, they were told that they had been sent to the King of Portugal at Évora; that this witness, by order of the King of Portugal, went to Évora; and when he entered the city, he split from those who were taking him there and went to the inn of Luis Sarmiento, H.M.'s ambassador who told him to come to these kingdoms and not to go before the said King of Portugal, and he gave him a horse with which to leave so that they would not catch him; and that he did come to these kingdoms to give a report to H.M. and has been at this Court about six months.

... It is the truth in accordance with the oath he took, and he signed it with his name.— Macías del Poyo.

F7. Declaration of Francisco de Paris, made at Valladolid on 25 October 1536

Sources: Original in AGI. Navarrete, vol. V, Doc. XXIII.²

[Not reproduced]

F8. Summary of all the eyewitness reports before the Council of the Indies

Sources: AGI and Navarrete, vol. V, Doc. XXV, also in the Rivadaneira Collection, vol. 77, pp. 223-225.

[Not reproduced]

1 Ed. note: Here is the origin of the error that has misled many historians. Was not Urdaneta then 38 years old?

2 Ed. note: This Greek sailor was from Piraeus, the seaport of Athens, not Paris, France. However, the name Paris has been perpetuated. He is said to have been with Magellan. If so, he may have been the Francisco Piora, N° 17 on my list.

Document 1526G

Salazar, ex-Loaysa—Secondary accounts about Micronesian canoes

Sources: Navarrete, in his synopsis of Loaysa's voyage, vol. V of his Colección, has paraphrased Herrera and Oviedo and described the canoes of Guam. It is to be noted that Oviedo had personally interviewed Urdaneta and Martin de Islares when they passed by Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) on their way to Mexico (and Guatemala) in 1539.¹

The canoes of Guam in 1526

Before the nao anchored at the island, many canoes went aboard with water, that they carried in gourds, salt, fish, potatoes, rice, coconuts, bananas and other local fruits. They did not wish anything other than iron, nails or things with metal tips in exchange for them. All such [iron] things they called "herrero".² They appreciated tortoise shell very much in order to make combs and hooks for fishing.

Most of their canoes were of one piece, although some were composed of many. Usually they were 4 to 5 fathoms in length, were narrow, being two cubits or a little less in width and their depth came up to a man's knee, although there were bigger ones and smaller ones. They fasten the boards of the canoes that are made up of many pieces by drilling the edges and tying one to the other with cords made from tree barks. On the inside, they would have some pieces of wood drilled, upon which they pushed through sticks that they also fastened, in order to strengthen them.³ On the outside, they would caulk them, sealing all the seams with pitch made of lime and oil, so that they did not leak. Every one of them had on one side a counterweight of wood shaped like a tunny fish, almost as long as half the length of the canoe, strongly fastened to two sticks that

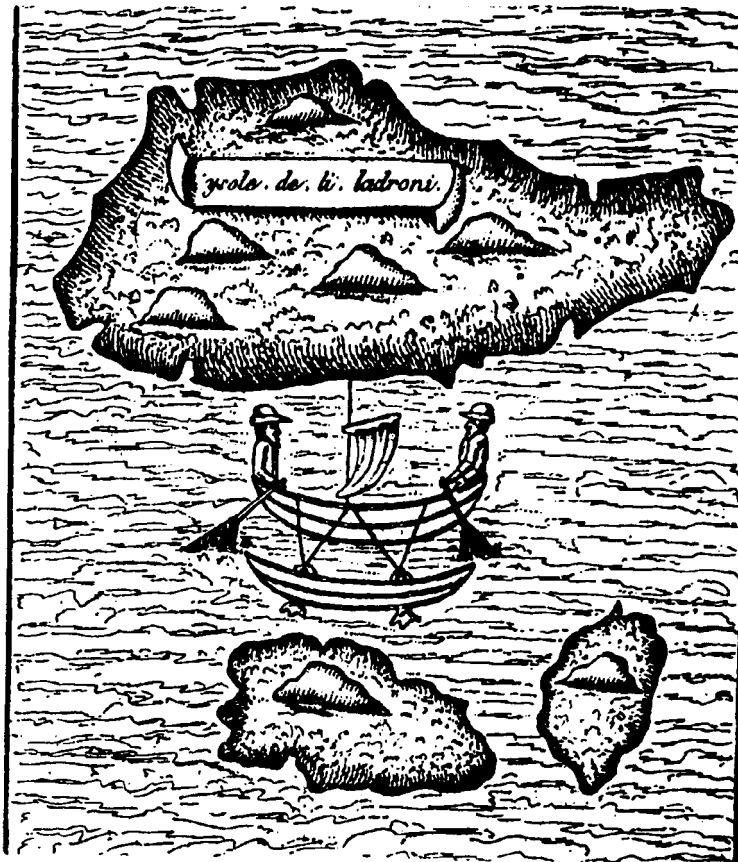
1 Ed. note: Herrera's "Historia", Decade III, Lib. IX, Caps. III-VI; Dec. IV, Lib. I, Caps. II-V, Lib. III, Caps V-VI, Lib. V, Caps. VI-IX. Oviedo's Libro XX of his "Historia", and Chapters XV, *et sequitur*.

2 Ed. note: Gonzalo de Vigo must have taught them the right word "hierro" for iron, rather than "herrero" which means blacksmith. However, the true native word was "ruro", or "lulo".

3 Ed. note: Which means that the canoes had thwarts.

projected from it [i.e. the canoe] and kept it [i.e. the float] separated from the side something like one fathom.

Their poops could not be differentiated from their prows, and they carried lateen sails made of mats, very well woven. In order to change direction, they did not tack, but only changed the sail because they made the poop the prow whenever they wanted.¹

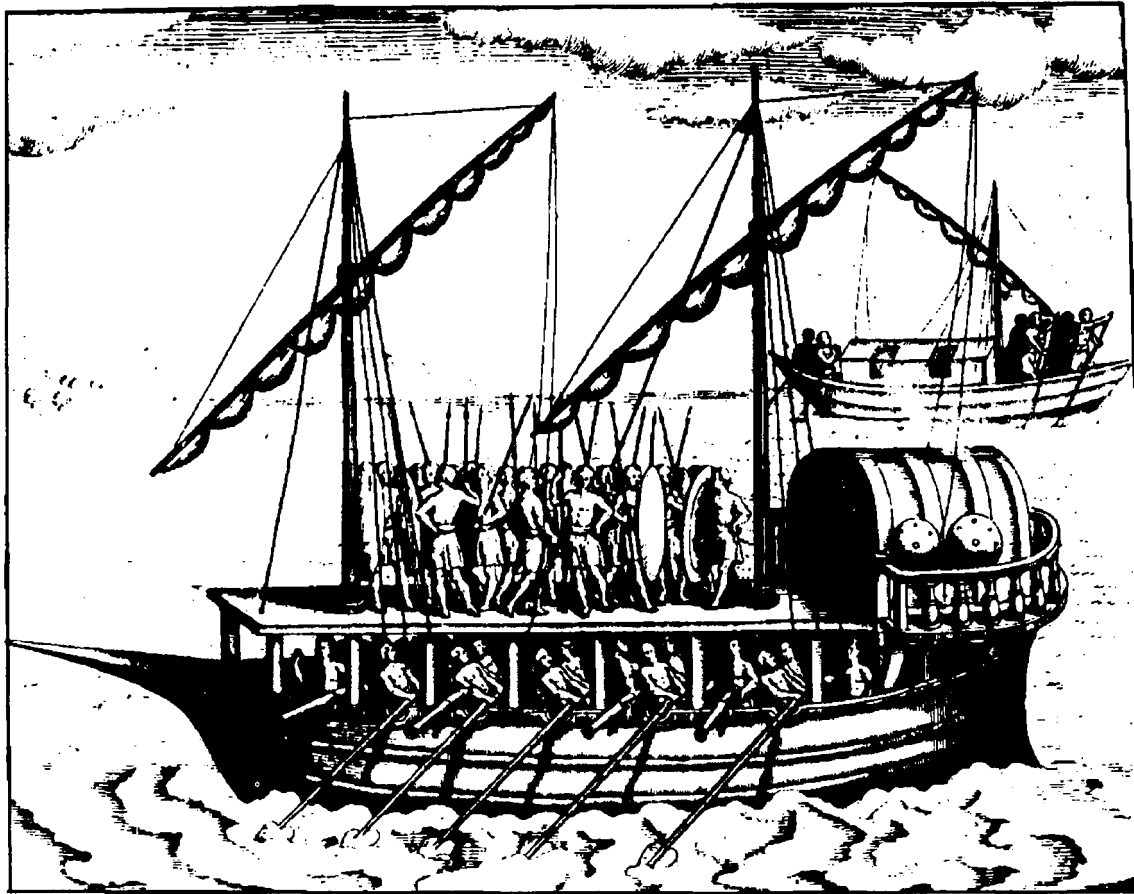


The canoes of Guam and Rota in 1526. (From Amoretti's edition of Pigafetta)

1 Ed. note: Herrera, Dec. III, Lib. 9, Cap. 6, p. 266. Oviedo, part 2, Lib. 20, Cap. 15, folio 35 verso.



The Battle of Tidore between the Portuguese and Spanish. *It began on 12 January 1527. The Santa María de la Victoria was attacked by a bigger Portuguese fleet. The battle raged on for several days at the end of which the nao was captured and stripped of all equipment and trade goods. Her remains were set ablaze by her own crew and burned to the water's edge. The picture above is not an authentic rendition of that battle, but a similar one for the same period. (BN ms. fr. 6440)*



A galiot like the one the Spanish built at Gilolo in 1527. After the *Victoria* was destroyed, the fifth Captain General of the Loaysa Expedition built a fusta on the west coast of Gilolo (Halmahera) I. The Portuguese tried unsuccessfully to blow her up while she was on the stocks. She was armed with cannon that had been taken ashore earlier from the *Victoria*. She was to capture a big Portuguese galley in May 1528. (From de Bry's "Collectiones ... in Indiam Orientalem", as shown in Morison's "Southern Voyages")

Document 1527A

Saavedra's voyages, 1527-29 —Introductory chapter

Sources: One whole book has already been published in English on these voyages by Ione Stuessy Wright: "Voyages of Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón 1527-1529", N° 11 of the University of Miami Hispanic-American Studies, Coral Gables, Florida, 1951; 11 primary documents, mostly from AGI, have already been published in Spanish by Navarrete: "Colección de los viages", Madrid, 1837, Vol. V, pp. 440-486; Navarrete's direct sources were the Muñoz transcripts, specially those made by him at Simancas in May 1793, copied from the Legajo called "Relaciones y descripciones". Other primary and secondary accounts, some of which are listed below. Wagner says that the originals of most of the pertinent documents are now in AGI 1-2-1/10.

Chronological list of primary sources regarding Saavedra's voyages

A1. Royal Order dated 20 June 1526 to Hernando Cortés, Captain General of New Spain, to send a fleet to the Moluccas from the west coast of New Spain, in order to find the whereabouts of the survivors of the Magellan, Loaysa and Cabot¹ expeditions.

Ref. AGI Patronato 43, Ramo 1, Doc. 2 (3 pages); transcript in RAH; Navarrete Doc. XXVII.

A2. Letter from Cortés to the King, dated 3 September 1526.

Summary: Cortés offers to send his newly-built fleet to the Moluccas. The fleet was built at the port of Zacatula, near the port of Zihuatanejo from which the fleet was to depart on 31 October 1527.²

A3. General instructions given by Cortés to Saavedra, dated Temusticán 26 May 1527.

Ref. AGI Patronato, formerly Legajo 6; Navarrete Doc. XXX.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Sebastian Caboto was the son of Juan Caboto (John Cabot) who explored Newfoundland in 1494. Sebastian's voyages almost always ended in failure. In 1526, he was placed in charge of a fleet sent to the Moluccas, but he stopped in Argentina. After a series of misfortunes, he returned to Spain only in 1530.
 - 2 Ed. note: Both Zacatula and Zihuatanejo are west of Acapulco.

A4. Instructions given by Cortés to Saavedra as Inspector General of the fleet, dated 27 May 1527.

Ref. AGI Patronato 43, Ramo 5, Doc. 2 (38 pages), formerly Legajo 6; Navarrete Doc. XXVIII.

A5. Instruction given by Cortés to Antonio Guiral as Treasurer of the fleet, dated 27 May 1527.

Ref. AGI Patronato, formerly Legajo 6; Navarrete Doc. XXIX.

A6. Letter from Cortés to the King of the island or land which the Saavedra expedition might reach, dated 28 May 1527.

Ref. AGI Patronato, formerly Legajo 6; Navarrete Doc. XXXIII.

A7. Letter from Cortés to the King of Cebu, dated 28 May 1527.

Ref. AGI Patronato, formerly Legajo 6; Navarrete Doc. XXXIV, pp. 461-462. Translated in B&R II, pp. 39-41.

A8. Letter from Cortés to the King of Tidore, thanking him for his good reception of the Magellan expedition, dated 28 May 1527.

Ref. AGI Patronato, formerly Legajo 6; Navarrete Doc. XXXV, pp. 463-464.

A9. Narrative of the voyage, probably by Saavedra himself, copied from the record book of the clerk Francisco Granado.

Ref. Library of the Escorial, Misc. 2 & 7, fol. 373-381; Navarrete Doc. XXXVI, pp. 465-475. See translation in Doc. 1527B below.

A10. Narrative by Vicente de Nápoles, dated Madrid 1534.

Ref. AGI Legajo 1 of the papers about the Moluccas from 1519 to 1547; Navarrete Doc. XXXVII, pp. 476-486; also in slightly different format in "Colección ... de Indias", Pacheco et al. (eds.), Vol. V, pp. 68-96.

Note: The latter version has been translated by Markham and by Wright. See my own translation in Doc. 1527D below.

A11. Official account of the expedition sent by Cortés to the King in 1534.

Ref. AGI Patronato 43, Ramo 9, Doc. 2 (15 pages); is it in Gayangos' "Relaciones de Hernan Cortés", Paris, 1866?

A12. Second official report by Cortés to the King, dated Mexico 1534.

Ref. AGI Patronato 43, Ramo 11, Doc. 2 (27 pages); in Gayangos?

A13. Narrative by Urdaneta, dated Valladolid 26 February 1537.

Ref. "Colección de Indias", V, pp. 29 et seq. See translation in Doc. 1527C below.

A14. Testimony of a member of the Saavedra expedition, dated Mexico ...

Ref. AGI Patronato 43, Ramo 10, Doc. 2: a fragment only (2 pages).

A15. Claim made by Francisco Granado, clerk in one of Saavedra's ships, dated ... 1538.

Ref. AGI Patronato 43, Ramo 12, Doc. 2 (4 pages).

Some secondary sources about the Saavedra expedition

A16. Galvão's narrative (See Doc 1527E below).

Note: This was the first narrative published, in Portuguese, in 1563.

A17. Oviedo's narrative, derived from eyewitness reports by Urdaneta and Islares, dated Santo Domingo 1539 (See Doc 1527F below).

Ref. "Historia general...", Madrid, RAH, 1851-55; see Lib. XX, Caps. XXIX-XXXI.

A18. Herrera's narrative.

Ref. "Historia general...", Madrid, 1601-1615; see Decade IV, Lib. I, Cap. VI, also Lib. III, Cap. VI and Lib. V, Cap. VI.

Organization of Saavedra's fleet, 1527.

Ship name	Crew	Captain
1. Florida	50	Alvaro de Saavedra
2. Santiago	45	Luis de Cárdenas ¹
3. Espiritu Santo	15	Pedro (de) Fuentes ²

The flagship **Florida** is the only one that left records. It sighted an island on 29 Dec 1527 (probably Guam), spent a few days at Los Reyes (probably Ulithi) and, by way of the Sarangani Is. reached Tidore on the last day of March 1528. At least 45 men were alive when the ship reached Tidore. On two return attempts, in 1528 and in 1529, the ship followed the northern coast of New Guinea, then headed northeasterly sighting island groups on both occasions, before turning back to the Moluccas. The islands in question are in the eastern Carolines and/or the Marshalls, for sure, but they cannot be identified with certainty, because of the lack of an accurate logbook, or even a reliable narrative.

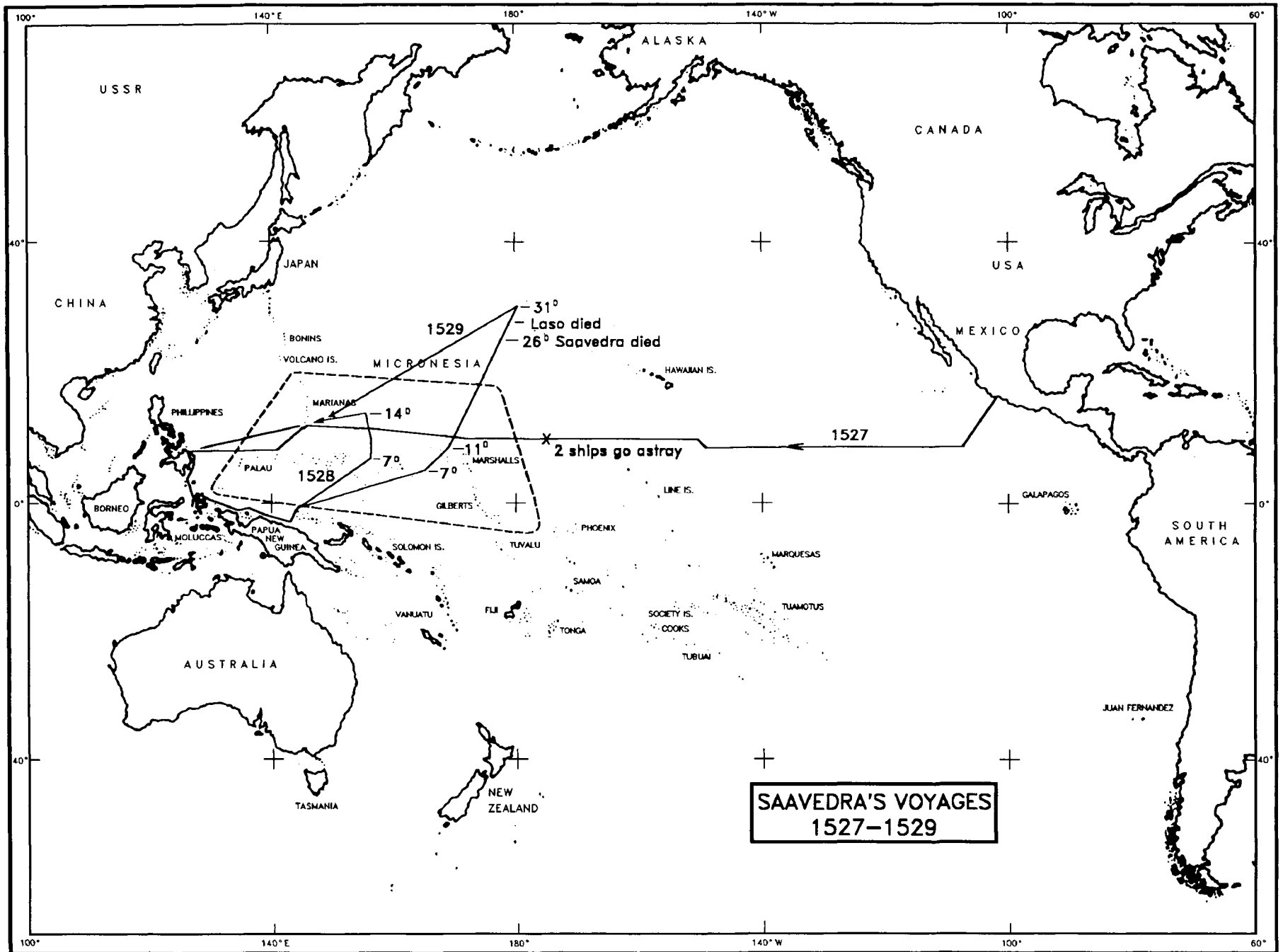
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- 1 Ed. note: Disappeared during the Pacific crossing, near the Marshalls, on 4 December, and was never heard of again. This was a replacement for the ship with the same name, the so-called galleon of Loaysa that diverted to Mexico.
- 2 Ed. note: Also disappeared during the Pacific crossing, without any trace.

Re-constructed summary logbook of the forward voyage

Ref. From Doc. 1527B and Navarrete's summary in his Vol. V, adapted from Wright's Appendix A (See also adjoining chart).

Date	Heading	Leagues	Comments
31 Oct	WSW	6	Departure from Zihuatanejo (17°30'N).
1 Nov	"	8	Death of surgeon.
2 Nov	S	10	
3 Nov	SW	14	
4 Nov	"	17	
5 Nov	WSW	25	
6 Nov	"	14	
7 Nov	"	25	
8 Nov	"	17	
9 Nov	"	20	
10 Nov	"	20	
11 Nov	"	20	
12 Nov	"	8	
13 Nov	"	7	Leak in flagship.
14 Nov	W	42	
15 Nov	"	37	Many birds, etc. seen.
16 Nov	"	40	
17 Nov	"	40	
18 Nov	"	35	
19 Nov	"	40	
20 Nov	"	45	
21 Nov	"	30	
22 Nov	"	35	
23 Nov	"	25	
24 Nov	"	35	
25 Nov	"	40	
26 Nov	"	28	
27 Nov	"	8	Becalmed for most of day.
28 Nov	N by W	20	Search for land seen (clouds) ¹
29 Nov	"	20	
30 Nov	W	20	Return to normal heading.
1 Dec	"	20	
2 Dec	"	40	
3 Dec	"	38	
4 Dec	"	47	
5 Dec	"	40	
6 Dec	"	40	
7 Dec	"	18	
8 Dec	"	30	
9 Dec	"	38	

¹ Ed. note: Wright is not right when he writes NW, because the log says N1/4W which is N by W.



10 Dec	"	40	
11 Dec	W by N	28	
12 Dec	"	38	Latitude 11°02'N.
13 Dec	"	18	
14 Dec	"	40	
15 Dec	"	38	Florida stalls by mistake at night and the other two ships sail past.
16 Dec	W	30	
17 Dec	"	22	
18 Dec	"	14	Becalmed all night.
19 Dec	"	18	
20 Dec	"	28	
21 Dec	"	28	Frigate birds seen [Bikar?]
22 Dec	"	20	
23 Dec	"	30	Many birds seen [Eniwetok?]
24 Dec	"	22	With some southwesting.
25 Dec	"	25	
26 Dec	"	28	
27 Dec	"	30	
28 Dec	"	22	
29 Dec	SW	10	Guam sighted dead ahead; day spent coasting it.
30 Dec	SW ¹	6	
31 Dec	"	36	
1 Jan 1528	"	--	Anchored at an islet (Ulithi).
2 Jan	--	--	Remained anchored.
3 Jan	W	4	Anchored at another islet (Ulithi).
4 Jan	--	--	Landed, took latitude 11°N.
5 Jan	--	--	Remained anchored.
6 Jan	--	--	" "
7 Jan	--	--	" "
8 Jan	--	--	Left note for other ships.
9 Jan	WSW ²	--	Got under way.
10 Jan	"	37	
11 Jan	"	18	
12 Jan	"	13	Saw signs of land [Palau?]
13 Jan	"	15	" " " " "
14 Jan	"	12	" " " " "
15 Jan	"	13	" " " " "
16 Jan	"	16	" " " " "
17 Jan	"	12	Still saw signs of land.
18 Jan	--	--	All sails lowered. Becalmed.
19 Jan	"	15	
20 Jan	"	10	
21 Jan	"	12	
22 Jan	"	8	

1 Ed. note: West is the assumed heading, but a continuation of the SW heading is more likely in view of following events.

2 Again, W is the assumed heading, but this has to be WSW from now on, because they were steadily losing latitude.

23 Jan	--	--	Becalmed; men mutinous.
24 Jan	--	--	" " "
25 Jan	--	10	Death of pilot and blacksmith.
26 Jan	W [sic]	11	
27 Jan	"	18	
28 Jan	"	10	
29 Jan	"	18	Fresh winds.
30 Jan	"	18	" "
31 Jan	"	18	" "
1 Feb	--	--	Saw land (Surigao coast, Mindanao).
2 Feb	--	--	Anchored (Bislig Bay, 8°N). ¹

1 Ed. note: A total of about 1,923 leagues covered (not in a straight line) between Zihuatanejo and Mindanao, says Wright (that is slightly understated, I think), over an elapsed period of 95 days, of which about 86 were spent cruising. This is an average speed of over 22 leagues (72 nautical miles) per day, almost 3 knots.

Document 1527B

Saavedra's voyages—Narrative attributed to Saavedra, as recorded by the clerk Granada

Source: Navarrete's Colección, vol. V, Doc. XXXVI, pp. 465-475. Also in the Rivadeneira Collection, vol. 77, pp. 266-272. It was copied by Muñoz on 26 October 1791 from a badly-written manuscript of the period in the Upper Library of the Escorial, found in a folio codex labelled Miscellaneous 2. & 7., folios 373-381. Note that Pastor y Santos¹, after comparing two transcripts he saw in the Dirección de Hidrografía, has noted that Navarrete has omitted many sheets from the original manuscript, no doubt because they were undecipherable.

Account of the voyage made by Alvaro de Saavedra from the west coast of New Spain to the Moluccas.

The voyage of discovery that I have made to the Spice Islands from New Spain to the Moluccas, is as follows:

I departed from the port of Zihuatanejo, which is in New Spain in the province of Zacatula, on Thursday the eve of All Saints' Day, i.e. on the last day of October 1527, with two ships and a brig. On this day I headed WSW and made 6 leagues.

On Friday next, 1st day of November, same heading 8 leagues. On this day, the surgeon whose name was Master Francisco, died and his body was cast into the sea.

Saturday next, 2nd of November, made S 10 leagues, because the wind did not allow me to go WSW, which was our planned heading.

Sunday next, made SW 14 leagues.

Monday next, 5th [i.e. 4th] of the said month, same heading 17 leagues.

Tuesday next, made WSW 25 leagues.

Wednesday next, same heading 14 leagues.

Thursday next, same heading 25 leagues.

Friday next, 17 leagues. It is understood that the day includes the corresponding night also.

1 Emilio Pastor y Santos, "Territorios de soberanía española en Oceanía", Madrid, 1950, page 137.

Saturday next, 20 leagues.

Sunday next, 20 leagues.

Monday next, 20 leagues.

Tuesday next, 8 leagues.

Wednesday next, made 7 leagues. On this day, a large leak was discovered in the ship I was in, under the bread supply which was stored aft of the stern hole, and it could not be stopped in any way. I had to lighten the ship by throwing some bread into the sea, about 30 quintals, and some meat and other things. The leak was such that the ship was listing. During that night and the following day, I had to have men come 30 times from the other ship to help get rid of the water.

Thursday next, I made W 42 leagues.

Friday next, 37 leagues. On this day, many land birds and other signs of land were seen.¹

Saturday next, made 40 leagues.

Sunday next, made 40 leagues.

Monday next, made 35 leagues.

Tuesday next, made 40 leagues.

Wednesday next, made 45 leagues.

Thursday next, made 30 leagues.

Friday next, made 35 leagues.

Saturday next, made 25 leagues.

Sunday next, made 35 leagues.

Monday next, made 40 leagues.

Tuesday next, made 28 leagues.

Wednesday next, made 8 leagues. From this day until Friday midnight, I was becalmed and then turned to N by W in search of land which my men had seen the day before. I followed this new heading for 40 leagues.

On Friday at midnight, I headed back to W, and by Sunday I made 40 leagues along that heading.

Monday, the 2nd of December, made 40 leagues.

Tuesday, made 38 leagues.

Wednesday, made 47 leagues.

Thursday, made 40 leagues.

Friday, made 40 leagues.

Saturday, made 18 leagues.

Sunday, 8th of December, made 30 leagues.

Monday, made 38 leagues.

Tuesday, made 40 leagues.

On Wednesday, our pilot wishing to go W by N, we made 28 leagues [along that heading].

¹ Ed. note: They were probably near Clipperton Island.

Thursday next, same heading 38 leagues. On this day the pilot took the sun's elevation in 11°2' N.

Friday, made 18 leagues.

Saturday, 21 December¹, made 40 leagues.

Sunday, made 38 leagues. On this night, I became separated from the other ships, as they from me, on account of the storm.²

Monday, did not see the other ships. Made 30 leagues westbound in search of the Ladrone.

Tuesday, made 22 leagues.

Wednesday, we lowered the sail after 5 o'clock until daybreak. This same day, made 14 leagues.

Thursday, same heading 18 leagues.

Friday, made 28 leagues. On this day, frigate birds began to appear.³

Saturday, made W 28 leagues.

Sunday, 22 December, made W 20 leagues.

Monday, made 30 leagues. On this day, we saw many land birds.⁴

Tuesday, 24 December, made W and SW 30 leagues.

Wednesday, made W 25 leagues.

Thursday next, as usual including the corresponding night, I made 28 leagues.

Friday next, made 30 leagues.

Saturday next, made 22 leagues along the same course. On this day, the pilot aboard ordered a change in heading to SW in order to fetch the mouth of the Archipelago.⁵ This decision was taken after sunset, and I ran that night SW as many as 10 leagues.

On Sunday next, at daybreak of the 29th of the said month of December, one **island** appeared and we went toward it. While we were coasting it, five to six sails appeared and I went toward them in order to make contact and learn which island it was, but they all fled.⁶ The pilot assured me that this was the Island of Thieves [i.e. Guam] where

1 Obviously an error of 1 week in date. The correct date was 14 December.

2 Ed. note: Navarrete, however, in his own narrative in the first part of his Vol. V, says that the flagship stalled with the sails flapping, as a result of an error made by the helmsman, and the sails were lowered.. Meanwhile, the other two ships kept on going in the dark... They were never seen again.

3 Ed. note: They were approaching the northern Marshalls, perhaps N of Bikar.

4 Ed. note: They were then probably N of Eniwetok. Navarrete says that they were white and brown *grajos*, which means roods or jack-daws, and other birds. The distance to Guam seems grossly underestimated, but even Loaysa had underestimated it by 25%.

5 Ed. note: The Molucca Passage.

6 Ed. note; The natives of Guam had not forgotten their 11 countrymen who had been kidnapped by Captain Salazar the previous year.

they had stolen Magellan's boat. I maneuvered near this island for two days and one night¹ looking for an issue [i.e. anchorage] but one could not be found; even at 100 paces from the shore, we could not find bottom with 120 fathoms of line. We spent Sunday and its night in this way.

On Monday, at the hour of vespers, I ordered the Master to do what he had to do to take stocks of our provisions. The pilot decided that the ship should go west in search of the island of Bimian², because he thought that we could perhaps find the other ships there; if not, from there we would go to the island of Grade. Hence, the distance we covered on Monday evening was about 6 leagues.

Tuesday, made W 36 leagues.

[Ulithi re-discovered]

Wednesday, which was figured out as the 1st day of the month of January, of the first [month] of the year 1528, at the hour of vespers, I arrived at an island that had two other small islands, all of them low-lying. I ran as many as 30 leagues along part of it, and came to an anchor; I remained all night at anchor.³

The next day, Thursday, in the morning, I sent the pilot with the boat to see if he could find a place to anchor nearer this island and he found bottom everywhere, but all of it "dirty".⁴ However, I could not get near the shore, because the wind was contrary and too strong. So, I remained at anchor here all day Thursday and following night, filling up some butts with salt water to use as ballast. On this day also, we saw a sail in the distance and I could not find out who it was.

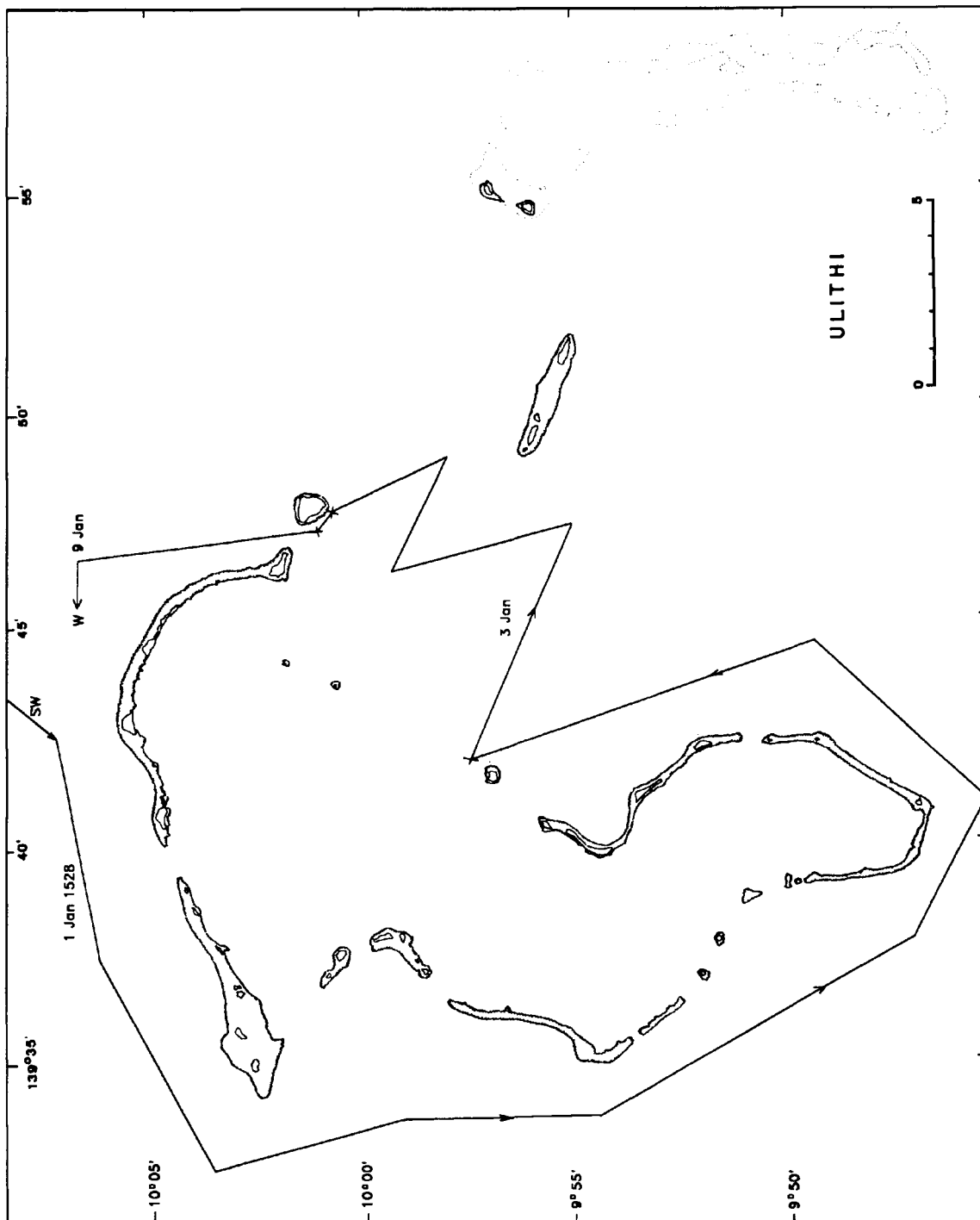
Friday next, I raised anchor and came toward the small island that was as many as 4 leagues from this other where I had anchored. As I was making for it, the above-mentioned sail appeared at the same island that I was approaching; as a result [of the distraction], we almost became grounded on the said island. I sent the boat ashore with

1 Ed. note: On Sunday 29th, the night of 29/30, and the better part of Monday 30th December 1527.

2 Ed. note: The Mexicans were not as favored as Loaysa had been in having up-to-date maps. I do not recall seeing the word Bimian, nor the word Grade either, on any chart. Perhaps they are wrong transcriptions from the illegible original manuscript. My guess is that the islands in question were Mindanao and Ternate respectively.

3 Ed. note: The distance of 30 leagues is grossly exaggerated, or a transcription error, as it could not be covered from the time of vespers until nightfall, even by counting the zigzagging distance against the wind (See my chart of the probable track near Ulithi). It is becoming increasingly clear that Spanish sailors had a tendency of under-estimating distances in the open sea, and over-estimating the size of low-lying islands. For instance, the pilot estimated 72 leagues from Guam, whereas a good estimate is about 100 leagues. I could also mention here that the translation made by Wright excludes the words "along part of it", although they are crucial to a proper interpretation.

4 Ed. note: A dirty bottom in this case had to be one with coral shoals.



Probable track of the ship Florida, Captain Saavedra, January 1528. *“An island [atoll] that had two other small islands [atolls]”, says Saavedra. The group had been discovered 2 years earlier by the Portuguese captain Da Rocha. The Florida probably left the atoll by the north side, because they missed sighting Yap later on.*

the master-at-arms and 15 men to make contact. He went toward a point to which the said sail had fled and he found two native boats, but they did not wish to wait for him. They raised their sails and went away, so that he was unable to find out who they were.

Saturday next, I myself stepped ashore and brought the pilot with me and some men to look for water. The pilot took the sun's elevation and found it to be 11 degrees from the equinoctial line.¹ On this day, I had a well dug to find water but it came out salty. I went to another, higher, point of the island and we found good water, and I took twelve butts of water, of which we were much in need.

On Sunday next, at the hour of the mass, two sails came out of a island [Asor?] bigger than all the others mentioned before, and higher than the one where I was [Falalep?], and they came toward the island where I was to find out who we were. They anchored at gun range from where I was. As it happens, I had already sent two men from my company [along the beach] in the direction where they were anchored, and as they saw them approach, four [natives] stepped ashore and went to speak to the two from my company. They were standing together for a while, at a great distance from where I was, not going anywhere. Having seen this, I sent there another man from my company to try and negotiate with them, so that one of the Spaniards would stay in their boats, and the other two would bring one of the natives to me, in order to see what kind of people they were or what they looked like. Well, although I arranged for the above-said negotiation, to leave such hostages, they did not wish to give me one in return, even though two of the men from my company offered themselves as hostages. Rather, they boarded their boats and went away. What was learned from all this is that these people are naked, bearded, and long-faced. They wear in front of their natures a certain small palm thing, woven like some of our textiles. As for the boats that they came in, they are such fast sailers that none of our ships could compete with them.

I remained anchored here until Wednesday, figured as the 8th of January, taking on the above-mentioned water. Here I had two mooring cables damaged, because the [bottom] was so "dirty". I went out of here by towing with much work and danger, because there were many shoals. At this island, I left a letter inside a jar buried at the foot of a tall tree, with markings on the tree pointing to it, so that, should anyone come looking for me, he would learn where I was going, and so that the reason for my plan would remain in the ..., etc.

I departed from the above-said island on Wednesday evening of the 8th of the said month. My sails remained lowered all night and until 10 a.m. on Thursday, when the boat was loaded. I headed west in search of Huran² and made 37 leagues.

-
- 1 Ed. note: His latitude, taken ashore, is expected to be less than 1 degree in error. In fact, Falalep, which island it probably was, is at 10 degrees plus. As I have already mentioned in connection with the Magellan expedition, the small errors made by Spanish navigators were probably due more to their bad almanachs rather than improper use of the astrolabes.
 - 2 Ed. note: Muñoz had problems guessing the proper names. This could be the same as the earlier Bimian, i.e. Mindanao.

Saturday next, I made 18 leagues on the same heading.

Sunday next, I made W 13 leagues.

Monday next, I made 15 leagues.

Tuesday next, I made 12 leagues. On this day, many land birds and driftwood were seen.¹

Wednesday next, I made 13 leagues. On this day also, we saw much driftwood.

Thursday, I made 16 leagues.

Friday, I made 12 leagues. For the past **six** days, tree branches and leaves and many signs of land were seen.

Saturday, I was becalmed.

Sunday, I made 15 leagues.

Monday, I made 10 leagues.

Tuesday, I made 12 leagues.

Wednesday, I made 8 leagues.

Thursday and Friday, the men were mutinous because of the calm weather and their great unhappiness.

Saturday, 25 January, and that night, I made 10 leagues.

...

Navarrete's synopsis of the rest of the forward voyage via Mindanao as far as the Sarangani Islands.

On this day [25 January 1528], the pilot and one blacksmith died, and there was no other pilot left. Saavedra thought he was at 70 leagues from the mouth of Larcapilla [sic]. He named as pilot a certain Vinreo [or Viurco], who knew nothing about taking the sun but he was a good seaman and he was good at dead reckoning.

On the 26th, still heading W, they made 11 leagues, on the 27th 18 leagues, on the 28th 10, and 18 leagues on each of the following dates, 29th, 30th and 31st, because they then had fresh winds.

On the 1st of February, in the afternoon, they saw **land**. On the 2nd, they went to it and anchored. On the 3rd, they remained at anchor. On the 4th, a certain Cansinola died. They set sail and went to the big island in the cove and anchored there. In the afternoon, a canoe came up with 7 people aboard shouting "Castile, Castile". On the 5th in the morning, another big canoe came up with 14 persons (according to Saavedra, or about 25 according to Nápoles). When the captain saw them, he sent a gentleman named Pedro Laso with 10 or 12 men and one negro from Caliend [Calicut?] as an interpreter to see who they were, and to get sailing directions for the Moluccas. The negro did not understand them, even though he said he did, and the nearer our people approached them, the farther they were retreating. Finally, with signs and by stopping to show them their peaceful intentions, the Indians were convinced to wait next to some trees called mangrove. Those in the boat took two or three blankets, of the type made

1 Ed. note: They probably had passed north of Palau, at a latitude of about 9° N.

in Mexico, and on account of the fright the Indians showed, they threw the blankets into the water. After they picked them up, they bowed as they do to their kings, and those in the boat thought that they were saying thanks to God. At that moment, they went home, and our people returned to the ship to report to the captain.

Saavedra decided to beach the ship on account of the leakage. They removed the water from it and afterwards put it afloat, where it remained anchored. During these proceedings, one day they saw the canoe and the captain told the said Pedro Laso to take 7 or 8 men with the boat and go to the canoe. When those in the canoe saw them, they stopped and waited for them near the shore. They then told those in the boat to put out the fire they were carrying for firing the weapons; they agreed but they hid the fire at the poop. The Indians then went immediately to the boat, removed their weapons and put them down, and our men did the same. As they met, they embraced one another and made friends. Our people invited them to the ship to see the captain, but they answered that they would go fishing first and bring the fish along.

At about 4 in the afternoon, they did in fact go toward the ship but refused to go near. They stopped at half the range of a crossbow at the poop. Then, the captain ordered the master-at-arms to jump into the boat and go with 6 men where they were and ask them why they did not wish to come aboard. They answered that they feared firearms. However, they agreed to exchange two of our men for two of theirs who came to the ship.

Captain Saavedra received them very well, as he needed their help to acquire some supplies of meat, chickens, coconuts, rice and other things they might have ashore. However, they went around the ship inspecting the guns and equipment, and then when they had seen it all very well, they said they wished to go. The captain gave them some beads, clubs, some valuables and pearls, and when they had received them, he ordered that they be taken to the canoe.

When the boat got near the canoe, the two Indians told those in the canoe to make ready to take all those in the boat and make them prisoners. As they were talking, one of the Spaniards from the boat, whose name was San Juan, told the others that if they had some weapons, they had better make them ready because he did not know what those Indians were plotting to do. Aboard the boat, there was nothing but one sword, and they used it to defend themselves against them, wounding three of them in the process, and they returned to the ship. When the captain saw that, he wanted to shoot a gun to help the boat, but he did not risk harming any man.

Afterwards, the Indians came with their canoes to fight those of the nao with guns. However, when they got tired of it, and saw they could not get anywhere, they went home and left them.

Saavedra left that bay, and went to two islets which were 4 leagues further, and he remained there a few days.

On 23 February, he left these islets, and headed south toward the Moluccas, given that the coast was trending N—S.

On the 24th, as they were something like 3 leagues from the coast, a canoe came out that had 14 oarsmen and a flag showing. There was a king aboard named Catemao. When he came aboard, he showed them a cove where they could get some water, rice and someone who knew the Spanish language. Saavedra went toward the said cove and anchored at one crossbow range from the shore.

Then the Indians saw that the ship was anchored, they came alongside and asked for some jars to bring them water. From the ship they threw a few of the clay jars they carried for that purpose. They took them, and asked those aboard whence they came. They answered that they came from very far away. They asked if they needed rice and coconuts, and the answer was yes. Our men spotted a red round bonnet and they thought the Indians had some contact with the Portuguese. They went ashore and having returned with the water, they said that they did not wish to come alongside. The captain ordered that a man should jump in the boat and get the jars. When they had given them up, they asked the ship to wait, that the next day they would return with the rice and the coconuts. Our people remained there, hoping very much to get refreshments, but the Indians went home to figure out a way to take our people and the ship.

On the 25th, they came to the ship with a few small canoes; however, when they were near, they veered off not wanting to come alongside, as if they were men who were hiding their own game. A canoe came up with the son-in-law of the king ashore in whose port they were anchored. He came aboard with his infant son in his arms and spoke with the captain. The captain gave him some blankets for him and for the boy, and asked him to send them something to eat, that he would be paid well. He said that he would do it, and afterward said that he wished to go ashore where the other people and his father-in-law were waiting. In the meantime, 11 canoes came alongside and they brought green barks of trees which they said were cinnamon; some branches of the tree they gave to Saavedra. They also brought coconuts, rice and chickens like those of Spain. Saavedra gave them one axe made in New Spain for one cock, and without bartering anything else, they said goodbye and went ashore.

Later, after nightfall, the Indians made a rope out of some plant called *rota* [rattan], and *bejuco* [reed] in New Spain, and at midnight, two canoes went where the ship had one anchor without a buoy. Those aboard were watching, but the Indians went to it by swimming underwater, cut the cable at about the middle and tied their rope to the end of the cable that was tied to the ship, and using the other end to steal our anchor that had been in 10 fathoms. They went back ashore to pull our ship in.

The Indians tried hard but they could not do it, because, although they had cut off one mooring cable, there was still another one seaward. There were ashore two Christian prisoners with their hands tied, so they asked them why they could not pull the ship ashore. They answered that they did not know. They were then told: "Sure, you know, but you don't want to say it." The Christians then said that it could be that there was another anchor overboard on the sea side of the ship. As soon as they heard this, the Indians boarded a small canoe and went off to the ship to cut the other cable. They got under the bow where someone was watching, but he did not harm them on orders from

the captain. However, when they noticed that the Indians wanted to cut the mooring cable, they went to tell the captain who answered that they should warn them off. When the Indians heard the warning, they fled laughing, and went ashore where the king was. It was then daybreak, and they retired to their houses.

[News about the Loaysa and Magellan expeditions]

On the 26th, one of the men they held captive, got himself loose and fled to the bush where he stayed until the Indians had left. Immediately afterwards, he made for the beach facing the ship and made signs for the boat to come and get him. The captain could not decide whether he should risk it, fearing that it was some Indian trick to steal the boat. At that very moment, it occurred to someone that it could be a Christian, on account of the king's son [-in-law] who spoke Spanish so clearly that it might be a possibility. So, the captain ordered the boat made ready to go and see who he was, as he had called many times.

Some 10 to 12 men jumped into the boat and went off toward the said man. Then, when he saw the boat coming, he ran and threw himself in and swam to it. They took him in and brought him to the ship. The captain asked him who he was, and he said he was with Commander Fray García de Loaysa's fleet. His name was Sebastián de Puerta, a native of La Coruña, with a wife in that city. He was from the galleon **Parral**, one in the fleet whose captain was Don Jorge Manrique, a native of Salamanca, in whose company there was a Bachelor Tarragona and Agustín Varela as master. He also said that the island where they were is called Bizaya¹ and it has provinces whose names are Rijalia [or Bixalia], Catile, Ratabaluy and Maluarbuco.² He said that the **Parral** arrived at the province of Ratabaluy, where it anchored, and early the next day the boat went ashore with Bachelor Tarragona, Andrés de Aragón and 11 companions. The local king whose name was Catunao³ jumped, saying that they were his enemies about to rob, and up to 200 men jumped the boat. They killed the Bachelor, and 8 others, and made this Sebastián de Puerta and three other ship's boys prisoners. They brought him to the province of Maluarbuco, which is located about 20 leagues N of that of Ratabaluy. Afterwards, the galleon **Parral** set sail going north along the coast up to 12 leagues, where it remained anchored for three weeks. Later on, it sailed back south along the coast. About one year later, he learned from the Indians that, after the galleon had spent

1 Ed. note: This corresponds, I think, to Bislig. This name is restricted to a town and bay on the east coast of Mindanao today. It is possible, from what is said immediately below, that the whole region of Surigao was then called Bislig. The word Visaya is used here outside the present-day Visayas, the island region of the Philippines to the north of Mindanao. It is quite possible, however, that Visayan-speaking people inhabited that region then. After all, five years earlier Magellan met a chief of Butuan and Caraga [Surigao] at the island of Limasawa...

2 Ed. note: None of these names can be pinned down on a modern map, with the exception of Catile which is obviously Cateel today. Maluarbuco is sometimes transcribed Malnarbuco, even Malucobuco.

3 Ed. note: Was this the same king who visited the Florida, whose name is reported as Catemao above?

some time at the island of Pojanés, it left it and was shipwrecked upon some coast whose location he could not learn. He also said that where they were made prisoners, Bachelor Tarragona had taken the sun's elevation at 8° latitude N.

Sebastián de Puerta added that during the first year of his bondage [i.e. 1527], his master took him along by canoe to trade at Cebu, from whose natives he learned that five years earlier [i.e. 1522], they had sold to some Chinese in exchange for a few metal pans all the Spaniards from Magellan's fleet whom the Indians had grabbed there, and they were as many as 8 of them [left alive].

In the province of Maluarbuco, which is in the eastern part of that island of Bizaya, he had found an Indian, a native of the **Ladrone Islands**, from whom he learned that a nao had arrived at those islands and had anchored, that 11 of the natives had gone aboard but the ship captain had not let them go, but rather brought them with him all the way to this island of Bizaya, where he anchored inside a bay in the province of Duacatán, where there is a small river flowing in, and whose entrance had one small island. While the nao was staying there, all the 11 Indians had fled from it and gone ashore. Later on, he met another one of those Indians from the group of 11, and he added [the information] that the nao was big and that there was one negro woman aboard named Maria, who had one infant son, and that the said nao had set sail to follow the coast of this island of Bizaya. From all this information, it was deduced that the ship in question was the nao [Santa María de la Victoria] commanded by Loaysa, because the others would not have carried a negro woman.

From the same man, Saavedra learned that in the island where they were, there were no spices whatever, except a wild kind of cinnamon which was of the same type as the one whose sample branches he had been given earlier; that the natives worship idols, and that at certain times they sacrificed men to an idol called Amito¹ to whom they made offerings of food and drink; that the houses of those natives are built near the coast to take advantage of the sea, and that they go on trading voyages to other islands; that they move their villages like the Arabs move their camps from one place to another; that there were many wild pigs in this island; there was gold. He also said that some traders come from China to trade through the islands. Finally, these natives weave a beautiful type of fine jacket that they make with the bark of some trees which they called *pilay*.² They go and trade for rice and other things, specially to Cebu and to other islands that are near it and are called Sol [Jolo?].

Saavedra sailed to go to the Moluccas, coasting that same island where they were, and he went to two other islands nearby, one of which is called Candigar and the other Sarragan [Sarangani]. There, some canoes came out with various Indians who brought along two naked Christians, with their hands tied behind their backs; the latter, as they got near the ship, saluted the captain. The captain asked them who they were, and they

1 Ed. note: Obviously this should be written Anito, but this was a word used for any ghost or spirit.

2 Ed. note: There are many possibilities here. Could this be *palay*, the word for the rice plant? Could it be *piña*, the Spanish word for pineapple, whose fibers are used in the Philippines to make a fine cloth? Could this be a local word for pandanus?

answered that they were from the fleet of Commander Loaysa and from the caravel **Par-ral**, commanded by Captain Jorge Manrique, and they begged him for God's sake to rescue them. The captain told them not to make a move, that he would buy them, even if it cost him everything aboard the ship, as long as they did not ask for the ship itself. He also asked them to speak with the lords of that island, to say that he had come in the name of His Majesty to trade with them, to make peace and friendship as with brothers, and that they should bring out something to eat.

Those men went ashore, spoke with the lord of the island, and came back to make peace with the captain in the local manner. Those men had been in fact the king's interpreters; the friendship ceremony took place between the captain and the king himself, each one taking a bit a blood from his arm into a glass cup, where they added a little water. The king of the island drank the blood, etc.

...

Second return voyage of 1529, narrated by Saavedra

I left Tidore the first time on the evening of the eve of Corpus Christi [1528] and returned on Friday afternoon ... of what was the 12th of June 1528.¹

On Saturday morning, I went into the port of Gilolo. On this day, the fetters were removed from Benito Fernández, and the large flags were raised. I gave this day 7 ducats per month to everyone.

I departed Tidore on Monday night of the 3rd of May of the year 1529. Pedro de Montemayor came out with me with four proas and accompanied me as far as Tribuobe and he stayed there. I made sail heading E with a good wind from the SW.

I arrived at the island of Paine on Thursday noon of what was on the calendar the 24th of the month of June, St. John the Baptist's Day. It took me 50 days to cover the 200 leagues from Tidore to this island; out of that I also had 43 days of calm weather. I remained anchored at the island of Paine the whole of the month of July.

I made sail from this port on Sunday afternoon on the 1st day of August of the said year. I sailed until the 15th of August, the day of Our Lady [of Assumption], when I arrived at Big Urais Island which is at 1° 40' S of the line, where I anchored on Sunday night. Between the island of Paine and this one, there could be, I say, 140 leagues.

From here, I made sail on Tuesday noon and ran for 17 leagues.

From here, I made sail on Wednesday 17 August. At this island I have mentioned, I had news that there was clove in it from a native born there who had been with me for a year. This man was telling me that there was clove there, but that the natives did not eat it. Above this island, I tacked for two days and was unable to make any headway eastward. On Sunday, which was figured out as the 23rd of August, I turned back here to go by way of the Cape of Good Hope. I was waiting and coasting the said island going west, but could not round its western cape because the wind jumped to NW.

1 Ed. note: Navarrete mentions that the manuscript was so illegible that he was unable to decipher the text of the first return voyage.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, I got a favorable wind and, trying to round the western cape, I failed.

On Thursday next, I again turned back to make my way east with good breezes from the NW and NNE and SSW.

On Friday, Saturday and Sunday, which was the 29th of the said month, when we took the direction of New Spain, we made 26 leagues during these three days.

On Monday next, we were becalmed and made no headway, until noon when the wind began to blow.

Tuesday next, I made 20 leagues to the NE, N and then E, with the wind from the SSW and SW.

Wednesday, 1st day of September of the said year, they took the sun: we were in 40' north of the line, and made 10 leagues NW 1/4 W with the wind S, SW, SSW and calm.

Thursday next, we had the sails down with showers; we made no headway, it was calm.

Friday next, I ran N 1/4 NE and to NNE 12 leagues with the wind from ESE and E.

Saturday, figured as the 4th of September, we ran N 1/4 NW and NE with the wind from SW and ESE for 6 leagues.

Sunday next, we got very little wind; on this day, we almost did not move. On Sunday night, there was a little wind; we headed NW until Monday and made 12 leagues.

Between Monday last and Tuesday next at noon, I made 18 leagues NE with the wind NW and SW.

Between Tuesday noon and Wednesday noon, which was on the 8th of September, the feast day of [the Nativity of] Our Lady, we made 18 leagues toward the NW with the wind SSW.¹

Between Wednesday noon and Thursday following at noon, I sailed with a S and SW wind mixed with showers toward the N.

Between Thursday noon and Friday noon, which was the 11th of September, I made 40 leagues heading N 1/4 NE with the wind from NNW and SW.

Between Friday noon and Saturday noon, we ran 36 leagues NE 1/4 E with the wind SSW.

Between Saturday noon and Sunday noon, which was the 12nd of September, we ran 45 leagues to the ENE with the wind SW and W.

Monday 13 September, we made 50 leagues to NE with the wind W and SW.

Tuesday 14 September, we made 30 leagues toward the NE. On this day, we came to an **island** which is 6° on the north side of the line; it appeared that the ship had drifted a longitude of 100 leagues toward the east, because this island is at 700 leagues from the Moluccas [along a line] bearing E and slightly NE.

Wednesday 15 September, we were becalmed near this island.

Thursday 16 September, we were also becalmed and hardly moved.

Friday 17 September, we made 12 leagues toward the NE 1/4 E with the wind SW; the island still bore W 12 leagues.

1 Ed. note: Why didn't he head NE? This is probably a transcription error.

Saturday 18 September, we made headway toward the N, to NNE and to SE, resulting in a run of 18 leagues NE.

Sunday, which was figured out as the 19th September, we ran 13 leagues with showers to the NE; the wind was ESE.

Monday 20 September, we ran 20 leagues NE 1/4 E with the wind SW.

Tuesday 21 September, we ran 10 leagues to the WNW with the wind SSE; we were becalmed near **3 low islets**.

Wednesday 22 September, we were becalmed. We were in 9°30' N of the line.

Thursday 23 September, we made 12 leagues to the N with calm weather.

Friday 24 September, we headed ENE and E for 18 leagues with the wind N and NNW with showers.

Saturday 25 September, we made 12 leagues ENE, E and then SE; that resulted in an [equivalent] run to SSE. We remained the whole night with lowered sails with showers.

Sunday 26 September, we were becalmed; we hardly moved.

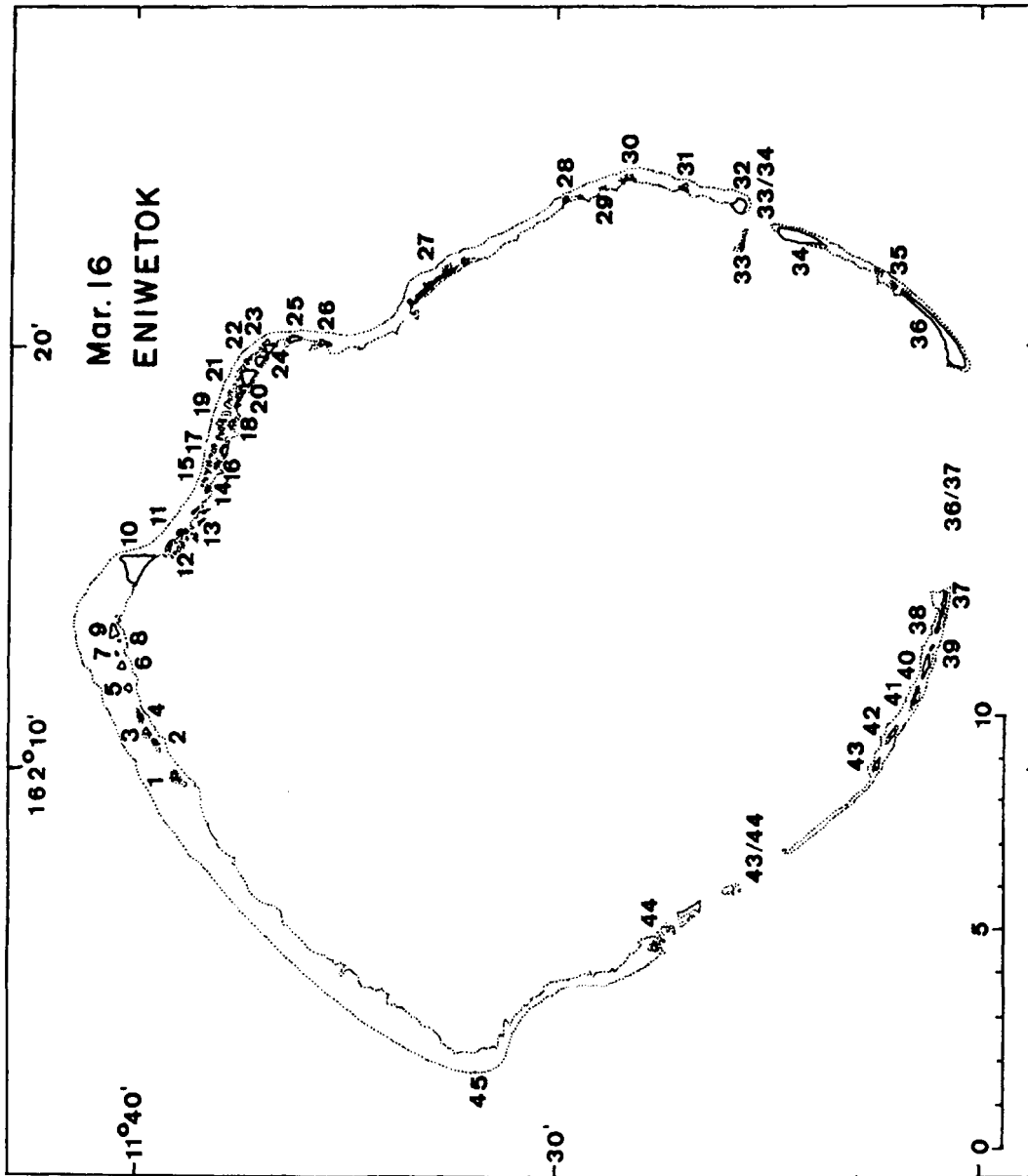
Monday 27 September, we headed ENE, then NE, N, and even W, for 10 leagues.

Tuesday 28 September, we headed N 1/4 NE, also ENE, and NE 1/4 N, for a run to NE 13 leagues.

Wednesday 29 September, St. Michael's Day, we were becalmed and made no headway.

Thursday 30 September, we got varying winds and calm, and made little headway on this day, and came up to **3 low islands** that are in 11°30' on the north side of the line, and I anchored at them.¹

1 Ed. note: The log ends abruptly here. Saavedra was sick and spent a few days to recover at this atoll which was probably Eniwetok. However, he was not cured because he died soon after they left the Marshall Islands, still heading NE when they could and trying to make it to New Spain.



Map of Eniwetok discovered by Saavedra on 30 September 1529. He rested here for 8 days as he was very sick. However, he died soon after leaving the atoll. (From Bryan's Place Names)

Document 1527C

Saavedra's voyages—Primary account by Urdaneta

Source: Pacheco et al., Colección ... de Indias, Vol. 5, pp. 29 et seq. Also in the Rivadeneira Collection, vol. 77, pp. 235-243. While Urdaneta was in the Moluccas, he witnessed the arrival of the ship Florida and its two unsuccessful attempts at returning to New Spain in 1528 and 1529.

Urdaneta's account (cont'd)

During the month of March [1528], over 20 of us Spaniards were with the King of Gilolo laying siege to a place occupied by enemies in Batachina. While we were there, we saw a ship at sea coming toward us. We then sent two Spaniards in two proas of the King of Gilolo to see which ship it was. The ship was from New Spain, and had been sent by Hernando Cortés on orders from His Majesty to look for us. The captain of the ship was Don Alvaro de Saavedra. As soon as our people had recognized it, they went aboard and the proas returned with the news, which made us very glad. Then we sent news to Tidore to let our captain [Hernando de la Torre] know, so that he might send them some help, if necessary.

The next day in the morning, the said ship being becalmed, a fusta of the Portuguese approached and hailed the ship. When they learned that they were Spaniards, they tried to trick them, but Saavedra had been informed by our two men who were aboard. Still, he asked them to please tell him in which islands of the Moluccas there were Spaniards. The Portuguese answered that there were no Spaniards in the Moluccas, although it was true that a big nao had come to the islands, but that it could not stay afloat, that the Portuguese had offered to help them to build a new ship, that they had done so, and that the Portuguese had thus provided them with food supplies and many other things that were needed. Then they invited them to follow them to the fortress, saying that they would be most welcome there [in Ternate]. Saavedra answered why they were saying that, because he knew for certain that there were Spaniards in the Moluccas, etc. Many other words passed between them.

As the Portuguese saw that they could not trick them with words, they began to shoot their guns at them, and therefore those of the ship responded in kind. At that time, the wind began to blow a little, and the ship was able to come near Gilolo and anchor.

...

[First return attempt]

Once the ship of Saavedra had been loaded with everything necessary, it departed from Tidore for New Spain in June of the said year of 1528. The pilot was Macias del Poyo. In addition, there were some Portuguese aboard who had defected to our side, one gentleman named Simon de Brito, and the other named Bernardín Cordero. There were some prisoners as well, among them the chief of the galley that we had taken, and other men of rank, whom we had put aboard so that Your Majesty would learn directly from them what was happening there.

In the course of the voyage, when they were anchored because of contrary winds at some islands with negroes they call Papuas, these islands being located about 200 leagues east of the Moluccas, the said Simon de Brito and Fernão Romero, the captain of the galley, and other Portuguese, fled with the boat to return to the Moluccas, leaving the ship without a boat. They got lost, on account of the great currents, and wasted much time but could not reach a port in the Moluccas. They crashed upon some island where they left the boat and some of the Portuguese stayed, except Simon de Brito and the chief, who boarded a canoe with one small slave of theirs to return to the Moluccas. They went on to crash onto the eastern side of Batachina, at 50 leagues from where we were ourselves.

One day news arrived to the effect that there were in Batachina at a place called Guayamelin some Portuguese who had been wrecked there. I myself was despatched immediately by our captain, with two other companions, and ten Moro proas, in order to find out who they were, and if they were Portuguese to bring them under guard to Tidore. Thus I went to the said place of Guayamelin, found out that they were the said Simon de Brito and Fernão Romero, Portuguese, and that they had fled from the said caravel of the said Saavedra. Then I seized them and brought them under guard to Tidore, where I found Saavedra himself who had turned back, on account of contrary winds, and also because he had no boat, in case he should reach some land and wait for good weather to take on water and wood. For these reasons, the said caravel turned back, after having covered over 700 leagues in the space of six months after having left Tidore. Similarly, the Portuguese did escape for no other reason that it seemed to them that the ship, without a boat, would not dare go on.

When the said Simon de Brito and Fernão Romero were interrogated, with no need of torture, they confessed about the mode of their escape, how they thought they would do a great service to the King of Portugal by being the cause of the said ship not being able to return to New Spain, because Your Majesty would then learn what was going on in the Moluccas, and how the Portuguese occupied the lands of Your Majesty. Having taken their confession, our captain ordered as a sentence, in punishment for the bad deed they had done, that the said Simon de Brito be dragged through the city of the

Moros and afterward be beheaded and quartered, and that the said Fernão Romero be hanged from the gallows. All of this was complied with in accordance with the sentence by the said Fernando de la Torre, and then that same day they were executed.

[Second return attempt]

As the ship had turned back, a boat was then made. As the said ship was now eaten by worms and leaked a lot, we plugged it with a layer of planks on the outside of the ship's side with some pitch which they usually use on ships there. Once ready with everything necessary, food supplies as well as all the rest, we send it out again. As far as our captain, the said Fernando de la Torre, and all those of us in his company were concerned, we were of the opinion that the said ship should go by way of the Cape of Good Hope, given that we found the winds contrary to go to New Spain. However, the said Saavedra refused and insisted in following the same route as before. He left in May 1529.

In the meantime, we continued to have very great battles with the Portuguese, and we gained by force of arms the whole island of Machian...

...
During the month of December 1529, the said caravel of Saavedra returned once again, not having been able to make it to New Spain. It reached the port at the said place of Zamafo.¹ During this voyage, the said Saavedra himself died, along with 4 or 5 others from the said nao.

When the said Fernando de la Torre saw that the said caravel had not made it to New Spain, and having realized that what we had told him [about defending Gilolo] made sense, he agreed to go to Gilolo where we were, and thus he came with the said caravel and the brig, so that we were altogether now something like 70 men, and the King of Gilolo was feeding us all. Once again, we began to make war on the Portuguese, and we maintained it until the middle of 1530...

[The aftermath]

We came to an agreement as well with the Portuguese and those of Ternate to make friends, and we carried it out. In this way, we became very good friends with the Portuguese as well as with the [Ternate] Indians.

During the said year of 1531, I gave the report about of all the things that had occurred, written by Fernando de la Torre to Y.M., to a certain Anibal Cernichi in the Moluccas. The latter swore upon a consecrated altar that he would bring it [to Spain], unless he died along the way.

In the year of 1532, given this great friendship that existed between ourselves and the Portuguese, we begged the captain of the Portuguese, who was Vicente de Fonseca, to give us a vessel as we wished to send an ambassador to their governor in India. The said Vicente de Fonseca answered that he was pleased that we had decided as much.

1 Ed. note: Captain General de la Torre had been forced to make peace with the Portuguese and seek refuge in Zamafo, a part of Halmahera I.

Thus we sent Pedro de Montemayor to the Governor of Portuguese India, to let him know that we had been in the Moluccas a long time, that in all that time we had not received any word from Y.M., that we had heard that Y.M. had given up the Moluccas [in 1529] to the King of Portugal for 300,000 ducats, and that we had therefore decided to return to Spain, leaving the land to the said Portuguese, but that we had no ship in which to do so. We begged him to send us a vessel to return to Spain, and also we asked him for 1,000 ducats on Y.M.'s account for our expenses, as we were completely out of funds.

The said Montemayor left the Moluccas for India in January 1532. When he left, there were 27 or 28 of us left, because all the others were dead of sickness as a result of the great labors we had gone through, in the spirit as well as in our bodies.

...
In the year of 1533, in October, the said Pedro de Montemayor returned from Portuguese India to the Moluccas, in the company of a Portuguese captain whose name was Tristão de Atáide, who came as Captain General and Governor of the Moluccas. The Governor of the said India sent us a ship in which we went, whose captain was Jordão de Fretes [Freitas], a native of the island of Madeira. He also sent us the 1,000 ducats that we had asked him for, although the said Tristão de Atáide did not wish to give them to us until we had given ourselves up to them. Also the Governor sent us a letter, which we had asked for, to the effect that no captain of the King of Portugal should detain us in any of the fortresses through which we would pass, nor take us under their jurisdiction.

When the Indians of Gilolo sensed that we would like to give ourselves up to the Portuguese, they resented it very much and wishing to detain us they began warring with the Portuguese, although we did not like it. The Portuguese thought that we were at the root of it all; so, they sent us many threats...

The Portuguese came to the city of Gilolo with a great fleet... The next day at day-break the Portuguese and their Indian allies landed and took the city of Gilolo, because as the Indians saw that we did not want to fight, they began to flee. As they came in, they killed our factor Diego de Salinas with an arquebus that malfunctioned. Thus, we went with the Portuguese to their fortress without receiving from them the least prejudice. At that time, there were no more than 17 of us left, because all the others were dead...¹

1 Ed. note: The actual date of the surrender was the 26th of November 1533.

Document 1527D

Saavedra's voyages—Primary account by Vicente de Nápoles

Source: Pacheco et al., Colección ... de Indias, vol. V, pp. 68-96. Taken from Tome 36 of the collection of transcripts left by Muñoz in RAH, Madrid. Also published by Navarrete, V, pp. 476-486 and in the Rivadaneira Collection, vol. 77, pp. 272-279.

Narrative of all that was discovered and covered by Captain Alvaro de Saavedra, who departed from the port of Zacatula which is in New Spain on the 1st of November 1527, and whose fleet was despatched by the Marquis del Valle, Don Hernando Cortés, Captain General for Your Majesties, with three ships completely supplied and equipped, including brass cannon.

Firstly, the said captain Alvaro de Saavedra was aboard the nao named **Florida**, manned with 38 landsmen and 12 seamen, for a total of 50 men, and equipped with 3 brass guns and 10 iron ones.

Aboard the nao **Santiago**, the captain was Luis de Cárdenas, a native of Córdoba. It was manned with 45 landsmen and seamen and equipped with 1 brass and 8 iron guns.

1 Ed. note: This narrative is not considered too reliable by Spanish authors, because the author was a simple sailor, and it diverges somewhat from the account of Captain Saavedra, as recorded by the clerk (Doc. 1527B).

Aboard the other ship, named **Espíritu Santo**, the captain was Pedro de Fuentes, a native of Jerez de la Frontera. It was manned with 15 landsmen and seamen and equipped with half a dozen iron guns.

On the first day of November, we left the port of Aguatlanejo [Zihuatanejo] which is on the coast of New Spain. The winds that affected us along the way will be mentioned. As the winds were from W and WNW, we headed and made our way SSW. That day we covered something like 10 leagues.¹

...
On the 29th day², we discovered another leak in the same flagship, at the bow, in a false convent³, and we had one storage area of bread drowned, which would have held about 70 quintals, and all the oil and vinegar and other things. Before we discovered this water leak, the ship did not want to steer properly, and the captain asked the master what was the cause why the ship did not steer right. The master told him that he did not know the cause, and the captain sent him below deck to see what was that, but he said that it was late, that he would go in the morning and check it out.

That same night, while we were sailing, the ship was ungovernable, and because we were between the [other two] ships, to prevent any collision between us, we fell back, and were then hit by a squall. The sailor who was at the helm stalled the ship and the sail fluttered above the rigging.⁴ We were almost about to founder but finally we lowered the sail. The [other] ships passed us by and, with the strong wind we had, in a very short time they disappeared from our view. We signalled to them many times with the lamps but they never answered, so that we lost them. Our pilot was exhausted and went to sleep rather than try and follow behind them.

At daybreak, we set sail to continue our course but we were never able to see them or any sign of them again. That day we made 35 leagues.

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- 1 Ed. note: Nápoles' date count, as well as his headings and estimates of distance vary from those of Saavedra, so that it would be possible to study the differences for the whole crossing. It appears that Nápoles may have forgotten to make many entries, and that he, or someone else, later tried to assign sequential dates to them.
 - 2 Ed. note: The events about to be described occurred on the 45th day of navigation, i.e. on 15 December, according to Captain Saavedra.
 - 3 Ed. note: A convent was a space or hole between two frames, where two curved pieces of wood meet at the keel (See O'Scanlan, pp. 177 & 189).
 - 4 Ed. note: This was a nao which was caravel-rigged, with large lateen sails, and thus problematic if the ship veered out of control.

Along the same heading and with the same weather, we ran for another 30 days, sailing like we did over the previous 30 days, and in all that time not seeing any land nor sign of it.¹

On the 60th day, a Saturday at night, we changed our heading to W 1/4 SW [W by S]. That night we were becalmed. We ran something like 10 leagues.

On Sunday morning [29 December], with the sun already up, we saw **land** when we were at about one league from it. This land was baptized by Captain Alvaro de Saavedra the islands of **Los Reyes** [Kings Islands], because on the day we saw them it was the Feast of the Kings [Epiphany].² It is an archipelago of islands, because, according to what we saw, there are 10 to 12 islands, and they say that they are all inhabited.³ It is believed that there are many more of them. We cruised about them for 3 days, tacking back and forth, and we did not anchor at any of them because the bottom is so deep that, although we let go the anchor, we could not reach bottom.⁴

The native Indians of those islands came out to us with some ships of theirs that are small, but they did not wish to come close. Given that we could not take port on account of the many shoals in front of the land, the bad weather we were having, and that we could not anchor anywhere else, we continued our journey by the same heading.⁵

The people of these islands are well-developed people, somewhat brown; they keep their hair long, have no clothes, except that from some palms they make masts and some mats. The mats are so delicate that from a distance they look made of gold; they cover themselves with them.⁶ The men have long beards like the Spanish. As weapons, they have some fire-hardened sticks. What they eat, we did not see, because we did not make contact with them. These islands are in 11 degrees north of the equator.

We sailed the next night. Another day, at noon, we came upon other **islands**, of the same type and people. We maneuvered to place ourselves within the islands, in order to see if we could take on some water, which we did, on account of the necessity we had of some water to drink. At the islands in question, we anchored at one of them which was uninhabited. All the people stepped ashore, to look for water, and we found a

1 Ed. note: As noted above, Nápoles has placed the separation date 2 weeks later than Saavedra did.

2 Ed. note: The date was not January 7th. This occurred later at Ulithi... So, we have the confirmation here that Nápoles revised his logbook later on and thus introduced some mistakes, due to memory limitations. So, we must be cautious in interpreting what is described next, as we do not know if he is referring to Guam or Ulithi.

3 Ed. note: So far he has described the Ladrones, while thinking about the Ulithi islets, which he did see and remembered when he revised his text.

4 Ed. note: How can a sailor say that they threw in the anchor, rather than the lead line? This text was obviously tampered with by copyists.

5 Ed. note: "The same heading" in the case of the Saavedra account would be southwesterly.

6 Ed. note: It is obvious to me that Nápoles' memory has played tricks on him when he revised his text. He is now describing the Marshallese he was to see in 1529.

“zaque”¹ at crossbow range from the coast. The island was small; it could have been one league in circumference. We were at this island for 8 [sic] days, taking on water and wood. Here we were unable to take the water out that was leaking into the ship. At about 3 leagues from this island, there is another inhabited island; from there the people came and approached next to the ship, but they refused to talk to us and returned to their island. This island is at 11 degrees.

Afterwards, the Indians returned and they stopped over a shallow bank, half a league from the islet where we ourselves were. There were there about 16 Indians. A Spaniard went there, wading because there was water up to the knees, and he got to the place where the Indians were. They were waiting for him and embraced him. The Spaniard then told them by signs to come to the island where we were. As they did not understand, they did not wish to come, and they went off to their island. The Spaniard returned, without having done them any harm whatever.

There we took on 18 butts of water, and the next day we set sail, with a wind from the ENE and headed W.

...

[First return attempt]

The preparations for our nao were completed at the end of May 1528...

When our captain saw that the nao was ready, he decided to come aboard and made ready his rations and other necessities. Captain Hernando de la Torre gave him something like 70 quintals of clove, out of what he had set aside for the Emperor's share.

As we were about to depart, a certain Simon de Brito, a Portuguese who was there with Hernando de la Torre, and who had come there of his own free will, told our Captain that he wished to come with us. As our pilot had died, and this man told us that he was a pilot, and at the request of Hernando de la Torre, the captain was glad of it. Four other Portuguese, from those made prisoners by the fusta, were also taken in, and their wages were set. Hence, we sailed with up to 30 men on the 3 June of the said year.

From there we sailed with a SW wind, heading ENE, and we ran for 3 days at the end of which we were becalmed. The calm weather persisted for 25 to 30 days, then some wind returned and with it we ran something like 250 leagues until we reached an island, which is called the island of Oro²; there we anchored. It is a big island and highly populated with black people, with frizzy hair, and naked. They have iron weapons and swords. They gave us something to eat, in exchange for our trade goods, some chickens, pigs, rice, beans, and many other food items. We stayed there for 32 days, as we did not have sailing weather.

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- 1 Ed. note: A goat skin used to carry wine or water. What is meant could be any of the following interpretations: (1) a coconut shell fastened to a tree to collect rain water; (2) a well already dug; or (3) a well they dug themselves. In all cases, the quantity was so small as to bring to mind a drinking gourd, or else they used gourds to collect the water seeping into the pit they had dug...
 - 2 Ed. note: Transcribed Urais elsewhere. According to Arthur Wichmann (Nova Guinea I, 1909, pp. 18-19), Urais corresponds to Admiralty Island situated at 2°S and 147°E.

As we were about to sail, this Simon de Brito and the other four Portuguese, when our captain was ashore, boarded the boat, saying they were going to the island¹, but they headed offshore. Neither those aboard nor those ashore could do anything about it. When the captain realized that the boat and those men had gone, he made a raft and returned to the ship with the people he had with him. He decided to set sail just the same, which was done.

From there we ran with a southerly, and we ran to the E 14 leagues to an island, and from it we ran 100 leagues by many islands and came to anchor at an islet that was populated. The natives from there came out to us aboard some proas, two leagues at sea, to throw arrows at us. These people are black, naked and ugly. We were there 3 days. There we took 3 Indians, put them inside the ship and made sail. We ran for about 250 leagues until we came upon other [Caroline] islands, populated by white [sic] people, bearded, who came out to us aboard their proas with slings and stones. This island is at 7 degrees.²

From there on, we ran to the N and NNW until we reached 14 degrees. There some very strong contrary winds from the ENE hit us and forced us to turn back from whence we had come. With this weather, we ran as far as an island, which is at 380 leagues from the Moluccas, and is one of the islands that are called Ladrones.³ We passed south of it and headed W until we came to the island of Mindanao.

This coast is called Visaya, from the name of the natives of this land. From there we went to Sarangani where we had left one Spaniard when we passed by there before, and who had been sick. There we anchored and stayed for 2 days, waiting for Indians to give us water and give us some news about the Spaniard. They finally came and told us that the king was not at the island, that he had taken the Spaniard away with him. They were lying, because they had sold him off, as we were to learn later in Malacca, from the same Spaniard who was then there, and whose name is Grijalva. As we did not have any boat and no means to get water, and the Indians did not wish to bring us some, we made our way until we recognized the island of the Mehao⁴ which is 20 leagues from the islands of the Moluccas, and from there we went to the island of Tidore, from where we had departed the first time. There we found Hernando de la Torre, with the people he had with him before, and here we anchored. It was October 1528 when we got back. We again beached the nao, careened her, and made new plans, and in this business we spent 6 months.

1 Ed. note: To fetch the captain.

2 Ed. note: At 6 degrees, says Saavedra (Granado), and he is more authoritative. There are insufficient clues to enable us to identify these Carolinian islands. The most likely candidates are one of the Mortlocks, Losap-Nama, even Mokil, since they did not see other Caroline islands on this voyage, beforehand or afterward. However, we cannot be sure of the latitude, and it could have been any one of a number of other islands.

3 Ed. note: At 14° N or less, this island had to be either Rota or Guam, or both, as they had done the year before.

4 Ed. note: First recorded as Meao by Pigafetta. Also called Mayo. It is an island near Siau at the northern tip of Celebes.

Here we found Simon de Brito, and one other who had fled with our boat. He had told the story that our ship and all of us had been lost and that he had escaped in the boat. Captain Hernando de la Torre proceeded against him and sentenced him to be quartered, and the other man to be hanged; this was done.

[Second return attempt]

It was from here that we again set sail, on 8 May [1529]. We left to ENE, and ran along the same route that we had followed before, by the same islands, and we arrived at the same island from where we had taken the 3 above-said Indians. Two of them had jumped into the sea during the return voyage, but one we had carried this far. There we let him off at the same island where we had taken him from; he was now a Christian and very fluent in our language. He was let off so that he could tell the Indians what sort of people we were, and that they should bring us some food supply that would be paid for. Because the boat was not lowered, and because he was willing to swim, the captain let him go by swimming as he wished. However, we saw that the natives were attacking him in the water; he was shouting for us but finally they killed him.

[Probable discovery of Ngatik and/or Pohnpei, Ujelang, and Eniwetok]

We set sail and made our way to the ENE and, at some 250 leagues, we found other small **islands**. One of them would be about 4 leagues [in circumference] and the other 4 would be about 1 league each¹, all populated with brown people, bearded, naked, with some palm coats.

Here they came out to us in a proa, four or five Indians, and they came so close to us that they were talking to us, and by signs it seems as if they wanted us to lower the sails. One of them shot a stone at us, so hard that it hit the side of the ship at the poop and the blow split a plank. The captain ordered one musket to be made ready to shoot them, but it did not happen; thus, they went back to their island and we went on our way. These islands are in 7 degrees, 1,000 leagues from our departure point and as many from New Spain.

From there we ran NE and made 80 leagues and found other low islands.² We anchored at one of them. When we were anchored, we raised a flag and, when we saw people, we waved the flag. Six or seven proas came to our ship and they anchored at the bow of our ship. The captain went to the bow and threw a coat and a comb overboard, which they took. To recover that, they came alongside and they all came aboard. There were as many as 20 men, and among them one woman, believed to be a witch. It

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- 1 Ed. note: Sharp ("Discovery of the Pacific Islands") is of the opinion that these are Ponape and Ant Islands. Ngatik is also a possibility, because they were becalmed in its vicinity, according to Saavedra, and finally saw an island from a position 12 leagues (38 nautical miles) east of it. We can safely assume that, after sighting Ngatik, although they had an error of over 1° in latitude, then they passed between Pohnpei (the island they could have seen from such a long distance) and Mokil. They were then headed NE, and could only have met with Ujelang and Eniwetok later on.
 - 2 Ed. note: Nápoles does not mention their having passed by low islands in 9 degrees plus (Ujelang), but they are mentioned by Saavedra.

seemed as if they had brought her to tell them which type of people we were, from what could be judged from the Indian woman going to every one of us and probing us with her hands. The captain treated all of them well, and he let them have some of the things we had aboard. We made friends with them, so much so that a Spaniard dared go with them ashore, and so he did. When he stepped ashore, the chiefs of the land then came to speak with the Spaniard, and they took him along to their houses which are big and covered with palm. These people are white and have the arms and body tattooed. The women are pretty, with black hair and big eyes. They go around with the whole body covered with some palms, very fine and delicate, and they go barefoot. They have for weapons some fire-hardened sticks, and for food coconuts and fish. This island would be about 1 league. There the captain and all the people landed, and men and women came out to greet them with drums and songs. The captain sat down in a hut with the chief who, among other things that he was asking the captain, asked what was a musket that he saw. By signs, he was asking that it be explained to him; he said to shoot it. In order to please him, the captain ordered it to be fired. Their fright was so great that all hell broke loose and they all fell upon the ground stunned. The chief was trembling and all the people began to flee out of the huts and through the palm groves in front of them, but the chief and some others stayed put, although well shaken up. He and all the people having gone out of there, as many as 1,000 souls in all, boarded their proas and went to an island 3 leagues from there.¹ As for us, we stayed put, without doing them any harm.

Because the captain was indisposed, we remained 8 days at the said island, during which time the Indians returned and helped us take on 18 butts of water. They gave us 2,000 coconuts, and they were doing everything we asked them to do. These islands are at 11 degrees north of the equator.

From there we departed with a ENE wind to the N and we ran until we reached 26°, and here our captain died. As he was near death, we had called all the people, and begged all of us to sail as far as 30°, and that once there, if we did not find weather to take us to New Spain, we should return to Tidore and give the ship and everything in it to Captain Hernando de la Torre, for him to do what would be in the service of Our Lord and the Emperor. As captain he appointed Pedro Laso, a native of Toledo, but he himself died within 8 days, and as leaders we were left with the master and pilot.

Thus we ran until we reached 31 degrees, always with contrary winds, and since we did not find any favorable winds there, we were forced to turn back to where we had come from. From 31°, we ran W until we came to one of the Ladrone islands², and there we anchored.³ When we were at 31,° we found ourselves 1,200 leagues from the Mol-

1 Ed. note: They probably went from Eniwetok proper to Parry I.

2 Ed. note: It is obvious to all that from 31°, one does not head W to reach a latitude of less than 20°. Therefore, this is a sure example that the directions expressed by Nápoles, and some others, cannot always be interpreted literally, but only generally; west in this case can only mean westward.

3 Ed. note: This is probably Guam once again, but this time they were able to tack back to the lee coast.

uccas with yet another 1,000 leagues to New Spain. At this island, we stayed one day taking on some refreshments, and there we lost one anchor.

From there we set sail to return to the Moluccas. We ran as far as the island of Visaya, and could not touch at it. So, we passed it by and went to the islands of Taraole [Talaud], that are 120 leagues from the Moluccas. However, we were unable to find bottom and for that reason we passed them by and went to the island of Gilolo, and from there to Zamafo, which is on the same coast of the island, and there we anchored in the port.

We reached this port at the end of October and there we found Captain Hernando de la Torre who had lost the fortress of Tidore which had been taken by the Portuguese. The ship was turned over to him, with everything that was in it. The captain came aboard and he thus took possession of the ship, as well as the clothing and effects that had belonged to our captain.

All the people aboard, and that would be as many as 18 men, we went ashore, and in view of the fact that the ship was eaten up by worms and that the people ashore there had such a hard time on account of the disorder, some of us gave ourselves up and went to Malacca, and the others remained there. Those of us who went to Malacca were made prisoners by Captain Jorge de Castro who ordered us not to leave the place, and others not to let us leave. So, we were there for two and a half years. Out of the 20 men who went there, only nine of us survived, and until the King of Portugal had it ordered to let us go, they kept us there.

[Note added by someone else:] The author of the above is Vicencio [sic] de Nápoles, who departed with the said fleet from New Spain and was an eyewitness to it all, who came to Portugal and from there to Spain, went to the court of H.M. and made a report of the voyage; having asked for some assistance for his labor, they ordered he be given 14 ducats, and those were the favors done by the Council.

All the accounts and official charts of the navigation were seized by the Governor of India, Nuño de Acuña¹, from Hernando de la Torre, because they had remained in his possession.

1 Ed. note: Nuño da Cunha was Governor of Portuguese India, ca. 1535. It was he who sent Galvão (See next document) to the Moluccas.

Document 1527E

Saavedra's voyages—Galvão's account

Sources: António Galvão's "Tratado", 1st ed., 1563. Translated by Richard Hakluyt, as "Discoveries of the World", London, 1601.

What Galvão wrote about Saavedra

Neste anno de 27, sabendo Fernam cortez polo petaxo, como frei Garcia de loais era passado ás ilhas de crauo, mandou fazer tres nauios prestes para jrem em sua busca: & descobrir aquele caminho da noua Espanha ate Maluco, & hia por capitán mor delles Aluaro saauedra Cerom seu primo pessoa muyto pera isso, partio dia de todos os sanctos de de Siuantaneio que se agora chama sam Christouam, que está em vinte graos da parte do norte: chegaram ás ilhas que o Magalhães pos nome dos prazeres: & dahi foram ás que Gomez de sequeira descobrira, por nam saberem isto lhe poseram nome dos Reys pellas verem aquelle dia, aqui ficaram a Sayauedra dous nauios, de que nunca mais ouue noua nem recado, & de ilha em ilha foram ter a de Sarangam, onde resgataram dous ou tres Castelhanos por setenta cruzados, da companhia de Loais que se por aly perderam.

No anno de 528 & mes de Março chegou Sayauedra as ylhas de Maluco, & surgio na ciundade [sic] de Grilolo, contaua como achara o mar limpo & vento a popa & sem tormenta, & que lhe parecia auer dali a noua Espanha mil & quinhentas legoas, & neste tempo era ja falecido o capitã Martim minguez de Carquiçano, & aleuantado por capitam Fernão dela torre, que estaua na cidade de Tidore com huma forza feyta, y de crua guerra com dom Iorge de meneses capitam dos Portugueses: & na peleja que teueram a quatro de Mayo, lhe tomou Sayauedra huma galeota & matou o capitam della Fernam baldaya. E no mes de Julho tornou no seu nauio pera a noua Espanha, & com elle Simão de Brito Patalim, & outros Portugueses, & depois de espancarem o mar alguns meses tornaram a Tidore, onde o Patalim foy degolado, & esquartejados, & enforcados os que com elle hiam...

No anno de .529. & mes de Mayo tornou Sayauedra outravez pera a noua Espanha, & ouue vista de huma costa da parte do Sul em dous graos daltura, foy em leste ao longo della mais de quinhentas legoas, te o fim Dagosto: & segundo o que della contauam era limpa & de bõs Surgidouros, & a gente da terra preta, & cabelo reuolto: traziã

da cinta pera baixo, humas faldas de penas, bem feytas, muyto coradas, com que cobriam suas vergonhas, & os Maluqueses chamã a estes homens os Papuas por serem pretos de cabelo frizado, & assi lhe chamam ho Portugueses, pello tomarem delles.

*Alvaro Sayuedra, como hia ao Sul quatro ou cinco graos affastado da linha, tornou a busca, & passado aa outra banda do norte, **descobrio huma ylha**, a que pos nome das Pintadas, por serem homens brancos, todos ferrados, & segundo o que parecia, & sinais que dauam, deuiam alli de vir da China, donde sahio hum Parao a elles com grande oufania, acenando que amainassem. Vendo que nam obedeciã, tiroulhes com huma funda, & logo sahio hum golpe de Paraos da ylha a elles, todos fundeyros: & começaram huma peleja com ho nauio, mais soberba & menos perigosa, que a de Reuena: pello que Sayuedra mandou mesurar a vella, & foy esperando sem lhe tirar nem fazer dano, ate que gastaram toda a moniçam que traziam.*

Acima desta ylha em dez ou doze graos daltura, acharam muytas juntas, pequenas & rasas, cheas de palmeiras & verduras: pello que lhe poseram nome bom Iardim, surgiram no meo dellas, onde estiueram alguns dias, os habitadores pareciam na feiçam, & aluura descenderem da China, & pellos largos tempos que aueria que aly estauam, eram tam Barbaros que nam tinham ley, nem ceyta, nem criuam cousa viua. Vestiam panos brancos que faziã deruas, espantaram se do fogo, porque nunca o viram: comiã por pão cocos, que antes que fossem maduros os cascauã, metiã nos debaixo darea, & em certos dias os descobriam: & tanto que lhe o sol daua se abriam. Tambem se mantinhã em peyxe cru, que pescauã em Paraos, que faziam de madeira de pinho, que ali vinha ter em certo tempo, sem saber donde, & pera fazer a tal obra, era a ferramenta de cascas damegias, briguigões, ou hostras.

Vendo Sayavedra que ho tempo era mais a seu proposito, se fez á vela na volta da terra & jsmo da cidade de Penama, por nã ser mais que dezasete dez oyto legoas em largo, ãnde podiã descarregar o crauo & mercadoria que leuaua, & em carretas hiria per cãpinas .iiij. legoas, ate o rio Lagre, que dizem ser naueguel & desemboca no mar do Norte, junto de nõbre de Dios, onde estã naos de Castella, que as podiã levar a elle em mais breue tempo, & caminho menos perigoso que do cabo de boa esperança: porque de Maluco a Penama sempre vam per antre o Tropico em a linha, mas nunca poderam achar vento nem tempo pera comprir este desejo: pello que se tornerão a Maluco assaz tristes, por Sayuedra ser falecido, do qual diziam que leuaua em proposito de fazer co o Emperador, que mandasse abrir esta terra de Castella do ouro & noua Espanha de mar, a mar, porque se podia fazer por quatro lugares, que he do Golfam de sam Miguel a Uraba, em que ha vinte & cinco legoas de trauesa, ou de Penama ao nome de Dios, que ha dezasete, ou pello Sangra douro de Nicaragua, que começa em huma alagoa tres ou quatro legoas da parte do sul, & vay sair a agoa della ao norte, por onde nauegam barcas, & nauios pequenos. Há outro passo de Tagantef[-pec] pera o rio da Vera Cruz: que tambem se podia abrir estreito, & se se fizesse, nauegar se hia das Canarias a Maluco por baixo do zodiaco clima temperada, & em menos tempo & com menos perigo, que pello cabo de Boa esperança nem estreito do Magalhães nem terra

dos corte Reays, ainda que se nella achara estreito ao mar da China, como se ja buscara.

Hakluyt's translation

This yeere 1527, when Cortes vnderstood by the pinnesse aforesaide¹ that Don Garcia de Loaisa was passed by the Streight of Magelan toward the Islands of cloues, he prouided three ships to goe seeke him, and to discouer by that way of New Spaine as farre as the Isles of Maluco. There went as gouernour in those ships one Aluaro de Saavedra Ceron, cosen vnto Cortes, a man fit for that purpose. He made saile from Ciuatlanejo, now named S. Christopher² standing in 20 degrees toward the north³, on All Saints day. They arrived at the islands which Magelan named The Pleasures⁴: and from thence sailed to the islands which Gomes de Sequeira had discouered, and not knowing thereof, they named the Islas de los Reyes, that is to say, the Isles of the kings, because they came vnto them on Twelwe day.⁵ In the way Saavedra lost two ships of his company, of which they neuer after heard newes. But from island to island he still sailed and came to the Island of Candiga⁶, where he bought two [or three] Spanyards for 70 ducats, which had beene of the companie of Frier Loaisa, who was lost thereabout.

In the yeere 1528, in March, Saavedra arriued at the Islands of maluco, and came to an anker before the Isle of Gilolo: he found the sea calme and winde at will, without any tempests⁷: and he tooke the distance from thence to Noua Spagna to be 2050

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- 1 Ed. note: The pinnace in question was the Santiago, Captain Guevara, that ended up at Tehuantepec.
 - 2 Ed. note: When I visited Zihuatanejo in the 20th century, it was still called that, not St. Christopher.
 - 3 Ed. note: More correctly 18 degrees.
 - 4 Ed. note: Magellan did not name any islands "Los Placeres", a name applied later on by somebody else to an atoll in the Marshalls on account of their sandbanks or reefs. The word "placer" could also mean "pleasure", of course, but not in this context; rather, it is used as in the expression "placer mining" in English. Magellan did, however, apply the name Los Ladrones to Guam and Rota.
 - 5 Ed. note: Ulithi, previously discovered by Captain da Rocha and his pilot Sequeira in 1525, and re-discovered by Saavedra on the 12th day after Christmas, or Epiphany, 1528.
 - 6 Ed. note: All Portuguese editions of Galvão say Sarangan. However, Hakluyt is not completely wrong, as Candigar is the name of the second island in the Sarangani Group, off the SE corner of Mindanao.
 - 7 Ed. note: A few words have not been translated which change the meaning. What is meant is that Saavedra reported fine weather on the voyage over from New Spain.

leagues.¹ At this time Martin Yñiguez de Carquiçano died, and Fernando de la Torre was chosen their generall, who then was in the citie of Tidore, who had there erected a gallows and had fierce warre with Don George de Meneses, captaine of the Portugals: and in a fight which they had the fourth of May, Saavedra tooke from him a galiotte and slew the captaine thereof, called Fernando de Baldaya, and in June² he returned [in his ship] towards New Spaine, hauing with him one Simon de Brito Patalin and other Portugals, and hauing beene certaine monethes at sea, he was forced backe vnto Tidore, where Patalin was beheaded [and quartered], and his companions hanged...

In the yeere 1529, in May, Saavedra returned back againe towards New Spaine, and he had sight of a land toward the south in two degrees, and he ran east along by it aboue fiue hundred leagues till the end of August. [According to their account], the coast was cleane and of good ankerage, but the people blacke and of curled haire; from the girdle downward they did weare a certaine thing³ plaited to couer their lower parts. The people of Maluco call them Papuas, because they be blacke and friseled in their hair: and so also do the Portugals call them [as they got the word from them].

[Alvaro] Saavedra hauing sailed 4 or 5 degrees to the south of the line, returned vnto it, and passed the equinoctiall towards the north, and discovered an island which he called Isla de los Pintados, that is to say, The Isle of painted people: for the people thereof be white, and all of them marked with an iron⁴: and [according to their appearance] by the signes which they gaue he conceaued that they were of China. There came vnto them from the shore a kinde of boate full of these men, making tokens of threatnings

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- 1 Ed. note: Galvão says 1,500 leagues. Hakluyt could not resist correcting this figure; his distance is indeed more correct.
 - 2 Ed. note: Galvão said July, wrongly, and Hakluyt has corrected him. There are a few inaccuracies made by Galvão in the rest of this paragraph (See previous documents for the true story).
 - 3 Ed. note: The certain thing that Hakluyt could not translate was “a skirt made of feathers of various colors”.
 - 4 Ed. note: Rather, they were completely branded or painted, i.e. tattooed, as we would say today.

to the Spaniards¹ who seeing that the Spaniards would not obey them, they began to skirmish with slinging of stones, but Saavedra would suffer no shot to be shot at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harme.²

A little beyond this island, in 10 or 12 degrees, they found many small low islands full of palme trees and grasse, which they called Los Jardines³, and they came to an anker in the middest of them, where they taried certaine daies. The people seemed [from their carriage and complexion] to descend from them of China, but by reason of their long continuance there they become so brutish, that they haue neither law [nor religion] nor yet giue themselves to any honest labour.⁴ They weare white clothing, which they make of grasse.⁵ They stand in maruailous feare of fire, because they neuer saw any.⁶ They eat cocos in steade of bread, breaking them⁷ before they be ripe, and putting them vnder the sand, and then after certaine daies they take them out and lay them in the sunne, and then they will open. They eate fish [raw], which they take in a kinde of boate called a parao, which they make of pine wood, which is driuen thither at certaine times of the yeere, they know not how, nor from whence.⁸ The tooles wherewith they make their boates are of shels of cockles, [clams?] or oysters.

Saavedra perceiuing that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made saile towards the firm lande and [isthmus of the] citie of Panama [it being no more than 17 or 18 leagues wide], where he might vnlade the cloues and marchandise which he had, that so in cartes it might be carried [overland] fower [i.e. 4] leagues, to the riuier of Chagre, which they say is nauigable, running out into the North sea not

1 Ed. note: Making signs that they should strike sail.

2 Ed. note: Hakluyt avoided a translation difficulty by paraphrasing the text. What Galvão said is: "Then there came out to them from the island a fleet of proas, all of them with slings. They began a fight with the ship, more haughty but less dangerous than the Battle of Ravenna" (a reference to the 1512 battle at Ravenna, Italy, between the French and the Spanish). "However, Saavedra ordered the sail to be shortened and waited, without doing them any harm, until they had wasted all the ammunition that they had brought."

3 Ed. note: Not grass, but bushes, or greenery in general. Also, if a name was given to Ujelang and/or Eniwetok by Saavedra, it was Buen Jardin (Bom Jardin as Galvão says in Portuguese). We will see later how the name of Los Jardines was applied (or re-applied) by Villalobos to Ujelang in 1542. That must be the name Hakluyt saw on a map of the Pacific in 1600.

4 Ed. note: The translation should have been "nor do they bring up any living thing." They apparently raised neither animals nor crops.

5 Ed. note: Their mat skirts, made of woven pandanus fibers, were pale yellow when newly-made.

6 Ed. note: This is hard to believe. I myself think that there is one word missing in the original text, the word "arms". After all, Nápoles did say that they were afraid of firearms.

7 Ed. note: Rather shelling them, that is removing the coir or outer shell, as it made obvious by what follows.

8 Ed. note: The flotsam pine logs came from the west coast of North America.

far from Nombre de Dios, where the ships ride which come out of Spaine¹: by which way all kinde of goods might be brought vnto them in shorter time, and with lesse danger, then to saile about the Cape of Bona Sperança. For from Maluco vnto Panama they saile continually betweene the Tropickes and the line: but they neuer found winde to serue that course: and therefore they came backe againe to Maluco very sad, because Saavedra died by the way: who, [they say] if he had liued, meant to haue [asked the Emperour] to haue opened the land of Castillia de Oro and New Spaine from sea to sea.² Which might haue beene done in fower places: namely from the Gulfe of S. Michael to Vraba, which is 25 leagues, or from Panama to Nombre de Dios, being 17 leagues distance: or through Xaquator³, a river of Nicaragua, which springeth out of a lake three or fower leagues from the South sea, and falleth into the North sea; whereupon doe saile great barks and caryers. The other place is from Tecoantepec through a riuer to Verdadera Cruz in the Bay of Honduras⁴, which also might be opened in a streight. Which if it were done, then they might saile from the Canaries vnto the Malucos vnder the [temperate] climate of the zodiake, in lesse time and with much lesse danger, then to saile about the Cape de Bona Sperança, or by the streight of Magelan, or by the Northwest.⁵ And yet if there might be found a streight there to saile into the sea of China, as it hath beene sought.

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- 1 Ed. note: This is wishful thinking on the part of Galvão, who wrote this after 1555. The Darien settlement was moved to Panama only in 1525 (See Doc. 1513). Saavedra's stated intention before he died was to return to Mexico, not to go to Panama.
 - 2 Ed. note: It is interesting to note that the Spanish had plans for a canal three and a half centuries before one was finally built. The four possible locations for the project were already described as the Columbian canal (from the Gulf of San Miguel to the Gulf of Uraba), the Panama canal (via the River Chagres), the Nicaraguan canal (via Lake Nicaragua and the San Juan River), and the Mexican canal (Gulf of Tehuantepec to the Gulf of Campeche).
 - 3 Ed. note: Rather Sagra de Oro, same as the San Juan River.
 - 4 Ed. note: Galvão did not say "in the Bay of Honduras", because that is a physical impossibility, which Hakluyt thought possible only after he consulted a primitive map, ca. 1600.
 - 5 Ed. note: Literally "by the land of the Corte Reals", i.e. Canada, as discovered by the Corte Real Brothers.

Document 1527F

Loaysa and Saavedra—Some additional details by Oviedo

Source: Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo's Historia, Lib. XX, Cap. XXX. The following details were not reported by Urdaneta earlier. However, Oviedo's informants were the same Urdaneta, and Martin de Islares; both had been members of Loaysa's crew.

Chapter XXX — How it was learned that the galleon named Sancta María del Parral had been lost ... and how the galleon of Captain Saavedra was once again made ready in the Moluccas to return to New Spain...

At the time Captain Alvaro de Saavedra passed by the islands of the Celebes, the Indians brought to him two Christians to find out if he wanted to ransom them. They were Galicians from the galleon named **Sancta María del Parral**, whose captain was Don Jorge Manrique. This ship was one of those of the fleet which Commander Fray García de **Loaysa** brought to the Spiceries, and this galleon was lost at the island of Senguín [Sarangani], which is about 70 leagues from the Moluccas. Captain Saavedra ransomed them in exchange for gold and brought them to the Moluccas. One of them was named Romay, and the other Sánchez. After a few days spent in the Moluccas, it was learned from them how they had been lost. When Captain Hernando de la Torre heard the story, he had Romay arrested. As for Sánchez, he fled to the Portuguese. At about that time, a letter was received from the islands of the Celebes from a Flemish¹ named William, relating how they had been lost. In his letter he condemned these two Galicians. On account of this letter, and other clues, a few blows with a rope whip were applied to Romay, and finally he confessed as to how they had arrived at Visaya [i.e. Bislig], and there they sent the boat ashore and it was taken by the Indians who killed all those aboard. From there, those who were left went away and anchored at another island. While they were anchored there, these Galicians and others from the galleon

1 Ed. note: No doubt a Flemish soldier who had been a crew member aboard the Parral.

plotted to kill the captain and other persons, and indeed they did so. As for the said Captain Don Jorge Manrique, his brother Don Diego, and Francisco de Benavides, the naval treasurer, they were thrown overboard while still alive, after having been pierced with lances aboard ship. From there, they made their way without captain nor pilot, as the latter had died, and drove the nao sideways unto the island of Sanguín [Sarangani], where the Indians fought with them and killed most of them. The rest they made prisoners and sold them throughout those islands.

In view of his confession, he was sentenced to be dragged, and having been dragged, was dismembered into four parts; thus the sentence was complied with and carried out.

Once again they made the galleon [Florida] ready and they left for New Spain [1529]. Because the last time Captain Saavedra had tried to place himself under northern latitudes, thinking he would find winds favorable to go to New Spain, and he did not find them, it had been proposed many times [by others] that he ought to try and place himself under southern latitudes, as far as 20 or 30 degrees, and from there possibly find good winds, but Saavedra always disagreed. Thus they left during the month of January of 1529...

[Epilogue]

[Oviedo] learned all of this from Urdaneta in person, during many talks he had with him... This captain [Alvarado] had agreed to accept him in the service of his king and because he had much experience about those parts of the Moluccas where he has spent some time, and because he is a man who is very knowledgeable about sea and land matters. He also accepted that other gentleman Martin de Islares, whom I have mentioned earlier. Both of them were here at the fort of this city of Santo Domingo in the island of Hispaniola, which is in my charge, and they were questioned and wrote down what is said here, this past year of 1539.

From here they continued their way to the Mainland with the said Lieutenant-Governor, who was going directly to the port of Honduras, and from there would make his way to his place of government in Guatemala. From there, the same Lieutenant-Governor wrote to me, saying that he had already had some ships built to go or send to the Spice Islands, and he praised the person and experience of this Captain Urdaneta and Martin de Islares, because both are men of action with noble abilities.

After Urdaneta had reached the Court in Castile¹, Captain Fernando de la Torre himself arrived there with a few gentlemen from those who had been in the Moluccas. They informed the Emperor our Lord, and his Royal Council, about everything that is said here, and he found Himself well served by all of them and ordered that they be rewarded for their services...

The reader may recollect that, out of the fleet of seven ships with which Captain Frey García de Loaysa sailed for the Spice Islands, we know the outcome for four of them, as follows:

¹ Ed. note: At Valladolid in February 1537.

The nao **Sancti Spiritus** was lost at the mouth of the Strait, at the Cape of Eleven Thousand Virgins.

The other nao which reached a port in New Spain, aboard which was the priest Don Juan [Areizaga], called **Sanctiago**, whose captain was Sanctiago de Guevara.

The other ship we know about was the flagship, named **Sancta María de la Victoria**, and it only reached the Moluccas and the island of Tidore, where the Spanish built their fortress.

The fourth ship was lost there, near the Moluccas; its name was the **Sancta María del Parral**, whose captain was Jorge de Manrique.

About the other ships, it is not known where, their whereabouts, not how they were lost, given that the clues as to their misfortune can be gathered and suspected from what is known about the others, as mentioned briefly above. That is the truth, whatever we may think of the Portuguese who occupy those islands of the Moluccas and of Spices that fall within the limits of the conquest by Spain and belong to her kings. We should not blame them (interlopers as they are) for the loss of the other ships given that we do not know what happened to them. Look, it is a very long voyage, with all sorts of people aboard with intentions good or bad. It is not because they are on the same ship that they all conform to what a good conscience and loyalty to the King and neighbor would dictate. See what happened to the sinner who killed Don Jorge Manrique and to the other Galicians. The same thing has happened many times to many others who, in spite of trust, have been murdered by their very own companions. Take, for example, the untimely ends of Simón de Alcazaba¹ and of Captain Iñiguez de Carquizano. There is a popular proverb that describes this: "The loyal man does not live any longer than the traitor has decided."

1 Ed. note: Alcazaba led an expedition of two ships sent to the Moluccas in 1535 and he was killed by his own men in the Strait. On the way back, one ship was lost on the coast of Brazil and the other one went to Hispaniola before returning to Seville.



Hernan Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico. *He was mandated by the Emperor Charles V to send the first American expedition to the Moluccas. He appointed his cousin Saavedra to lead that expedition in 1527. The title of Marquis del Valle (de Oaxaca) was conferred upon him in July 1529.*

Document 1529

The Treaty of Zaragoza—Emperor Charles V sold his rights to the Moluccas to King John III of Portugal for 350,000 ducats

*Sources: The original of the Treaty of Zaragoza of 22 April 1529 is in the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon: Gaveta 18, maço 8, n° 29, and in AGI Seville: Formerly Papeles del Maluco, de 1519 a 1547 Legajo 1, now Patronato 1-2-2-16 & 1-22-24. Published in ACL's *Alguns documentos*, pp. 495-512, in Navarrete's *Colección de los viages*, iv, pp. 389-406, and in Martens' *Supp. Traités de l'Europe*, i, pp. 398-421. Translation in *B&R I*, pp. 222-239.*

Contract made in Zaragoza between the ambassadors of Spain and Portugal, regarding the transaction and sale that the Emperor Charles V made to the King of Portugal of the Molucca Islands in the manner stated hereunder

Preliminary note

This treaty was negotiated at Zaragoza between the representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese kings, and signed by them on 22 April 1529. It was ratified the following day by Carlos V at Lérida, and by João III at Lisbon on 20 June 1530. The usual letters of authorization precede the treaty proper, the Spanish letter being dated Zaragoza, 15 April 1529, and the Portuguese one being dated Lisbon, 18 October 1528. The Spanish deputies were: Mercurino de Gatinara, Count of Gatinara, and Grand

Chancellor; Fray García de Loaysa¹, Bishop of Osma and confessor of the Emperor; and Fray García de Padilla, commander-in-chief of the Order of Calatrava, all three members of the Emperor's Council. The Portuguese deputy was Licentiate Antonio de Acevedo Coutiño, member of the Portuguese Council and the King's ambassador. The treaty contained a buy-back option.

Text of the Treaty of Zaragoza

After the said authorizations were presented by the said representatives it was declared that:

Inasmuch as there existed a doubt between the said Emperor and King of Spain, etc., and the said King of Portugal, etc., concerning the ownership, possession, navigation, and trade in the Moluccas and other islands and seas, which each one of the said lords, the Emperor and King of Spain and the King of Portugal declares as his, both by virtue of the treaties made by the most exalted, powerful, and Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, rulers of Spain, grandparents of the said Emperor and King John II of Portugal (may he rest in peace) about the demarcation of the Ocean sea and by virtue of other rights and privileges which each one of the said Emperor and Kings asserted to own, and hold the rights to the said islands, seas, and lands as belonging to him and being in his possession; and

Inasmuch as the said Emperor and Kings, considering the very close relationship and great affection existing between them, and which, not only should very rightly be preserved, but as far as possible be increased; and in order to free themselves from the doubts, complaints, and disputes that might arise between them, and the many troubles that might ensue among their vassals and subjects and the natives of their kingdoms; the said Emperor and Kings and the said attorneys acting on their behalf, have covenanted and agreed as to the said doubts and disputes in the following form and manner:

Firstly, the said Grand Chancellor, the Bishop of Osma and the Commander-in-chief of [the Order of] Calatrava, attorneys for the said Emperor and King of Spain declared that they, in his name, and by virtue of the said power of attorney would sell and in fact did **sell from this day and for all time, to the said King of Portugal**, for him and all the successors to the Crown or his kingdoms, all right, action, dominion, ownership, and possession or quasi-possession, and all rights of navigation, traffic, and trade in any manner whatsoever; that the said Emperor and King of Spain declares that he holds and could hold howsoever and in whatsoever manner in the said Moluccas, the islands, places, lands, and seas, as will be declared hereafter; this, with the declarations, limitations, conditions, and clauses contained and stated hereunder **for the sum**

1 A relative of Captain Loaysa.

of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats of gold, paid in the current money, of gold and silver, each ducat being valued in Spain at 375 Maravedis.¹

The said King of Portugal will give and pay this amount to the said Emperor and King of Spain, and to the persons whom His Majesty may appoint, in the following manner: 150,000 ducats to be paid in Lisbon, within the first 15 or 20 days after this contract, ratified by the said Emperor and King of Spain, shall have arrived at the city of Lisbon, or wherever the said King of Portugal may be; 30,000 ducats to be paid in Spain—20,000 at Valladolid and 10,000 at Seville by the 20th day of the month of May of this present year; 70,000 ducats to be paid in Spain at the May fair of Medina del Campo of this same year, at the terms of the payments of the said fair²; and the remaining 100,000 ducats at the said town of Medina del Campo of this same year, at the terms of payment of the same—all to be paid over and above of the exchange fees. If necessary, notes will be given for the said time; and, if said Emperor and King of Spain wishes to take in exchange the said 100,000 ducats at the said May fair of this said year in order to avail himself of their use, he shall pay the said King of Portugal exchange [fees] at the rate of five or six percent, the rate which his treasurer, Hernando Alvarez, is accustomed to exact from fair to fair.

The aforesaid sale is made by the said Emperor and King of Spain to the said King of Portugal on **condition** that, at whatever time the said Emperor and King of Spain or his successors, should wish to return, and should return, all of the said 350,000 ducats without any shortage to the said King of Portugal or his successors, the said sale becomes null and void and each one of the said sovereigns shall enjoy the right and authority which he now holds and claims to hold, both as regards the right of possession or quasi-possession, and as regards the ownership, howsoever and in whatever manner they belong to him, as if this contract were not made, and in the manner in which they first held possession and claimed to hold it, and this contract shall cause no prejudice or innovation.

1 Ed. note: This sum then represented over 131 million Maravedis, about as many US\$ today. This is a fabulous sum for a doubtful claim, another proof of the tremendous value of spices in those days.

2 Money was there lent by the Crown to persons who desired loans—hence the allusion in the text.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed by the said attorneys, in the names of their said constituents that, in order to ascertain what islands, places, lands, seas, and their rights and jurisdiction, are sold, henceforth and forever, by the said Emperor and King of Spain, by this contract under the aforesaid conditions, to the said King of Portugal, **a line must be determined from pole to pole, that is to say, from north to south, by a semicircle extending northeast by east 19 degrees from the Moluccas**, the said number of degrees corresponding to almost 17 degrees on the equinoctial, amounting to **297-1/2 leagues east of the Molucca Islands**, allowing 17-1/2 leagues to an equinoctial degree.¹ In this meridian and NE by E direction are situated the islands of Las Velas and of Santo Tomé [sic]² **through which the said line and semicircle pass. Since these islands are situated and are distant from the Moluccas the said distance, more or less, the deputies determine and agree that the said line be drawn at the said 297-1/2 leagues to the east, the equivalent of the 19 degrees [along a line] NE by E from the said islands of the Moluccas, as aforesaid.**

The said deputies declare that, in order to ascertain where the said line should be drawn, two official charts of the same tenor be made, in conformity with the model chart in the India House of Trade in Seville, and by which the fleets, vassals and subjects of the said Emperor and King of Spain navigate. Within 30 days from the date of this contract two persons shall be appointed by each side to examine the aforesaid chart and make the two copies aforesaid in conformity with it. In them the said line shall be drawn in the manner aforesaid; and they shall be signed by the said sovereigns, and sealed with their seals, so that each one will keep his own chart; and the said line shall remain fixed henceforth at the point and place so designated. This chart shall also designate the spot where the said vassals of the said Emperor and King of Spain shall situate and locate the Moluccas, which during the time of this contract shall be regarded as situated at such a place, although in truth it is situated more or less distance eastward from the place that is designated in the said [Spanish] charts. The 17 degrees eastward shall be drawn from the point where the Moluccas are situated on the said charts.

1 Ed. note: One degree of longitude at the equator is indeed about 70 miles, at 4 miles to a Spanish league.

2 Ed. note: The Islands of Las Velas are obviously the Marianas, but the island(s) of Santo Tomé (= St. Thomas) can only be other islands discovered up to that time, and may either correspond to the Sequeira Islands, or the Islands of Los Reyes (i.e. Kings' or Ulithi Is.). In any case, in 1529, the information about the St. Thomas Islands could only have come from the Portuguese side, as all Spanish documents about them had been seized in the Moluccas as of 1522; this statement is confirmed below as it is said that the Spanish would have to check their own maps at Seville later on. Now, if a line is drawn NE by E on the Portuguese map of ca. 1545 (See Doc. 1522D), using 19 degrees taken from the longitude scale shown at the top of the said map, the meridian of the Treaty of Zaragoza runs immediately west of Guam and of the Sequeira Islands. It is therefore clear that the Spanish were thus supposed to have sold their rights to the Philippines as well. In the final analysis, I personally think that Santo Tomé is a transcription error for Ladrone...

For the good of this contract, the said King of Portugal must have the said chart, and in case the aforesaid be not found in the India House of Trade in Seville, the said persons appointed by the said sovereigns shall make said charts within one month, signed and sealed as aforesaid. Furthermore, navigation charts shall be made by them, in which the said line shall be drawn in the manner aforesaid, so that henceforth the said vassals, natives, and subjects of the said Emperor and King of Spain shall navigate by them; and so that the navigators of either party shall be certain of the location of the said line and of the aforesaid distance of the 297-1/2 leagues between the said line and the Moluccas.¹

Item: It is covenanted and agreed by the said deputies that, whenever the said King of Portugal should wish to prove his right to the ownership of the Moluccas, and the lands and seas specified in this contract, and although at that time the said Emperor and King of Spain shall not have returned the price abovesaid, nor the said contract be cancelled, it shall be done in the following manner, namely, each one of the said lords shall appoint three astrologers and three pilots or three mariners who are experts in navigation, who shall assemble at a place on the boundary between the two kingdoms, where it shall be agreed that they assemble, within four months of the time when the Emperor and King of Spain, or his successors, shall be notified by the said King of Portugal to appoint a day. There they will consult, covenant, and agree upon the manner of ascertaining the right of the said ownership in accordance with the said treaty and contract made between the said Catholic Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and the said King John II of Portugal. In case the said Emperor and King of Spain be judged to have the right of said ownership, such sentence will not be executed nor used until the said Emperor and King of Spain or his successors shall first have actually returned all the said 350,000 ducats, which by virtue of this contract shall have been given. If the right of ownership be conceded to the said King of Portugal, the said Emperor and King of Spain or his successors shall be obliged actually to return the said 350,000 ducats to the said King of Portugal or his successors within the first four years ensuing after the date of such a sentence.

Item: It was covenanted and agreed by the said deputies, in the names of their said constituents that, since this contract of sale shall be valid and hold good henceforth from date, if any **spices and drugs** of any sort whatever be brought to any ports or parts of the kingdoms and dominions of either of the said constituents, in charge of the vassals, subjects or natives of the kingdoms of the said Emperor and King of Spain or by any other persons whomsoever who may not be vassals, subjects, or natives of said kingdoms, then the said Emperor and King of Spain in his kingdoms and dominions, and the said King of Portugal in his, shall be obliged to order and cause, and they shall order and cause, the said spices or drugs to be warehoused securely, without him to whose kingdom they have been brought being so notified to do so by the other side; but they shall be warehoused in the name of both, in the power of the person or per-

1 Ed. note: No Spanish chart of the period immediately following is known that shows such a boundary line.

sons whom each one of the said sovereigns shall have ordered to take charge of said deposited goods in his lands and dominions.

The said sovereigns shall be obliged to order and cause such goods to be made in the manner abovesaid, whether the said spices or drugs are found in the possession of those who brought them, or in the power of any other person or persons, in whatsoever regions or districts they shall have to be found. The said Emperor and Kings shall be obliged to give notification to this effect henceforth throughout all their kingdoms and dominions, so that these instructions may be complied with and no one may plead ignorance of them.

Should the said spices or drugs be taken to any ports or lands that do not belong to either one of the said sovereigns, provided that they are not those of enemies, either one of them, by virtue of this contract, may require, in the name of both, and without showing any further provision or power of the other to the justice of the kingdoms and dominions where said drugs or spices happen to be or to have been found, and they may order them to be warehoused, and they shall be warehoused. In whatsoever ports the said drugs or spices are thus found, they will be under embargo and deposited by both until it is known from whose demarcation they were taken.

In order to ascertain if the places and lands from which the said spices or drugs are taken and brought, fall within the demarcation and limits which by this contract remain to the said King of Spain, and if they contain the said spices or drugs, the said Emperor and Kings shall depatch two or four ships, an equal number being sent by both. In these an equal number of persons from both sides, sworn to fulfil their obligation, will sail to those places and lands whence the said spices or drugs were said to have been taken and brought in order to ascertain and determine within whose demarcation are situated the said lands and places whence the said spices or drugs are said to have been brought. Should it be found that the said places and lands are within the demarcation of the said Emperor and King of Spain, that the said spices and drugs exist there in such quantity that they could reasonably be carried away, then the said deposited goods shall be given up and freely delivered to the said Emperor and King of Spain, without his being obliged to pay any costs, expenses, interests, or any other thing. If, on the other hand, it be discovered that said drugs or spices were taken from the districts and lands belonging to the said King of Portugal, the said goods shall be ceded and delivered in like manner to the said King of Portugal without his being obliged to pay any costs, expenses, interests, nor anything whatsoever. The persons who thus imported the said drugs or spices shall be penalized and punished by the said Emperor and King of Spain or by his justices, as violators of peace and faith, according to law.

Each one of the aforesaid, the Emperor and King of Spain and the King of Portugal, shall be obliged to send as many ships and persons as may be required by the other. As soon as the said spices or drugs shall be warehoused and placed under embargo in the manner aforesaid, neither the said Emperor and King of Spain, nor his agents, nor any one with his favor or consent, shall go or send to the said land or lands whence were taken the said drugs or spices in this manner. All that is set forth in this section about

the deposit of the spices or drugs, shall not be understood to refer to the spices or drugs which may come to any places whatsoever for the said King of Portugal.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed that, in all the islands, lands, and seas within the said line, the **ships, vessels and people** of the said Emperor and King of Spain or of his subjects, vassals or natives of his kingdoms, or any others (although these latter be not his subjects, vassals, or natives of his kingdoms) shall not, with or without his command, consent, favor, and aid, enter, navigate, barter, traffic, or take on board anything whatsoever that may be in said islands, lands, or seas. Whosoever shall henceforth violate any of the aforesaid provisions, or who shall be found within the said line, shall be seized by any captain or captains, or people of the said King of Portugal and shall be tried, chastised and punished by the said captains, as privateers and violators of the peace. Should they not be found inside of said line by the said captains or people of the said King of Portugal and should come to any port, land, or dominion whatsoever of the said Emperor and King of Spain, by his justices in that place, shall be obliged and bound to take and hold them. In the meantime the warrants and examinations proving their guilt in each of the abovesaid things, shall be sent by the said King of Portugal, or by his justices, and they shall be punished and chastised exactly as evil-doers and violators of the peace and faith.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed by the said deputies that the said Emperor and King of Spain shall not, personally or through an agent, send the natives of his kingdoms, his vassals, subjects, or aliens (and although these latter be not natives of his kingdoms, or his vassals or subjects), to the said islands, lands, and seas within the said line, nor shall he consent nor give them aid or favor or permit them to go there, contrary to the form and determination of this contract. Rather he shall be obliged to forbid, suppress, and prevent it as much as possible. Should the said Emperor and King of Spain, personally or through an agent, send natives of his kingdoms, or his vassals, subjects or aliens (although these latter be not natives of his kingdoms, or his vassals or subjects), to the said islands, lands, or seas within the said line or consent to such a thing, giving them aid, or favor, or permitting them to go contrary to the form and determination of this contract; and should he not forbid, suppress, or prevent it, as much as possible, the said agreement of *retro vedendo* [i.e. buy-back option] becomes null and void; and the said King of Portugal shall no longer be obliged to receive the said sum, nor to sell back the rights and dominion which the said Emperor and King of Spain might have therein in any manner whatsoever, but which he has sold, renounced and delivered to the said King of Portugal by virtue of this contract, by this very act, the said sale shall remain complete and valid forever, as if at first it were made without conditions and agreement to sell back.

However, since it may happen that, when the aforesaid subjects, natives, or vassals of the said Emperor and King of Spain navigating as aforesaid in the southern seas, should meet with winds so tempestuous or contrary that they would be constrained by necessity to continue their course and navigation within the said line, they shall in such case incur no penalty whatever. On the contrary, when, in such circumstances, they

shall come to and anchor at any land included within the said line, pertaining by virtue of this contract to the said King of Portugal, they shall be treated by his subjects, vassals, and inhabitants of the said land as the vassals of his brother, as in the same manner the Emperor and King of Spain would command the Portuguese subjects to be treated who should in like manner arrive at ports in his lands of New Spain or in any other of his ports. It is understood, however, that, when such necessity ceases, they shall immediately set sail and return to their part of the southern seas.

Should the aforesaid subjects cross the said line through ignorance, it is herein covenanted and agreed that they shall incur on that account no penalty whatsoever, and as long as it is not fully evident that they know themselves to be within the said line, they shall not turn about and go outside of it, as is covenanted and agreed in case of entering on account of tempestuous and contrary winds or necessity. But, when such a fact is quite evident, if it shall be proved that they have entered the line maliciously, they shall be punished and dealt with as those who shall enter the line as aforesaid and as is set forth in this contract. Should the aforesaid discover any islands or lands or lands, while navigating within the said line, such islands or lands shall belong freely and actually to the said King of Portugal and his successors, as if they were discovered, found, and taken possession of by his own captains and vassals, at such time. It is covenanted and agreed by the said deputies that the ships and vessels of the said Emperor and King of Spain and those of his subjects, vassals and the natives of his kingdoms, may navigate and pass through the seas of the said King of Portugal, whence his fleets sail for India, only as much as may be necessary to take a due course toward the Strait of Magellan. And if they violate the abovesaid, and sail farther over the said seas of the said King of Portugal than is mentioned above, both the said Emperor and King of Spain, if it is proved that they did it by his order, countenance, aid, or consent, and those sailing in this manner and violating the abovesaid, shall incur the above penalties in the completeness set forth above in this contract.

Item: It was covenanted and agreed that if any of the subjects of the said Emperor and King of Spain or any others shall henceforth be seized and found within the said limits above declared, they shall be imprisoned by any captain or captains, or subjects whatsoever of the said King of Portugal and shall be tried, chastised, and punished as pirates, violators, and disturbers of the peace by the said captains. Should they not be discovered within the said line, and should afterwards come to any port whatever of the said Emperor and King of Spain, His Majesty and his justices shall be obliged to seize and imprison them, until the warrants and testimonies sent by the said King of Portugal, or his justices, shall have been presented. If proved guilty of the aforesaid offenses they shall be punished and chastised to the limit as evil-doers and violators of the faith and peace, and of everything else set forth in this contract in regard to the crossing of the said line by any subjects of the said Emperor and King of Spain, or any others by his command, consent, favor, or aid. It is understood that these penalties shall apply from the day when the subjects and people of the said Emperor now in and navigating those seas and regions shall be notified. Before such notification they shall not

incur said penalties. It is to be understood, however, that the aforesaid refers to the people of the fleets of the said Emperor, which have until now to those parts and that no others be sent without incurring the said penalties from the day of the signing of this contract, and henceforth during the time that the said sale be not cancelled in the aforesaid manner.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed by the said deputies that the said King of Portugal shall not build nor order built for himself, or any other, any new **fortress** whatever in the Moluccas, nor within twenty leagues of it, nor between the Moluccas and the line which is to be drawn according to this contract. It is covenanted unanimously by the said deputies of both sides that this provision shall take effect, namely, from the time that the said King of Portugal can send there a notification to make no new fortress whatever; that is to say, in the first fleet which shall sail for India from the said kingdom of Portugal, after this contract shall have been confirmed and approved by the said constituents, and sealed with their seals. There shall be no new work whatsoever undertaken on the fortress which is already built at the Moluccas [i.e. at Ternate], from the said time henceforth; it shall only be repaired and kept in the same condition in which it may be at the aforesaid time, if the said King of Portugal so desires; to the above he shall swear and promise full compliance.

Item: It was covenanted and agreed that the **fleets**, which heretofore have been despatched to those regions by the said Emperor and King of Spain, be well treated in every way, by the said King of Portugal and his people; and that no embargo or obstacle to their navigation or traffic be imposed upon them. If there should be any damage, which is not expected however, which they shall have received or shall receive from his captains or people, or shall anything have been seized from them, the said King of Portugal shall be obliged to give satisfaction, restore, make good and pay immediately all such damages suffered by the same Emperor and King of Spain, and his subjects and fleets; he shall order the offenders to be punished and chastised and he shall allow the fleets and people of the said Emperor and King of Spain to come and go as they please, freely without any obstacle whatever.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed that the said Emperor and King of Spain command letters and instructions to be given immediately to his captains and subjects who are in the said islands that they do **no more trading henceforth and return at once**, provided that they be allowed to bring freely whatever goods they shall have already bartered, traded, and taken on board.

Item: It is covenanted, agreed, and provided that in the instructions and letters relating to this covenant and contract, which are to be given and despatched by the said Emperor and King of Spain, it shall declare that this statement, instruction, and contract as above made is as binding as though it were made and passed in the general courts, with the express consent of the attorneys thereof; and to make it valid by his royal and absolute power, which, as king and natural lord, recognizing no temporal superior, he may exercise and shall exercise, abrogate, abolish, repeal, and annul the supplication made by the attorneys of the cities and towns of these kingdoms at the court

held in the city of Toledo this past year 1525 concerning the trade of the said islands and lands, the reply given to it, and any law that was made on this subject in the said courts or in any others that may conflict with this.

Item: It is hereby covenanted that the said King of Portugal promises to command manifest, sincere, and summary justice to be executed, because certain subjects of the said Emperor and King of Spain and other aliens of his kingdoms who entered his service complain that their possessions have been seized by his India House of Trade and in his kingdoms, without any respect to the annoyance caused them thereby, because they have entered the service and did serve the said Emperor.

Item: It was covenanted and agreed by the said deputies in the names of their said constituents that the treaties negotiated between the said Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella and King John II of Portugal in regard to the demarcation of the Ocean sea shall remain valid and binding *in toto* and in every particular, as is therein contained and declared, excepting those things which are otherwise covenanted and agreed upon in this contract. In case the said Emperor and King of Spain returns the sum which according to this contract is to be given in the manner aforesaid, thus cancelling the sale, the said treaties negotiated between the said Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabel and the said King John II of Portugal, shall remain in full force and power, as if this contract were not made; and the said constituents shall be obliged to comply with it in every respect, as is therein stated.

Item: It is covenanted and agreed by the said attorneys that although the rights and dominion which the said Emperor and King of Spain claims to possess in the said lands, districts, seas, and islands and which he sells to the said King of Portugal in the manner abovesaid are worth more than half of the just price given, and the said Emperor and King of Spain has certain definite knowledge through exact information of persons who are experts on the subject, and who have investigated and ascertained definitely, the said rights are of much greater value and worth, more than half of the just price that the said King of Portugal gives to the said Emperor and King of Spain, he is pleased to make a gift of it, as he does in fact, which from the said day henceforth shall be valid between the living, of the said excess in value above the half of the just price, however great that excess may be. This excess in value above the half of the just price, the said Emperor and King of Spain relinquishes for himself and his successors, and dignities the same from the royal crown of his kingdoms forever, and delivers it entire to the said King of Portugal, to him and his successors and crowns of his kingdoms, really and effectually, in the aforesaid manner, and during the time of this contract.

...

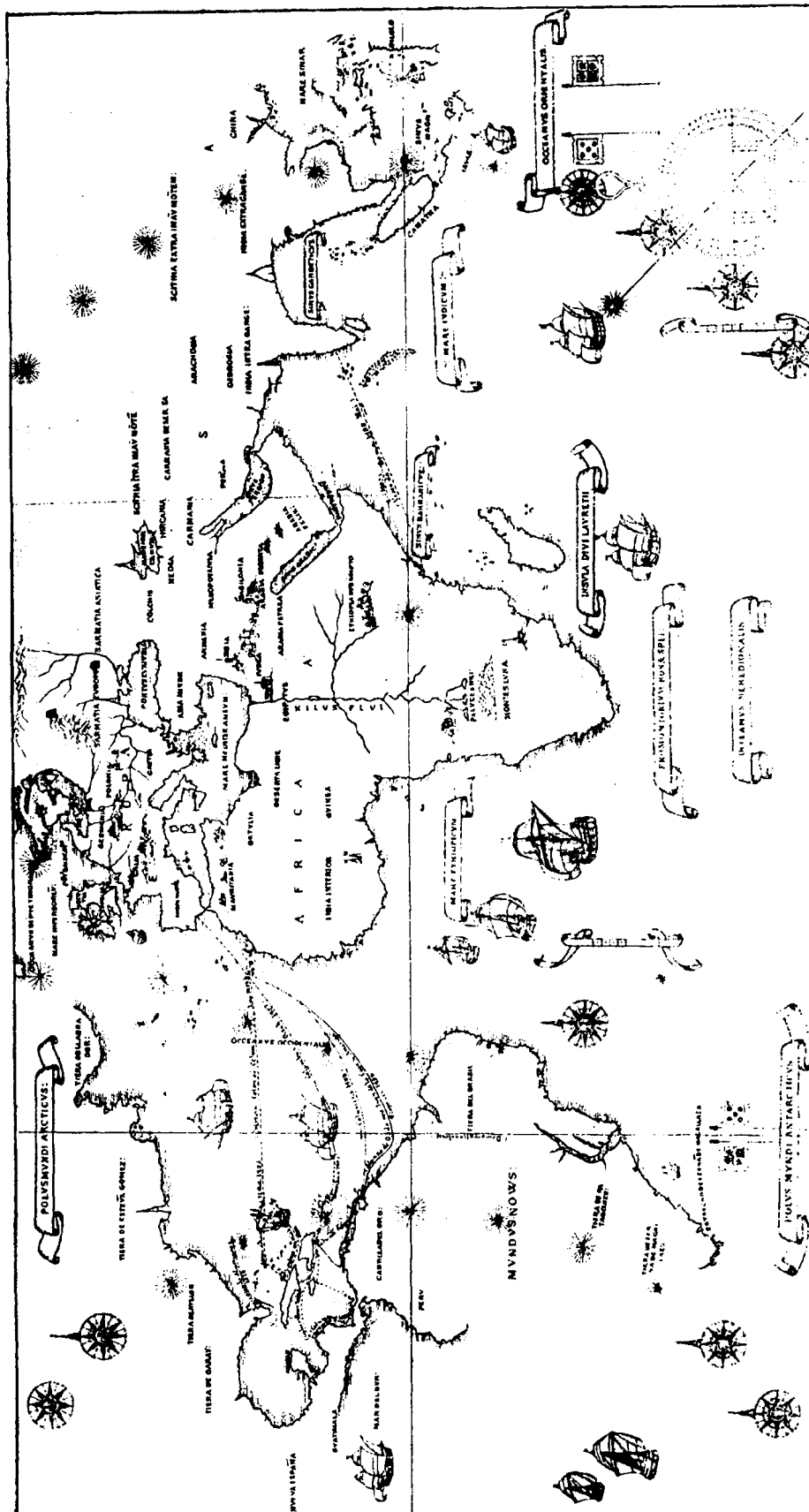
1 Ed. note: The rest of the treaty provides that he who may violate its provisions in any way, shall lose all his rights therein, and shall in addition pay a fine of 200,000 ducats to the other. The Pope is to be asked to confirm it by the issuance of a bull, imposing the penalty of excommunication for its violation. The deputies promise most fully and under oath that their respective constituents shall observe all the provisions. The document was signed by the following officials.

Mercurinus Cancellarius [i.e. the Count of Gatinara];
Fr. García Episcopus Oxomensis [i.e. the Bishop of Osma];
The Commander-in-chief [i.e. Fray García de Padilla];
Antonio de Acevedo Coutiño.

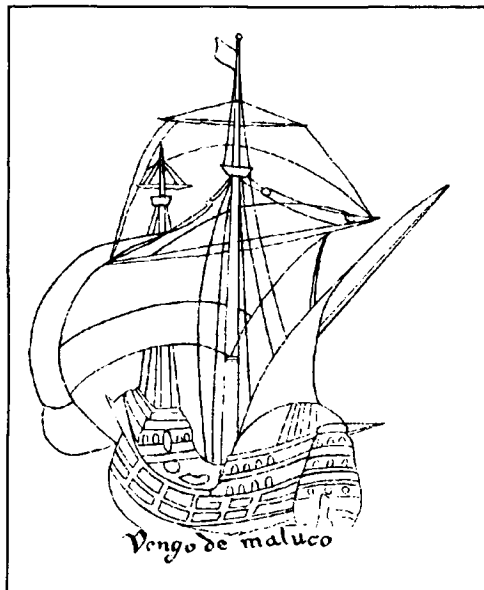
Witnesses:

Alonso de Valdés, secretary to the Emperor;
Gerónimo Ranzo, protégé of the chancellor;
Agustin de Urbina, chancellor of H. M.;
Antonio de Sousa;
Hernan Rodriguez; and
Alonso de Idiaquez.
Before the secretary and notary Francisco de los Cobos.
Copied by Juan de Samano.¹

¹ Ed. note: The sale of the Moluccas meant the effective abandonment of the financiers Cristóbal de Haro and the Fuggers of Germany, as well as the loyal Spanish subjects stranded in the Moluccas. When the Emperor ordered the liquidation of the Spice House in La Coruña, de Haro sued the Crown to recover his losses. Although de Haro won his case, the Fuggers who had also sued lost theirs. As for the dispute between Portugal and Spain over the Line of Demarcation, it lasted until 1777, when, by the Treaty of San Ildefonso, Peter III and Mary I of Portugal agreed with Charles III of Spain that the territorial limits be established by geographical features and possession, rather than a certain meridian.

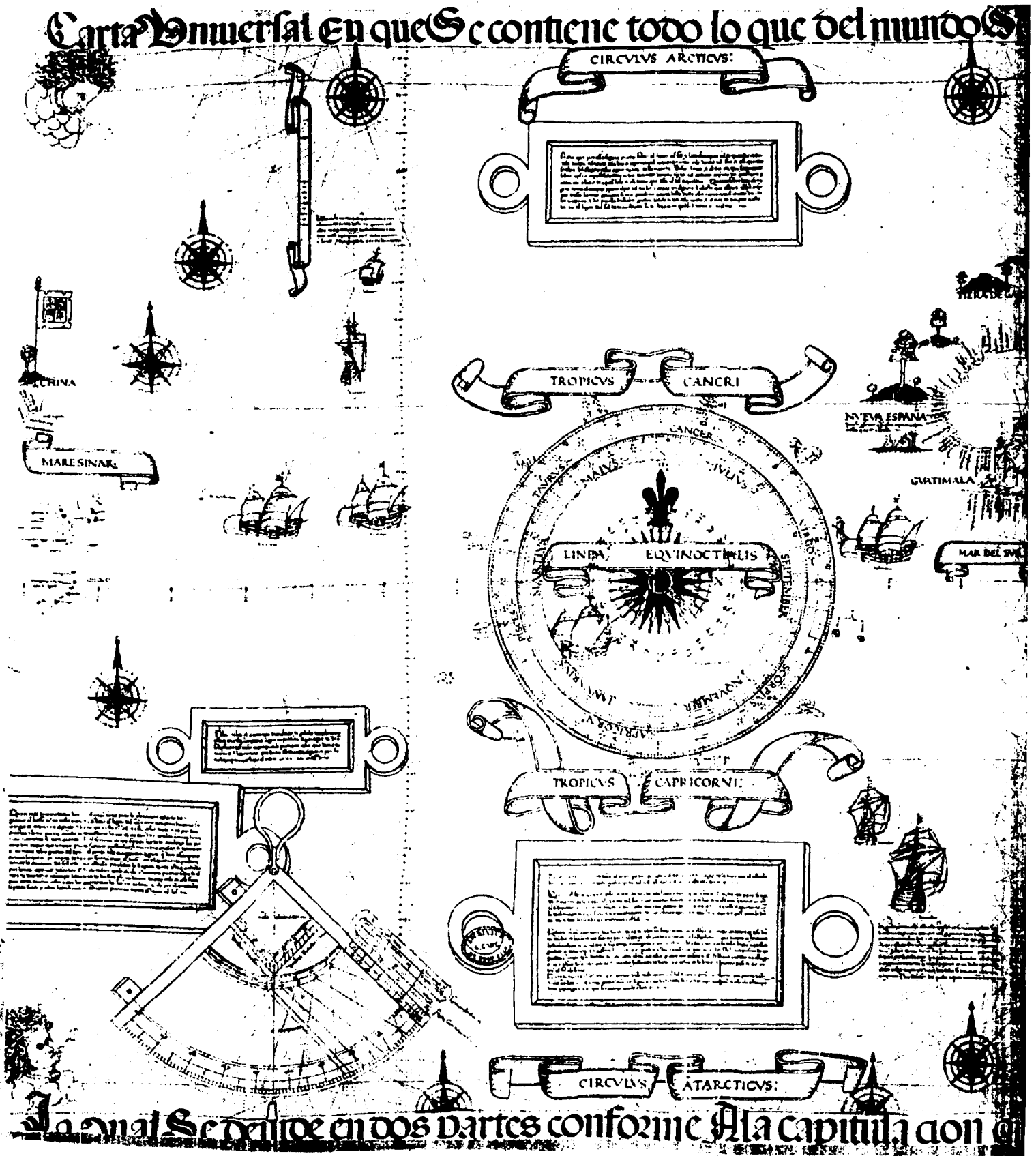


(Facing page) **Essential details of a World map drawn by Diego Ribero in 1529.** Ribero was a chart maker used by the India House of Trade. The chart does not show the boundary line west of the Marianas, as set by the Treaty of Zaragoza. Furthermore, the real extent of the Pacific Ocean is purposely omitted. The ship symbols purport to show the route followed by Magellan's ships. Loaysa had a copy of this map when he crossed the Pacific. (From Sophus Ruge's *Gesamtumrissen*)



“I come from the Moluccas” says the caption below this drawing of the ship Victoria (detail from the world map by Diego Ribero).

(Overleaf) **Part of the original Ribero map of 1529 showing the Pacific Ocean.** (From the original in the Vatican Library, Rome. It was originally kept at the Sacred Congregation of the Faith. There is another copy in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar, Germany, according to Kohl)



Document 1537A

Grijalva Expedition, Captain Castilla—Overview by Navarrete

Sources: Tome 15 (folios 105-118) of a manuscript compilation made by Navarrete for publication. Not printed until 1973, as a facsimile of his manuscript, by Kraus-Thomson in Liechtenstein as: Colección de documentos y manuscritos compilados por Fernández de Navarrete (32 volumes). However, the following summaries by Navarrete (borrowed largely from Galvão, see next document) had already been published by Pastor y Santos, in Appendices V and VI of his "Territorios de soberanía española en Oceanía", Madrid, 1950.

Discovery of the islands of Os-Guedes, Coroa, Pescadores and O-Acea by Hernando de Grijalva [sic]

Hernando de Grijalva, commanding a ship and a patache, departed from Acapulco in 1536 for the coast of Peru, and from there on a voyage of discovery.

Ship	Tons	Officers
Ship Santiago	120	Captain: Hernando de Grijalva ¹ Master: Esteban de Castilla ² Pilot: Martín de Acosta Boatswain: Miguel Noble ³ Boatswain's mate: a man from Savoy.
Patache Trinidad	90	Captain: Fernando de Alvarado Master and pilot: Juan Martínez Boatswain: a man from Marseilles.

The tons are "toneles" [long tons], with a ratio of 5 to 6, so that 10 long tons are 12 "toneladas" [short tons], as it has been mentioned in relation with Magellan's voyage.

1 Ed. note: He died before reaching Micronesia.

2 Ed. note: Was in command as the ship sailed through Micronesia.

3 Ed. note: One of only three survivors who made an eyewitness report to Galvão (See Doc. 1537B).



A Spanish gentleman in the New World, mid 16th century. This drawing can be used to represent Hernando de Grijalva, the major-domo of Hernán Cortés, who led an unplanned expedition to the Moluccas in 1537. The gentlemen of those days wore a “colete” or bull coat over a short jacket, shirt and short riding pants. (Adapted from Guamán Poma’s graphic History of Peru, ca. 1600)

News about this voyage to the Moluccas

In 1539, Antonio Galvão was Captain of the Portuguese fortress of Ternate and, suspecting the presence of some Spaniards near the Moluccas, he carried out various investigations. The King of Tidore sent a message to him [in 1539] to inform him that at the city of Zamafo there was a Spaniard whom had been bought by his governors from the Papuans of the island of Versay¹, and that he was holding him prisoner. Galvão ransomed him for 300 ducats, and the man was brought before him. He said that his name was Miguel Noble, was 30 years old, and that he was the boatswain aboard the flagship of a fleet, whose story he related as follows.

Background of the voyage

The Governor of New Spain, Hernán Cortés, Marquis del Valle, in 1536 departed from the port of Colima², located on the southern coast of that kingdom, to explore northward, and at about 23° of latitude found an island which he named Cardona because it had many “cardos”³, where he left 60 men with food supplies and other necessities. At the time Cortés left New Spain, he left behind two completed ships at the port of Tehuantepec, the larger one of 120 tons, named **Santiago**, and the other, a patache of 90.

Once completed and supplied, they were taken by Jorge Cerón (a cousin of Alvaro de Saavedra [Cerón] who had gone to the Moluccas in 1527) to the place where Cortés was, and they found out that he had been called [to Mexico] by the new Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza.

When Cortés disembarked at Acapulco, he wrote to the Emperor, entrusting the letter to Jorge Cerón. He appointed his majordomo⁴, Hernando de Grijalva, captain of both naos; he was about 40 years old. As captain of the small one (the patache), he appointed a gentleman named Alvarado, who was 26 years old more or less.

1 Ed. note: As will be said below, although the ship was deliberately run aground on the coast of New Guinea, the three survivors were taken by native traders to their own island.

2 Ed. note: This port of the Colima province was probably Manzanillo.

3 Ed. note: This word either means thistle or artichoke. They could have been cactus-like plants. Mazatlan and the tip of Baja California are both at 23°. It is possible that the word Cardona was soon corrupted to California by chart-makers.

4 Ed. note: Better said, his adjudant or aide-de-camp.

Narrative of the voyage

1536.—Once the ships had been loaded at Acapulco with food supplies and the rest which was to be taken as relief supplies for Francisco Pizarro¹, they departed that port during Easter week [probably April] of the said year of 1536, bound for Peru, where they were being sent. As pilot of Grijalva's ship was a Portuguese from Porto, Martín de Acosta², who was over 40 years old; as master, Esteban de Castilla, a Genoese from a place called San Pedro de Roncasado, residing in Seville, and of about the same age as the pilot, and as boatswain, a savoyard from Villefranche de Nice, who had been raised in Spain from childhood³. The master and pilot of Alvarado's ship was Juan Martínez, from Biscay, and a man from Marseilles was boatswain.

After 40 days [in May 1536], they arrived at a city of Peru called Manta, which was on the line.⁴ From there they went to Tumbes and to then Paita, which was the port for the city of San Miguel (de Piura)⁵, where the Spaniards were [settled]. There they unloaded and sent a message to Francisco Pizarro, Governor of Peru, who was at the city of Jauja. They awaited an answer for three months [i.e. until August] and, having received the letters, without taking on any merchandise and only with the Chumbo or lead ballast they had taken in new Spain, they made sail, carrying with them a man of gold and a woman of silver that Pizarro was sending to Cortés as a gift.⁶

At 200 leagues from the coast, the Captain announced that he wished to go on a voyage of discovery⁷, which all resented because they were badly supplied with rigging, cables and provisions. Nevertheless, they obeyed, and headed north until they reached 4° latitude N. From there, they went south as far as 5° S, and heading WNW they reached 7°N, returning south again until they reached 13° S of the line. From there they went to the Line, from there they headed WNW until they reached 24° N, without seeing

1 Ed. note: Pastor y Santos has quoted two sources to the effect that the ships were loaded with many arquebuses, soldiers, crossbows, lances, 17 horses, 60 coats-of-mail, ordnance, many white cloths, tapestries, silk cushions, ornaments to say mass, and many other articles.

2 Ed. note: Therefore, his true name must have been Martín da Costa.

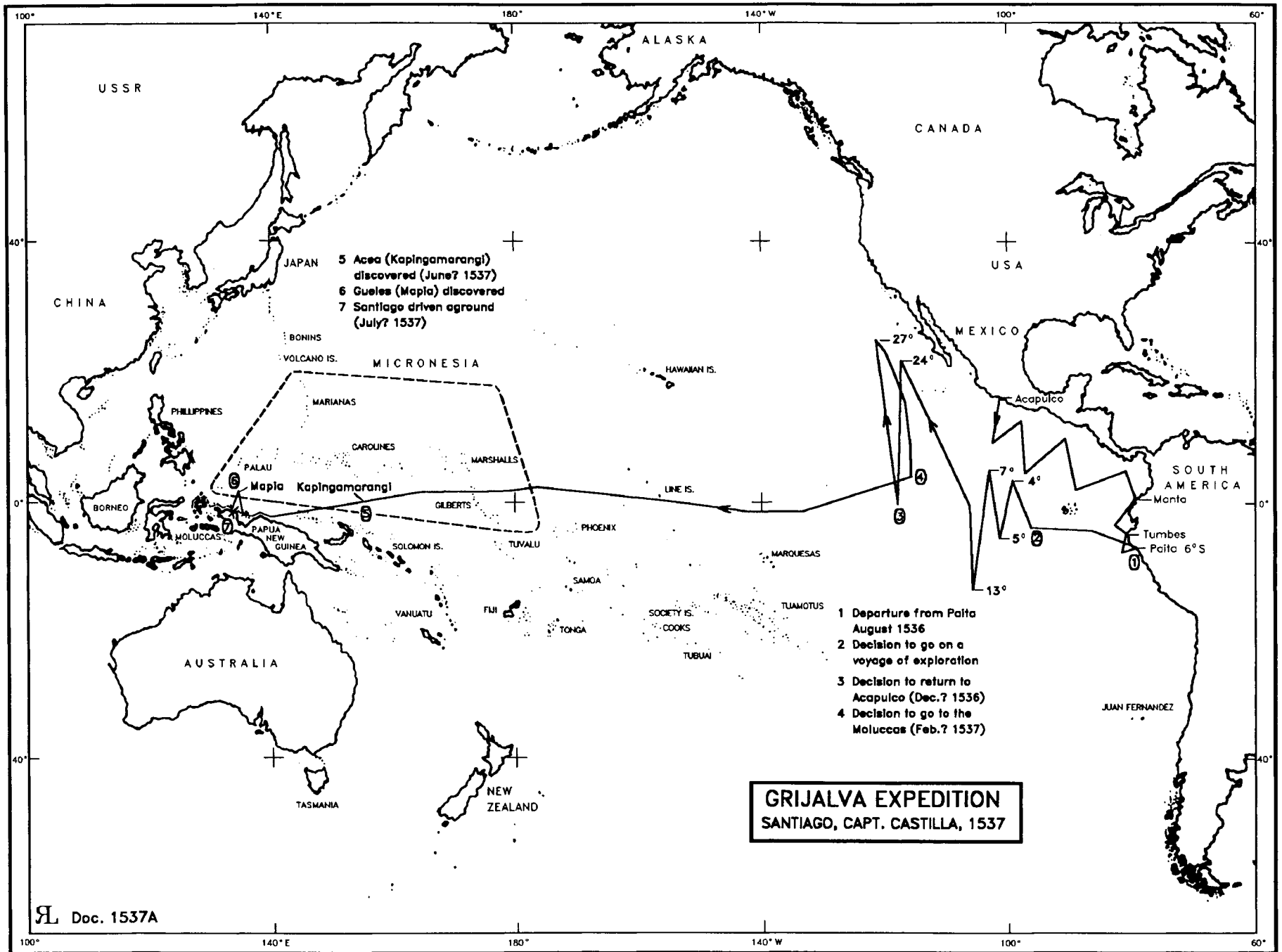
3 Ed. note: So, Miguel Noble, our narrator, gave his birthplace as Villefranche-sur-mer, between Nice and Monte Carlo.

4 Ed. note: A town that still exists north of Quayaquil and SW of Quito, in today's Ecuador.

5 Ed. note: Paita is still the port for Piura. Early in the 20th century, the two were linked by a railroad.

6 Ed. note: Pastor y Santos says that they probably were two idols that Pizarro had found along the path of conquest. This Peruvian treasure ended up in New Guinea, as we shall see.

7 Ed. note: This voyage of discovery was toward the coast of California which Grijalva hoped to discover above the 23° already discovered by Cortés.



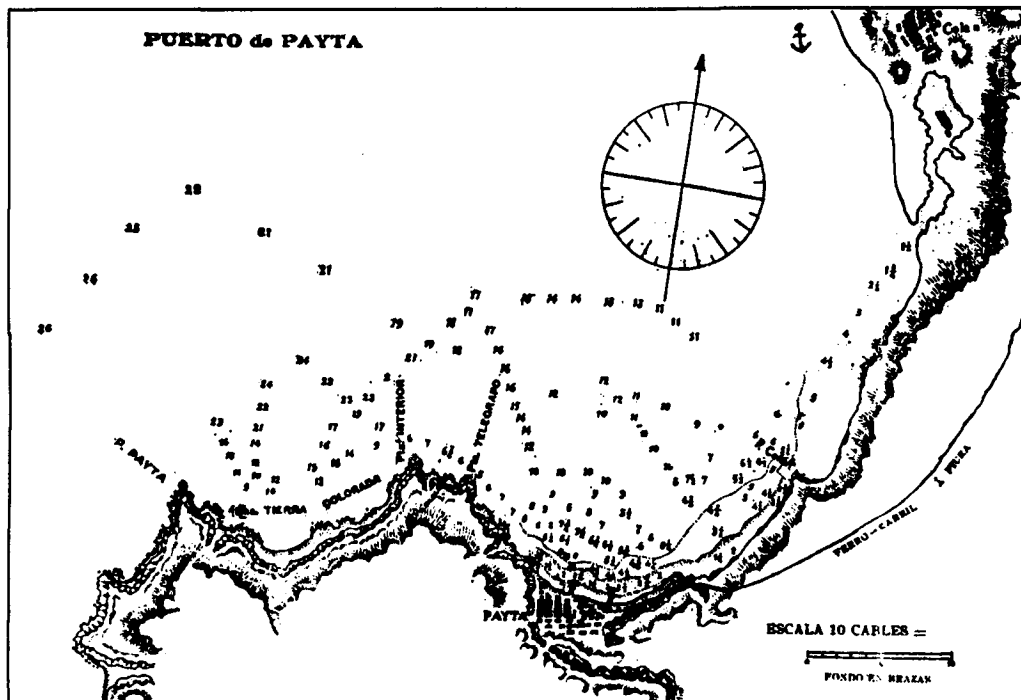
any land, and because they needed water they returned to the Line, where they got some (from the rains).

They were sailing with calm periods alternating with squalls, and the main mast broke; they had to repair it with two spars. Already five or six months had passed¹, and for lack of provisions and water, the captain ordered to turn back to New Spain. Deviating to the N, and many times to NW, they went in search of land as far as 27° N, where they met with many sudden squalls, cold and snow. Sailing NE, they found winds from the NW and WNW, but as they were going forward they were gradually losing latitude from 27°, until they were at about 4°.

They were already lacking food, so that the daily ration was cut down to six ounces of bread and almost nothing of water. When the Captain saw that the men could not work, and that he had no food to give them, he called a meeting of the council, and all voted in favor of diverting to the Moluccas, except the pilot, who voted against, then became sick, and died. He was followed by many more. The Captain himself suffered from pain in the legs, and within 30 or 40 days he died.² During his illness, they sailed W in search of the Moluccas, always near the Line, without deviating from it by more than one or two degrees on either side; the winds were tail winds, with some squalls. They carried on that way for 3 or 4 months, without ever sighting any land.³

When the captain died, they replaced him and the pilot by the master [i.e. Castilla]. When it had already been 10 months less 6 days [i.e. June 1537] that they had been involved in such labors, they saw some **islands**, which they called **Los Papuas** (according to that narrative, the Portuguese presumed that it was the Island which they call that of Don Jorge de Meneses [i.e. New Guinea], because he had spent one winter there when he discovered the Moluccas, from which they were distant 200 leagues). He said they could not touch there, because the wind died down. They turned back to the N

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- 1 Ed. note: Too short a period. More likely, this period did not elapse until they had come back down to 4° (see below). It was then either January or February 1537.
 - 2 Ed. note: Pastor y Santos points out that on page 397 of Tome XX of the same manuscript collection by Navarrete, in a narrative of Villalobos' voyage, it is said that Captain Grijalva was killed by his crew, but this is unlikely; the narrator probably had Captain Manrique in mind. The narrative in question is Escalante's account of Villalobos' voyage (See also Colección ... de Indias, vol. V, pp. 153-158, Doc. 1542B in this volume).
 - 3 Ed. note: It was then anywhere from April to June, probably May, 1537.



and anchored at an island called **Quaxoax** [=Coroa], called **Bafa** by the Portuguese¹; they stayed there two days and, on account of having lost an anchor, they made sail.

Some 50 or 60 leagues further west, they saw **Meumcum** Island, which the Portuguese called Aguada de Limón de Brixti². They sailed for 7 to 8 days through those islands, where most of the men died, and the rest moved about on all fours. For this reason, they decided to run the nao aground upon the coast. Before doing so, they threw overboard two iron carronades³ and some other guns they had, and they ran aground between two islands inside a bay into which flowed a river with fresh water, in which *fustas* and brigs could sail; the name of this port is called **Lavaum**.⁴

As many as 20 white men and 10 slaves disembarked, but on account of advanced illness they later died⁵. The best material was taken out, specially the gold and the sil-

- 1 Ed. note: Transcription error, as Galvão says Bufu, not Bafa.
- 2 Ed. note: All place names are likely garbled. This one is no exception, except that I can recognize it for Aguada (i.e. watering place) de Simón de Brito.
- 3 Ed. note: Weak as they were, the guns were probably jettisoned right through the port holes.
- 4 Ed. note: Further on, this name is transcribed Savaym, or Savaum. Andrew Sharp is of the opinion that the site of this shipwreck is at the Schouten Islands lying across the mouth of Geelvink Bay in western New Guinea. In fact, the Schouten Islands are made up of Mysory [=Meosum, Meosnum or Miosnum], Korido [=Coroa] and Biak. The latter island is the same as Wiak or Versay, on account of its port called Versiya or Warsai. By the same token, Bufu = Nufor.
- 5 Ed. note: The number of survivors at this point was 12 men (see below).

ver, a quantity of 3 or 4 cruzados¹. They placed two falconets aboard the boat and as many as 12 men determined to go to the Moluccas. During the two or three days that they spent preparing the boat, they never saw either man or beast ashore.

While following the coast with the boat, they found a town called Az or Azque, distant from Savaym [sic] 14 or 20 leagues, and there a proa came out with food. The Spanish could not come to an agreement with those in the proa, and the master with a two-hand sword killed one of the leaders, wishing to take the food they had by force. Those of the proa retreated ashore and returned with a fleet which took their boat away and took them all by the sword.

Those who survived, although sick, fled inland as best they could until they met some Indians who took the few clothes they had away from them, and leaving them naked, they took them along to the place where the nao had been lost, because those natives were not from the island where they were, but they had come there from the island of **Versay**² to trade *fissar* or colored cloths. There they remained for one and a half months, and then they went back home, treating the prisoners as well as they did their own kind.

Out of the **three who had escaped with their life**, there was a certain Miguel Noble (the same man who made this narrative) who went to the land of the Moluccas, after having been held captive for over one year, until 1539, the year he was ransomed. Another one was called Juan Camacho, a lad who was the son of Alvaro Camacho of Palos. The other was called Juan Prieto, who was a mulatto³ and whom the local people killed because he was mean and wicked.⁴ As for the other nao (or patache) [that had been] in company [with the Santiago], he said that it returned to New Spain, although he would not know where it would have ended up.

Islands discovered by Hernando de Grijalva [sic] in 1537, aboard the ship Santiago

The following details are known from the narrative made by the boatswain of the flagship, Miguel Noble, before the Governor of Ternate, Antonio Galvão, who ransomed him, and who published it in his “Tratado dos descobrimentos antigos e modernos, Feitos até a Era de 1550... Composto pelo famoso Antonio Galvão... impresso aos 15 de dezembro de 1563 annos.”⁵ (it was reprinted on 17 March 1731, in West Lisbon, at the Ferreiriana print shop). He gives a few details concerning this expedition; one must give him sufficient credit. He says that two ships departed, one commanded

1 Ed. note: Galvão may have purposely reduced this estimate. He used the Portuguese word “cruzados” before, to translate the Spanish word “ducados”, or ducats.

2 Ed. note: Identifiable as Wiak or Biak Island.

3 Ed. note: As his given name indicates; “prieto” means black.

4 Ed. note: Nothing is said about the destiny of the only other survivor, Camacho.

5 Ed. note: What Navarrete quotes, however, is not the title of this first edition of 1563, but that of the second of 1731.

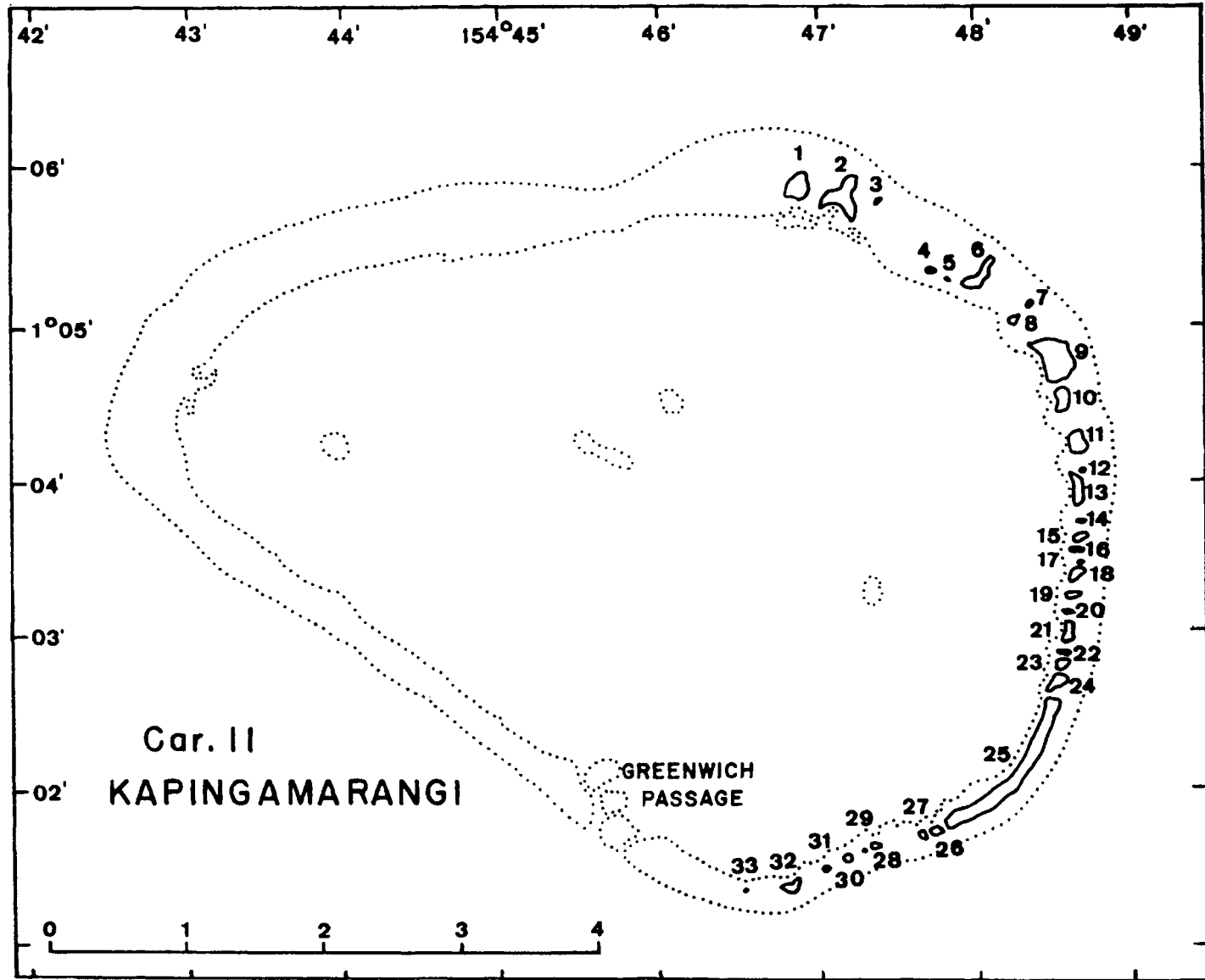
by Fernão de Grijalva, and the other by the gentleman Alvarado, and that after having rendered assistance to Pizarro in Peru they went to the Moluccas, although, according to Spanish records, it appears that the smaller vessel, the one commanded by Fernando de Alvarado, returned to New Spain.

[Probable discovery of Kapingamarangi]

He then adds that they carried on for over 1,000 leagues without sighting any land, neither on one side of the equator nor on the other. The islands they discovered afterwards are as follows. The first one, which the natives called **O-Acea**¹ was in 2° N, and appeared to be 500 leagues more or less from the islands of cloves, that is the Moluccas.² The above details appear to fit some islands not generally shown on maps [ca. 1830s], but known to exist at 1°30'N and 175°10' E of Hierro or 160°21' E of Madrid³, forming an atoll with 15 coral islets. According to the present records, its inhabitants are of a light copper complexion, with regular features and the hair wavy, and often blond. The group is called "Matador", even though others presume it was given to them by the Spanish; this is doubtful, because before no islands by that name were known [to us]. The distance agrees well with that given by Galvão, and although the latitude is lower, the only group in the vicinity between this group and Ualan [Kosrae] is the already-mentioned [sic] reef or islet of "Indiana" [sic] which is in 3°20'N, but which is some 65 leagues further from the Moluccas.⁴

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- 1 Ed. note: The prefix O is characteristic of the Polynesian language. So, we might expect that they discovered the Polynesian outlier Kapingamarangi whose latitude is over 1° N, and whose main island is still called today Hale or Ale (See N° Car. 11-25 in Bryan's Place Names). However, Portuguese also uses the article O, which means "the" in the singular, whereas the equivalent prefix in Gilbertese (supposing they were at the Gilberts) would have been Te, as in Te-acea, or Te-ase, whatever its meaning.
 - 2 Ed. note: If Noble gauged the width of the Pacific as 1,000 + 500 leagues, his estimate of the distance of Acea from the Moluccas would place them in the Gilberts, rather than with Kapingamarangi. By the same token, this Acea cannot correspond to the Asia Islands that are next to New Guinea.
 - 3 Ed. note: Navarrete means Kapingamarangi, at 154°48' E of Greenwich. Bryan does not list the name Matador, but William T. Brigham, in his "Index to the Islands of the Pacific Ocean" (Honolulu, 1900), mentions them by that name, and says that they were discovered in 1876 [sic] at 1° N and 157°05' E of Greenwich. According to Andrew Sharp, in his "Discovery of the Pacific Islands", p. 209, there were sighted for sure by Captain Mooers of the American whaler Spartan in 1825. In fact, they were also spotted by Captain Rowe of the ship John Bull that same year.
 - 4 Ed. note: This Indiana Island is a transcription error for Nukuoro, which some English maps then referred to as Dunkin Island.

O-Acea is possibly Hale or Ale I. (N° 25) of Kapingamarangi.



The second island on the track they followed toward the coasts of New Guinea, they say they called it “**Dos Pescadores**”.¹ He does not say what latitude nor distance, and they could be the Greenwich Islands in 1°4' N, which it appears the natives call Kapinga Molang, although generally they are given the name of Piguiram or Pikiram, and they are distant 40 leagues from the previous ones.²

After touching at the islands called Haine, Apia and Seri, south of the equator, that are near the coast of the Papuans, they went back to the north side and anchored at one in 1° N they called **Coroa**. From the latter island, they returned toward the equator, and touched at the islands of **Meonsum** and **Bufu**, which are also of the Papuans. The first named was quoted with the name of Meuncum in the declaration of Miguel Noble.

[Discovery of Mapia]

They turned back toward the equator and, in 1° N, they arrived at islets called **Os-Guedes**³ which were E—W with Ternate and at 124 or 125 leagues from Moro[tai] Island, which in turn lies 40 or 50 leagues from Ternate.⁴ Galvão adds that its inhabitants were short and their hair was straight or lank, like those of the Moluccans, and that the ship [sic]⁵ continued directly to the island of Moro[tai] itself and the other Spice Islands, not being allowed to take port at them, because they did not have the permission of the Governor, something noteworthy, he says, because those living in them are fond of the Spaniards and risk their lives, their women, their children and possessions for them.

There could probably be a mistake in the names of O-Acea, Coroa and Os-Guedes that Galvão indicates were the names given by the natives to some islands. [Captain] Burney supposes, I do not know why, that the last name was given by the Spanish on account of a characteristic feature of the natives, but I do not understand which one it could be, as it does not refer to any derivative of “guedejas” [lion’s mane].

Our historian Argensola⁶ declares that Alvarado discovered the Gelles Islands, giving them equal latitude and distance to Morotai, adding only that their language differs from that of the Moluccas; he attributes wrongly the deed to Don Pedro de Alvarado [the conquistador], and adds that he discovered also the island of the Papuans, although the Portuguese historians attribute the honor of this discovery to Don Jorge de Meneses. This last thing is not correct, given that, if priority is not given to Meneses, the glory would belong to Alvaro Saavedra who visited them in 1528.

1 Ed. note: In Portuguese, this means “Of the Fishermen”, not “Two Fishermen”.

2 Ed. note: The map available to Navarrete was indeed faulty, as the two groups in question are one and the same. I note that Piguirap or Piguiram was the name given to them by Captain Lütke, ca. 1830, but he never saw them.

3 Ed. note: As we shall see (next document), Galvão, said Gueles.

4 Ed. note: According to these clues, a look at a modern map indicates that Os-Guedes would correspond very closely to Mapia, whose position is 0°57'N & 134°20'E.

5 Ed. note: There is some confusion here, because the NW part of New Guinea was visited by Noble aboard native craft almost 2 years after the shipwreck of the Santiago.

6 Ed. note: “La conquista de las islas Malucas”, Madrid, 1609.

As for the islands of Guedes or Gelles, they are obviously those of Pegan, St. David or Freewill [=Mapia], to which the given latitude and distance apply.



Another portrait of Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico. Born in Medellín, Estramadura, in 1485, he went to the New World in 1511. In 1519, he began his conquest of the Aztec empire. (Based on a painting by Velazquez. From Jules Verne's *The Exploration of the World*, f.p. 225)

Document 1537B

Castilla, ex-Grijalva—Narrative of Miguel Noble as recorded by Galvão

Source: Galvão's Tratado of 1563.

Galvão's original version

*Neste anno de .534. ou na entrada de quinhentos & trinta & cinco chegou dom Antonio de mendoça à cidade de Mexico, por Visorey da noua Espanha & era ja partido Fernã cortez catar gente pera continuar seu descobrimento, & mandou logo a elle contra occidente dous nauios que achou acabados, & capitães delles Fernam de **grijalvarez** [sic], & Diogo bezerra de mendoça, & pilotos hum Portugues que se dizia da costa, & do outro Furtum Ximenez Biscainho, dadas a vellas foram descobrindo os secretos daquellas ribeiras, & apartados hum do outro, Furtum ximenez matou o capitam Bezerra & feriram os de sua valia, & deitados em terra tomou agoa & lenha na Baya de Sancta Cruz, onde os Indios ho mataram com vinte & tantos companheyros: & dous marinheyros foram no batel a Xalisco, & dixeram a Nuno de guzman: como acharam mostras de perloas, meteose no nauio, foy buscalas: descobrio por esta costa mays de cento & cincoenta legoas, Fernam de **grijaluerez** [sic] diz que andou trezentas sem ver terra, se nam huma ylha a que pos nome de sam Thomas, pella descobrir em tal dia, & que estaua em dezanoue graos daltura.*

No anno de 535. fundou Francisco piçarro aa cidade dos Reys, na ribeira de Lima, passou a ella os vezinhos de Xauxa...

...

Dizem que no ano de 536 estando Fernã Cortez em Tagantepee, soube como a sua nao era por Nuno de Guzmão tomada, despachou tres nauios que acabados tinha pera Chimalão a onde Guzmão estaua, & foy se por terra bem acompanhado, & achou a sua nao roubada, & a traues deitada. Chegados os tres nauios que mandara, embarcou se nelles com a mais gente & caualllos que pode, deixando por capitão dos que sobejara Andres de Tapia. Dada a vela foy tomar huma ponta ho primeiro dia de Mayo, & por isso lhe pos nome Felipe, & huma ylhetta que ahi está perto Santiago. Dahi a tres dias entrou na baya, em que mataram o piloto Furtum ximenes, & chamou Sancta Cruz,

sahio em terra mandou ali vir Andres de Tapia por ser bõ porto, & descobrir a terra dentro. Cortez embarcado deu lhe hum tempo, foy ter a dous Rios que se agora chamã sam Pedro & sam Paulo, carregou tanto vento, que se apartaram huns nauios dos outros, & foy hum ter à baya de Sãta Cruz & outro a Gayal, outro encalhou junto de Xalisco, os delle se tornarã por terra a Mexico.

*Fernam Cortez esperou pellos nauios, & vendo que nam pareciam, mandou dar à vella & entrou o estreyto que se agora chama de Cortez, & mar vermelho, cinquenta legoas por elle dentro ate o Tropico de Cancro, vio huma nao surta, arribou a ella, foy dar em seco, esteue quase perdido, & fora de todo se lhe a Nao nam socorrera, & pos a sua em terra, & corregela. Ambos se tornaram a comprar em sam Miguel mâtimento, & dahi ao porto de sancta Cruz, onde deixara a gente, a que lhe disseram como dom Antonio de mendoça era chegado a Mexico, o governador da noua España, deixou aque por capitã da gente Francisco dilhoa, foyse a Tagante pa de là lhe mandar nauios em que fosse descobrir a costa. Chegado a Capuleo, lhe veo mesageiro do viso rey dõ Antonio, em que lhe daua cõta de como era naquella terra: & tãbem lhe derã hum trelado duma carta que Francisco piçarro dezia como selhe leuantara Mãgro ingoa, & viera sobre a cidade de Cusco cõ cem mil homens de peleja, & lhe matara seu irmã Ioã piçarro, & mais de 400 soldados & o tinha en grãde aperto, pelo que pedia a todos socorro. Vendo Cortez isto, & a chegada de dõ Antonio de mendoça, por lhe nã furtar a bençam determinou primeiro mãdar a Maluco descobrir aquele caminho ao lõgo da linha, por estarem as ylhas do crauo naquele paralelo, & pa iso mãdou aparelhar dous nauios de mâtimentos, armas, gentes, & todo necessario, deu a capitania duma nao a Fernã de **grijalvarez**, & a outra a hum Aluarado homem fidalgo. Forã dereitos a S. Miguel de Tangaraga pera fauorecerem Frãcisco piçarro, & da hi a Maluco ao lõgo da linha como lhe era mandado, & deziã que andariã mais de mil legoas sem verem terra dhuma parte & outra da linha & en dous graos do norte, decobrirã huma ylha que chama o **Acea**, por estar das ilhas do crauo quinhentas legoas pouco mais ou menos a loeste¹: pera onde hiã ouuerã vista doutra que poserã nome **dos pescadores**. Indo assi nesta derrota virã huma ylha que se chama **Haime**, da parte do sul, outra que se diz **Apia**, vay logo ser **Seri**: tornados ao norte em hum grao, sugirã em outra que se chama **Coroa**. Daqui forã ter a outra debaxo da linha que se diz **Meõsum**, & day a de **Bufu** no mesmo paralelo.*

*Todas estas ylhas sam de gentes pretas, cabelo reuolto, a que os de Maluco chamã Papuas, os mais comem carne humana, grãdes feiticeiros, tã dados aos diabos que andã antrelles como cõpanheiros, se achã hum sô matãno as pancadas, ou o afogam, por onde nã sam ousados de andarõ senão dous ou tres juntos. Ha aqui huma aue do tamanho dhum grou, nã voa nem tem penas pa isso, corre a pé como hum veado, das penas delles fazem cabellos pa seus ydolos, & assi ha huma erua que lavando cõ agoa quente qualquer membro do corpo, em pãdoa encima lãbendo cõ alingoa, tirarã o sangue todo duma pessoa, & cõ ella se sangrã. Destas yslas foram a outras que se chama **os Gueles**, estã em hum grao da parte norte leste oeste cõ a ylha de Ternate em que*

1 Ed. note: The 4th edition has corrected this to "leste".

esta a fortaleza. Estes homens sam bassos de cabelo corredio como os Maluqueses, estas estas ilhetas 124 ou 125 legoas da ylha de Moro, & esta de Ternate 40 ate 50. donde foram ter ao Moro & ylhas do Crauo, & andaram humas & outras, sem os da terra lhe deixarem tomar porto, dizendo que se fossem aa fortaleza que achariam o capitã Antonio galvão que o receberia com boa vontade, que eles o nam fariam sem sua licença, per ser pay da patria, que assi lhe chamauã: cousa digna de notar, porque os daquela terra sam afeiçoados a castelhanos que põe por elles vidas, molheres, filhos, & fazendas.

Translation of Galvão's text above

In this year of 1534 or at the beginning of 1535, Don Antonio de Mendoza arrived at the city of Mexico to become Viceroy of New Spain.¹ Hernán Cortés had already gone to gather people with whom to continue his exploration. He later sent him along the west coast two ships that he found completed², commanded by Hernando de **Grijalva** and Diego Becerra de Mendoza³, and whose pilots were a Portuguese who was called [Martin] da Costa and Fortún Jimenez, from Vizcaya, respectively.

They made sail⁴ and went to discover the secrets of those shores. They became separated one from the other [that same night]. Fortún Jimenez killed Captain Becerra and wounded those of his party and, while putting them ashore took on water and wood in the Bay of Santa Cruz⁵ where the Indians killed them, over 20 in all. Two seamen went to Jalisco in the boat and told Nuño de Guzman. As they had found signs of pearls, he boarded a ship and went to look for them. He explored along that coast for more than 150 leagues. As for Hernando de **Grijalva**, they say that he sailed for 300 leagues without seeing land, except an island which he named St. Thomas, because they discovered it on that day⁶; it was in 19° of latitude.

In the year of 1535, Francisco Pizarro founded the City of the Kings on the shore of the Lima [River]⁷ and he transferred its inhabitants to Jauja...

1 Ed. note: Mendoza was appointed first viceroy of New Spain by royal decree on 17 April 1535, and he arrived at Mexico in October 1535. In effect, he replaced the conqueror of Mexico, Cortés, who had been acting with the title of Governor, and now became Number 2.

2 Ed. note: The initiative was in fact taken by Cortés himself, not by the Viceroy.

3 Ed. note: Grijalva then commanded the ship San Lázaro and Becerra the ship Concepción.

4 Ed. note: From a port of Colima, probably Manzanillo today, on 31 October 1535.

5 Ed. note: Now known as La Paz, Lower California.

6 Ed. note; That is, on 21 December 1535.

7 Ed. note: The name Lima stuck to the city but the river got back its native name, Rimac, later on.

EL PRIMER QV E GOBIERNO QV TI
 DON ANTONIO DE
 MENDOZA DE LA ENCOMIEN
En el 1.º de sancto Inga caualtero de vray el segundo de el Reyno.



En el mes de mayo de 1532
 por el mes de mayo de mill y quinientos y uno en pe
 nes near el con de selaniua don antonio de men doza goubr.
 tiempo del emperador carlos

Don Antonio de Mendoza, Count of Niebla, first Viceroy of New Spain (1535-1550) and later second Viceroy of Peru.

CON AVISTA
 LEVATOSE POR REI
 CA MANGO INGA



Manco Inca, the rebel Inca who defied Pizarro. (Both illustrations are from the Graphic History of Peru by Felipe Guamán Poma)

...

They say that in the year of 1536 [rather 1535], when Hernán Cortés was in Tagantepee [Tehuantepec], he learned that his nao had been taken by Nuño de Guzman. He despatched three ships, which he had destined to Chimalao [Sinaloa] upon their completion, to where Guzman was, while he himself went there overland with a good company. He found that his nao had been stolen and driven aground. When the three ships he had sent arrived, he boarded them¹ with as many men and horses as he could², leaving Andrés de Tapia as captain of those he left behind. Having made sail, he went to touch at a point on the 1st of May; for this reason, he named it [San] Felipe, and gave the name of Santiago to an islet nearby.³ From there after three days he entered a bay where the pilot Fortún Jimenez had been killed, and he named it Santa Cruz. He stepped ashore and, it being a good port, he sent for Andrés de Tapia to come and to explore inland. Cortés himself embarked and was hit by bad weather; he headed for two rivers that are now called St. Peter and St. Paul. [However,] the wind became so violent that the ships were separated from one another. One ended up at the Bay of Santa Cruz, another at Gayal, and the other sank next to Jalisco and the people from it went overland to Mexico.

Hernán Cortés waited for the ships [to show up] but when they did not appear, he ordered to set sail and entered a strait that is now called Strait of Cortés and the Vermello [i.e. Red] Sea, went 50 leagues inside it as far as the Tropic of Cancer.⁴ He saw a ship that was anchored and went to it. He ran aground and was almost lost; he would have been if the nao had not helped him. He careened his ship and repaired it. Both ships returned to buy food at San Miguel [of Juliacan] and from there back to the port of Santa Cruz where he left the men. He heard that Don Antonio de Mendoza had arrived at Mexico as Governor of New Spain, [so he] left Francisco dilhoa [de Ulloa] as captain in charge of them and went to Tagante [Tehuantepec] in order to send him some ships from there for him to explore the coast.

When he arrived at Capuleo [Acapulco], he was met by a messenger from Don Antonio the Viceroy who gave him news about that land [i.e. Mexico]. He also was given a copy of a letter written by Francisco Pizarro who said how **Mangro Ingoa** [Manco Inca] had risen up, and he had been to the city of Cuzco with 100,000 fighting men, where they killed his brother Juan Pizarro and over 400 soldiers; he also considered it urgent for everyone to send him reinforcements. When Cortés saw this, in view of the arrival of Don Antonio de Mendoza, before the latter would be in a position to refuse

1 Ed. note: He departed from Chametla, in the Province of Sinaloa, on 13 April 1535 (not 1536 as Navarrete has said in Doc. 1537A) according to a letter written by Nuño de Guzman to the Council of the Indies, dated 7 June 1535.

2 Ed. note: He loaded a total of 113 foot soldiers and 40 horsemen onto these 3 ships.

3 Ed. note: Not Cardona, as Navarrete said in Doc. 1537A. The names given by Cortés did not stick, it seems, as the point in question is given as Cape Ventana on a modern map, and the island nearby is called Cerralvo.

4 Ed. note: Galvão's map was not accurate, as the Tropic in question is **south** of Santa Cruz or La Paz.

permission, he determined to be first to send to the Moluccas to discover a route south of the Line, as the Spice Islands lie on that parallel. For this purpose, he had two ships made ready with food, weapons, men, and all the necessities. He gave command of one of the naos to Hernando de **Grijalva** and the other to a certain Alvarado, a gentleman.

They went directly to San Miguel de Tangarara [Piura] to succor Francisco Pizarro, and from there to the Moluccas along the Line as he had been ordered to do. They said that they sailed over one thousand leagues without seeing land on either side of the Line. In 2 degrees north, they discovered an island that is called [the] **Acce**, which seems to be 500 leagues more or less, east of the Islands of Cloves. In the direction they were going, they sighted another island which they named **Pescadores**. Pursuing their route, they sighted an island which is called **Haime**¹, on the south side, another called **Apia** [=Japen], then they went on to sight **Seri**. They turned back toward the north and in 1° anchored at another which is called **Coroa** [=Korido]. Afterward, they went to touch at another south of the Line which is called **Meonsum** [=Meosnum], and from there to that of **Bufu** [=Nufor] on the same parallel.²

The people of all these islands are black, with frizzled hair. The Moluccans call them Papuas. Most of them eat human flesh, are great fetishers, so much given to the devil that [they have to] go out together in company, because if one is found alone, they kill him with blows or drown him; that is why they do not dare to go out, except two or three together.

There exists there a bird of the size of a crane, which does not fly and does not have [wing] feathers for that purpose³; it runs on foot like a deer. From its feathers they make hair [pieces] for their idols. There is also a herb which is used to draw all the blood from a person when, after washing one limb with hot water, it has been placed upon it and licked with the tongue; with it they do bloodletting.

From these islands they went to others which are called [the] **Gueles**. They are located in 1° on the north side, along a line running E—W with the island of Ternate where the Portuguese fortress is located. These men are dark, with flowing hair like the Moluccans. These islets are 124 or 125 leagues from the island of Moro [Morotai], and this one is from 40 to 50 leagues from Ternate. From there they went on to Moro[tai] and the Islands of Cloves, going from one place to another⁴, because those ashore refused to let them take port, saying that they should go to the fortress where they would find Captain Antonio Galvão who would receive them willingly, that they would not let them [land] without his permission, because he was “the father of the country” as they called him. That is noteworthy, because those of that [is-]land are fond of Spaniards and they would give their lives, women, children, and their possessions for them.

1 Ed. note: Same as Paine, discovered earlier by Saavedra. According to Tiele, as reported by Wallis, this could also be an island in Geelvink Bay named Hamey.

2 Ed. note: Equivalences confirmed by W. T. Brigham's Index. The latter islands are all in Geelvink Bay. Miguel Noble was taken by natives to Biak Island and later to Halmahera Island.

3 Ed. note: That is the emu (*casuarinus emeu*) or Australian ostrich.

4 Ed. note: Along the coast of Halmahera Island.

Reconstructions of Grijalva's route

An interesting reconstruction has been made by Harry E. Maude in 1959.¹ His theory is that Acea is Christmas Island in the Line Islands, and that Pescadores is Non-outi. The first identification is highly unlikely; Maude's only argument is that "Christmas is approximately 1,000 leagues from the American mainland". As I have said before in a footnote, Miguel Noble's estimates of distance could possibly shift Acea (remember that Ale is the main islet of Kapingamarangi) further east to the Gilberts, but no farther. However, Maude may be right in pointing at Nonouti as a possible discovery. The Santiago had to have crossed the Gilberts at or near the equator, but it must have been done at night, because Noble does not mention them. If he had seen something there, he had forgotten them by the time he reported to Galvão two years later, or he had no native name for it and Galvão did not record anything.

As for Andrew Sharp², basing himself on Galvão and recognizing Hakluyt's faulty translation, is non committal. Reasoning that they could not have passed the Gilberts without seeing them, he concludes: "*Can it therefore be concluded finally that 'o Acea' and Dos Pescadores were in fact Marakei and Abaiang? Perhaps the possibility that Dos pescadores was Kapingamarangi ... cannot be entirely ruled out...*" However, he also says that 'o Acea' could be another island in the Gilberts (Makin or Tarawa). For Pescadores [i.e. Fishermen] Island to coincide with Kapingamarangi, he finally says (on p. 209) that it is possible, but not probable; he gives no explanation for this judgment.

Riesenberg in 1974³ agreed with Maude that Kapingamarangi could possibly have been discovered by Grijalva's ship in 1537.

Helen Wallis, who made a study of the voyages from 1519 to 1644⁴, has relied too heavily on Diogo de Couto's *Da Asia* (1780). Such a tertiary source could not, as she claims, reveal the true origins of the expedition. However, she has made a useful contribution when she pointed out that most of the islands remembered by Noble are in fact located in Geelvink Bay (the "neck" of New Guinea). What Galvão reported as islands were in fact place names often located on the same island. It turns out that Noble spent over one year on Biak Island. I agree with her (and Wichmann whom she quotes) when she says the following: "*Individual islands mentioned in the survivors' report to Galvão have been identified from the sound of the names which the survivors, uneducated sailors, reproduced to Galvão as they heard them from the natives. The reconstruction thus established suggests that the Spaniards first sailed to **Japen** (called by*

1 Ed. note: "Spanish Discoveries in the Central Pacific", JPS 1959, pp. 294-297.

2 "The Discovery of the Pacific Islands", OUP, 1960, pp. 24-26, 209.

3 "Six Pacific Island Discoveries", American Neptune.

4 The title of her Ph.D. thesis was "The Exploration of the South Seas", Oxford, 1954.

*them Apia*¹ whose district of **Serui** on its south coast was spoken of as the 'island' of **Seri**. They sailed north to **Korido** in 1° N [rather S?] on the south coast of **Supiori**, naming this the 'island' of **Coroa**, then south to **Mios Num** (named **Meonsum**), and to **Nufor** (named **Bufu**).² Advancing north again, they reached the **Mapia** Islands (named **Guelles**) in 1°N."

Modern Spanish historians have done a poor job of identifying Pacific islands, mostly because of their over-reliance on defective maps. Therefore, there is no point in discussing the views of people such as Francisco Coello and others who produced quick studies during the 1885-86 Yap conflict with Germany, even late-comers such as Pastor y Santos (who tried to claim part of Micronesia for Spain in 1949) and Landín Carasco (1984) who relied on these earlier studies.

1 Ed. note: This is clearly indicated on a modern C.I.A. map of Indonesia as Pulau Japen, that is Japen Island in Bahasa Indonesia and should be pronounced the Dutch way, as Yapen. The frilly way that people had in Galvão's time to write capital letters probably caused a typographical error, transforming Iapen into Apia... An interesting conjecture!

2 Ed. note: Here we have another example in which a capital N was printed B.

Document 1538

Galvão sent Captain Castro on a gospel mission to the Philippines

Note: Although the mission was aimed mostly at the Philippines, it was to have some influence in the western Carolines, as will be seen under Villalobos, 1542-43. Source: Galvão's Tratado (cont'd).

Galvão's text

No mesmo anno de 538 mandou Antonio galuam, que estaua por capitã em Maluco cõtra a norte hum nauio, & capitã dele Frãcisco de castro, cõ regimento que fizesse quantos christãos podesse, por ser dalguns daquelas partes requerido pa isso, & o mesmo Antonio galuão ter muitos feitos .s. dos celebres¹ Macasares, Amboynos, Moros Morotax, & outras diuersas partes. Chegado Francisco de castro à ylha de Midanao, & outras que descobrio acima dellas, tomarã seis Reys agoa de baptismo cõ molheres, filhos, vassalos, & o mais deles mandou Antonio galuã por nome Ioannes, em memoria do terceiro que em Portugal reynaua, tanto trazia na sua [memoria].

Os Portugueses & Castelhanos que por estas ylhas andaram, contaam que auia nelas porcos, que alem dos dentes que tinhã na boca, lhe sayã outros dous pelos focinhos, & outros tãtos por detras das orelhas, & tinhã de cõprido palmo & meo. E auia huma aruore que o meo dela que estaua cõtra o oriente, era muy medicinal, & cõtra toda peçonha, o outro meo da aruore que estaua cõtra o ponente he muy peçonhenta, & o fructo daquela bãda o qual he todo como tramosso, & se faz delle mais forte peçonha que ha na redõdeza, & assi se dizia que auia outra aruore que quem comia seu fructo estaua doze oras fora de si, & fazia cousas de homem sem siso, quando tornaua nam daua nenhum acordo disso, & auia huns cangrejos da terra que quem os comia, tambem estaua certas oras da mesma maneira. Assi deziam os da terra que auia ahi huma pedra que quem se assentaua nela criaua potra, os homens destas ylhas douram os dentes, & atrauessam sua natura cõ huma barra douro ou prata, & nas pontas rebatem humas rosas, com que ensangentam huma molher toda.

1 Ed. note: Typographical error for Celebes.

Translation of the above text

In the same year of 1538, António Galvão, who was captain of the Moluccas, ordered a ship, whose captain was Francisco de Castro, to go northward with instructions to make as many Christian [converts] as he could, because he had been requested to do so by many from those parts. As for António Galvão himself, he had done many [Christians] already, for instance, in the Celebes, Macassar, Amboyna, Moro or Morotai, and in other parts.

Francisco de Castro, having arrived at the island of Mindanao, and others that are [located] above it¹, six kings took the water of baptism with their wives, children, vassals; to most of them António Galvão had instructed they be named John, in honor of John III who was reigning in Portugal, and would be so remembered.

The Portuguese and Spanish who have visited these islands narrate that there are some [wild] pigs there that, in addition to the teeth they have inside the mouth, they have two other teeth coming out of the snout, and as many others at the back of the ears that measure one and a half palms in length.²

There was a tree whose half that was facing east was very medicinal [in quality] and [good] against all poisons; the other half of the tree that was facing west has very poisonous quality and the fruit on that side, which is much like wild peas³ is used to make the strongest poison in the world. They also reported another tree whose fruit is such that, if one should eat it, he would be twelve hours besides himself, and would do things like a madman; when he would return to himself, he was left without any memory of it all. There were also some land crabs with similar properties; whoever eats them are also left a few hours in a similar predicament.⁴ Also the people of that land said that there was a stone that, when someone sat on it, would give hernia. The men of those islands [i.e. the Filipinos] put gold on their teeth, and pierce their nature [i.e. penis] with a gold or silver rod, whose tips are like roses and with which they make a woman bleed a lot.



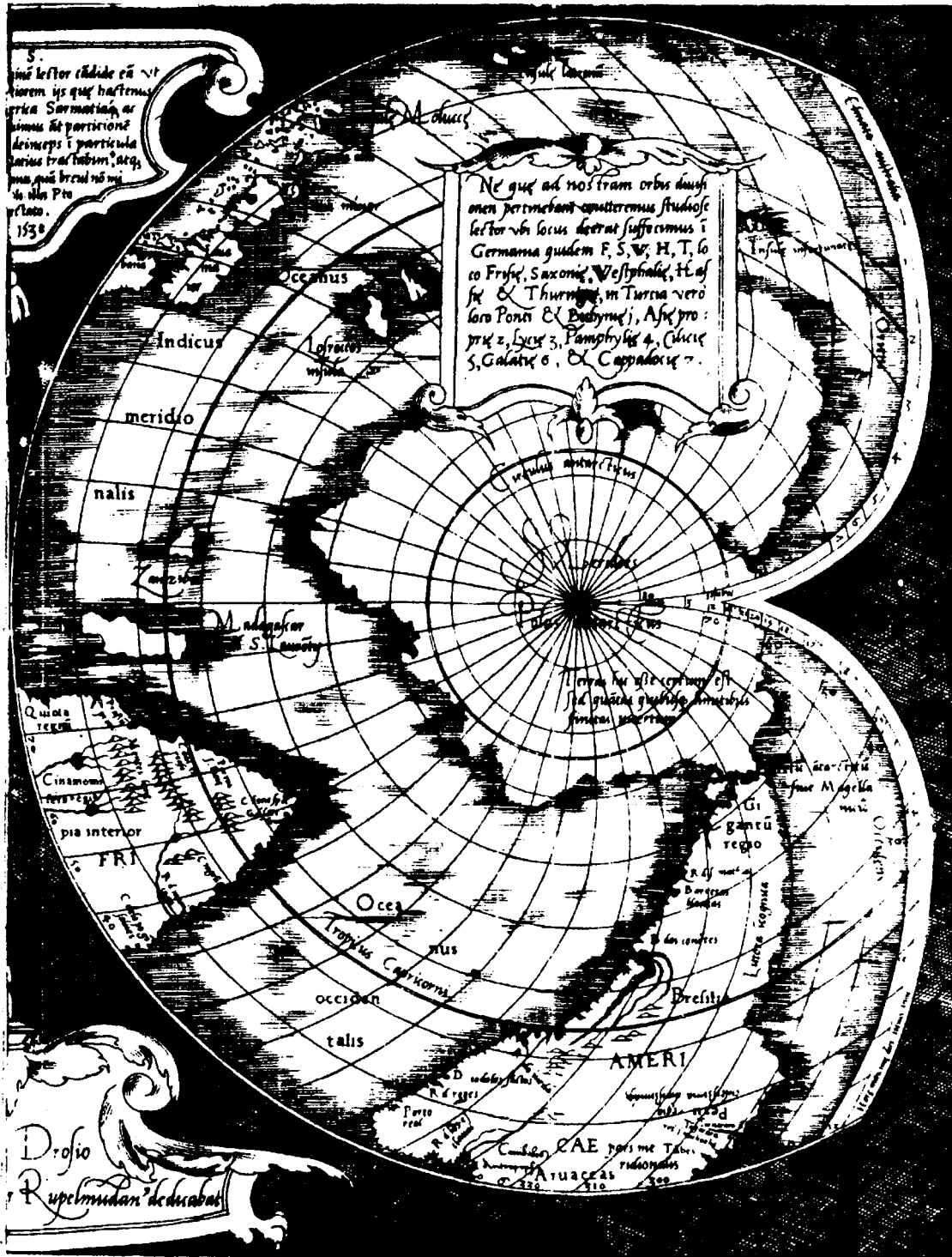
King John III of Portugal

1 Ed. note: It appears from this comment that Castro went to the Visayas as well.

2 Ed. note: In this case, one palm equals one span or about 8 inches, so that the length of the back tusks of those pigs was about 1 foot.

3 Ed. note: The word "tramosso" is a typographical error for "tremoço", nowadays "tremoço", Lat. *Jupinus*. I have checked the Handbook on Philippine Medicinal Plants, by Padua et al. and the closest plant I can find is the *Leucaena leucocephala*, called *loyloy* in the Visayas and *ipil-ipil* in Tagalog. A decoction of its bark and/or roots is said to induce menstruation, even abortion.

4 Ed. note: Santiesteban wrote in 1547 (See Doc. 1543C) that some who ate land crabs went mad for one day after partaking of them, specially if they had eaten the "vitals".



Mercator's map of 1538 (southern hemisphere). *This was the first map of the world, available to the public, to show America and Magellan's discoveries in the Pacific. The Ladrones are at the top. (From Lloyd A. Brown's Story of Maps)*



Emperor Charles V by Van Dyck, ca. 1540.

Document 1542A

Villalobos—Source documents about his expedition 1542-1546

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

Introduction by James A. Robertson

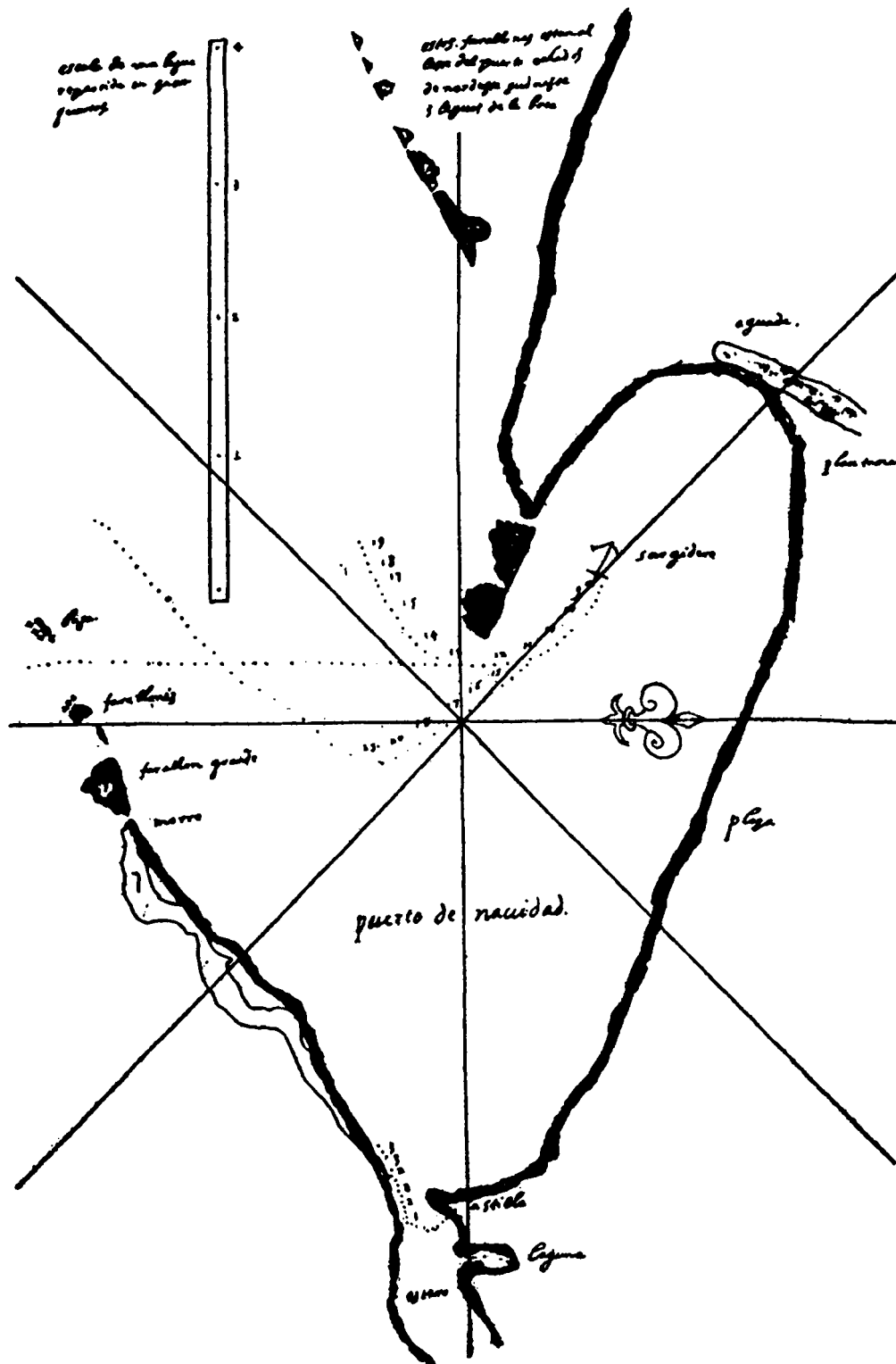
Ruy López de Villalobos is said to have been a man of letters, licentiate in law, and born of a distinguished family in Málaga; he was brother-in-law of Antonio de Mendoza, who (then viceroy of New Spain) appointed him commander of the expedition here described. Departing from Navidad, Mexico (1 November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

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

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

1 Ed. note: The first Spaniard maybe, but the Portuguese had done so before him, specially Francisco de Castro, sent there by Galvão in 1538.

2 For further biographical details on Villalobos, see Galvano's Discoveries of the World (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 231-238. Ed. note: The legend to the effect that Villalobos would have died in the arms of St. Francis is not substantiated.



The port of Navidad on the west coast of New Spain. This port, situated at $19^{\circ}10'$ N latitude, was the departure point of the Villalobos expedition in 1542. (From a manuscript of the Voyage of Sebastian Vizcaino in 1602. Reproduced in Wagner's *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest*, p. 186)

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

Background and summary of the expedition

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

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

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

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- 1 Ed. note: It is important to note that later on the name of Roca Partida was applied to another island located closer to the Mexican coast. Therefore, the Roca Partida of Villalobos is not the same as the one on modern maps.
 - 2 Ed. note: The position of these shoals is really unknown. One doubtful position has been ascribed by Navarrete, after consulting the 1812 map of the Pacific by Captain José de Espinosa; it is at 15°2' N and 163°7' W of Cádiz, i.e. 169°24' W of Greenwich.

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

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

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

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

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

1 Ed. note: Hence, the origin of the word “coral”, rather “corral”, which means an enclosure in Spanish, came to be applied to the madreporic animal (polyps) growth now simply known as coral in most European languages.

2 Ed. note: Navarrete quotes their position on Espinosa’s map as being 9°16’ N and 159°43’ E of Cádiz, i.e. 153°26’ E of Greenwich, a fact which unfortunately has led so many others to wrongly believe that this was sufficient “proof” to ascribe the name of Los Reyes to Murilo, El Corral to Nomwin, and Los Jardines to Namonuito (See, for instance, Bryan’s Place Names).

3 As it was then afternoon, the salutation should not be translated by “Good morning”. There is evidence, however, that they probably were greeted in Portuguese instead, i.e. with “Bons dias”, or even “Bom dia”. The natives could not have been mistaken for Europeans (knowing either Portuguese or Spanish) for they would have used “Buenas tardes” or “Boa tarde”. Fr. Aganduru, as we will see, says that the word “matalotes” was then used by Portuguese sailors to mean “comrades”. The word Matalotes was later corrupted to Matelotas on some maps.

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

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

Organization of the Villalobos Expedition

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chronological list of documents concerning Villalobos

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Treatment of the natives]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

See Document 1542G below.

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

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

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

See Document 1542E below.

A17. Account by António Galvão, published in 1563.

See Document 1542D below.

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

See Document 1542F below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

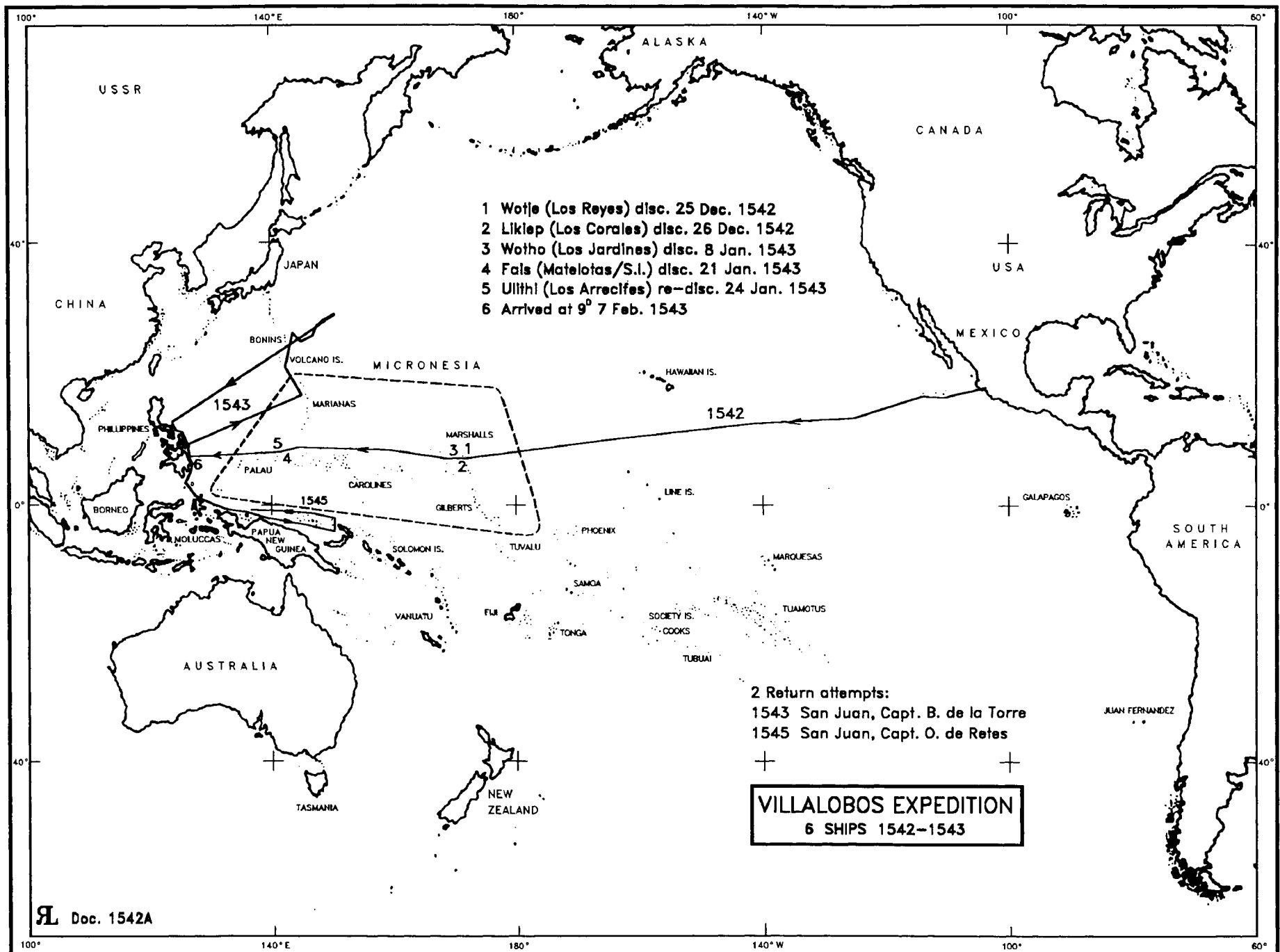
The route was determined by the council as 10 degrees. They proceeded for a few days with favorable winds, as the easterlies had not failed them so far, until they sighted land along that 10° course...

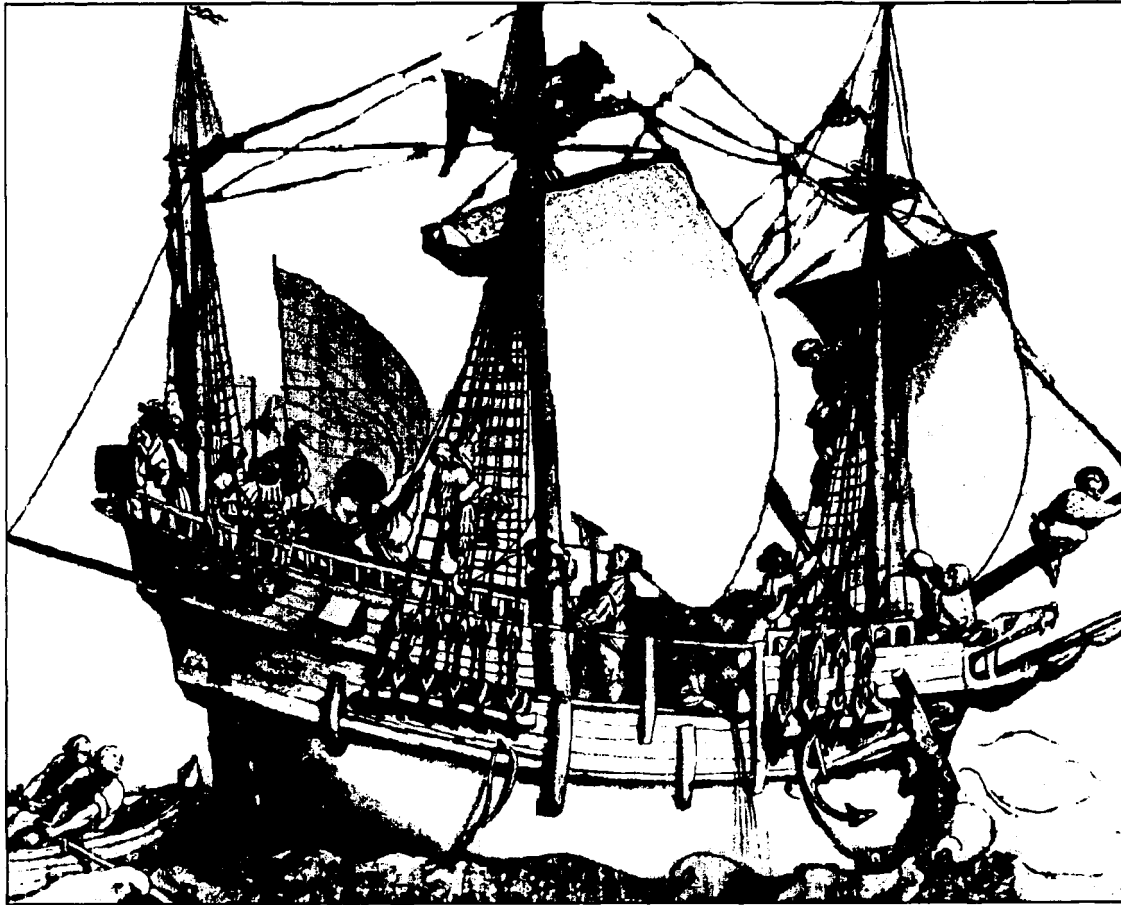
1 Ed. note: They stayed only 11 days.

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

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

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





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

Document 1542B

**Villalobos—Narrative of García de Escalante Alvarado,
dated Lisbon 1 September 1548**

Sources: Navarrete's Colección ... de Indias, vol. V, pp. 117-209, from Muñoz' Tome 36.

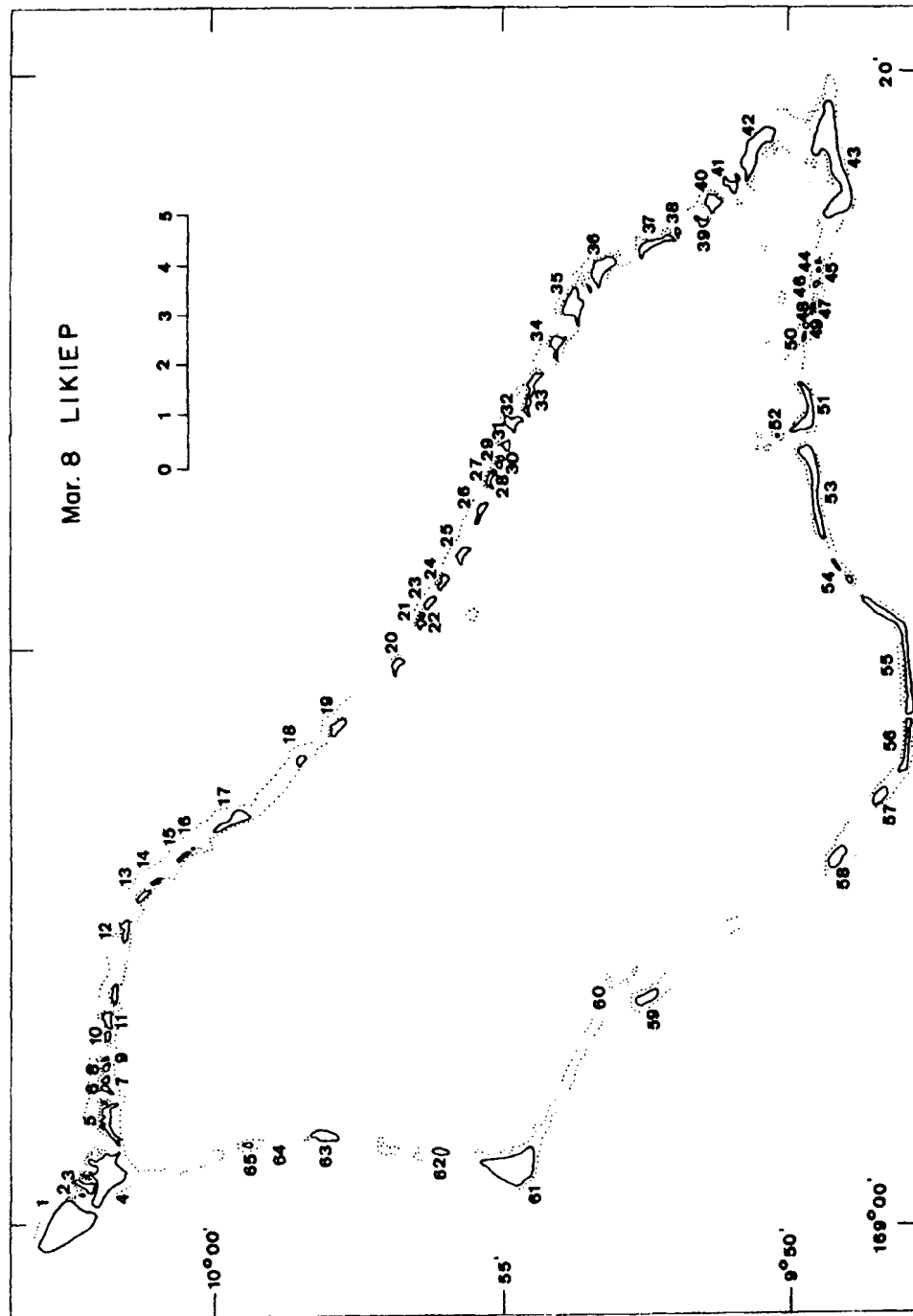
**Narrative of the voyage made from New Spain to the
Western Islands by Ruy Gomez [sic] de Villalobos, by
order of the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza**

Most Illustrious Sir:¹

As always I looked upon myself as the servant of your Most Illustrious Lordship, and I wish to remain so until I die, and, having this opportunity to bring it to the attention of your Most Illustrious Lordship, I have dared to give you an account of the outcome of the fleet that your Most Illustrious Lordship sent to the Western Islands. I beg your Most Illustrious Lordship to forgive my error, if it is not done as well as your Most Illustrious Lordship would like to read it, and look only at my willingness, as a servant, to serve your Most Illustrious Lordship with a clear will.

The fleet of your Most Illustrious Lordship departed from that New Spain, from the port of Juan Gallego [i.e. Navidad], on All Saints' Day of the year 1542. Having sailed 180 leagues, at a latitude of 18°30', we arrived at two uninhabited islands, 12 leagues one from the other; we baptized the first one Santo Thomás, and the other

1 Ed. note: It was addressed to the Viceroy of New Spain. The editing was not done carefully; there were even two sheets of transcripts that are missing from page 191 of the Colección.



Map of Likiep, discovered by Villalobos on 26 December 1542. The atoll was named by him the Coral Islands. He stayed here for 11 days on Islet N°43 which he baptized St. Stephen, in honor of the patron saint of Fr. Santiesteban. He may also have named the neighboring islet of Lado in honor of the head clerical priest, Father Lazo (Note that Lazo in Spanish is pronounced almost like Latho in English).

“la Añublada”.¹ Eighty leagues farther we came up to another island; we baptized it “la Roca partida” [i.e. Split Rock Island].

After 62 days of sailing, during some of which we wallowed in bad weather, we found an archipelago of low **islands**, all of them with trees, and with much difficulty, because they are very soundable² so that [even] at a distance of one arquebus shot bottom was not found near them, we took port at one of them. They are inhabited by poor people, with little polish³ and, at the time we anchored at one—which was baptized Santisteban [i.e. San Estevan or St. Stephen] because we touched at it on his day [i.e. 26 December]—its people leaving by the other end, fleeing. Only 23 women were left whom we found hidden in the thickest part of the island, whom we rounded up as I have said. We gave them a few trade goods and we treated them all very well. Having taken on water, the fleet left this archipelago, which we named “el **Coral**” on account of the specimens that were seen there.

On the feast day of the [Three] Kings of the following year [i.e. 6 January 1543], after having sailed 35 leagues, we passed by 10 other **islands** that looked like the others and, on account of the greenness shown by their trees, were named “los **Jardines**”; the latitude of the ones and the others is from 9 to 10 degrees.

After having sailed 100 leagues to the west, a storm hit us and, although its fury threatened our lives, God consented to free us from it. Still, as a result of it, we lost [sight of] the galley which gave us all much sorrow.

On 23 January, having made 100 more leagues, at a latitude of 10 degrees, we passed by a small **island**, well populated, which appeared very beautiful. We did not anchor here. Rather, Indians came out with proas making the sign of the Cross with their hands and they were heard to say in Spanish: “*Buenos días, matalotes*”, reason for which we baptized it **Matalotes**.

At the same latitude, 35 leagues to the west, we passed by another major **island** and, on account of the reefs that came out of it, we could not anchor at it. Indians came out of it in canoes. We baptized it with the name “*islas de Arrecifes*”.

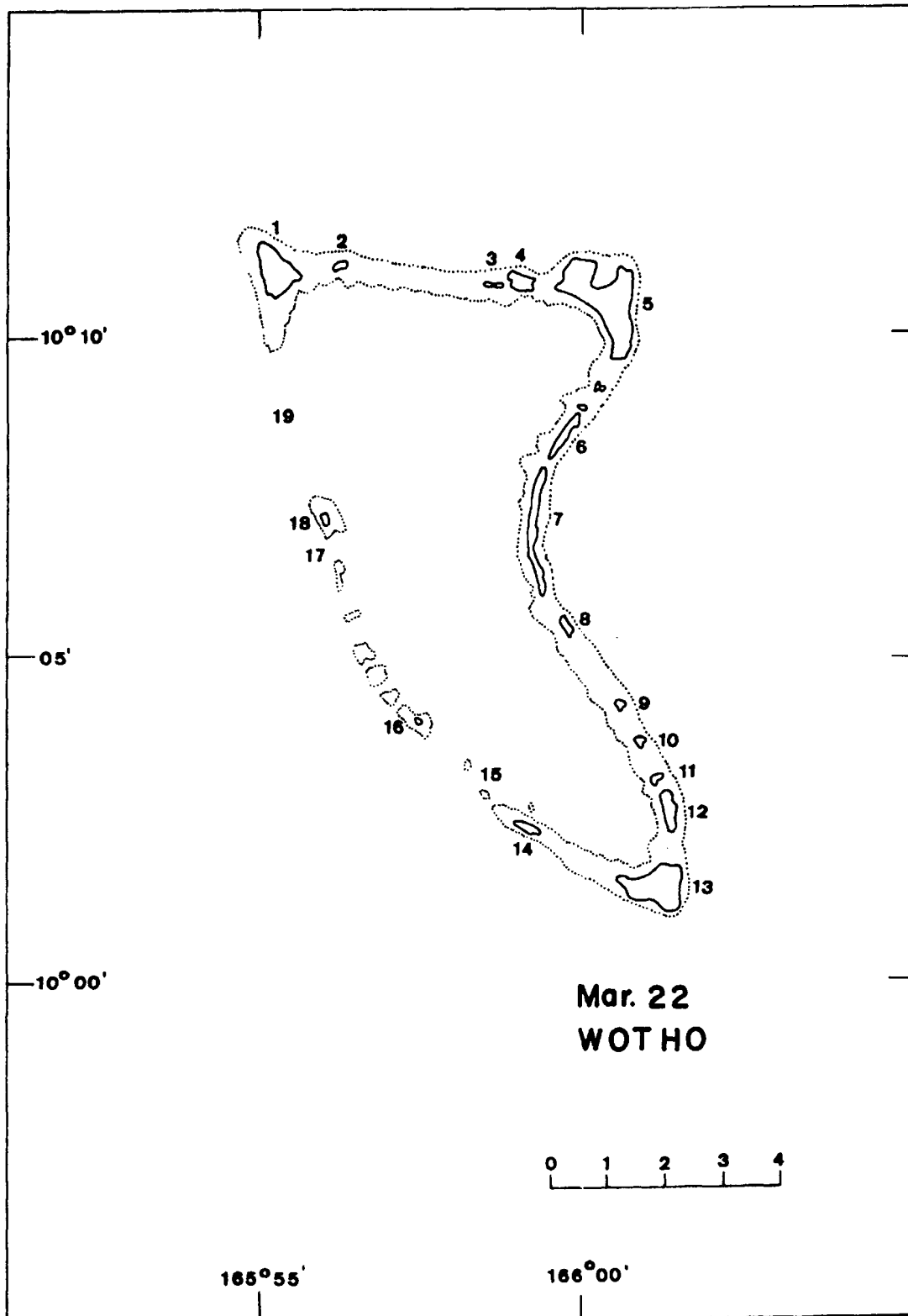
Continuing our course to the west, on 2 February, we arrived at a big island, in which there was a bay which we baptized Málaga, which is at a latitude of 7°40’.⁴ The fleet was anchored here for a month. The General wished to make a settlement in the said bay, [but] as the site was very pitiful, he would have us look for another. Possession of the island was taken for your Lordship; we baptized it *Cesárea Karoli*, as it was big and we saw there proofs that it was worth the majesty of the name. The pilots who later circumnavigated it say that it has a circumference of 350 leagues; they estimate a distance of 1,500 leagues from the port of Navidad to this island.

1 Ed. note: Bad transcription for “La Nublada”.

2 Ed. note: Meaning the opposite, that they are too deep for an anchor to touch bottom. He will now describe Likiep.

3 Ed. note: This is a translation of “policia” which in this context means order, discipline, good government; hence little polish means a little savageness.

4 Ed. note: The bay situated at that latitude on Mindanao’s east coast is Baganga. It was re-named Málaga after the birthplace of Villalobos.



Map of Wotho, discovered by Villalobos on 8 January 1543.

Having come out of this bay with the intention of going north in search of the island of Mazagua [i.e. Limasawa], because it had thus been discussed at the Coral Islands, and having spent 10 days trying hard to do so and not being able to make any headway on account of the contrary winds and currents, it turned back south. Having coasted Cesárea Karoli for 70 leagues, we came to two islets separated from the big one 4 leagues southward. The General, thinking that it would be better to settle at one of them until we had learned enough about the country, sent a ship to talk to them and make peace. As peace was granted by them, the fleet went to anchor at one named Sarragan [i.e. Sarangani]. However, upon arriving at the bigger town, it appeared that they had had second thought about friendship with us, because we found them up in arms, with palisades and barricades made with boats filled with sand. Seeing that it was not convenient for us to go from there, on account of the necessity for the fleet to get food supplies, which was great, until we found something better, after having repeatedly begged the islanders to sell us food, reason was not sufficient to make them virtuous. So, as it appeared that we had just reason to want to make war upon them, having used up all the formalities that reason dictated, on Monday 2 April, they were given battle and in a brief space of time the town was taken, and we did not pursue our advantage because we thought we could convince them to return in peace. During the battle, they wounded a few Spaniards, six of whom died. This island, which was baptized Antonia, is 6 leagues in circumference and has 4 towns...

First return attempt of 1543

... In Sarragan one ship was wrecked on its side, and the others were on the point of being lost but they put off... It was decided to send a ship to new Spain.

Because all the ships arrived so badly equipped, when we arrived the small one was despatched, because we had work to do on the others. Because there were little food-stuff with which to go, it was decided to send the galliot to some islands where it had been before, which are called Filipinas after our lucky Prince, and which they said were well supplied, in order to buy food there; so it was done. The ship left Sarragan on 4 August 1543 to go to New Spain and the galliot to bring food.

Three days after the ship and the galliot had been despatched, three proas came from the Moluccas with Portuguese. They asked for a safe-conduct in the name of H.M. and it was given; the General tried to give them a good reception. A gentleman came ashore with a letter and request, signed by Don Jorge de Castro, captain of the Moluccas, in which he said that all these islands belonged to the Most Serene King of Portugal, and he asked and requested us to leave them...¹

1 Ed. note: The Spanish moved closer to Ternate instead, as they went with the rest of the fleet (3 vessels) to Gilolo. A contingent was later sent to Tidore, the old Spanish stronghold. In June 1544, the writer Escalante, was coasting north along the coast of Mindanao on the way to the Leyte Gulf when he found a letter left by Captain de la Torre who had turned back with the San Juan.

While I was coasting up the coast, I arrived at the Bay of Resurrection, and found the letter that the General had left there, and two others: one from Father Friar Gerónimo de Santiesteban, prior of the Augustinians who, according to what he said, had passed there during April 1544... and the other letter was from Bernardo de la Torre, captain of the ship that had gone to New Spain, who was saying that he had turned back because he had left late¹, and that he had picked up the 21 Spaniards that the prior had left at Tandaya and whom he had ransomed, and that he was going [south to Sarangani] in search of his General and, should he not find him [there], he was going to go to the fortress of Ternate, because the ship was on the point of sinking...

I came back to Tidore on Friday 17 October.. and I found there the General with all the men who had moved from Gilolo, and the ship **San Juan** that had turned back from New Spain, which they were making ready to send again, and the voyage it had made I will relate.

Those who were aboard the ship say that, after departed Sarrangan, they went to get food at the Felipinas [i.e. Philippines], at the Tandaya River. Having taken it in, they departed Tandaya on 26 August 1543, and at a latitude of 26° they saw a small **island**, and 26 leagues further on, they saw two other **islands** that are in line North—South with the Ladrones Islands, and further on they saw three other **islands**; one of these was a volcano that spewed fire by three mouths. On 18 October, the pilots found that they had sailed [the equivalent of] 750 leagues in straight line² and were at almost 30°. Here they were hit by such a storm from the north that it made them turn back, because the ship was small and they carried badly-seated masts that would not suffer that heavy sea in progress. They returned to the island of Tandaya in 13 days, and they came to it on its north side and anchored in a large bay³ which is well populated and a good port for ships. There they found as much food as they wished in the way of rice, pigs and chickens, which they bought with the porcelain and the samples they had carried for your Lordship and which had been procured at Sarrangan...

Having determined to go in search of the General, because the winds did not let them go by the eastern side, they had to go by the lee side. Sailing thus along that coast, they saw many islands and towns, and on 3 January 1544, they arrived at a town where the pilot went ahead to sound a canal that existed between two islands. On the other side there was a town; while they were heading for it, the ship hit a shoal and it was caught between two rocks, and they passed the whole night high and dry, so that to get out of there, they had to unload everything the ship carried; they threw overboard the food and the ballast and there they had the runners on the starboard side broken.

1 Ed. note: That is, too late in the season to catch favorable winds.

2 Ed. note: This must be the round-trip distance, as they could not have sailed at 60 leagues per day, although even 30 leagues per day is a high average...

3 Ed. note: It is clear from these remarks and the following ones that they had entered through the San Bernardino Strait into the Samar Sea and would find the narrow passage between Samar and Leyte to reach the Leyte Gulf.

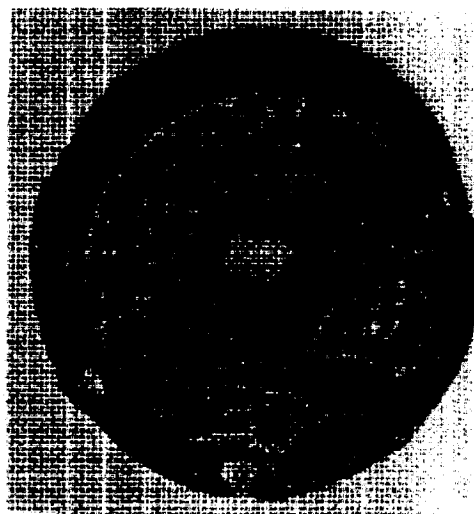
On Saturday evening they pulled the ship from the shoal and from there went to a small island which was all cultivated and where they found a canoe that was 33 cubits in length with a deck. From there they went to another town whose chief is called Si-cabatuy.¹ There they learned that there was a passage between those islands to go to Tandaya. The captain sent 8 men in a canoe to reconnoiter...

Second return attempt of 1545

When the ship **San Juan** was ready to return to that New Spain, it departed from Tidore on 16 May 1545...

The nao that had been left in Gilolo was brought to Tidore and the General said that she could not be equipped to return to New Spain. Therefore, he sold it to the Portuguese for 600,000 *cajas*.² She was equipped at Ternate and went to India loaded with clove on 11 June of the said year...

I have already said above that on 16 May of the year 1545, the ship had left for New Spain. Four and a half months had passed since it had left this island of Tidore and everyone had much hoped that it would make it and were waiting for the relief from your Most Illustrious Lordship. At the time hope had reached a peak, God willed that on the 3rd of October the said ship anchored at this island, having turned back from the voyage it was going to do.



An old Chinese coin unearthed at Calatagan, Luzon.

...
Already at this time over 20 Spaniards and 3 priests had gone over to the Portuguese...

Another day I went again to the General's inn, and told him how many soldiers and sailors were whispering and saying that the ship had not made it because it turned back at the time it should have sailed by the southern route. It was so, what had to be done was not being done, in not sending it once more, as there was weather good enough to send it. Until then, the weather had not been good since the ship was sent the last time,

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- 1 Ed. note: In most Filipino languages, the prefix "Si" is used to mean "It is", "It's" or "'Tis", as in: What is your name? 'Tis Cabatuy.
 - 2 Ed. note: These were not boxes or packages of clove as the Spanish editor pretends, but this was a Chinese monetary unit pronounced "caixa" by the Portuguese. The Portuguese word is at the origin of the Spanish word "caja" used here, and of the English word "cash". Escalante himself says later on in the same report that 5,000 cash was equivalent to almost 2 ducats. So, the ship was sold for less than 240 ducats.

because the skies had always been contrary and the winds had [not] been favorable. I begged him to let me have the ship to make the voyage, and I offered myself to do it and to find sailors who would return to New Spain with it, after making some repairs. The repairs that were required were minimal, because it did not need to be caulked because it was still water tight. As far as the sails were concerned, it could sail with those it carried, plus others that could be made out of the canvas reserved for the sails of the galley. As far as food supplies for the voyage, there were 600 bundles of rice in Zamafó, that would be about 300 *fanegas*¹, and at the towns of Çamola and Lobata they had 800 bundles of sago that could be used to make biscuits, and there was rigging and cables in the country. The only thing that was necessary was to go over some carpentry work, and that could be done in a short time. I added that, after having despatched the ship, he could make whatever agreements that he wished, or carry out those he had with [the Portuguese captain] Hernando de Sousa, that he and all his people could go to India, as he had agreed to do, but I would make the voyage to New Spain with 20 or 30 men.

He answered that he was very happy to give me the ship if I could only find some willing to go with it. I went to see the pilot Alonso Fernandez, the man from Tarife, who had gone on the first return voyage in the ship with Bernardo de la Torre, and he told me that he volunteered to navigate the said ship, because he knew that he could make it. I talked to a few sailors and officials and they volunteered to accompany me on the said voyage, saying that they would rather go back poor to New Spain than rich to India. Given their intention, I went back to the General and told him that I had found a pilot, sailors and other gentlemen and soldiers who volunteered to make the said voyage with me, to which he told me not to believe them, because in the end they would not carry it out. Once again I begged him to give it to me, that with the help of Our Lord and in benefit of H.M. I thought I could discover the return route. He answered back to me that he would see how his negotiations with Hernando de Souza would come out, that to initiate something new like sending the ship would jeopardize them, that he could not do it, because he had so told Hernando de Sousa.

Seeing his decision, which was that the ship should not make a third return attempt, I did not talk to him about it anymore.²

...

So, we embarked aboard the Portuguese ships, and a few stayed behind of their own will at Ternate. On 18 February [1546], we made sail with winds from the NW, and heading south, we arrived at the port of Ambon [Amboina] on Shrove Tuesday, where we stayed until 17 May, as the winds were blowing from Banda. During the time we were there, a few Spaniards died from a disease they caught there and others had come with it from the Moluccas. This disease usually recur at these islands. When you are at-

1 Ed. note: A fanega was a Spanish bushel of 55-56 litres.

2 Ed. note: The factor, Martin de Islares, also wrote a letter to Villalobos on 1 November 1545 begging him to let the ship sail, but to no avail. The officials exchanged notarized correspondence with Villalobos but failed to convince him.

tacked by it, first it paralyzes your feet and hands, so that you do not feel them any more than as if they were dead. Then it hits you in the chest and suffocates you. Among those who died there, was General Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, who died on Palm Friday 1546 from the fever that he caught there. He was buried in the town of Zozanibe.

...

The winds for going south having returned, we left Ambon on 17 May of the said year, and arrived at the island of Java, where we made two stopovers, one at Prazada and the other at Cajongan...

We left Java and arrived at the strait between Zumatra and other islands that are called Palynbaon¹ and, coasting the island of Zumatra by day, and anchoring in the shallow ground that was there by night, we arrived at another strait called Savaon.² The next day, on 11 July, we arrived at the settlement of Malaca, where we remained for 5 months...

News of Japan and possible news of the lost ships of Saavedra

At Malaca a Chinese pilot asked me about our navigation. He told me that at the island of Japan, he had heard that there were two ships, a big one and a small one³, with men like us aboard them, at an island beyond that of Japan, more toward that New Spain.⁴ They were at war with the natives of those islands. That news made me think that they would be ships of your Lordship.

After 5 months had passed, we embarked for India, and arrived in January [1547]...

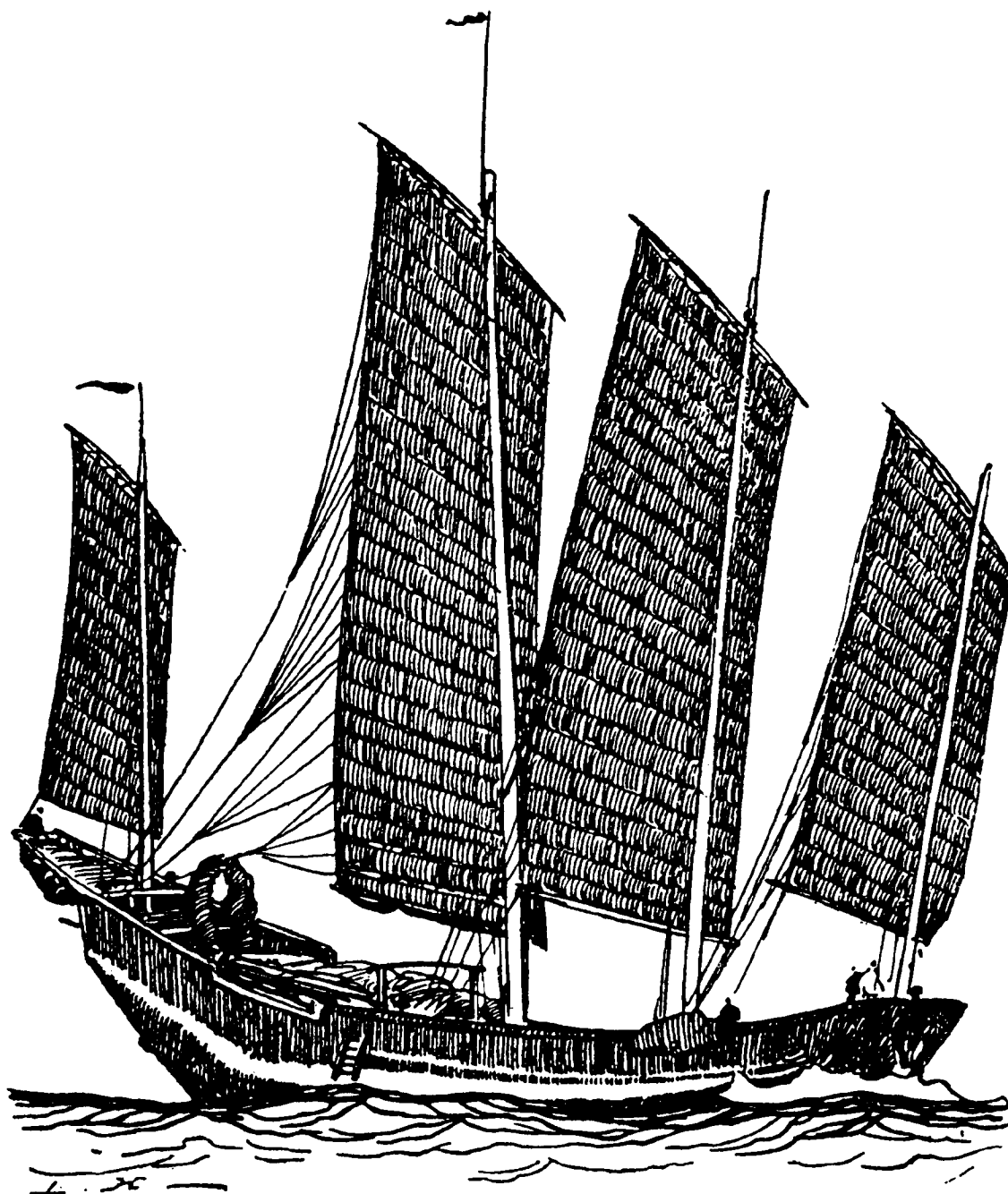
When we were [still] at Tidore, we had learned from Diego de Fretes [Diogo de Freitas], the older brother of Captain Jordão de Fretes, a man to whom one must give entire credibility on account of his age and status, news about some countries that seem to me appropriate to narrate in relation with those I have already mentioned in connection with the archipelago of the Philippines, and they are as follows. What he said is that, when he was with a ship at the city of Siam, which is on the mainland between Malaca and what is called China, there came there a junk from the Lequios and he had many conversations with the people aboard. He said that they are well-built people, white and bearded, dressed with silk and clothes styled almost like our own. They said that their King did not let a native of their country leave unless they were married and had children and property, and that the captain was responsible to bring back the people, alive or dead. He had himself seen them salt [the bodies of] three Lequios men in Siam in order to bring them back home. Their merchandise is gold and silver...

1 Ed. note: Probably the Billiton Islands today.

2 Ed. note: The Riau Passage at the mouth of the Strait of Malacca.

3 Ed. note: The reader will recall that in 1527, the "lost" ships of Saavedra, i.e. the big Santiago, Captain Cárdenas, and the little Espiritu Santo, Captain Fuentes, probably tried to find the return route east of Japan.

4 Ed. note: Either the Lequios [Okinawa] Islands which would appear as lying beyond Kyushu to a Chinese coming east across the Yellow Sea, or Honshu proper.



Chinese junk of this type was used by the Portuguese. It was aboard such craft that some Portuguese trader first saw Japan in 1542 or 1543. (Drawn by L. Haffner).

It happened also that two Portuguese, from those who were there, while going in a junk to trade on the coast of China, were carried by a storm to the island of the Lequios where they were well treated by the king of those islands, through the intervention of the friends with whom they had traded in Siam, and, after having received food, they went away. On account of the general order and wealth they saw there, other Portuguese went back there as traders aboard Chinese junks. By sailing east from the China coast, they arrived at the said island but that time they were ordered not to step ashore but to give a list of the merchandise they brought and of the prices they wanted for them, that they would be paid later. So, they did so, and they were paid for everything with silver. Then they were given food and told to go away.

After we had heard that news, it was learned that there was a man at Ternate, a Galician from Monterrey named Pero Diez [Pedro Díaz] who had just come aboard the naos from Borneo [Borneo], and who had gotten there aboard a junk from the islands of Japan. The General sent someone to talk to him and beg him to report what he had seen. As this man was anxious to serve H.M., he wrote a letter, and afterwards he came to the island of Tidore and in person narrated a few things as he remembered them.

What he narrated is that, in May of the previous year of 1544, he left Patani¹ aboard a Chinese junk and arrived at Chincheo [Chang-chau, or Ch'uanchow] which is on the coast of China... From Chincheo they went to a city called Lionpu [= Ning-po]... From there they went to another city [i.e. province] on the coast, named Nenquin [Nan-king] ... From there they crossed to the island of Japan, which is in 32°. ² From it and Liompu, there are 155 leagues. It trends almost East—West; it is a very cold land and along the coast the towns they saw are small. In each island there a lord, and he could not tell where the king of them all resides. The people there are well-built, white and bearded, with the hair cut. They are gentiles, their weapons are bows and arrows. They have no poison [on their arrows] as in the archipelago of the Philippines. They fight with sticks whose points have sharp nails [sic] fixed to them. They have no swords [sic] nor lances. ³ They read and write like the Chinese, and their language sounds like German. They have many horses which they ride; the saddles do not have any cantles and the stirrups are made of copper. The working people dress themselves with woolen clothes that look like serge... but the leaders wear clothes made of silk, damask, smooth and taffeta. The women are in great manner very white and beautiful; they go about dressed like Spanish women with cloth or silk, in accordance with their status. The houses are built of stone and adobe, whitewashed on the inside, with the roofs tiled like ours, with upper floors, windows and corridors. They have all the same foodstuff, cattle and fruits as on

1 Ed. note: The southernmost province of Siam, or Thailand on the east coast of the Malayan Peninsula. The Portuguese has only seen Japan for the first time 1 or 2 years earlier..

2 Ed. note: They had reached the coast of Kagoshima, formerly Satsuma, which St. Francis Xavier was to reach in 1548-49.

3 Ed. note: Díaz had obviously not seen the samurai.

the mainland. There is much sugar. They have falcons and goshawks with which they hunt. They do not eat beef. It is a land with many fruits, specially melons. They work the earth with oxen and plows, wear leather shoes, and on their heads they wear skull-caps¹, like Albanians, of horsehair²; they take those off to salute one another out of courtesy. Fish is abundant at those islands. Their wealth is in silver, which they have in small bars, some of which we had sent to your Lordship on the ship that turned back the last time [i.e. in 1545]. He says that they sold 10 quintals of pepper for 6,000 ducats. He says that while they were in port five junks of the Chinese who live in Patani [came] with a few Portuguese aboard. On the way, they were attacked by 100 Chinese junks, tied together with chains, and that the Portuguese in 4 boats, with 3 small guns and 16 arquebuses, went out and dismantled the Chinese junks and killed many of their people. He saw at this island very little gold and a very large quantity of iron and copper. There they were joined by other Portuguese who were coming from the islands of the Lequios which they said were very rich in gold and silver; the people [there] are robust and bellicose.

...

May Our Lord keep the Most Illustrious person of your Lordship and increase his estates for many years.

From this city of Lisbon, 1 August 1548.—

Most Illustrious Sir.—

[From] the true servant of your Most Illustrious Lordship who kisses your most illustrious hands.—

García Descalante Alvarado.³

1 Ed. note: The Spanish word used is “capelete”, a diminutive of “capelo” which is like a cardinal’s hat.

2 Ed. note: Probably made of felt.

3 Ed. note; Escalante attached the list of the survivors of the Villalobos expedition as he knew them; there are 144 persons listed, out of the 370 or more who had departed from Navidad.

Document 1542C

**Villalobos—Letter from
Fr. Santiesteban to Viceroy Mendoza,
dated Cochin 22 January 1547**

Sources: AGI Patronato, Est. 1, caj. 1. Navarrete's Colección ... de Indias, vol. 14, pp. 151-165.

Letter written by Fr. Gerónimo de Santiesteban to Don Antonio Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain, relating the loss of the fleet that departed in 1542 for the Western Islands under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos.

Most Illustrious Sir.—*Gratia tibi et pax a Deo Patre.*¹

When I communicate with my companions or reflect myself about the outcome of the fleet which your Lordship sent us in, having first recommended it so much to God with many sacrifices, prayers and good works, and having undertaken it after many consultations, and guiding it mainly for the service of God, I do not know what to say except what the apostle Saint Paul [blank] *o divitiarum sapientie et scientie Dei que incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus et inestigabiles vie ejus.*² According to human judgment, the causes of the destruction of the fleet and property which your Lordship sent to the Western Islands with Ruy Lopez de Villalobos—may he rest in peace—are many; on account of the short time remaining before the naos leave [for Portugal], I will not be able to give a separate account for each one.

On All Saints Day of the year 1542, we left that land at the port they call Juan Gallego's Port. Eight days later, we passed by a small, uninhabited island. Three days later, we anchored near another, which they named "la Ñublada", because it was so [i.e.

1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: May the grace and peace of God the Father be with you.

2 Ed. note: Latin for something like: the wisdom and science of God is fathomless and should not be judged according to our norms.

clouded]. Here they took on little water and wood because there were rats that would cut the cables and they much feared to lose the ships. From there within 2 or 3 days we saw another island; we did not touch at it because it was up wind. From there until Christmas Day, we did not see any land, given that at sea we did not see many signs of land being near, except that, on the first Sunday of December, during the first watch, those who were watching saw the sea breaking ahead. They called the pilot; he looked and ordered the ship to be luffed and the sounding line out. The flagship, which until then and later too was bad at tacking, that time, through the mercy of the Lord, she did it well. The one with the sounding line first came out with 4 fathoms, and the second time 7. A signal was made with the lamp to the other naos which were about to fall into the same danger, and they took evasive action. They did not dare lie to, for fear that the currents would throw them onto the shoals.

The **islands** we arrived at on Christmas Day are low. They have a deep bottom near the land. The next day, they landed at a small **island** whose people fled to another, those who could board their canoes. Women and children were left hidden; they were well treated. The people are white, naked. The women wear some fine mats, less than a square yard, with which they cover the most indecent part. There was an old woman who, when she saw a painted chocolate cup, showed that she had seen one of those before¹ but the others did not pay any more attention to that than to the other things they saw. At this island were found chickens, coconut palms, and a tree that bore fruits that looked like pineapples² which, although they were big, they had very little that could be eaten. There were other trees that had the leaf like a fig tree and they are tall³; they were then without any fruits, but at another place we found some with fruits. The fruit is as big as the pineapples of that land [i.e. Mexico] and smaller; it is good food whether cooked or raw. It appears that there would not be much fish there. It was thought that they would be the [same as the] islands of Los Reyes.⁴ We stayed here until the day of Los Reyes [i.e. the Magi, 6th January, 1543].

After 13 or 14 days from here, we saw a small, low **island**, well covered with palm trees. We saw the houses and an effort was made to anchor at it but a way was not found. Its natives came out to us and told us by way of a salutation: "Buenos dias, matalotes".

Three days later, we saw another big **island**, well surrounded with shoals. They came out to us and they said the same salutation. We did not anchor here.

On 29 January, we saw the island of Bindanao, San Juan and San Antonio.⁵ They anchored at the mouth of a bay that seemed to them uninhabited. Those islands seem uninhabited because the bush is very thick along the sea shore and hides the houses,

1 Ed. note: Remember the woman who came aboard Saavedra's ship Florida at Eniwetok in 1529 and behaved like a witch (See Doc. 1547D). Would she have moved to Likiep?

2 Ed. note: A reference to the screw-pine or pandanus tree.

3 Ed. note: The breadfruit tree.

4 Ed. note: A reference to the name given by Saavedra to Ulithi.

5 Ed. note: Fr. Santiesteban is mistaken here, as they could not have seen San Juan [Candigar] Island and Antonio [Sarangani] at the same time they saw the northeastern coast of Mindanao.

even though they are near. Afterwards, I myself went overthere with the brig and saw that it is inhabited. The other naos could not come close to the shore and, although they lowered their sails, by morning the currents had carried them off 12 leagues to the vicinity of another bay, uninhabited, where we anchored and remained almost one month, waiting for better weather and repairing the naos and the boats.

Before we arrived at the Matalotes [i.e. Fais], during a storm one night, the galliot commanded by Pedro Ortiz de Rueda—may he rest in peace—was damaged and went to beach at Mazaua [i.e. Limasawa].

At that bay, hunger began to make itself felt and quite a few illnesses appeared, some of them unknown to us, like the swelling of the gums and legs, with purple spots. A place could not be found where to buy food. We embarked there, and many efforts were made to recover the lost ground and to go up to a higher latitude, many times, but it could not be done on account of the contrary winds and currents. We were forced to follow the wind and sailed along the coast of that island westward until some town could be found, but we did not see any until we came before two islands that are 2 or 3 leagues from the big island of Bindanao; one is called Sarrangan and the other Candigar.

We arrived at Sarrangan, which appeared to have more population and it was so. Martin de Islares went out in a boat to tell them to sell us some food. They understood him but did not want to sell us something to eat, of which we were in great need, specially the sick, who were many. Rather, they were shooting arrows at those aboard the boat, and the three or four times that they went to beg them, they wounded five or six men without our companions having done them any harm, although they could have with the arquebuses.

Then, when the General saw our extreme necessity and the inhumanity of those barbarians, he held a council of captains and leading persons aboard his nao and they decided to take the food by force. The first week of April, the companions landed and, although the islanders opposed the landing, they were expelled from the island. Thus owners of the whole island, we all stepped ashore and remained there until the first week of November. Ruy Lopez tried hard with prayers and talks to convince those people to make friends and return to their houses, but could not. After he had unloaded the naos there, he sent Bernardo de la Torre, in the **San Juan**, to Bindanao to buy food. He was told that yes, they would sell them some and they would find there father and mother, to just come into the river. He sent the boat with six men to take soundings; they killed one and wounded all the others, so that with one anchor missing they returned because there was to be food but could not get it.

Two days before the **San Juan** returned from Bindanao, the galliot showed up and said that above [i.e. north of] the eastern cape of Bindanao, there were some islands where there so much food, etc.

First return attempt

During the month of August, he sent Bernardo de la Torre with the ship **San Juan**, because the seamen said that the flagship and the **San Jorge** could not be made ready

to sail before the season. He sent Pedro Ortiz de Rueda with him aboard the galliot, so that he would buy food at those islands where he had made friends and buy sufficient rice for him. On 26 August [1543], Bernardo de la Torre departed from those islands, with Gaspar Rico as pilot and the Tarifeño as assistant pilot. They report that they sailed until they reached 29 or 30 degrees, where they met with such great seas that they turned back so as not to founder.

Shipwrecks and disasters

When Ruy Lopez saw that hunger was increasing and the people in the vicinity had conspired not to sell us any food and to evacuate the places along the sea, he sent men to gather rice from plantations at the big island of Bindanao. Over 60 soldiers went and stayed there three or more months. They brought some rice but not over 80 to 100 fanegas. The inhabitants defended their plantations. There died Francisco Merino from a very small wound from a poisoned arrow, as they use them in all those islands. They sent the ship **San Jorge** to bring back the people and the rice, but at one league from where the companions were it was wrecked. Part of the artillery was lost with a big bunch of the companions, because it was loaded to go where the schooner [i.e. galliot] had said there was food to be had, as they no longer looked for gold.

The schooner returned in October 20th or so, and within 5 days he sent it back with a small brig to go and buy food throughout the above-said islands.

While we were in Sarragan, the **San Antonio** and the fusta ran aground, but the flagship escaped with much difficulty...

...Those aboard the nao got to such an extreme situation that, according to what they told us, each man was not given more than four ounces of unhusked rice per day. The General shared in the same necessities and suffered as much as the rest, because he did not want to go to the Moluccas but go on with the discovery for which your Lordship had sent him. However, so that everyone would not perish, he decided to head for the Moluccas, with the intention that, if he found some island along the way where they would sell him food and he could repair the nao, he would stay there. They saw many but could not anchor at them, until they arrived at Batachina de Maluco which is a big island where are located Moro, Zuala and Gilolo.

The captain of Ternate sent once again someone to request the General to get out of the country and to go directly to the fortress. They tell me that much correspondence was exchanged. The General went to Gilolo and from there to Tidore, because the king of Tidore had sent someone to beg him [to come], promising him that he would give food to him and all the Spanish, because he had received news from Ternate to the effect that they wanted to capture him and send him to India, to prevent him from welcoming the Spanish at his island, as his father had done. The Spanish had no-one from whom to buy food; they went to Tidore in March 1544, and remained there until November 1545. I myself came from Tandaya [i.e. Samar], with my companion and all the others, in October 1544. That same day came from that fortress a gentleman named Jordão de Freitas. I myself went to talk to him, before the devil would engender some

quarrels that would end up in wars. It was agreed that an armistice would exist between Portuguese and Spanish, until he had heard from the Governor of India, hoping that the relief from your Lordship would arrive first, and in the meantime, the Portuguese could buy in Tidore the clove and the rest they wanted as usual, and so it was done.

Second return attempt

While we were in Tidore, the **San Juan** was again made ready and it left for that New Spain on 16 May 1545. Aboard it went as captain Iñigo Ortiz de Retes, senior lieutenant and master-of-camp, an honorable gentleman, loyal in heart and deeds, a lively man and great worker. The voyage was by the southern route. Having sailed for 300 leagues, we hit an island with naked people, as black as mulattoes and with frizzy hair. The ship followed the coast of that island NW—SE for over 250 leagues, according to the pilot. At a small island we made peace and it was lucky for us because out of the others—and there were many small ones around us— and out of the big one they came to skirmish with us almost every day. The first time they killed us a sailor from the Levant, with a poisoned arrow; on the other days, they would get the worse treatment. We did not see among those people any gold, silver, copper, iron, nor any other metal, no chickens, no pigs, no goats, etc. Coconuts there were plenty. [One day] there came from the big island, aboard a canoe with a few mulattoes, to the small island which had received us in peace and is called Mó and to another nearby there called Utiz [i.e. Urais], a man [painted] very white and with a red beard and hair, tall and completely naked. He was bringing in that canoe some sago to sell to us. During that voyage, we found the winds almost constantly behind us, except for the 5 or 6 days of tradewinds. At the end of five months we turned back to the Moluccas.

During the month of October 1545, there arrived at the Moluccas a very honorable gentleman named Fernando de Sousa de Tavera and he said that he brought with him from the Governor the power to make an agreement with the Spanish and that in India they would comply with what would be agreed with him. The captains held some talks and they agreed on the following: that the Spanish would go along with him to India and that he promised in the name of the King of Portugal to provide us with naos and necessities as far as Portugal.

While we were on the way, at the island of Ambon, God took out Ruy Lopez de Vilalobos from this miserable world. I pray the Lord to let him into the better world, if he is not already there. He died of fevers, his hair being all white, after he had lost a lot of weight from grief. He died very poor and received all the sacraments. Out of the 370 Spanish who came out of that New Spain, only 117 of us arrived at Malacca. Thirty or so stayed behind in the Moluccas, and 12 remain prisoners among the heathens, because before the brig was wrecked, two men from it had been ambushed two or three leagues from Tandaya.

Here at Cochin, we caught up with the naos that go to Portugal. However, because Fernando de Sousa had not yet arrived to talk with the Governor, not one single Spaniard will embark this year. The Governor is at Diu, where a few days ago God gave

him a victory over the Moors who, some 7 or 8 years ago when he arrived at Goa, had taken the greater part of the fortress and the church with the help of some Turks, renegades and other white men. He threw them out of the fortress and regained the bulwarks, their artillery and the whole city of Diu, praise be to God!

A few will no doubt write to your Lordship to say that if their advice had been followed, no mistake would have been committed. He [i.e. Villalobos] always took advice about serious matters, not only in matters that your Lordship had pointed out, but also in many others, and the opinion of the rest was taken and what was judged more convenient was done then and there. Until now, I do not recall [an occasion in] which it could be said: If such and such advice had been taken, we would be all together or where we wished to be safe.

I stop here because I do not have enough time to narrate our voyages at greater length, as the Captain Major told me that he is going on board today. He has promised that he would give this letter to Lope Hurtado, to whom I have addressed it so that he may forward it to your Lordship. To our [Augustinian] brothers, I write only that other brief one drafted by someone else; for the love of God, please your Lordship let them read this one. Remember your Lordship what he had promised Ruy Lopez, according to what he told me, that he would become a father to his children. In the judgment of some men, Ruy Lopez did not do any service to your Lordship by which his children would deserve your favors. I know for a fact that in the eyes of God and of those who will look at his deeds without passion that he made everything possible to serve your Lordship, and that he was most afflicted by not having achieved the intention of your Lordship, in addition to all the other harms, afflictions and persecutions from which he suffered.

As we cannot sail to Spain this year, we [Augustinians] have talked about observing these gentiles carefully and if there is an opportunity to do some good to them, leaving it to the Lord and if our prelate wishes it to be, we will remain in these countries. Your Lordship will be advised of the outcome either by letter or in person, with the help of God. In all haste, I add this bit, so that Your Lordship will deign forgive me more.

When I saw, Sir, so much hunger and doing without, so many captivities and deaths suffered by these poor ones who came with the fleet of your Lordship, I was reminded many times of what the Apostle said: *Qui divites esse volunt, incidunt in laqueo diaboli, etc.* If the Apostle said that about those who gather riches in their country without any danger to their person, what would he say about those who gather them in a manner impossible to achieve without shedding Christian and infidel blood? He lies against his own soul whoever says that the work of discovery can be done with peace and that another law applies to these gentiles, moors and barbarians because they are so much traitors and ill-willed that they wish to do away with the Christians they come in contact with, or that the Christians should antagonize them until they stop being impudent against them, openly or by treachery. I pray the Lord to accept what has been lost in these fleets, and to give your Lordship the idea that the gains that come from discovery

be left to those *qui non proponunt Deum ante eos pectum suum, sed diligunt vanitates querentes mendacium et letantur capta preda.*

May our Lord keep your Lordship in his grace.—

From Cochin, in India of the King of Portugal, on 22 January 1547.—

Your Lorship, please forgive my badly-written draft, as I do not have time to make a clean copy.—

Your Lordship's minor chaplain,

Fray Jerónimo de Santistéban.

Document 1542D

Villalobos—Galvão's narrative

Sources: Galvão's Tratado and Hakluyt's translation.

Galvão's text about Villalobos' voyage

No anno de 542 em mes Doutobro, mādou o viso rey dō Antonio ás ylhas de Mindanao, Cebu & Nata, õde Magalhães fora morto uma armada de seis velas, quatrocentos ou quinhentos soldades nelas, & outros tātos Indios da terra: & por capitam môr Ruy lopez de Vilhalobos seu cunhado, pessoa de muita estima. Partiram do porto do Natal, que està em vinte graos ao norte, vespera de todos os sanctos governaram a loeste, & á quarta do Sudoeste em dezanoue graos, ouueram vista da ylha de sancto Thomas que Fernam de grijalvarez descobrira. Mais a diante em dezasete graos viram outra, a que poseram nome a Nublada. Dahi foram a outra que chamam Roca partida. A tres dias de Dezembro acharam huns baxos de seis ou sete braças de fundo. A vinte & cinco deste mes viram as ylhas que Diogo da Rocha, & Gomez de Sequeira, & Aluaro Sayavedra descobrirã, poseram nome dos Reis por a verem em seu dia. E ao diante acharam outras em dez graos, todas em roda: & da mesma maneira surgirã nelles, & tomaram agoa & lenha...

No anno de 1543 em mes de Ianeiro se fezeram aqui à vella com toda a armada, & ouueram vista dalgumas ylhas, de que sahiram paraos & calaluzes com gente, & traziam nas mãos cruces, & os saluaram com bõs dias matalotes, de que ficaram marauilhados por se verem de Castella tam alongados, & homens naquella terra cõ cruces, & sudarem nos em lingua Espanhol, & traziam diuisa que pareciam sentirem alguma cousa da nossa sancta fe catholica, por nam saberem que auia muytos della que Francisco de Castro por mandado de Antonio Galuam baptizara, huns lhes chamam as ylhas das Cruces, & outros dos matalotes.

Neste mesmo anno de 543, o primeiro de feureiro ouue Ruy lopez vista daquella noble ilha de Mindanao, em noue graos daltura, nam pode dobrala, nem surgir como desejava, porque os Reys Christãos & pouo della lho defenderam, por terem dado a obediencia a Antonio galuam, que eles muito estimauam, & nam queriam anojalo cinco ou seis Reys que tinham tomado agoa de baptismo. Vendo Ruy lopez isto, & o vento

contraio, foy se ao longo da costa buscar algum abrigo, & em quatro ou cinco graos daltura acharam hum ylha pequena, a que os da terra chamam Saranguam: & tomada perforça, em memoria do Viso rey que os la mandaua, poseramlhe nome Antonio, onde esteueram hum anno, socederam lhe cousas dignas de serem escritas, nam me meto antre ellas por serem mais historias que descobrimento.

No mesmo anno de 543 em mes Dagosto mandou ho Geral Ruy lopez a Bernaldo dela torre em hum nauio á noua Espanha dar conta a dõ Antonio de mendoça o que la passara. Forã ter aa ylha de Syria, gaonata, Bisaya, & outras que ahi muytas em onze & doze graos da parte do Norte, por onde o Magalhães andara, & Francisco de Castro dera saude perpetua a muytos que por aly se baptizaram, & hos Castelhanos lhe poseram nome as Filipinas, em memoria do principe de Castella. Tomaram mantimento, agoa, & lenha, & se fizeram à vella: foram alguns dias em Léste vento a popa, ate que lhe foy escasseando, & se poseram porto do Tropico de Cancro: em .xxv. do mes de Setembro virã humas ylhas, a que poseram nome Mal abrigo. E alem delas descobrirão as duas yrmãs: & mais auante quatro, a que chamarã os Bolcanes. A dous Doutubro ouuerã vista da Forfana: & alem della ha hum penedo alto, que deita fogo por cinco partes.

Hindo assi em .xvj. graos daltura setecentas legoas donde partirã segundo o que lhes pareciã, por nã acharem tempo arribarã as ylhas Felipinas, ouueram vista de seis ou sete, mas nam surgirã nellas: acharam em hum archipelego de ylhas bem pouoadas de gente, que estam em quinze ou dezaseis graos daltura, aluas, bem despostas molheres mais fermosas & ataiadas que ha naquellas partes, com muitas joyas douro, que era sinal auello na terra. Auia tambem nauios de remo de quarenta & tres couados em comprido, duas braças & mea de largo, & o taboado de .v. dedos em grosso, & dizia que nauegauã nelles pa a China, que se la quisessem hir, que lhes dariam pilotos pera yssó, que nam erã mais que cinco ous seis dias de caminho.

Tambem vierã a elles paraos & calaluzes bem laurados & guarnecidos: & os señores vinhã assentados em alto, & por baxo certos negros de cabello reuolto, como por estado: perguntando dõde os ouuerã? Respõderam que de humas ylhas. Iunto de Sebu e mantam auia muitos, de que se os Castellanos marauilhauam, porque dali a mais de trezentas legoas, nam auia gentes pretas, por onde parece que nam, sam naturaes da Clima, se nam ha os em manchas pella redondeza, como qualquer outra casta: porque assi os ha nas ylhas de Nicober & Andamam, que estam no golfam de Bengala, & dali a quinhentas legoas nam sabemos gentes pretas. Valboa tambem conta que hindo descobrir ho mar da outra banda do Sul, que em hum certa terra que se chama Cauça, achou gente preta de cabelo frisado, nam os auendo em toda a Noua Espanha, nem em Castella do ouro, nem nas terras do Peru, a que elles chamam Noua Castella...

No ano de 545 em mes de Ianeyro, chegou Ruy lopez de Vilhalobos geral dos Castelhanos, á ylha do Moro & cidade de Samofo: foy bem recebido dos Reis de Geilolo, & Tidore, & gente da terra: por Antonio galuam ser ja partido, que deu assaz de trabalho ao capitam dom Jorge de Castro, segundo parece que lhe socedeo, & aos Portugueses que cõ elle estauam, & muyto gasto à fortaleza.

No mesmo ãno de 545 tornou mandar Ruy lopez de Vilhalobos da ylha de Tidore, onde ja estaua da parte do Sul outro nauio pera a Noua Espanha, capitam delle Ynhigo ortiz de Roda, piloto Gaspar Rico, natural Dalmada: foram ter aa costa dos Pa-puas, correram na toda, & como nam sbiam que por ali andava Sayavedra, adquiriram assi esta honra & descobrimento, por a gente se preta & de cabelo reuolto, poseram lhe nome noua Guinea, por ser ja perdida a memoria de Sayauedra, que assi faz tudo o que nam alumea a escriptura.

Hakluyt's translation of the above text

In the yeere 1542, [in the month of October], Don Antony de Mendoça [the viceroy] sent vnto the Islands of Mindanao [Cebu and Nota¹, where Magellan died] a fleete of sixe ships, with fower or fiue hundred soldiers, and as many Indians of the countrey, the generall whereof was one Rui Lopes de villa Lobos, being his brother in law and a man in great estimation. They set saile from the hauen of Natiuidad, standing in 20 degrees towards the north, vpon All Saints eeue, and shaped their course towards the west [and in the south-west quarter in 19 degrees]. They had sight of the Island of S. Thomas, which Hernando de Grijalva had discovered [in 1533], and beyond in 17 degrees they had sight of another island, which they named La Nublada (that is, The cloudie Island). From thence they went to another island named Roca partida (that is, The clouen Rocke). The 3 of December they found certaine baxos or flates of sixe or seuen fathoms deepe. The 15² of the same moneth they had sight of the **islands**, which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequeira, and Aluaro de Saauedra had discovered, and [had] named them Los Reyes, because they came vnto them on Twelفة day [after Christmas]. And beyond them they found other **islands** in 10 degrees all standing round, and in the midst of them they came to an anker, where they tooke fresh water and wood...

In the yeere of 1543, in Januarie, they departed from the foresaid islands with all the fleete, and had sight of certaine **islands**, out of which there came vnto them men in a certaine kinde of boats, and they brought in their hands crosses³, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish toong saying, Buenas dias, Matelotes [sic], that is to say, Good morrow, companions; whereat the Spaniards much marueiled, being then so farre out of Spaine, to see the men of that countrey with crosses, and to be saluted by them in the Spanish toong, and they seemed in their behauour to incline somewhat to our Catholique faith. The Spaniards not knowing that many thereabout had beene christened by Francis de Castro, at the commandement of Antony Galuano, some of them named these islands, Islas de las cruces, and others named them Islas de los Matelotes.

In that same yeere 1543, the first of February, Rui Lopez had sight of that noble island Mindanao, standing in 9 degrees: they could not double it nor yet come to an ancre

1 Ed. note: Mactan Island.

2 Ed. note: Typographical error for 25.

3 Ed. note: The error is due to Galvão. The natives of Fais did not carry crosses in their hands, but made the signs of the cross with them.

as they would, because the christened kings and people resisted them, hauing giuen their obedience to Antonio Galuano, whom they had in great estimation, and there were fiue or sixe kings that had receiued baptisme, who by no meanes would incurre his displeasure. Rui Lopez perceiuing this, and hauing a contrary winde, sailed along the coast to finde some aide, and in 4 or 5 degrees he found a small island, which they of the countrey call Sarangam, which they tooke perforce, and in the memory of the vizeroy who had sent them thither they named it Antonio, where they remained a whole yeere, in which time there fell out things worthie to be written; but (because there are more histories that intreat of the same)¹ I leaue them, meaning to meddle with the discoveries onely.

In the same yeere 1543, and in the moneth of August, the generall Rui Lopez sent one Bartholomew² dela torre in a ship into new Spaine, to acquaint the vizeroy don Antonio de mendoça with all things. They went to the islands of Siria, Gaonata, Bissaia³ and many others, standing in 11 and 12 degrees towards the north, where Magellan had beene, and Francis de Castro also, who [had given eternal salvation to many who were] there baptized, and the Spaniards called them the Philippinas in memory of the prince of Spaine. Here they tooke victuals and wood, and hoised sailes: they sailed for certaine daies with a fare-winde, till it came vpon the skanting⁴, and came right vnder the tropique of Cancer. The 25 September they had sight of certaine islands, which they named **Malabrigos** (that is to say, The euil roads). Beyond them they discovered **Las dos Hermanas** (that is, The two sisters). And beyond them also they saw 4 islands more, which they called los **Volcanes**. The second of October they had sight of **Farfana**⁵, beyond which there standeth an high pointed rock, which casteth out fire at 5 places.

So sayling in 16 degrees of northerly latitude [700 leagues] from whence they had come, as it seemeth [to them], wanting winde they arrived againe at the Islands of the Philippinas. They had sight of 6 or 7 islands more, but they ankered not at them. They found also an Archipelagus of Islands well inhabited with people, lying in 15 or 16 degrees: the people be white, [well disposed], and the women more beautifull and better arraid then in any other place of those parts, hauing many iewels of gold, which was a token that there was some of that metal in the same countrie. Here were also barkes of 43 cubits in length, and 2 fathomes and a halfe in bredth, and the planks 5 inches thicke, which barkes were rowed with oares. They told the Spaniards, that they vsed to saile in them to China, and that if they would go thither they should haue pilots to

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- 1 Ed. note: Translation error; this should read: As they belong more to general histories than to discoveries.
 - 2 Ed. note: Error for Bernard.
 - 3 Ed. note: My guess is that the islands, or districts, in question are Surigao, Tandaya, and Visaya.
 - 4 Ed. note: Slack winds.
 - 5 Ed. note: In Spanish, this would have been La Huerfana, the Orphan (One).

conduct them, the countrie not being about 5 or 6 daies sayling from thence. there came vnto them also certaine barkes or boates handsomely decked¹, wherein the master and principall men sate on high, and vnderneath were very blacke moores with frizled haire [as if for parade or state]: and being demanded where they had these blacke moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine islands standing fast by Sebu [and Mantam]², where there were many of them, a thing that the Spaniards much maruailed at, because from thence it was about 300 leagues to the places where the black people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally borne in that climate, but that they be in certaine places scattered ouer the whole circuite of the world [like other races]. For euen so they be in the Islands of Nicobar and Andeman, which stand in the gulfe of Bengala, and from thence by the space of 500 leagues we doe not know of any blacke people. Also Balboa declareth, that as he went to discouer the South sea, in a certaine land named Quareca, he found black people with frizled haire, whereas there were neuer any other found either in Noua Spagna, or in Castilia del Oro, or in Peru [called New Castile]...

In the yeere 1545, and in the moneth of Januarie, Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, and Giraldo [sic], with the Castilians³, came to the Island of Moro[tai], and the citie of Carnaf [i.e. Zamafo], where they were well receiued of the kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and of the people of the countrey (because Antony Galuano was gone), and put the captaine Don George de Castro to great trouble, as appeared by those things which passed betweene him and the Portugals, and the great expenses whereunto he put the fortresse.

In the same yeere 1545 Rui Lopez de villa Lobos sent from the Island of Tidore another ship towards New Spaine by the south side of the line, wherein was captaine one Inigo Ortez de Rotha⁴, and for pilot one Gaspar Rico [a native of Almeida]. They sailed to the coast of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the same, and because they knew not that Saauedra had beene there before, they chalenged the honor and fame of that discouerie. And because the people there were black and had frised haire, the named it Nueua Guinea. For the memorie of Saauedra as then was almost lost, as all things else do fall into obliuion, which are not recorded, and illustrated by writing.

1 Ed. note: Proper translation: Well-built and fitted.

2 Ed. note: That is, near Cebu and Mactan. The island in question was named Negros for that very reason by the Spanish a quarter of a century later.

3 Ed. note: Translation error: Not Giraldo, but General of the Castilians.

4 Ed. note: His correct name was Iñigo Ortiz de Retes.

Document 1542E

Villalobos—Narrative of Juan Gaytan

Sources: Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Delle Navigazioni et viaggi, Vol. I, Venice, 1550, fol. 375 verso et sequitur. E. W. Dahlgren, Were the Hawaiian Islands Visited by the Spaniards Before Their Discovery by Captain Cook in 1778? Stockholm, 1916, pp. 28-33.

Dahlgren's opinion of the sailor Juan Gaytan and his account

Having, in our account of the history of the exploration of the Pacific Ocean, so far sought in vain for any trace of knowledge of the Hawaiian Islands, we now come to the person who is nowadays [i.e. 1916] generally pointed out as their first discoverer, Juan Gaytano or Gaytan.

This man belonged to the crews on the squadron of six ships which, under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, sailed away in 1542 from Mexico to take possession of the islands of the west which in the course of this expedition are first spoken of under the name which they have since retained, the Philippines. Juan Gaytan, however, had no very high command in the fleet: he was not the captain of any of the ships; nor is he mentioned among the pilots who, before the start, bound themselves by oath to perform their duties; nor is he mentioned in any other account of the voyage except his own, but we find his name, Juan Gaytan, in the list of 144 Spaniards who were still alive in 1546, when Villalobos' people, after the total loss of the expedition, were sent home by the Portuguese from the Moluccas.¹ If, therefore, the Hawaiian Islands were really discovered in 1542, there is at least no justification whatever for tacking the discovery to the name of a person who, among the 370 participants in the voyage, held no higher position than perhaps the subordinate one of a master or boatswain.

¹ Ed. note: He is listed by Escalante as one of the survivors of the Villalobos expedition who did not stay behind at Ternate. His name is listed immediately after that of pilot Francisco Ruiz, from which it could perhaps be inferred that he was a pilot's apprentice.

When La Pérouse put forward the hypothesis of the Spanish discoverer of Hawaii, he had not access to any other account of Villalobos' expedition than that which was published under the name of Juan Gaetano in Italian in Ramusio's well-known collection of voyages.¹ If, when La Pérouse wrote these words, he had known Gaytan's account in its entirety, he would probably have suppressed or modified his reflections. Before we proceed to examine these reflections, we will give a complete translation of that part of Gaytan's account which deals with the ocean voyage:

*We left Porto Santo, where we had arrived after we had left the harbor of Natività (situated in 20° on All Saints' Day, 1542, and we sailed on this sea for about 30 days, mostly W and WSW. At the end of this time, when, according to my estimate, we had sailed about 900 leagues, we discovered a number of islands—after the others which we had previously seen—to which we gave the name of **Isole delli Re** [i.e. Islands of the Kings], which are inhabited by miserable and naked men, who have no other clothing except a piece of stuff, that is the kind of trousers with which they cover their private parts. On these islands we found off the coast coral and on land fowls of the same kind as in Castile, and fruits of the cocoa-palm and the bread-fruit tree. But we saw neither gold nor silver, nor anything else of value. Before we reached these islands we had discovered in the sea some uninhabited islands, namely San Thomaso, which lies 180 leagues from New Spain, and Rocha Partida, which lies more than 200 leagues further to the west than the former. After we had sailed further from this island more than 200 leagues, we took soundings and found a depth of seven fathoms, and in 13° or 14° we saw no land, although we suspected that we were near the island of San Bartolomeo, of which little is known. And from there we came to the islands already mentioned, Isole delli Re, which lie on 9, 10 and 11 degrees North latitude. From here we sailed 18 to 20 leagues and found islands, to which we gave the name of **delli Coralli** [i.e. Coral Is.]; they are situated on 9 or 10 degrees, more or less, also North latitude; and here we took in water and wood and found people of the same kind as on Isole delli Re. After we had left this place, we sailed WSW about 50 leagues and found other islands, to which, as they seemed green and beautiful, we gave the name of **li Giardini** [i.e. Garden Is.]; they lie about the same latitude as the said li Coralli, and we saw palms and other trees, but we did not cast anchor. Sailing hence in the same direction, namely to the west, about 280 leagues, we found a little island which received the name of **Matelotes** [Sailors' Islands]² and which is situated in the same latitude as those previously named, that is 9 to 10 degrees. When we sought shelter under this island, but without going ashore, we saw that it was covered with palms and inhabited by people, who gave us some fish and cocoa-nuts. While we were sailing from here in the same direction 30 leagues, we found another island, which received the name of **Isole de los Arezifes***

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- 1 Ed. note: Dahlgren has demonstrated that La Pérouse used a summary of this account made by Abbé Prévost. La Pérouse foolishly assumed that Ramusio/Gaytan had made a transcription error in recording the latitudes of Los Corales/Jardines as 9° and 11°, instead of 19° and 21° respectively.
 - 2 Ed. note: Note that Ramusio italianized the Portuguese/Spanish form of Matalotes to the French/Italian form of Matelotes.

[Reef Is.]. This island is about 25 leagues in circumference. We saw there many human dwellings and many palm groves; and from there we sailed WSW, without landing. After we had sailed about 140 leagues, we discovered the island which is called Migindanao.

It must be admitted that this account is distinguished neither by precision nor by clearness: much of the information, such as the distance between Santo Tomas and Roca Partida and the number of the days on the voyage, are so plainly incorrect that they must have arisen through errors of writing or printing. If, however, we compare this document with La Pérouse's version, several noticeable variations occur. In the first place, the course was not so unchangeably west as he supposed. Before they had reached *Isole delli Re*, they supposed they were in the neighborhood of *San Bartolomé* in 13°-14°; and if, as La Pérouse supposes, the latitude of the first islands was put 10 degrees too much to the south, then either the same mistake must be ascribed to the latitude statements for all the other islands to the west thereof—and where then can there be found a place for them to the west and in the neighborhood of Hawaii?—or the distance figures must be extremely faulty. As for La Pérouse's other arguments it can only be a coincidence that the distance (900 leagues) from Mexico to Los Reyes [i.e. Wotje] agrees with the real distance to Hawaii—if we add together all Gaytan's distances we get as the distance between Mexico and Mindanao 1420 leagues, which falls short of the real distance by more than 800 leagues¹, but which shows that Gaytan placed Los Reyes nearer the Asiatic side than the American, while the relationship is the reverse in the case of Hawaii—and what Gaytan says of the natural features of the islands, their products and inhabitants suits the Carolines as well as, if not better than, the Hawaiian Islands; that he has not a word about the high mountains and the volcanoes which are so characteristic of the latter islands speaks strongly against their alleged identity with Los Reyes.

For the consideration of these conditions we have a far greater amount of material at our disposal than was the case in La Pérouse's time. Besides Juan Gaytan's account, we have at least four narratives of Villalobos' expedition, two of which consist of official reports made by participants in the expedition to the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza: one, by the friar Jeronimo Santisteban, is dated Cochin in India, 22 January 1547; the second, which is more detailed, has as its author one of the officers of Villalobos, Garcia de Escalante A., dated Lisbon 1 August 1548. Another participant in the expedition, Father Cosme de Torres, gave some short, but by no means unimportant, notes on it in a letter to Ignatius de Loyola from Goa, 25 January 1549.² Finally, too, the account for which we are indebted to Antonio Galvão must be included among the original sources, as its author, a sometime Governor of the Moluccas (1536-40), evidently derived his information from the Portuguese authorities there. Though

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- 1 Ed. note: However, most Spanish pilots had similarly underestimated that distance by 25%.
 - 2 The original text of this letter, in Portuguese, was published by H. Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan*, II, Tokyo 1904, pp. 355-360. Cosmo de Torres afterwards did much important work as a missionary in Japan, where he died in 1570.

his work came out in Portuguese as early as 1563, and in an English translation in 1601, it was not until quite close to our time that it has become generally accessible through the edition produced by the Hakluyt Society, in 1862.

With the help of all these sources I shall attempt to give a reconstructed picture of Villalobos' voyage, in order thereby to show whether there is any ground for the discovery ascribed to Juan Gaytan.

All our sources agree in stating that the expedition sailed on 1 November 1542 from a harbor in the neighborhood of La Navidad (19°10' N lat.), which Gaytan calls Porto Santo¹, but two of the other descriptions call Puerto de Juan Gallego. After having sailed westwards 180 leagues in 8 days they saw "a little uninhabited island" (according to Santisteban), which they supposed to be the same as that discovered by Hernando Grijalva in 1533, and to which Grijalva had given the name of Santo Tomas. But probably this supposition was incorrect: the land they saw was quite certainly the little island, likewise discovered by Grijalva, Los Innocentes, now San Benedicto.

After sailing 3 days and 12 leagues they discovered another island, to which was given the name of La Añublada² because it was covered with cloud: here they took some wood and water, although at great risk of going aground when the anchor cables threatened to be cut by the submarine rocks. This was presumably the true Santo Tomas or Socorro³, the largest in the Revillagigedo Archipelago and the only one where it would seem to be possible to land without great difficulty; the summit, 2000 feet high, causes the formation of clouds which gained the island the name of "the cloud-capped".

Two or three days later, when they had sailed a further distance of 80 leagues, another island hove in sight: it was called Roca Partida, but as it lay to windward they could not approach it: to judge from the distance it must have been the present Clarion or Santa Rosa, not the island which on modern maps is called Roca Partida.

They were now (13 or 14 November) within the tradewind belt and probably they were led by the prevailing direction of the wind to lower the latitude pretty soon. For 55 days they sailed without sighting land, although they often fancied that they could see signs that land was near. On the night before 3 December the pilot on the flagship was warned by the lookout: he immediately commanded them to luff and cast the lead; "by the grace of God", it is added, it happened that the ship, which usually sailed badly when close-hauled, this time luffed quite smartly. The twice-repeated soundings gave on the first occasion 4 fathoms, on the second 7. The other ships were warned of the threatening danger by signals. Probably it was this successful manoeuvre that caused the name of the pilot, Gaspar Rico, to establish itself on the map of the world, where it still struggles with the name of San Bartolomé as a name of Taongi. It was only a

- 1 Ed. note: Not really (see above) as he says that they had stopped there after their departure from Natività, Italian for the Spanish Navidad, the port that Juan Gallego had discovered less than a decade before that.
- 2 Ed. note: Rather, La Nublada.
- 3 Grijalva himself describes Santo Tomas in a way which closely agrees with modern descriptions...

bank, however, on other maps rightly marked as such by the name of Baxo de Villalobos. If the supposition that they were in the neighborhood of San Bartolomé is correct, then Gaspar Rico's or Villalobos' bank is to be sought in some coral reef between that island and the other islands in the Marshall group...¹

On Christmas Day 1542, land was at length seen. It was an archipelago of small, low, wooded islands. With great difficulty they succeeded in landing on one of them, for there was no anchorage to be found near the coral-bound shores. As many of the inhabitants as could fled in their canoes to another island, leaving only a few women and children hidden in the thickets. These received some small gifts and were treated well by the Spaniards, who took in water and wood but found no other useful products, except fowls, cocoa-nuts, and some other fruits.

Gaytan says that they gave the islands the name of Los Reyes², which has a certain measure of probability as they lingered in their neighborhood, probably making attempts to land in different places, until 6 January, the day of the Three Holy Kings: it was at that time the established custom to name new discoveries after the saint of the day. But Santisteban says that they "**thought** that the islands were Los Reyes", and Galvão expressly says that they were the same islands as had been discovered by Saavedra and received that name from him.³ Evidently Villalobos' people regarded the name of Los Reyes as standing for the whole group⁴, and they gave special names to special islands: for instance, they called that on which they had first landed Santisteban after St. Stephen's day, 26 December; some other islands were named Corales.⁵

Whether one accepts Galvão's supposition and, in accordance therewith, places Villalobos' Los Reyes among the Western Carolines, or follows later investigators and perhaps on better grounds, identifies them with some group among the Central Carolines⁶, in neither case is Gaytan's latitude, 9° to 11°, burdened with the mistake that La Pérouse thought himself able to establish, but is approximately correct. In order to disprove the hypothesis that Los Reyes is Hawaii it need only be remarked that three of the accounts cited agree in stating that the islands were **low**.

Before Villalobos arrived at Mindanao, 2 February 1543, there was further discovered a number of islands and groups of islands, which received the names of Los

1 Ed. note: Rather, this shoal has to be located a great distance (22 days of navigation or over 600 leagues) east of Taongi.

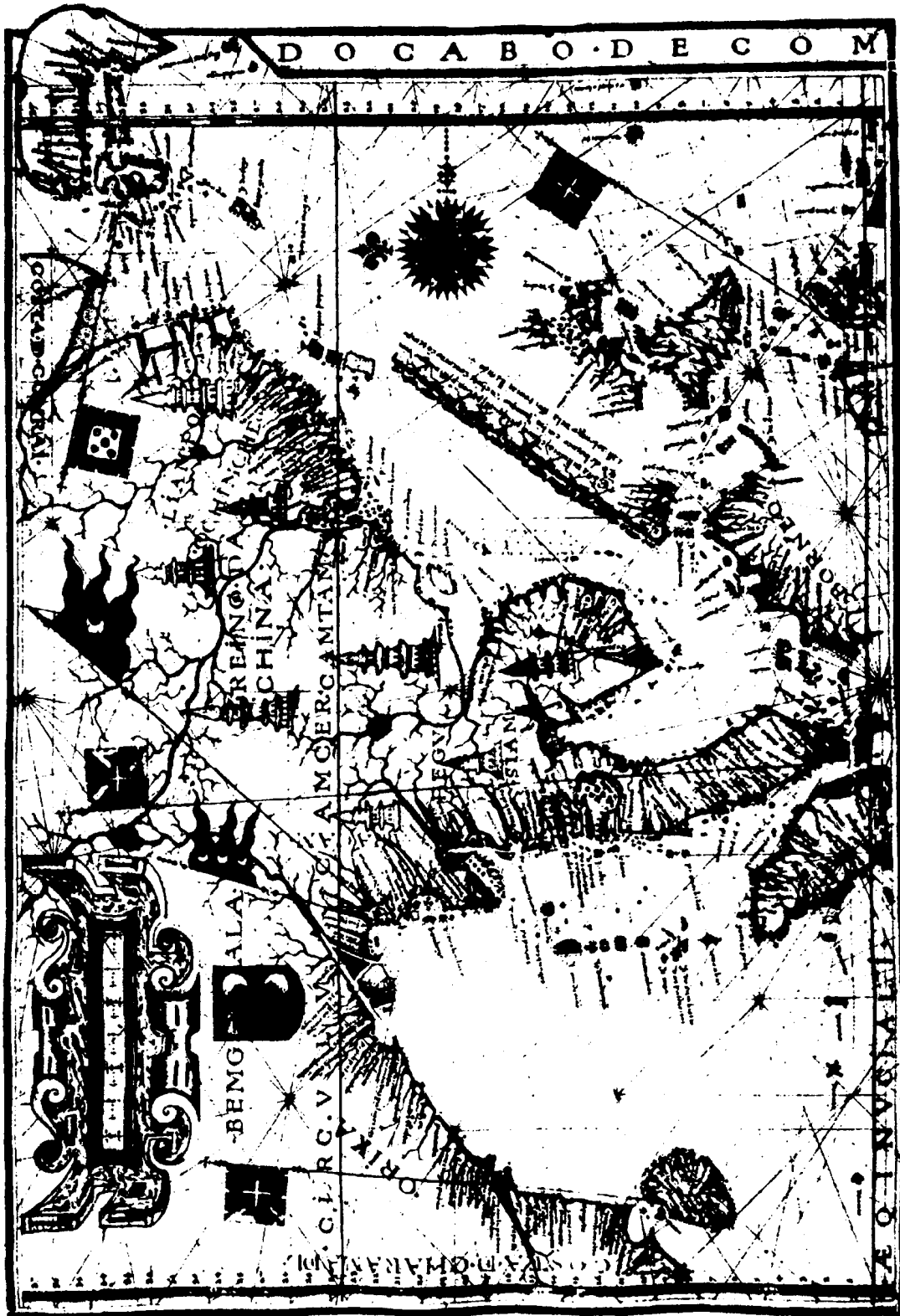
2 Ed. note: Dahlgren is not entirely correct here. They had already sighted one atoll (Wotje), which they thought might be Saavedra's Los Reyes, before they anchored at the second atoll (Likiep) which they named Los Corales, and they also named the islet on which they lived for a few days San Esteban (Likiep I).

3 Ed. note: Saavedra did apply that name to Ulithi but Galvão did not mean to locate them in the Marshalls.

4 Ed. note: There is no evidence for such a conjecture.

5 Ed. note: Not so, the group was called Corales. All of this will become clear with the next document, Doc. 1542F.

6 Ed. note: He means the Namonuito group area.



Map by Fernão Vaz Dourado, made at Goa in 1568. It shows Japan discovered by the Portuguese in 1542 or 1543 and some islands found by De la Torre south of it in 1543.

Jardines, Matalotes and Arrecifes, all situated south of 10° N; but with these we need not concern ourselves, as they fall outside the subject of this essay.¹ That during this part of the voyage they did not even reach so far north that the southernmost Ladrões came in sight is shown by the absolute silence observed in all the narratives of the voyage as regards that archipelago, which was previously well known to the Spaniards.

The detailed consideration that I have devoted to this enquiry must be regarded as justified, inasmuch as it was necessary to show that Juan Gaytan could not have discovered the Hawaiian Islands in 1542: but how about the same man's alleged discovery of 1555?

About Gaytan we know that he was on board the ship **San Juan**, which, under the command of Bernardo de la Torre, was to start for Mexico and ask for succor to Villalobos after the latter had fallen into extreme distress in the Moluccas. De la Torre had with him as pilot Gaspar Rico and as second pilot Alonso Fernandez Tarifeño: thus Gaytan had not the position of a pilot in this voyage either. They sailed from Mindanao 26 August 1543; they saw various islands in about 25° N lat., one of which was a volcano which poured forth fire from several places. Of some of these islands it is said that they lay due north of the Ladrões; without doubt we have to find them in the present Volcano archipelago, possibly among the Bonin Islands. From here they steered eastward between 23° and 30° N lat. (the figures vary) and now discovered, possibly, another little uninhabited island (Marcus Island?)²; but on 18 October, when they believed themselves to have sailed 750 leagues from the point of departure, they were compelled by storms and scarcity of water to turn back to the Philippines.³

1 Ed. note: By the way, Dahlgren proved his point that the Spaniards never discovered the Hawaiian Islands before Captain Cook.

2 Ed. note: Possibly, but unlikely, because they did not sail much farther east than the chain of islands linking Japan and the Marianas. The proof can be found on the Portuguese map by Vaz Dourado (1568) which shows two of the islands they discovered on the 1543 first return attempt (mentioned by Galvão by name; remember that the Portuguese had confiscated all their charts, etc.); such islands are shown directly south of Tokyo on whose meridian they are in fact located.

3 Bernardo de la Torre's expedition is briefly mentioned, and in ways not fully agreeing among themselves, in the above-cited narratives of Gaytan, Galvão, Escalante, and Santisteban. Only Galvão mentions the islands found by name—Malabrido, Duas Yrmaas, Volcanes, and Forfana, names which in a short time found a place on the maps and have not altogether disappeared yet [in 1916]. Ed. note: The first two are some of the Northern Marianas, and the last in the Bonins. Vaz Dourado (see his map reproduced here) showed them too far north. His Malabrido can be clearly seen but the other group shown can be deciphered as "Ilhas das ermanas", I think.

All that we know further about Gaytan is, that he was one of the men of Villalobos who was sent home to Europe by the Portuguese: of this voyage he himself says that he served as a pilot from the very departure from the Moluccas; that he acquired knowledge of all Portuguese sailing directions and charts, which they deliberately falsified, but that he made his own observations and prepared a more reliable chart; and that, when the Portuguese found that he knew the secrets of their navigation, they made him attractive offers, which he would not accept because he preferred to serve his imperial master. Juan Gaytan now disappears from history: no document so far known says that he took part in any expedition to the Pacific in 1555, or, that any such expedition ever took place.

It may perhaps be objected that, even if none of the known accounts speak of any discovery that can refer to Hawaii, and even if the Juan Gaytan hypothesis must be recognized as untenable, yet the old documents are not so completely preserved but that one or other voyage, one or other discovery could have taken place, without leaving any trace in the written records. Though such an objection cannot be entirely refuted, yet I believe that in this case we have complete evidence that the opposite holds good.¹

¹ Ed. note: Let me add part of Dahlgren's conclusion (pages 212-213): "No land that can be identified with the Hawaiian Islands is mentioned in any narrative of exploring expeditions in the Pacific Ocean in earlier times [i.e. before 1778], nor in any notice of the voyages of the Spanish galleons between the Philippines and Mexico. The allegations that those islands were discovered by Alvaro de Saavedra 1527, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza 1532, Juan Gaytan 1542 or 1555, Alvaro de Mendaña 1568, Francisco Gali 1584, are demonstrably incorrect... No historical fact proves, nor is there any sort of probability, that the Hawaiian Islands were ever visited, or even seen, by the Spaniards before their discovery by Captain Cook in 1778." Amen to that.

Document 1542F

Villalobos—Summary of the accounts by the Augustinian Fathers aboard, by Fr. Aganduru Moriz

Sources: Manuscript entitled "Historia general de las Islas Occidentales á la Asia adyacentes, llamadas Philipinas" written by Father Rodrigo de San Miguel, Recollect, whose civilian name was Rodrigo de Aganduru Moriz. He died in 1626, leaving the manuscript unfinished; the parts extant treat mainly about the Magellan and Villalobos expeditions, and the early history of the Moluccas. The manuscript was found in the library of Mariano de Zabalburu. It was only published at Madrid in 1882, as Vol. 78 and part of Vol. 79 of the Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, edited by Navarrete et al. The part about Villalobos is from Book 9, chapters 2-4 of the manuscript.

Historical notes about Fr. Aganduru Moriz

Blair and Robertson, in their monumental series on the Philippine Islands (Vol. 21, pp. 116-117) give the following notes. Rodrigo de Aganduru Moriz (in religion, Fray Rodrigo de San Miguel) was born in Valladolid—or, according to some authorities, in Orio of Guipuzcoa—in 1584, and entered the discalced Augustinian order at the age of 14 years. Joining the Philippine mission in 1606, he ministered to the natives in various districts of Luzon with great acceptance, employing his poetical talents in teaching the Christian faith to the Indians. In 1614 he went to Spain for more missionaries, returning to the islands in 1617-18. Again voyaging to Europe (1622), he went, via India and Persia, to Rome, where he arrived in 1626. Declining the Pope's offer to make him a bishop and patriarch in the Indies, he planned a mission to Chaldea; but he died at Orio, while en route to Madrid, December 26, 1626. He left several manuscript works, mainly historical, among which was the *Historia general de las islas occidentales á la Asia adyacentes, llamadas Philipinas*; this was published in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, tomes lxxviii and lxxix (Madrid, 1882), but it was apparently left unfinished by the author, the part that is extant treating mainly of the early explorations by Magalhães and Villalobos, and of the history of the Moluccas.

In the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, is the following letter from Felipe IV to a brother of Fray Rodrigo:

“The King.

*It has been learned in the Council of the Indies that Father Fray Rodrigo de San Miguel, a discalced Augustinian religious, who is said to be a brother of your Grace, brought from the Indies a general history of the Philippine Islands, **compiled with great care, as, in order to write it, he had examined the archives and authentic memoirs of those regions**; that it has been lately our Lord’s pleasure to take Father Fray Rodrigo, who has died in Vizcaya; and that your Grace was given two of his books, specially the above history. And inasmuch as that work would be very important for what is written on the general history of the said islands, by order of His Majesty, the matter having been discussed with the Father Provincial of the said order, in which the latter has declared that the said history is in possession of Your Grace; the Council has directed me to write to your Grace, in its name, that it would be greatly to the service of His Majesty for your Grace to send me the said history for the said purpose. And if your Grace wish remuneration for it, or that it be returned after having used it for the said purpose, your Grace will advise me of what you desire in this matter, so that those gentlemen may know it, and so that the adviseable measures may be taken.*

May God preserve your Grace, as I desire.

Madrid, May 17th, 1637.

Antonio Gonzalez de Legardo.

[P.S.] On the receipt of this letter, I beg your Grace to advise me immediately, for the Council anxiously awaits a reply because of the history.”¹

The Augustinian story of the Villalobos expedition

[Chapter 2, p. 422] “The fleet already lacked water and the pilots could not find the islands which they were to have met 15 days before, so the rations were cut and they suffered from thirst on account of the heat of the climate; they were like good Spaniards putting up with labors. For some days the fleet had been sailing along 9 degrees (on the right course, as it were) and finally, on Christmas Day they discovered the last islands of **Los Reyes** that are in 9 degrees North latitude. They are low-lying and small, and did not show signs that they could have water, so the fleet passed them by and on 26 December in the morning, it discovered 12 islands together and many of them linked at low tide by land so that we could call these linked islands one island with many bushes, but with deep valleys that the sea bathes. The fleet tacked back and forth to see if water and some anchorage could be found; the people were suffering because for many days now the water ration had been less than a quart, even for someone sailing and under

1 Ed. note: The manuscript was obviously turned over to the Crown but, no doubt due to its incomplete character, it was not ordered printed, and ended up in the personal library of one of the Council members or its secretaries. This narrative can be considered a primary account as the author quotes directly from reports made by the 4 Augustinian friars who were aboard the flagship of Villalobos. Since Aganduru had access to the original 1543 accounts, the story reproduced here can be considered more accurate even than Father Santiesteban’s letter of 1547 (Doc. 1542C).

so much heat as it were along 9 degrees or so, whereby, although it was Christmas it was like a summer heat wave in Spain, they did not have enough even to moisten their lips with.”

Villalobos lands at Likiep and takes possession of the Marshall Islands on 1 January 1543.

[Chapter 3, p. 446] After giving some details about the sailing directions left to the pilots by Andrés de Urdaneta, he continues: “Let us return to the fleet which now came to an anchor next to one of the islands. The flagship anchored first and sent the boat ashore with 30 armed men to look for water and learn what land it was. It returned soon with the news that there were many palm trees, that they had seen some houses and the people had abandoned them and fled aboard some canoes to other islands. The next day [i.e. 27 December 1542], Captain Bernardo de la Torre went ashore to take on water and behind him the General. They saw many proas, in which the Indians were fleeing with their households and families, and he was sorry to see that; he ordered that all the people should come ashore and take refreshments. However, before all those things [took place], he issued a proclamation forbidding anyone to cut palm trees. The whole heart of those over one fathom [tall] is a delicious food, tasting like the artichoke and even better but not so healthy. In order to enjoy these palmettos (as we have given them such a name overhere)¹ one must cut the palm tree to get at the *palmito* [heart of palm] so that the palm tree is no longer useful. Therefore, because the property of the Indians [only] consists of palm trees and because the soldiers like *palmitos*, the General proclaimed that, on the pain of death, no-one was to cut any palm tree.”

“The ships took on water here, but much work was involved as it comes from wells. On this occasion, a crossbow-man had gone into a bush to kill some hen from the many that were there in a wild condition and able to fly not a short distance, when he saw an Indian woman. They surrounded the thicket and proceeded to beat the bush as for a general hunt and they came up with 18 Indian women. They were spoken to by signs, as no-one could understand their language, but they did not respond except by crying and shouting, pulling out their hair, abusing their faces and chests. The General gave them some clothes, pieces of textile, glass beads and a few curiosities from Europe and with them they lost the fear they had. After this, he let them go and they went away very contented. They were well-proportioned people and pretty, but badly-clothed and ill-mannered.”

“At this island, General Ruy Lopez de Villalobos fell suddenly so sick that he was on the point of dying. For this reason, they were detained a few days until he improved. A few soldiers took this opportunity of the sickness of the General, about 13 or 14 of them, and one night they went to a palm grove at a point of the island and they knocked down 3 or 4 palm trees and took the *palmitos*. The General, who was somewhat better, heard about it and received such grief that as a result he became worse. Later he

1 Ed. note: The Spanish called them “palmitos” in the Philippines.

sent an express order to Captain Bernardo de la Torre for him to execute the proclamation upon the transgressors and then to garrot them. The captain then had the more guilty ones caught and, the investigation completed, ordered them to confess. On the other hand, he begged Father Prior [Jerónimo] de Santiesteban to go and placate the General. Having pressured him a lot about this matter, the most that he got out of him was that the execution should be suspended until they had come to another land; so, they were placed in irons and were handed over to their respective captains so that the latter would forever hold them to account for this.”

“Possession of these islands was taken, with much solemnity, for our King and Lord Charles V, emperor of Germany and forever august Cesar.¹ Because some good [pieces of] coral had been found², they were named **Islas de Corales** [Coral Islands]. This act took place on the first day of January 1543.³ The island where they had anchored they named **San Esteban** [St. Stephen], because they had anchored there on his day. These islands are situated north[west]-southeast with respect to Los Reyes, and there are 24 leagues between them.”⁴

“The order was then given that everyone should be ready to make sail on the day of the Kings. At the time of saying mass during the dawn watch and, the General having gathered the leading persons of the fleet, he proposed to them, as something that the Viceroy had entrusted to him the most, following the instructions His Catholic Majesty gave to Pedro Alvarado in case he went on a voyage of discovery to the west, he should not go to the Moluccas which had been pawned to the King of Portugal, and that, because he was a loyal vassal of His Catholic Majesty, he wished to be first in executing the Royal Orders, and not just go where it was prohibited but not even go to within many leagues of the demarcation [line] of the King of Portugal. He asked them to tell him their opinion about the directions to the part and site where they should settle and plant the Royal [fort] so that their Divine and human Majesties would be served. Everyone deferred to what Martin de Islares had to say as a practical person who had been in those parts before and knew where the Moluccas were placed; he then informed them that he did not find another land more appropriate nor richer than the island of Mindanao, that, although it was not very far from the Moluccas, it was a sure thing that it lied within the demarcation of Spain, something that the Portuguese involved did not deny, and that it was not so close to Ternate either as there were many leagues of sea in between, and that by making a settlement in Manigua⁵, the Portuguese would be even farther away. All agreed with this opinion and all the religious of the order of St. Augustine aboard having said mass, with most of the people having confessed them-

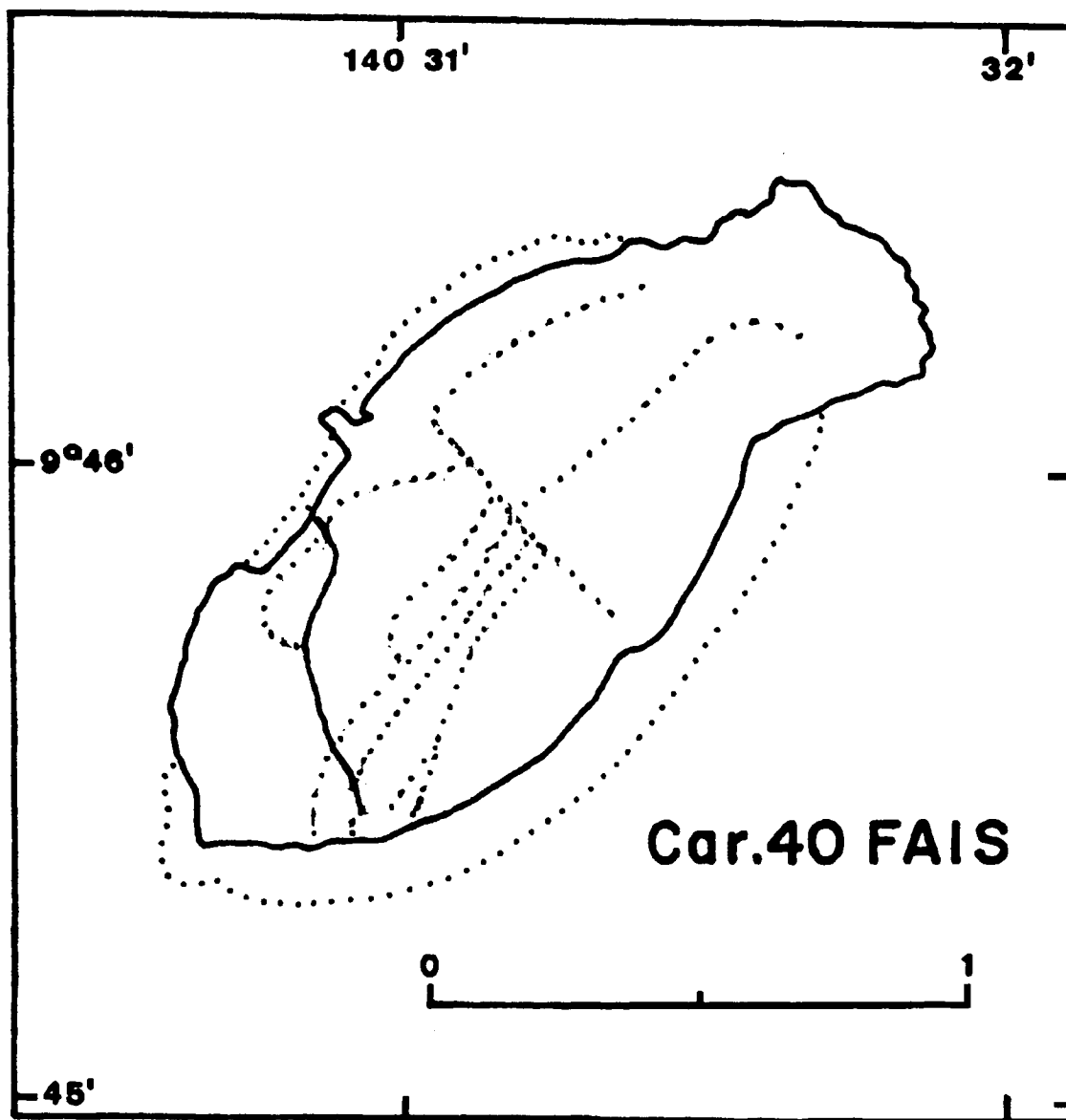
1 Ed. note: Charles I of Spain was also Charles V of Austria (as the Spanish say), that is, he was Holy Roman Emperor.

2 Ed. note: It had come up as they raised one anchor.

3 Ed. note: By consulting a perpetual calendar, it can be determined that 1 January 1543 was a Monday.

4 Ed. note: Likiep is indeed NW of Wotje, but less than 20 leagues from it.

5 Ed. note: Could this be Massawa or Limasawa Island?



Fais Island discovered by Villalobos on 21 January 1543. *Some canoes came out of the town on the south side and hailed the five remaining ships of the fleet with the salutation: "Buenos dias, Matalotes" which means "Hello, comrades", while making the sign of the cross with their hands. The sailors aboard named the island Matalotes but the Augustinian friars named it San Idefonso in honor of the Spanish saint from Toledo whose day was near. The following prayer from their missal must have been recited by them: "Sancti Idefonsi Confessoris tui atque Pontificis, quæsumus, Domine, annua solemnitas pietati tuæ nos reddat acceptos: ut per hæc piæ placationis officia, & illum beata retributio comitetur, & nobis gratiæ tuæ dona conciliet. Per Dominum nostrum..."*

selves and taken communion, they set sail that same day of the Kings at 3 in the afternoon.”

“That night they headed west and all day Sunday until Monday [8 January] in the morning when they discovered other islands, small but very full of palm trees and well shaded. These islands are at a latitude of 10 degrees; although they were heading due west, on account of the eastward variation of the needle, they had risen by one degree. They are located at 50 leagues from the Coral Islands E—W with them.”¹

[Chapter 4, page 449] They then took their departure heading west, and they were jumped by a violent storm during which they suffered much, although without any mishap, and then the narrative continues [page 450]: “On Thursday night the wind increased. [From] 18 January, they headed west until Sunday [21] at noon, [and made] 37 leagues. At 2 in the afternoon, an island was discovered. It was small, very attractive and fresh-looking, full of beautiful palm trees. They approached it and a few proas came out from it and, upon arriving at the fleet they hailed it saying: “Good day, sailors” (sailors in Portuguese is the same as comrade in Spanish) and they were making the sign of the cross with their hands. It was never possible to find out who would have taught these Indians that salutation, because this island is so isolated and far from the trade routes with the other lands that it seemed that it did not communicate with anybody. They could not anchor because the bottom was bad. There is a town on the southern coast. The island is called **Isla de los Matalotes** [i.e. Fais]²; it was [re-]named **San Ildefonso**, as it was discovered and the fleet arrived here on that day.³ It is in 10 degrees and a quarter North of the line.⁴ It is a high island, pointed, uneven, with black rocks and with cliffs on the eastern side.”

“The fleet proceeded onward and on the following Wednesday [24 January 1543] discovered an island [i.e. Ulithi] which would be 30 leagues in circumference. It has many reefs and shoals. Here the flagship almost got shipwrecked and if the squalls had not thrown her out to sea she would have ended up in pieces, because she was such a poor sailer and worse to steer. A few proas came up to the fleet, but, as the ones did not understand the others they were unable to give direction to the island they were searching for, nor were they of any help. They headed west from this Reef Island, which is in 10 degrees of north latitude, and sailed for 85 leagues until the following Tuesday [error for Saturday] when they were in 9° plus. They made another daily run of 20 leagues to the west, and they covered 85 leagues until the following Tuesday noon [30 January] when they were at 9° plus. They made another daily run of 20 leagues to the west, and on Thursday 1st of February [1543], they discovered Mindanao.”

1 Ed. note: Wotho is indeed exactly 10° N and exactly 50 leagues (3° of longitude) from Likiep.

2 Ed. note: The only town on Fais is still located on the south coast and is called Choichoi.

3 Ed. note: The sailors called it Sailors' islands but the priests, as usual, wanted to pick the name of the daily saint. If they first sighted the island on Sunday 21 January, they probably cruised about it for the whole of Monday 22nd, because, on the one hand, the feast day of St. Ildefonso was Tuesday 23 January, and on the other hand, they could not have taken more than one day to cover the 1° or about 17 leagues separating Fais from Ulithi.

4 Ed. note: Fais is at 9°45' so that the estimate, carried from noon, was only 30' in error.

Document 1542G

**Villalobos—Letter from Viceroy
Mendoza to the Council of the Indies,
circa 1546**

Source: Colección ... de América y Oceanía (del Archivo de Indias), vol. 3, pp. 506-511.

**Letter from Don Antonio de Mendoza to Juan de
Aguilar, asking for authorization to come to terms
with the Portuguese with regards to the ownership of
the Moluccas**

What Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, writes to Juan de Aguilar so that the latter may inform your Grace and the gentlemen of his Council, is as follows:¹

“Through letters I have received from Spain, I have learned that, from the Portuguese, news has been received about the ships that I sent on a voyage of discovery to the islands of the west, that they have taken port at an island which they [i.e. the Portuguese] claim as their own, according to the pawn that H.M. has made with them. And because it could be that you may report on this to H.M., I want to inform you what is going on about this.”

“The Emperor, our Lord, had arranged for a capitulation with Governor Pedro Alvarado for a voyage of discovery to the Islands of the west with two galleons and a light ship, and also for exploration along the coast of this New Spain that is called the South Sea toward the north, with two ships. In the capitulation in question, H.M. was pleased to give me a half share, inasmuch as Governor Alvarado brought the said capitulation with him from Spain himself. I myself had sent a religious of the order of St. Francis

1 Ed. note: This letter is not dated but, as Wagner (*Spanish Voyages*, pp. 101, 347) says, it was probably written after he received the Cedula of 9 November 1545 prohibiting viceroys from originating expeditions on their own.

to New Galicia to discover inland, with certain Indians and a negro who came from Florida with Cabeza de Vaca and his companions who had returned with the news about the Seven Cities about which you must have heard. With regards to that one, I supplied, in the name of H.M., Francisco Vazquez de Coronado with many very good people, well informed as to the greatness of the discovery of this land.”

“Governor Alvarado outfitted 12 ships, as best he could, with 400 men and 60 horses and he joined them himself saying that, according to the capitulation he held, this conquest belonged to him. He came to a port in this New Spain, where he and I consulted each other and made a certain partnership in which he gave me half of all his ships. But as the Governor was on the way to despatch the fleet to the islands, there occurred the uprising of the Indians of New Galicia. Because he found himself in that part and the Lieutenant-Governor of that province asked him for help, he determined to go in person and he died during the campaign, as you would already know. A few days later, his wife, whom he had left as his heir, also died and this was no smaller tragedy; there was no-one who would take over his part of the estate, for fear of the debts, and until now there is no heir to the Governor.”

“I was left with these ships and some others I had and the share of the capitulation that H.M. had agreed to give to me, so I determined to go on with it. In compliance with it, I sent three times some ships to explore this [northwest] coast and they explored as far as 44° of latitude, at a great expense to me. And although in accordance to the capitulation with H.M., I was not obliged to send more than three ships to the islands of the west, having heard about the great things that both ancient and modern writers say about them, I wished to enlarge the fleet and send six ships very well supplied with weapons and artillery, munitions and all the other things necessary for such a campaign, with 400 very good men captained by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos whom I ordered and instructed to build a good fortress at the place he would find most suitable for the service of H.M. To that effect, he took along officers, tools and a pre-ordained plan.”

“As it might be that your Grace may think that those people have gone to the territory pawned to the King of Portugal, let me say that I gave specific instructions which they carried with them to the effect that they were to respect what H.M. had contracted about and ordered regarding this case. I even gave them a copy of the capitulation in question, and can prove it by notarized statement, if necessary. In addition to what was passed to the Captain in writing, I also told him that it was not at all proper for him or his ships to go to that part where the Portuguese were, or even to contact them, not only because I was not sure whether the Emperor, our Lord, would be served by it or not, but also because it was not good to risk the displeasure of the Portuguese and have them destroy the ships; without the ships or having them in damaged condition, he might not be able to send back to this New Spain news about the outcome of his navigation. I told him many other reasons with regard to this project, which lead me to believe that one must not believe that these people are within the demarcation of Portugal. Rather it must be they who want by whatever means to expulse H.M. from everywhere

in those parts, as they understand the great wealth and greatness of those islands and countries.”

“It would not be just for H.M., without hearing our side of the story, to let go the dominion over such a great thing, only by listening to his adversaries, nor for me to be dispossessed without us having been heard and before we hear where they have made a settlement, because I have been assured that it is many leagues from what has been pawned. And if H.M. and those of his Royal Council of the Indies had favored me, I would have arranged by now to have another 400 men joined up with those already there, because on the day that they sailed off, which was at the beginning of the year of 1543¹, I already had two galleons on the stocks, the best that can be had in those seas, made to order. They were almost finished when the Visitor² came, and the first thing he said in public when he arrived at the port was that he had brought the whole government of the country with him. When he was asked: “What will happen to the Viceroy?” he answered: “Send him aboard the next ship that will suit me.” After getting here [i.e. at Mexico], in addition to having very little respect for my person, he proclaimed my *residencia* [impeachment hearing] all over the country, not just once but twice, as if I were the sorriest town or fort commander in it. As a result of these things and of the arrival of the new laws, specially the one preventing Viceroy or Governors from being involved in voyages of discovery, I lost most of the credibility and reputation I had with the people and could no longer carry on with the enterprise.³ Although the above-said was sufficient to stop what had been undertaken, what I feared the most and what stopped me above all else was that, in addition to the testimonies they had gathered against me, they would add that the fleet and its people were meant for a purpose other than to serve H.M.⁴ I have spent all my finances in it and have overextended myself for a large sum of money, thinking that it was all in the service of H.M., more so than anyone else in these parts, completely confident that, as it now appears from the news just received, H.M. has a chance to increase his dominion 1,500 leagues farther, with the hope of discovering very rich lands and islands, thus augmenting with great treasures the royal income in addition to the perpetual fame of his fortunate times by completing the discovery of what is left of the world and placing it under his dominion. As for myself, as his servant and creature, I confess that I wish there would not be anything left for his son [i.e. Prince Philip] to do afterwards except to enjoy it all for many years to come, and have our people serve him in this. I just don’t know why so many vain hypocrisies abound, specially religious ones, to make H.M. so blind that he believes that those people who never dealt would know the deal better than his servants

1 Ed. note: Error for the end of 1542.

2 Ed. note: This was Licentiate Francisco Tello de Sandoval.

3 Ed. note: The decree in effect prevented the Viceroy from sending an expedition to the relief of Villalobos and was also the cause of the 22-year gap between the Villalobos and Legazpi expeditions.

4 Ed. note: He alludes here to an accusation made against him, suspecting him of wanting to send the fleet to the relief of the Peruvian adventurers, as Cortés had done when he sent Grijalva without permission from either the Emperor or the Viceroy.

and those who serve him in these parts. We are so discouraged, our morale so low, that we postpone [what is in] the service of God and his, without anyone that could be excluded from this evaluation.”

“May it please God that, as H.M. has his eyes focused on his oriental empire, he may also have one eye at the back of the head looking at the occident, where he would see as many great things and epics worthy of his great soul and mind. Would you beg H.M. to give me a license to let me go myself, or send one of my sons, because they have persons in their service, to find out about the dispute with the Portuguese and to mark this demarcation line. As it is, although I have only a cape and a sword, with only H.M.’s favor and the assurance of serving him well, I shall come to an agreement with them and shall try and ensure that H.M. would not lose his lands and dominions, leaving to the Portuguese what is theirs in accordance with what H.M. will decide and have done in this matter. The improvement that would come out of this would benefit the whole of Spain, the general public as well as individuals.¹

1 Ed. note: There was no apparent record of any follow-up lobbying activities by Aguilar with the Council. Wagner (op. cit.) mentions that Mendoza wrote a letter before leaving for Peru in 1551, in which he states that Father Santiesteban, who had circumnavigated the world and returned to Mexico, had brought news from Portugal to the effect that the King of Portugal had made threats against him. Some followers of his, who had remained behind, had tried to arrange with the Portuguese for a ship to sail to New Spain, but being unable to do so, they had left their maps behind. Mendoza thus suspected that before long, some Portuguese ship would cross over the north Pacific from China. What happened to the Spanish maps and charts, in fact, was that they were mostly sent to Lisbon where they benefitted the Portuguese cartographers, and eventually other Europeans map-makers. As we shall see, European maps of the Pacific until the end of the century reflected the discoveries of Loaysa and Villalobos only; those of Legazpi and the galleons that followed him were strickly kept secret by the Spaniards.

Document 1550

Cartography of the Pacific—Part 2

References: 1) Justin Winsor (ed.), Narrative and Critical History of America (Boston & NY, 1884); 2) Adolf E. Nordenskiöld, Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography (Stockholm, 1889); 3) Erik Wilhelm Dahlgren, Were the Hawaiian Islands Visited by the Spaniards Before their Discovery by Captain Cook? (Stockholm, 1916); 4) Lawrence Wroth, The Early Cartography of the Pacific (NY, 1944); 5) Armando Cortesão & Avelino Teixeira da Mota (eds.), Portugaliae monumenta cartographica (Lisbon, 1960-62).

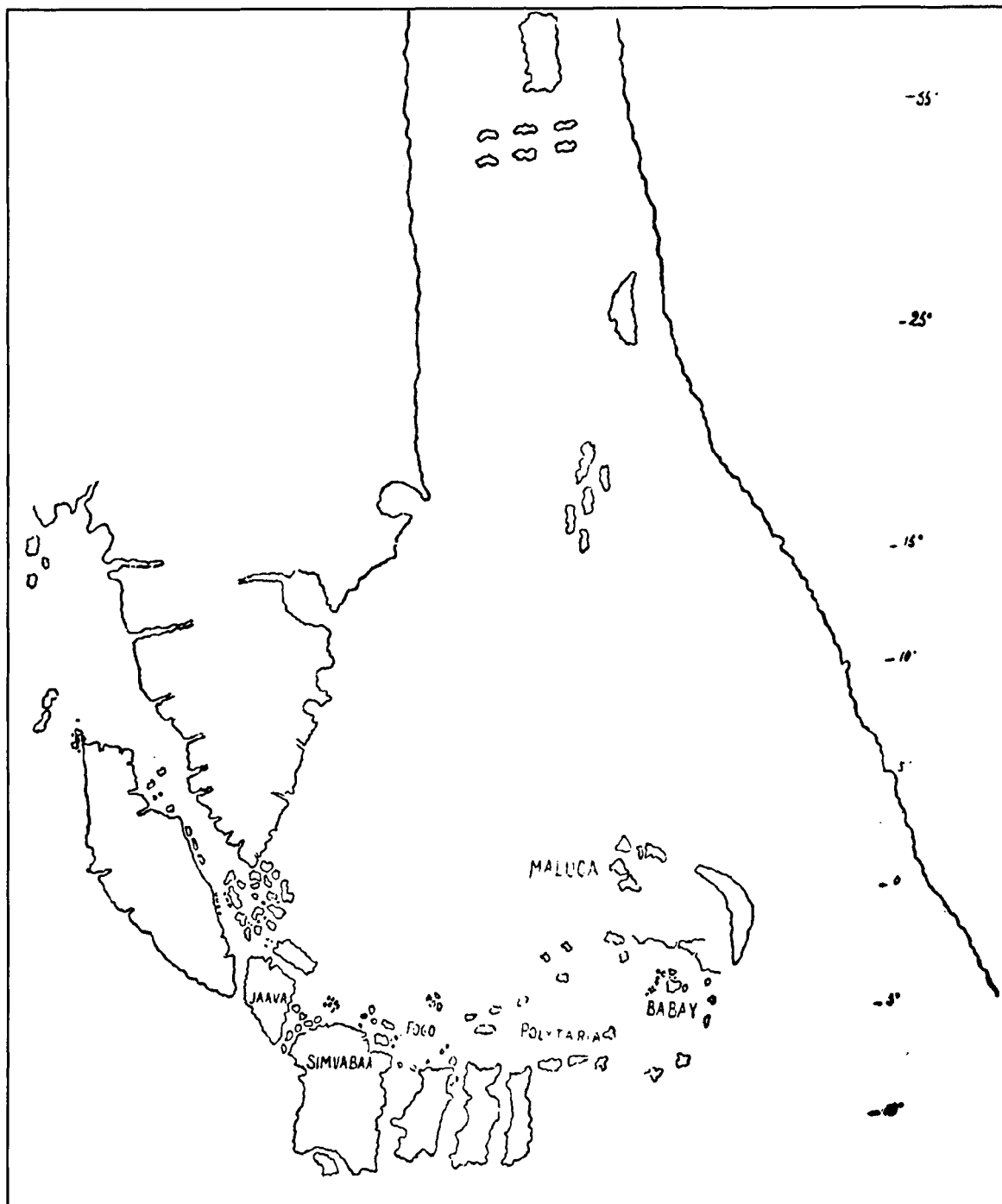
How the discoveries of the Portuguese (1511) and of the Spanish from Balboa to Villalobos (1513-1545) came to be recorded by cartographers

The Pacific 1511-1521.

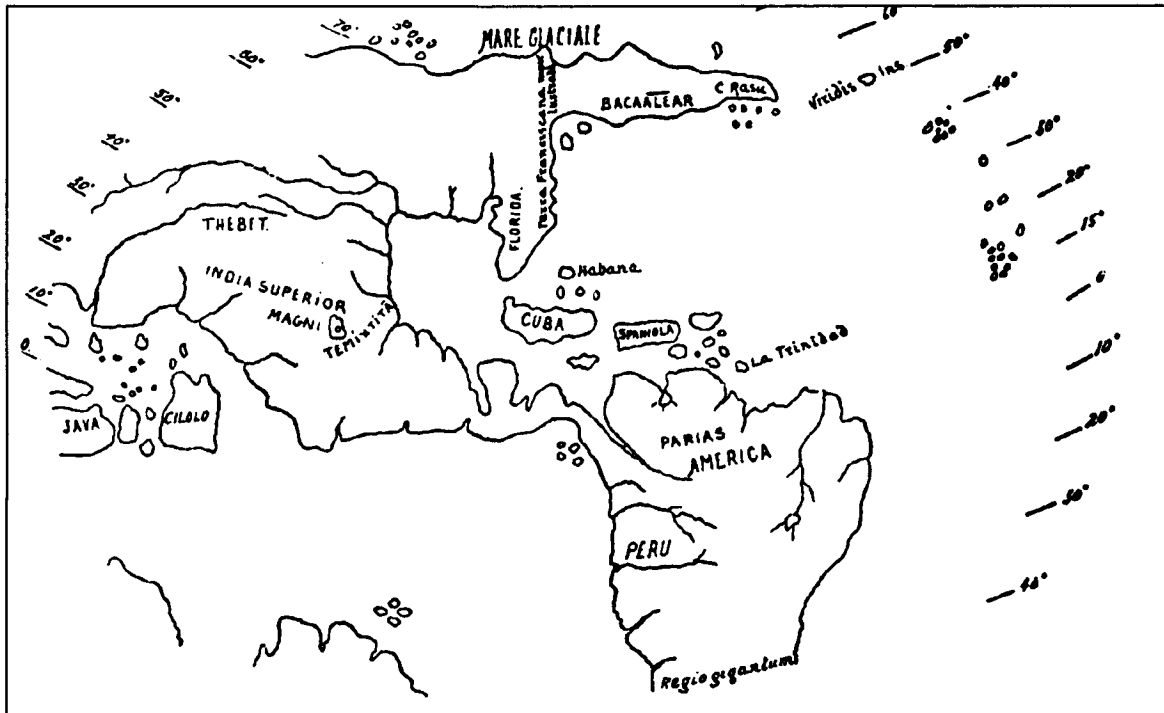
The views of Columbus¹ and his companions, as best shown in the La Cosa and Ruysch maps, precluded for a considerable time after the coming of the Europeans to the New World, the possibility of the very existence of a vast South Sea, because North America was thought of as a mere extension of the Chinese mainland. Even as late as 1533, Schöner himself, in his *Opusculum geographicum*, maintained that the city of Mexico was the Quinsay of Marco Polo. The passage of Magellan and the discovery of Balboa in 1513 were accepted, but only in the form of a Pacific Ocean being an arm of the Indian Ocean. Some cartographers of the time even held the view that Europe and America were joined in the arctic regions.

The Portuguese had discovered the western approaches to the Pacific Ocean in 1511, when d'Abreu and Serrão reached the Moluccas. The next year Jorge de Meneses was pushed by a storm as far as West Irian (New Guinea) when he tried to reach the Spice Islands on his own. Antonio da Miranda de Azevedo came in 1513 and a pilot with this expedition is thought by Kohl to have been the author of a surviving sketch map of the Eastern or Indonesian archipelago.

1 Remember that he died thinking of himself as the King of Japan...



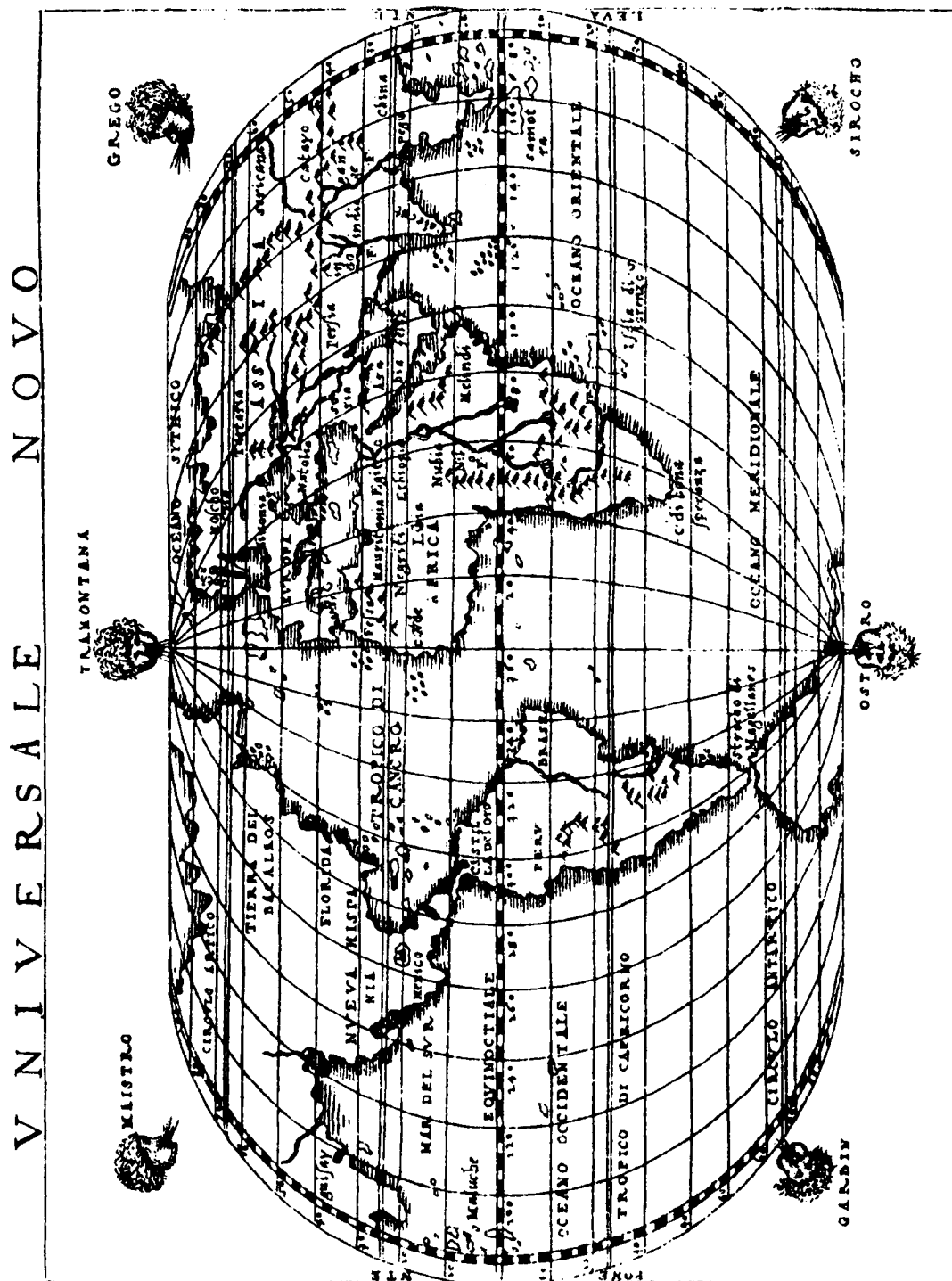
The Pacific Ocean in 1513 as seen by the Portuguese. *In this map the existence of a vast ocean is recognized and thought to be limited on its eastern edge by a vast continent, not yet discovered by the Spanish. Maluca is obviously Maluco, or Molucca in English, but Babay means a "wife, married woman" in the Moluccan language, according to Pigafetta; perhaps this is a bad transcription for Banda. (From Kohl's collection, after an original that was in the military archives at Munich. Winsor, II, p. 440)*



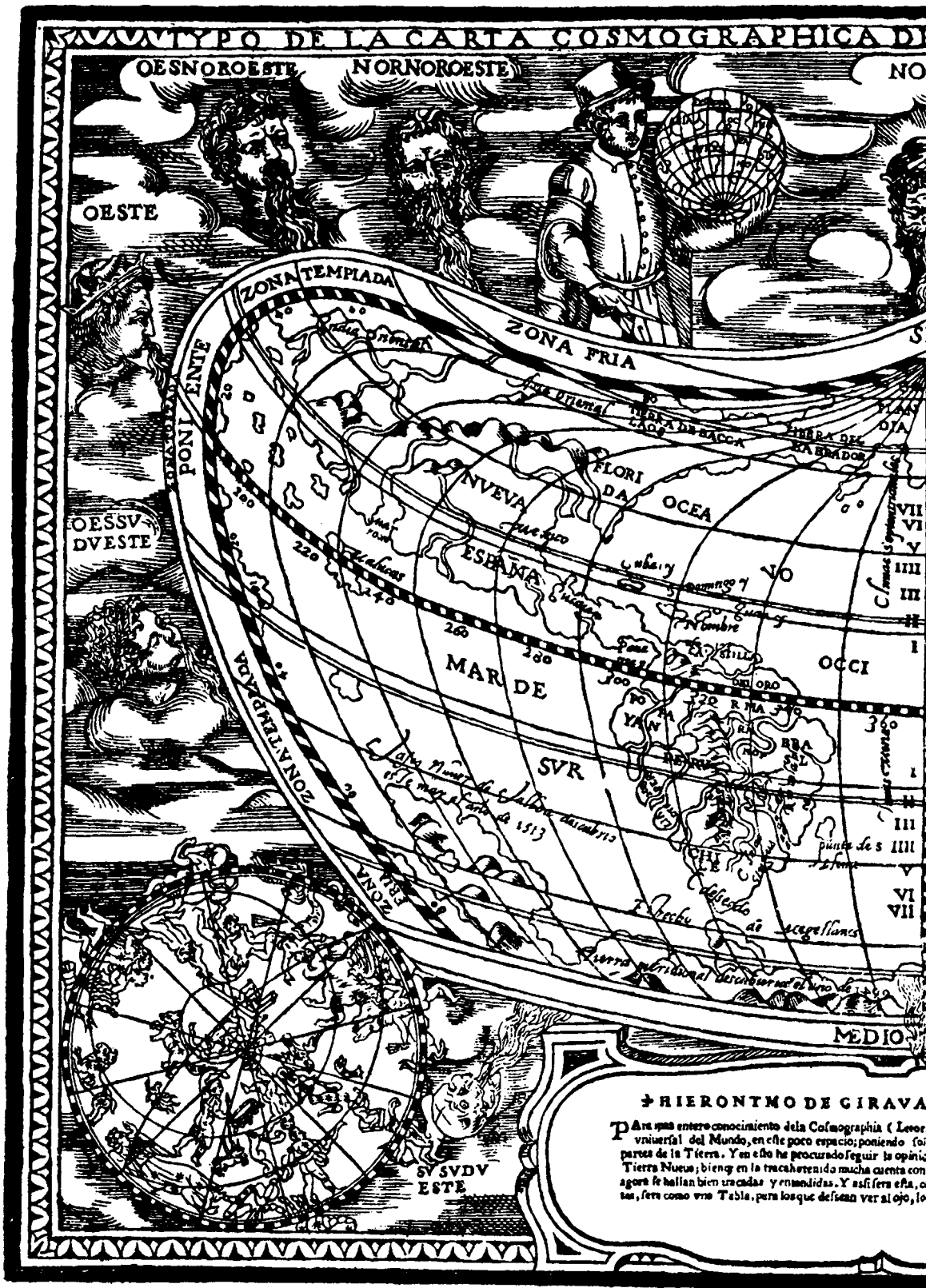
A 1530 map showing New Spain as an extension of China. The old capital of Mexico, Tenochtitlán (shown here as Temixtitán) was thought of by this cartographer as being part of the Upper India described by Ptolemy centuries before. (From the Sloane manuscripts in Dr. Kohl's Collection in the Department of State in Washington. Winsor, II, p. 432)



The Nancy Globe placed China in Texas. *The Nancy Globe placed China in Texas and showed Magellan's Pacific Ocean as a mere extension of the Indian Ocean. (From the 1877 Comptes-Rendus of the Congrès des Américanistes, p. 359. Winsor, II, p. 433)*



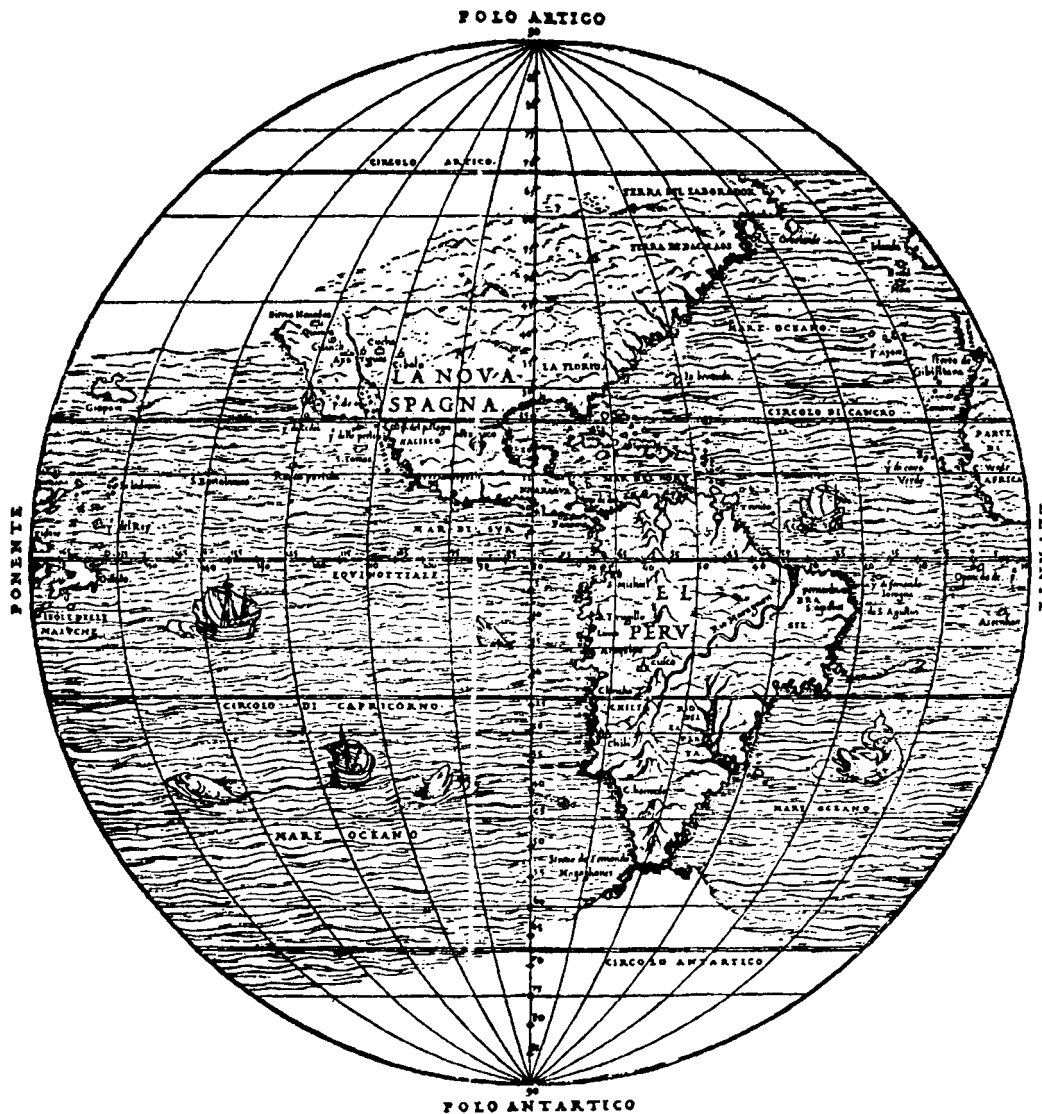
World map from the Venice 1548 edition of Ptolemy. Map done in the Italian style with the Mediterranean winds all around it, as in the atlas of Battista Agnese. The Pacific is devoid of islands, except for the Moluccas. None of the Spanish discoveries are shown, except along the northwest coast. (From Nordenskiöld, Plate XLV)



(Facing page) **The South Sea by Gaspar Vopellio, 1556.** *Geronimo de Girava published this map in a book on cosmography which he published in Spanish at Milan in 1556. The western half shown here extends the California coast as far as ... the Ganges. The legend printed on top of the Pacific says, correctly, that "Basco Nuñez de Balboa descubrió este mar el año de 1513." However, the legend on top of Antarctica says, erroneously, that it was discovered in 1499. (From Girava's *Dos Libros de Cosmographia*, Milan 1556. Nordenskiöld, Plate XLV)*

When the exploits of Cortés in Mexico became known in Europe, most learned men expressed surprise that the so-called Indians would not have known about horses, because they are common in Asia. However, some cartographers still clung to the idea of the Asiatic connection until the end of the century. It was Cortés' exploration of the north-west coast, however, that helped change many opinions. As early as 1526, Cortés had wished to send an expedition of conquest toward the Moluccas, at the time Loaysa and Cabot were leaving Spain. We have seen how he got his chance to send Hernando de Grijalva on the sly and later Saavedra, but he died before his major expedition, that of Villalobos, had departed from the west coast.

Meanwhile in Europe, the cartographers were unable to get any clear geographical data about the Pacific because the original documents were locked up in the archives at Évora, Portugal, until the Spanish won the political control of that country in 1580. By 1550, however, with the publication of the first volume of Ramusio's *Navigazioni*, some Italian map-makers, such as Gastaldi, and Zaltieri, were able to draw the coarse outline of the west coast of the Americas, and soon afterward, display the discoveries made by Villalobos, according to Juan Gaytan's account.



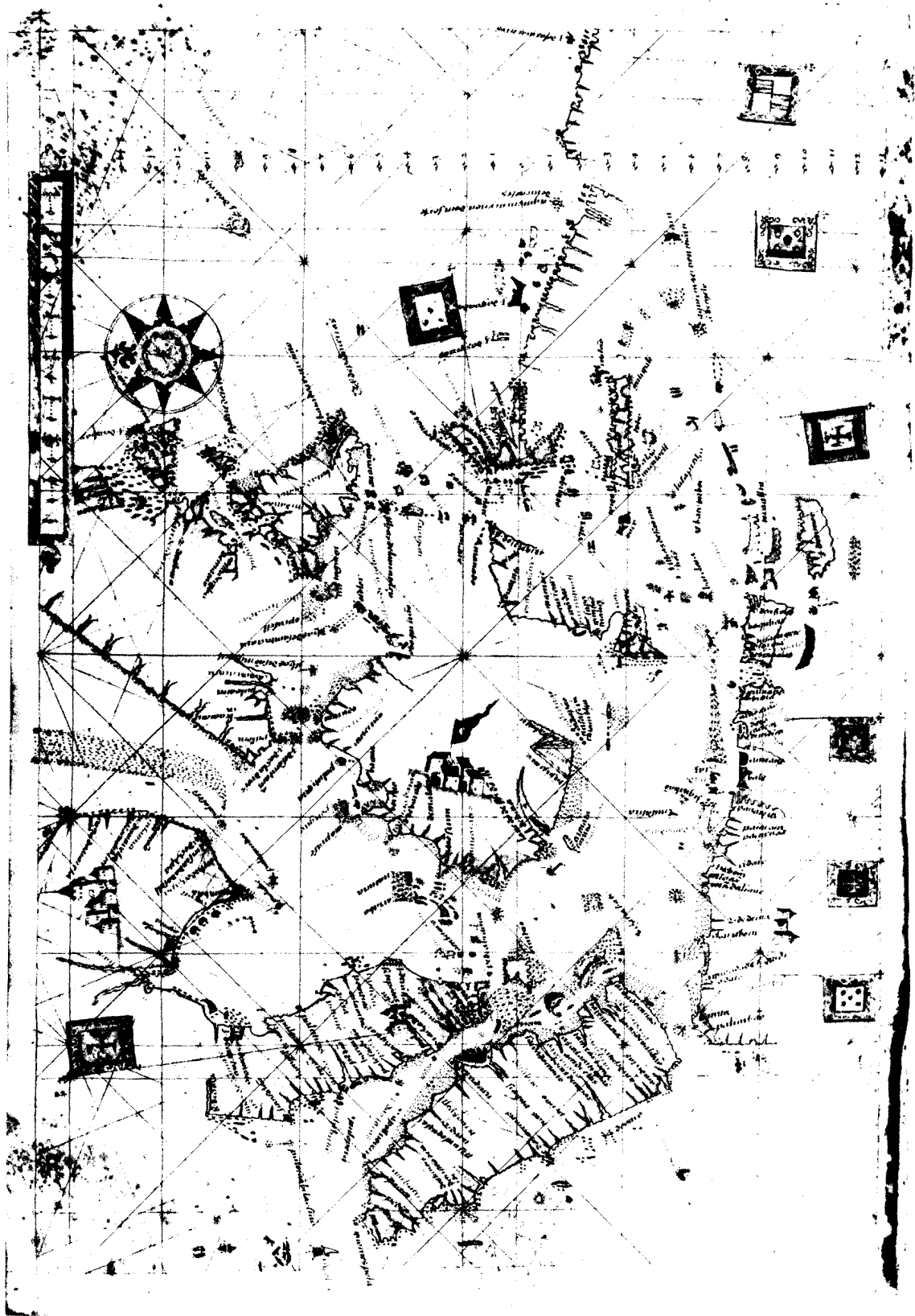
Map attributed to Giacomo Gastaldi, ca. 1553. *Map attributed to Giacomo Gastaldi, ca. 1553. He showed the discoveries of the Loaysa expedition: San Bartolomé (Taongi), and 1ª del Rey (Ulithi). One of the discoveries of Villalobos, Roca Partida, is also shown to illustrate the narrative of Juan Gaytan. The island of San Tomas off the coast of California had previously been discovered. (From Ramusio's Navigazioni, Venice, 1566, vol. III)*

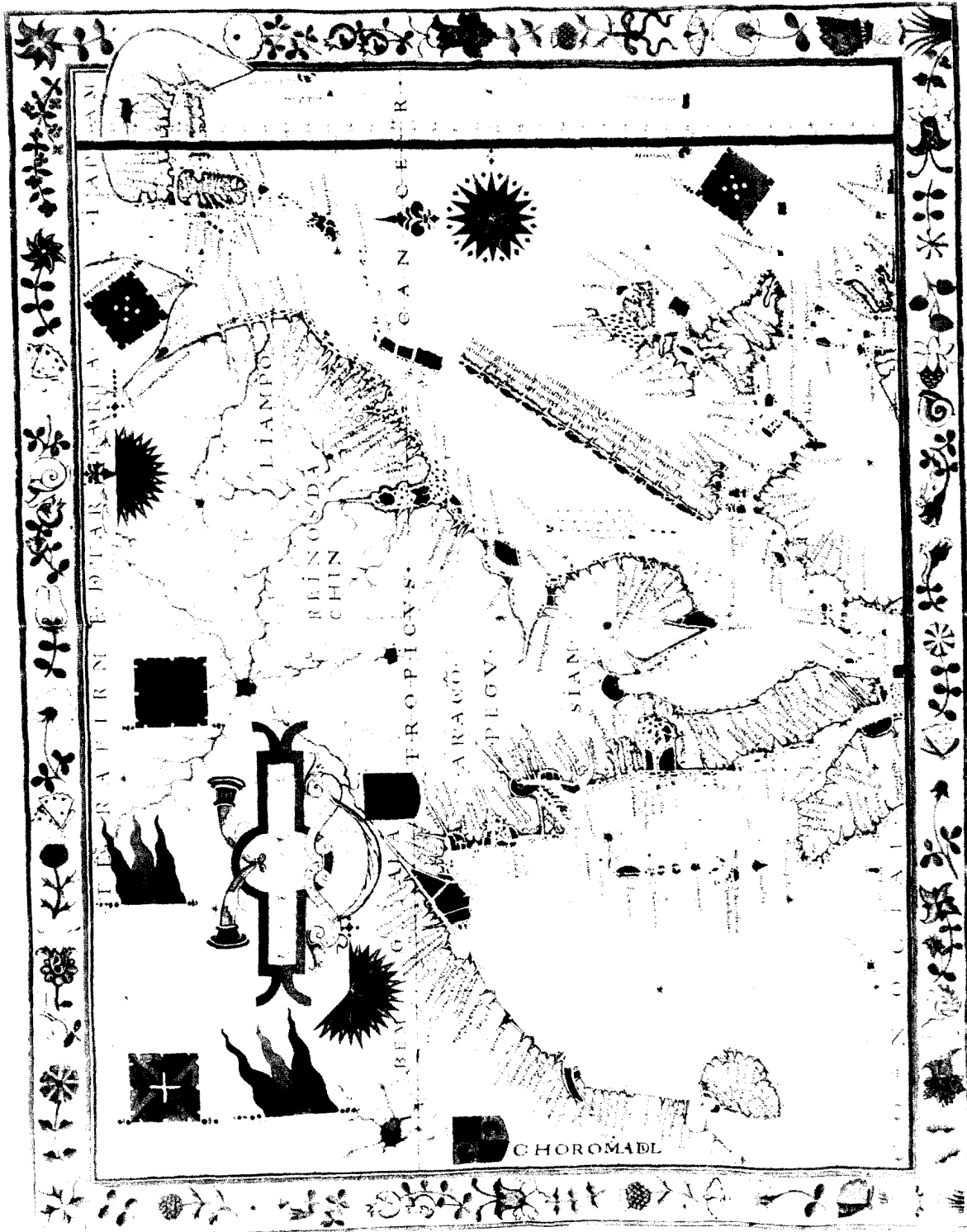
(Facing Page) **Map of North America by Zaltieri, 1566.** *It was published in Venice as part of the Lafreri Atlas. It shows the author's belief that America was probably separated from Asia, but still underestimate the vastness of the Pacific, by placing Japan, and San Bartolomé too close to the American coast. (From Nordenskiöld's Facsimile-Atlas, p. 129)*

The Portuguese start publishing the knowledge they got from the Spanish.

As of about 1545, when the Portuguese were more or less assured that the Spanish would no longer raid their Moluccas, they began to publish maps of Asia and the Pacific that brought to light some data they had seized from members of the Magellan, Loaysa, Saavedra, Grijalva and Villalobos expeditions. All these maps were limited editions, either anonymous or by Vaz Dourado, and meant for Portuguese navigators only. However, knowledge of their existence in modern times is due mainly to the efforts of Cortesão and Teixeira (see references above). Two such maps have already been reproduced above as part of Documents 1522D and 1542E.

(Facing page) **Anonymous Portuguese map, ca. 1560.** *It was found in an anonymous Livro de marinharia or Naval Handbook in the archives of the Ministry of Finance in Lisbon. Properly located at 10°N are shown the “I. darecifes”, the Isla de Arrecifes of Villalobos, and his “I. de Matalotes”, which correspond to Ulithi and Fais respectively. There are also some stain spots in the NE corner of the map which should not be confused with any island. North of New Guinea can be seen the Portuguese discoveries of, west-to-east, I. dos graos [Two degree I.], I. dagoada [The Aguada or Watering I.], “Aqui invernou dom Jorge de meneses” [Here wintered Don Jorge de Meneses], I. dos martires [Martyrs I.]. Also recognizable is Villalobos’ Baia de resurreccão [Resurrection Bay] on the east coast of Mindanao, and the Visayan Islands of the Philippines explored by Bernardo de la Torre and his companions. The Abuyog River in eastern Leyte is shown as “r. de abuió”, but the corresponding Tandaya River on the opposite coast of Samar is not shown. However, Is. de palmeiras, east of the Sarangani Islands, is a Portuguese discovery; it is the I. de Palmas of modern Spanish maps and, today, Indonesia’s Pulau Miangas (5°33’N & 126°36’E). (From Cortesão, Vol. I, Plate 97B)*

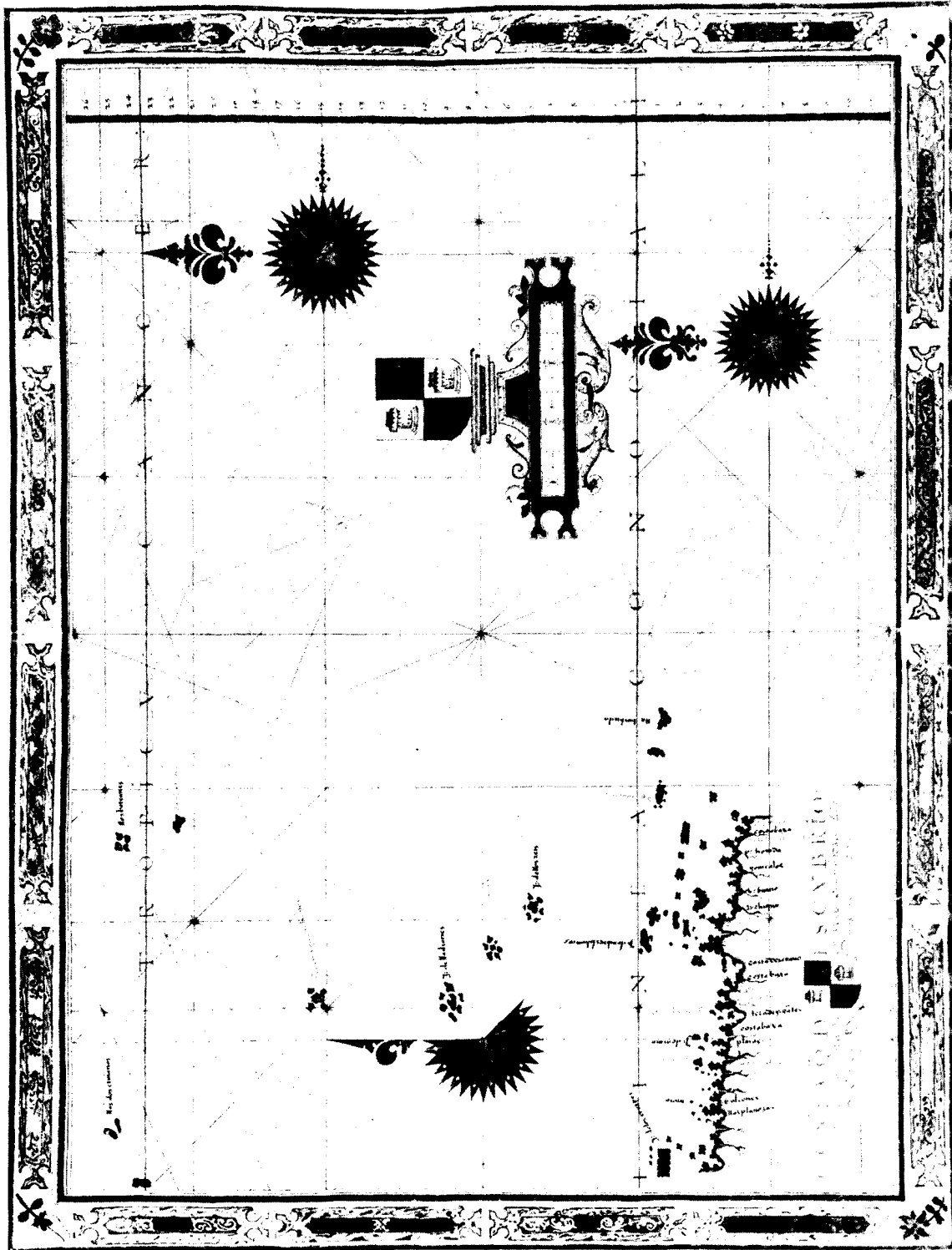


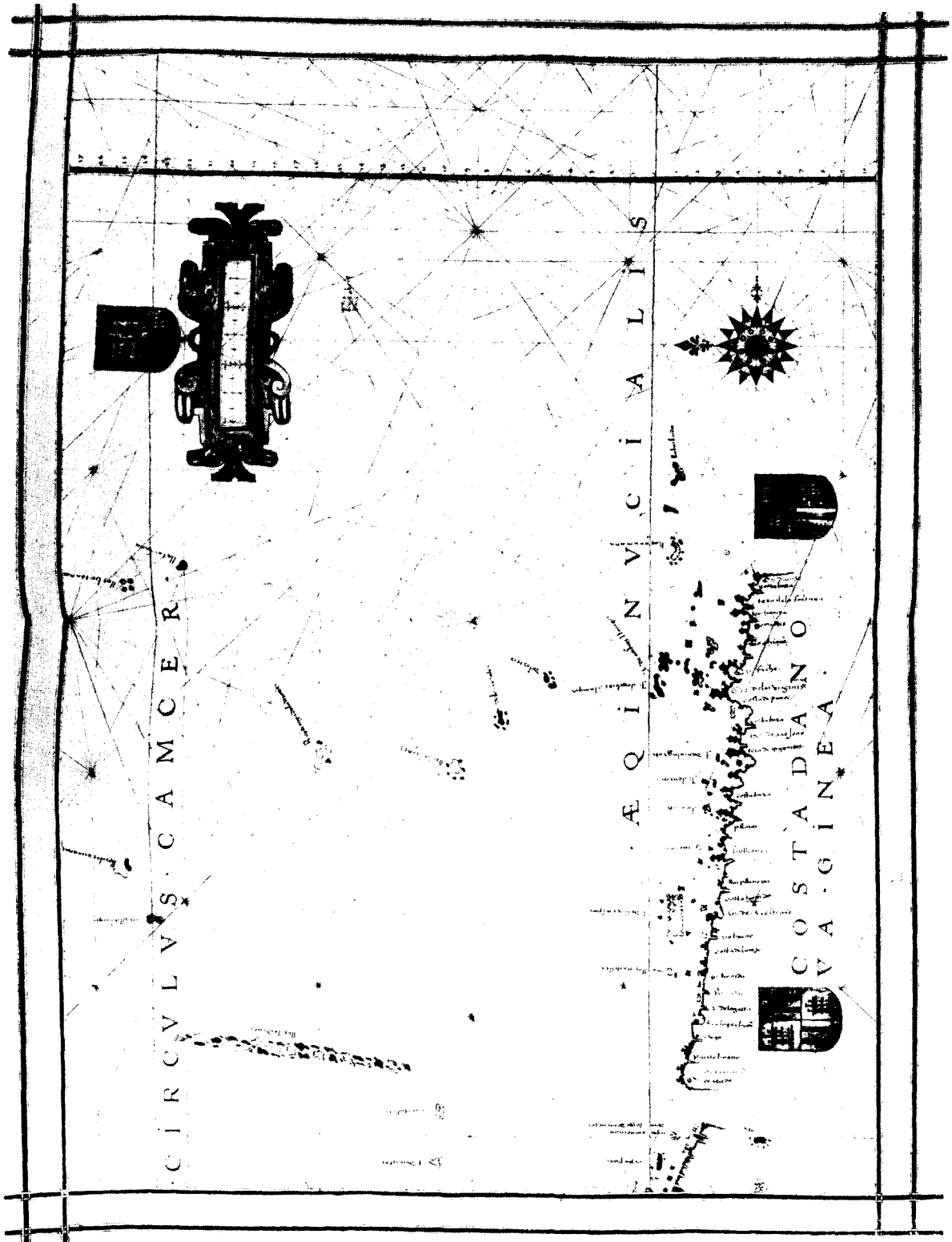


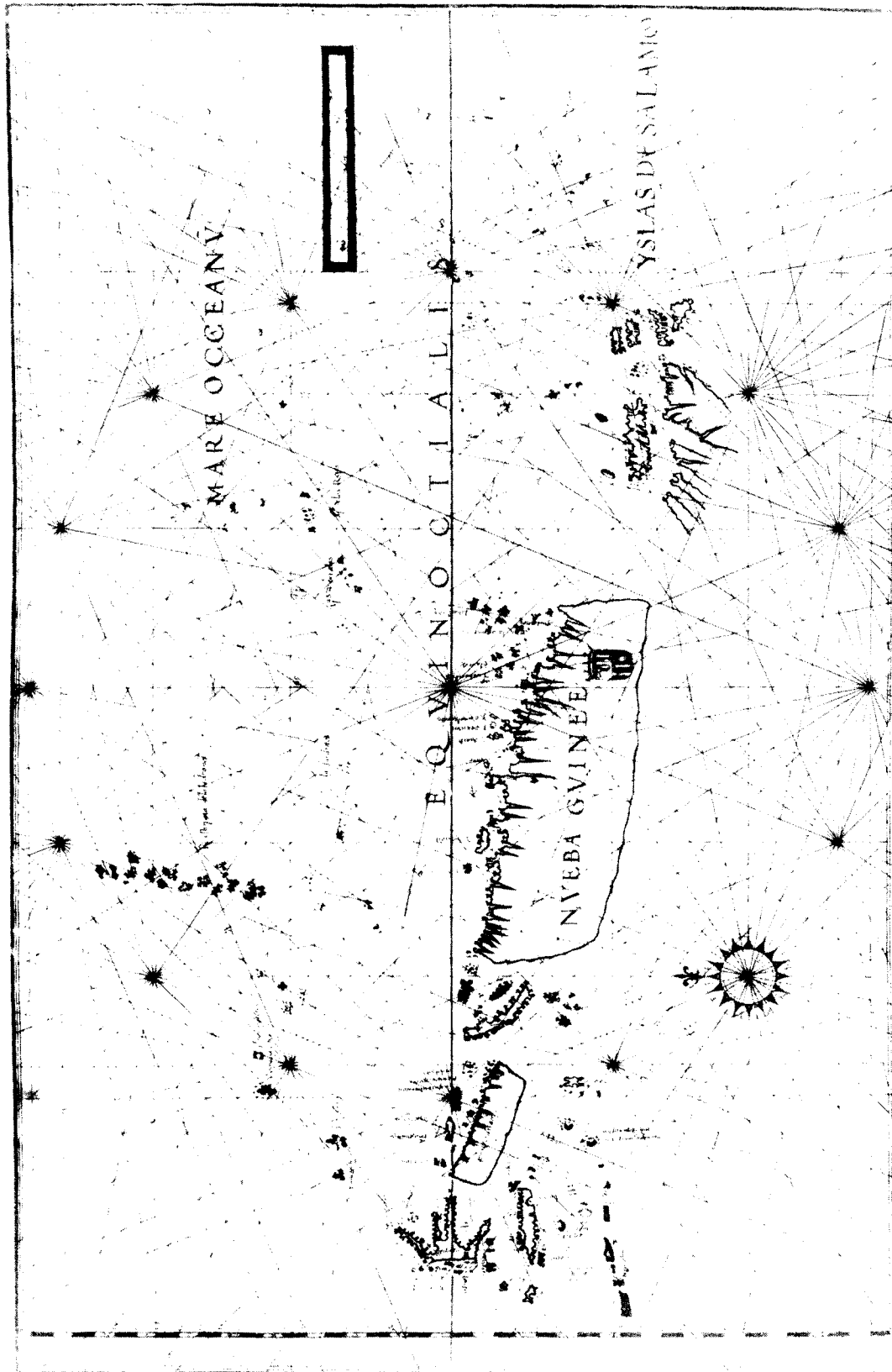
(Facing page) **Map of Asia by Fernão Vaz Dourado, 1570.** *This map also shows at 10°N “de arecife” and “os matalotes”, but in addition, below Japan, are shown two of De la Torre’s discoveries of 1543: “malabrigo” and “Llas dos ermanas”. However, they are wrongly placed at 27°N rather than in the latitudes of the Northern Marianas where they belong. (From Cortesão, III, Plate 270). Note: There is a similar map by the same author, also produced at Goa but in 1571 (See B&R 33:270-271) which is in Torre do Tombo.*

(Next 2 pages) **Map of the Pacific by Vaz Dourado, 1570.** *Besides the islands of Malabrigo and Dos Hermanas shown in the previous map, the other discoveries of 1543 are here added, but rather than being north of the above, they are shown east of them: “Ilos bolcanes” and “Ila ffarfana”. At 15° is shown “restinga de ladrones”, i.e. the so-called barrier reef of the Ladrones, but “I. de los corales” and “I. dellos reis” are badly placed. Some new names (from Villalobos) appear on the north coast of New Guinea: “I. de los crespos” [Is. of the Frizzy Ones], “I. dombres blancos” [I. of the (painted) White Men], “Ila barbuda” [The Bearded One], etc. The information shown on this map was similarly reproduced in his editions of 1575, and 1580 (see below). (From Cortesão, III, 272)*

Corrected map of the Pacific by Vaz, 1580. *Same as above, except that, in wanting to give back to the Ladrones their island chain aspect, he labelled them “Ilos jardines”, a group he had forgotten in 1575. Something new appears in the eastern Carolines: “abeio”. This must correspond to the Spanish “Abrejo(s)” [Open your eyes, or Look Out] whose origin is not referred to in any document that I have seen, but must have been on some manuscript Spanish chart of the period, now lost. Similar words, e.g. Quita-sueño [Wake Up!], will also appear on published maps of the next century, to warn pilots about un-named atolls and reefs. (Cortesão, III, 324)*







(Facing page) **Map of the Pacific by Bartolomeu Lasso, 1590.** *Disregarding some future discoveries by Mendaña in the Solomon Islands for now, the rest of this map derives its information from the same sources as those of Vaz Dourado, and it corrects some of his errors. The Ladrones are shown properly as a vertical chain of islands. The route of Villalobos via Reyes, Corales, Jardines, Matalotes, Arrecifes can be traced readily, albeit with an error in latitudes for those belonging to the Marshalls. Worthy of note are the Sonsorol Islands (See Doc. 1522C), properly recorded here as the St. John Islands discovered by Espinosa in 1522: "I^s. de Sam Y^o". Next to them are the wandering "Is. Palm(eir)as".*

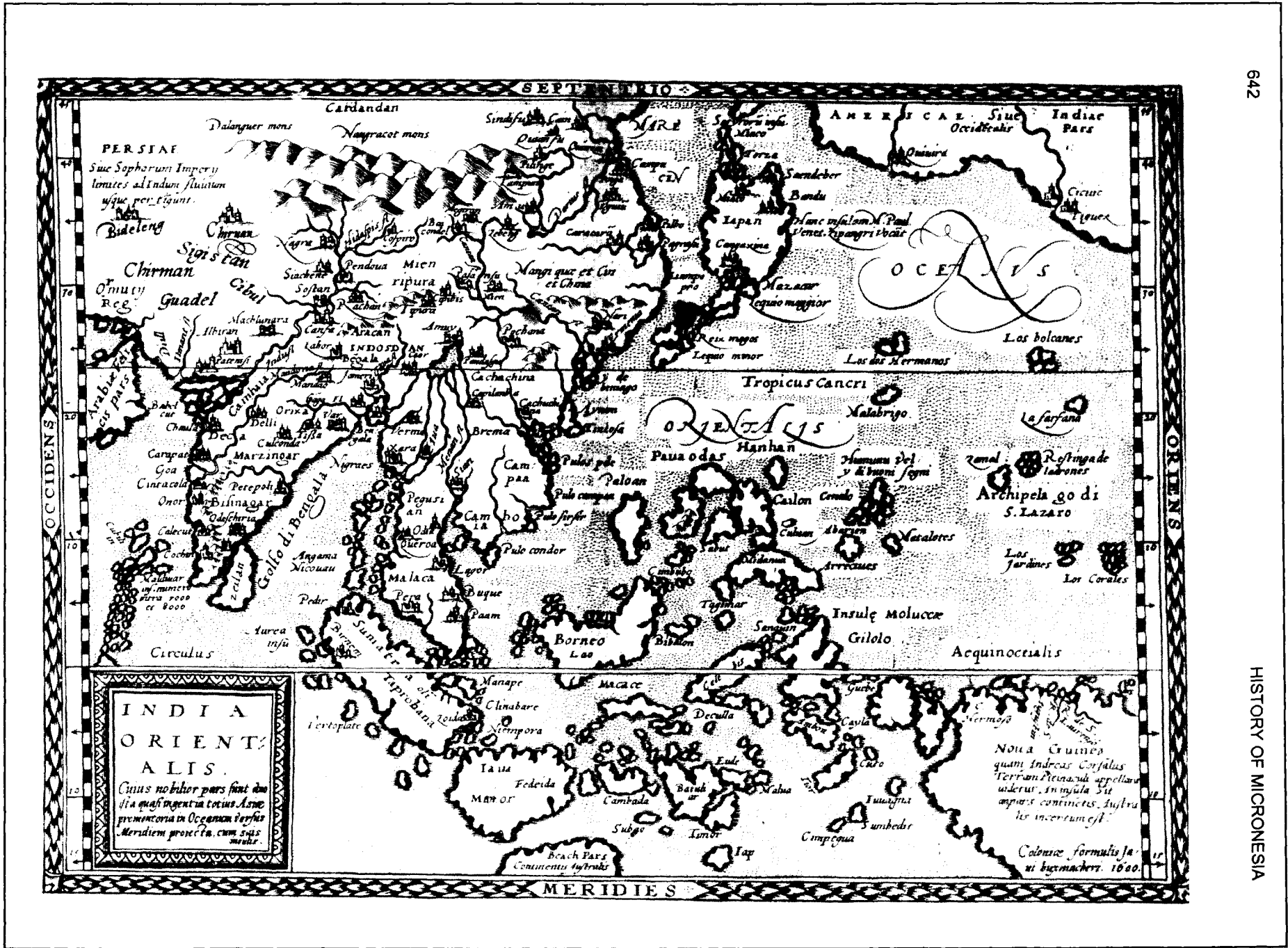
The Belgian, or rather Flemish, map-makers get into the act.

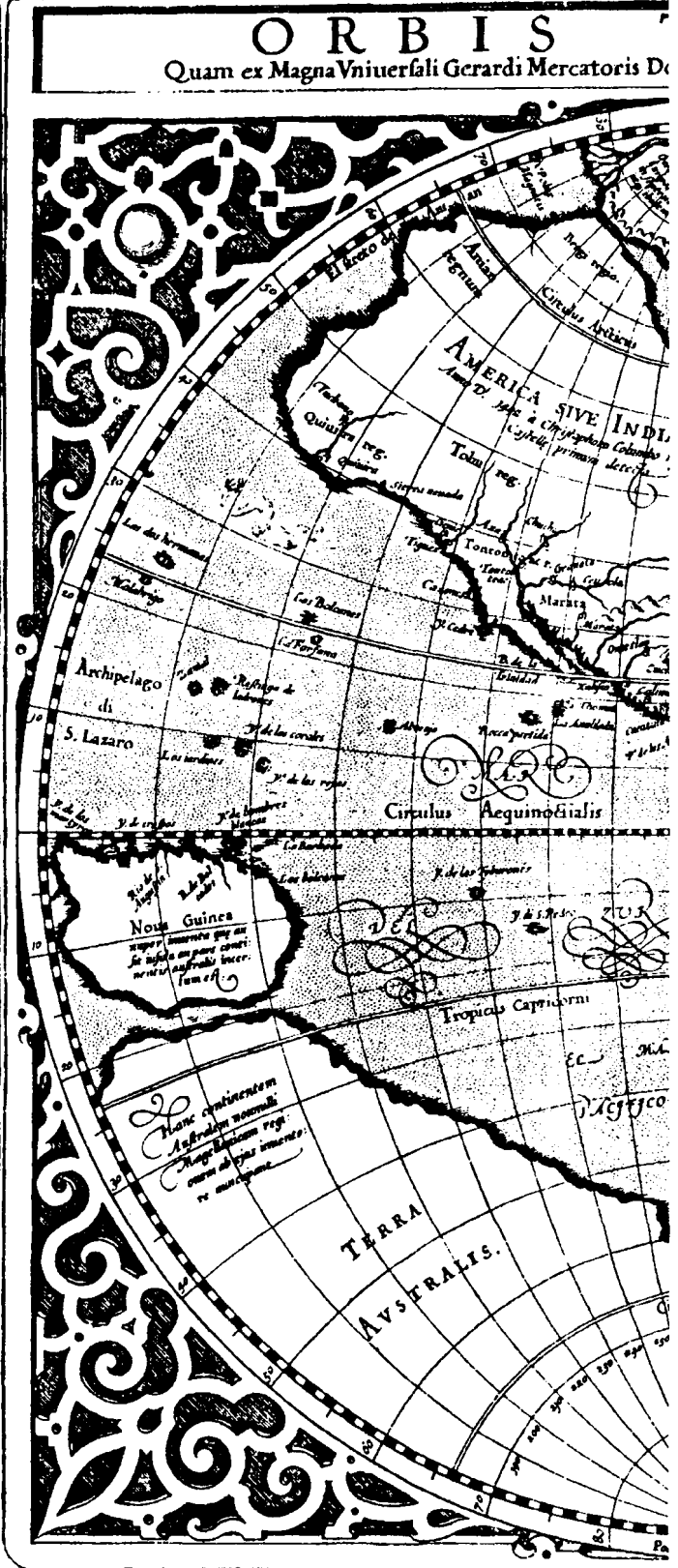
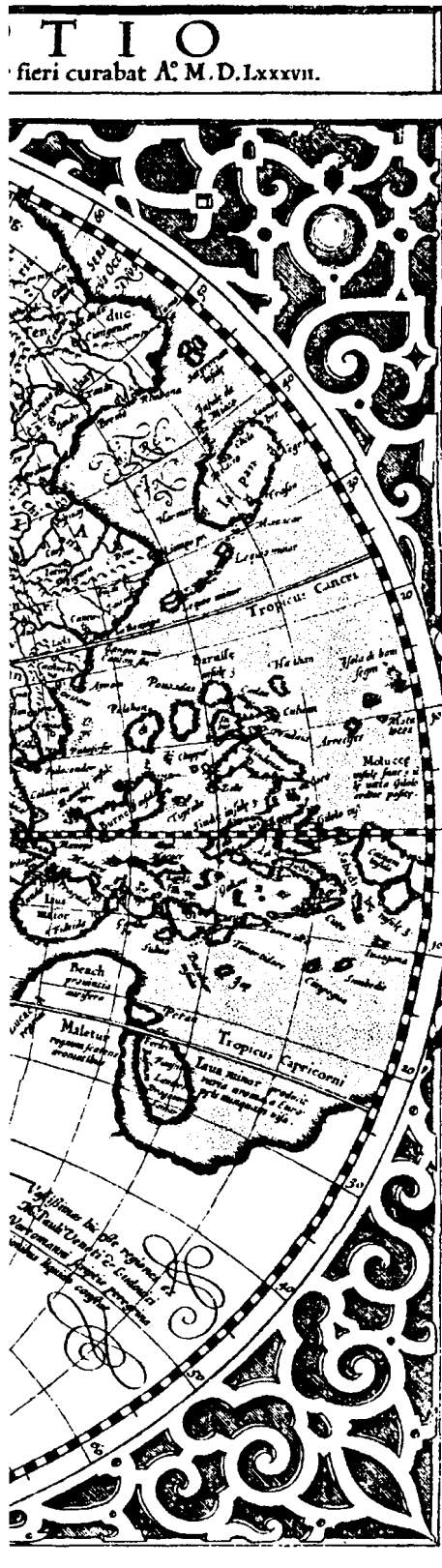
The names of Mercator and Ortelius have become famous as a result of the awakening of their nation to overseas exploration and the modern map and chart trade which the so-called Dutch practically invented.¹ The techniques involved with the printing of maps from engraved copper plates were not fully developed until this (16th) century, and the Dutch became masters at it. Gerard **Mercator** devised the method by which a round surface, such as the Earth, could be projected onto a flat plane. Although booksellers-publishers began to switch from woodcut illustrations to copper-plate engraving about 1550, some printers insisted on producing old-fashioned maps from woodcuts as late as 1600. The following is an example by Matthias Quadus or Quad; this man was really behind the times, as the data on his map does not go beyond the Villalobos period.

Mercator studied and first worked at Louvain. He drew and engraved his first map (a large map of the Holy Land) in 1537, one year after getting married. In 1552, he moved from Louvain to Duisburg, 60 miles from Antwerp where Ortelius lived. His best-known work is an edition (1578) of Ptolemy's atlas which was reprinted many times over the next 150 years.

(Overleaf) **India Orientalis, by Matthias Quadus, Cologne, 1600.** *The 1543 set of Malabrigo, Las dos Hermanas, Los Volcanes, La Farfana have been copied from the Portuguese, with the same misplacements. The Marianas are here confused for the first time (but not the last time), as the latter are shown as the Archipelago of St. Lazarus which is the name Magellan gave to the Philippines. Some of Pigafetta's islands (Zamal, Humunu, Cenalo, Abarien) have been shifted eastward as well. Japan, it is said in Latin, was called Zipangri by Marco Polo. Actually, he called it Cipango, or something similar, from the Chinese name for Japan in the Middle Ages, Jih-pên-kwé. America is still too close to Japan, etc. (From the Carlos Quirino Collection, Manila, 1970, made available through the Ayala Museum archives)*

¹ See Chapter 6 of Lloyd A. Brown, *The Story of Maps* (Boston, 1950) for more information about this trade.







Gerard Mercator of Rupelmonde (1512-1594). *This mathematician and cartographer did much to elevate the art of map-making to the status of an exact science. (From Brown's Story of Maps, f. p. 174)*

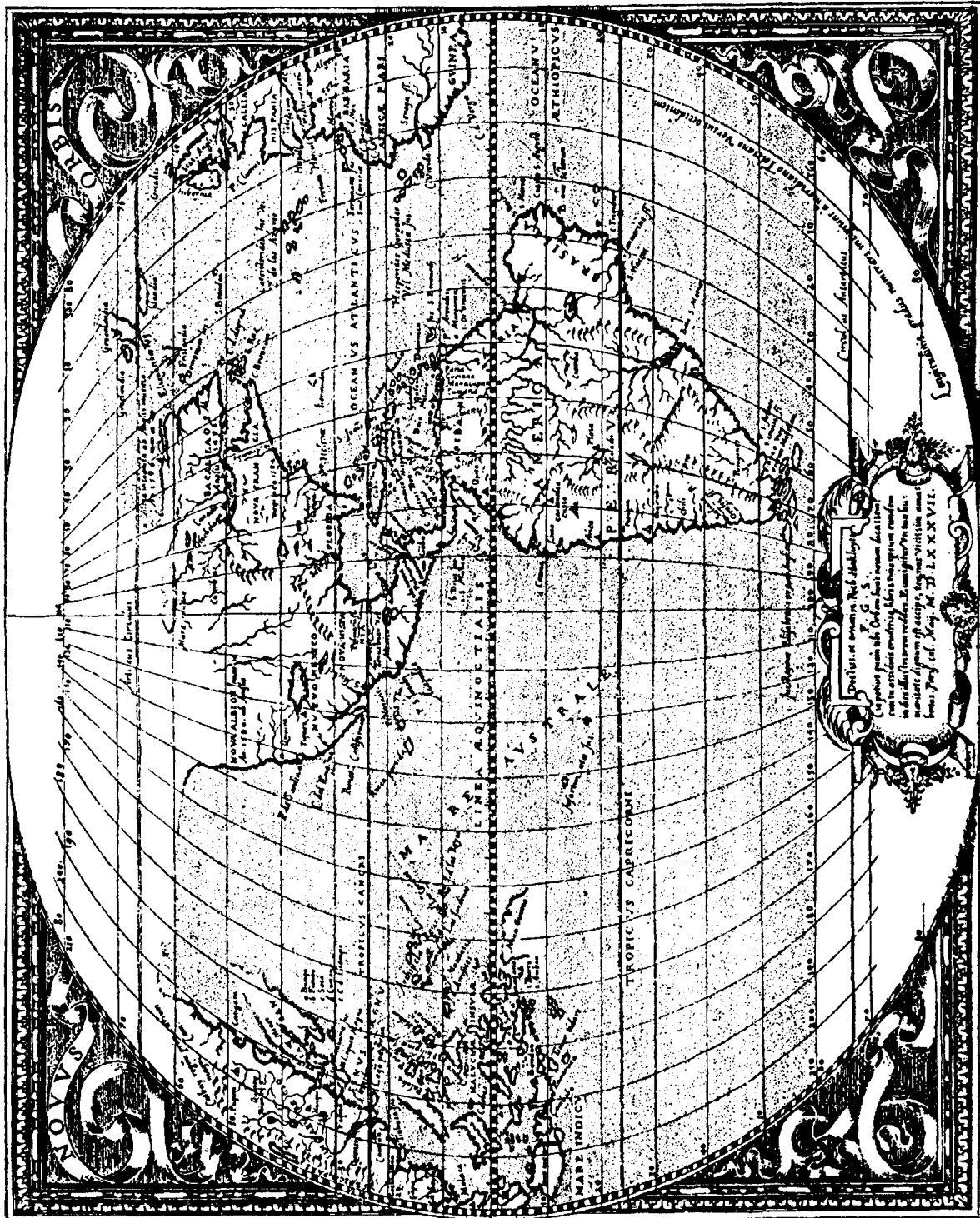
(Overleaf) Parts of a map of the world by Mercator, 1587. *The information for the Pacific islands comes from Portuguese maps. What is 'new' is the vast Australian continent. This appears to be the source for Quad's map of 1600. Luzon, the main island of the Philippines is still not shown. (From Nordenskiöld, Plate XLVII)*



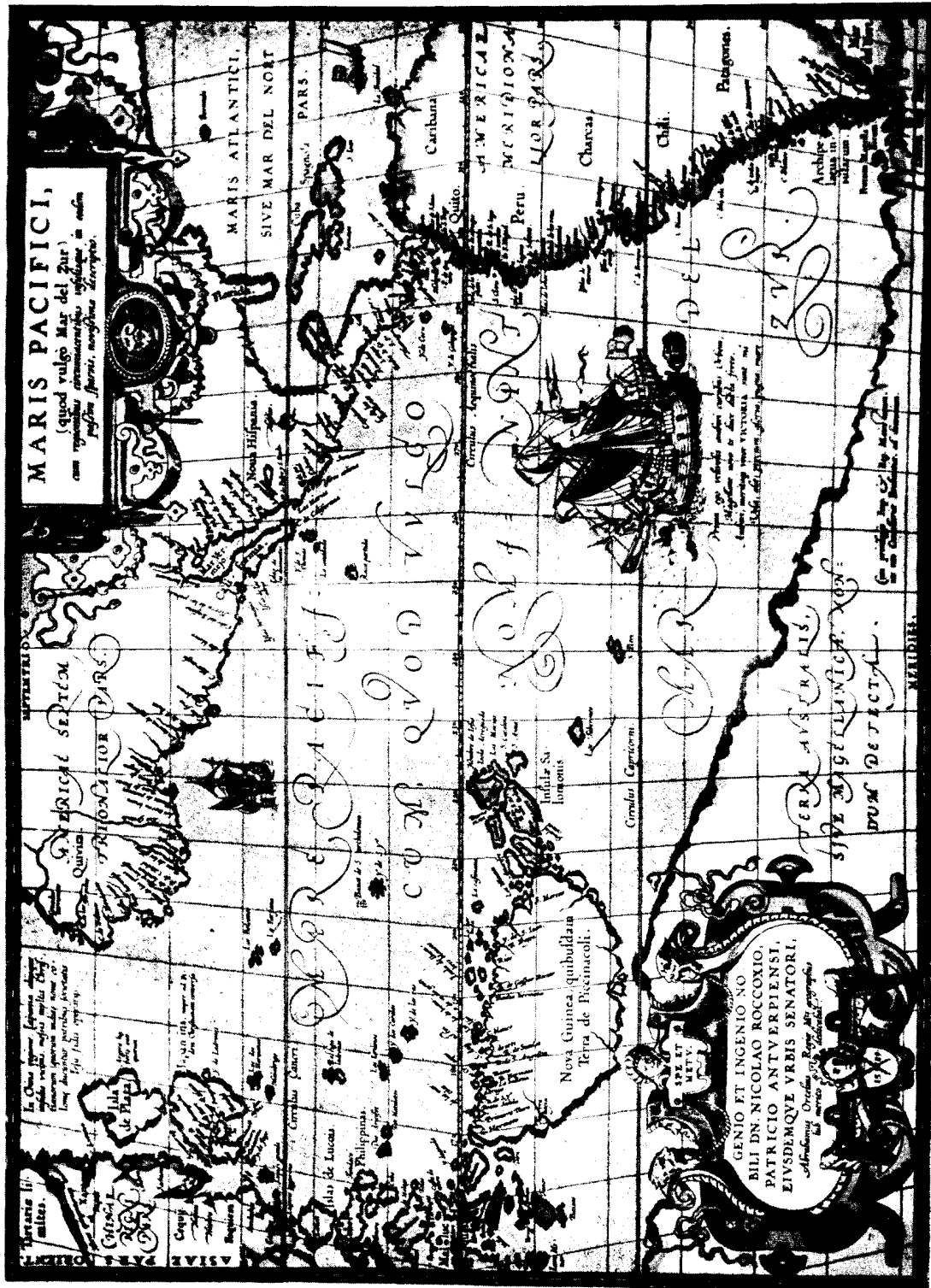
**Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp
(1527-1598).**

Mercator's competitor and sometimes collaborator in the map trade, was his friend Abraham Ortel or Ortels, better known by his Latin name of **Ortelius**. He was born at Antwerp in 1527 and died there in 1598. His most famous work was the first world atlas, made up of standard-size sheets. It was published at Antwerp by Egidius Coppens Diesth in 1570, and it bore the Latin title: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [Theater of the World]. Most of the plates had been engraved by Francis Hogenberg. The atlas was so popular that a second edition was made three months after the first one. This work was mostly responsible for his nomination as Geographus Regius, or Royal Geographer, by King Philip II in 1573. In spite of this title, the man was merely a collector, compiler and an intelligent publisher, but not a land surveyor, nor a scientific cartographer, nor even an engraver of maps, unlike his friend Mercator, who was all those, in addition to being a map dealer.

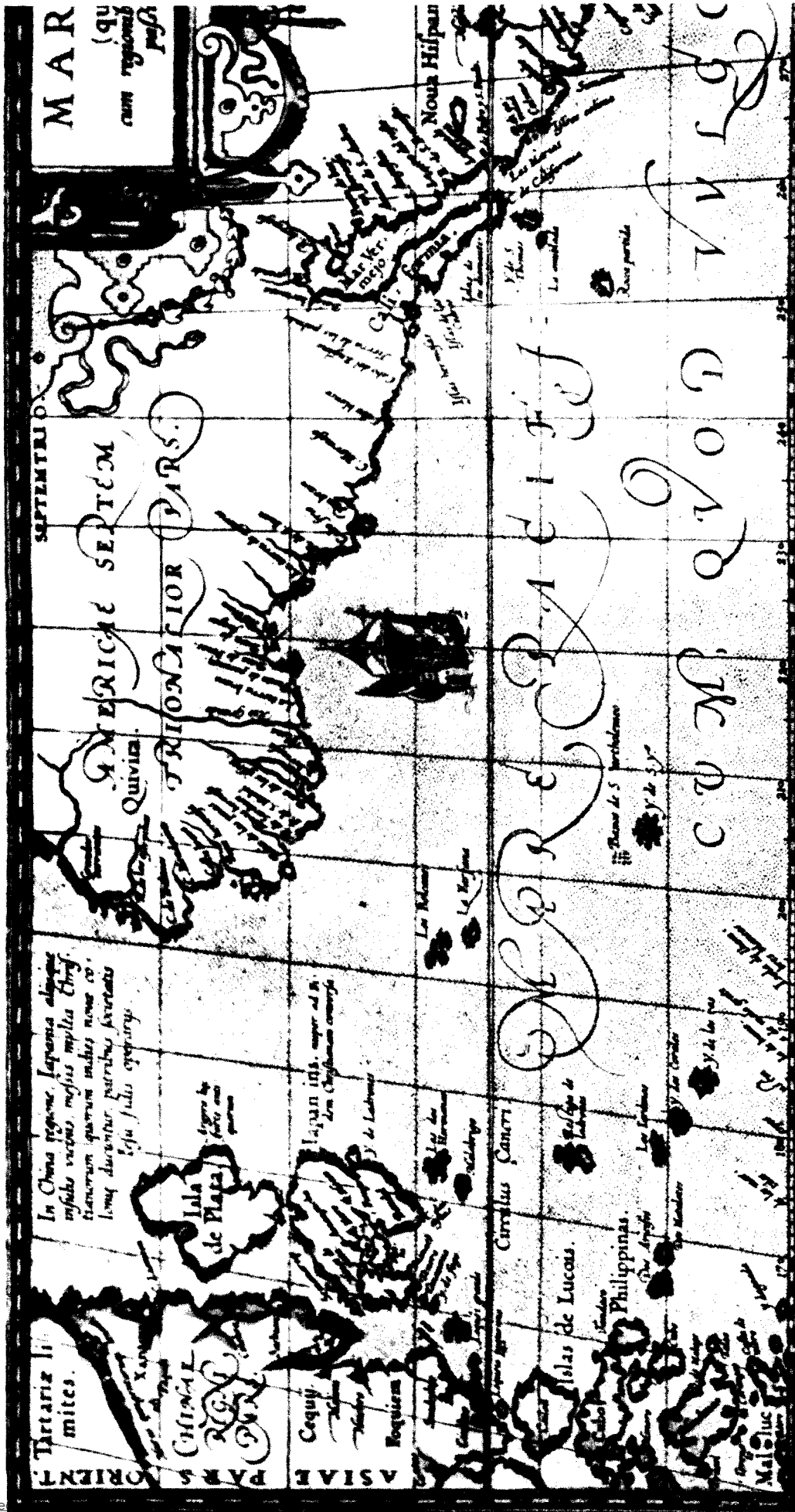
(Overleaf) **Part of the general map of the world by Ortelius, 1570.** *It is taken from the first-ever atlas of the world produced at Antwerp that year, the famous Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, or Theater of the World. Mercator was right when he wrote to congratulate him, saying, among other things: "Your work will, I believe, always remain saleable, whatever may be reprinted by others." The atlas went through many editions in many languages, the last being posthumous, in 1612. (From Nordenskiöld, Plate XLVI)*



Hakluyt in 1587 left blank the unexplored parts of the world when he published this map to illustrate an edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades*. The discoveries of Villalobos are properly placed along the 10° line. (From Nordenskiöld, p. 131)



The Pacific Ocean, alias the South Sea, by Ortelius, 1589. *The discoveries of the Solomon Islands by Mendaña have been added to this updated chart of the Pacific. See close-up view on facing page.*



(Facing page) **Part of a map by Jodocus Hondius, Amsterdam, 1599.** *At the close of the century, the Dutch had arrived in the Far East and the Dutch maps show their own view of that part of the world. The Philippines and southern Japan have taken a more accurate form. However, the Dutch have invented their own names in New Guinea and duplicated some islands in Micronesia; there are now two Malabrigos, two Matelotes, as well as a new atoll in the eastern Carolines: Mira como vas [Look where you're going!]. Other new islands are: I. Desierta (2 of them), Una Columna, I. de Bidivia(?), Pulo Vilan, I. de Salteadores, and I. de Aves. Volume 2 will cover some of these in due course. (From Linschoten's *Navigatio*, The Hague, 1599. From Nordenskiöld, p. 97)*



Appendix A

List of ships through Micronesia for the period 1521-1565

SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque, 1992.

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1521 a 3	Trinidad	Ferdinand Magellan	Spanish	*Pigafetta, *Alvo, Maximilian, Martyr.	Discovered Guam and Rota.
1521 b 3	Victoria	C. Rabelo	"	" " " " " "	Navarrete, pp. 65-66.
1521 c 3	Concepción	Juan Serrano	"	" " " " " "	Serrano's position confirmed by Brito.
1522 5	Trinidad	G. Gomez de Espinosa	Spanish	*Espinosa, *Mafra, *Vigo, Brito, Galvão.	Discovered Sonsorol and Northern Marianas.
1525-26	(unnamed ship)	D. da Rocha + G. Sequeira	Portuguese	Galvão, Urdaneta, Barros, Faria, Andrade	Discovered the Sequeira [Ulithi] Is.
1526 a 8	Santa Maria de la Victoria	T. Alonso de Salazar	Spanish	*Torre, *Urdaneta, *Paris, *Vigo.	Loaysa Expedition. Discovered Taongi.
1526 b 8	Santa Maria del Parral	J. Manrique de Nájera	Spanish	Urdaneta, Saavedra, Oviedo.	Shipwrecked at Sarangani, near Mindanao.
1527-28	Florida	Alvaro Saavedra Cerón	Spanish	*Saavedra, *Urdaneta, *Nápoles.	Saavedra Expedition. Re-discovered Ulithi.
1528	Florida	Alvaro Saavedra Cerón	Spanish	*Saavedra, *Urdaneta, *Nápoles.	First return attempt.
1529	Florida	Alvaro Saavedra Cerón	Spanish	*Saavedra, *Urdaneta, *Nápoles.	Second return attempt.
1537	Santiago	E. Castilla (ex-Grijalva)	Spanish	*Noble, Galvão, Escalante, Navarrete.	Discovered Kapingamarangi & Mapia.
1538	(unnamed ship)	Francisco de Castro	Portuguese	Galvão, Jorge de Castro.	
1542-43 a	Santiago	Villalobos/de la Torre	Spanish	*Escalante, *Santiesteban, *Gaytan, etc.	Villalobos Expedition. Gaspar Rico as pilot.
1542-43 b	San Jorge	A. Manrique/A. Fernandez	"	" " " " " "	" " " " "
1542-43 c	San Antonio	F. Merino/F. Ruiz	"	" " " " " "	" " " " "
1542-43 d	San Juan de Letrán	M. Alvarado/G. de Mafra	"	" " " " " "	" " " " "
1542-43 e	San Cristóbal	P. Ortíz de Rueda	"	" " " " " "	A galliot. " " "
1542-43 f	San Martín	C. Pareja	"	" " " " " "	A "fusta". " " "
1543	San Juan de Letrán	B. de la Torre	Spanish	*Gaetano,*Escalante,*Santiesteban et al.	Ex Villalobos Expedition.

NOTES

Appendix B

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MICRONESIA

for Volume 1 of the

History of Micronesia

- 1000 ca. **Aaa. APPENDIX B--BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MICRONESIA. Part 1: Prehistory.**
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