
Document 1565X

Legazpi's voyage—Anonymous narrative attributed to Fr. Martin Rada, dated May 1565

Sources: AGI Papeles Maluco & Filipinas (1564-1608); transcribed by Muñoz on 26 April 1794; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 5; another transcript is in the Newberry Library in Chicago (Ayer Collection, ref. B&R 53:247); Col. de Ultramar ii, doc. 27, pp. 217-351; Col. diarios 5:52-61+; summarized in B&R 2:104-123.

Narrative of the voyage that the fleet of H.M. made to discover the Islands of the West, under the command of General Miguel López de Legazpi.¹

The said General took his departure from the port of Navidad which is in New Spain in the South Sea, and is at latitude 19° and 1/2 North. He took with him 4 ships: 2 large galleons and 2 small pataches. The flagship, named **San Pedro**, was the largest and the

¹ Ed. note: My opinion is that the author of this long narrative is none other than Fr. Rada, the famous China missionary and astronomer. This is the longest narrative of this voyage, written by someone who had a vast knowledge and enjoyed writing. The narrative contains a good mixture of religious and technical comments that only he (or Fr. Urdaneta) could have made. The disagreements between Fr. Urdaneta and the official pilots (who were proven wrong) are treated favorably at some length. At Mejit in the Marshalls, the author watched from the flagship as Fr. Urdaneta went ashore as an interpreter, etc. A more convincing argument is as follows: the author was aboard the flagship and, from the tone of the last paragraph of the narrative, he stayed behind in Cebu; therefore, since the friars aboard the flagship were Urdaneta, Rada and Aguirre, and since Urdaneta and Aguirre went right back to Mexico, that leaves only Fr. Rada as the probable author. Furthermore, a copy of this narrative must have remained in the Augustinian archives after Fr. Rada's death, because the text was followed very closely by Fr. San Augustin in his History published in 1698 (See Doc. 1565AE for the proof).

said General was aboard; her pilots were the Pilot Major Estéban Rodríguez, and Pierre Plin, a Frenchman. The *almiranta* galleon, named **San Pablo**, with Master-of-Camp Mateo del Saz aboard, had for pilot Jaime Martínez Fortún, and as his mate Diego Martín. Aboard the patache **San Juan** was Captain Juan de la Isla and pilot Rodrigo de Espinosa, his brother. The other, smaller, patache, named **San Lucas**, was captained by Don Alonso de Arellano and piloted by Lope Martín. There was another boat or small frigate which had been bought from Juan Pablo Carrión and was towed by the flagship.¹ With these 4 ships, having distributed the men among them, according to their capacity, the soldiers as well as the seamen whose names appear on the nominal roll that was made up at the said port of Navidad, in addition to all the guns, munitions and food supplies; and having given instructions and assignments to all the captains about their orders and how to carry them out, he embarked, commending himself to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, his favorite devotion.

The fleet set sail from the said port of Navidad on Monday, 20 November 1564, two hours after midnight, or rather, on Tuesday, 21 November, three hours before day-break. It headed SW in exact accordance with the instructions issued by the Illustrious Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco—may he rest in peace—and on that heading it ran until the following Saturday.

On Saturday, 25 November, which was the feast day of St. Catherine, the said General, before Hernando Riquel, Government Notary, exhibited sealed instructions received from the Royal Audiencia of New Spain, which he had been ordered not to open until he found himself 100 leagues from land. The said instructions ordered him, should the weather allow it, to make his way directly to the Philippines, and for the other neighboring islands that are located within His Majesty's demarcation, by way of the following islands: Nublada, Roca Partida, Los Reyes, Corales, Arrecifes, and Matalotes, which had been along the route followed by Ruy López de Villalobos. So, the General ordered that the religious, the Captains and the Royal officials, the Lieutenant, Sergeant, and Senior Constable, and all the pilots of the fleet be gathered for a council to be held aboard the flagship. After they had gathered, he told them what the said instructions contained and that, in accordance with them, the direct route had to be toward the Philippines and the other neighboring islands that are within the demarcation of H.M., that they should give him their opinion as to the best directions and courses to follow, in order to comply with the said instructions. The religious aboard were very sorry about this, giving out that they had been duped and that, had they

1 Ed. note: By the way, Robertson is wrong in saying that it was "carried on her poop deck", given that the Spanish expression "llevó por popa" here means "tied at the poop". This was a large skiff; in fact, it is described elsewhere as a fully-decked boat.

known or understood, while they were [still] ashore, that this was to be the route, they would not have accompanied the expedition, for the reasons that Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta had advanced in Mexico.¹ However, as the religious were zealous in the service of God, our Lord, in view of what the Royal Audiencia ordered and was repeated by the General, and seeing how much God, our Lord, would be served and His Holy Faith propagated, and the Royal Crown augmented, and also the general benefit of those with the fleet, they gave up and showed their concurrence with the will of the General. With regard to the most direct and best route to reach the Philippine Islands, as the General had asked, they all without exception said that they were of the opinion that they should steer W 1/4 SW [W by S] until reaching a latitude of 9 degrees, then run due west along the 9-degree line in search of the islands of Los Reyes and Los Corales which they say are located in 9 degrees, and from there go in search of Arrecifes and Matalotes that are in 10 degrees, and from there to the Philippines, and that was their opinion, because they no longer could go by La Nublada and Roca Partida without losing too much time, given that the pilots said that they had taken the sun in 15° that day.

In accordance with the above opinion, the General ordered a change in course, and that the fleet should steer W by S until 9 degrees were reached, and from there to run due west in search of Los Reyes and Corales, and from there to the Matalotes and Arrecifes, and from there to the Philippines at a latitude of 12 degrees 1/2 to 13 degrees, and according to this he gave new instructions to the Captains, Masters and Pilots regarding the order they had to follow, and if any ship was forced by weather to separate from the company they were to touch at the islands mentioned in these clauses, and the first to get there should wait for the others, and if they did not come within a certain time, proceed on their course, leaving some signs at each place; by following this order, they would reach the Philippines where they had to meet again. By giving these instructions, the course they had followed until then was changed, and put into effect in the afternoon of the said Saturday, 25 November.

So, the fleet steered W by S until the following Thursday, which was the 29th of November. Every night the patache **San Lucas** would, by order of the General, go ahead of the flagship, and on some days when dawn would come the said patache would be far ahead of the fleet by over 2 leagues, but at other times to windward. The said General ordered Lope Martín, the pilot of the patache **San Lucas** not to deviate from the fleet, to remain within half a league ahead of the flagship. So, on the said Thursday in the

1 Ed. note: Urdaneta had argued that they should go to New Guinea, whereas Captain Juan Pablo de Carrión (who was to have been in charge of the *almiranta* but declined at the last minute) had recommended the track of Villalobos. Fr. Urdaneta had had the ear of Viceroy Velasco, but the latter died before the fleet sailed, and Carrión was able to influence the Visitador Valderrama and the Audiencia, the body that held the vice-regal authority in the interim. New secret instructions were issued, to prevent Fr. Urdaneta from staying behind.

evening the said patache took position before the flagship, sailing on the same course described above, in accordance to what it had been ordered to do.

On Friday morning, it had vanished. The said patache did not appear, and although during the whole of that day and the next it was believed that it would certainly return to the fleet because it was a better sailer than the other ships, it did not show up. It has not been heard of since either.¹ This event caused much worry to the fleet, and to the General in particular, because it was suspected that the separation had been caused by the fault or carelessness of the said pilot Lope Martín, although it was thought that if the patache followed its voyage in accordance with the instructions it carried, it could not but make one of the Philippine Islands, because it was thought for certain that it had gone ahead of the fleet, and in the hope of catching up with it, the fleet proceeded on its course.

We ran on this course until we had reached the latitude of 9° on the 18th of December. In the interval, we had been becalmed for 2 or 3 days, and gotten some showers. Once on the latitude of 9°, the General ordered the fleet to steer west in accordance with the previous agreement in favor of a speedy voyage, and this was done. The fleet ran along this latitude of 9 degrees, 1/4 more or less, because the pilots could never agree when taking the sun's elevation; they always differed among themselves by 1/4 degree, and sometimes more, because if some estimated it at 9°, the others got 9° and 1/4, as it appears in their logbooks. They never agreed, neither in their latitudes nor in their daily runs. Some were ahead of the others by over 200 leagues in their estimate of distance covered from the port of Navidad, others less, but they were all mistaken and nonsensical about it, so that they estimated daily runs that resulted in a distance that was longer than what the ships had covered. I do not know if that was caused by the many currents and heavy seas that we had encountered along the way, or what was the actual reason for it; however, each pilot contended that his own reckonings were accurate and endeavored to prove that the other was mistaken, although, when the General would ask them each day about the distance covered that day, and the total distance from the port of Navidad, and in what latitude they had taken the sun, they would adjust their figures somewhat; those who were ahead of the others would reduce their figure, whereas those who were behind would increase their daily runs. Had it not been for the General's stratagem, the pilots would have kept on diverging even more between themselves, as they had done from the very beginning of the voyage. Nevertheless, they were all over-estimating the distances, and the one who moderated himself the most was Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, and he turned out to have been the most correct when land was first sighted. I do not know if he would have reduced his estimate even more, had it not been for the fact that all the [other] pilots were over-estimating and placed their positions on the chart ahead of his; this was sufficient to make him increase somewhat his own estimates of daily runs above those of the beginning, in order not to be so far off the estimates of all the pilots.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1565AA for the narrative of the voyage of the San Lucas.

Along that heading and latitude of 9° more or less, we ran directly in search of the islands of Los Reyes and Corales, until all the pilots believed by their dead reckonings that they had passed the two above-said islands—some even pretended that they were nearing the islands of Arrecifes and Matalotes which are much farther—so that the General, in view of the opinions of all the Captains and Pilots, ordered them to go up to 10° in order not to miss the Matalotes [Fais] which they were saying was on that latitude, which was done. The date was 28 December.

Once 10° had been reached, the order was given to steer due west; there was still this difference, as was said previously, between the pilots with regard to latitudes. While proceeding on this course, on Monday, 8 January [1565] in the morning, the *almiranta* ship which was sailing behind all the others fired a shot and tacked as a signal that land had been seen to the south. So, the others also tacked and ran south all day until vespers, but no land was seen. Seeing that the *almiranta* had been deceived, the flagship signaled a change in heading and a return to W by N, which was carried out.

[Discovery of Mejit]

On Tuesday, 9 January, in the morning land was seen from the flagship. It was a small, low island. Then a shot was fired so that the other ships would understand what it was, and they ran directly to the island that they had seen, and upon arriving there, it was a small island which could be 3 leagues in circumference, more or less. It had many green trees, many coconut palms. It was so well protected by a vertical reef that one could not anchor, not even find bottom. While tacking back and forth near it, looking for a place to anchor, a small village and some houses were spotted among the palm trees, with some Indians walking on the beach and others aboard some canoes. As they saw the ships, all the Indians made a run for it and disappeared inland; those in the canoes took refuge ashore.

The patache **San Juan** which preceded the others anchored in front of the houses and, with the bow over the reef, cast its anchor in more than 150 fathoms. The flagship came up next to the patache until her bowsprit was over the land, lowered her sails and let go the anchor, but [even] with two cables¹ bottom could not be reached, as it is so steep. The same happened to the *almiranta*.

The General having sent Captain Martín de Goiti forward with the boat. He stepped ashore, got near the settlement as he could not find an anchorage and to see if he could find the Indians. As the General could not find an anchorage for the galleons, he begged Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta to go ashore to see if he could communicate with the Indians. He went out in the boat, along with the General's grandson, Felipe de Salcedo, so that they would, in the name of His Majesty, take **possession** of the island. As the Master-of-Camp and Captain Juan de la Isla were coming from the other ship in their boats toward the flagship to find out what to do, and they saw that the flagship's

¹ Ed. note: We have seen in Doc. 1565U that the cables used then were at least 80 fathoms in length; the smaller ropes (such as those used for the sounding lead) could be 130 fathoms in length.

boat was going ashore, they intercepted it and, without coming to the flagship, went off with Father Fray Andrés.

The galleons got busy recovering the anchors they had cast. These having been recovered, seeing that the current was carrying them away from the island and off to sea, the General ordered to raise the sails and to tack offshore while waiting for the boats that were ashore, which was done. At sunset, the General ordered a gun to be fired to tell those ashore to return to the ships. They made haste, although it took time before they came back because the boat in which Captain Martín de Goiti had gone out had been left high and dry at low tide. They labored in dragging it into the water. After darkness fell, the General ordered that three lamps be lit aboard the flagship so that the boats would not lose sight of it and would make their way to it. The patache **San Juan** had already been towed out from where it had anchored and the boats from ashore went to it instead, so that the patache with the boats came back to the galleons at 10 p.m., at which time the fleet set sail and proceeded on its course.

Father Fray Andrés and those who had been ashore said that they had met with an old man who had waited for them, with an old Indian woman who seemed to be his wife, and with a young woman who seemed to be their daughter and who had a baby. They were unable to understand their language but communicated by signs and gave them some beads and trade goods they had taken along. The old man was thus reassured and displayed great happiness. He showed the Spanish the houses and the food products they had. He gave them a few of those, as well as fish which they had in abundance, tied up in bundles as well as [stored] in attics. By signs, he told them not to go back, that he would call the islanders and they would all come and be glad to meet with them. When he saw that they wished to return, he showed that he was saddened by their going away. The Indian was very well proportioned and the women good-looking. They were dressed with some palm mats which they weave very delicately and finely. There were many hens [like those] of Castile and lots of fish and coconuts, potatoes, yams, and another cereal like millet, which they have in quantity.

In addition, their **canoes** were very well crafted, [and also] their fish-hooks made of bone, and their nets, the fish-hooks [rather, the fishing nets, or lines] having many very fine strings. Their hair is loose and long. This island was named the Island of **Los Barbudos**. It is in 9° of latitude. Not one kind of offensive nor defensive weapon was seen. No earthenware pot of any kind was seen either.

[Discovery of Ailuk and Jemo]

On Wednesday, 10 January, in the morning, we saw another island which looked big and, at almost noon we came near it. There were a few small islets lined up North—South, and from one islet to another there was a reef or shoal. Behind these, the islets made a circle so that the whole looked like a giant corral [i.e. enclosure], with some banks and shoals from one to the other; for this reason, they were named the Islands of **Los Placeres** [the Banks]. There did not seem to be any Indian or inhabitant. No

bottom was found on which to anchor either, although the ships passed very near the reef and shoal.

That same day, Wednesday, 16 [rather 10] January, in the afternoon we saw another small island, round and full of trees. The sun had set by the time we got to it. It was uninhabited and had in it a great quantity of birds, on account of which we named it the Island of **Los Pájaros** [Bird Island], on account of which...¹ This island has a reef barrier extending more than two leagues toward the NE. This island would be separated from the island of Banks by about 8, or 9, leagues. Without stopping here, we continued our voyage.

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

On Friday, 12 January. Other islets and reefs were seen, with the same form as the previous ones, with a corral and sand banks, so that we named them **Las Hermanas** [Sister Islands]. They are uninhabited, and the reefs went from one islet to another, and surrounded what looked like a corral, which might have over 10 leagues in circumference [as seen] from the part that we coasted it which was the southern coast. No bottom was found on which to anchor, so that we proceeded on our course. All of those islets are full of very dense bush that extends to the high-water mark, and access to them is blocked by steep rock and reefs.

[Discovery of Ujelang]

We continued our route until the following Sunday which was the 14th of January. In the afternoon of this day, we saw land bearing SW. As we approached it, as it was evening, we were unable to touch at it. We ran back and forth all night until the following Monday at daybreak. The land turned out to be a few islets with low and dangerous reefs, uninhabited and without anything good. We were unable to anchor either, although we tried to, by getting as close as possible to the land. Seeing that a landing could not be effected, the General ordered a resumption of our voyage due west.

The Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta said that perhaps these islands and reefs were the **Jardines** discovered by Villalobos [Wotho], although if they were the same, we found ourselves much more behind where he estimated our position to be and we would not have covered as much distance that he found we had by his reckoning, that he thought so because they were located at the same latitude as the others [Jardines] had been placed in the accounts of those who went with Villalobos, and for other reasons he was giving. The pilots were laughing at him, saying that it could not be, because they were much more ahead; some of them estimated they were near the Philippines, others near the Matalotes. And so, we pursued our voyage on the same heading until the following Wednesday which was the 17th of January.

On the following Wednesday, the General seeing that all the pilots then estimated that they were near the Philippines, and some of them had marked beyond them, but

¹ Ed. note: These last 4 words appear to be redundant, or else are a transcription error.

that they had all passed the islands of Matalotes and Arrecifes in search of which we were, and that we would no longer hit them, he ordered a meeting of the religious, Captains, Officials and Pilots. To all he exposed what the pilots said, and [said] if it were true that we were beyond the Matalotes, it would be convenient to go in search of the Philippines, and if possible he did not wish to touch at the island of Bindanao, at the same low altitude taken by Villalobos, in order to avoid what happened to him, given that he had been unable to go out and get past a point of that island to go to the Philippines [i.e. Leyte-Samar Group] and that was the reason he had suffered from hunger and fatigue; given that all [the pilots] were on top of the Philippines, and some beyond them, they should consider if it would be proper to go up in latitude from the 10° in which they were then. He requested them for their opinion so that, according to it, he could decide what was best for the service of God, our Lord, and that of His Majesty. To that request, they all said that we were of one mind that we should go up to 13°, and from there run west so as not to miss the Philippines, and also to avoid the repetition of what happened to Villalobos upon rounding the point that the General mentioned. Given that the opinion of all was the same, the General ordered the heading changed to NW until reaching a latitude of 12° and 1/2, or as far as 13°, and from there to run due west, which was carried out. This decision seemed a very good one to Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta; he said that, by going by that route, they could not miss the Philippines¹, that if the last islets and reefs were the Jardines discovered by Villalobos as he had said, by all means they would hit the Islands of the **Ladrones** which were in a latitude of 13°, and were many islands laid out North—South, so that they could not miss seeing some of them. If we should see them, the voyage was then assured; also, we would be sure that the distance covered was less than first thought.

So, we went on running until the fleet reached a latitude of 13°, and once there, the General ordered to steer to the west, yawing a bit to W by S in order to go down to 12° and 1/2, although in the matter of the latitudes, as I have said previously, the pilots always disagreed by 1/4 to 1/3 of a degree, more or less. Thus, we went on until Sunday, 21st of January, and on this day Father Fray Andrés told the General that if it were true what he had thought about the last islets and island that we had left behind being the same as the Jardines of Villalobos, then we were near the islands of the Ladrones, because he had figured it out, and reckoned our position to be near the Island of the Ladrones.

[Stopover at Guam]

On Monday, 22nd of January 1565, at about 10 in the morning we saw land which bore to NW and it appeared to be very high land. The ships then steered to NW to stop at them. The pilots would say that it was land belonging to the Philippines, and the nearer we got to them, the more certain they became of it. Only Father Fray Andrés

1 Ed. note: What he meant was Samar Island, as the name Philippines had not yet been extended beyond the Leyte-Samar Group.

Urdaneta was saying that they could be the Ladrone Islands. As we went along, from the topmast of the flagship they saw proas with sails leaving the coast, and they seemed headed for the fleet. Those in the topmast were saying that 6 of them together had left from one point ashore; that 6 others had left from another point, 5 from elsewhere, and then they said that from all points along the coast that could be seen there came a large number of them. Father Fray Andrés asked those in the topmasts what was the shape of the sails carried by these proas. They answered lateen sails. Upon hearing this, he said that he was sure that we were in the Ladrone Islands. Furthermore, when he saw later on such a large quantity of proas approaching the ships, he said that the natives of those islands have such a custom, whereas those of the Philippines have not. The pilots persisted in the opposite view, saying that it was nothing other than land belonging to the Philippines and they laughed at the idea that it could be the Ladrone Islands. When the fleet was about two leagues from the land, there arrived at the ships all of those lateen sails that are made of very well woven palm mats; each canoe or proa carried 6 or 8, 10, even 12 or more Indians. Some arrived in groups of 6 or 4, the same as when they had left their village ashore. There were as many as 50 proas around the ships within a stone's throw of them. All of them were shouting very loudly at us so that we could not hear what they were saying except that each and every one of them was making signs to us pointing at their own town, that we should go there, and that they would give us a lot of food, exhibiting with their hands some product that they carried in the canoes, and rubbing their bellies with their hands. They extended their arms, shouted, and we interpreted those signs to mean that they would satiate us. They never wanted to come alongside, although we invited them. When the General saw that they did not want to come, he ordered that some knives, scissors, beads, a mirror and other things be placed on a board and lowered from the flagship; they were taken by the Indians aboard the nearest canoe.

And so we went along until we came within tacking distance of the land, the canoes keeping us in their middle and shouting, each one pointing to his town. When we arrived at the shore, the sun was setting and we could not find an anchorage on that side. The whole coast near the shore was full of coconut palms, and between the palms we could see houses. So, we sailed along the coast toward the south, and as the Indians saw that we did not anchor and that darkness was coming, they went off, each one to his town.

The ships kept on running along the coast until they rounded a low island [Cocos] full of palm trees that was at the point of the big island. From the small island to the big one, there was a big stone reef. Coming around this small islet at the SW corner of the high island, there opened up a bay where the General asked the patache **San Juan** to go ahead to see if there was an anchorage where the ships could stay. As it became dark, the Indians lit many bonfires along the coast and shortly before midnight the patache San Juan anchored.

The following Tuesday at dawn, the flagship anchored near the patache and later on the *almiranta* that came further behind did the same. The General issued a **proclama-**

tion to the effect that no-one from the fleet should dare go ashore without his permission, and that those who would go would not use force, do any wrong or harm to the natives, would not take anything from them, as well as their provisions or anything else, and that they were not to touch their plantations or fields, nor cut their palm or any other tree and that they were not to give nor engage in anything of any kind with the natives under severe penalties, except through the hands of the officials of His Majesty whose duty it was. He notified the captains that if they did not concur, they did so upon the penalty of losing their office. Afterward, at every place the fleet came to, the same proclamation was made, and this caused the soldiers to show not a little discontent.

On Tuesday [23 January] at dawn the natives started coming in their proas to where the fleet was anchored. From the whole coast there came so many that they had all the ships surrounded, more than 400 of them as far as could be counted. When the flagship arrived to anchor, it brought along over 100 of them. The Indians who came in them were bringing for barter dry and fresh coconuts, sugar-cane, green bananas, rice tamales and other little things to eat but so little of everything: 2 or 3 coconuts each, 1 or 2 pieces of sugar-cane, 2 or 3 potatoes or yams, 1 or 2 tamales. They did not bring anything in quantity, and they hurried us so much to barter for this, shouting loudly at every thing given to them in return. Not one of them would come aboard, or trust us, although the General was telling them many things, giving them beads and trade goods, showing them much love and goodwill and treated them like friends.¹ They did not trust us beyond exchanging, for whatever thing we gave them, a little of what they had brought along. Thus they would give for playing cards, for small pieces of selvedge of cloth, for jingle bells, what they brought, which was very little of anything. They were at it all day, until late afternoon.

The Father Prior spoke to them with a few words in their language that he remembered; specially when he counted up to 10 in their language, they showed that they were much pleased by it. One of them came to mention **Gonzalo** who, according to the Father Prior was the name of a Spaniard whom they had found at one of those islands² and they said that that island was called **Goam**. Everyone kept mentioning us to come to his town, and that we should go there to find much to eat. All canoes and people aboard them carried their **weapons**: shields, bundles of spears, slings and stones made into the shape of an egg. Such are the weapons that they use.

They walk around stark naked, not covering any part of their bodies. They are rather tall, strong-limbed, well-proportioned and they appear to be strong. The women are

1 Ed. note: Once bitten, twice shy, says the proverb. The Guamanians had not forgotten that 11 of their countrymen had been kidnapped by Captain Salazar in 1526.

2 Ed. note: See Urdaneta's account of the Loaysa expedition, Doc. 1526C (Vol. 1, p. 456). This Spaniard was the Galician deserter and beachcomber, Gonzalo de Vigo, the man who had taught those few Chamorro words to Urdaneta.

also very tall and they only wear a string around the thighs and [hanging] from this string a little grass or tree leaves with which they cover their shameful parts; some of them cover them with a mat made of palm leaves. The rest [of the body] is left completely bare. Both sexes wear their hair loose and long, and they gather it at the back of the neck; it is jaundice [sic] in color.¹

The following Wednesday, proas came in larger number than the day before, but they no longer wanted to give what they brought as before. Rather, they clamored for iron instead; they were given some in exchange for what they had brought. As [soon as] they were shown some nails, they no longer wanted iron nor wanted to give anything except for nails. They showed that they were fond of them, because for them they were giving as much as they had brought. They made us understand that they wanted them to build their **canoes**. Their canoes are so well finished and very well made, fastened with cords. On their surface, they applied a white or orange-colored pitch instead of tar. They are very light and they sail aboard them with their palm-mat lateen sails, cutting against the wind and tacking so swiftly that it is marvellous thing to watch. According to the sailors aboard the fleet, they have never seen any kind of *fustas*² so light as these. They have neither poop nor prow [as such] so that as they go sailing they just change the point of the lateen sail and, as fast as they went forward, they come back with the poop [acting now] as a prow. It certainly is something to see how fast they sail and how easily they change direction.

Every day that the fleet was anchored at this island there were native canoes alongside selling foodstuffs and to get a good revenge for the bargain sale they made on the first day. Since the men of the fleet made it known by signs that they should bring more rice, and all the rest they brought, they began to bring hand-made mats, bundles of rice that appeared to contain from 3 to 4 *almuds*³ more or less, which they gave for large nails, and since they did not come on board the ships but from the latter a cord was thrown to them with a nail tied to it, after approving of it they tied to the same cord the bundle of rice, and there were found many bundles full of sand and only a layer about two fingers thick of rice of top to cover the fraud, and other bundles had grasses and stones inside to add weight to them. They played many very funny tricks with these and also with some small barrels of coconut oil that were traded in order to light the binnacle lamp, of which many were bought. Most of them were found also to contain no more than one or two fingers of oil on top and the rest was all water. So they perpetrated many such deceptions and evil things such as when nails were lowered to them, some of them would take them and run away without any shame, go on to another ship to do the same. If anyone told them off, they became fierce and displayed their wea-

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- 1 Ed. note: The yellowish streaks in their black hair were probably due to their being bleached by the sun.
 - 2 Ed. note: A fusta was a small ship rigged with lateen sails; sometimes translated as foyst by early English narrators.
 - 3 Ed. note: An almud was an ancient measure for cereal grains, probably worth the 12th part of a fanega, the Spanish bushel.

pons, spears and slings, threatening to use them. Because the General has ordered that nobody was to do them any harm or even threaten them in words, they had their own way.

They are a people inclined to behave badly, and whenever they carry out some wicked thing they show great happiness at having done it. Truly, he who gave them the name of Island of Ladrones [Thieves] was more than correct, because they are so and proud of it. They are very much without shame and badly inclined; they do not take into account any one but their own person. Thus, it was seen a few times, when the General gave a few things to the Indians that looked like chiefs, things like jingle bells, mirrors, and trade goods, they fought with the one receiving them and they snatched them from one another's hands and took flight. They always went about looking for something to steal. They removed a piece of iron from the rudder of the patache **San Juan** and they tried to pull the nails from the sides of the ships. One day, an Indian dared to jump from his canoe into the skiff that was tied alongside to the rigging with a cable. He untied it and, returning to the canoe, was pulling the skiff by the cable in order to take it away. He was about to succeed when they shouted at him from the ship; the Indian burst out laughing. Another time, some Indians from a canoe told a sailor who was in the boat to come into their canoe and, so that they would not be able to say that he was afraid to do so, he went in and as soon as he was in they began to sail fast in order to take him away; so, he thought it better to throw himself overboard and thus he returned swimming to the boat.¹ The canoe then returned alongside without any shame and they cut and took away the buoys of all the ships. All this was put up with on account of the General having ordered not to do them any harm but only to be on our guard against giving any cause or opportunity for the Indians to do us harm.

On this Wednesday afternoon, the General ordered the Master-of-Camp and Captains Martín de Goiti and Juan de la Isla to go in the boats and see a cove of the same island and bay, and see if there was a river with fresh water in order to replenish the water that the fleet needed. They went off and returned; they said that in the cove in question there was a river very good for watering purposes, and that the ships could go up and anchor in that cove as there was a good, clean bottom. So, in order not to be so far away, the General ordered that the ships be brought into this cove while watering was going on.

The following day, Thursday, the ships were towed as far as the mouth of the cove. The patache **San Juan** that was in the lead wanted to go further in; when it got near the mouth of the cove, from nearby ashore the Indians began to shoot stones with slings and throw spears from both sides in large quantity, because both sides were so near the shore that the stones reached the ship, and thus they wounded some men and they injured the said Juan de la Isla with a stone; that was the reason why it became necessary for a few arquebus shots to be fired in order to make the Indians go away. There were

1 Ed. note: Lucky for him that he could swim, an unusual skill for Europeans, even sailors, in those days.

many Indians and some bravely waded in to shoot at the ship from a closer range. As soon as they felt the arquebus shots they retreated. Captain Juan de la Isla came to the flagship to give an account of that to the General, and on the way he passed alongside the *almiranta* which was quite close to it. The General ordered the Master-of-Camp to go ashore in a boat and ask the Indians why they were doing that, that if they were peaceful, the ships would not do them any harm, that our intention was simply to take on water and go away. The Master-of-Camp went ashore and calmed down the Indians who promised him that they would keep the peace and not do any bad thing. When the local Indians had been stoning the galleon [sic] **San Juan**, there were alongside the [other] ships over 100 proas trading, and by signs they were telling us that they were our friends, not those from that cove. [However,] we saw those who said that go to the cove as soon as they left the ships, and from the cove canoes returned to the ships; they are shameless when they do evil things. There in the mouth of the cove where they shot stones, the patache anchored. The galleons anchored a short distance further out.

The next day the Master-of-Camp went out with the boats and began to take water from the river. The Indians showed themselves to be quiet and peaceful and by themselves came to the watering place and began helping to fill the water barrels. While they were thus together mingled in complete friendship, an Indian grabbed from a soldier the arquebus that he held on his shoulder and fled with it. All the other Indians did the same and they began to shoot stones at those who were taking on water with much shouting. The soldiers with the arquebuses began to shoot back at them. The Indians then went up the river bank and from there shot stones with their slings. After a while, they came back to say that they wanted to be friends and be peaceful. The Master-of-Camp consented and received them in peace, telling them not to do bad things, that he would not do them any harm [either]. Once more they began taking on water, the Indians being together with the Spanish in complete friendship, [when] an Indian attacked a soldier who was next to him and suddenly gave him a thrust to the chest with a fire-hardened stick. As he wore a coat-of-mail he was not hurt in the chest but wounded in the hand; it was from this wound that he was to die 10 or 12 days later. Then all the Indians took flight, up the river bank where they made ready for war and [began] shooting stones [again]. The Master-of-Camp having seen their wickedness skirmished with them for a while and forced them to leave the bank and flee. He captured one of those Indians and brought him to the ships where they kept him in the flagship with shackles on, treating him well and making him understand that the Indians should return the arquebus that had been stolen from the soldier and that he would then be let go without doing him any harm. He thus remained captive for three or four days during which time the Indians again returned to make peace and the General received them.

[Taking possession of Guam]

The General landed to take possession of the island in the name of His Majesty.¹ The religious went out to say mass; the divine cult was celebrated and the land was taken possession of in the name of His Majesty with a solemn ceremony. There came over 80 Indians to where the General was. He gave beads to all of them and left them contented. In this manner, they were at times peaceful and at times on a war footing. Even during a truce, every time they saw an opportunity, they committed some wickedness; meanwhile, there were generally a quantity of canoes trading alongside the ships and, after leaving aboard their canoes would go ashore to fight with our men, to be replaced in the canoes by those who had been fighting who then came alongside to trade. At all times, they kept their weapons in their hands, something they did without any shame, because such a feeling they did not have.

One day the Indian who was captive with fetters aboard the flagship, seeing the canoes coming alongside and that the guard assigned to him was distracted, threw himself overboard, swimming with the fetters on until he reached one of the canoes that were there and, being alone in it set sail and fled. As those canoes are so light, although the boat had gone after him and followed him, it did not overtake it. A boat that was chasing this Indian captured a proa along the way. There were aboard it an Indian man and an Indian woman and a boy. They were taken prisoners aboard the flagship in the same canoe. The General ordered that the Indian woman be given a mirror, a comb and some beads and ordered her released later so that she could leave aboard the same canoe, making her understand by sign language that she should tell the Indians to bring back the arquebus, and the fetters that the Indians took, that those who were in the flagship would then be freed. Thus the Indian woman went away in her canoe but no response ever came.²

The next day, given that the Father Prior and the Pilot Major had to go with the Master-of-Camp to explore the western coast, the General ordered them to bring along these two Indians and release them where on the previous day they had seen the Indian woman released by the General disembark. As they wanted to be on their way that night at midnight, they went below deck to take out the Indians but the older Indian did not want to come out. Rather, he would throw himself upon the deck, hit his head against it and bite the soldiers who tried to take him out. That is why the Father Prior told them to leave him behind and so they did not take him along. The next morning they found that the Indian had hanged himself from a beam close to the [upper] deck, and thus only the boy was left. That same day many canoes came alongside, as usual. The General had the boy taken out to see if he could recognize any canoe. He began to shout to the Indians who were coming in one canoe, and he said that there came his father; as they could see him from the canoe, they came alongside and gave him a bundle of rice,

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1565Z2 for the act of possession.

2 Ed. note: I think that the Spaniards had made a mistake in thinking that the three individuals constituted one family. It was proved later that the older man was not the boy's father.

potatoes and coconuts so that the boy could eat. The General asked him by sign language if he wanted to go with his father, that he would let him go. The boy started to cry. The General told him not to cry and then ordered that he be given some linen breeches, a bonnet, a comb and some beads. As the boy understood that they wanted to release him, he kept on clinging to the General's feet and kissing them many times. The General tied a cord around his body and thus clothed had him lowered from the poop where the canoe of his parents or relatives was. They picked him up with great rejoicing and happiness; all those in the canoe embraced him, and carried him away, taking from him the beads, the mirror and the comb that he carried, and very contented they went off with him.

[Proposal to colonize Guam]

At this island, when the General held a meeting with the religious, the Captains and Officials of His Majesty, the Father Prior proposed that the settlement be made in that island, and that ship be despatched to New Spain from here, because by doing so, much time would be saved and the return voyage of the ship that was to discover the return route would be shortened, that relief would come sooner; meanwhile, the settlers could explore and discover what there was as far as the Philippines or in whatever direction they wished. The General said that to settle there would not accomplish what he was obligated to do and what he had been instructed to do by His Majesty; besides, this island was poor and did not have anything that could be taken advantage of besides food, that he would not deviate from going to the Philippines for any reason, and to the other neighboring islands, as he had been ordered to do. Although there were then some rejoinders, the subject was dropped. Thus, the General ordered to hurry up the departure from that port in order to pursue our voyage.¹

[A final insult]

In payment of the goodwill that the General showed to the islanders in deeds, being men who ignore any kind of virtue but are rather very skillful and quick at doing bad things, through the carelessness of a [ship's] boy, they saw an opportunity to commit a final vileness that was the worst one they did. It was one day that the boats were ashore taking on water, during a truce with the Indians. A little before sunset, the boats came alongside loaded with water [casks], and of all the people who had been ashore, it appeared that when they called out for the return, they were not heard by a ship's boy who had gone among the palm trees to sleep; this was another carelessness, as he had felt safe as the Indians were at peace. However, in the end he was left behind without the people missing him. Then, when the boats arrived alongside, the lad came out to the beach. When the Indians saw him, they tortured him piercing his body many times with lances with the greatest of cruelties in the world amid great shouts. Even though

¹ Ed. note: Legazpi himself was to comment on this proposal later on, in a letter to a Portuguese commander who wanted him to leave Cebu and go to Guam (See B&R 2:279).

the shouts were heard from the ships, they were not understood for what they were until the absence of the lad was noticed. When it was seen that he was missing, the people jumped into the boat and furiously went ashore but they arrived too late because they found the lad already torn to pieces. From the wounds he had, it appeared that they had tied him spread-eagled by the feet and hands, and holding him in this manner they had pierced him with those spears they had, because he had more than thirty wounds throughout his body. Then they skinned his face and drove a sharp stick into his mouth that came out at the nape and then, they stoned him. As the Indians saw the people in the boat, they left the lad on the sandy beach and climbed a hillock where they used to hide and from there they were shouting and taunting those in the boat, exhibiting the shirt, the breeches and the jacket they had stripped from the ill-fated lad whom they had so cruelly killed. By sign language, they were saying to come on over, that they would do likewise to them all. However, even while this was going on, there was always a large quantity of proas trading around the fleet. However, with the agreement of the Captains and Officials of the fleet, the General was of the opinion that such an evil was not something that could go without punishment and, with everyone's consensus, he turned the matter over to the Master-of-Camp. The latter made a landing that night with 100 soldiers and made his way at dawn to a nearby town, but as the Indians had their sentinels, he found the town deserted. In the morning, when returning to the port, he set up an ambush [party] in a palm grove, went to the beach where he gathered 3 or 4 canoes and set them on fire, then boarded the boats. As the Indians saw what happened, they came running to save the canoes, and shouting loudly. As they neared the canoes, they discovered [it was] an ambush so that it did not have the desired effect, although the arquebuses wounded and killed a few. They captured only four of them, three of them being mortally wounded, the other one unhurt. The Master-of-Camp ordered that they be hanged at the same place where they killed the poor lad, but the Indian who was unhurt, he ordered brought to the ship, at the request of the religious who said that it would be to the greater service of God, our Lord, and that of His Majesty, if he were taken to New Spain rather than hanged; so, he was taken to the flagship.

When the Master-of-Camp saw that he could not do any more physical harm to the Indians as much as they deserved, he ordered the houses of a cove to be burned, that is, the cove of the port [of Umatac], and those of that whole vicinity and a few proas that were found ashore. Thus, the men spread out, some going to the town where they had gone that night, some around one headland and some others around the other.¹ They burned a number of houses although it was but a small punishment for so many vicious and treacherous acts they committed against us who had over-tolerated them so many times, upon so many occasions given to us, the General having tried so many ways to make friends with them. They were punished so that, the next time Spanish vassals of His Majesty come here, they would receive them better, and keep their word

1 Ed. note: To the villages (or bays) adjacent to Umatac, north and south of it respectively.

when they had promised to be friends, but more importantly, so that [they realized that] they would have received no harm from us had it not been for this last occasion.

[Description of Guam]

This Goam Island is high and hilly. It is full of coconut palm groves and other trees all along the sea shore. It is thickly populated also, including in the valleys where there are rivers. There are many rice fields, and many yams, potatoes, sugar-cane, bananas and the latter are the best I have seen because in smell and in taste they have a great advantage over those of New Spain. There is also much ginger. A sample of sulphur rock was found. The highlands are completely bare of bush or trees, except in some ravines. No-one was found who ate or had any kind of meat, any wild or domestic cattle, any birds whatever except a few turtle doves that they kept in cages; as for the Indians we kept captive on board, they did not wish to eat any meat at all and at the beginning they did not want to eat any of our things. They have fish in quantity which they take with fish-hooks, and fish-nets, some of which are rather large implements. Some people noticed a few times, when the Indians were bartering at the ships, if some fish of any kind swam by the ship, they dove in after it and took it out with their [bare] hands, which is something wonderful to see.¹ They are excellent swimmers.

[Chamorro houses]

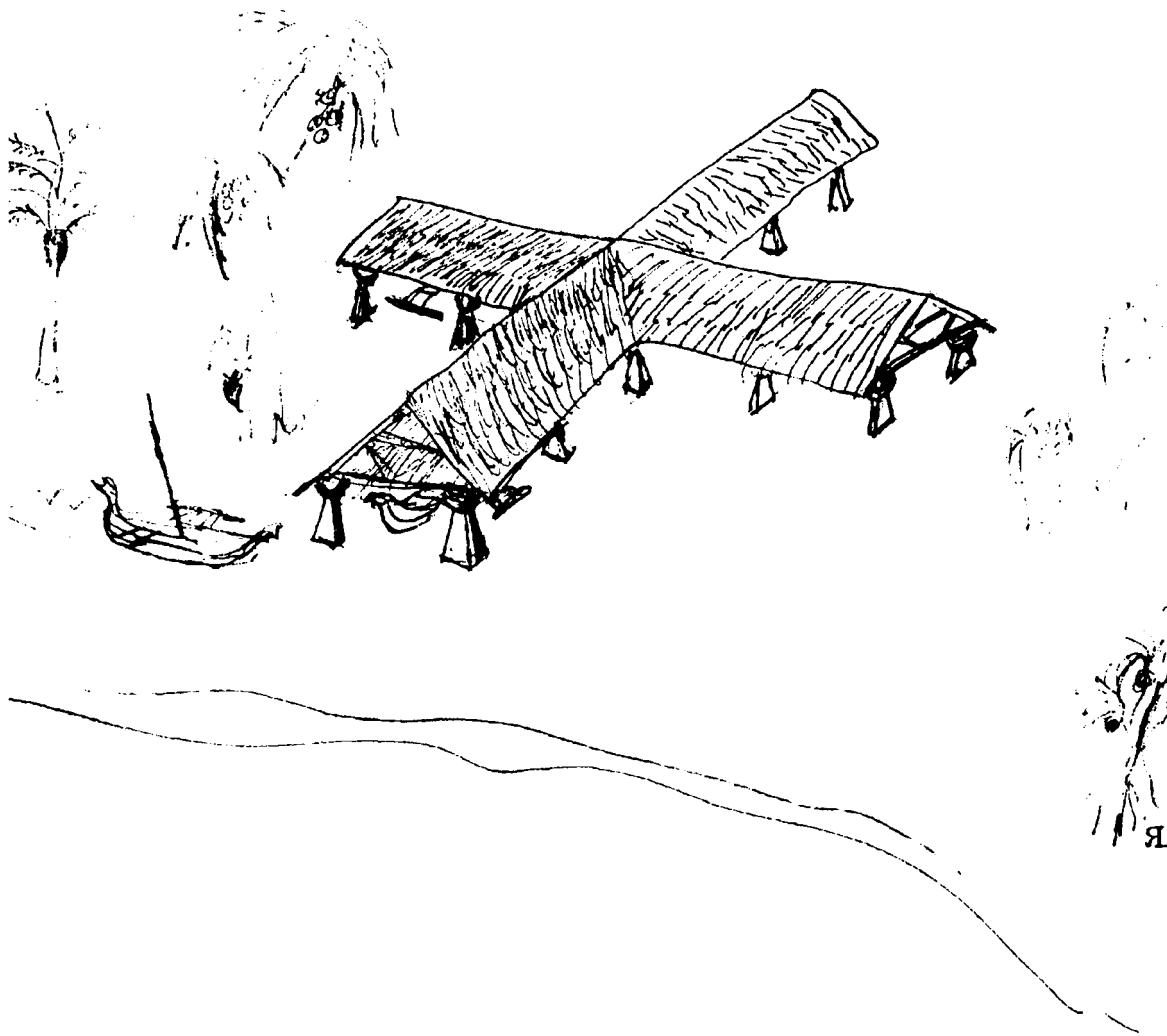
Their houses are tall, well built and finished, raised one level above the ground on top of some big stone pillars² and upon those they build the granary and have their living room, with rooms and divided areas on either side of the living room. Their sleeping areas are matted like [our] camp beds. As for their high attics where they store their household and personal effects, and the small windows in their rooms, everything is well crafted, something worth seeing because they are made without any tools. These are the houses in which they sleep.

They have other houses, low ones near the ground, where they cook their food, prepare and serve the meals, with their attics where the servants sleep. Both types of houses are covered with palm [shingles].

They have other large houses used as boat sheds, not to live in but used as community halls. They place their large proas and their canoes in the shade there. Each village has one of these sheds. There was one of them where we took our water, very nice with four naves, made in the shape of a cross, that could hold 200 men, 50 in each wing. They were very spacious, wide and high, and worth seeing. Inside the above, mass was said on the days we were there; there could be seen also some large proas, which they say are meant for crossing the high sea between the islands and which carry a heavy load. All of them come with a counterweight on the windward side, in proportion to the size of the proa, with which they sail safely because they cannot capsize.

1 Ed. note: It is possible that the fish had been hooked from a line they had overboard the canoe.

2 Ed. note: The famous pillars called *latte*.



Sketch of an unusual boat shed at Umatac, Guam, in 1565. *This is my conception of the large boat-house and community hall described by Father Rada, which existed in 1565 near the stream (and the latter-day church ruins) in the cove at Umatac. It was unusual in that it had four wings in the shape of a cross. Each wing could hold 50 people. It probably had 20 latte stones, as shown. This is the building where mass was said by the Augustinian Fathers, probably in the central area. Some large sea-going canoes were also stored there. The Chamorros had two other types of houses as well, the large type being similarly raised on stone pillars. The half-spherical capitals of the pillars were designed to prevent rats from going up into the attics and granaries under the roof. The Spanish soldiers probably burned this particular boat shed on the night that preceded their departure.*

It was not possible to find out if they have a king, but from what was observed it seemed not. Rather, they live in villages or family groups, and so it appeared in their settlements.

On Saturday, 3rd of February, we left this Island of **Goam** to pursue our voyage to the west. We ran thus until Tuesday, 13th of February in the morning, when we sighted land. We headed for it and at the hour of vespers we went close and anchored inside a large bay in the lee of some small islets and on the other side there was the big island; the islets are on the east side. We anchored in 40 fathoms, etc.

Summary of the rest of the narrative, by James A. Robertson

Peace was made with the natives of one of the islands [near Samar]. Inquiries were made for Bernardo de la Torre, one of the captains of the Villalobos expedition, and they were given to understand that he was north from there. The natives, while professing friendship, brought their visitors but little food. Legazpi, therefore, sent Juan de la Isla with a party to look for a good port. This party was gone six days, experiencing the usual treachery from the natives, who killed one of the men, who had disembarked without permission. Meanwhile another expedition was despatched toward the south, with the same object in view. Possession was taken of the island of Zibabao in the King's name.

On the 20th of February the fleet set sail passing southward between a large island and a number of small islets. Next day they cast anchor off the large island in a large bay to which they gave the name of San Pedro. Here they learned that Tandaya, where they hoped to find the Spaniards still remaining in these regions from the Villalobos expedition, was a day's journey farther on. In this bay a native came to Legazpi's ship who could speak a few words of Spanish. They wished to send word to Tandaya and to buy provisions, but the natives, though good promisers, were tardy doers. Goiti was sent in search of Tandaya, while the General took possession of the island near which the ships were anchored.¹ The latter, attempting to ascend to the native village, encountered the hostility of the people. Government here was in "in districts like communal towns, each district having a chief. We could not ascertain whether they had any great chief or lord."

Goiti returned in 10 days with news that he had found a large river which he was told was Tandaya. As they explored the coasts they were followed by the natives, who took every occasion of displaying their hostility. He had passed a large settlement called Cabalian. There was a good anchorage here, but no port; "and the Indians of Cabalian had golden jewels, and had many swine and Castilian hens which were near the shore and which could be seen from the boat."

1 Ed. note: So he took possession of Samar Island twice.

On the 5th of March the fleet sailed to this town, reaching it on the same day. Friendship was made with the natives in accordance with their special blood ceremonies in such cases. Some boats, sent out next day under command of the Master-of-camp, discovered the strait separating this island [Leyte] from Panaon. The usual trouble was experienced by Legazpi in securing provisions, and it was necessary to despatch Goiti to the shore to take what was needed, but with orders not to harm the natives. Next day Legazpi sent to the shore what was considered the equivalent of the food thus taken, in beads and other articles, by a native who was on his vessel. The General learned from hostages aboard his ship the names of many of the islands. On the 9th of March the fleet set sail for Mazagua [Limasawa], being guided by one of these hostages. Failing to meet here the hoped-for friendship, they determined to go to the island of Camiguin, first setting free all the hostages, giving them back their canoe, provisioning it for three days, and giving many presents of clothes to them, in order by this liberality to contract a lasting friendship. On the 11th of March the coast of this island was reached. This island "is very thickly wooded." The natives, as usual, fled. On the 14th the fleet set sail for Butuan in Mindanao, but owing to contrary winds, they were not able to [make it and had to fall back toward] Bohol. The patache San Juan was despatched to Butuan from this place, to try and make peace with its king and the people; and the captain of this vessel was ordered to treat well any junks he might meet from "China or Borneo, and other parts." The Malayan interpreter, Gerónimo Pacheco, was sent in this vessel, and they were ordered to obtain as much information as possible in regard to trade. The time given them for this expedition was 25 days.

News being received that a large sail had been seen, the Master-of-camp was sent in a small boat to investigate. Two days later he returned, reporting that the junk was from Borneo, and that he had fought with it "for it would not listen to peace." In the end the junk surrendered, and was brought in a prisoner; but the enemy "had killed a good soldier with a lance-thrust through the throat" and had wounded 20 more. The men of the junk were Moros, and they had fought most valiantly, and "were determined to die." Legazpi gave the Moros their liberty, whereat they expressed many thanks; he gathered as much information as possible from them in regard to the islands and peoples of these regions. "The Moros told him that they carried iron and tin from Borneo, and from China porcelain, bells made of copper according to their manner, benzoin, and painted tapestry; from India pans and tempered iron pots."

Among the captured Moros was the pilot, "a most experienced man who had much knowledge, not only of matters concerning these Philippine Islands, but of those of the Moluccas, Borneo, Malacca, Java, India, and China, where he had had much experience in navigation and trade." The Moros being shown the articles of trade brought by the fleet, advised them to go to Borneo, Siam, Patani, or Malacca, where they could easily trade them, but "although we wandered about these islands for 10 years, we could not dispose of so many silks, cloths, and linens." "This Moro told the General that two junks from Luzon were in Butuan, trading gold, wax, and slaves... He said that the island of Luzon is farther north than Borneo." The Castilians learn that the hostility and

fear of the natives of these islands is the result of a marauding expedition conducted by Portuguese, who had represented themselves to be Castilians. With the aid of the Moro pilot peace and friendship were made with one of the chief men of the island of Bohol; and now for the first time food was received in any quantity, many sardines especially being brought by the natives.

Legazpi despatched one of the small boats to Cebu in order to make friendship and peace with its inhabitants, and to gather all possible information for the relation he was to send back to New Spain. They were guided by the Moro, who acted in the capacity of interpreter, as he knew the language of the natives. A negro "who had been in India and Malacca, and knew the Malay tongue" acted as interpreter between the pilot and the Spaniards. "The Borneans said that the Indians had two Spaniards, and that some time ago they had given one of them to Bornean merchants; they did not know whether they had the other yet, or what had been done with him. The Portuguese had ransomed the one taken by the Borneans and had taken him to Malacca." As the men sent to Cebu did not return within the time appointed by Legazpi—they had been provisioned for but one week—a canoe of natives, who offered themselves, was sent to look for them.

Meanwhile the San Juan which had been despatched to Butuan, returned without having accomplished the full object of its mission, namely, to procure information regarding cinnamon. The captain reported having "found at the port of Botuan two Moro junks from Luzon" with which they traded for gold and wax. The soldiers, hearing that the Moros had much gold in their junks, were insistent that they should seize them, alleging as an excuse the deceit practiced by the Moros in their trading. The captain would not permit this, and in order to avoid a collision with the Moros returned to the fleet, leaving part of his duty unaccomplished, for which Legazpi reprimanded him severely.

The General, calling a council of his officers and others, consulted with them as to the advisability of colonizing one of the islands. All but the religious were unanimous that a settlement should be made on one of them, but the latter did not care "to deliberate upon this." Questioned as to what island they preferred, if Legazpi should order a settlement made, they signified as their choice the island of Cabalian [i.e. Leyte], where although there was no port, a settlement could be made in the interior, as food was abundant there, and the return vessel to [New] Spain could be easily provisioned. The unanimous opinion was that the **San Pedro** should return with news of the expedition to New Spain, as it was a lighter and better vessel than the **San Pablo**.

Nine days after their departure, the canoe returned without news of the Spaniards sent to Cebu, which caused Legazpi great anxiety. That same night, however, these men returned alive and well, but the Moro pilot had been treacherously killed by some natives, while bathing in a river of the island of Negros. They had not anchored at Cebu, because of the violence of the tides about it. They had coasted about Negros and Cebu, and reported a large population and a plentiful food supply on the latter island. A council having been called, it was determined that the fleet should go to Cebu, without delay, in order that they might make a settlement and despatch the **San Pedro** before the rainy

season set in. Therefore, on Easter Day the fleet set sail for this island, distant from Bohol 15 or 16 leagues. Being delayed by calms and contrary winds and the tides they did not reach their destination until the 27th and 30th of April.

In conformity with the opinion that it was allowable to fight with the inhabitants of this island if they refused food and would not make a true friendship and peace—inasmuch as their chiefs had been baptized, and had afterward apostatized, and had treated Magellan treacherously—Legazpi, after meeting with expressions of hostility and defiance, sent a party ashore to take the island. The natives immediately fled, and the soldiers were unable to find any of them on disembarking. “Their weapons are long sharp iron lances, throwing-sticks, shields, small daggers, wooden corselets, corded breastplates, a few bows and arrows, and culverins.” About 100 houses were burned, the fire having started from an accidental shot from one of the vessels, or having been lit purposely by the natives. The soldiers were quartered in the homes remaining after the fire.

“There was found a marvelous thing, namely, a child Jesus like those of Flanders, in its little pine cradle and its little loose shirt, such as come from those parts, and a little velvet hat, like those of Flanders—and all so well preserved that only the little cross, which is generally upon the globe that he holds in his hands, was missing.” Meanwhile, as was right, the General had this prize, and when he saw it, he fell on his knees, receiving it with great devotion. He took it in his hands and kissed its feet; and raising his eyes to Heaven, he said: “Lord, thou art powerful to punish offences, committed in this island against Thy Majesty, and to found herein thy house, and holy Church, where they most glorious name shall be praised and magnified. I supplicate thee that thou enlighten and guide me, so that all that we do here may be to thy glory and honor, and the exaltation of thy holy Catholic faith.” And he ordered that this sacred image be placed with all reverence in the first church that should be founded, and that the church be called *Nombre de Jesús* [Name of Jesus]. It gave great happiness and inspiration to all to see such an auspicious beginning, for indeed it seemed a work of God to have preserved so completely this image among infidels for such a long time; and an auspicious augury in the part where the settlement was to be made.”

On 8 May, the **fort** was commenced, Legazpi breaking the first ground, and “dedicating it to the most blessed name of Jesus.” The sites for the Spanish quarters and the church were chosen, and the town was called San Miguel, because founded on the day of this saint’s apparition. That night the natives returned, setting fire to the remaining houses, so that the whole town was in danger of being burned, with all the goods brought ashore from the ships. The site of the house wherein had been found the sacred image was selected “as the site of the Monastery of the Name of Jesus... and from the said house the child Jesus was brought to the... church in solemn procession, and with the great devotion, rejoicing, and gladness of all the men. Arriving at the church, they all adored it, and placed it on the principal altar, and all vowed to observe, sanctify, and celebrate solemnly as a feast day each year, the day on which it had been found, April 28. And in addition a brotherhood of the most blessed name of Jesus was established

in the same manner, under the conditions of that of San Agustin of Mexico, the majority of the people entering as members and brothers." In this procession took part a number of natives under two chiefs who professed friendship to the Spaniards. Finally peace and friendship was made between Legazpi and the greatest chief of the island, Tupas; and it was arranged that tributes should be paid in produce, since the people had no gold—not because of "any necessity the King of Castile had of it" but merely as a tribute and token that they recognized him as their lord. But, perhaps through the maliciousness of the Moro interpreters, this peace was not concluded or kept; and certain of the natives, finding one of the company, Pedro de Arana, alone, killed him and cut off his head. "In this manner do the Indians of these islands keep peace and friendship, who in our presence refuse or deny nothing; but twenty paces away they keep nothing that they have promised. They have no knowledge of truth, nor are they accustomed to it. Therefore it is understood, that it will be very difficult to trade with them in a friendly manner, unless they understand subjection or fear."

On the 27th of May, Legazpi ordered that the roll of those remaining be taken, in order that it might be sent to New Spain. Certain men of gentle birth, headed by one Pedro de Mena, objected to serving as Legazpi's body-guard, saying that such was the duty of servants. The Master-of-camp hearing this disrespect to the general, chided them, and sentenced them to serve in the companies. In revenge for this, someone set fire to the house in which Legazpi's personal effects had been stored. The fire was put out and the danger averted with difficulty, during which "some of the soldiers were burned and hurt." De Mena and Esteban Terra were arrested, and the latter was given a hearing and found guilty. He was executed next morning. "From this it will be seen that not only are there enemies outside, but even in the very camp itself... and it will be seen how necessary and suitable is the aid that must come from New Spain."