
Document 1565K

Legazpi—Final instructions given by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, dated 1 September 1564

Sources: AGI Patronato 1-1-1/23; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 4; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 21, pp. 145-200; Col. diarios 5:147-171; summarized in B&R 2:89-100; translated in FBG 8:11-40.

Instructions to Miguel López de Legazpi

The order that you, Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor and General by His Majesty appointed for the discovery of the Islands of the West and by the very illustrious Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, former Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia, which has its seat in New Spain, and who is now dead, have to keep and observe in the voyage and expedition that, with God's help, you have to make for the said discovery, with the ships, which to this effect, by order of His Majesty, were built and are in the Port of Navidad of New Spain, on the South Sea coast, is as follows:

First, you will go to the Port of Navidad, where will gather between 300 and 350 men, who are soldiers and sailors and who, by order of the said Viceroy in the name of His Majesty and the expense from his Royal Treasury, are prepared to go on the expedition with their Captains and officials. Upon your arrival at the said port, in the presence of the officials of His Majesty who are appointed and designated to go on said expedition and who are: Guido de Lavezaris, treasurer; Andrés Cauchela, accountant; Andrés de Mirandaola, factor; and before a notary who will testify, you will be presented, above all things, four ships that are now in the said port and which by order of His Majesty and the said Very Illustrious Viceroy were built recently in His Royal name. Two of these vessels are big and two small: the largest is the galleon named **San Felipe**¹, the flagship, which you, the General, have to take; and the other vessels are

1 Ed. note: Soon to be renamed the San Pedro.

the *almiranta*, named **San Andrés**¹; the patache San Juan de Letrán, under Captain Juan de la Isla, and another patache called San Lucas which shall be under Captain Hernán Sanchez Muñoz. With these ships are boats, skiffs, sails, tackles, cables, anchors, and all other implements and appurtenances belonging to the said ships, without lacking anything. All these will be inventoried and shall be placed under your charge. Their presentation to you will be done in the name of His Majesty by the Bachelor Martinez Allende, Mayor of the City and Province of Michoacan, who is in the said Port of Navidad as Judge Purveyor of the said fleet.

Having been presented the said vessels and everything that pertains to them, you will assist and appoint as pilots, masters, boatswains and clerks of the vessels, persons whom you will deem worthy, capable and experienced and distribute accordingly to those who are in said Port in place of those who have refused to join and determine the salaries according to the jobs they will be assigned to. In the same manner you will appoint the artillerymen and other officers needed in each vessel. You will order each and everyone what to do in accordance with his position and job and you will assign in each of the vessels all the seamen as you may find necessary and in accordance with the experience of everyone of them.

Also, you will take charge and make an inventory in the said port, before you set sail, of the entire artillery, big and small, arquebuses, ammunition, offensive and defensive weapons, and other arms that His Majesty has in it, and of the two frigates and tools, as well as of the negro officials of these, and of all the provisions that were prepared for the said fleet, such as biscuits, dried meat, bacon, wine, oil, vinegar, fish, cheese, peas and chick-peas, as well as other things, all of which should be listed and inventoried according to classification, each thing to its kind, in a book you will keep in your possession and duly signed by you and by the above-mentioned officials of His Majesty who are going in the said expedition. You will, therefore, take charge of everything, seeing to it that nothing should be in the fleet that is not accounted for in writing. The presentation to you of these things will also be done in the name of His Majesty by Bachelor Martinez.

Furthermore, you will also assume charge in the said port of all the merchandise and barter goods which, by order of the Viceroy in the name of His Majesty, were bought by Ortuño de Ibarra, the Viceroy's agent and provider in this New Spain, with the approval of the other officials of the Royal Treasury. The merchandise and barter goods have been brought to the said port and are there for barter and trade in the expedition. All shall be accounted for in writing, and you taking charge of them through inventory, including each kind according to the preceding chapter. These goods were taken from this City to the said port by the Auditor Andrés Cauchela and they will be presented to you by Bachelor Martinez.

After the four ships, their rigging and equipment, the artillery, ammunition, provisions, barter goods and merchandise and all other things which have to go on said ex-

1 Ed. note: Soon to be renamed the San Pablo.

pedition have been presented to you, as already said above, you will give a copy of the presentation or transfer, duly signed by you, to the officials of His Majesty who are joining said expedition, holding them responsible for all said things, before the notary, so that they, being such officials, will be obliged to make an account of these things in their books, as Royal property and dispose of same with the corresponding payment if and when you so order or when ordered by this Royal Audiencia, or by the officials of His Majesty of this New Spain, or by any other person authorized to do so in his Royal name. There should appear in your book, duly signed by said officials at the bottom of the transfer document, a statement showing why they have received the copy and why they were made to take charge of all the said things, because it is in you and in them in whom it is incumbent to keep and take care of all and everything that belongs to the Royal treasury which are being carried on the expedition from this New Spain, as well as of those things that you will acquire by trading or by any other way in those lands you will discover.

And because it is necessary that the artillery, arquebuses, ammunition, arms, supplies, merchandise and barter goods and the other things that will be taken in the expedition be distributed among the ships, according to their needs, and also the men who will go in each, according to your discretion and prudence, you will order their distribution in the manner you consider most convenient, as we trust much in your person. All the items, properly inventoried, shall be placed under the charge of the Captains and Masters and persons whom you trust, making yourself and said officials, in writing, responsible, particularly of what each of them will receive from you, classifying the things according to their kind; as, for instance, the ships with their equipment in one part; the artillery, ammunition, and arms in another part; and the provisions in a separate part, as well as the merchandise and barter goods. In this way everything will be listed and inventoried, signed with your name and the names of those officials and persons to whom the things will be transferred, and entered in your book and in that of the officials, so that everything will be always clear and well accounted for. You will order that each ship have a record of everything in it, from the ship itself down to the least important item, as is practiced in the voyage to the Indies.

Upon presentation of the artillery, ammunition, arquebuses, and of all the other items, you will order that Martin de Goiti, who is appointed Captain of the said artillery, being a trustworthy man and fit for the job, be with you and the officials of His Majesty, the Master-of-Camp, the artillerymen and the persons to whom the presentation will be done. You will also order that said Martin de Goiti be given a list of all that goes in the fleet pertaining to the artillery, arms and ammunition, and that he be responsible for each, so that he can have knowledge of it all, as all the things mentioned pertain to the office of the Captain of the Artillery.

Having completed such presentation in the manner stated above, you will order that a copy be made of the list of all that was handed over, signed by you and the officials and the persons to whom the things were given charge, for the said Bachelor Martinez, so that he will take the same to this City of Mexico and deliver it to the officials of His

Majesty in New Spain, who shall have it in their possession, kept in the box with three keys; and in this manner a copy of the same is sent to His Majesty and his Council of the Indies, so that any time it becomes necessary, all that is sent with the expedition, and in whose charge each thing is given, can be seen and known, and an account can also be asked for from the persons who are responsible.

After this, you will order all the men who are there, and who are from 300 to 350 in number, to gather together. They are the soldiers who, by order of the Viceroy and by their conduct, were selected by Captains Mateo del Sanz and Diego de Viedma, as well as the seamen who have been accepted for the voyage. All being assembled, you will make a general review of all of them who are going on the expedition and prepare a list, stating their names, residences, parentage, age, and personal marks; stating also who are going as soldiers and who as sailors, their officers, and the compensation to be given to each, as you know how much has been fixed for captains and how much for soldiers. Indicate the compensation of each for the whole voyage, and the sailors will be compensated according to position each will be assigned to. You will keep a record of all this in a book which you will have in your possession to be signed by you and the officials; and you shall have the same record entered in the books which they keep in their possession. A copy of all these, as before, shall be given to Bachelor Martinez, who shall turn it in to the Royal officials of New Spain, together with other accomplished records, so as to enable them to have complete information and be able to give it if and when asked to do so. You shall take along with you a copy of the salaries paid by the officials in this City to all the men, so that you can check it when you will have your general review, and find out if a soldier or a sailor is missing among those who have been paid.

When all this has been accomplished, you shall assign to each ship the captain and soldiers who will go in it, taking into consideration the total number of men and the need of each ship, using your good judgment. You shall take with you in the flagship, Captain [Navy] Mateo de Sanz, who is appointed Master-of-Camp, and two officials of the Royal Treasury, the Royal Flag, the Chief Ensign, and the noblemen who were given preference over others in accompanying you and the flag, and the other necessary persons. All this, as has already been said, is entrusted to your prudence and wisdom, which you shall exercise in everything as we trust in your person.

On the *almiranta* you shall designate as Captain and Admiral of the entire fleet the person whom you think most qualified and befitting among those whom you are assigning in the said ship; he must be trustworthy, capable and experienced, as you have such men among those you are taking with you. You shall give him instruction and order as regards what he has to do and be responsible for in the voyage as well as other things. In this *almiranta* galleon, it seems that one of the other officials of the Royal Treasury should go; because the merchandise, the barter goods and supplies which go on the expedition, with the artillery, arms, and ammunition ought to be distributed among the ships, principally in the two bigger vessels. It is wise that one of the officials take the *almiranta*, so that he may make an account of all that is carried in the said ship.

With regards to those who will have to go in the two pataches, you and the said officials can appoint two persons, one for each, to take charge and be responsible of all that will be provided in each vessel.

In the bigger patache [i.e. the San Juan], Juan de la Isla shall go as Captain, as has already been arranged, and you shall provide him with soldiers and seamen as you will deem it necessary so that he will be well equipped.

For the smaller patache [i.e. the San Lucas], which is to serve as tender for the bigger vessels, and which also will be used for the discovery of ports, rivers, and for such other uses as are necessary and befitting for the purposes of the expedition, Hernán Sanchez Muñoz is appointed Captain. You shall provide the said patache with all the men it needs to set it in order.

The 300 arquebuses that are being provided in this expedition from His Majesty's stores, you shall distribute among the soldiers who will need and who do not have them. These soldiers will be few in number, because almost all of them have theirs. The rest of the weapons will be placed in reserve in the flagship and in the *almiranta* ship to be used when necessary. The same should be done with the protective arms which have been made, the shields and corselets, distributing them as you deem it wise, as you know how neglectful soldiers and sailors can be, especially at sea, in the care of arquebuses and other arms. You shall order the Captain of the Artillery and the other captains and masters of the vessels to have the soldiers and sailors take good care of the arms, keeping them always clean and ready for use; and for this purpose, they shall be required to do it frequently.

Special care shall be taken of the supplies of food and beverages as things of great importance, so that they may be well preserved and kept free from spoilage. They shall be distributed and used wisely by limiting the rations reasonably. They shall be placed under the charge of very trustworthy persons. Inasmuch as the voyage is long and the return still uncertain—but God willing, you will be able to make it, through your service—it is befitting to give great care and attention to said supplies, so that there may not result any disorder and that we shall not fail to achieve our goal on account of lack of supplies.

To this effect, it is, likewise, necessary to have no servants or superfluous attendants go on the expedition. As you well know, this having been told already, no more than 300 to 350 persons—soldiers as well as sailors—must go. Provisions were prepared and provided for only this number; and although they seem plenty and sufficient, if more persons will go, especially useless ones, these provisions will not last long and, hence, cause inconvenience. You shall not, therefore, consent or permit the soldiers and the other persons who are going on the expedition to take with them in the vessels, in any manner, servants or attendants. But because such servants and attendants are indispensable to the important persons, you will permit the Captains, the Chief Ensign, the officials of His Majesty and the Sergeant Major to take some servants, besides those you will have for yourself.

Furthermore, you shall not permit natives or negroes, nor women, married or not, to go aboard the vessels, either as passengers or for any other reason, except a dozen negroes, male and female servants, whom you will apportion in all the ships, as you consider advantageous.

When all this has been done and the vessels are ready and all supplies, artillery, arms and ammunition, merchandise and barter goods, water and firewood, and all things necessary for the voyage have been loaded, you shall order the manner the religious men, of the order of the blessed St. Augustine, may go aboard, who are going in your Company to serve God, our Lord, and His Majesty, and to bring our Holy Catholic Faith to the natives of those lands. They shall go with you aboard the flagship and in the *almiranta*, apportioned as you and they would have it. They shall be given suitable quarters, and particular attention and care should be taken that they shall be well treated, respected, and revered, as required by their person, religion, and organization.

You shall then order everybody to be aboard their respective ships in the manner already explained and, in the shortest time possible, set sail with the best of luck. Make sure that all the men confess and receive communion before going aboard; and on the day you set sail, if possible, have everybody hear a Mass of the Holy Ghost, so that God, our Lord, may grant you good voyage and guide and enlighten you as always under His divine will.

Having presented yourself to the expedition as previously stated, before you set sail from the Port of Navidad, you will, as a nobleman, take oath and swear by the Gospel before Bachelor Martinez, the purveyor and provider of the said expedition; and the notary shall certify it, as well as the oath which you will be required to swear before this Royal Audiencia that you will perform faithfully your office and position as Governor and Captain General, which were bestowed upon you in the name of the King, exerting all your efforts in the Royal service for the growth of the Royal wealth and heritage.

You shall report to His Majesty and to this Audiencia in his Royal name, or to the person ordered by His Majesty, all the discoveries and benefits or advantages you will, in any manner, obtain, as a good and faithful servant and subject, and not to any other person; and directly or indirectly you shall neither hide nor do anything to the prejudice of His Majesty or to his Royal patrimony and property; and you shall give a correct report and account of everything, being a trustworthy person.

Having taken the aforesaid oath, you shall have the officials of the Royal Treasury, all the Captains, noblemen and soldiers, the pilots, masters of ships, and the sailors who will go on the expedition take theirs before you and the notary, who shall certify publicly, swearing on a missal and on the Gospel that they will obey you as their Governor and Captain General; that they comply with whatever you order them to do in everything and for everything; that they will stage neither mutiny nor uprising; and that they will follow your route and flag, without denying, absenting, or deviating themselves, for any reason, from the service of His Majesty and from obedience to yourself, at sea as well as ashore, under the penalty of perjury and infamy, and of disloyalty and trea-

son, as action will be taken against anybody who will do the contrary. Likewise, they shall obey your captains, in your name, at sea as well as ashore, under the same penalties.

And in order to give example to those to whom the Holy Catholic Faith has to be declared and manifested in those lands you will reach, in compliance with your obligation to the service of God and His Majesty as a Christian and an honorable man, it is befitting that the men you have under you on the expedition live the Christian and Catholic way. You will see to it that this is done and that the name of our Lord and that of His glorious Mother are always revered and honored and not blasphemed, and neither those of the Saints. Have special attention to this and let the blasphemers and public sinners be punished severely.

So that the property and belongings of those who die among the men in the expedition are given proper care, you shall assign persons of good character and trust as administrators of said belongings. Such persons must swear that they will make good use of said belongings that will be entrusted to them, and they will not permit at the auction and sale that the owners of said belongings be defrauded. They shall do everything proper for the advantage of same, as if such property was their own. Likewise, the persons in charge of said belongings shall not keep them for their own particular profit and benefit; rather, they shall register and send the proceeds of the same, as soon as there are available ships, to the heirs of the dead, noting down the name of the dead, his address, his heirs, and an account of all his belongings. You shall take special care that it is done and complied with and the administrators of the property referred to must give an account of the things entrusted to them, so that carelessness and negligence will not be found in the administration of the same. For their work the administrators shall be given emolument, a certain percentage per thousand, which is modest and limited, in the manner due in New Spain, since it involves but little work.

Likewise, before you set sail, you shall issue orders and instructions signed by you, to the Admiral, the Captains, Pilots and Masters of the vessels of the expedition, to the effect that they will all follow the flagship and your flag and signal light; mentioning their specific names in each vessel and instructing them what to do and observe with reference to the entire voyage, going as well as returning, at your discretion and consideration. Order them not to deviate under penalty which you, on behalf of His Majesty, will impose on the person and the property of those who will rebel and disobey.

On the day that all will go aboard to sail, you shall order and provide, that, in each of the ships of the expedition the watch shall be distributed in groups, for the day as well as for the night, without accepting any replacements unless one is sick, so that no misfortune may befall on you through carelessness. Besides it is important that the men get used to this so that it may not be strange to them when during emergencies they will have to do it.

Having complied with all that was instructed and having unfurled the sails with God's blessings, there being a favorable and advantageous wind, you shall undertake your voyage for the discovery and possession of the Islands of the West, sailing towards

the Moluccas, but without entering, for any reason, the said islands, so that nothing goes against the agreement of His Majesty with the most serene King of Portugal. You shall enter the other islands near them, like the Philippines, which are not included in the agreement and are inside the demarcation of His Majesty, and which are said to have spices also. In order to reach those islands and obtain the principal goal His Majesty is after—to bring to the inhabitants of those places our Holy Catholic Faith and to discover the return route to this New Spain to the credit of the patrimony of the Royal Crown of Castile, through trade and barter and through other legitimate ways, which with a clear conscience should be carried on to bring back some spices and some of the wealth found in those places—you shall take your route straight with the advice and opinion of the pilots who are going with you, sailing straight to the said islands, in search of the **Nublada Island**¹, which Ruy López de Villalobos had [re-]discovered.

Having surveyed the aforesaid island, you shall sail to claim the island called **Roca Partida** which is in latitude 17°, 110 leagues, more or less, from Nublada Island, in which you shall try to anchor to know whether it has a good port and good drinking water, sounding it first to find out if it is deep enough to anchor without danger. After surveying this island, you shall sail to the **Reyes** and the **Corales Group**² where you will be able to provide yourselves with fresh water and other things there available, as was done by those who were there with Captain Villalobos. From those islands you will proceed to the Philippines, which are centrally located in the adjoining region, where it is believed there are spices, gold, and other things of value, being very rich lands. If to reach them, you have to pass the **Matalotes** and the **Arrecifes**³ which must be 200 leagues ahead, more or less, you will try to talk with the natives in these islands, which are big and inhabited, according to those who went there with Villalobos, and know what towns they have, what manner of living and business they pursue, and what can be bartered or traded with them, in order to know what they have in those islands.

Having reached the Philippine Islands and adjacent territories, and the Moluccas, without entering these as previously instructed, you shall try to survey them and look for ports that are in them and know and learn about the towns, particularly their wealth, as well as the mode of living of the natives. You shall find out what their trade and business are and with what nations, and what the value and price of their spices among them. You shall find out, too, what varieties of spices they have, how much of these the merchandise and barter goods you have can bring in exchange, and what other things can be of advantage and benefit. Try the best you can to use all means to make peace and friendship with the natives, presenting to those whom you consider to be nobles and chiefs the letters of His Majesty which you have for them, putting first the addresses

1 Ed. note: As was said in Volume 1, this refers to the island of Santo Tomás, discovered by Hernando de Grijalva, and now called Socorro, one of the Revillagigedo Archipelago.

2 Ed. note: That is, the Ratak or northeastern islands of the Marshalls, as was explained in the documents of the 1542 sub-series, in Volume 1 of this series.

3 Ed. note: Fais and Ulithi respectively.

and then closing them. Convey to them the good will and love His Majesty has for them, offering them some gifts, as you would like it to be done, and treating them very well.

You shall barter with them the merchandise and barter goods you have with you for spices, drugs, gold, and other valuables which you will find there. If you find the land rich enough and good enough for you to stay, stay where you find it convenient and where you will have friendship and goodwill, which you will keep unbroken. Once you have settled and have found out that, for the service of God, our Lord, and of His Majesty, it is befitting that you stay where you have settled yourselves with some religious, to the extent of having to inform His Majesty and this Royal Audiencia in his name, you shall send to this New Spain a person or persons of trust in a vessel or vessels you think best with the news and report of what you have accomplished and where you stay. They shall bring with them the goods you will have bartered and traded and, at the shortest time possible and with care and diligence, they must return to this land so that the return route will be known here, which is the principal aim of the expedition, having known that the outward voyage can be done in a short time. If you decide that you yourself return to this land in person, leaving in that place where you would reside persons to take your place with some religious, you are hereby advised to choose as leader, whom you would leave behind to take your place, a man of great trust, and he be left well provided with all the necessities of life until he receive aid. You shall require him to maintain good relations with the friends you have made, taking care that he does neither oppress them nor do them harm. He must be always careful and on the alert so that he does not suffer harm himself through his carelessness.

As you probably know, in the year 1542, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy and Governor, who at the time was in this New Spain, sent for the discovery of the said Islands of the West Captain Ruy López de Villalobos with some ships and men, and this having reached some of the aforesaid Philippine Islands and lost in them some ships, some of the Spaniards who were with him were left among the natives. His Majesty, anxious about the welfare of his subjects desires to know whether any are still alive, and if they are to be found among the natives. If such is the case, order that they be rescued from oppression and set free and returned to their lands to be pitied and given aid. Make a diligent effort to find out if some of said Spaniards are still living in some of the said Islands and do your best to rescue them even by ransom, and bring them to your fleet, with their children, if they have any; and thus, God, our Lord, and His Majesty will be well served by having freed them from the infidels. Those whom you will rescue will give you information and report of what they have seen and learned and on what there is in those places where they had stayed and will tell of other things they know.

If, after arriving at the Nublada Island or the Roca Partida, the weather a day or so before or after does not permit you to sail straight to the Philippine Islands, you shall turn northwest until you reach latitude 35° to 37° and, once in this altitude, you shall sail straight west and whenever you discover some land, set foot on it and find out how the place is and if it has ports, if it is inhabited, and whether the inhabitants are rich

and refined. You shall talk with the natives in order to be informed of the things there are in that land, and to find out if they have communication with people from other places, what trade and business they have, how much is worth to them the merchandise and barter goods you have with you, and what other useful things they have, such as what have been mentioned earlier as regards the Philippines. For our purpose, it is important that the spices and drugs are of value and importance among the natives themselves, so that when His Majesty would decide to redeem these islands, the spices and drugs found there and within their borders could be traded in those places where they demand higher prices. It is, then, necessary that you gather all kinds of spices and drugs as samples in exchange of the remaining barter goods and merchandise carried in the expedition. In this manner you will know more about the trade in those places for the benefit of the Royal Treasury. Strive to reach the said Philippine Islands and the other islands near them.

You shall get information from the natives of the Philippine Islands, and from the Spaniards who live there if you find some of the latter in the Islands or in places nearby; and if the Portuguese have already built some towns or new fortifications in some of the territories there after the agreement made between His Majesty and the King of Portugal, or after Captain Ruy López de Villalobos had arrived in them; you shall make the proper investigation about this particular thing, getting testimonies in writing which you shall bring or send together with the earliest communications and dispatches you will deliver to His Majesty and to this Royal Audiencia, in his name.

While you make the aforesaid investigation as instructed, you shall discover in the West whatever you can inside His Majesty's demarcation, without entering the Moluccas as previously stated; and wherever you find inhabited lands secure all the supplies that are necessary for your fleet. If you find an island rich and its inhabitants willing to make friends with you, and if some religious and some Spaniards with them or the religious alone will be safe among the natives, you shall order to stay those you would like to stay in the islands informing the religious and some principal officials in the fleet. If the land is rich, prosperous, and well inhabited and you believe it will be befitting and advantageous to have it for God, our Lord, and for the advancement of the Royal Crown, as well as for the good and the welfare of the men who are in the expedition and of those who will go there in the future, you shall stay in the island, in those places or parts of it where the safety of the ships and health of the men are assured and where the enemies cannot molest you.

In the shortest time possible afterwards, you shall send a vessel or two to this New Spain, forwarding a detailed account and report to His Majesty and to this Royal Audiencia of all the events that have occurred since your departure from the Port of Navidad until the time you send such report. You shall state the quality and wealth of the land, the places you have occupied, your future plans, the aid you believe necessary to be sent to you, the ships, the men, the artillery, ammunition or other things; and you shall state also the route to be taken by those who will take to you the aid you need. On board the vessels you will send back to this New Spain, make an effort to send for His

Majesty a great quantity of gold, stones, drugs, spices and other things of value which you can find there, as well as of those you can obtain either through barter with the goods and merchandise you are carrying from His Majesty or through voluntary offerings made by the natives to His Majesty or by other means. All that you will send must be registered in the record book of the vessel or vessels that you will despatch and leave everything to the care of the person or persons you will select.

Regarding the natives of these places, discussed in the above paragraphs, you will be very careful that nobody vex and offend them; rather, treat them with great prudence as a people of great dignity as it is being told they are people of reason and pride, and white like ourselves, because the higher their culture the better they become. It is but proper that when you come near any part of these Islands of the West, or even before you find them, you order all the captains of the vessels and others to be on the alert and, with their weapons ready, to engage in battle the vessels that may want to attack you. Likewise, the artillery should be always ready for the same purpose.

Whenever you come to any port, island or land for discovery and survey during the course of your voyage, you shall get information on the customs, the standard and manner of living, and the attitude of the natives. You shall also investigate their religion and sect, what they worship, what rites and sacrifices they perform and how they are governed. Find out if they have kings; if these are elected or if they rule by right of succession; if they govern as republics or as hereditary monarchs, and what tributes or taxes they give to which person and in what manner. Find out also what things on earth they value most and what things precious to them they get from other places and which of the things you have they like best.

Either you yourself or those whom you will designate shall upon landing, take possession, in the name of His Majesty, of the lands, islands, and places you discover; and degrees and documents shall be issued and attested by the notary in the presence of witness and in accordance with the solemnity of the occasion. These decrees and documents, together with a report on everything that has transpired in the expedition, shall be sent to this Royal Audiencia in the accepted form so that they shall be believed.

Furthermore, you shall order the pilots who are going in said fleet to take notes of the voyage they will make, going as well as returning, noting very well the routes, observing the currents and streams, and the prevailing winds in each season of the year. They shall also note down and sketch all the islands and lands they will discover, locating them in their true latitudes and giving the distance they believe they have covered from the Port of Navidad to those places. All the pilots will note down all the routes and everything that has been ordered, as well as the sand banks they will come across and everything else that is important to know for the subsequent voyages. They must take notes of the ports and places in which ships can anchor in their outward voyage and their return; and where provisions of water, firewood and supplies can be secured in case of necessity. In this regard the pilots should meet and agree with each other in order to have their observations and sketches fixed in the charts.

Take note that, as has already been said in this Instruction, the natives of the islands referred to are wise and rich and they have great rulers. They will not understand why, coming purposely to their lands by order of so great and powerful a prince as the King of Castile, our Lord, you do not bring them particular presents of great value and price, notwithstanding the fact that you bring with you some good articles which will be very much appreciated among them. So that they may not have the occasion to remark that, going to trade in far-off places like theirs, the merchandise you are carrying are few, you shall tell them that your voyage was not exactly to their places; rather, it was the weather that obliged you to stop there, although we have heard that in those places there are princes and great men and persons of many qualities with whom His Majesty wishes to have friendship and brotherly relations so that there may be intercommunication and trade between their subjects and vassals. You will offer them friendship in the name of His Majesty, giving them some of the best presents, those that please them most. In all this, you are instructed to exercise great prudence, as expected of your person. You shall not seek vengeance for any indiscretion; nor shall you or your men hear any ill feeling towards them. Above all, there must be peace and friendship as is to be expected from our treatment and intercourse.

When you come to inhabited places and you wish to talk peace and friendship to the inhabitants by all means have the talks done aboard the flagship, where you are. But when these cannot be done but ashore, you shall order your captains or other persons to handle the talks for you as, being a person of authority and high office, it will not be proper for you to disembark. Moreover, the natives may not dare do your person any treacherous act, knowing that you are the head of the whole fleet. Nevertheless, should there be a prince or great personage who would want to see you and make peace and friendship without taking himself the trouble of going aboard your vessel and would like to make peace with nobody else, you should avail yourself of the advice of the persons whom you would consult under similar circumstances and meet such prince or personage at sea aboard the boat of the flagship, taking with you the boats of the other vessels, well equipped with men and artillery, to defend yourselves from any treachery and save you from being caught unprepared. Under such circumstances, you shall not get far from the galleons so that, in case of necessity, you can be protected by the artillery and can return to the ships easily.

The person you shall send ashore to make such peace and friendship shall go with at least two boats well equipped with men and artillery and the place where they will meet with those with whom the treaty is to be made shall be the beach very near the place where the boats will be within sight of the galleons, so that, should there be treachery against them, they could easily take the boats and return to the galleons. Before you send men ashore to negotiate peace, require the natives to send you as hostages some of their leaders, who shall be taken to your flagship and remain there and be treated well while peace and friendship are being negotiated. If the natives themselves would require some of your men as hostages, you might give some of those you have less need and whose loss would not affect you greatly. Every time any or some of your

men go ashore to talk with the natives, order that they first get hostages to assure themselves of adequate protection; and no-one, neither soldier nor sailor, should go to any place ashore, except those whom you have given an assignment.

In any inhabited places you anchor, order that great vigilance be observed, especially during the night, on the cables of your ships, as the natives are likely to cut them and tie to them ropes to pull the galleons towards land until they run aground and then kill and rob those who are aboard. In like manner, at night as well as during the day, order that the boats, when aboard, be tied up with chains and locked, so that the natives in those places do not steal them, and so that those of your men, too, who are bad Christians and unfaithful, may not get away in them.

In lands where you propose to settle or anywhere you come to land, you and your captains shall attend no feast, celebration or banquet, even if invited, because in such celebrations the natives are apt to do treacherous acts. Likewise, instruct those whom you will send ashore that, if they are offered cooked food, wine or water, the natives eat and drink first of what they offer, as in many of those places the natives use to poison the food, especially the drinks.

In case you find no opportunity to live among the natives, either because they would not allow you to do so, or it appears to you too risky owing to the small number of men you have, or because of any other reason; and you believe you should return to this New Spain with the whole fleet after you have made peace and friendship and trade agreements for the future with the rulers and natives of those lands; and having acquired from them, by trade or barter, a good quantity of gold, silver or goods that will demand good prices here and effect the recovery of the expenditures and costs incurred in the expedition, you shall return bringing an account and report of the things from our kingdoms which can be taken to those lands which are of great value to the natives, as well as of the things that can be brought back from there, and the prices, ours as well as theirs. But in any case, among trustworthy men, it will be opportune that some of the religious in your company agreeable to you and to them to remain there because it will be of great consequence in the future for the conversion of the natives as well as for the preservation of the friendship and the peace which you will make with them.

And because it could be possible that you would even reach the Japanese islands while navigating according to the instructions, a part or some parts of which, according to indications on the globe, are not included in the agreement [with Portugal], but are inside the demarcation of His Majesty and with which, we are informed, the Portuguese are engaged in trade, you are instructed to avoid them if you can possibly do so. In case, however, you meet them you shall not, for any reason, be hostile to them; rather, treat them as friends but without trusting them nor the natives of the lands where they have been, nor the natives in places where they have never reached. When you meet the Portuguese in the friendliest of terms, you shall try and see the sea charts and notes they use in their voyages and secure some from them even through purchase; or, at least, have them copied.

Whether you find Portuguese, or not, find out if in those lands there are some missionaries who work for the conversion of the natives. If you can talk with those natives, you will learn their language, what those islands are, what is in them, and all they know about those places. You will find out if the Portuguese have some forces there, where and how; what people live in them; and what trade and business they carry on; in short, you will find out about everything that you think you should know, so that you yourself can bring a true account or send a report of everything. If, perchance, the Portuguese would fight or attack you, defend yourself, and, having a justifiable cause, assure your victory. If in your battle you will be victorious and have them under your power, treat them well and bring or send to this New Spain three or four of them whom you would select, in order that we can draw some information from them and His Majesty have knowledge about them.

If the Portuguese have trespassed the boundaries and have had their business and trade within the demarcation of His Majesty against the agreement of the Kings of Castile and of Portugal, you shall investigate and, after consultations with your captains and officials of the Royal Treasury, take such action as is required for the service of His Majesty and the welfare of the men and the fleet.

It is said that in the Japanese islands and in lands within their boundaries, the natives carry on a big trade by sea and sail in large galleons. If you come across some of them treat them well and you shall not permit that they be offended by any means. Seek their friendship, telling them that by order of this Royal Audiencia, in the name of His Majesty, you were bound for some islands, but owing to unfavorable weather you were compelled to arrive at their lands; nevertheless, it would be your great pleasure to know them and value their friendship, which you will keep. Then seek information from them to learn where they are from, who their ruler is, and where they are bound for; and if they are traders, what merchandise they have to sell. Find out if they know the Portuguese, and if these usually come and trade in those places and up to what place, if they have built up fortresses and forces and where these are located, and who they have with them, who their rulers, who their friends and their enemies. Inquire from them of everything that you think best, and put all information in writing, extensive as well as in detail, duly certified by the notary and then transmitted or delivered to this Royal Audiencia. If, perchance, those natives have with them goods that you believe of great value and it would be wise to barter them with yours, you should do it, if they permit. And in case they do not carry goods with them, show yours to them that you may know if they have goods to trade in their lands.

If, however, such vessels as you will meet are a fleet of pirates and threaten to attack you, let them understand by signals that you do not want to fight, and at the same time be on the alert to defend yourselves. If they insist upon fighting, then defend yourselves exerting your efforts to win with the help of our Lord, not allowing your vessels to lie broadside as much as possible because of the enemy's firepower, but firing your artillery earlier for your defence as your artillerymen are expert, careful and good in their manner of fighting.

Coming out victorious in such a battle and capturing some of their vessels and men, although they are to blame for the battle and the damages caused to both sides, you shall, nevertheless, treat the captives very well and return their ships and other belongings to them. After obtaining from them all the information you need to have, set the captives free, letting them know of the greatness of the King, our Lord, who wills that his subjects do no evil to anybody, and treat everybody with truth and friendliness anywhere they arrive and trade in the manner the other people do. If the vessels are really pirates, who make it their job to rob all kinds of people, do what you think best in the service to His Majesty and for the welfare of the men in the fleet after investigating them and finding them such and after consultation with the captains and officials of the Royal Treasury.

Having served God from the time of your arrival in those Islands of the West, wherever you find spices, drugs, gold or silver or any other merchandise which has to be purchased or bartered proceed to set your prices, which should be the cheapest possible, according to the value of the goods among the natives themselves; and assign the highest price you can on the merchandise you are carrying from His Majesty considering their high purchase price and their justifiable value once delivered there. It should be in such a manner that the trade will be useful and beneficial to His Majesty, taking into consideration the amount spent on this voyage and the great expense that will always be incurred in the trade in the future. The prices which you will agree with the natives and the contracts you will have concerning those prices must be fixed so that these would not go higher in the future at their pleasure or by force. To this effect you will require that the agreement and fixing of prices be done in formal writing.

Anything that you will purchase or barter, whether spices, drugs, or other goods of value, will use the balance in their land, because among the natives it is customary to measure weight in terms of the *bahar*, which in some places is worth four quintals, and in others, more or less.¹ In fact their weights are heavier than those used by Spaniards. To this effect, take with you the Roman weight and scale with the weights of the kingdoms of His Majesty; and in the port, before you set sail to those parts, order a balance made of iron or steel, to weigh four quintals, and which will correspond to a *bahar*, because with this, as well as with those used in those islands you reach and with those you bring from His Majesty's kingdoms, you will determine which will bring greater advantage to the Royal Treasury.

In any of the places you come with the fleet and make a trade agreement with the natives on merchandise of any kind, as well as in supplies and barter goods, instruct under pain of heavy penalty that anything purchased or bartered should be done by the officials of the Royal Treasury who are attached to your expedition. These shall make a record and account of all that was purchased, to be signed by them and kept in your possession. You shall not permit any other person, either for himself or for another, to

¹ Ed. note: In fact, the *bahar* seemed to have weighed as many as 5 Spanish quintals (1 quintal being 100 pounds).

purchase from or barter anything with the said natives, except the officials of the Royal Treasury upon your order, even if the goods be supplies, which at present is necessary, as, otherwise, it can cause the raising of prices.

As it is known that some of the persons in your fleet carry with them barter goods for their own use, and it is good, whenever it will be possible that they are to be benefited as persons who serve His Majesty, you will permit, after the officials had traded and bartered for His Majesty according to what has already been said, where there is gold or silver, up to 50,000 pesos of mined gold, barter be made next for the said persons, up to 10,000 pesos, of such mined gold, in gold or silver, by said officials with your permission and approval. After the barter is made in the amount of 10,000 pesos for those persons, the officials will resume bartering anew for His Majesty, up to another 50,000 pesos of such gold. As before, the officials will again barter for the persons in the fleet in the amount of another 10,000 pesos. In this same manner the trade and barter of all other barter goods in the fleet shall continue in all places where you will find gold, silver or precious stones, silk cloths or silk skeins or similar merchandise; excepting drugs, spices and goods of great bulk, because the spices and drugs will be reserved for His Majesty, and no-one can bring them by any means, except by express permission of this Royal Audiencia in His Royal name. Endeavor to distribute as you deem wise among the persons in the fleet the goods bartered for them according to the quality of the goods and the quantity of barter goods each carries with him.

Likewise, you shall endeavor to have all the goods bartered or purchased for His Majesty, as well as for private persons in the expedition, registered in the record books of the vessel in which they are carried, declaring specifically the kind of goods, their owners, and to whom they are consigned, so that everything shall have an account and His Majesty will not be defrauded of what belongs to him, with the exception of the supplies bartered for the sustenance of those who go on the expedition. By these presents, in the name of His Majesty, it is declared and ordered that, pending future Royal orders to the contrary, all persons, notwithstanding their status or condition, who are going on said expedition in the service of His Majesty and who bring or send some of the aforesaid merchandise and bartered goods, with the exception of spices and drugs and goods in bulk, which are reserved, may pay here in New Spain five per cent of the goods themselves or of their value as assessed by the officials of the Royal Treasury who are stationed here or by their deputies.

Since it may be possible, that in places where you come to trade you will find big quantities of merchandise and goods for barter with the natives, and the merchandise and barter goods you have from His Majesty are not adequate, you shall permit all the persons in the fleet, through the officials mentioned, to trade and barter all that they carry for barter, after complying with their obligations to the property of His Majesty.

Where merchants or other persons who are not going in the expedition have brought to the fleet some goods to be sold or bartered in those places, you shall not permit their disposal, either total or partial, until merchandise and goods have been bartered or purchased for His Majesty and for those persons who are in his service in the fleet. After-

wards, the said merchandise and goods belonging to other persons who are not in the fleet shall be bartered through the said officials and with your approval and permission, and by no other means. Whatever is thus bartered shall likewise be recorded in the ship books, as it is declared and ordered that they pay His Majesty, for the privilege, seven per cent, besides what ought to be paid as freight charges, as the vessels belong to His Majesty and the fleet was organized at the expense of the Royal Treasury. This must be done until His Majesty provides otherwise.

According to information, in those parts of the West, the inhabitants have the custom to trade, sell, and barter slaves from one place to another. As you will have need of some of the slaves to learn their language and also to have information about those islands, you shall order the purchase or barter of some from different places for this purpose, treating them well so that they will like you and tell you always the truth. You shall not allow a native in any place to be captured or taken by force; rather, as has already been said, he shall be obtained through barter or as present to you from some prominent man. Neither shall any soldier buy or barter a slave during the voyage in order not to increase those to be fed. But when, God willing, you land, and settle in a certain place, you will permit the captains and the rest of the men to buy or barter slaves to serve them. However, they shall not be permitted to sell or bring said slaves to New Spain until His Majesty so provides and orders. Nevertheless, it would do good if two or three of the slaves are taken to New Spain so that the people here can see them and learn from them things about their lands.

In any island or land you will decide to settle, as has already been said, it is preferable that you live on the seacoast where there is a good and safe port. You shall order the establishment there of a **fortress** where you yourself, or the person to take your place in case you have to come to New Spain, shall stay. The fortress shall be mounted with artillery for its protection and security and inside you will have two houses built, one for your residence and of the men of your choice, and the other for storing the merchandise and barter goods of His Majesty, the artillery ammunition and the magazine. At the entrance of said fortress a ditch shall be dug and a light bridge built. Quarters shall be constructed outside the fortress but very near it for the rest of your men who will have to remain there. You shall provide guards inside the fortress during the night, by turns, as you may believe convenient, so that there will always be some men on the watch inside the fortress whom you shall order to have with them their defensive and offensive weapons always ready for any encounter. Likewise, you shall have each and all of the soldiers ready in their respective quarters, their arms well equipped and ready for any eventuality; and if you shall think it wise, you shall permit them to leave their quarters with their arquebuses, lances, and other weapons. It usually happens that in lands where strangers have newly settled, the natives assault and jump on them to kill or capture when they see them careless or unprepared. It is, therefore, important that soldiers go always armed so that any time a similar thing happens they are always ready with their arms. Furthermore, seeing the soldiers armed, and not alone, discourages the natives from doing them any harm.

In places where you will arrive and settle, you shall prohibit under severe punishment any soldier or other person to go out to the villages of the natives without your permission and enter their houses and take anything from there and from their fields by force or against their will. The soldiers shall not leave their quarters without your permission. They shall be prohibited most especially from fraternizing with the native women in those places because, aside from offending God, such association may bring much harm. Even if such women come to your quarters or vessels, you shall not admit them; you shall send them back to their towns in the most courteous manner.

Until the fortress and the houses mentioned above are finished in the places where you go to settle, you and those persons whom you may have with you shall stay aboard ship at least during the night. Once the fortress and the ditch are finished, you may go and stay there, leaving the ships well guarded and as near as possible to the fortress. Once the fortress and the quarters are built you will secure vessels with oars, like some galleys and brigs, and a frigate, for your use whenever you have need of them.

Near the fortress you shall have a church built, where masses will be said; and close by there shall be a house for the religious who are going with you, so that they may be accommodated well and may have peace and quiet. There the Spaniards can seek satisfaction for their spiritual needs, and the natives can have closer contact with the priests to their own contentment. In any business you will have with the natives, let there be present some of the religious who are with you in order to profit by their good counsel and opinion and in order that the natives, too, may understand the great attention we give to them. Seeing the soldiers respecting and revering the religious, the natives will in the same manner respect them. This becomes very important when the religious, having an understanding of their language, or through interpreters, will let the natives know the teachings of our holy Catholic faith, and these will believe them. As you well know, the most important thing His Majesty desires is the propagation of our holy Catholic faith and the salvation of the souls of those infidels. For this purpose, in any place you will settle, you will strive in all manner to help the religious and give them your support to enable them to communicate with the natives in the places where you settle and to go to their villages so that the natives will find their good example edifying and in their contact with them they will learn the local language easily. Once the religious have learned the language, they can teach the natives our holy Catholic faith, convert them to it, and make them love and obey His Majesty.

Since you have with you in the fleet some native interpreters who understand some of the local dialects as they are from those places, you shall do your best to treat them well, regardless of race. If the contrary is done, if they receive ill treatment, they can cause you great harm.¹

Although it is understood that in the expedition you are to undertake, as well as in other things you are ordered to do, you shall follow all the instructions given, bad

1 Ed. note: These natives were probably Malay slaves brought to Spain and to New Spain by the survivors of the previous expeditions.

weather may hinder you from following the routes contained in this Instruction and it may be necessary that you make changes, in this case as well as in others, according to the weather and events. From the opinions of the persons mentioned in this Instruction, you will do that which will bring about the desired end of the expedition and what will be most proper for the service of God and of His Majesty. This and all that pertains to the expedition is entrusted in your faith, prudence, and zeal for God's and His Majesty's cause, having always the zeal to reach the said Philippine Islands and its adjoining lands and to discover the route back to New Spain at the shortest time possible, bringing or sending here spices and other things of value available in those places.

You will have to bear in mind that His Majesty's will and his principal wish, next to the service of God and our Lord in this expedition, is that you or the person you will think best to send back to New Spain must discover the return route from those islands to this land, as the route to them, which is done in a short time, is already known. Hence, whether it be your person or another of your confidence who will have to come, you shall send immediately the vessel or vessels you will have to send to New Spain and discover the return route from the Islands of the West. In case you remain in those islands, let the person you will send here bring a report stating where you would stay and where you would be found by those who would go to look for you and the route they will have to take.

As you well know, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta is going in that expedition. By order of His Majesty, whether you choose to return to New Spain with the vessel or vessels and leave behind a captain with some men, or send here another person and you remaining there, you will order Fray Andrés de Urdaneta to return in one of the vessels for the discovery of the return route; because, next to God, we trust in his experience and knowledge about the weather in those lands, and in his other qualifications, all of which will make certain the return to New Spain. It is, therefore, important that Fray Andrés de Urdaneta come in any of the ships you will send back; and he will have the vessel and the captain he chooses and nothing else, as we are sure God, our Lord, and His Majesty will be well served, and you will promptly get the men and all the help that you will need.

And when you will have to send a vessel or vessels to this land as you remain in those islands, you shall permit the men you have in the fleet to write freely the letters they want to send to His Majesty and to this Royal Audiencia, signed by them, and then to send those letters sealed and nobody shall by any means open them because, aside from being a bad act, it will be an act of disservice to His Majesty. You shall hand in and entrust the said letters to the person or persons you will send back to New Spain to head the vessel or vessels and shall order that as soon as he reaches any port or place in New Spain, he shall gather all these letters, and together with yours, he shall pack them well, close, and seal and address [the package] to this Royal Audiencia, so that after your letter has been read and understood, the other letters can be delivered to their addressees, but not before, being aware of the inconveniences or even harm that may arise if the

facts about the discoveries will be divulged before they are known by the persons who represent His Majesty.

Aside from this, you shall instruct and order the principal person whom you will send with the vessel or vessels that until notified by the Royal Audiencia that it has received notice of the arrival of the vessel and the receipt of the letters no person shall be allowed to land, and if one is allowed to do so he shall have no communication with any Spaniard or inhabitant of New Spain or to talk about the lands they have settled or about the voyage. You shall order him [the principal person] to assign a person of trust or confidence to land with the letters and walk to the town, where he will meet some natives or a Corregidor to whom he will inform about his arrival, as within the boundaries of the ports there will be posted Corregidores to whom he will show his identification [papers] as he arrives. He shall hand the letters with trust to the person who bears the authorization from this Royal Audiencia to receive them. You shall also instruct that the messenger does not divulge anything to such persons but only to hand the letters, showing the message. The Corregidores will provide food and other necessities to those who shall return with the vessel.

In difficult and important cases it is desirable and necessary to seek the opinion and advice of intelligent and experienced persons who are zealous in serving God and His Majesty. Such consultations make things clear and good resolutions are possible; otherwise, inconveniences occur. Consultations will be necessary in making peace, in deciding what to do when the natives in those lands break the peace agreement, in determining the place where you ought to land and settle or in changing settlements, on whether to send back two ships together or just one to this land and how they should make the voyage, on whether you remain there or come in person and leave behind in those islands another with a determined number of the men, and in making many other important decisions. You will need those consultations to obtain accord and mature judgment. Of the persons who are going with you in the expedition, it seems best that you should consult and agree with the religious, especially Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, for his experience and personal qualities, which are known to you; with the Treasurer, Guido de Lavezaris, who has been to those places; with the other officials of the Royal Treasury, as well as with Master-of-Camp Mateo del Sanz, the Captains, and such other important persons with whom you have trust and confidence. You should do this to get the best results.

As you well know, all of us will die sometime; if, perchance, (may God, our Lord, forbid) it happens that you, General Miguel López de Legazpi, die during this voyage, on the way to, during your stay in the lands you will reach, or on the way back here, by these presents, in the name of His Majesty, the person who due to your death will succeed you as Governor and General of the expedition is expressly ordered to inviolably observe and comply with all what is contained in this Instruction, as if said Instruction were directed to him; otherwise, His Majesty will be greatly displeased.

This Royal Audiencia believes that in case, by God's will, you will pass away from this life, either while on your way for the discovery of the Islands of the West or while

staying on those places, or while on your way back to this New Spain, some inconveniences will likely occur. There being no person appointed to succeed you as Governor and Captain General of the said expedition, the expedition will remain without General and Chief to direct and command it. Wishing to provide a remedy for such a contingency, the said Royal Audiencia appoints as Governor and General a person among those in the fleet who is of confidence and who is believed capable for the position. For this purpose a royal "Provision" is issued from this Royal Audiencia so that such person whose name is mentioned in the "Provision" may take charge of the fleet and direct and govern it as its General upon your death. This "Provision" is kept in a steel box, more or less a palm in length and a palm's breadth and two inches in width, closed and nailed, wrapped with linen cloth and sealed with three Royal seals so that neither you nor any other person may be able to know who is appointed General until God has disposed of your life. Once the box is opened and the "Provision" uncovered, the person appointed in your place is known.

You are ordered to take custody of the sealed box and keep it closed and sealed until you pass away. You will order to have it turned over to the officials of the Royal Treasury who are in the expedition, in the presence of the notary, who will certify to the transfer. Those officials, in the presence of the Master-of-Camp, the Chief Ensign, the Captains, the Sergeant Major, the religious, and the other important persons in the fleet will have the said box opened publicly by a blacksmith before the notary. The key used in locking the box shall then and there be destroyed and no duplicate key should be kept to reopen it. The process of opening the box, the disclosure of the "Provision," and the name of the person appointed Governor and General must be attested to and certified. Thereafter, the appointed Governor and General having taken his oath and made his pledge of homage and loyalty, as you have done according to the Instruction of this Royal Audiencia when it was presented to you, we order that he be accepted and obeyed, by reason of your death, as Governor and Captain General of the expedition by all the persons in the fleet, whatever their status or position, under the penalties contained in the said "Provision" and those which will be imposed by His Majesty. Such is the order that you will leave in the testament, codicil or any other declaration you will make prior to the hour of your death. This Instruction shall be handed over to your successor for compliance.

Because it would be also possible that the person selected and appointed in the said "Provision" as Governor dies before or after taking the position, in which case all the inconveniences resulting to the lack of a successor will be again present; and because the Royal Audiencia wishes that the expedition be always taken care of well and that there always remain a Chief to direct and govern [the expedition], another appointment has been made by this Royal Audiencia in another Royal "Provision" contained in a smaller steel box and placed upside-down, six inches long and six inches thick, sealed with three other Royal seals. The person thus appointed will succeed as Governor and General of the expedition if you and your successor die. You shall also take custody of this box containing the second appointment; and about the time of your death you shall

order that it be turned over, together with the other box, to your successor as per instruction given, so that the person who will succeed you will at the time of his death hand the said box to the officials who will open it in the manner stated before and announce the person who will succeed in the position left vacant by the death of your successor. To him [the second successor] shall be handed this Instruction for his safekeeping and compliance as your successor will have done in your place. Thus, upon your death and the death of the person appointed to succeed you, the person named in the second "Provision" shall follow the order of succession and no other:

Licentiate Valderrama

Dr. Orosco

Dr. Ceynos [Cisneros?]

Dr. Vasco de Pyga

Dr. Villalobos

Dr. Villanueva

In the city of Mexico on the first day of September, 1564, the President and Auditors of the Royal Audiencia, appeared before me, Antonio de Turcios, Chief Notary of the Royal Audiencia, and ordered the presentation, as hereby presented, of this Instruction, which contains 14 pages and signed by the said President and Auditors, to Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor and Captain General of the expedition which is being sent by order of His Majesty for the discovery of the Islands of the West, so that he may make use of this Instruction and comply with all its contents.

The said Miguel López de Legazpi received the Instruction and promised and swore to God, our Lord, by the sign of the Cross, on which he placed his right hand, and made his pledge of homage as a nobleman by the words of the four holy Gospels, his hands clasped and placed between those of the illustrious Licentiate Valderrama, of His Majesty's Council and Visitor General of this New Spain, a noble knight, once, twice and thrice; once, twice and thrice; and once, twice and thrice, as is customary in Spain, that he will set out in service to His Majesty as Governor and General of the said expedition for the discovery of the above-mentioned islands; that he will keep and comply with the Instruction and no other; that he will perform well and fulfill faithfully the duties of his office and position as Governor and Captain General, which is given him in the name of His Majesty, King Philip, our Lord; that he will do his best to serve his King and increase the patrimony of the royal Crown of Castile; that he will report personally, or through the person ordered by His Majesty or by the Royal Audiencia, on the expedition and on all discoveries and advantages he will acquire or accomplish as a good and loyal subject and servant to the Royal Audiencia and to no other; that he will not, directly or indirectly, withhold or do anything against the service to His Majesty nor against his Royal Treasury; and that he will keep secret this Instruction and all its contents, without revealing it to any person until the expedition has set sail, under penalty of perjury and infamy and of having incurred a grave offence against his Lord and King in doing the contrary.

He signed it with his name. And if he erects a fortress, he will have it done for His Majesty and to him he will turn it over and he will not use it to assist any person other than His Majesty and the persons authorized by letters or orders, and he will defend it in his Royal Name until death.

Miguel López de Legazpi.

Copied from the original. Antonio de Turcios.