

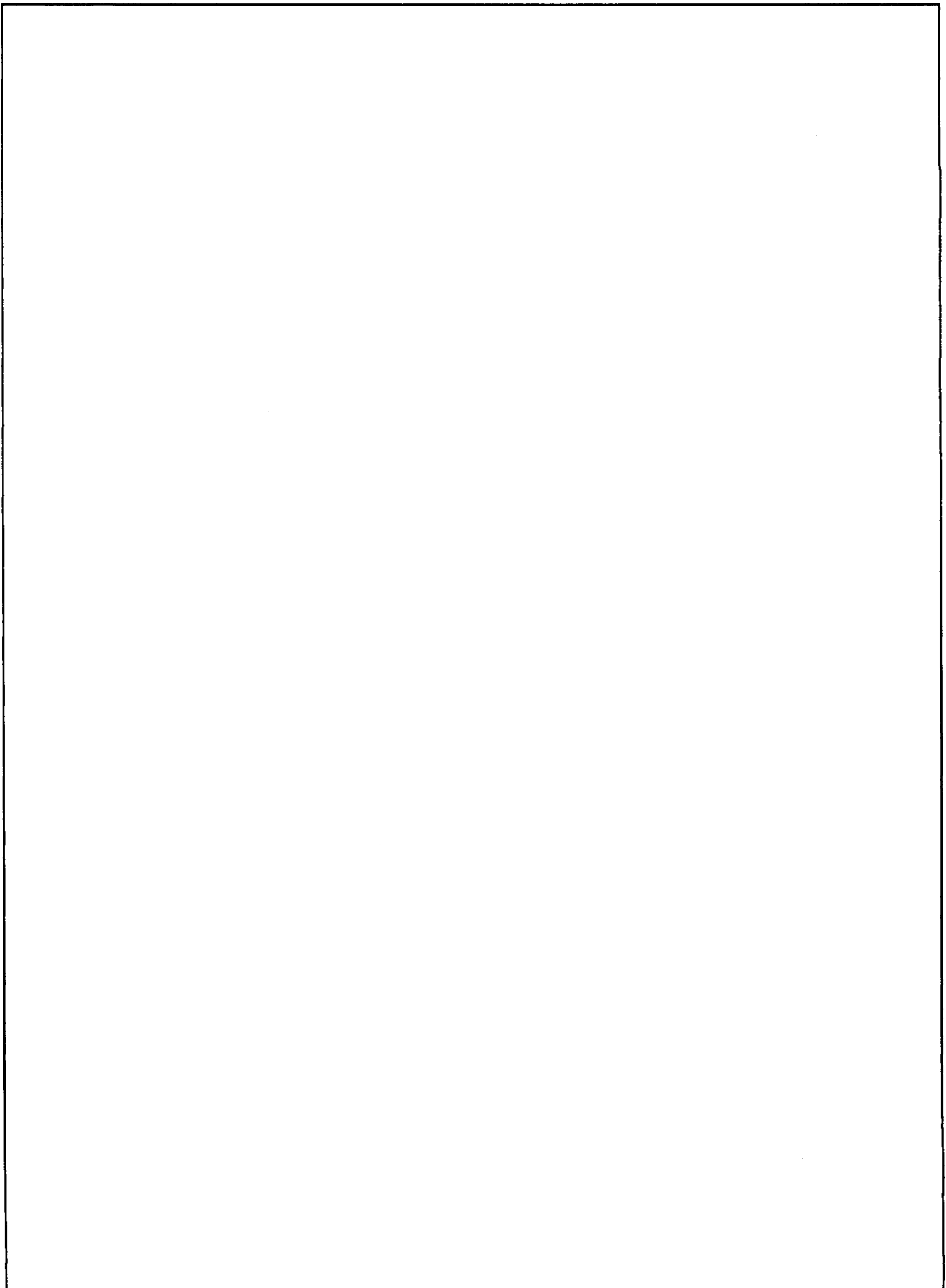
HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

VOLUME 3



FIRST REAL CONTACT

Rodrigue Lévesque



LES ÉDITIONS
L É V E S Q U E



L É V E S Q U E
P U B L I C A T I O N S

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HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 3 —FIRST REAL CONTACT
1596-1637**

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque

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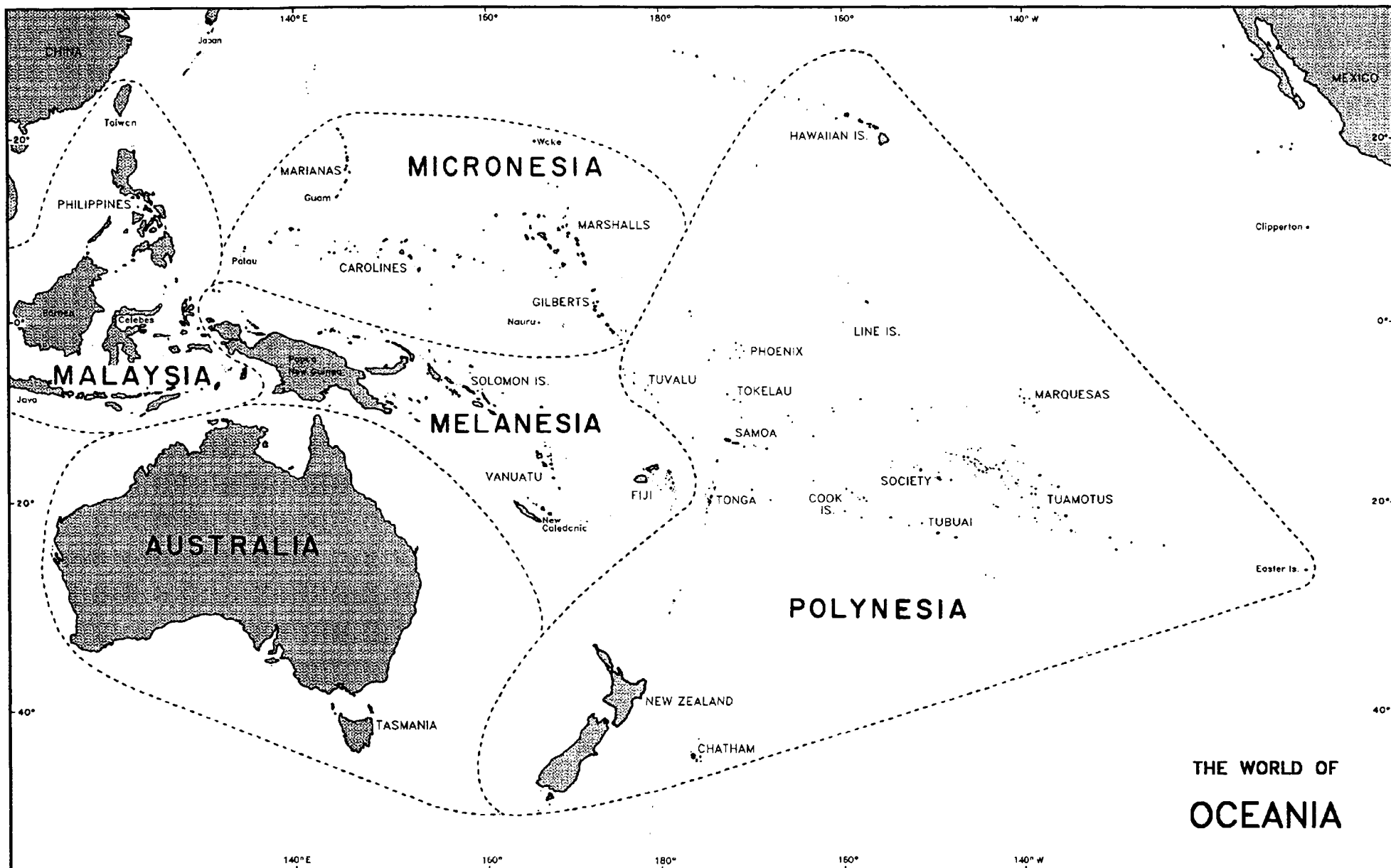
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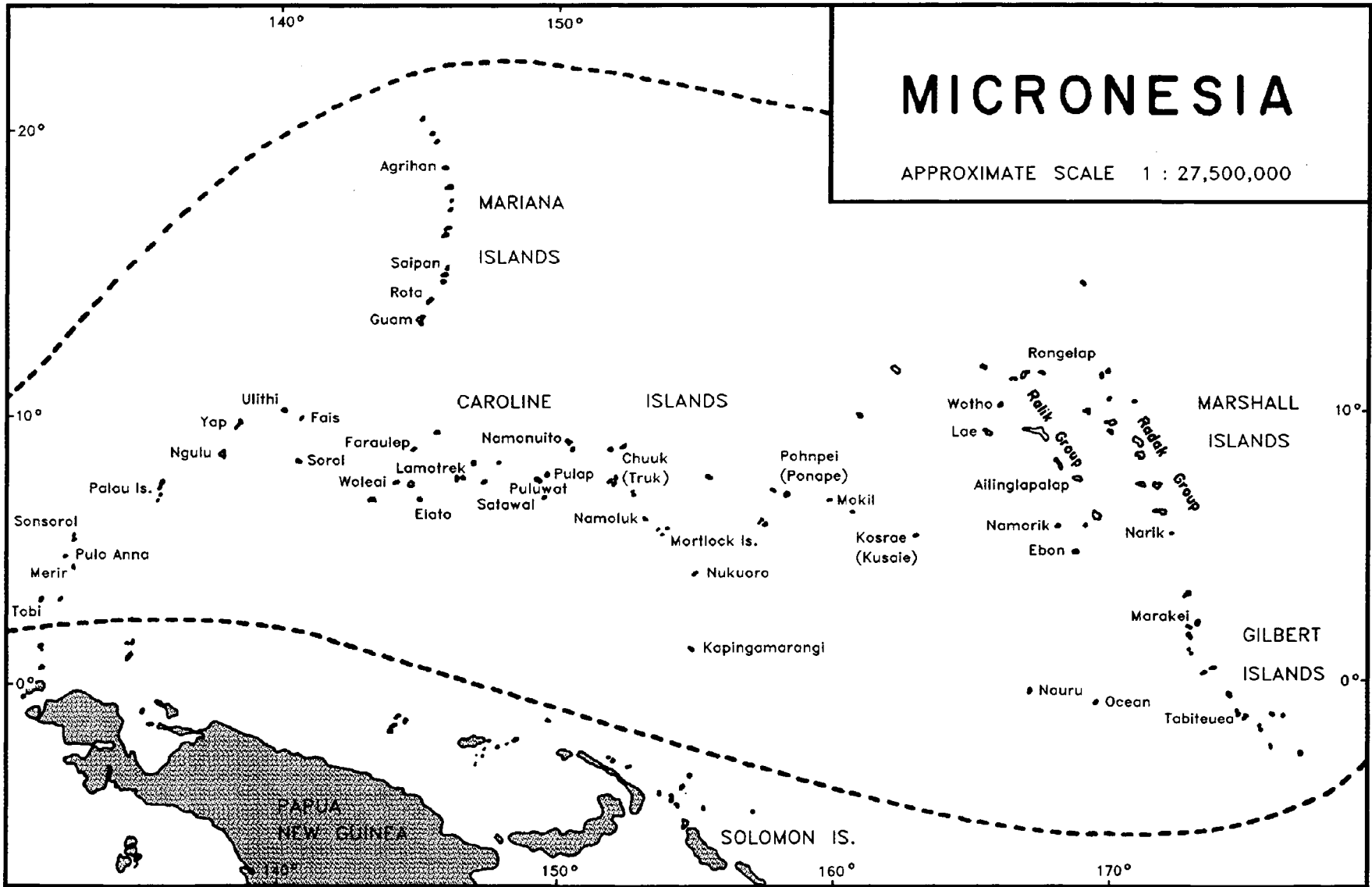
Abbreviations

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

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



**THE WORLD OF
OCEANIA**



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Foreword

"To learn anything from history, one must first know history."

Anonymous author.

A word of introduction

It has been said before that the mark of a good book is that one learns something about the subject that he did not know before. One of the things that I have learned while researching the books in this series is that the history of any one region of the globe cannot be divorced from that of other countries that traded with it, or planned to colonize it. The first meaningful contacts of the outside world with the Marianas are narrated in the present volume. There is also an interesting element from Japan; when the *shogun*, or military ruler, learned about the existence of the Ladrões, or Marianas, he wished to know if they would make a useful addition to the Japanese empire, something that is revealing in view of what happened 3-1/2 centuries later.

The Chamorro cultural scratch

Sylvanus G. Morley, who studied the Maya civilization,¹ has said that "in appraising the civilization of any people, the true measure of what they did is not the sum total of their achievements compared with the achievements of other peoples but rather their entire accomplishment counted from their own cultural scratch." What then could have been the Chamorro cultural scratch?

In general, the first five steps by which mankind has advanced from savagery to a civilized state are the following: (1) control of fire, (2) invention of agriculture, (3) domestication of animals, (4) use of metal tools, and (5) discovery of the principle of the wheel. The sequence of the last three steps is not always in the same order for all civilizations. It goes without saying that the inhabitants of the Ladrões had mastered fire, and they also had a system of subsistence agriculture; relatively-advanced systems of fishing and canoe building can be considered useful contributions to this primary sector of their internal economy. However, the isolated islands of Micronesia, when discovered by Europeans, had no large animals, either wild or domesticated, not even the dogs or pigs that were common in other parts of Oceania. Therefore, they had not achieved the third step. They had no metal tools either, but almost every writer has

¹ See his book "The Ancient Maya", London, OUP, 1946.

mentioned the appetite of the natives for iron, which they quickly fashioned into tools; hence, at the arrival of Magellan, the inhabitants advanced one step up the cultural ladder. As for the wheel, they had no land vehicles, and no need for them, since most people lived by the sea (and, in the case of Guam, along rivers also).

The cultural scratch of the ancient Chamorros was not deep, because the natives were acquainted with only the first two of the "five steps toward civilization". Such steps, however, are based on studies of the ancient inhabitants of Asia and the Near East: Egyptians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Chinese, etc. It may therefore come as a surprise that the ancient Maya and Inca of America were acquainted with only the first two steps also; their civilizations are nevertheless recognized as sublime. There must be other steps toward civilization, a better definition of the term, or both. "Doing the best you can with the available resources" should be another valid criterion for evaluation. One of many conclusions we may draw from this is that it would be unfair to compare the level of civilization of the ancient inhabitants of Micronesia with the major civilizations outside of Oceania.

Major events of the period 1596-1637

The last two great voyages of exploration by the Spanish took place during this 41-year period. Firstly, the second voyage of Mendaña, which was also the first by his chief pilot Quirós, in 1595, during which the existence of Pohnpei was discovered. A second voyage by Quirós took place in 1606. After that, the visionary Quirós returned to Spain to urge the government to undertake further explorations of the southern lands. He failed, and, while returning to Peru to undertake a third attempt without government aid, he died before he could proceed beyond Panama. Boies Penrose, in his book *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance*, has said that "his death was the swan song of Spanish voyaging; with his passing the great days of the Conquistadores were gone forever."

There was one other attempt by the Spanish, in the person of Sebastián Vizcaíno, to find the islands of gold and silver in the North Pacific between 1611 and 1614; but it was for the purpose of finding a way-station between the Philippines and New Spain rather than to find precious metals. The commercial voyages of the Manila-Acapulco galleons had by this time become regular, but the Manila-to-Acapulco eastbound leg was to remain dangerous for a long time because of the storms affecting wind ships. One can only wonder what would have happened if the Spanish had kept looking for a better return route and discovered the Hawaiian Islands...

The story of the first Japanese ships to cross the Pacific is an interesting episode of this period. There were three ships built under European supervision in what must have been the first technical assistance projects in the Pacific. The first ship, named the **San Buenaventura**, was built by the Englishman William Adams of Shogun fame, in the first decade of the 17th century. The second ship was the **San Sebastián** built in a shipyard near what is Yokohama today; it hit the coast upon departure. As for the **Date Maru**, it was built near Sendai in eastern Japan, under the supervision of Vizcaíno's men. The latter ship made two round trips across the Pacific in the second decade of

the 17th century. Both surviving ships spent their last days in Philippine waters, after the Spanish had acquired them.

Meanwhile, the Dutch became established commercially in Japan in 1609 and, with their English allies, became the piratical enemies of the Spanish and their Portuguese allies, in Asian and Pacific waters. The first Dutchmen in Micronesia arrived at Guam in 1600. In 1625, the largest fleet ever to be seen in the Pacific before the advent of the 20th century anchored in the lee of Guam; the Nassau Fleet, as it was called, consisted of a dozen ships led by Admiral Schapenham. There were more than a thousand men aboard the Nassau Fleet, but only two eyewitness accounts are extant. The first Italian travellers (in 1596) and the first Austrian (in 1623) also visited Micronesia during the period covered by this volume.

This period also saw the first missionaries, in the persons of Father Antonio de los Angeles, in 1596, and Father Juan Pobre in 1602. Fray Pobre had lived in Japan and had much to say about the early Christian period there; his book would need to be fully transcribed and translated. Nevertheless, the full excerpt presented here about his stay in Rota is the first report on local customs written by an educated person.

The Franciscans had first arrived in Japan in 1593 at the time the Emperor was being pushed aside by ambitious generals who founded the era of the shoguns. In 1596, Hideyoshi had established himself as ruler and appointed his son Hideyori as Regent. His invasion of Korea probably saved the Philippines from a similar fate. In 1598, Hideyoshi died and Korea was evacuated. Ieyasu, the Lord of the Kanto or eastern provinces, managed to take temporary control of the government. In 1600, the famous Battle of Sekigahara gave Ieyasu a more solid control. By 1605, he effectively passed control to his son Hidetada who established his court at Edo, the future Tokyo. The Tokugawa family did not, however, gain permanent control until the fall of Osaka castle in 1615, in which Hideyori was killed. Meanwhile, the Dutch and the English had arrived to set up factories and to compete with the Portuguese and Spanish.

Hidetada did not rule very long. He too retired in favor of his son Iemitsu in 1623, although he remained behind the scene until his death in 1632. It was Hidetada who was mostly responsible for the eventual destruction of the early Christian church in Japan and the expulsion of all foreigners, except some Dutch. The long period of seclusion was about to begin. It is interesting to note that, until the 20th century, the Japanese had forgotten about their early relations with Mexico and Europe. Chief among the early relations written by Europeans about Japan and the Pacific are those by Rodrigo Vivero and Sebastián Vizcaíno. Both of those reports are fully documented in this volume.

A few documents deal with the commercial aspect of the Manila galleons. Besides the royal decrees about taxes and shipbuilding that were most often ignored, the briefs presented by two lobbyists who were procurators of the Philippines at the Spanish court are worthy of note; they are those written by Hernando de los Ríos and by Grau y Monfalcon. As in the previous volumes, a ship-by-ship chart of the movements of galleons across the Pacific has been added in appendix.

I am specially proud also to be able to present here the story of Nicolás Cardona, the pearl-fishing captain, and his sketch of the Japanese ship *Date Maru* at Acapulco in 1615. I had been searching for the elusive original document for a long time and was finally rewarded when I saw his beautiful handiwork, in color, at the National Library in Madrid, where it had just been deposited by a collector. Cardona's involvement with the Dutch pirate Speilbergen then became evident. For instance, it has never been mentioned by anyone else before that one of Cardona's frigates was captured by Speilbergen and renamed the **Pearl**. Similarly, I am happy that my research has confirmed that Quirós did indeed discover Pohnpei in 1595; this event ought to be commemorated by FSM in 1995. I have enjoyed finding such historical gems that will lead others to similar paper discoveries so that the early history of Micronesia will some day be fully documented, and published.

As for myself, when I first visited Micronesia as a tourist, I thought that the place belonged to me, but now I find that I belong to it.

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, December 1992.

Note on sources

The documents drawn from AGI are from the *Filipinas* category of bundles, unless otherwise indicated.

Note on place names

Place names are given as they appear in the original documents, except that the more common or modern spelling is given in brackets, whenever necessary; the latter form is used in the index to refer to all equivalent forms.

Document 1596A

Letter from Governor Dasmariñas to the King, dated Manila 30 June 1596

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 9: 259-262.

Letter from Luis Pérez Dasmariñas to King Philip II

Sire:

With some misgiving and anxiety, Sire, I have considered whether or not I should write this to your Majesty, but necessity and not my wish obliges me.¹

...

I desire that your Majesty may be pleased but to grant me grace and licence to send and despatch to Peru, if perchance it be expedient, and I am able so to do, a ship of 200 tons, with articles and goods from China, although I do not know what I can do with my small capital and means. Yet it is to be considered that here a ship is made and built at much less cost than elsewhere; and, if it were of no more than the said tonnage, it might be done in some way or other. This would be exceeding grace and relief for this least of your Majesty's servants, who humbly begs that it be so done. I ask it not with designs, plans, and desires for greater profits and riches, to be held and enjoyed; but for the relief and payment of very great necessities and strict obligations, and on behalf of others. If there should be anything left over after fulfilling these obligations, and should your Majesty be pleased to grant me this grace according to my plan, there might result profit to this commonwealth. The cargo sent there could at the same time bring aid to me and relief to the commonwealth—or, as I say, convenience and profit. A ship of so little tonnage sent only once to Peru cannot take an excessive or inordinate cargo. For this reason also, I beseech your Majesty to grant me this grace; and although I have many excuses wherewith to move and incline the royal heart and compassion of your Majesty, by referring to several of my affairs and services, I omit to do so. I only supplicate your Majesty most humbly by the royal magnanimity and the necessity of

1 Ed. note: He goes on to talk about his personal debts.

this least of your Majesty's servants. May your Majesty be pleased to grant me this grace.

Above all, I beseech the Divine Majesty of God our Lord that, if this not be for His glory or service, or if there may result therefrom some damage or prejudice to His cause or that of your Majesty, His Divine Majesty will move your Majesty not to permit or concede me this grace which I ask.

May His Divine Majesty preserve your Majesty as He is able, and as we all desire and need. Amen.

Manila, 20 June 1596.

Luis Pérez Dasmariñas

[Endorsed:] "Keep this letter until the report of the residencia which is to be taken in his case and that of his father shall be received."

Document 1596B

Letter from Doctor Morga to the King, dated Manila 6 July 1596

Sources: B1. AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 9:263-273. B2. Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, various editions, and manuscript in BN Madrid #2995.

B1. News of the second Mendaña expedition

Sire:

At the close of the past year '95, I wrote to your Majesty via Malacca, giving a full account of some affairs of this place. The duplicate of that letter accompanies this one, and I refer you to the same.

...

At the beginning of this year, a galleon arrived at these islands from Peru, and later a small frigate in its convoy, wherein it appears that Adelantado Alvaro de Mendaña had set out from Peru in April of last year to discover the western islands in the South Sea. This he did not succeed in doing, and lost his flagship and afterward another frigate. He formed a settlement on another island near New Guinea, where the men quarreled among themselves, and the said *adelantado* died with many of his people. His wife inherited that settlement, and arrived at these islands in great need and after many hardships, where she married Don Fernando [rather Francisco] de Castro, cousin of the governor, and returned to Peru with her ship. I am sending your Majesty the report of the matter which has been received, and an account of their voyage and adventures, which are therein stated at greater length.

...

May our Lord preserve for many years the royal person of your Majesty, as is necessary to Christendom and your Majesty's servants.

Manila, 6 July 1596.

Dr. Antonio de Morga

B2. Report by Morga on the Mendaña expedition (published version)

In April of the year 1595, *adelantado* Alvaro de Mendaña de Neira sailed from Callao de Lima in Peru, to colonize the Solomon Islands, which he had discovered many years before [i.e. 1568] in the South Sea, the main one of which he had called San Cristobal. He took four ships, two large ones—a flagship [San Jerónimo] and an *almiranta* [Santa Isabel]—a frigate [Santa Catalina], and a galliot [San Felipe], with 400 men in all. He was also accompanied by his wife, Doña Isabel Barreto and his three brothers-in-law. On the way he discovered other islands at which he did not stop; but not finding those which he had previously discovered, and as his *almiranta* had been lost,¹ he anchored with the other ships at an island near New Guinea, inhabited by negroes, to which he gave the name of Santa Cruz.² There he settled—little to the satisfaction of his men.

The *adelantado*, two of his brothers-in-law, and many of his people died there. Doña Isabel Barreto abandoned the colony, on account of sickness and want, and embarked the survivors aboard her flagship, frigate, and galliot. But while they were sailing toward the Philippines the frigate and galliot disappeared in another direction. The flagship³ entered the Butuan River in the island of Mindanao, and reached Manila after great want and suffering. There Doña Isabel Barreto married Don Francisco de Castro, and returned to New Spain in his ship, the **San Jerónimo** in the year of '96. The events of this voyage have only been lightly touched upon here, so that it seems fitting to reproduce literally the relation, to which Don Pedro Fernando [i.e. Fernández] de Quirós, chief pilot on this voyage, affixed his signature, which is as follows.

Relation of the voyage of *adelantado* Alvaro de Mendaña de Neira for the discovery of the Solomon Islands [addressed to Dr. Morga].

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- 1 Ed. note: See the article by Jim Allen and Roger C. Green entitled "Mendaña 1595 and the Fate of the Lost 'Almiranta': An Archaeological Investigation" in JPH 7:73-91. Proof has been found that this ship continued westward, found San Cristobal Island and founded a "lost" colony at Pamua on its north coast.
 - 2 Ed. note: Ndeni Island today.
 - 3 Ed. note: Error for galliot. As for the frigate, it was never heard of again.

On Friday, the 9th of the month of April 1595, *adelantado* Alvaro de Mendaña set sail with his fleet for the pacification and settlement of the western islands in the South Sea, sailing from the port of Callao de Lima, which lies in 12-1/2° south latitude. Laying his course toward the valleys of Santa, Trujillo, and Saña, and collecting men and provisions, he went to Paita. There he took in water and numbered his forces, which amounted to about four hundred persons. Then with his four vessels, two large and two small, he left the said port, which is 5 degrees higher than the former port, and directed his course WSW in search of the islands that he had discovered.

He took Pedro Merino Manrique as Master-of-camp; his brother-in-law, Lope de la Vega, as admiral; and Pedro Fernandez de Quirós as chief pilot.¹ Following the above-mentioned course he sailed to the latitude of 9-1/2°, whence he sailed SW by W to 14°, where he changed his course to NW by W.² On Friday, the 21st of the month of July, having reached a latitude of just over 10°, we sighted an island to which the General gave the name of Madalena.³

...
[Stay at Santa Cruz Island]

The people of this island are black. They have small single-masted canoes for use about their villages; and some very large ones to use in the open sea. On Sunday, 8 October, the *adelantado* had the Master-of-camp stabbed. Tomas de Ampuero was also killed in the same way. Lieutenant Juan de Buitrago was beheaded; and the *adelantado* intended to have two others, friends of the Master-of-camp, killed, but was restrained therefrom at our request. The cause of this was notorious, for these men tried to induce the *adelantado* to leave the land and abandon it. There must have been other reasons unknown to me; what I saw was much dissoluteness and shamelessness, and a great deal of improper conduct. On 18 October, after a total eclipse of the moon on the 17th, the *adelantado* died; on 2 November, Don Lorenzo, his brother-in-law, who had succeeded him as Captain-general; the priest Antonio de Serpa, seven or eight days before; and on 8 November the vicar, Juan de Espinosa. Disease was rampant among our men and many died for lack of care, and the want of an apothecary and doctor. The men begged the Governess Doña Ysabel Barreto to take them out of the country.

All agreed to embark, and by the mercy of God, we left this port on Saturday, the 18th of the said month, and sailed SW by W toward the island of San Cristobal or rather in search of it, to see whether we could find it or the *almiranta*, in accordance with the governor's orders. For two days nothing was seen; and at the request of all the men, who cried out that we were taking them to destruction, she ordered me to steer from

1 Ed. note: Quirós' real name was Queirós in Portuguese. See Albino Lapa's booklet on this "last Portuguese navigator": "Pedro Fernandes de Queirós o último navegador Português" (Lisbon, 1951).

2 Ed. note: J. S. Cummins, in his modern translation for the Hakluyt Society, says W by SW, and W by NW respectively. I do not have that part of the original text before me, so I cannot comment on which version is the correct one.

3 Ed. note: Fatuhiva in the Marquesas Islands. He went on toward the Solomon Islands.

our settlement, located in 10-1/2° of latitude, to Manila. Thence I steered NNW to avoid meeting islands on the way, since we were so ill prepared to approach any of them, with our men so sick that about fifty of them died in the course of the voyage and about forty there in the island.

[Discovery of Pohnpei]

We continued our course short of provisions, navigating five degrees south and as many north [of the Line], and meeting with many contrary winds and calms. When we reached a latitude of just over 6° N latitude, we sighted an **island**, apparently about 25 leagues in circumference, thickly wooded and inhabited by many people who resembled those of the Ladrones, and whom we saw coming toward us in canoes. From the SE to the N and then to the SW, it is surrounded by large reefs.¹ About 4 leagues west of it are some low islets.

There, although we tried, we failed to find a suitable place to anchor; for the galliot and frigate which accompanied our ship had disappeared some days before.²

[Via Rota and Guam]

From this place we continued the said course until we reached a latitude of 13-3/4°, and in the two days that we sailed west in this latitude, we sighted the islands of **Serpana** [i.e. Rota] and **Guam** in the Ladrones. We passed between the two and did not anchor there, because we had no cable for lowering and hoisting the boat. This was the 3rd of the month of January 1596. On the 14th of the same month, we sighted the Cape of Espiritu Santo, and on the 15th we anchored in the bay of Cobos.³ We reached there in such a state that only the goodness of God could have taken us that far; for human strength and resources would hardly have taken us a tenth of the way. We reached that place so dismantled and the crew so weak that we were a most piteous sight, and with only nine or ten jars of water. In this bay of Cobos the ship was repaired and the men recuperated as much as possible. On Tuesday, 2 February, we left the above port and bay, and on the 10th of the same month we anchored in the port of Cavite, etc.

Besides my desire to serve your Grace, I am moved to leave this brief relation for you, by the fact that if, perchance, God should dispose of my life, or other events should cause me or the relation that I carry to disappear, the truth may be learned from this one, which may prove a matter of great service to God and to the King our sovereign.

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- 1 Ed. note: With a punctuation different from that assigned here, this sentence can also read: "... coming toward us in canoes from the SE. From the N as far as the SW, it is surrounded by large reefs." My guess is that the ship, heading NNW, first saw the SE corner of Pohnpei, from which canoes first came, and, after they had come nearer and could see the whole coast from NE to SW, they tacked off for the night and returned to the S side in the morning. Then they skirted the western side of the island, sighting the 4 Pakin islets as they continued their course to NNW.
 - 2 Ed. note: Both of the small ships made their way separately toward the Philippines. If one draws a straight line from about 3° S (SSE of Pohnpei) to Surigao in the NE corner of Mindanao, it is possible to form the theory that the galliot went via Palau... There is no logbook extant.
 - 3 Ed. note: Referring to the bay visited by Legazpi, which was much further south. Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera in his *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones australes* (Madrid, 1876) identifies this bay with the present harbor of Laguán.

Will your Grace look favorably upon my great desire to serve you, of which I shall give a better proof, if God permit me to return to this port. Will your Grace also pardon my brevity, since the fault lies in the short time at my present disposal. Moreover, since no man knows what time may bring, I beg your Grace to keep the matter secret, for on considering it well, it seems only right that nothing be said about the first islands until his Majesty be informed and order what is convenient to his service, for, as the islands occupy a position midway between Peru, New Spain, and this land, the English, on learning of them, might settle them and do much mischief in this sea.

Your Grace, I consider myself as the faithful servant of your Grace. May God our Lord preserve you for many years in great happiness and increasing prosperity, etc.

Your Grace's servant,

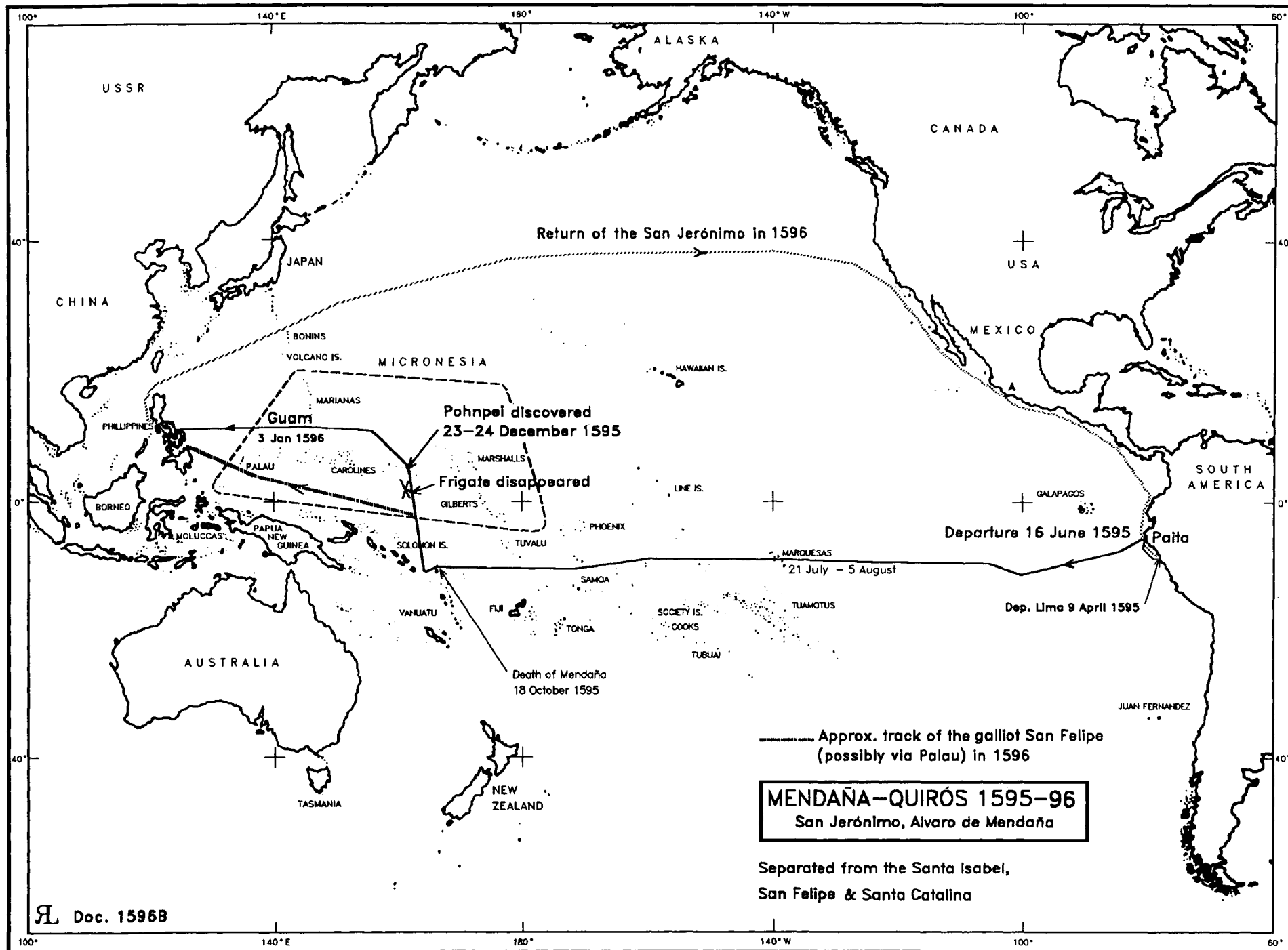
Pedro Fernandez de Quirós

To Doctor Antonio de Morga, Lieutenant-governor of his Majesty in the Philip-pines.

Extract from the original manuscript by Morga.

Venimos por nuestra derrota faltos de bastimentos, navegando, y de la parte de el Sur cinco grados, otros tantos de la parte de el Norte, allamos muchos contrastes, y calmas, y puestos en altura de seis grados largos, de la parte de el Norte, vimos una isla, q. parezió tenia veynte y cinco leguas de box, mucha arboleda y muy poblada de gente, como la de los Ladrones, q. los vimos en canoas, q. nos salieron desde el sueste, por el Norte, asta el sudueste, zercada de grandes arrecifes. Tiene al oeste de si (como quatro leguas) unas isletas bajas. No allamos a donde surgir, aunque se procuró porq. la galeota, y fragata, q. con nuestra Nao salieron, se desaparezió días avia.

De aqui venimos por la dicha derrota, asta altura de treze grados, y tres quartos, y en dos días, q. por esta altura navegamos al Oeste, tubimos vista de la Serpana, y Guan, en los Ladrones, y pasamos por entre las dos y no surgimos, por no tener cabo, con q. echar, y recojer el batel. Este día fueron 3 de el mes de Henero de 1596 años. y a 14 de el dicho mes vimos el cabo de el Espiritu Santo...



Document 1596C

Mendaña & Quirós—Narrative by Quirós, as edited by Figueroa

Sources: Three manuscripts in BN Madrid: 2995 (folio 520v et sequitur), 10.267 (folio 43 et seq.), and 10.645; published by Cristóval Suárez de Figueroa, at Madrid in 1613, as: "Hechos de D. García Hurtado de Mendoza, Quarto Marques de Cañete".

Introductory note.

The first-named manuscript is transcribed below. The footnotes indicate major variations from the published version. Note that the text published by Figueroa has been translated into French by De Broses (*Histoire des navigations*) and by Charton (*Voyageurs modernes*). The English translation given below is by Alexander Dalrymple (*An Historical Collection*), except for the comments that were added by Figueroa himself, which are translated by me.

The reader is referred to the bibliography at the end of this volume for the above references, as well as for an excellent article and a book by Father Celsus Kelly, O.F.M., regarding the narratives by Quirós and a list of documents dealing with Spanish voyages from Mendaña to Malaspina.

Transcript of the original text by Figueroa

[Folio 520v]

Sect. 11: Propone la Gobernadora ir a la isla de San Cristobal y Philippinas y a Manila, para proseguir el descubrimiento resuelvesse que sí y executasse y lo que sucedió.

...
Con los contrastes de arriba se fue navegando por el mismo rumbo nornorueste, asta Martes 19 de diziembre [1595], q. llegó a tres grados, y medio de la parte de el norte. La fragata venia fatigada, por bomba, y tanto, q. fue necesario darles tres hombres para alivio de sus trabajos. No valieron diligencias para tomar las aguas, por ser muchas las



García Hurtado de Mendoza, 4th Marquis of Cañete. *He was the 7th Viceroy of Peru (1590-96) who commissioned the second expedition by Mendaña. The latter named the Marquesas in honor of his patron. Figueroa's book which contains the narrative of Quirós is also named after this man. (From Ovalle's *Histórica relación de Chile*, Rome, 1648)*

*que entraban por varias partes, mostrose la gente tan triste, como deseosa de conser-
varla, por el cuerpo de el Adelantado, q. iba en ella. Conoziendo el Piloto mayor su
peligro, propuso algunas vezes a la Gobernadora, le parecía azertado se dejasse aquel
vajel, y se recogiesen los que en el iban, con q. zessaría aquel continuo temor de per-
derle, y quedaria el galeon mas bien despachado.*

*Viendo, q. no aprovechaba, dijo a D. Diego de Vera, q. iba por su capitan: ["]Pues,
sabe quejarse, por que no se sabe salvar? no vee, q. es homisida de sí, y de todos sus
compañeros? Aborde con este navio, q. aqui les daran la mano con particular amor!["]*

*Al fin la fragata anocheció a una vista, a cuya causa el Piloto mayor hizo aventar las
escotas, y esperó asta el otro día por la tarde, q. los soldados comenzaron a dar gran-
des voces, diziendo, q. no era tiempo de perderse, deteniendo la navegacion, q. pues la
fragata no parecia, debia de ir adelante; sino; q. Dios con todos, y cada uno mirase por
sí.*

Sect. 12. Llegan a una isla casi milagrosamente y por intercession de San Antonio de Padua, y de allí, a Guan, isla de los Ladrones q. oy¹ se llama de San Juan, y de las Marianas.

*Con viento leste, y lesnordeste, q. ya se llevaba, se fue siguiendo el rumbo Nonor-
ueste, y el sabado siguiente se tuvo vista de una isla en cuya demanda se fue, con animo
de buscar puerto, y provision. Mas no pareziendo bien a Quirós ir de noche, por junto
a tierra mandó virar la nao. Los marineros rendidos al excesivo trabajo, le dijeron, que
no los fatigasse tanto, bien se podría ir mas adelante. Propuso uno de el consejo se fuesse
asta zierta punta*

[Folio 521]

*mas no obstante su contradiccion, el mismo Quirós largó al trinquete la escota, y
cambiado el timon fue la nao virada. Pareze fue inspiracion de algun angel: pues si no
se vira, se pierde sin remedio, como luego se apuntara. Fue haziendo y deziendo, q. asta
donde estaba conozia la mar limpia, y q. mas adelante no sabia lo que toparían.*

*A quarto de el alba se volvio la nao, y vino a amenezer donde avia anochezido.
Mando subir un marinero al tope, como acostumbraba, mañana y tarde, y avisó, q. a
la vuelta del Norueste, iban prosiguiendo unos grandes arrecifes, sin verles fin. El vien-
to era Nordeste, y poco, y atravesía. La Nao no llevaba velas de gabia, para tenerse a
barlovento; Los baxos llamaban el agua a sí, por manera q. el bajel estuvo tan zerca de
ellos, q. apenas se buscaba remedio, por tener ya todos tragada la muerte.*

*Encomendose zierto devoto al Bendito S. Antonio de Padua, y fue servido inter-
zeder, para q. saliese la nao de el gran peligro, en q. estaba aquel día, q. lo fue de el na-
zimiento de N.S. A las tres de la tarde se acabaron de doblar los bajos, tambien
milagrosamente.*

1 Ed. note: When the document was copied by Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, i.e. after 1668, Guam had been renamed San Juan by the Jesuit missionaries, but the new name did not stick.

De las islas salieron indios en sus embarcaciones con velas, y sin ellas, por no poder pasar el arrecife saltaron en el. Desde allí llamaban con las manos.

Vino a la tarde por el remate de los bajos un indio solo, en una pequena canoa i puse a barlovento, y lejos, por eso no se pudo divisar si tenía barbas, por ser aquel paraje de las islas de los Barbudos. Pareció ser hombre de buen cuerpo, desnudo, y con cabellos largos, q. traya sueltos. Apuntaba de azia donde avia venido, y partiendo con las manos zierta cosa blanca, la comía, y empinaba cocos, como q. bebía. Llamaronle; mas no quiso venir.

Esta isla tiene de elevazion de polo artico seis grados largos; es casi redonda, boxea 30 leguas, y no es alta en demasia. Tiene mucha arboleda, y por sus laderas muchas rosas, y sementeras. A tres leguas, parte de el oeste, tiene quatro islas rasas

[Folio 521v]

y otras muchas junto a sí, todas zercadas de arrecifes. Parezio ser mas limpia de la parte de el Sur.

Siguióse el rumbo Nornorueste y Lunes Iro de Henero [1596] se alló altura de ca-torze grados. Gobernose al oeste franco. El viento era largo, y fresco, y miercoles, tres de el mismo mes, al amanecer, se tuvo vista de dos islas de los Ladrones en cuya deman-da se iba. Era la una Guan, y la otra Serpana. Pasaron por entre las dos, corriendo Nor-deste Sudueste, por canal de diez leguas arrimado a la de Guan. Aqui cayó un hombre al agua estando mareando el trinquete. En toda la nave, no avia mas de una cuerda y esta la tenía echada uno al mar. Acertó a ser en la parte por donde salió el caído. Asíóse a ella, y subió dando grazias a Dios, por merzed tan grande.¹

Sect. 13. Prosiguiese la derrota de Philippinas, y los sucessos asta Mariveles.

Llegado pues el navio a vista de Guan, comenzaron a salir de ella gran numero de canoas.²

1 Ed. note: At this point, in Ms. 10.627 (copied by Osuna), the copyist has added (or retained) the following editorial comments by Figueroa, which appear in the published version, but are not written by Quirós: "La escusa del gastar algunos renglones en este libro en cosas menudas, sería tener (como dijeron los antiguos) las pequeñas consigo un no se que de divinidad, que aunque la sienten todos, ninguno la alcanza. Por eso no pocas vezes, se llevan tan de veras tras si los ojos de quien las mira, o escucha, que sin otra recomendacion, ni abono, se le aficionan luego. Una de estas es la descripcion de tierras, traxes, y costumbres de naturales, aunque el curioso la pondrá (siempre que llegare) en el numero de las mas importantes, asi por deleite que causa su variedad, como por lo que enseña, y advierte su narración."

2 Ed. note: The text that follows is inserted here in Ms. 10.627 and in the published version; the authorship is clearly that of Figueroa, since Quirós could only have witnessed part of it. His source of information is unknown, but could have come from a lost document written by one of the survivors of the 1568 San Pablo shipwreck. Since the book was printed in 1613, the source must be dated before that. By the way, the mourning customs of the Ladrones described by Figueroa did not come from the accounts of visitors such as Fr. Antonio de los Angeles (1596-97) or Fr. Juan Pobre (1602). The translation appears further below.

[Figueroa invents the myth about Guamanians living in trees]

Estos son barquillos de cierta madera tan liviana como corcho. Navega en cada uno, solo un Indio, y aunque tiene arbol, vela, entena, triza, escotas y timón, el que va dentro le gobierna, con una mano y con otra alza, amayna, y vuelve la vela, llevando en cada pie una escota, con que alarga, o caza, cada cosa a su tiempo. Son embarcaciones de dos proas y en virando la vela estan a camino, sin que se vire el vajel. Es grande su velocidad, y quando la ola cansada quiebra sobre él, llenandole de agua; el que le guia se arroja al mar, como un pez, y cogiendole sobre los hombros le trastorna(n) en el ayre, y le hace despedir el estorbo que tiene en su concavidad. Asi queda enxuto como antes, metiendose el que le desocupo dentro por un lado. Llegado al puerto, toma el navichuelo a cuestras, y le arrima al pie de un arbol, sobre quien (como nido) tiene su albergue; alimentandose de la pesca que hace. En esta forma vive, aunque como barbaro, como dichoso en ignorar los eclipses de corte, y los platos con que el mundo sirve de hacienda, favores, estimación, y privanza, bienes soñados, y pasatiempos de ayre.

Llegaban al bordo de la Nao, muchos de aquellos bateles con refrescos de frutas de la tierra, como cocos, platanos, comboyes, y cañas dulces, sin varias generos de pezes maritimos, a quien con las manos, sin otro aparejo, pescan y sacan, de la concavidades de las peñas causa de que ningun pescado este seguro de su agilidad sino es el cayman, tiburón, y caella. A estos adoran como deidades, y por el temor que les tienen, y daños que de ellos reciben les ofrecen, y pagan parte de los frutos que cogen, casi como en diezmo. Ponen el presente en un batel, a quien a la vela y sin gente despiden por el mar adelante, transtornandose y hundiendose en corto espacio.

Son los de las islas Ladrones de color pardo. No llevan hombres, ni mugeres, ropa sobre sí. Es gente por extremo hermosa, membruda de grandissima fuerza y tan recia de cueros que desnudos, y descalzos, se meten por entre zarzas, y espinas, y andan por riscos, y peñascos tan ligeros como corzos. No tienen entre sí genero de moneda. Desprecian la plata, y oro, por cuió respecto los huespedes, no podian tratar con ellos, sino con trueques de pedazos de yerro. Estiman este, despues que tienen conocimiento con los Españoles, viendo que cortan con él los árboles, y maderas. Codician en particular las hachas y los cuchillos, por que lo que usaban hasta entonces eran de guijas y pederuales, con que labraban sus navios, y otras cosas. Hallaronse varias vezes, que marineros y soldados saltaron en aquella tierra con ocasion de aguada, muchas casas de Indios (como se dijo) edificadas sobre árboles. Havia tambien en la playa algunas chozas, y buscando la codicia de los viandantes, unas y otras, hallaron tan solo mimbres atravesados, y en ellos ensartadas muchas canillas, y calaberas de hombres. Son estos huesos de sus antepasados, que sirven a semejantes brutos de Dioses. Veneranlos como a tales por que no conocen a otros sino del Sol, Luna, Caimanes, y Tiburones, dentro de quien tienen entendido, que andan las almas de sus difuntos. Por dar a los cuerpos honrosa sepultura, los desuellan y quemando la carne, la meten hecha ceniza en una tinaja de tuba (cierto vino que sacan de palmas de cocos), y bien revuelta se la beben entre todos. Solamente dejan los huesos para que los parientes entolden sus casas, y tengan siempre presentes a los suyos. Lloran toda la vida a sus muertos en ciertos dias, y noches por

sus honras. Para este fin, hay muchas plañideras, que se alquilan; supuesto, se lloran unos a otros, o por interes, o por amistad. A quien lloro por su vecino, siendo menester en su casa, se le paga el llanto, que le fué prestado, con esta condición: de modo que, ó llora por su persona, ó alquila quien llore, en su nombre. Asimismo tienen estas obsequias, y toman mucho plazer por que comen, y beben, y esplendidamente. Duran las honras cerca de una semana, por vez siendo la borrachera propia del dia, y el lloro de la noche. Lloro cada una de por sí, la hora que le toca en cuio espacio refiere (entre las lagrimas) la vida, y hazañas de aquel, o aquellos por quien se aflige. Cuenta desde que nació sus niñerías, y las cosas que hacia quando mayor, declarando por extenso la estatura, faciones, gracias, esfuerzo, y todo lo demas, que puede hacer en honra del difunto. Si es gracioso algun paso de los que va refiriendo, comienza a reir con la propria furia que va llorando dando los presentes tan grandes risadas, que lo alborotan todo. Acabado el impetu de la risa, despues de haver platicado, y bebiendo un rato (que en esto se tiene gran cuenta) se vuelve a proseguir el llanto, como de antes. Por otra parte, quando se toca algun particular triste, y de sentimiento alzan mucho mas los alaridos, todos los circunstantes; que quando se hacen estas fiestas, suelen ser mas de doscientos.¹

Pero el navio prosiguiendo la derrota de Philippinas dejó atras las islas de los Ladrones sin tomar tierra en ellas, aunque lo avia bien menester, por no tener aparejos, con q. echar la barca al agua, ni con q. recojerla. Siguió su carrera al Oeste franco asta un viernes, 12 de Henero, q. se tomó de sol treze grados. El piloto mayor, no aviendo estado jamas en aquellas partes, yba por sola noticia, y sin certeza en demanda del Cabo del Espiritu Santo, primera tierra de Filipinas. Viose Domingo al romper del dia la corona de un alto cerro...

Translation of part of the above narrative, by Dalrymple

...

The distance from this bay² to Manila is 900 leagues.

The three vessels sailed from thence the 18th of November of the said year, going in quest of the island of St. Christoval. Their tackle was so bad, that in hoisting in the boat, it broke thrice.

They day they departed, and the following, they sailed to the WSW observing the sun, they made 11° [S]. They then looked out for land, but could not see it. The mate and four other seamen fell ill; five or six others, who remained well, said to the chief pilot: *See, the ship is a wreck, full of sick people, in want of water and provisions, and that it was impossible to keep the sea with her.* As this was the case, Quiros told the

1 Ed. note: Figueroa goes on with the story of the Spanish soldier who was almost kidnapped at Guam in 1567 (See Doc. 1567B). We now go back to the text of Ms. 2995.

2 Ed. note: Graciosa Bay on Santa Cruz (Ndeni) Island.

Governess that they were in the latitude of 11° agreeable to the resolution, and that he had done what he had been ordered. She replied, that since they could not see the island of St. Christoval, nor the *almiranta*, he should pursue his route to Manila.

The chief pilot made them, with the wind at SE, steer NNW to avoid the coast of New Guinea (which they judged to be very near), that they might not get amongst islands. Not considering the state of the ship, she had given orders to go along the coast of that land, to know what it was, but they were not in a condition to do this. They continued sailing in this course till the 27th of the said month, and got into 5° . This day was seen in the sea a large trunk, and a great drift of small branches from a river, with three almonds, like those they left at Graciosa, much grass, snakes, and the winds from SW with squalls, and rain from that quarter. By these signs they concluded they were near New Guinea.

They began to have a great sea from the NW which did the ship much damage, and particularly when they had light winds or calms, a sign of these winds blowing on the other side of the line. This continued almost to the Ladrone islands. They also met with baffling winds, without being ever settled in any point till they got to 5° N when they had the trade wind from ENE to NE which continued the whole voyage, and if the sun had been as near the zenith as it was to the tropic of Capricorn, it is not known how they could have passed the equinoctial. Navigating till the 10th December, they found the latitude $0^{\circ}30'$ approaching the line, where they found themselves, with a clear sky the wind died away, and the sea fell, without seeing land. It was so cool in the night, that it was necessary to be covered with woolen cloth; but in the day the sun was so hot, that it was scarce above the horizon when it became unsufferable.

[Discovery of Pohnpei]

With an E and ENE wind, which they now got, they continued their course NNW and the Saturday following got sight of an island, in quest of which they went, with an intention of seeking a port and provisions. But Quiros not thinking it proper to stand in shore in the night, ordered to put the ship about. The sailors, excessively jaded said it was better to stand on, than to fatigue themselves so much. One of the council proposed to stand for a certain point, but notwithstanding this contradiction Quiros himself let go the fore sheet, and put the helm-a-lee, when the ship came about. It appeared to be the act of some guardian angel, for if the ship had not come about, it had been lost without fail, as was presently perceived. He persisted in what he did, and said, that so far as they were, they knew the sea was clear, and that farther on they did not know what they might fall in with.

In the morning watch they put the ship about again, and at daybreak came to where they were at night. A man was ordered aloft, according to custom, and said that the NW was a great ledge of shoals, of which he could not see the end. The wind was NE little of it, and on the beam; the ship did not carry topsails to keep to windward. The shoals drew the current to them in such a manner, that the ship came so near, that it

was thought scarce possible to escape; it was on Christmas Day.¹ At three in the afternoon they doubled the shoals almost miraculously. From the islands came out Indians in their embarkations, with sails, and without. As they could not pass the reef, they got upon it; from thence they called with their hands. In the evening² a single Indian, in a small canoe, came to the end of the shoal; as he kept to windward, and at a distance, they could not tell if he had a beard; this being the situation of the Islands of Bearded People.³ He appeared to be a man of good stature, naked, with long hair, which he wore loose. He pointed from whence he came, and parting something white with his hands, ate it, and lifted up a coconut, as if he drank. They called him, but he did not choose to come. This island is in full 6° N and is almost round; 30 leagues in circuit, and not very high.⁴ It has much wood, and upon the sides of the hills much grass⁵ and plantations. At 3 leagues on the W side, are four low islands,⁶ and many others close to it, all of them surrounded with reefs. It appeared to be clearer on the S.

[Rota and Guam sighted]

They continued their course NNW and Monday, 1st January, were in the latitude of 14°. They steered due W. The wind was fair and fresh, and Wednesday, the 3d of that month, at day-break, they had sight of two of the Ladrone islands, to which they were then bound; the one was Guan, the other Serpana [i.e. Rota].

Secondary account of the customs of the Ladrones, by Figueroa

Source: BN Madrid ms. 10.627 and the published version (Madrid, 1613).

The excuse for wasting a few lines in this book on minute things would be (as the ancients used to say) that small things have something divine about them, in that, although everybody can feel them, nobody can grasp them. For this reason, not so rarely, they grab the attention of whoever look at, or listen to, them, in a way that one is

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- 1 Ed. note: The actual date was Christmas Eve, according to Zaragoza (see next document).
 - 2 Ed. note: Actually it was late afternoon, before sunset, say, between 5 and 6 p.m.
 - 3 Ed. note: Figueroa does not say that this was the position of the Barbudos [Marshall] Islands, but that the Barbudos were in those parts.
 - 4 Ed. note: Note that Quiros had said 25 leagues in his report to Dr. Morga. The peaks of Pohnpei were probably obscured by clouds.
 - 5 Ed. note: The original word is "rosas" and it appears clearly in all manuscripts I have seen, but it is hard to imagine that they could have seen rose bushes. Dalrymple interprets it as 'grass', but I would say that the word 'vegetation' would be as good an interpretation. My guess is that the word "rosas" was meant to be used; in Spanish, it means stubbings, and could be used to mean grass cuttings, even pasture or grazing lands.
 - 6 Ed. note: The islands of Pakin. They seem to have been uninhabited.
 - 7 Ed. note: To repeat, it is not possible to determine Figueroa's sources for this insert. He may have been influenced by descriptions of the customs of the natives of the Philippines, written before ca. 1610.

then attracted to them, without necessarily recommending or approving them. One of those things is the description of lands, dress, and customs of the natives, although the curious [reader] will always count them among the most important [passages] (whenever he gets to them), not only on account of the pleasure caused by their variety, but also for what the narrating of them teaches us and makes us aware of.

These are small barks made of a certain wood as light as cork. A single Indian sails in each one and, although it has a mast, a sail, a yard, a halliard, sheets and a rudder [sic], the one who goes aboard steers it with one hand and with the other raises, lowers and turns the sail, holding a sheet with each foot, with which he slackens or pulls, whenever required. They are craft with two prows and by turning the sail they are on their way, without the vessel being turned. Its speed is great, and when the spent wave breaks over it, filling it with water, the one who guides it throws himself overboard, like a fish, and by picking it up over his shoulders turns it over in the air and makes the hinderance found within its concavity fall out; thus it becomes dried as before, and the one who had left it gets back on board by one side.

[Guamanians living in trees?]

Upon arriving in port, he takes the little ship upon his back and leans it against the foot of a tree upon which (like a nest) he has his lodging-house. He feeds himself with the fish he catches. He lives in this fashion, although like a barbarian, happily ignorant of court intrigues, and of the things of this world, like landed property, favors, esteem, favoritism, fancied goods, and useless pastimes.

Many of those boats would come alongside the ship with refreshments of products from the land, like coconuts, bananas, *comboyes*¹, and sugar-cane, without [mentioning] various species of salt-water fishes, which they catch with their hands without any kind of tackle, taking them out of the concavities of the rocky ledges, reason for which no fish is safe from their agility except the crocodile, shark and *caella*.² These they worship like gods, and on account of the fear that they have of them, and the harm they get from them, they offer them and sacrifice part of the fruits that they collect, as a sort of tithe. They put them in a boat which they despatch under sail without anyone aboard to the high sea, and it capsizes and sinks very shortly afterwards.

The natives of the Ladrone Islands are brown in color. Neither men nor women wear any clothes on them. They are people exceedingly pretty, with firm and strong limbs and with such a tough skin that, naked and barefoot, they go into thorny bramble-bushes, and walk through sharp rocks and rocky ledges, as light as roe-deer. They do not have any money among themselves. They do not value silver or gold; that is why their guests cannot deal with them except by bartering pieces of iron. They value iron, ever since they came to know it through the Spanish, by watching them cut trees and

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- 1 Ed. note: I do not know what that word really means, since it does not appear in any Spanish dictionary, old and new, as a fruit. Charton has suggested that it might have been a pandanus fruit. My wife, who is a Filipina, has suggested that it might be a misprint for the Filipino word "lomboi" which means a black or Java plum (*Syzygium cuminii*, Linn.).
- 2 Ed. note: This dangerous fish could be the moray eel, or the sting ray.

boards with it. They specially fancy the axes and the knives, because those they used until then were made of pebbles and flints, with which they fashion their ships, and other things.

There have been various occasions in which sailors and soldiers have stepped ashore at that land for watering and have found (as I have said) many Indian houses built upon trees. There were also some huts on the beach, and when the greedy travellers searched them one after another, they found only wicker baskets put crosswise and inside them many human leg bones threaded together and skulls. These bones are those of their ancestors and they are used as gods by these brutish people. They revere them as such, because they know no others, except for the Sun, the Moon, the crocodiles and the sharks, inside which they believe are entrapped the souls of their dead.¹ In order to give an honorable burial to the bodies, they flay them and once the flesh is burned, they placed the ashes from it in a jar full of *tuba*² (a certain wine they extract from coconut palms), and once well mixed they drink it among themselves. They only leave the bones for the relatives to hang in their houses, and keep them always present in their minds. They mourn their dead during their whole life on certain days [of the year], and nights, to honor them. For this purpose, there are many female hired mourners; nevertheless, they mourn one another, either through interest or out of friendship. To whomever has mourned for his neighbor, he is paid for his lament, it being necessary to do it at his house which was loaned to him with this condition; either he does the mourning himself, or he hires someone to mourn on his behalf. At the same time as they hold such funeral ceremonies, they take much pleasure in eating and drinking, in a splendid fashion. The ceremonies last nearly one week, the drinking taking place during the day, while the lament goes on at night. Each woman mourns by herself, during the time assigned to her, during with time (between tears) she recounts the life, the deeds of that person or persons, by whom they are afflicted. She begins with the narrative of his or their childhood doings, and the things done when mature, declaring extensively the stature, exploits, jokes, effort, and all the other things that may do honor to the deceased. If some portion of what she narrates is witty, she begins to laugh with the same fury that she had been crying, and everyone present laugh so much that they raise a racket. Once the impulse of the laughter has died down, after they have chatted and drunk for a while (the latter part is paid much attention), they go back to their lament, as before. On the other hand, when a particularly-sad and sorrowful event is mentioned, all those present raise a much louder outcry; after all, during such feasts, over 200 people are usually present.

1 Ed. note: A similar belief was common in the Visayas at that time, and was reported by Miguel de Loarca in a report dated Panay, June 1582, as follows: "It is said that the souls of those who are stabbed to death, eaten by crocodiles, or killed by arrows (which is considered a very honorable death), go to heaven by way of rainbow, and become gods." (B&R 5:129).

2 Ed. note: Figueroa used this Filipino word for "arrack".

Document 1596D

Mendaña & Quirós—Narrative by Quirós, as edited by Zaragoza

Sources: MN ms. 951; Royal Palace Library, Madrid, ms. 1686; published by Justo Zaragoza, Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones austriales, Madrid, 1876; translated by Sir Clements Markham as The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606, Hakluyt Society, 1904.

Translation of Zaragoza, by Markham

...

The ship was unfit for sea, full of sick, in want of water and food...

Things being put right, the Chief Pilot said to the Governess that they were in the latitude of 11° [S] and that, in accordance with the agreement, she must order what should be done. She replied, that as the island of San Cristobal was not in sight, and the *almiranta* could not be found, she would shape a course for Manilla.

The Chief Pilot made his course NW with the wind SE to avoid New Guinea, which was very near, and not to get among the islands...

On that course we continued to sail until the 27th of the month, when we were in 5°... We began to experience great waves coming from NW and NNW, which knocked the ship about, and it was worse when there were calms or light winds: a sign that these winds come from the other side of the line. This continued nearly as far as the Ladrone Islands. There were also variables up to 5° N, where breezes sprang up from NE which lasted all the voyage. If the sun should be near the zenith when it was in Capricorn, I know not how it would be on crossing the equinoctial line.

We sailed on until the 10th of December, when I found the latitude half a degree from the line, a position in which the sky was clear, the air quiet, the sea smooth, but no land in sight; but so cold at night that it was necessary to use blankets. Yet in the



Alvaro de Mendaña was 50 years old in 1595. (From a drawing by Luis Carlos de Legrand, lithographed by J. J. Martínez in *José March y Labores' Historia de la Marina Real Española, Madrid, 1854*)

day the sun was so hot, that even when it was near the horizon the heat could hardly be borne.

The galeot had not been seen for several days, for she had parted company;¹ so, wishing to comply with her obligations to the *capitana* [flagship], the Governess ordered that her Captain should be notified that, on pain of being declared a traitor, he should keep his position, and not be more than half a league off. For it seemed that the *capitana*, from her general unseaworthiness, and having her mainmast sprung, could never reach safety. Yet on that night the galeot [had] stood on another tack, and disappeared, without being any more seen.

1 Ed. note: We may surmise that the galliot San Felipe separated from the flagship at about 3°S. It made an independent crossing to the Philippines, probably passing close to Palau on the way to the north side of Mindanao.



Governess Isabel Barreto consulting with the officers. *After the death of her husband, Governor Mendaña, Doña Isabel took the decision to seek relief at Manila. (From Jules Verne's *The Exploration of the World*, f.p. 397)*

The ration that was served out consisted of half a pound of flour, of which they made mashed-up paste with salt water, baked in the hot ashes; half a quart of water full of powdered cockroaches, which made it very nauseous and stinking. There was not much good fellowship, owing to the great sickness and little conformity of feeling. What were most evident were the ulcers coming out of feet and legs, the sadness, groans, hunger, infirmities, and death, with mourning for those whom it concerned. Scarcely a day passed without throwing one or two overboard, and on some days there were three and four. It came to this: that there was no little difficulty in carrying the dead up from the between decks.

The sick became rabid from the effluvia of mud and filth that was in the ship. Nothing was hidden. All the prayers were for water; some begged for a single drop, showing their tongues, pointing with their fingers, like the rich man and Lazarus. The women, with children at their breasts, prayed for water, while all complained of a thousand things. Here could well be seen the good friend, he who was a father or a son, the charity and patience that was shown. Here, too, might be seen one who could accommodate himself to the times, and who could be resigned. Many deaths without confession took place¹, and other evils which to think of together were to feel above measure. The *Salve [Regina]* was recited in the afternoon, before the image of Our Lady of Solitude, which was all the consolation in this pilgrimage.

There had come on this expedition a venerable old man and good Christian, who in Lima was *barchilon* [bachiller?], and served in the hospital of the natives. His name was Juan Leal, which he was through all the events he was concerned with. This servant of God and worthy man, in poor health, for he was convalescent, without rest, which in good sooth it had been well if he had found, but he only sought time to occupy himself night and day without ceasing—was he who, in camp and on board, and in the present voyage, devoted himself to the service of the sick with cheerful faith. He showed that his bowels were full of charity, for all that was done for the sick passed through his hands. He bled them, cupped them, made their beds, helped them to a good death, prepared and accompanied their bodies to sepulture, or got them out of danger; a man, in short, who did well in word and deed, though deeply feeling the numerous miserable sights he beheld. But there were ears to which his voices reached, and not finding doors, they returned to their master, who afresh converted them into more love and care to help, as he did help with his accustomed piety.

Chapter XXVII. Of the state in which the ship was as she continued her voyage, and of the death of the hermit.²

A list was made of the surviving sick, and each one was given, besides his ordinary ration, a plate of fritters helped out with honey and treacle, and in the afternoon a mug of water with a little sugar to help as sustenance. Those who were a little stronger had double rations to enable them to work at the pumps four times a day, at which they suffered fearfully, for some hid themselves, others sat down, and others stopped, saying they could not work. Night passed without being able to give rest from the evil that was near, for its clamors and forced necessities were two things which it was not possible to remedy.

The rigging and sails were so rotten that repairs were incessant, and splicing and sewing was constantly needed. The main mast was sprung from the step, and the step of the bowsprit, from not being morticed, hung on one side, taking the bowsprit with it, which caused us great anxiety. The sprit sail with all its gear fell into the sea, and none

1 Ed. note: The priests had died; there remained only a lay brother.

2 Ed. note: The chapter numbering in Markham does not follow that of Zaragoza.

of it could be recovered. The main stay carried away a second time, and it was necessary to make another stay with part of the hemp cable, and the backstays of the mainmast, which were unrove for the purpose. There was not a yard that was not bent downwards owing to parted lifts, the topsail ties were gone, and perhaps for three days at a time the sail was flapping in the waist, because no one cared to hoist it with a rope that had been spliced thirty-three times. We took down the topsails and mizzen in order to mend the courses, which at last were the only sails we used. Of the hull of the ship it may be said with truth that only the beams kept the people above water, for they were of that excellent wood of Guayaquil called *guatchapeli*, which never seems to grow old. The ship was so open in the dead wood that the water ran in and out of the ship when we sailed on a bowline.

The sailors, from the hard work and their weakness, and from seeing the ship in such a state, set no store by their lives; and one of them said to the Chief Pilot that he was tired of being always tired, that he would rather die once than many times, and that they might as well shut their eyes and let the ship go to the bottom. They did not want to work, saying that neither God nor the King required them to do what was impossible. The men said they were without strength, and if one took another in his arms he was unable to hold him up. If they should die, who was there that could revive them? The Chief Pilot answered one of them that if he should jump overboard, the Devil would have him body and soul. Many others said that as he knew how to command, he should give them nourishment from the jars of wine, oil, and vinegar which the Governess had, or that it should be sold to them in exchange for their work; that they would give receipts and pay at Manilla, or make a return in kind. They said this was necessary for them in order to recover strength to work the ship, and that if they all died she would die also. When there was the greatest necessity for them, then they would show her needs and remember what had passed. The Chief Pilot submitted their prayer to the Governess several times during the voyage, saying it was much worse to die than not to expend stores. She said that there was more obligation to her than to the sailors who talked of her favor, and if two were hanged the rest would hold their tongues. The Chief Pilot answered that he only referred to the matter in order to apply a remedy to pressing needs, that the sailors were good men, that if he advocated their cause it was not for any obligation he owed to them, but that the ship might be taken where she herself wished, and that the obligation to please her did not relieve him from the duty of his office, the pay being equal to the debt. At last she served out two jars of oil; but they were soon used up, when the complaints were renewed and continued throughout the voyage.

The soldiers seeing so long a time before them (for no time is short to those who suffer) also said a good deal; that they would gladly exchange this life for a sentence of death in a prison, or for a place on a bench in a Turkish galley, where they might die confessed, or live in the hope of a victory or a ransom. Hope in God, whose power is greater than all our necessities, said one, for that will prove an armed voyage, and above poverty.

This death, which I hold to be a happy termination to a life of good works when received with meekness, was doing service to the Lord in calling, in good time, our dear Juan Leal, who went to his reward in heaven for the merits of what he had done on earth. He died alone and forsaken, like the rest. He was exemplary in his life and customs, he valued the world and its affairs for what they were worth, he went about dressed in sackcloth next to his skin, and reaching half down his legs, with bare feet, and long hair and beard. He had passed many years in this severe course of life, serving hospitals, after having previously served for many years as a soldier in Chile. On the same night a sick man fell overboard, it was not known how, crying out for help; but he was left and was no more seen.

Chapter XXVIII. How there was a proposal to elect a General; the reply of the Chief Pilot to it; the advice given by a man to the Governess, and the loss of the frigate.

The Chief Pilot took great care of the water, as there was little left, and, by secret means, there were great wasters of it. He was therefore present when it was served out. The Governess used it very largely, requiring it to wash her clothes, for which purpose she sent a jar to be filled. The Chief Pilot said that the position should be considered, and that it did not seem just to use so much water, when there was so little. At this she took great offence, and felt it so much that she said very angrily:

— “Cannot I do what I please with my own property?” The Chief Pilot answered:

— “It belongs to all, and it will go to all. The cup is good for him that cannot wash, and it is your duty to curtail your own allowance, that the soldiers may not say that you wash your clothes with their life’s blood. You should put a high value on the patience of those who are suffering, for they might take by force what there is in the ship. Starving people sometimes know how to help themselves.”

Upon this the Governess took the keys of the store room away from the steward, who was an honest man, to whom the Chief Pilot had entrusted them, and gave them to one of her own servants. There were not wanting those who said to the Chief Pilot that he ought not to allow himself to be ruled by a woman, and that if it was put to the vote, the majority would be for a man. But the Chief Pilot answered that they should leave her to enjoy her just title for the brief space that remained. When the time came that he was forced to act, it would then appear more reasonable to say what is now said without considering her.

One honest man was anxious to see less bickering in the ship, and more order and peace than prevailed there. Knowing that some of the hungry and suffering people had determined to force their way into the store room when it was opened, and knowing what must happen from this project, whether fights or other mischief, so that the little food that remained would be got by blows—he said many things to the Governess touching her rule. There were not wanting those who told her not to trust him, and knowing this, he spoke thus to her:

— “Consider, Lady, that those who speak to you are not saints, and well they show it in what they say, for they seek their own benefit and the evil of others. Trust in the men in whom your husband trusted, for have you not seen that in his necessities and your own they have loyally done their duty, seeing your risk. Be assured that here there is no one who desires to rise, nor who would consent to it, nor any who do not owe to you a sole obedience in all that is just.” She replied:

— “Here they come with complaints that I do not wish to hear.” He answered:

— “Do not listen to them nor believe them, and treat the men well. See with what heavy loads they are laden. They might throw them off, and refuse to carry them, or make some evil agreement, so as to agree afterwards. Be sure that each one thinks that, although miseries overflow, compensations are not wanting. To these your brethen be considerate. Do not look upon them as a petty government of many heads without feet, or of many feet without a head. Reflect well on what are new affairs. These people wish for little, and here they suffer much. They owe nothing, yet they owe much; and what they owe to you they dissimulate. If they had not come here, no one would owe anything, nor would what is wanted now be wanted; and to you all is more than owing.”

At last this man asked her:

— “What ought he to do who was warned that some wanted to kill others on board the ship?”

She answered that she would look out. He then said:

— “I know that it was you yourself and your brother who plotted to kill me, and you sharpened the knives; but I did not believe it easily, though I was told by a friend. Nor did I fall in caution, though now I may. You see here how it has been made sure, and if you should wish it, you can have assurance, though you may not believe who it was that deceived you. I am not afraid of what I have told you and excused, for there are very few women with such heads as Dido, Zenobia, and Semiramis.”

With these troubles we went on steering the same course, NNW, until Tuesday, the 17th of December [1595], when we were in 3°30' N. The men in the frigate were worn out by work at the pump, and it was necessary to give them three more to help them at their labor. Sailors were sent to check the water, which was coming in at many places. No diligence availed, and she could not keep up with the *capitana*. The people were very sad, yet desirous to save the vessel because the body of the *adelantado* was on board. Knowing the danger, the Chief Pilot said to the Governess several times, that it seemed right to abandon the frigate, taking off the people, who would be safe, while the ship would be better manned. As he could not prevail, he said to Don Diego de Vera, Captain of the frigate:

— “You know how to complain; how is it you do not know how to make things safe? Do you not see that it will be the death of yourself and your companions? Come on board this ship, for here you will be welcomed like brothers.”

At last the frigate was lost sight of at night, for which cause the Chief Pilot eased off the sheets, and waited until the next day in the afternoon. The soldiers began to make an outcry, saying it was no time to delay the navigation, for that the frigate would not

Two core chapters from the Zaragoza edition

CAP. XXXII.—De cómo se tuvo vista de una isla de la parte del Norte, y el peligro grande en que el galeon estuvo puesto.

Con viento Leste y Lesnordeste que ya se llevaba, se fue siguiendo el rumbo Nornoroeste, y el siguiente sábado se tuvo vista de una isla en cuya demanda se fue con ánimo de buscar puerto y provision; más no le pareciendo bien al piloto mayor ir de noche por junto a tierra no conocida, mandó virar la nao. Los marineros, gente harta de trabajar, le dijeron no los fatigase tanto, y que bien se podía ir más adelante. Ayudó uno del consejo que se fuese hasta cierta punta. El piloto mayor largó al trinquete la escota, y cambiado el timon, fué la nao virada; y parece fué inspiracion de algun ángel, pues si no se vira, sin remedio alguno se pierde, como abajo se dirá. Fué haciendo y diciendo que hasta adonde estaba conocia ser la mar limpia y que más adelante no sabia lo que la nao toparia.

Al cuarto del alba se volvió la nao, y vino a amanecer donde anochecido habia. Mandó subir un marinero al tope, como lo tenia de costumbre mañana y tarde, y avisó que a la vuelta del Noroeste iban unos grandes arrecifes, y no les veia su fin. El viento era Nordeste y poco y travesia. La nao no llevaba velas de gavia para tenerse a barlovento; los bajos llevaban el agua a sí. La nao estuvo tan cerca de ellos que ya no se buscaba remedio, estando todos con la muerte tragada. Cierta persona hizo en su corazon una peticion y promesa a San Antonio de Padua, y fué servido el Señor que este dia, que lo era de su santo nacimiento, la nao salió de este peligro en que estuvo, y a las tres de la tarde se acabaron de doblar los bajos y puedese decir de milagro.

*De la isla salieron indios en sus embarcaciones de velas, y sin ellas: por no poder pasar el arrecife saltaron en el, y desde allí llamaban con las manos. A la tarde, por el remate de los bajos, vino un sólo indio en una pequeña canoa. Púsose a barlovento y lejos; y por esto no se pudo divisar si tenia barbas, por ser aquel paraje de las islas de los **Barbudos**. Pareció ser hombre de buen cuerpo, desnudo: traia los cabellos largos y sueltos; apuntaba de hácia habia venido, y partiendo cosa blanca con las manos, lo comia, y empinaba cocos como que bebia. Fué llamado, y no quiso venir.*

Era ya tarde, y a esta causa subió un marinero al tope a mirar la mar, y avisó de unas isletas bajas y muchas restingas, en que la nao estaba metida como en corral. Hubo otro poco de desabrimiento, con pareceres que si se hubieran de seguir (como de quienes no lo entendian), prometian daños. La nao se puso a camino, y se navegó al Nornoroeste.

Esta isleta [sic] tiene de elevacion de Polo ártico seis grados largos. Es casi redonda: bojea treinta leguas. No es muy alta en demasia: tiene mucha arboleda, y por sus laderas muchas rosas y simenteras. A tres leguas parte del Oeste tiene cuatro islas rasas, y otras muchas junto a sí, y todas cercadas de arrecifes. Pareció ser más limpia por la parte del Sur.

appear, that she may have gone ahead, and that if not it was God for us all and each for himself. The Chief Pilot answered that it would be an ill deed to abandon that vessel full of friends on the high sea, without such a pilot as could take her to safety. If she parted company, she could not be secure of reaching port. She was never more seen.¹

Chapter XXIX. How they came in sight of an island bearing north, and of the great danger in which the ship was placed.

With the wind from the E and [E]NE the ship continued her NNW course, and on the following Saturday she came in sight of an island, for which they steered cheerfully in hopes of a port and provisions. But as it did not appear well to the Chief Pilot to go too near an unknown land during the night, he ordered the ship to be tacked. The sailors, accustomed to work, said they were not tired, and that they were quite ready to go on.² The Chief Pilot eased off the foresheet, put the helm down, and the ship went round. This seemed to be the inspiration of an angel, for if she had not been put about she would certainly have been lost, as will be seen further on. Up to where the ship was the sea was clear and unbroken, but further on it was not known what the ship would strike against.

At dawn the ship stood in to where she was before night. A sailor was sent to the mast-head, as was the custom morning and evening, and he reported that to the NE [rather NW] there were some great reefs, the termination of which he could not see.³ The ship had no after sails to enable her to work to windward; and the water was breaking over the rocks. The ship was so near them that there appeared to be no escape, and death seemed ready to swallow us up. A certain person made a prayer and a promise, in his heart, to St. Anthony of Padua; and it served the Lord that on this day, which was that of His holy birth, the ship come out of the danger in which she was placed. At three in the afternoon she doubled the reef, it may be said by a miracle.

Natives came in their canoes from the island under sail, others paddling. As they were unable to cross the reef, they jumped on it, and made signs with their hands. In the afternoon one single native in a small canoe came round the end of the reef. He was at a distance to windward, so that we could not see whether he had a beard, the position being near the island of the **Barbudos**. He seemed to be a good-sized man and naked, with long, loose hair. He pointed in the direction whence he had come, and

1 Ed. note: There is a possibility that this small ship may have reached Pohnpei, and that a colony of lost white men, whose blood line would have soon become mixed, was founded there.

2 Ed. note: Error in translation. The sentence should read: "The sailors, the people necessary for the maneuver, told him not to tire them so much, and that they could very well keep going." Another sentence is also missing here: "A member of the council advised that they could go to a certain point."

3 Ed. note: Another sentence is missing: "The wind was NE, light and abeam."

CAP. XXXIII.—De cómo se tuvo vista de las islas de los Ladrones, y lo que allí pasó.

*Siguióse el rumbo Nornoroeste, y lunes primero de Enero se halló altura de catorce grados. Gobernóse al Oeste franco. El viento era largo y fresco; y miércoles tres del dicho, al amanecer, se tuvo vista de dos islas de los Ladrones, en cuya demanda se iba. La una era **Guan**, y la otra la **Serpana** [Rota]. Pasóse por entre las dos, que se corren Nordeste Sudueste por canal de diez leguas arrimado a la de Guan. Cayó un hombre a la mar estando mareando el trinquete, y no habia en toda la nao más de una cuerda, y ésta la tenia uno en la nao, que echada a la mar acertó de ser en parte donde salia el caido debajo la nao, a la cual asido, subió arriba ¡gracias a Dios!*

De la isla de Guan salieron muchas piraguas con sus velas y muchos de aquellos indios ladrones, que son unos hombres fornidotes, de razonable color. Venian diciendo charume [= chamore], que quiere decir amigos; herrequepe [= arepeque], que quiere decir daga hierro, que esto es lo que venian a buscar, por ser muy amigos de ello. Como venian tantos, y se daban mucha priesa, se encontraban y trastornaban algunas embarcaciones, cuyos dueños nadando las volvian boca arriba con grande facilidad. Son embarcaciones de dos proas; virando la vela están a camino, sin que se vire el bajel. Trajeron muchos cocos, plátanos, arroz, agua, petates, y unos grandes pescados voladores y dorados, y todo lo dieron a trueque de hierros viejos. Con esta gente y frescos, la de la nao se alegró extremadamente. Acabóse el rescate: fuéronse los indios, dos menos, que mató un arcabuz, por un pedazo de arco de pipa [robado].

Los soldados instaron mucho con el piloto mayor que tomase puerto en la isla para procurar que comer. Buena fué u voluntad, mas dejólo de hacer por no tener apares en que echar la barca al agua: y esto lo dijo a todos; mas ellos instaban más, diciendo a manos la echarian. Preguntóles:

— ¿Y al recoger, qué será? Respondieron:

— ¿Qué más que se quedase allí? El piloto mayor dijo:

— No está bien perder la barca, habiéndose de navegar por entre las muchas islas que se iban a buscar.

Porfiaron mucho; mas él, haciéndose sordo, siguió al Oeste franco su camino hasta viernes doce, que se tomó del sol trece grados.

breaking something white with his hands he ate it, and had coconuts for drink. He was called to, but did not want to come.

It was evening, and, for that reason, a sailor went aloft to look out. He reported two small islands and many rocks, by which the ship was surrounded as in a yard. There was reason for despondency, as whatever course was taken (to those who did not understand) seemed to threaten danger. The ship was put on a course steering NNW.¹

This islet [sic] is in latitude 6° [N]. It is nearly round, and about 30 leagues in circumference. It is not very high. It has many trees, and at their sides there were flowers and cultivated patches. At 3 leagues to the west there are four low islands, and many others near them², all surrounded by reefs. The sea appeared to be more clear [of dangers] to the southward.

Chapter XXX. How they came in sight of the Ladrone Islands, and what happened there.

Continuing on a NNW course, they were in 14°N latitude on Monday, the 1st of January [1596]. The wind was west, and the ship was going free.³ On Wednesday, the 3rd of the same month, we came in sight of two of the Ladrone islands, for which we were making. One was called **Guan**, and the other **Serpana**. We passed between the two, which lie NE and SW, by a channel 10 leagues wide, keeping on the side of Guan. A man who was handling the foresail fell overboard; and in the whole ship there was only one line. It was thrown over where the man had fallen alongside, who got hold of it and came up, thanks be to God!

Many canoes came out from Guan under sail, with a number of Ladrone natives in them, who are stout men of a reasonable color. They were crying out *charume* [= *chamore*], which means friends, and *heoreque* [= *arepeque*], signifying “give us iron”⁴ which is what they seek, being very fond of it. As so many came there was a great press, and some canoes fouled each other and were overturned, whose masters swimming, turned them over again with great ease. They are built with two prows, so that they can turn the sail without having to turn the canoe. They brought many coconuts, plantains, rice, water, and some large fish, giving all in exchange for old iron. Those of the ship were delighted with these people and their refreshing provisions. The exchange being completed, the natives went away, all but two who were killed by an arquebus, owing to a matter of a piece of cask hoop.

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- 1 Ed. note: I think that the predicament in which they found themselves had to do with their inability to reach the northern harbor of Pohnpei, which they could see dotted with islets and rocks.
 - 2 Ed. note: The text can be interpreted as follows, with reference to the main island: “It has 4 low islets 3 leagues to the west of it, and many others near itself...”
 - 3 Ed. note: Inaccurate translation here. They headed due west, with the wind pushing them... The switch to the first person plural is not found in the original (see inset).
 - 4 Ed. note: We have seen many times before that such an expression means Don't shoot!

The soldiers insisted much with the Chief Pilot that he should go into port at this island and procure provisions. He was very willing; but he gave it up because there was no gear for getting the boat into the water. He said this to all; but they still insisted, saying they could do it with their hands. The Chief Pilot replied:

— “And how will you get it on board again?” They answered:

— “Why cannot it be left here?” Then the Chief Pilot said:

— “It is not well to lose the boat, having to navigate among so many islands of which we go in search.”

They were very persistent; but he turned a deaf ear, and continued to shape a westerly course until Friday, the 12th, when, on taking the sun, he found the latitude to be 13° N.

Chapter XXXI. How, when they came in sight of the Philippine Islands, the ship was in many dangers, and how she anchored in a good harbor.

The Chief Pilot navigated only by information, and without a chart, seeking for the cape of Espiritu Santo, the first land of the Philippines. At daybreak land was sighted, being the peak of a high mountain; and nothing else was then seen owing to a shower of rain that came on. The land was welcomed with as much content as if we had really reached a safe haven. Some said: “Soon we shall hear Mass and seek God. There is no longer danger of death without confession, for that is a land where Christians dwell.” Amidst these anticipations and great rejoicing, there were others so weak that they could not stand on their feet, and who were like skeletons ready to die; and their refrain was that they no longer wished to bring to light their propped-up bones. Presently they all applied for a double ration of water, for the want of it caused the greatest sufferings. But the Chief Pilot said that he could not give more than the cup, for there was very little left, and we should still be at sea some time before we anchored.

Documents 1596E

Mendaña & Quirós—Did Quirós really discover Pohnpei in 1595?

E1. A Paris manuscript confirms Quirós' narrative

Source: BN Paris #Esp 324, folios 121v-122v. It is a summary, in Spanish, of the narrative by Quirós.

Note: There is another manuscript, in French, in BN Paris, mss. français 5561, folios 5-11, mentioned by Fr. Kelly (Calendar of Documents, p. 163).

The second voyage of Alvaro de Mendaña.

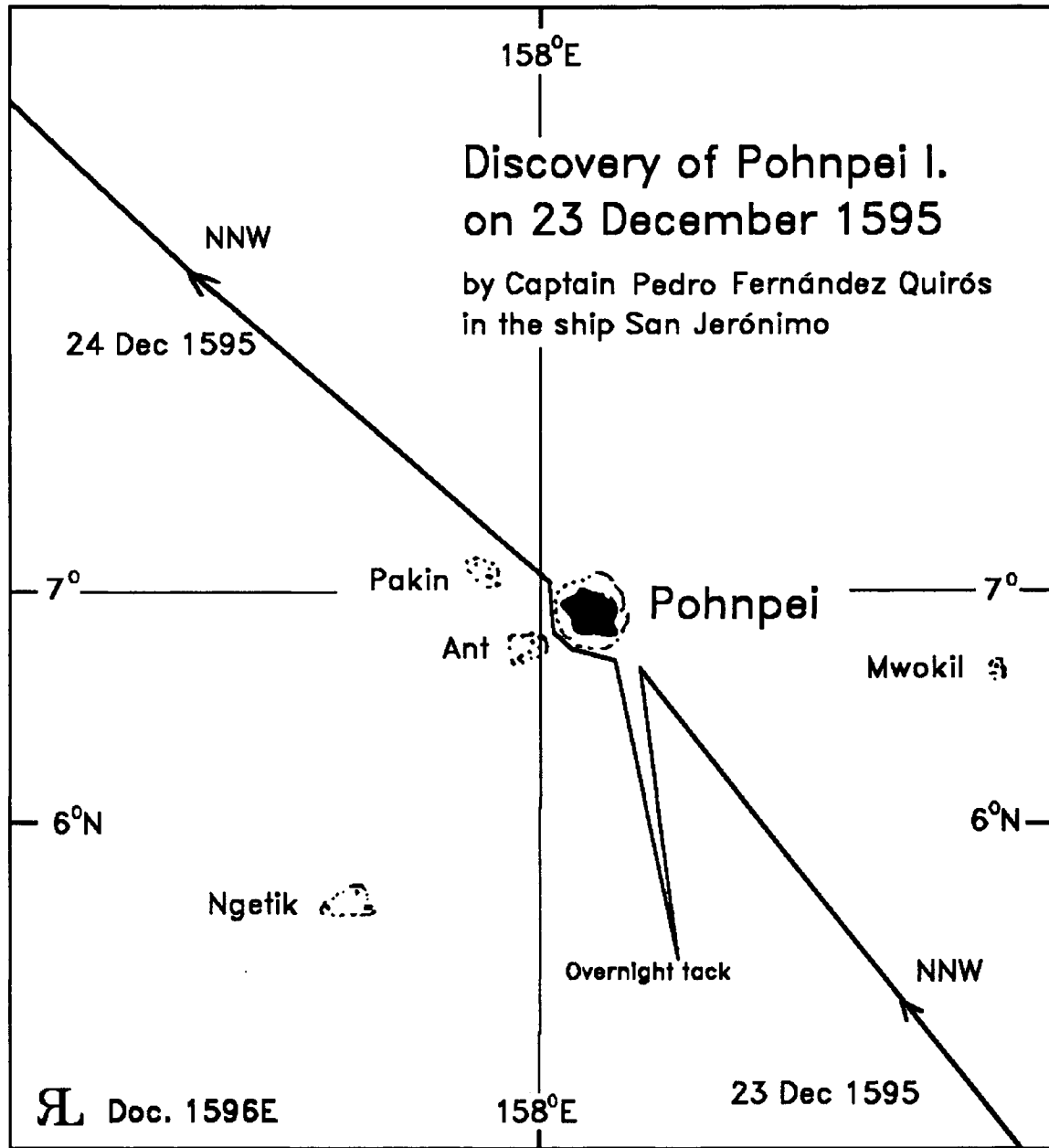
[Fol 121v]

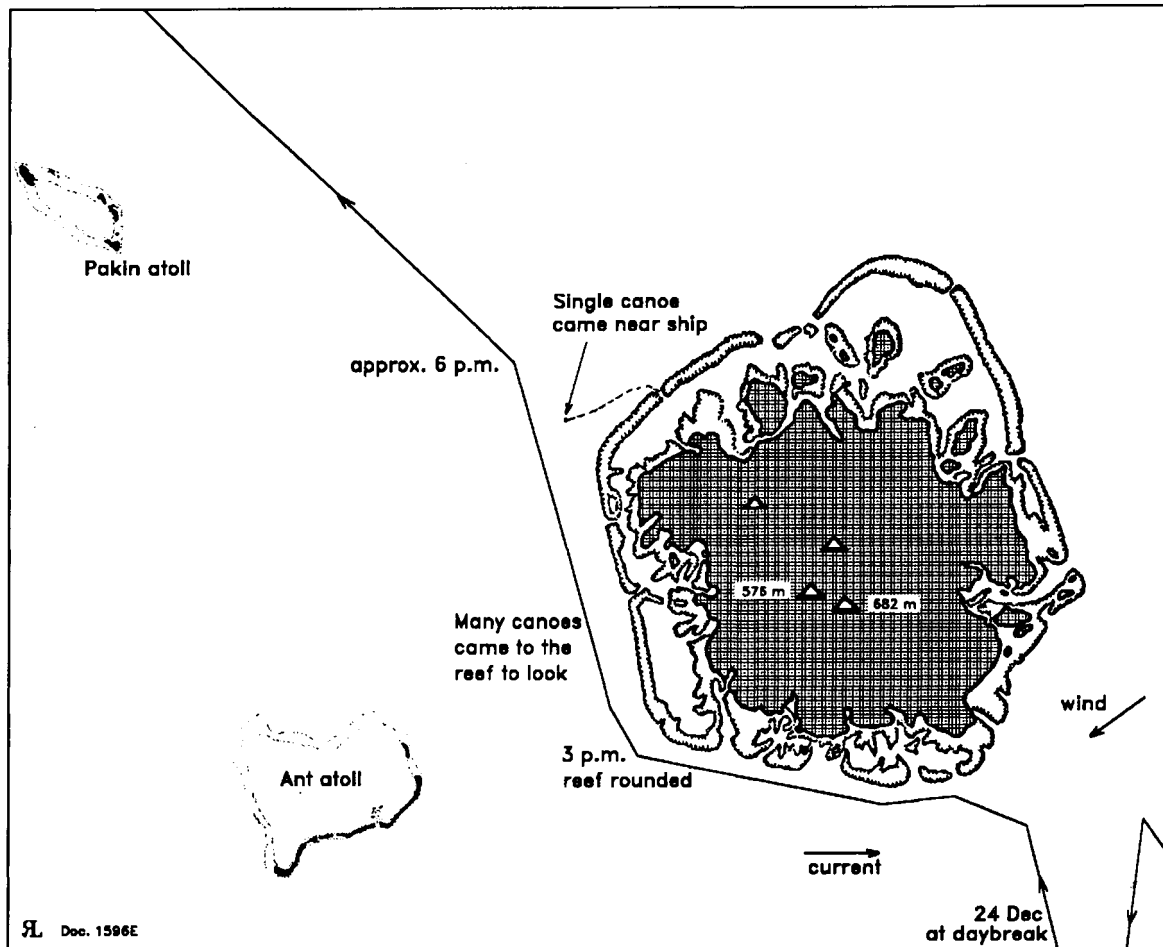
On 11 April 1595 the *adelantado* Alvaro de Mendaña embarked at Callao of Lima with his wife Isabel Barreto, and with Pedro Fernández de Quirós as Captain and Chief Pilot, with four vessels and 378 men...

...
[Fol. 122] ... Pedro Fernández de Quirós steered away from New Guinea which he thought to be in the vicinity. On the 27th of the month [of November] they were at 5° [S]. On 10 December, he found himself at the latitude of half a degree. On Tuesday 19 December, they got to 3° and 1/2 North latitude. On 23 December, one island was seen and they went toward it, without seeking a port on account of the shoals and reefs. It is inhabited, at 6° North latitude, round, 30 leagues in circumference, in the neighborhood of the Barbudos Islands. At 3 leagues to the west, it has 4 low islands and many others close to itself, all surrounded by reefs.

On Monday, 1 January 1596, there was found a latitude of 14° and on the 3rd of the same month two islands of the Ladrões were seen, one being Guan and the other Serpana. They passed between the two through a channel that is 10 leagues wide and the ship arrived in sight of Guan.

Pursuing its course to the Philippines, the ship left the Ladrone Islands behind without stopping there. It continued its way due west until 12 January when the sun was taken in 13°. On Sunday 14 January land was seen; it was the Cape of Espiritu Santo...





Close inspection of Pohnpei on 24 December 1595. *The ship San Jerónimo from Peru and the Solomon Islands, on the way to Manila, was under the naval control of Chief Pilot Quirós. He spent the whole of Christmas Eve 1595 inspecting the south and west sides of Pohnpei Island. The sad state of the rigging, the sick crew and the NE wind prevented him from going to windward.*

E2. The opinion of Navy Captain José Espinosa

Source: MN ms. 96, folios 256v-257.

Analysis by the Hydrographic Department, ca. 1800, in the handwriting of José Espinosa y Tello.

The island of San Bartholome in the New Carolines appears to be the same island as that in 6° plus of lat. N discovered by Quirós in his voyage to Manila after the death of Mendaña in the year 1596 [sic].

If one measures 80 leagues along the 14° parallel and places this distance to the E of Guahan, then draws a SSE course which, corrected for a 1/4 [i.e. 1 point] of NE compass variation, gives a difference of 1°30' E, and we get a longitude of 157°22' E of Cádiz.¹ The position of San Bartholome Island, according to **modern** observations, is in 155°E of Cádiz [i.e. 148°43' E of Greenwich] and in lat. 6°38', whereas that of Quirós is in lat. 6° plus.² Captain Burney reports this island in 6°10' lat. and 154° E of long., which is 160°17' E of Cádiz.³

E3. The opinion of Francisco Coello

Source: Francisco Coello, "El conflicto hispano-alemán", Bol. Soc. Geo. Madrid, Nov-Dec 1885, p. 296.

... All the details agree perfectly with the island called Bonebey, Puinipet or Pona-pi, although its circumference is somewhat smaller [than 25-30 leagues], and its average latitude is 6°53'. Above all, the presence of the low islands west of it destroys whatever doubt; they are the small group called Andema or Ant. It has generally been believed that this island was San Bartolomé Island, but this is not said in the original documents, nor is it known how the name of Ascension Island was given to it by others.

E4. The opinion of Andrew Sharp

Source: The Discovery of the Pacific Islands, Oxford, 1969, p. 54.

The only island in the vicinity of 6 degrees north, of sufficient size to merit an estimate of being [at least] 25 leagues in circuit, with some low islets some 3 or 4 leagues to the west of it, and at such a distance to the south-east of Guam that 11 days sailing is feasible, is Ponape, the main island in the eastern Carolines... No other identification is compatible with the data.⁴

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- 1 Ed. note: That is, the intersection of this course and the 6° parallel occurs at this longitude which is equivalent to 151°05' E of Greenwich.
 - 2 Ed. note: Obviously, the "modern" San Bartolomé I. is completely different from the real one discovered in 1526, which is Taongi, in 169°E and nearly 15°N.
 - 3 Ed. note: Captain Espinosa did not identify this island located at 6° plus and between 151 and 154° E. Two islands are located within this zone: **Losap** (at about 7°N & 153°E) and **Namoluk** (at about 6°N & 153°E). They are obviously **not** feasible, because, although they lie on a direct course between Santa Cruz I. and a point 80 leagues E of Rota, the ship would have inextricably bumped into the Hall Islands **after** leaving either Losap or Namoluk. The same thing would have occurred for a course passing west of those islands, so, that leaves a course passing east of them as the only possible alternative. This points to Pohnpei, 5° further east.
 - 4 Ed. note: Sharp is wrong, however, in saying that Pohnpei had previously been discovered by Saavedra; his discovery was possible, but not probable (see discussion in Vol. 1, page 516).

Document 1596F

Instructions given to Governor Tello

Source: AGI 105-2-11, libro 2, folios 100a-101b; translated in B&R 9:218-258.

Re-establishment of the Audiencia of Manila

What you, Don Francisco Tello, knight of the order of Santiago, whom I have appointed as my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia, which I have ordered to be re-established there, are to do in the service of God, and my own, and for the good government of those islands, is as follows.

...

[Ordered to settle the Ladrones]

It seems an inhuman thing, and contrary to all Christian charity, to have left the Indians of the Ladrone Islands without instruction, since all who go to the Philippines make port in their lands; and since after receiving help from them, and no resistance or injuries, the governors and prelates have passed by those people without furnishing them any instruction. This is a great cause of grief, and a bad example.

In order that it might be rectified, since you and the archbishop are going together, you shall examine the disposition of the land, and you shall leave there, from the religious who are sailing now, those who seem suitable for the conversion and instruction of those natives. If it seems advisable, you shall also leave with them some soldiers for their protection, and as a defence from the dangers of those barbarians, in accordance with the ordinance regarding new discoveries.¹ You shall advise me of what is done in this.

...

Upon the departure of Gómez Pérez from this country, he took my decree to hand to the Viceroy of New Spain, in which I ordered the latter to send to the islands 12 mares, 2 stallions, 24 cows, and 2 bulls. Inasmuch as I do not know yet whether or not

¹ Ed. note: See Document 1573D.

they have been taken there, you shall investigate the matter in the said New Spain. If it has not been done, you shall request the Viceroy, as I write him, to have those animals taken in the vessels in which you sail from Acapulco to the said islands.

...

At Toledo, on the 25th day of May, in the year 1596.¹

I, the King.

By order of the King, our sovereign:

Juan de Ibarra

Signed by the president and members of the Council.

¹ Ed. note: In a letter dated 12 July 1599 (B&R 10:245), Governor Tello complains to the King that the above instructions did not reach him until May 1598 (see B&R 10: 73-74).

Document 1596G

Jesuits aboard the flagship San Pedro in 1596

Source: Father Pedro Chirino, S.J. Relación de las islas Filipinas, Rome 1604; translated in B&R 12:232-235.

Note: Two ships, the San Pedro and the San Pablo, left Acapulco on 6 March, but they soon lost sight of each other. The flagship carried the newly-appointed Governor, Don Francisco Tello, and the following Jesuits: Father Superior Francisco de Vera, Fathers López de la Parra, Manuel Martínez, Valerio de Ledesma, Juan de Torres, Gabriel Sánchez, Miguel Gómez, Juan de San Lucar, Francisco de Otazo, Alonso Rodríguez, Cristóbal Jiménez, Francisco de Encinas, Diego de Santiago, Leonardo Scelsi, and Bartolomé Martes.

Of other and new members of the Society who went to the islands in the year 1596. Chapter XIV.

In the fleet of this year 1595, our very reverend Father-general, Claudio Aquaviva, sent to the Philippines Father Francisco de Vera, with 24 of the Society, at the request and expense of his Majesty the Catholic King, Philip II. With all these, he reached New Spain that same year; and, in the following, he embarked at the port of Acapulco for the Philippines with 14 members of the Society, with the Governor, Don Francisco Tello.

In order that this voyage from New Spain to the Philippines may be successfully made, it should be undertaken by the middle of March, at the latest, so as to reach the Philippines before the *vendavals* or southwest [monsoon] winds of June set in, which are very tempestuous—like the north winds in New Spain which begin in September.

As these vessels left the port of Acapulco so late, upon reaching the Philippines they encountered *vendavals* which exposed them to great peril and hardship. It has happened that vessels, leaving late as did these, upon striking these *vendavals* in the Philippines, have been obliged to turn back with these winds to the Ladrone Islands, and to return thence with the *brisas* from those islands to the Philippines; then, reaching the latter, to encounter the *vendavals*, and are again driven by their force to the Ladrones.

RELACION
 DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS
 I DE LO QUE EN ELLAS
 AN TRABAIADO
 Los Padres de la Compañia
 de IESVS.

DEL P. PEDRO CHIRINO
*de la misma Compañia Procurador
 de aquellas Islas.*



EN ROMA,
 Por Estevan Paulino , Año de MDCIV.
Con licencia de los Superiores.

Title page of Father Chirino's Relation of the Philippines.

The hindrance and privation thus experienced can be imagined; nor can the ship land at either islands until the months of October and November when the *vendavals* cease.

Almost the same thing befell our people that year. The *vendavals* and currents long drove them back, and, in consequence, their voyage was lengthened, and provisions ran short; the ship's stores gave out, and, that they might not lack water, they were allotted small rations, each being given but half a quart a day—a privation which at sea is keenly felt. Finally, relieved from all these hardships and torments, through the mercy of God, they arrived safely at the college in Manila on the first day of August of the same year.¹ This voyage is usually made in 70 days, but they, to their own greater merit, did not reach the islands before 130 days; and afterward they journeyed more than 100 leagues besides, by both sea and land, coasting the shore in large boats. They crossed by land the province of Camarines, all of which is occupied by the convents of the glorious Father St. Francis, where they were received and cared for according to their dire necessities; even the Father commissary of those provinces, heedless of entreaties or excuses, washed with his own hands the feet of six of our brethen, who chanced to pass by his abode. The first words with which one of those servants of the Lord received them were the following, which he uttered with loving tears: "If only there were a thousand fathers, they would all have a harvest in the Philippines." The Indians, too, who had never seen our brethen in this province, were greatly rejoiced at their arrival—not only those already baptized, but even the infidels; and they gave proof of their goodwill in the hospitality which they showed towards our fathers, in imitation of their own fathers and ministers.

This was indeed a valuable reinforcement; for, combined with that of the year before², they made a sufficient force to begin the extension of the Society throughout the islands which were assigned to it as a province, and to care for the humble souls who begged for bread and had no-one to give it to them. Father Ramon de Prado, who had succeeded to the office of Vice-provincial,³ thus obtained people to employ in this work, in conformity with his great zeal for the salvation of souls. How he did this we shall see later, each subject in its proper place.

[Filipino languages]

First, I will say that the facility with which many ministers of the Lord in the four religious orders learned the languages used in their respective missions, even so as to preach and hear confessions in them, seems a gift from Heaven. The most tardy student of them, if he apply himself moderately, spends no more than six months; and one of our brethen, Father Cosme de Flores, learned and mastered this language, so that he could preach and hear confessions, in 74 days—to the astonishment of our people, as well as of the Indians themselves. The latter, seeing this facility, say that God,

1 Ed. note: They made port at Ibalon on 3 June. Governor Tello made haste and entered Manila on 14 July.

2 Ed. note: 8 Jesuits had arrived in 1595: Fathers Alonso de Humanes, Juan del Campo, Mateo Sánchez, Juan de Ribera, Cosme de Flores, Tomás de Montoya, Juan Bosque, and Diego Sánchez.

3 Ed. note: After the death of Father Sedeño.

without doubt, bestows it upon us, recognizing their needs. In truth, these languages are not very difficult, either to learn or to pronounce—and more especially now, since there is a grammar, a vocabulary, and many writings therein. The most difficult is the language of Manila (which they call Tagalog)—which, I have already said, Father Martín Henriquez learned in three months; and in three more, he used it fluently. This was the first of the native languages that I learned, to which and to the others I shall profitably devote another chapter.

Document 1596H

The story of the Carlettis, Italian traders aboard the San Pablo in 1596

Sources: Original ms. now lost, but a copy is in the Biblioteca Angelica at Rome, as Codex 1331 (T.3.22). Some editions of these ragionamenti or chapters are as follows: 1) in Italian: (a) Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti fiorentino sopra le cose da lui vedute ne'suoi viaggi si dell'Indie Occidentali, e Orientali come d'altri paesi, Florence, Giuseppe Manni, 1701 (a heavily-edited version); (b) 2nd edition: Viaggi da lui raccontati in dodici ragionamenti, Florence, G. Barbra, 1878, pp. 117-138; (c) also edited by Marziano Guglielminetti in his series on Viaggiatori del Seicento, Turin, Unione Tipografico- editrice, 1967; 2) English translation: My Voyage Around the World, New York, 1964 and London, 1965; 3) Spanish translation: Razonamientos de mi viage alrededor del mundo, Mexico, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1976.

Notes: My own translation follows, based on both the Italian and Spanish editions. Note the existence of a biographical and bibliographical notice by Gemma Sgrilli: Francesco Carletti, mercante e viaggiatore fiorentino 1573-1636, Rocca S. Casciano, L. Cappelli, 1905.

Introductory note, by Dahlgren.

In the other 1596 ship, the *almiranta San Pablo*, sailed the Italian merchant Antonio Carletti and his son Francesco, who has given a detailed description of the voyage. He tells us about the tricks which had to be employed in order to circumvent the regulations, which did not allow anyone to embark for the Philipines unless he belonged to the crew or intended to settle in the islands, and which fixed the lading of the vessel at a certain value. The elder Carletti was inscribed as a “constable” in the artillery and the younger as a “guardian”; the captain took charge of their money at a certain percentage. The voyage went as usual in a westerly direction, in 14° to 15° lat., with a steady favorable wind, so that they had no need to move the sails or yards. After 76 days they reached the Ladrones, where the vessel was surrounded by a swarm of canoes, whose occupants offered water and fruit in exchange for bits of iron. At the sight of these wretched natives one of the Capuchins on board was seized with a holy zeal to convert them to Christianity: he suddenly jumped down into a canoe provided only with his breviary and a crucifix, and in the attempts to recover him two members of the crew were against their will compelled to accompany him to the shore. (After the ship had sailed without them, they had to stay on the island till the following year, 1597, when,

as the ships from New Spain were again passing, the said religious and soldiers were received on board.)¹ This ship, too, was attacked by storms in the neighborhood of Cape Espiritu Santo, was driven helplessly about on the sea for many days, but finally reached Manila in safety in June 1596.

Sixth chapter on the West Indies

which deals with the voyage made from Mexico to the Philippine Islands by way of Acapulco and the events that occurred during that navigation

... After having been in Mexico from the month of June [1595]² until that of March of the year 1596, we started to make ready, firstly by overcoming the difficulty that we had with the passage, that could not be done without the express permission of the Vice-roy, which is not given to anyone who does not go either with the intention to remain in those islands to live—and in such a case they go at the royal expense—or truly embarking aboard the ship to serve in it in some capacity, and the latter was the means we used. Having discussed this business with a captain of one of the two ships that had to leave that year, he got us two fictitious jobs aboard his ship: for my father, that of artillery constable and for me that of boatswain's mate, with the understanding that we should give him the salary and that the captain would provide two sailors who would actually serve in our posts...

... We returned with our silver to the said port of Acapulco, where two ships were being prepared for the voyage. Without further ado, we quickly embarked and on the 25th [rather 5th] day of March 1596 we unfurled the sails to the wind and headed westward, plowing the immensity of the sea that is more than 6,000 miles of gulf, always running at the same latitude along the 14- to 15-degree North parallel in straight line, in such a manner that if there had been left a trace where the ship passed and made its way, one would have seen a spherical semi-circle on the fourth part or more of the whole globe, that with the prosperous and very happy cruise that we had, without ever moving the sails or turning the lateen yards and with a tail wind, being always the same that softly and continuously blew throughout that whole torrid zone from the east to the west, so that it would be impossible to return by the same parallel; and it is necessary to go out of the tropics in order to find northerly or southerly winds that lead you to the east. It takes six months for this return voyage and a little more than two to go, as we ourselves did, at the end of which, that is, 76 days, we arrived in sight of the first is-

1 Ed. note: For the story of Father de los Angeles, see Doc. 1596I.

2 Ed. note: From the Cape Verde Islands, the Carlettis had gone to Panama, then to Lima, and to Acapulco, with a side-trip to Mexico City. From Manila, they went on to Japan, and Macao, after which they went to Goa, and back to Europe via Mozambique and St. Helena Island. However, they met with Dutch ships and were carried to the Low Countries. The author did not reach Florence, his hometown, until 1606.

lands, situated at a latitude of 7° [sic] to 15° north, about 950 miles from the Philippines, that the Spaniards call the **Islands of the [Lateen] Sails or of Thieves [Ladrones]**: appropriate names, the first one on account of the great quantity of canoes that were seen to come out of these islands to the sea, all with sails, as soon as these islanders had seen our ship, that it seemed they covered the sea all around us; as they are accustomed each year when the Spaniards pass there, they approach the ship, as they were doing to ours, because the other one, that is the flagship, had already left us as we lost it at the beginning of our cruise and we did not see it again until we arrived at the Philippine Islands. And they began to show us what they carried, which was a quantity of big canes marvelous to see, and green and full of fresh water, each section holding between two nodes no less than 4 or 5 bottles of it; they brought also fresh and salted fish and rice and fruits of many kinds and various other little things, all to barter for some small pieces of iron that we threw tied to a little cord, that were untied with undescrivable speed and, when it appeared that they had untied enough, they in turn tied to the same cord some thing that they carried, with parsimony, because, there being many [of us] who at the same time throw from the ship the iron tied to the cord, they for their part wait to untie it and to few [of us] they give the exchange: and for this also they are called thieves.

[Canoes of the Ladrones]

For a while they gave us great pleasure and a wonderful entertainment, to see their canoes so well made, of narrow boards painted in various colors and skilfully joined and laced together, in a fine and very beautiful form, so light that they looked like birds that fly in that sea, with sails made like a mat of reeds; and because they are very narrow and long, so that the waves of the sea and the force of the wind that touch the sails do not capsize them, they carry always on one side a counterweight [made] of a big wood almost as long as the canoe that is supported at the ends by two small poles that cross each other in the center of the canoe and come out by 3 fathoms and, skimming the sea, sustain it so that it cannot capsize nor sink even when full of water; and it so happens that the sail is always on the other [side], and without changing either one or the other they sometimes make the poop the prow and the prow the poop, sailing with whatever wind it is necessary to use, taking it as it comes without turning the canoe.

The canoe has both ends pointed, and in each go 4 or 5 Indians, completely naked and with bodies that are robust, fat and of a reddish color [as if] burnt by the sun, and without covering the part of themselves that is shameful among us, that among themselves they do not take into account, given that I heard that these men are very simple and pure on this point, and further that they hold everything in common, even their women.

[A Franciscan friar jumped ship]

Sailing along with us in this way, they were doing their barter, exchanging their aforementioned things for our iron. But all this pastime was disturbed by the accident and

occurrence that happened to a Franciscan capuchin friar,¹ of those they call discalced in Spain, who, moved by a holy and good zeal, although with little premeditation, it looked to him like these poor people would be lost for lack of someone to teach them the knowledge of God, and having thought about this with a very intense charity and compassion for these people, prepared himself and decided to ask in humble simplicity, guided by the love of his neighbor, permission from his Father Superior to stay in these islands to indoctrinate and teach them the way to Heaven. The Father Superior, hearing such a request from only one mess mate [from] among 25 friars whom he had under him, was greatly surprised and, in order to keep him in such holy zeal and purpose, answered that he should follow his wish and inspiration, although he did not then know how it could be accomplished. However, the good friar [who was] solliciting and who had already premeditated the manner in which to accomplish his plan, having [then] the blessing and permission of his superior, went down immediately to a room below deck where they all stayed and, having taken his breviary and a small wooden cross on which was painted a crucifix, and putting everything in the sleeves of his habit, once above, without saying a word, stealthily approached one of the sides of the ship where there were many of those canoes, trading their wares for our iron, and, addressing me said: "*Oh qué lástima de estos pobres hombres!*" ["Oh, what a pity for these poor people!"] that is, "What compassion [I have] for these poor people!" and he wanted to say more, that they do not have anyone to teach them how to know God, when suddenly, the canoes being closer to our ship, he let himself fall right into one of them. Upon this, the barbarians who were in it, amazed and almost frightened, suddenly tried to move away from the ship, not doubting perhaps that others would like to do likewise, and they started to lift the habit of the friar and touch him all over the body, as if to know what sort of man he was; as for him, he put his hands in his sleeve, pulled out his cross, and kissing it, was offering it for them to kiss, but they, not understanding nor knowing this mystery, took it and, putting it in another place, put their hands to the sails to raise them and steer their canoe toward one of these islands that the Father pointed out to them, by signals that he made, that they should take him there, and so they did in a jiffy.

Now, your most serene Highness² may easily imagine the confusion, the amazement and the shouts and laments that arose aboard our ship upon seeing that those barbarians were carrying away the poor good friar, and the compassion caused in all by this incident and unexpected event, the solution of which, after everyone had a say in the matter, was the decision to capture one of these canoes by some trick, in order to hold [captive] the Indians in it and with them see if they could ransom the friar. Of these canoes, there were then a large quantity all over the sea and many right next to our ship, and notwithstanding what had happened, asking for friendship, by rubbing the palm

1 Ed. note: His name was Fray Antonio de los Angeles (See Doc. 1596I).

2 Ed. note: The author was writing for his patron, Ferdinand Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

of the hand on the chest on the side of the heart, saying: "*Chamarri, her, her*" which means "Friends, iron, iron"¹ with signs to barter it for those things they carried. And we having offered it, they came near freely with the same [sense of] security they had before, such that one of them was lassoed with some loops of cordage and remained captive, but not so the Indians who were in it, as had been thought and hoped for, because in one instant, as if they had been so many frogs, they jumped from the canoe into the sea and for awhile were not seen anymore; and thus our design was futile. To remedy it, we then made a second mistake, as it often happens in things made upon the advice of a crowd that is agitated by sudden accidents and unexpected cases. And instead of recuperating the friar, there were lost two more persons who, along with five other sailors and soldiers, had boarded the captured canoe [that had been] left empty, with the intention to guide it toward the others that ran about the sea, startled by what happened to their companion; but what happened to them is what precisely happens to those who put it into their head to do something they do not know how to do, and not succeeding in sailing such a canoe, they found themselves so confused that they did not know how to make it go nor move nor guide it, either one way or the other. And during all this, all the other canoes were disappearing and the Indians who were swimming in the sea, in order not to be seen for the fear they had of the arquebus shots, were hiding themselves below our ship, now coming out of the water on one side, now on the other, in order to catch their breath, and immediately dived again, being in all this such good swimmers that they had nothing to envy the fish; and many times [earlier] it happened that [when] a piece of iron fell or was thrown into the sea, they, throwing themselves after it at once, recovered it in the water as it was on its way to the bottom and brought it up again: something for sure [that is] wonderfully skillful and stupendous, but why wonderful, if these men are always at sea and make a living by fishing in it? As many [aboard] were saying that they were doing it by [means of] witchcraft or incantation, so when some were under the ship, not a few could be found to say: "Pilot, Sir, these people are very great witches and by putting themselves under the ship, as you see them do, I would not be surprised if by some magic of theirs they pierce it and make us all sink." The majority of them usually do not know even how to read and they gave more credit to him perhaps for lack of more intelligence; so, upon hearing this, the pilot suddenly ordered the rudder moved to straighten the ship so that the sails would catch the wind, forgetting on the other hand our men who remained aboard the canoe, not knowing how to guide it nor make it run in either direction. As for them, seeing that the ship had caught the wind with her sails and was leaving, not knowing what else to do, suddenly left the canoe and threw themselves into the sea. Those who had more strength and spirit swam until they got to the ship before she caught the wind completely in her sails and, being pulled aboard, were saved. However, two in that company, a soldier of Flemish descent, and the other, a Spanish sailor who was a mulatto,

1 Ed. note: In Doc. 1565Q, we have seen that the Chamorro word "ruro" was being modified by them to sound more like "hierro" [iron] in Spanish.

that is, born of a black woman and a white man, lost his spirit seeing that the ship started to hasten the pace and not being able to swim anymore, perhaps because they were already exhausted, they turned back toward the canoe that was already in the possession of those barbarians who had gotten back aboard it, and swimming toward it put themselves willingly into their hands in order to escape those of Neptune; and they, having received them, headed for the land where they had taken the friar.

I now leave it to your most serene Highness to imagine the condition of the heart of these poor men who, for having had pity on the religious, ended up in either a similar or even worse fate: truly deserving our greater compassion for being greater their sorrow, given that neither the will nor the charity that they had to die as martyrs was corroborated, as maybe this Father had a burning desire to do and who, of his own will and love of Jesus Christ had put himself into their hands from which, according to what happened later, God delivered him without any harm. They were ransomed in exchange for much iron by the ships that passed there the following year and went to the Philippine Islands; and the friar, who could not speak nor understand their language, did not obtain as much fruit as he had hoped for. The other two gave news of these islands, that they are all inhabited by poor people, without any gold or silver or anything else of value; and because of this, one may believe that these men will remain awhile without the light of religion, unless God in His mercy provides it to them by some means other than the one to which the Spaniards are accustomed in their conquests, which is that they do not go near [places] where they do not perceive any riches, as such [things] serve to attract the soldiers to open the way for the religious and to defend them against barbarians, as they say.

But to return to the purpose of our navigation, after having lost the three men and altogether hope of recuperating them, we directed our voyage toward our destination and we were not yet out of sight of these islands when we were met by one of the above-mentioned canoes that was coming out to sea, and approaching our ship, showed by signs to want to give us fish that they carried in exchange for iron, but the sea being a little rough, made it bump against our ship in such a way that it broke and, flooded by sea water, was left half submerged. The Indians who were inside it went out of it and [while] swimming tried to raise it by bailing the water out, while we at this moment ordered to put out the ship's boat, in order to get to the canoe and make prisoners of the Indians who were there. However they, with greater industry and haste than us, fixed the canoe and, when our boat was out and already in the water, they were raising their sail and leaving us behind, so that our plan was completely frustrated and it appeared to us like an impossible and almost diabolical thing, but, as it was, they escaped on their way to their island and we [went] on our way to the Philippines.

Within a few days we sighted Cape Espiritu Santo which is a headland of the island called Luconia, or Luzon, as the Indians call it, situated under 14° and $1/2$ on the north side of the equinoctial, one of the more important and largest of the Philippine islands. While in sight of the cape, a storm wind arose that pushed us many miles from the cape. We lost sight of it and became engulfed by the sea and terrible wind, with the ship in

danger of sinking; we remained in danger and affliction for 18 days, with all sails furled and the topmasts taken down and the yards battened down as well, not making any headway other than where the ship would take us, battered as she was by the sea and the wind storm which blew with such fury that, in order to move about the ship, it was necessary to grab the rigging that had been laid along it from poop to prow. It was not possible to show one's face to it, so great was the violence with which it blew. However, what made us even more disconsolate was to realize that the drinking water was already lacking, and that for 200 or more persons there could not be found aboard ship more than 5 or 6 casks of water altogether, each containing from 12 to 15 barrels, but half putrid. Out of this, half a quart was rationed off to everyone each day. It was ordered that drinking water would not be used for cooking and that only bread soaked in water or vinegar would be eaten; by adding a little sugar on top, thirst was somewhat lessened. However, as for myself, I discovered that by eating in the morning a soup made with white wine, then drinking some water right after it, I would remain all day without [feeling] either hunger or thirst. Others would take much sugar and place it in salt or soft water, thus making a drink neither good nor healthy.

Finally, in the middle of such miseries, the bad wind ceased and the good one came which took us back to the above-mentioned Cape of Espiritu Santo. We went in through a certain channel, very narrow between two islands, through which the water was flowing and ebbing with such speed that it would be impossible to imagine a river with more furious current, so much so that the ship could not make any headway, in spite of the fresh [favorable] wind, unless the water was ebbing; while the tide was rising, the ship would anchor. Otherwise, the ship would have sailed backward, or else would have been pushed ashore in that channel. Here we met with many things brought by the Indians of that place to our ship for our comfort. Once again we had plenty of fresh water, in big green canes as I said before, and it was a pleasure to see them and more so to taste them...

Documents 1596I

Fr. Antonio de los Angeles, first missionary of the Ladrones

Sources: 1) AGI 67-6-6; translated in B&R 10:245, 261-262; 2) AGI 67-6-7; reproduced (in part) as a footnote in Fr. Lorenzo Pérez' article in the Archivo Ibero-Americano of 1918; 3) Fr. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago Filipino, Madrid, 1947 (pp. 42-43, 81-88); a translation (not literal enough and inaccurate in some places) was made by the Philippine Historical Conservation Society, Volume 17, but the following translation is my own.

II. Letter from Governor Tello to the King, dated Manila 12 July 1599

...

20. As the royal instruction which I received had not been brought here when I came to serve your Majesty in this government (as I have explained),¹ your Majesty ordered in one clause of it, that upon passing by the island of the Ladrones ministers for religious instruction to those Indians should be left there—such persons as I might select—has not been executed. Accordingly, I have considered it with the royal Audiencia here; and, together with their opinion, the intention of your Majesty was communicated to the Viceroy of New Spain, so that he might carry it out, by ordering the officers of the ships which shall come in the year 1600 to leave there a couple of religious and 10 soldiers as a guard. But as the ships arrived here from a different direction, and the voyage was a difficult one, the will of your Majesty has not been carried out. I believe this will be a work very important for the service of God our Lord and of your Majesty; for in the year 1596 a religious of the Order of St. Francis, with a sailor, who were passing by the islands of the Ladrones, disembarked from the *almiranta* **San Pablo** in the boats of the Indians of those islands, more than 300 canoes having come alongside of the said ship.

The Indians took them on board and carried them ashore where they remained during the period of one year, up to 1597, when, as the ships from New Spain were again

¹ Ed. note: He got a copy of the 1596 instructions only in 1598.

passing on their way to these islands, having as commander Don Lope de Ulloa, the said religious and soldiers [sic] arrived alongside the ships in the boats of the Indians, and were received on board. When they arrived here, the religious gave an account of what he had seen in the islands of the Ladrones, saying that there were many islands thickly populated with Indians, who are men of good stature, and strong. They are tractable and kindly people. They regalled him and his companion, and showed them much respect. The land abounds in fish, rice, and [sweet] potatoes.¹ They are heathen, but if the religious would enter there with love and tactfulness they would reach them. I hope in our Lord that He and your Majesty will be served in bringing those heathen to a true knowledge of God.²

I2. Letter from Governor Tello to the King, dated Manila 28 June 1601

...

In the islands of the Ladrones there is much disposition to plant the law of the gospel, as your Majesty wishes and had ordered. About this matter, as I wrote last year, a religious of the Order of St. Francis and a Spanish sailor who have resided among the Indians for one year have given us good news about it. They were very well taken care of and feared by them. Since they left the next year, every time the Indians come out to the ships, they ask for Franciscan fathers.

And in order to give a beginning to this conversion, which it seems God has ordained, because the voyage from these [Philippine] islands to the Ladrones is difficult on account of the great currents that prevent the forward trip, I wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain last year for him to order the General of the galleons for the year 1600 to leave in passing by the island of the Ladrones two Franciscan religious and 10 soldiers to keep them company, with everything else necessary.

I shall advise your Majesty of what has been done, because until today, 28 June, the galleons have not yet arrived.

-
- 1 Ed. note: These tubers were probably yams, as the true sweet potato was introduced later into the Marianas by the Spanish themselves.
 - 2 Ed. note: A summary comment made by the secretary of the Council of the Indies was added as follows: "That it is necessary to establish religious instruction in the Ladrones: and, as it cannot be sent from here, I have written to the Viceroy asking him to order the officers of the ships from New Spain to leave ministers there."

I3. Extracts from the History of the Philippines and of Great China by Father Ribadeneira

Chapter VI. How the discalced friars arrived at the Philippines and began the conversion.

The friars leave New Spain.—Island of the Ladrones.—The friars arrive at the Philippines.—The friars build a church and a house.—The friars divide themselves among the Indians.

As New Spain was very poor in religious in those days, because they were few in number and were spread out in the conversion of the Indians, which entailed much work, some people advised the religious meant for the Philippines to stay in that country, given that the spiritual benefit that the Lord was making in it through His faithful servants, the Minor friars, could be seen very clearly. However, as they intended to offer themselves very completely to God and to crucify themselves with Christ with bigger works, making themselves invincible to such requests with fortitude and heavenly spirit, they did not fear to offer themselves to the hardships of the sea and the risk that the voyage would entail. The bad news that some were giving them about the country of the Philippines, which was then recently known, did not cause any fear in them, not even [the news about] wild and savage Indians. Only the love of God which lived in their breast could render sweet what some found difficult and hard. However, the spiritual soldiers and followers of Christ were not frightened by hard work, given the hope of glory that went along with it, the harder the better, because they considered how much they owed their God and how well He pays those who serve Him.

With such a spirit they went from Mexico to the port of Acapulco to embark, testing themselves on the rocks and hills of the road which they covered on foot, like the poor, the same as they would have to do afterward at the beginning of the conversion. As they went along, trusting in God, they lived very carelessly about their bodily health by laying out many fasts, continuous prayers and other laudable exercises in order to accomplish their holy design and the difficult aim which they sought, to convert those barbarians.

When they arrived at the islands called the **Ladrones**, seeing the natives coming in their canoes, well-made but not strong, and that they demonstrated by their total nudity that they were rough and rustic people, and showed themselves to be peaceable, obviously fond of iron, giving themselves willingly to whatever their heart desired, every one of the religious considered himself lucky if he could have gone with those barbarian men to teach them the way to Heaven (as another religious did afterward, about which islands he gave an account of their many things, as will be narrated in this book later on); however, the little trust that could be placed in people so brutish in that they would not take the life of whomever would stay among them, and for other just reasons, did put a stop to the desire of those who would have stayed, and they begged the Lord to send the light of His gospel to them.

...

Chapter XIX. How one discalced religious remained at the islands of the Ladrones.

Why they are called Ladrones.—The inspiration of a friar.—Weapons of the Ladrones.—Idolatry of the Ladrones.—Burial customs.—Funeral chants.—Feasts of the Ladrones.—Marriage customs.—Female dress.

During the course of the voyage from New Spain to Manila some islands are sighted that they call the Ladrones, the name given to them because the Indians there are very adept at stealing iron. The Indians who come out of them in their canoes are very well built, rather tall, somewhat white. When our ships pass by, they come to barter palm mats that are very well made, coconuts and fish, for iron, of which they are very fond, not caring for gold nor silver.

Upon seeing this, then, one religious, among 22 who were on their way, whose name was Fray Antonio de los Angeles, moved by an inner impulse which moved him effectively to desire the salvation of those barbarians (who show that they are such by the total nudity of their bodies, as well as the very great fondness they have for iron and for other things), he asked permission from the one who was their band leader to remain among those people. The commissioner, who thought that he was kidding, granted his request. But the friar, taking it seriously, carried away by good zeal and not paying attention to the danger into which he was putting his life since he had no experience of the condition of those people, taking only a cross and his breviary, let himself fall into a canoe (from among many that came) which was nearest to the ship, without anyone being able to prevent him from doing so nor the leader to order him not to go. As he himself said later on, he could not talk even if he had wanted to order him. Therefore, he understood it to be the God's will to let him go, so, he gave him his blessing. Upon seeing this, two men from the ship threw themselves after him to bring him back. But, as the canoes are very light, they did not overtake him; rather, they went aboard other canoes almost by force and they were carried off along with the religious. They were distributed among three islands [sic]¹ from which the canoes originated.

They remained there until the next year, 1597, when Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, a gentleman of much virtue and discretion, who was acting as General, passed by those islands. Intending to find out what had happened to the religious and to the two Spaniards, he detained a few of the Indian natives of the islands who went aboard his ship and made them gifts and treated them well until the religious was brought over. However, as they had all been warned [already], very soon the religious and the two others came up. The religious was hoping to meet the archbishop of Manila aboard, with a few religious, so that he would get his provision to say mass, with his saintly blessing for others to stay behind with him. However, not finding what he had hoped for, seeing himself without [the possibility of] a companion and without provision to say mass, he

1 Ed. note: The word "islands" is often used in this context to mean "villages".

came to the Philippines with the General, as well as the two Spaniards, to report on what they had seen in those islands. In order that the customs of those Indians and their disposition for being taught God's law, and in order for me to be able to truthfully say what they had seen, I spoke with two of them and I took [a copy of] the account which the religious wrote to send to his Majesty.

[Customs of the Ladrones]

He says, then, that among those people, the elders are those in command, and they are obeyed by all. And, as a sign of love, they bite one another on the arms, and they sometimes even cause sores that are left uncared for, because, since they were done out of love, they let time take care of them. Their natural disposition is a loving one; when they welcome someone they kiss him on the face and they make a great display of affection. They value iron very much, to work their fields with, to sow their rice and a few local vegetables, which they use to sustain themselves. Their weapons are fire-hardened spears and slings with which they shoot round stones; they are so skilled that they hit their mark even from afar. They polish the stones they use as missiles with such effort that they look like jasper. There are some places with as many as 1,000 houses. Although they eat fish raw, without opening it, they are very healthy; they are well-shaped people and many of them look like giants. They use coconut oil to anoint their bodies to make them smell good and to get protection from the cold and the water when it rains, in order to become warm and to drain the water that falls upon them [respectively]. They are accustomed to bring presents when they go visiting; he who brings bigger gifts gets more honor. The guests are made welcome with warm water to wash themselves, and they are given something when they leave. If the object of the visit is to do some business, upon their departure they are called apart to talk business. They are happy people who love jokes. They rarely get angry; rather, if they are given an occasion to get angry, they laugh it off. Once, one of the Spaniards gave a slap in the face to one of them, because he was making some indecent gestures, but he turned the other cheek as if to invite another blow, being much vexed to see the Spaniard angry. They do the same thing among themselves, showing regret when they see others get angry. Their occupation is fishing and bartering the fish with the islands [sic] where they do not have any, bringing back as a reward what they need and is lacking in their island [sic]. In their feasts, they make banquets out of rice, cooked with only in water and out of some very healthy tubers that they have. They first offer what they are about to eat to their idols, whom they call *Maganitos*.¹ They say that they are the souls of their dead fathers, children and relatives, whom they bury in front or under their house, out of love and respect.

When a sick person is about to die, they take him upon a board to the house of a friend and they give him a little raw fish to eat, and those present eat some of it also. Later, upon his death, they warn the people of the town and they place the outstretched

1 Ed. note: A custom similar to that of the Philippines, where spirits were also called "maganito" (singular, *anito*).

body in the upper floor of the house. As the people begin to arrive, they begin to chant. To those who have chanted they give some drink and cooked rice, from the belongings of the deceased, or from some leading man, if the deceased be poor. They do not take down the body to bury it until it begins to smell bad. When they bury it, they specially hate the spitting, and nothing else is more loathsome.¹ They placed on top of the burial site a paddle or a [model] canoe, a bow and arrow, or all the fishing nets, fishhooks and knives, all of it made into bundles. They say, in their chant to the deceased, that he ought to rest among the stars, the sun and the moon, and to travel through space to come home and eat rice. They praise him for his skill at fishing and the great strength with which he used to throw spears and shoot the sling, that he would go to the Spanish ships passing by there and bring back iron, that he built canoes, gave feasts to which he invited the town people, and that he owned many tortoise shells, which they placed on the grave and which they value a great deal. Those who love the deceased well cut one of his hands off; thus, some carry with them inside little boxes the hands of the dead, already dry, anointed with coconut oil, as a sign of their love.²

They hold their feasts with great arrangement, specially the games they are accustomed to hold to recreate themselves and to honor their idols. To the latter, they offer their seeds, the fishing nets and fishhooks, and small rice cakes which they keep later on as relics to feed the sick. And, as they are people of coarse understanding and blinded by idolatry, they understand that they were born from a [sacred] stone; every year they all go there to have a festival. Whenever the religious would tell them something about Heaven, after he had learned the language, they understood it all in the physical sense. They say that a woman gave birth to the land and the sea and everything that can be seen. When they are asked how the stone, having no eyes and unable to eat, gave birth to men, they answer that it gave birth to two men, and that one of them changed himself into a woman, and other such nonsensical things. They worship their *maganitos*, in the shape of stones or in whatever thing they might fancy. Even though they are thieves, they consider theft to be bad. In these islands there are no hares nor any other similar animals, and so, they do not eat meat.

Their marriage custom is as follows: the man sends a gift to the father or owner of the woman, and they [in turn] invite him or send another [gift], and they all go to the man's house; this done, they are considered married and they live together until they get annoyed at each other, or quarrel, or find someone else they prefer. If the first husband should leave the woman pregnant and she marries someone else, the child belongs to the second husband, or to the third, if she leaves the second one. The first time the woman gets pregnant, she goes to her father's house or that of the leading man. Everyone brings her presents of something they have. When she feels that her time has come to give birth, she goes to the house of some relative where they indulge her the most. During childbirth, she is not to complain, no matter how much pain she may get.

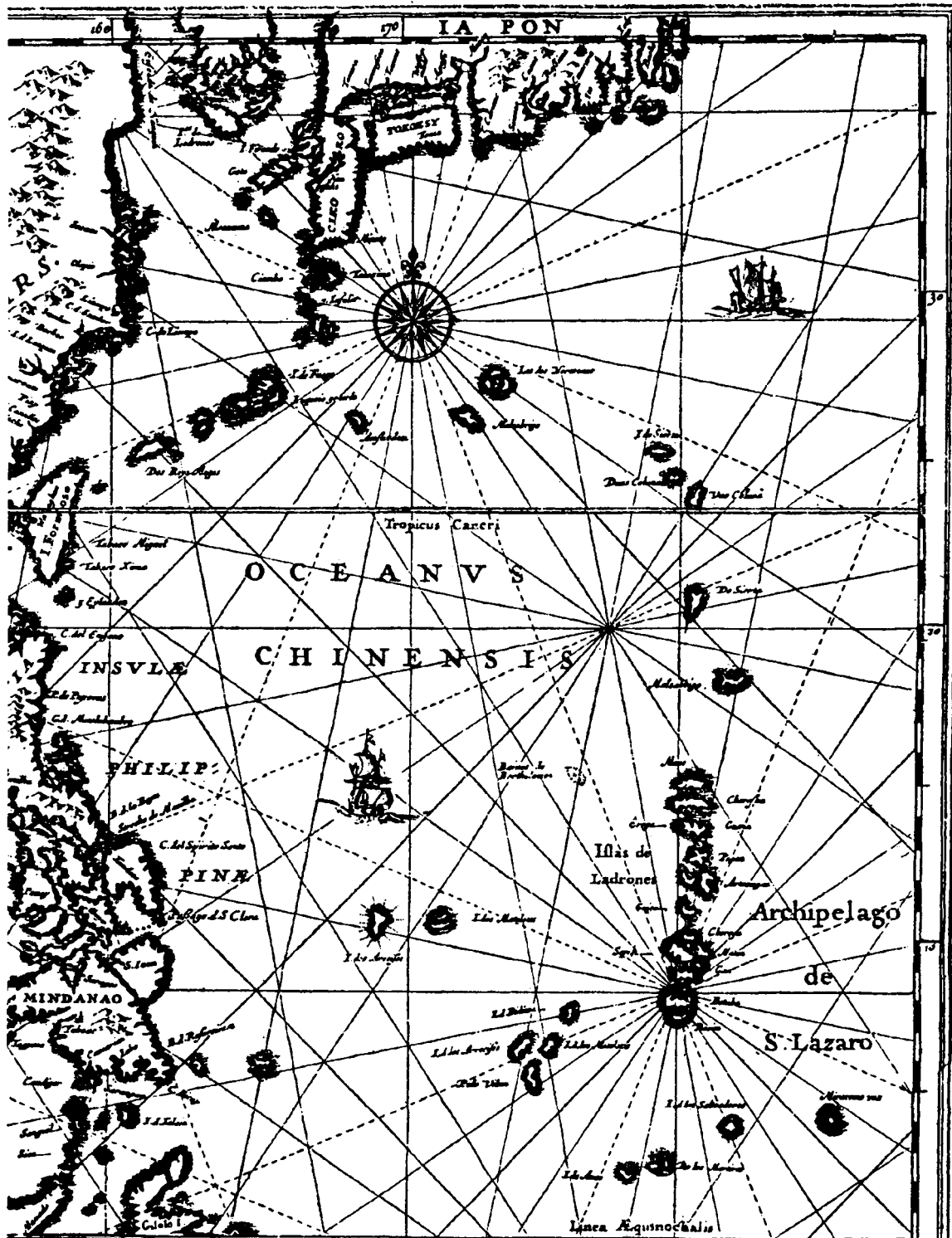
1 Ed. note: This must have been difficult for most of the participants who regularly chewed betel nut.

2 Ed. note: This custom of cutting off one of the corpse's hands was probably exceptional.

The women make much use of wreaths of jasmine and [other] flowers. They go about covered with some mats from the waist down and the rest without clothing. When the couple quarrel, they do not [usually] come to blows; rather, they separate. If they fight, the women come out and pull them by the hair until some village elders come up and reconcile them. The reason is that they have no king, other than them. To the aggrieved party they send a present, and they then become good friends. Because they do not take offence, they forgive easily.

May the Lord make them see the light and send them some preachers. One can be sure that they would welcome them very well, given the good treatment they gave the religious and the [two] Spaniards. According to what the three of them say, they wish very much to play hosts to the Spanish who pass by there. As they understand that they might take port there every year, they are ready with gifts of vegetables and they hope very much to barter with them, because they have a great affection for them, although they have [almost] no contacts with them.¹

1 Ed. note: Father de los Angeles was sent to Spain by his provincial, Fr. Juan de Garrovillas, as soon as he arrived at Manila, for the purpose of furthering the cause of the holy martyrs of Japan. This information is contained in a letter from Fr. Garrovillas to the King, dated Manila 29 June 1597 (ref. AGI 68-1-12; reproduced on pp. 463-465 of the Archivo Ibero-Americano of 1918). In this letter, the following remarks are made about the Ladrones: "One of the Fathers whom your Majesty sent last year to these islands stayed for one year at the islands of the Ladrones. He reports that he was treated well by them and says that they are peaceful and have excellent dispositions."



Part of a map of the East Indies by Hondius, 1599. *Kyushu I. in Japan is mislabelled Cikoko, whereas Shikoku itself bears the name Tokoesy. Note the soon-to-become famous province of Boshu [Voxu, or Oshu] on the far right.*

Documents 1596J

The galleon San Felipe lost in Japan in 1596 and the holy martyrs of 1597

Introductory note.

The galleon **San Felipe** sailed from Manila at the beginning of July 1596 under of command of General Matías de Landecho. It met with fierce storms in the North Pacific and a large part of the cargo had to be jettisoned in order to lighten the ship. In 37° N, after sailing 600 leagues from the Philippines, they lost the rudder, and thus were forced to turn back and they sought shelter in Japan. Six days later, they reached the coast of the island of Tosa (Shikoku). The Japanese confiscated the ship and what was left of its cargo, and forced the passengers to return to the Philippines on different ships. The literature dealing with the involuntary visit of the San Felipe to Japan is very extensive because its immediate aftermath was the persecution of Christians in Japan, in which 26 persons, Spanish and Japanese, suffered martyrdom in 1597. Some references are given below.

The relevance of this event with respect to Micronesian history is somewhat indirect. It was to have an impact on European-type ship-building in Japan and also on the history of Pacific navigation. However, a direct link will be made by Fr. Juan Pobre, a passenger aboard the San Felipe in 1596, who jumped ship at Rota in 1602 and later wrote a (manuscript) book relating both incidents at some length.

Bibliographical notes regarding the loss of the San Felipe.

1. Fr. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago Filipino*, Barcelona, 1601 (Chapter 36. See Appendix C, under 1596-97, for greater details).
2. Antonio Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* [History of the Philippines], Mexico, 1609 (See Appendix C, under 1600+, for 3 translations; also translated in B&R 15:116-128).
3. Fr. Jean Crasset, *Histoire de l'Église du Japon*, 2nd ed., 2 vol., Paris, Montalant, 1715; it has been translated into English and Portuguese. All 3 versions are available at the Newberry Library in Chicago. An extract follows:

The second cause [of the persecution of Christians] was the indiscretion and the haughtiness of a few Spaniards who were thrown upon the coast of Japan by a storm. Here is what happened. In 1596, a large galleon named San Felipe left the Philippines to go to New Spain, loaded with immense wealth. When she was upon the high sea on the way to Goa [error], a furious storm arose that battered her so much that she was pushed back toward the Philippines, her point of departure, and from there [error] to the coasts of Japan, where she was forced to take port. She arrived at the port of Urando which is a kingdom of Tosa, unmasted, without sails and without rudder, leaking everywhere. There were aboard three religious of the Order of St. Augustine, one of the Order of St. Dominic, and two of the Order of St. Francis.¹

Don Matías de Landecho who was in command of the galleon, needing some workmen to repair his ship, sent his Lieutenant and his Pilot-Major with two Fathers of St. Francis and the secretary of the King of Tosa to Taycosama² and the four Governors with rich presents, in order to get permission for the repairs. Their instructions were to consult with the Father Commissioner and follow his advice in everything. The King of Tosa gave them a letter of recommendation for one of the four Governors of Meaco whose name was Mashita Yemondono... (vol. 2, p. 21)

4. Fr. Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de las Philipinas* (Tome 3, Manila, 1788; part 3, chapters 4-6), summarized by Fr. Joaquin Martínez de Zúñiga in his *Historia*, chapter 12, as follows:

The news of the death of Dasmariñas reached Madrid by way of India, and immediately the King sent as his successor Don Francisco Tello de Guzman, Knight of the Order of Santiago, born in Seville, who had been treasurer of the Indies. He arrived at Manila on 1 June 1596, and the following month despatched the ship San Felipe to Acapulco; but she encountered in her voyage heavy gales, was dismasted and lost her rudder, and having no other recourse bore away for Japan where the relief she sought was denied, except on the condition of her entering the port of Urando; in effecting which she touched on a sand bank, and made so much water that she was under the necessity of being unloaded. The Governor, allured by the prospect of such rich booty, immediately conceived the design of making himself master of the vessel and cargo, and accordingly secured it in the royal storehouses, sending information to the Emperor Taycosama that the Captain having given a false representation of the matter, he had proceeded against him according to law, and had secured the whole affair that the cargo was condemned, and a prosecution was commenced, in the progress of which those Franciscan friars who had come to this kingdom in quality of ambassadors fell martyrs.³ Taycosama named one of the four principal Governors of his kingdom, called Uximonoxo, to take charge of the ship in order that the cargo might be delivered up; for our Captain, Don Matías de Landecho, had petitioned the Emperor, sending two Spaniards and two friars, of those he had in the ship, with a present worth 20,000 pesos to soften him and, if possible, to obtain justice. Upon their arrival at Meaco, the court of the Emperor, they applied to the Franciscan friars who, by their experience in this city, they conceived could procure a favorable reception to their application. The Franciscans judged it better to apply to Ximonoxo, another of the four Governors; but this crafty Japanese, possessing more abilities than the friar, deceived the whole of them, found means to make them deliver up the present of the Emperor to him, offering to give them a letter to Uximonoxo, which they agreed to, and acceded to his wish. The Spaniards returned quite content with this letter; but it was the letter of Uriah, the Hittite, for as soon as they delivered it, Uximonoxo imprisoned them. When they found out the deceit, they sent the Friar Guevara to Meaco to procure their liberty from the other Governors, and with the assistance of the Franciscan friars attempted to get an audience of the Emperor

1 Ed. note: One of them was Fr. Juan Pobre. For his narrative, see Document 1602A.

2 Ed. note: Taikô-sama was a name adopted by Hideyoshi in 1591, when he made a partial abdication of power in favor of his adopted son, Ieyasu. He was to die in September 1598.

3 Ed. note: He refers mainly to Fr. Pedro Bautista. These martyrs were canonized in 1860. The Spanish from the San Felipe did not benefit much from the services of one of their sailors who was a Japanese and served them as an interpreter at their arrival at Tosa.

to explain to him the conduct of his Governors; but Ximonoxo was too crafty for them, prejudicing the Emperor against the friars through the medium of the Bonzos, who are priests of their idols, to whom he suggested the propriety of complaining against them, because they propagated a new doctrine against the gods, which must be prejudicial to the state.

Taycosama, who began to be desirous of keeping possession of the merchandise of the wrecked vessel, imprisoned the Franciscan friars on the pretence of their having preached the gospel of Christ against his command; and likewise pretended that they were employed as spies by the Spaniards, and that with these views they had quitted their own country.¹ He now openly seized the stored property and condemned the friars to death. With them the following were comprehended in this sentence: the Friars Pedro Bautista, Francisco Blanco, Gonzalo García, Francisco de San Miguel, Martín de la Asunción, together with Felipe de Jesús, who had been on the way to New Spain to be ordained and had resided with his brethren since his arrival in Japan. These 6 Franciscan friars, with 3 Japanese Jesuits and 17 Japanese laymen who professed Christianity, all shared the same fate. They were paraded through the streets of Meaco, with their left ears cut off, and then marched over 200 leagues to Nangasaki, where they suffered martyrdom by being placed on crosses and put to death with lances. This transaction took place on 5 February 1597 in the presence of Bishop Martiñez, a Jesuit, many other Jesuits and Franciscan friars, and the Spaniards who had just arrived in that ship, and who returned to Manila, after suffering many hardships, and certified what they had witnessed on this occasion.

Immediately on the death of these martyrs being made known in Manila, the Governor sent two Spaniards and an Augustine friar to solicit their bodies and complain to the Emperor of the ill treatment which the Spaniards had experienced in regard to their ship, contrary to the treaty which had been made with the government of Manila.²

5. James Murdock, *A History of Japan*, Kobe, 1903, pp. 287 et seq. (see Appendix C, under General, for greater details).

6. AGI 67-6-18: *Relación del viaje del galeón San Felipe; arribada que hizo al Japon y su perdida en 1596* [Account of the voyage of the galleon San Felipe, her turning back to Japan and her loss in 1596]; cited in B&R 53:267.

7. AGI 67-6-18: *Carta del Gobernador Tello. Tiene preso al General D. Matías de Landecho para ver si tuvo culpa en el mal apresto del navio San Felipe* [Letter from Governor Tello. He holds General Matías de Landecho prisoner to find out if he was guilty of having badly outfitted the galleon San Felipe]. Manila, 15 June 1597; reproduced in B&R 10:45-46.

8. AGI 67-6-18: *Carta de Morga. Se refiere a la perdida de la nao San Felipe y dice que el Emperador del Japon es un bárbaro sin fé en su palabra, que hizo crucificar en Nangasaqui a los P.P. Franciscanos...* [Letter from Morga. He refers to the loss of the galleon San Felipe and says that the Emperor [sic] of Japan is a barbarian without a word of honor, who had the Franciscan Fathers crucified at Nagasaki...] Manila, 30 June, 1597; reproduced in B&R 10:25-27 (see below).

9. AGI 67-6-35: *Memorial a S.M. por D. Matías de Landecho sobre Japon* [Brief to His Majesty by Matías de Landecho about Japan]. 4 July 1598; cited by James Robertson in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1915.

1 Ed. note: I wonder if they considered the Japanese sailor from the San Felipe as a double spy.

2 Ed. note: The Spanish ship brought the first elephant (from Cambodia?) to Japan as a gift to the so-called emperor, the shogun Hideyoshi. The latter promised, once again, to protect the commerce of the Spaniards and the ships that would put back in distress, but no compensation was paid.

Letter from Dr. Morga to the King, dated Manila 30 June 1597

Sire:

At the end of April of the current year I sent your Majesty an account of the state of affairs in these islands, a duplicate whereof is enclosed. I have only to add that some days after I returned to this city, the ship **San Felipe** which left this city in July 1596 was carried by several storms to the coast of Japan, entered the port of Hurando, and was lost there; and the emperor of that country, Taycosama, covetous of the treasure with which it was laden, took it all. The men of the ship and the passengers have come in other vessels. At the same time the said tyrant caused to be crucified in Nangasaqui six discalced friars of the Order of St. Francis, of the number of those who were there from these islands. He has also crucified 18 native Japanese Christians of their following. Fuller accounts of the matter will be sent to your Majesty by the reports thereon to be written by the Governor. So far as I can learn, the said king of Japan is a proud and covetous barbarian, who does not keep his word or observe the peace that he promises...¹

The loss of this ship was a very great one. She was worth a million and a half [pesos?]¹—a mighty loss for so small a country; hence it is more needy than ever and more wretched, and your Majesty will have pity on it.

...

May your royal person be preserved for many years, as the whole of Christendom, and as we your servants, have need.

Manila, 30 June 1597.

Doctor Antonio de Morga

Notes on the Holy Martyrs of Japan, of 1597.

Source: Fr. Francisco de Santa Inés, O.S.F. Crónica de la provincia de San Gregorio Magno de religiosos descalzos the N.S.P. San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japón, etc., Manila 1892 (2 vols.).

The death sentence, signed by Hideyoshi on the 20th day of the 11th moon of the first year of Keicho, read as follows:

“Taikô-sama.—I have condemned these people to death, because they have come from the island of Luzon, have given themselves out as ambassadors, and because they have dwelt in my country without my permission, and proclaimed the law of the Christians against my command. My will is that they be crucified at Nagasaki.”

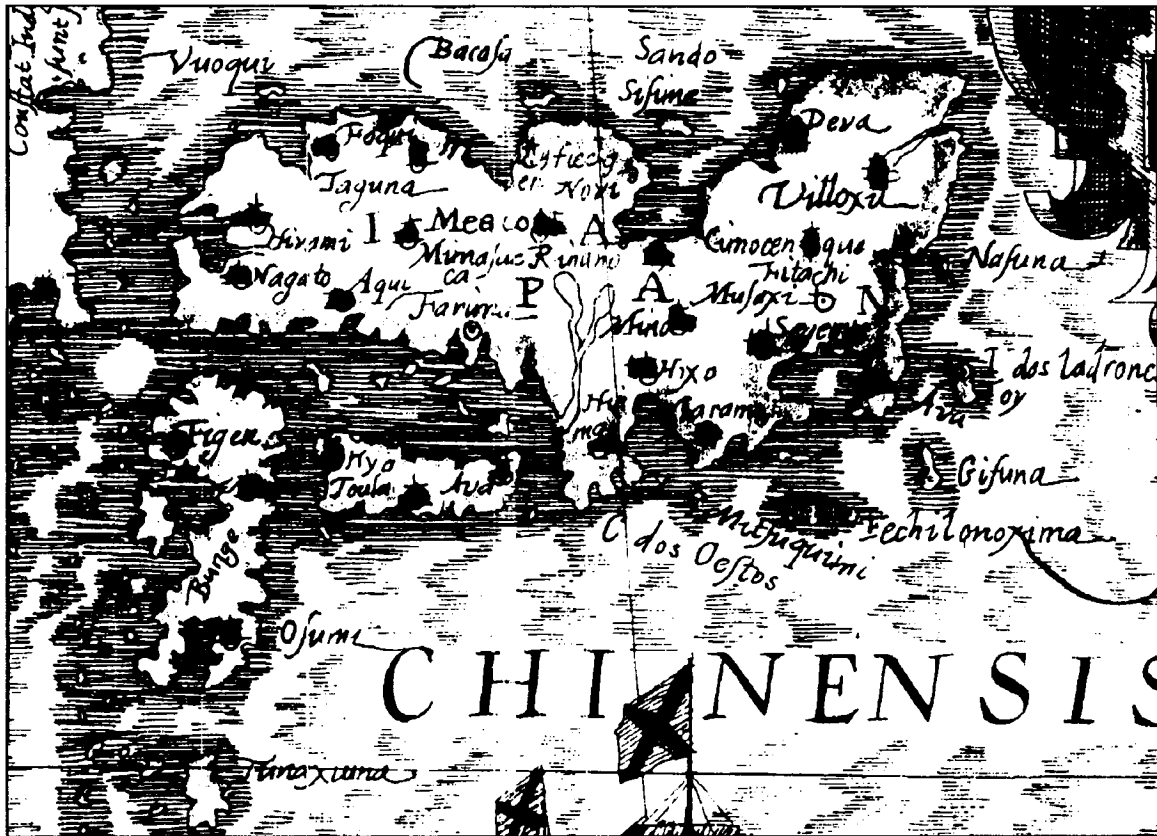
[Morga and Santa Inés give the following details about the crucifixion of religious and converts, 26 in all. They were crucified in a row on a hill sown with wheat, in sight of the town and port of Nagasaki, and near a house and hospital called San Lázaro, established by the first Franciscans. The religious were placed in the middle and the others on either side, in a row stretching east to west as follows: 10 Japanese converts,

¹ Ed. note: Morga goes on to place some of the blame for the martyrdoms on the Portuguese Jesuits.

6 Franciscans, 3 Jesuits, and 7 Japanese converts. They were hanged upon high crosses, with iron staples at their throats, hands, and feet, and with long, sharp iron lances thrust up from below and crosswise through their sides. They died on the 5th of February 1597. Morga adds: "The bodies of the martyrs, although watched for many days by the Japanese, were removed by bits (especially those of the monks) from the crosses as relics by the Christians of the place, who very reverently distributed them around. Together with the staples and the wood of the crosses they are now scattered throughout Christendom." Five of the 11 Franciscans in Japan at that time escaped death, namely, Agustín Rodríguez, Bartolomé Ruiz, Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Jerónimo de Jesús, and Juan Pobre.]

(Facing page) **Part of a map of China in 1590.** *Japan and the first Christian martyrs there (1597) figure prominently above the Ladrones and Bonin Islands. In the China Sea, a European vessel is shown, whereas a junk in the upper part is said (in Latin) to come from Japan and be carrying wooden anchors.*





Map of Japan, ca. 1590 (detail from previous page). From left to right, we can recognize the following names, some of which will become part of the history of the Manila Galleon: a) on Kyushu Island: the Osumi Peninsula, Bunge=Bungo (the former name of the Miyazaki Prefecture), and Figen=Hizen (former name of the Fukuoka area); b) on Shikoku Island: Hyo=Iyo, Tousa=Tosa, and Ava=Anan; c) on Honshu Island: Nagato, Meaco (Kyoto today), Cimocenoque = Simonoseki (misplaced), Fitachi=Hitachi, Villoxu (which will be referred to later as the Kingdom of Voxu or Oshu, and corresponds to the Sendai region).



Map of Japan, by Linschoten, ca. 1596. Detail from facing page. The eastern part of Japan was then poorly known by Europeans.



The Linschoten map of 1596. (Map from Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, Amsterdam, 1596. The information came from Portuguese documents)

Document 1598A

1598 report on conditions by Dr. Antonio de Morga

Source: AGI 67-6-18 (Simancas—Secular; Audiencia de Filipinas; cartas y expedientes del presidente y oidores de dicha Audiencia vistos en el Consejo; años 1583 á 1599); translated in B&R 10:75-102.

Report by Morga, dated Manila 8 June 1598

What is to be said of the condition of affairs in these Philippine Islands is as follows:

...

1. The evil example set by the religious through their vices, indecent behavior, gambling, banquets, and festivities.

2. They trade and make a profit in their districts from rice, wax, wine, gold, boats, fowls, cloth, and deerskins, to the great detriment of the Indians as well as that of the entire country.

3. They deal openly in merchandise of the above-mentioned articles, as well as in those of China, in the trade with New Spain.

...

14. They are very careful to exact that all the Indian girls, specially the young and most beautiful, appear at the gates of the monastery every day. They converse with them, showing partiality to the handsomest among them. When a new prior arrives or any other person for whom the religious wish to make a special display, these Indian girls dress themselves carefully and call to see them. Besides this, there are other things which it would be offensive to tell.

...

20. They are attended by a great following of Indian boys, who serve as pages and servants. These are well dressed, wearing liveries and gold chains. They carry their hats for them in the streets, while in the monastery they assist them in the cells. Each one, however, has his own special servant.

...

24. The more spiritual among them try and go to China, Japon, Camboja, and other kingdoms, in order to preach the gospel, unmindful of their duties here, for which they

were brought. This anxiety makes them restless, and they invent journeys and conquests which disturb the rulers and the Spaniards. All this gives rise to other objectionable things.

...

52. All the Japanese coming here in their vessels would better be sent back to Japan. Not one should be allowed to settle in this kingdom.

53. Those already here should be banished to their own country, for they are of no benefit or utility; but, on the contrary, very harmful.

54. On departing, the Japanese are wont to take cargos of silk and gold, which are merchandise intended for Japan. This should not be allowed until the Spaniards have made their purchases, for it increases the price of silk.

...

67. There are a great number of Indians, both men and women, in the city of Manila, who are vagabonds of evil life, living in the houses of the Spaniards...

68. The country is becoming filled with black slaves and Cafres¹ brought by the Portuguese, and these are the worst that the Portuguese have...

...

82. With regard to the weight and cargo in the ships sailing to New Spain, it is essential that those in authority protect the citizens, since there is but one August and one harvest. They should strive to allow the citizens to pursue their occupations freely and leisurely, and to have the cargo loaded by those only who can justly do so.

...

91. Warships ready for any emergency are needed; but at present we have none.

92. There are but few arms in the armory, and those few are rotten and out of order. This need is notorious; and all classes of weapons, specially muskets and arquebuses, must be made.

...

104. From New Spain many disreputable men, condemned to the galleys are brought here and allowed to disembark and go where they will, dressed and armed like the rest of the people. They are not often tried; and not only do they not pay the penalty for their crimes, but even commit other atrocities and crimes here.

...

140. In the expenditure for repairing ships and other royal ships made in Cavite, there has been spent much more than appears by Master de Ribera's statement, which was verified only by his word and oath. This is a very extensive scheme, in which there may have been considerable loss and fraud between the Factor and Master de Ribera, because the expense has been very heavy and is not clearly stated.

1 "The black people or Caffares of the land of Mozambique, and all the coast of Ethiopia and within the land to the Cape of Good Hope... The Portuguese do make a living by buying and selling them." (Linschoten's Voyage, London, Hakluyt Society translation, 1885, vol. 1, pp. 269, 277).

141. Galleys, vireys, caracoas, frigates, and other royal vessels have been lost because of inadequate shelter.

142. There are many places in which are employed sailors, gunners, caulkers, coopers, and other seafaring men, who are superfluous, unnecessary, and of no service. They create notorious expense and are maintained in these employments on account of being servants, relatives, and friends of those in authority.

...

154. The giving of positions on the trading ships of the New Spain run is a great detriment to the country. In the first place this advantage is enjoyed by those who have not served in this land, thus depriving of it those who have served.

155. As persons who have no compassion on the citizens of this country, they busy themselves only for their own interests, and not for the good of the country.

156. Many of those in the naval and military service come here who are useless and troublesome. This is a great expense to the King, and all to no purpose.

157. The soldiers come naked, unarmed, and starving, because their captains have only tried to cheat them.

158. The ships return loaded with the investments of the officers of the ships. Besides their own goods, they have been entrusted with large commissions and trusts in Mexico, which they execute and fulfil to the great deprivation of this country. They receive excessive salaries all the time until their return to Spain, which might be dispensed with if they were officials of these islands.

159. After they depart for New Spain with their ships, then for greater comfort and the better stowage of their merchandise, they throw overboard the goods of our citizens, without any necessity. This they do without any feeling of compassion for the many whom they ruin. It makes no difference to them, for they are going where they cannot be prosecuted against, and where it is impossible to follow them.

160. Usually those who come in those positions are relatives and servants of the Viceroy of New Spain. They are mere youths and have no experience in their duties. Innumerable frauds and injuries are perpetrated in the despatch of the ships at Acapulco, of which I shall not speak in detail, for that one point alone would require a great deal of paper.

Manila, 8 June 1598.

Don Antonio de Morga

Documents 1598B

Other 1598 documents from Manila

Sources: 1) AGI 67-6-19: Audiencia de Filipinas, 1600-1612; translated in B&R 10:132-140; 2) AGI 68-1-32: Audiencia de Filipinas, 1579-1679; B&R 10:141-158; 3) AGI 68-1-34: Audiencia de Filipinas, 1598-1698; translated in B&R 10:161-167; 4) AGI 67-6-6; translated in B&R 10:168-173.

B1. Reception of the Royal Seal at Manila

This is a good and faithful copy of several instruments drawn in regard to the reception of the royal seal of the royal Audiencia and chancellery, which the king our lord has lately commanded to be re-established in the city of Manila in the Philippine Islands; they are set down in the book wherein is recorded the establishment of the said royal Audiencia, and their tenor is as follows:

In the city of Manila in the Philippine Islands, on the 8th day of the month of June of the year 1598, Don Francisco Tello, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of these islands for the king our lord, and president of the Audiencia and chancellery which was ordered to be established there, said that immediately upon the arrival of the last ships from New Spain in this present year, on which came the honorable auditors whom his Majesty was sending for the said royal Audiencia, the Licentiate Christoval Tellez de Almazan, one of the said honorable auditors,¹ informed him that he had brought and held in his possession the royal seal of the king our lord, which was given to him by the Viceroy of New Spain for this royal Audiencia; and the said auditor directed that an order should be given for the formal reception of it, with the authority and reverence which his Majesty directs and commands by his royal instruction and decrees...

1 Ed. note: The members of the Audiencia were: Governor Tello, Lieutenant-Governor Morga, Licentiate Tellez de Almazan, Licentiate Alvaro Rodriguez Zambrano, Licentiate Geronimo de Salazar Salcedo, as fiscal, and Licentiate Padilla as reporter and clerk of court. The first auditor, Licentiate Antonio de Ribera Maldonado, had remained behind in Spain.

B2. Letters from the Archbishop of Manila to Philip II (extracts)

Sire:

It pleased our Lord that 3 years after the time when I left Madrid I should arrive at these islands, where I came at the command of your Majesty, with many hardships and so broken in health and strength that I hardly had the vigor to undertake such arduous duties as confront me...

It is only a month since I came to this city of Manila, and so I cannot give your Majesty an account in detail of the many things which must be remedied. But there are going to your court Father Fray Diego de Soria, a Dominican, and a man of much holiness, learning, and very exemplary life, who has had much experience for many years in the affairs of this country, and to whom your Majesty should listen; and likewise Father Fray Marcelo of the Order of St. Francis,¹ who will give a full account of everything; for it is zeal for the honor of God and the service of your Majesty, and the desire for the remedy of these islands, which alone bring them through so many dangers by land and by sea.

... There is little interest in spiritual things and Christianity among the laity... There is not a man in all these Philippine Islands—Spaniard, or of any other nation—save some religious... but they are only moved by their own interests and seek to enrich themselves... From this inordinate greed arises the violation of your Majesty's decrees and mandates, as everyone is a merchant and trader—and none more so than the Governor, who has this year brought ruin upon the country. There comes each year from New Spain a million [pesos] in money, contrary to the mandate of your Majesty, all of which passes on to the heathen of China. From here, in violation of your Majesty's decrees, cargos are loaded for the Peruvians and the merchants of Mexico, without leaving room for those of this country—especially the poor, who are unable to secure any interest therein except for a wretched bundle which is allowed them as cargo.

[Complaints against the Governor]

If I were to go into the multitude of evils which are connected with this, I should have to proceed *ad infinitum*. There are going to your court those who have themselves experienced them; and one of them even, for having preached with Christian zeal, was persecuted by the Governor, who was the cause of this and of great evils. His vices are so many and so low and obscene that if one were to seek faithfully over all of Spain for a man of most debauched conscience, even the vilest and most vicious, to come to this country and corrupt it with his example, there could not be found one more so than he. A priest told me yesterday—Sunday, 21 June—that it was public talk that no woman had escaped from him with her honor, when he could accomplish her ruin; and that further, through his great and scandalous incontinence, he twice ordered the priest to

1 Ed. note: Apparently referring to Fr. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, the author of the *Historia* (Barcelona, 1601).

marry him to his own niece, and used every means with the priest and Father Soria to secure a dispensation, although the latter showed him how little that measure profited.

...

It would be very important for your Majesty to renew the mandate forbidding the governors and auditors to trade, with heavier penalties; for it is not observed, and from its violation there result great inconveniences.

...

Manila, 24 June 1598.

Sire, I kiss the feet of your Majesty.

Your humble chaplain,

Fray Ignacio [de Santibáñez], Archbishop of Manila.¹

Sire:

Although I wrote another letter to your Majesty in which I give an account of the affairs in this country, I am obliged to write this one to give your Majesty an account of my own affairs...

At present I shall only mention a few things [against the Governor]. In the first place your Majesty should not inquire into the particular vices of Don Francisco Tello, but should picture to yourself a universal idea of all vices, brought to the utmost degree and placed in a lawyer; this would be Tello, who is your Majesty's Governor in the Philippines. He is not one of those men who accompany a vice with a virtue, and among many vices follow one virtue; but he has not even an indication of a virtue...

Manila, 26 June '98.

Sire, I kiss the feet of your Majesty.

Your servant and chaplain,

Fray Ignacio, Archbishop of Manila.

B3. Letter from the Bishop of Nueva Segovia [Cagayan] to Philip II (extract)

Sire:

... Your Majesty has a governor here, namely, Don Francisco Tello, who, if a fourth be true of all that is said of him by Christian, learned, and prudent men, and those in office in this community, both ecclesiastic and secular, is one of the worst men whom your Majesty has in all his estates. One thing I can say, and that is that neither on my way from New Spain to here, nor after my arrival, have I heard anything said which would indicate that this man is a good governor; but I have heard and hear every day increasing and innumerable evil acts, evil in the highest degree.

...

1 Ed. note: This archbishop died one month later.

The first matter (of which your Majesty must certainly have information) is, that this man married a woman between whom and himself there were two obstacles—in the first place, consanguinity; and, in the second place, relation by marriage. In her case there was still another obstacle, in that she had taken the vows in a religious order...

Another instance: an affair characterized by covetousness, wrongs, and injustice, which are being perpetrated before the sight of God and all the world. This is the affair. **There is here a vessel which is called Santa Margarita which belonged to Captain Stevan Rodriguez [de Figueroa]. This ship he despatched this year to convey cloth and merchandise from this city to Mexico.** There is a record of what this same ship took last time;¹ and according to the register (which is here and in Mexico) the vessel loaded 250 to 300 tons; but this year there was not allotted among the citizens of the islands more than 160 tons. All the rest, up to the said number of 250 to 300, he has seized upon. This injustice and robbery is terrible, but the circumstance makes it even more remarkable that sin and greed and vices so blind a man that he considers everyone else blind; and thinks that they will not look at this ship and see its size, when it is present here; nor remember that, in this same ship, the same persons with the same merchandise laded ten times as large a cargo; nor does he consider that, at any rate, the registry of this same ship exists.

On the day on which I write this, which is the last of June, when the ships should have sailed days ago for Mexico, because they might encounter a wind which would make it impossible for them to leave this bay for a long time, and the voyage would be lost, or undertaken when the ships would be wrecked—during this time he is entertaining guests and making feasts and gambling.

...

What can I tell your Majesty of the affairs of war? Although we are every moment fearing some movement from Japan, this man will not build a single turret to finish the wall. He considers himself safe with a dark retreat which he built to retire to if the enemy should take the city; but if the enemy should take a single house of the city, he is as well fortified there as are the Spaniards in their retreat, because, with the cheap labor of Chinamen, they have built here so that every house is a fortress.

God has granted to this country a Spaniard of great genius, good birth, and singular virtue, who came with Don Luis Pérez Das Mariñas. This Spaniard cast artillery very ingeniously at this port where I am at present, which is on the river in the middle of Manila... The only remedy is to appoint here the good Don Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, a well-known knight, and proved to be just and discreet, with long experience in these lands—and, above all, with great respect for God and His laws and those of your Majesty...

It seems to me that I have said enough of this.

1 Ed. note: I have not found any direct reference to a voyage of the Santa Margarita across the Pacific previous to 1598. There is an indirect reference in HM 2:561. It could have been the (unnamed) ship despatched in 1597 under Juan Bautista Justiniano (B&R 10:48).

Manila, the last day of June, 1598.

Fray Miguel [Benavides], Bishop of Nueva Segovia.

B4. Letter from Governor Tello to King Philip II (extract regarding Japan)

Sire:

Last year I wrote your Majesty an account of the state of military affairs. What has happened since then is as follows.

...

There is also a suspicion of Japan, and, according to the advices which I now have, those people desire exceedingly to come here, although it is difficult for them to do so by ship. Consequently, I am, and shall be, well prepared for them, with arms in readiness. Garrisons are always maintained in that part of the country by which they would approach, namely, in the province of Cagayan. I have great hope, God helping, that Japan will be subdued. Several prominent persons there, with whom I have friendship and communication, have written to me. I have replied to them, and sent them presents, as must be done with these people. The one who is most friendly is the General of Coria [Korea], named Genticio¹ who is close in the order of succession in the kingdom to the Conbaco [Kuwambaku]. He wrote me that, although not a Christian himself, he is a friend of Christians. Having this goodwill, he might receive the holy gospel, and I am trying to bring this to pass. This communication is secret, being without the knowledge of the Conbaco, who is very much hated in his kingdom, because of his great tyranny.

The ambassador Don Luis de Navarrete, whom I sent to the Conbaco, arrived there safely with the present which he took with him. The elephant was very well received, and they tell me that on the day when he entered Meaco (where the court of Japan resides), the concourse of people in the plaza was so great—because they had never seen elephants before—that seven persons were suffocated. When the ambassador had ascended to the hall, the king came out to meet him with 30 kings who were his vassals. My letter, a copy of which was sent to your Majesty last year, was then read in public. It was well received, and the king said that he would reply thereto. Then he wished to see the present which had been put in 12 boxes. Greatly excited and enraged by a picture of myself, which represented me armed and with a cane in my hand, he asked in a loud voice whether this were intended as a threat. He was answered in the negative, but that it was a custom of persons who held high offices to send their portraits as tokens of regard and friendship when embassies were despatched. Thereupon he was appeased, and ordered the picture to be placed in a large hall, and directed his wives and children to go and see it. After this the ambassador was invited to dine with him three times, and

¹ Ed. note: This man may have been the same as the regent called Ongoschio elsewhere (B&R 15:198).

was finally dismissed with a present of 12 coats of mail, 30 lances, and 2 horses. The despatch has not yet arrived, but I fear that the ambassador has died, for he was very ill at Nangasaque. The information which I give your Majesty was gained from a letter of his.¹

...

Within this city I have made an impregnable refuge, which is bounded on one side by the sea and on another by the river; while on the land side 1,000 armed men can, if sufficiently supplied, defend it against 100,000.

...

I have found here an invention of the Sangleys for founding artillery. It is easy of accomplishment, and as there is much metal in the royal warehouses I am having 50 pieces of artillery made, which will take a ball of 1 to 3 pounds, the size most needed here. After these are finished, I shall not fail to go to China to attack the Sangleys.²

May our Lord preserve the royal Catholic person of your Majesty as is needed by these kingdoms, and as we your vassals desire.

Manila, 17 June 1598.

Don Francisco Tello.



Sketch of Toyotomi HIDEYOSHI (1536-1598) and his royal seal.

1 Morga states that Navarrete, after sending the letter to Tello, died at Nagasaki.

2 Ed. note: In a report made the following year, it is said that not one out of four cannon cast turned out good. As for the ships that went to China, it was mostly for trade purposes.

Documents 1599

Comments about the galleon trade by the Royal Fiscal

Source: AGI 67-6-18: Audiencia de Filipinas, 1595-1606; translated in B&R 11:112-119.

Letter from Licentiate Salazar to Philip II, dated Manila 21 July 1599

Sire:

Since I have given to your Majesty an account of the affairs of the administration of justice and of the royal treasury of these Philippine Islands by two other letters which accompany this, I will here discuss affairs of government.

...

The main object of your Majesty's royal decrees, provisions, and orders given to your governors of these islands, is the prosperity of the citizens thereof; for in that way they become established and settled and the islands populated. The governors have not always attended to this as they should, for they have regarded this, which is their principal obligation, as accessory and dependent upon their private interests in order that they may become rich with what the citizens are to gain, as is already well known. And so little is the profit, and so poor the subsistence, of those who live here, and so much is their living interfered with by the governors, and the relatives and dependents whom they bring with them, that, as a result, so little is left for the citizens that they cannot in twenty years make the profit and gain which is acquired in a few years by some of those whom the said governors bring with them. This has often been experienced. For the remedy of this I suggest the following things.

The lading of the ships which go to New Spain, the allotment of space in them, and other matters touching this, should be conducted according to, and after the manner

directed by, clause 5 of the letter which accompanies this, regarding matters which concerns the royal treasury.¹ No cloth should be laded except that which goes according to the allotment; nor should the governor have any authority therein, because, as the superintendents of lading are persons appointed by him and in his confidence, with letters and orders which he gives, much other cloth is laded after the allotment is made. For the most part this belongs to persons who are underlings, kinsmen, or creatures of the governor, and must necessarily occupy space belonging to the cloth of the citizen, who is thus obliged to give up his cargo. What I describe is the ordinary way that things go.

...

By order of your Majesty, the viceroy of New Spain appoints the general, admiral, captains, masters, and other officers of the ships which are despatched from here to that province with merchandise, at the time when the said ships return thence. The persons so appointed bring so large a quantity of **money unregistered** in the ships as, it may be readily seen, they can do, with the power attached to their offices, since they are the servants and underlings of the said governor; accordingly, when they have arrived here they invest their money, and lade the goods in the said ships, although they are prohibited from doing so. This is another opportunity, almost equal to that of the governors who come.

In order for that to be used by the said citizens, it would be fitting that the said general, admiral, masters, and officers of the ships be appointed here, in the sessions of the Audiencia, by vote of the president and auditors; and that those appointed should be citizens of this city of Manila, or of some of the other towns of these islands. The salaries which hitherto have been given to the said general and admiral in New Spain should be diminished. With the little which is given here to those who are appointed, and from the profits which they will make, there will result no little benefit; since every year, in the ships which are to go, there would be 5 or 6 men, and they would return with a profit large enough to maintain themselves, and face the enemy. The ships would be better administered and governed, by persons who understand that better, through the continual practice which they have in these islands in maritime and military affairs; for at times persons come in the said offices who have no experience whatever in the one branch or the other, which is ordinarily the cause of much loss.

...

There is a great carelessness in appointing gunners for the said ships, for a ship which carries one piece of artillery has had six gunners appointed, whereas one ordinary gunner would be sufficient. If your Majesty be pleased, it would be well to command that for each piece of artillery no more than one gunner should be appointed; because,

1 Ed. note: Fully stated earlier (B&R 11:92-93) and summarized hereafter; the governors appointed their friends to lade in the ships their own property, outside of the amount allotted, thus avoiding paying duties to the royal treasury.

besides their cost to the royal treasury, they are likewise a damage to this community, on account of the quantity of money which they bring and carry back invested to New Spain.¹

In the ships which come from New Spain a great deal of money is brought which is not registered. Beside not paying in Acapulco the duties of 2-1/2% which are due to your Majesty, there results to this commonwealth a great deal of damage; for this money belongs for the most part to merchants and citizens of Peru and Mexico. Although in the sale which is made of the said ships, when they arrive at the port of Cavite, investigation is made—as I did this year, when I asked permission from the Audiencia to go and inspect the ships which came—and although I went there, only a very small quantity of this money was found, on account of the great care which was taken to hide it. At times, it even belongs to the most powerful people here; consequently, those who are bringing it are very bold, and it is necessary to inspect the vessels before they arrive at the said port. It would be expedient for your Majesty to command that the fiscal of the said Audiencia should always be present at the making of this inspection, so that he can take all measures which appear to him suitable for that purpose, and can make the inspection before the ships arrive at the port, wherever he may wish. All the coin or silver bullion which is seized for registry should be applied for the royal treasury, some moderate portion being given to the person who denounces the culprit, so that there may be persons to do this.²

At present nothing else occurs of which your Majesty should be advised in matters concerning the government. I shall continually look out for what is most expedient for it, and will advise you of what should be done.

May God protect your Majesty, according to His power, with a large increase of kingdoms and dominions, according to the needs of Christendom.

Manila, 21 July 1599.

The licentiate Hieronimo de Salazar y Salzedo

Note on the 1599 galleon.

Source: Chirino's Relation; translated in B&R 13:30, 65.

How Father Francisco de Vera returned to Spain for more fathers. Chapter 37.

... It was agreed to despatch Father Francisco de Vera, as a person who had been most successful in conveying the last reinforcement, so useful and so large—which, however, was now too small for so greatly increased a harvest, and more reapers were needed. The father set out from Manila on this journey, in the month of June 1598 in the ship **Santa Margarita** which, after a prosperous voyage of 4 months, reached New Spain. Soon afterward, orders arrived there from our very reverend Father-General,

- 1 Note in margin: "Have a letter written to the viceroy together with this report, that, if this be so, it appears excessive, and he shall correct it."
- 2 Note in margin: "Write to the governor that it is understood that this practice has become established, and let him try to prevent and correct it. Let the fiscal accompany the royal officials in the inspection of those ships..."

Claudio Aquaviva, that Father Diego García, who had completed his term as rector of the college of Mexico, should repair at once to the Philippines, to visit and console, on behalf of his Paternity, our people who were there, and should take with him a reinforcement of earnest laborers in the vineyard of the Lord, which was the same object for which Father Francisco de Vera had gone... So, the Father visitor departed, as we shall later see, with some companions for the Philippines.

...
The arrival in the Philippines of the Father visitor, Diego García, and how he began his visitation. Chapter 51.

When affairs were in the condition which we have described, the Father visitor, Diego García, very opportunely arrived in the islands, with some companions¹ on the 17th of June in the year 1599.

...
 I will relate, in order to show the mercies of God toward our fathers, a special instance of this which His Divine Majesty displayed toward them and the vessel which brought them from the port of Acapulco to the Philippines. The pilots were confidently sailing over their accustomed course, heedless that in it there were shoals. One evening at the hour when the *Salve* is wont to be recited, and while all were reciting it, a young man fortunately (or rather through the singular providence and mercy of God) descried **shoals** from the maintop and immediately began to shout a warning. With that the crew—even though everyone was agitated and fearful lest, with the freshening of the wind, they would be driven upon the shoals—hastened, some to the sails, ropes, and rigging, others to the helm, and the pilot to direct the ship's course. Our fathers, meanwhile, repaired to their quarters and berths to invoke the most blessed Virgin, to call upon God, and to pray for the intercession of the saints—all of them specially invoking that of Blessed Father Ignatius,² a relic of whom the Father visitor carried with him. Showing this to his companions while the rest were busied in the other occupations, he augmented the fervor with which they cried to Heaven, and at the same time their confidence that by means of that holy relic our Lord would deliver them from their danger. And so He did; for, upon steering so as to direct the vessel to one side, to avoid the shoals, the vessel, in spite of their efforts, would not obey, but, turning in the other direction, doubled the shoals. If their attempt to steer had been successful, not only could they not have passed the shoals, but they would have drifted hopelessly upon them; but, as it was, the flagship was saved. Moreover, her lighted lantern (for evening had already arrived) guided the other ships, which followed behind her, through the channel, and in this manner all of them were saved.³

1 These were Father Melchor Hurtado and Francisco González, and the brother coadjutor Diego Rodríguez.

2 Referring to Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), the founder of the Jesuit Order, and afterward a saint; he is here mentioned as "blessed" as he was not canonized until 1622.

3 Ed. note: The flagship was the Santa Margarita. The other two ships were: the San Jerónimo and the Contadora.

Documents 1600A

The first Dutchmen in Micronesia: the remnants of the Mahu expedition end up in Japan

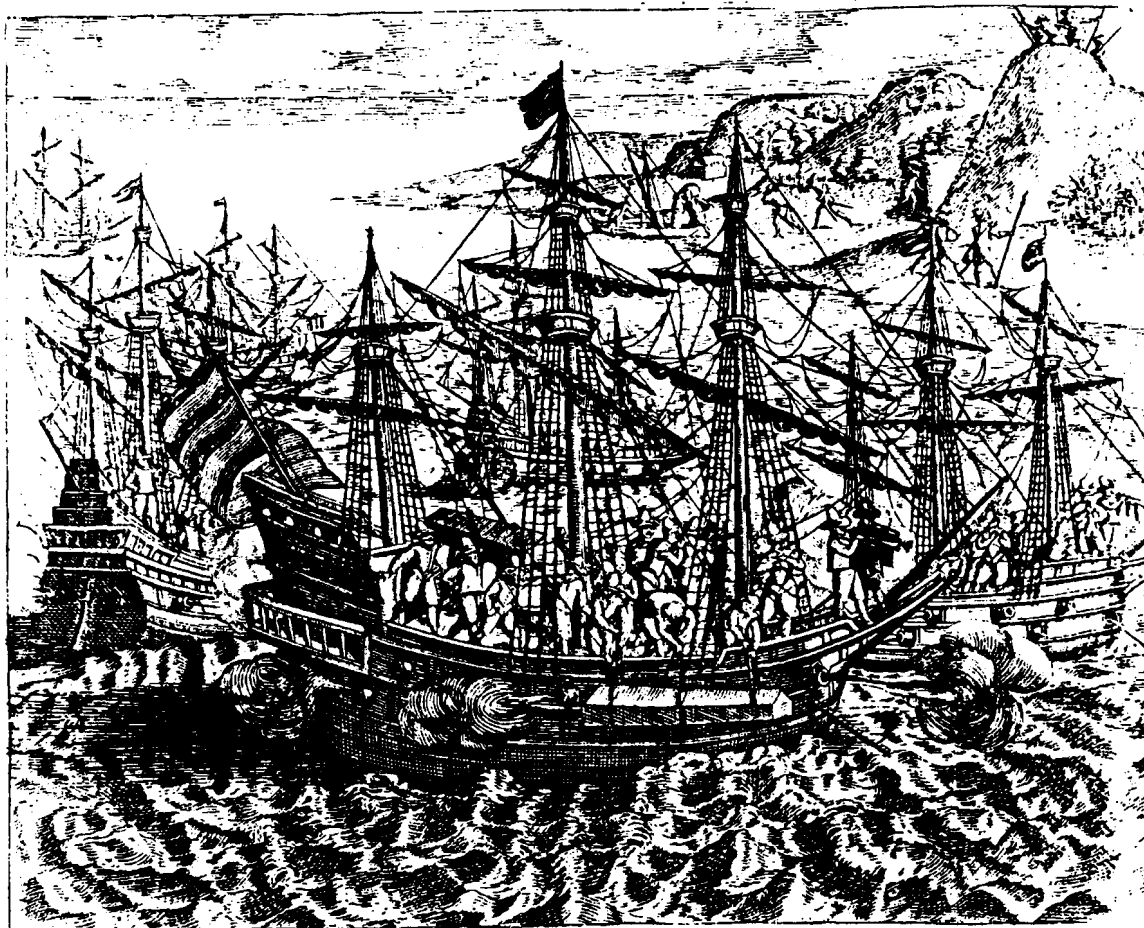
Sources: Captain Burney's History, vol. 2, pp. 186+; Samuel Purchas (ed.), Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, 1625 (Vol. 1, Book 3, pp. 125-132 & Vol. 5, p. 588); F. C. Wieder (ed.), De reis van Mahu en de Cordes ... naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, The Hague, 1923-25; P. G. Rogers, The First Englishman in Japan, London, 1956; E. Sluiter, The Voyage of Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes into the Pacific Ocean, 1598-1600 (Berkeley MA thesis, 1933).

Introductory note.

Will Adams, the English pilot made famous by at least two historical novels, reached Japan aboard a Dutch ship, the **Liefde** [Charity] in April 1600. The Dutch had first made their appearance in the East Indies, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. In 1598, however, two fleets left Rotterdam to go to the Philippines by way of the Magellan Strait. The first fleet, the Mahu expedition, consisted of 5 ships outfitted by some merchants of Rotterdam who called themselves the Company of Pieter Verhagen. The largest ship was the **Hoop** [Hope], of 500 tons and 150 men commanded by Jacob Mahu. The **Liefde**, of 300 tons and 110 men, was commanded by Simon de Cordes. Mahu died before reaching the strait and was replaced as general by Simon de Cordes, but the latter was soon to die in Chile. The ships were scattered by a storm at the exit of the strait. The **Hoop** and the **Liefde** made a diagonal crossing of the Pacific and ended up wrecked near and in Japanese waters. A third ship, the **Trouw** [Fidelity], crossed the South Pacific independently to the Moluccas, where it was captured by the Portuguese. The other two ships did not cross the Pacific.

Our two ships, the **Hoop**, led by Captain Huydecoper, and the **Liefde**, led by Captain Quaeckerneck, went straight to the Ladrões where a pinnace, with 8 men aboard, was captured by the natives in February 1600. In retaliation, one native was captured by the men of the **Liefde**. As the two ships made their way northward, they were hit by a storm that engulfed the **Hoop**. As for the **Liefde**, it reached Japan in a battered condition on 11 April 1600.

XVII.
QVIDNAM HOLLANDIS, IN IN-
SVLA BRAVA, ACCIDERIT: ET
de Almirantis obitu.
III.



The ships of the Mahu expedition at the Cape Verde Islands. The Admiral of the fleet, Jacob Mahu, died here and was buried ashore. (From Theodor de Bry's *Collection of great voyages*, vol. 9, 1602)

The crossing, as reported by Captain Burney

November the 27th [1599], the two ships, the Hope and the Charity, with a pinnace that had been set up, sailed from the Island Santa Maria [in Chile]. Adams writes: "We took our course direct for Japan, and passed the line equinoctial with a fair wind, which continued divers months. In our way, we fell in with certain islands in 16 degrees North,¹ the inhabitants of which are men eaters."² At these islands, the pinnace, with 8 men in her, being at a distance from the ships, was attacked and taken by the islanders.

Between the latitude of 27° and 28° N, they had variable winds. In the night of February the 23rd [1600] the two ships lost sight of each other, and they did not meet again.

The ship in which Adams sailed (of the other there is no farther account) continued her course for Japan. March the 24th, they saw an island which Adams calls **Una Columna**, on the authority, doubtless, of Spanish charts which place three islands with the name of Las Columnas (the Columns) in latitude from 27-1/2° N to 29-1/2° N, and about 31° of longitude to the East of the mouth of San Bernardino Strait. Islands thus situated must have been discovered early after the navigation from the Philippine Islands to New Spain was established, and it is probable that many discoveries in this navigation were never otherwise made...³

1 Ed. note: Tinian and Saipan lie at and near 15° and Anatahan is at 16°25'.

2 Second letter of W. Adams. Nothing further is said of the situation of these islands: the [exact] date is not given, nor can it be inferred from any thing subsequent...

3 Ed. note: Una Columna, the modern Tori Shima, at 30°30'N and 140°20'E, was discovered by Captain Arellano in 1565 (See HM 1:208). The Charity reached Japan in 32-1/2°, which was on the coast of Bungo, now the east coast of Kyushu.

First narrative of William Adams

Sources: First and second letters of William Adams, written in 1611 and reproduced in Thomas Rundall (ed.), Memorials of the Empire of Japon [sic] in the XVI and XVII Centuries, Hakluyt Series I, N° 8 Part II, pp. 17-40. The first letter is based on two ms. copies, one original carried from Hirado to Batavia by Pieter Janzoon and a copy made at Batavia by Dutch merchants, both being sent to England, where they still exist in the records of the East India Company in London. The second letter, addressed to his wife, was edited by Purchas in His Pilgrimes.

First letter of William Adams, dated 22 October 1611.

To my vnknowne frinds and countri-men: dessiring this letter by your good meanes, or the newes or copie of this letter, may come into the hands of one, or manny of my acquayntance in Limehovse or else wheare, or in Kent in Gillingham, by Rochester.

Having so good occasion, by hearing that certaine English marchants lye in the island of Iaua [Java], although by name vnknownen, I haue ymboldened my selfe to wryte these few lines, desiring the Worshipfull Companie being vnknownen to me, to pardon my stowtnes. My reason that I doe wryte, is first as conscience doth binde me with loue to my countrymen, and country. Your Worships, to whom this present wryting shall come, is to geve you to vnderstand that I am a Kentish man, borne in a towne called Gillingam, two English miles from Rochester, one mile from Chattam, where the Kings ships doe lye: and that from the age of twelue yeares olde, I was brought vp in Limehouse neere London, being Apprentice twelue yeares to Master Nicholas Diggines; and my selfe haue serued for Master and Pilott in her Maiesties ships; and about eleuen or twelue yeares haue serued the Worshipfull Companie of the Barbarie Marchants, vntill the Indish traffick from Holland [began], in which Indish traffick I was desirous to make a littel experience of the small knowledg which God had geven me.

So, in the yeare of our Lord 1598, I was hired for Pilot Maior of a fleete of five sayle, which was made readie by the Indish Companie: Peeter Vander Hay [i.e. Pieter Verhagen] and Hance Vander Veek. The Generall of this fleet, was a marchatt called Iaques Mahore [i.e. Jacob Mahu], in which ship, being Admirall [i.e. aboard the Liefde], I was Pilott. So being the three and twentieth or four and twentieth of Iune ere we sett sayle...

Being at the island of St. Maria, which lieth in the lattitude to the s^oward of the line of thirtie seuen degrees twelue minutes¹ on the cost of Chili, wee tooke counsell to take all things out of one ship, and to burne the other; but that the captens that were made newe, the one nor the other, would not, so that we could not agree to leave the one or the other; and having much cloth in our ships, it was agreed that wee should leaue the coast of Perow [Peru], and direct our course for Iapon, having understood that cloth was good marchandiz there; and also how vpon the coast of Perow, the king's ships were out seeking vs, hauing knowledge of our being there, vnderstanding that wee were

1 Ed. note: This sun sighting was no doubt taken ashore, because it is in fact located at this latitude on a modern map.



Arrival of William Adams in Bungo, Japan, in April 1600.

weake of men, which was certaine; for one of our fleet¹, for hunger, was forced to seeke reliefe at the enemies hand in Saint Ago [Santiago]. For which reason, hauing refreshed ourselues in this Iland of St. Maria, more by policie then by force, we departed the twentie seuen of Nouember, from the Iland of St. Maria, with our two ships; and for the rest of our fleete we had no newes of them. So we stood away directly for Iapan, and passed the equinoctiall line together, vntill we came in twentie-eight degrees to the northward of the line: in which lattetude we were about the twentie third of February 1600. Wee had a wonderous storme of wind, as euer I was in, with much raine, in which storme wee lost [sight of] our consort,² whereof we were very sorry: nevertheless, with hope

1 Ed. note: The yatch Blijde Booschap [Glad Tidings], Captain Gerritsoon.

2 Ed. note: Edited as "our greatest ship" by Purchas.

that in Iapon we should meet the one the other, we proceeded on our former intention for Iapon, and in the height of thirtie degrees, sought the northernmost [?] Cape of the forenamed Iland; but found it not, by reason that it lieth faulce in all cardes, and maps, and globes; for the Cape lieth in thirtie-fue degrees 1/2, which is a great difference.¹ In the end, in thirtie-two degrees 1/2, wee cam in sight of the lande, being the nineteenth day of April.² So that betweene the Cape of St. Maria and Iapon, we were foure months and twentie-two daies; at which time there were no more then sixe besides my selfe that could stand vpon his feet. So we in safetie let fall our anchor about a league from a place called Bungo. At which time cam to vs many boats, and we suffred them to come aboard, being not able to resist them, which people did vs no harme; neither of vs vnderstanding the one the other.³ Within a 2 or 3 daies after our arivall, ther cam a Ie-suit from a place called Langasacke [Nagasaki], to which place the Carake of Amakau [Macau] is yeerely wont to come...

The people of this Iland of Iapon are good of nature, curteous aboue measure, and valiant in warre: their iustice is seuerely excecuted without any partialitie vpon transgressors of the law. They are gouerned in great ciuilitie. I meane, not a land better gouerned in the world by ciuill policie. The people be verie superstitious in their religion, and are of diuers opinions. There be many Iesuites and Franciscan friars in this land, and they haue conuerted many to be Christians and haue many churches in the Iland.

Thus, in breife, I am constrained to write, hoping that by one meanes or other, in processe of time, I shall heare of my wife and children: and so with pacience I wait the good will and pleasure of Almighty God. Therfor I do pray all them, or euery one of them, that if this my letter shall com to their hands to doe the best, that my wife and children, my good acquaintance may here of mee; by whose good meanes I may in processe of time, before my death heare newes, or see some of my freindes agein. The which thinge God turn it to his glory. Amen.

Dated in Iapan the two and twentieth of October 1611.

By your vnworthy friend and seruant, to command in what I can,
William Adams

Second narrative of William Adams

Letter of William Adams to his wife, dated October 1611.

Louing wife, you shall vnderstand how all things haue passed with mee from the time of mine absence from you. We set saile with fiue ships from the Texel, in Holland, the foure and twentieth of Iune 1598.

...

-
- 1 Ed. note: He seems to be referring to Cape Inubo, east of Tokyo.
 - 2 Ed. note: The 11th, according to the second letter, where it is said that they landed on the 12th.
 - 3 Ed. note: Purchas adds "but by signes and tokens."

So the third day, in great distresse, we set our course for the Island of Santa Maria, where we found our admirall [i.e. the Hope]; whom when we saw, our hearts were somewhat comforted: we went aboard them, and found them in as great distresse as we, hauing lost their Generall, with seuen and twentie of their men, slaine at the island of Mocha, from whence they departed the day before we came by. Here we tooke counsell what we should doe to get victualls...

There was a young man, one Hudcopee [Huydecoper], which knew nothing, but had serued the admirall, who was made generall: and the master of our shippe was made vice-admirall, whose name was Iacob Quaternak [James Quaeckerneck] of Roterdam. So the generall and vice-admirall called me and the other pilote, beeing an Englishman, called Timothy Shotten (which had been with M. Thomas Candish, in his voyage about the world), to take counsell what we should doe to make our voyage for the best profit of our marchants. At last, it was resolued to goe for Iapon. For by report of one Dirrick Gerrison [Dirck Gerritsoon], which had been there with the Portugals, woollen cloth was in great estimation in that Iland. And we gathered by reason, that the Malucos, where woollen cloth would not be much accepted: wherefore, we all agreed to goe for Iapon. So, leauing the coast of Chili from thirtie-sixe degrees of south-latitude, the seuen and twentieth of Nouember 1599, we tooke our course directly for Iapon, and passed the line equinoctiall with a faire wind, which continued good for diuerse moneths. **In our way, we fell with certain islands in sixeteene degrees of north latitude, the inhabitants whereof are men-eaters. Comming neere these islands, and hauing a gret pinnesse with vs, eight of our men beeing in the pinnesse, ranne from vs with the pinnesse, and (as we suppose) were eaten of the wild men, of which people we took one: which afterward the generall sent for to come into his shippe.**¹ When wee came into the latitude of seuen and twentie and eight and twentie degrees, we found very variable winds and stormy weather. The foure and twentieth of February, we lost sight of our admirall, which afterward we saw no more: Neuerthelesse, we still did our best, directing our course for Iapon. The foure and twentieth of March, we saw an island called **Vna Colonna**: at which time many of our men were sicke againe, and diuers dead. Great was the miserie we were in, hauing no more but nine or tenne able men to goe or creepe vpon their knees: our captaine, and all the rest, looking euery houre to die.

The eleuenth of Aprill 1600, we saw the land of Iapon, neere vnto Bungo: at which time there were no more but fiue men of vs able to goe. The twelfth of Aprill, we came hard to Bungo, where many barkes came aboard vs, the people whereof wee willingly let come, hauing no force to resist them; at which place we came to an anchor. The people offered vs no hurt, but stole all things they could steale; for which some paid deare afterward. The next day, the king of that land sent souldiers aboard to see that none of the marchants goods were stolen. Two or three dayes after, our shippe was

1 Ed. note: So, this kidnapped native of the Ladrones perished with the ship Hope soon after.

brought into a good harbour, there to abide till the principall king of the whole island [i.e. Ieyasu] had newes of vs, and vntill it was knowne what his will was to doe with vs.

[In the meane time we got fauour of the king of that place, to get our captaine and sicke men on land, which was granted. And wee had an house appointed vs, in which all our men were laid, and had refreshing giuen them. After wee had beene there fiue or sixe dayes, came a Portugall Iesuite, with other Portugals, who reported of vs, that we were pirats, and were not in the way of marchandizing. Which report caused the gouernours and common-people to thinke euill of vs: In such manner, that we looked alwayes when we should be set vpon crosses; which is the execution in this land for theeuery and some other crimes.

...

Nine dayes after our arriuall, the great king of the land [i.e. Ieyasu] sent for me to come vnto him. So, taking one man with me, I went to him, taking my leaue of our captaine, and all the others that were sicke, commending my selfe into His hands that had preserued me from so many perils on the sea. I was carried in one of the king's gallies to the court at Osaka, where the king lay, about eightie leagues from the place where the shippe was. The twelfth of May 1600, I came to the great king's citie, who caused me to be brought into the court, beeing a wonderfull costly house guilded with gold in abundance. Comming before the king, he viewed me well, and seemed to be wonderfull favourable. He made many signes vnto me, some of which I vnderstood, and some I did not. In the end, there came one that could speake Portuges. By him, the king demanded of me, of what land I was, and what mooued vs to come to his land, beeing so farre off. I shewed vnto him the name of our country, and that our land had long sought out the East Indies, and desired friendship with all kings and potentates in way of marchandize, hauing in our land diuerse commodities, which these lands had not: and also to buy such marchandizes in this land, which our country had not. Then he asked whether our country had warres? I answered him yea, with the Spaniards and Portugals, beeing in peace with all other nations. Further, he asked me, in what I did beleue? I said, in God, that made heauen and earth. He asked me diuerse other questions of things of religion, and many other things: As what way we came to the country. Hauing a chart of the whole world, I shewed him, through the Straight of Magellan. At which he wondred, and thought me to lie. Thus, from one thing to another, I abode with him till mid-night. And hauing asked mee, what marchandize we had in our shippe, I shewed him all. In the end, he beeing ready to depart, I desired that we might haue trade of marchandize, as the Portugals and Spanyards had. To which he made me an answer: but what it was, I did not vnderstand. So he commanded me to be carried to prison. But two dayes after, he sent for me againe, and enquired of the qualities and conditions of our countreys, of warres and peace, of beasts and cattell of all sorts; and of the heauens. It seemed that he was wel content with all mine answers vnto his demands. Neuertheless, I was commanded to prison againe: but my lodging was bettered in another place...

Documents 1600B

The second Dutchmen in Micronesia: the Olivier van Noort expedition

Sources: See bibliography, under 1600: Boer, Ijzerman, Noort, Weert & Noort; Purchas' Pilgrimes (1625), vol. 1, book 2, chap. 5; Burney, vol.2, pp. 225-226.

Introductory note.

A few days after the departure of the Mahu expedition, on 2 July 1598, Olivier van Noort, a Rotterdam tavern-keeper and a native of Utrecht, left with four ships. By the time he came out of the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific, he had lost two of them, and was left with the flagship **Mauritius** and the vice-admiral ship **Eendracht** [= Concord], captained by Lawrence Biesman, who was later to be hanged by the Spanish in Manila. Originally the **Mauritius** had 100 men and 24 guns, and the **Eendracht** had 40 men and 10 guns. By the time van Noort made it back home in August 1601, he had only one ship and a handful of men, perhaps 48. Nevertheless, his voyage was quite an accomplishment as it was the first circumnavigation by a Dutch ship.

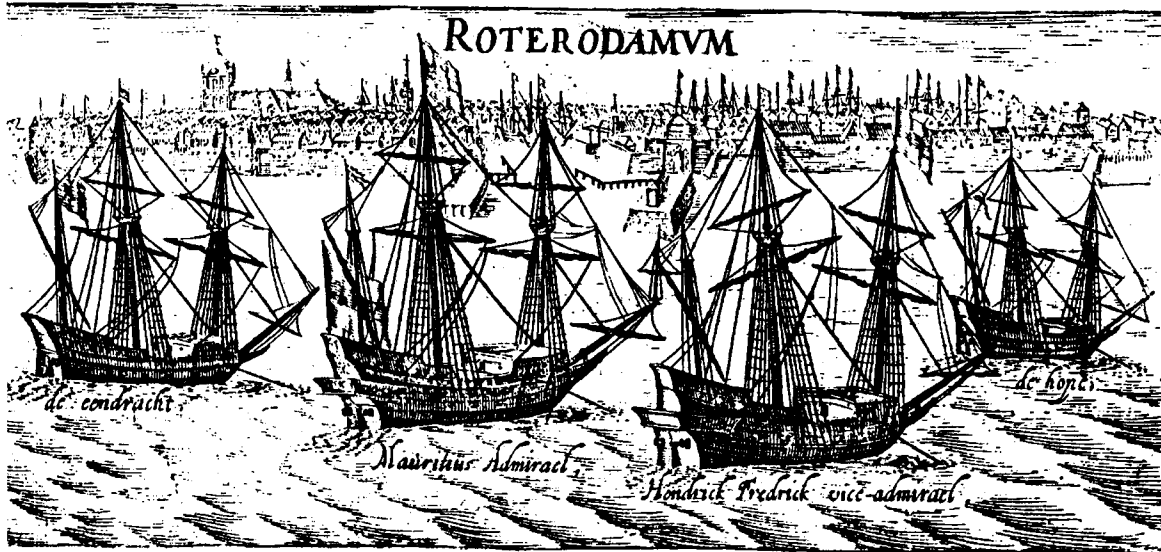
The crossing, as reported by Burney

On the 20th [May 1600], it was believed that they had run to the West of Cocos Island:¹ a Council was therefore held, wherein it was determined to sail for the Philippine Islands, and to stop by the way at the Ladrones.

For several days after this resolution was taken, they had the wind variable, but mostly from the SW, and it was not before the middle of June, when they had increased their distance from the continent, that they found the trade wind regular.

June the 30th, the Spanish pilot, Juan de S. Aval [Sandoval?], incautiously, and unhappily for himself, gave offence to the General and his officers. The journal relates: "The General, with the advice of his Council of war, ordered the Spanish pilot to be cast into the sea: for, although he ate in the cabin, and the General showed him entire

1 Ed. note: Not near Guam, but south of Panama.



The ships of Oliver North, before departing Rotterdam. *The Eendracht, or Concord, crossed Micronesia but was captured at Manila by Dr. Morga. The flagship Mauritius alone returned to Holland. The Hendrik Frederick and the Hope were lost on the coast of South America.*

friendship, he had nevertheless the effrontery to say, because he found himself ill, that we wanted to poison him; which he not only said in presence of all the Officers, but afterwards maintained; for which reason, the General with his Officers found good to dispatch him; and therefore we threw him into the sea, leaving him to sink, to the end that he should not ever again reproach us with any treachery.”

August the 15th, the rudder of the **Buen Jesus** broke, and she being moreover very leaky, it was found necessary to abandon her. On the 28th, the other prize vessel was likewise abandoned.

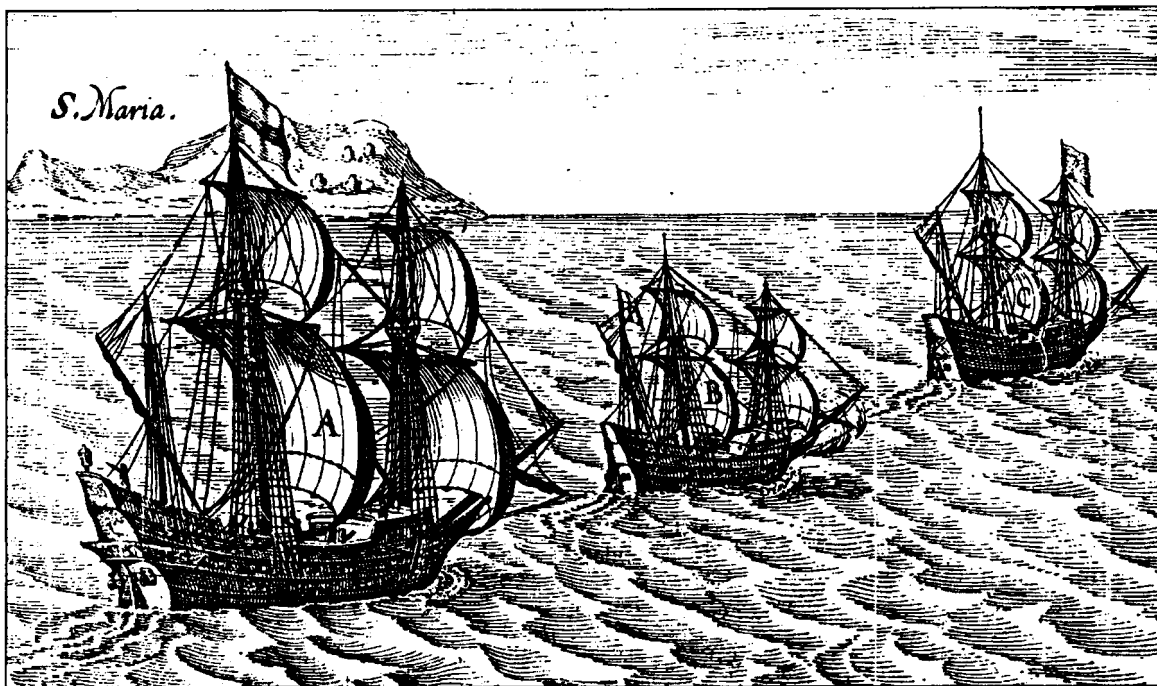
September the 15th, they made the **Ladrone Islands**, and stopped two days near one of them, supposed to be the Island **Guahan**, from which above 200 canoes came to the ships, bringing fish, fruits, rice, fowls, and water in gourds, to exchange for iron.

The 17th, they sailed on...

The Guam visit, as reported by Purchas

The voyage of Oliver Noort round about the Globe, being the fourth circumnavigation of the same, extracted out of the Latine Diarie.

...
On the fifteenth of September [1600], they had sight of the Ladrone. On the sixteenth, the Indians came out in their canoas, with fish, coquos, bonnanas, rootes, sugar-cane, to barter for old pieces of yron: sometimes they might number two hundred of these canoas, with two, three, or five men in each, all crying, *Hiero, Hiero*, that is, *Yron*,



The Mauritius and the Eendracht chasing the Buen Jesús. The Spanish ship was captured by Oliver North as it left the island of Santa Maria off the coast of Chile. It was later abandoned north of the Marshall Islands.

*Yron*¹ with greediness overturning their canoas against the shippes side, which they regarded not, being expert swimmers, and could easily recover their boats, goods, and selves.

They were subtile deceivers, covering a basket of coquo shels, with a little rice on the toppe, as if they had been full of rice; and upon fit opportunitie snatching a sword out of the scabbard, and leaping into the sea, where with deepe and long diving, they secured themselves from shot. The women are herein equall to the men. They will fetch a piece of yron from the bottom of the sea. Their boats are neatly compact, of fifteen or twenty feet long, and 1-1/2 broad, wherewith they saile against the wind, and if they must turne, they never alter their sayle [sic], but with the poepe cut the waves.

Their women cover their Eve. They are libidinous, and have thereof many pockie testimonies. This iland was called **Guana**, neither saw they any other. It was twentie miles large. These fruits were very comfortable to their sicke men of the scorbute.

On the seventeenth, they set sayle for the Philippinas...

1 Ed. note: We have here the confirmation that the natives of Guam were using the Spanish word “hierro”, rather than their native word “ruro” (nowadays ‘lulo’ or ‘lulok’). Hence there is a very good possibility that the latter was derived from the former, because iron was unknown before the advent of the Europeans.

Original narrative of Oliver North

Sources: From the 1602 French edition published by Cornelius Claesz at Amsterdam, just after the original logbook was published in Dutch at Rotterdam in 1601. Note: Charles de Broses (1756) has copied the same French text verbatim.

The 15th of the said month [September 1600] in the morning, heading W by S, during the previous night the latitude 13 deg. 30 min. & at noon the sun also at an altitude of 13 deg. 30 min. Afternoon, about 3 o'clock, saw the island WSW of us. It was low-lying land having some hills that appeared to be islands.¹ The evening, we came within three leagues from the island, lowered our large sails, kept off by tacking as close to the wind as possible during the night so as not to miss the island the next day.

The 16th in the morning, we came near the island on the east side & so, when we were still half a league away, one canoe came alongside, then many others, bringing some fruits & fish, namely, coconuts, bananas, sugarcane, which we bartered against old iron, because they covet it very much, knowing how to say it in Spanish *hierro*, because the Spanish stop here every year. We were also coasting the island which runs south & north about 7 or 8 leagues according to our estimate. We doubled the south cape, from which we saw a low point² coming out where we thought we could anchor & the canoes were coming out from all sides to barter. There must have been over 200 canoes & aboard each 2, 3, 4 & 5 men, pressing together noisily, shouting *hierro, hierro*, which means *iron, iron*, & because of the pressing we must have crushed 2 or 3 underneath our keel; but, they did not care, because they are very good swimmers, know how to upturn their canoes & put back everything that was in.

These islands bear their true name of Ladrões, because everybody there is inclined to steal, & is very subtle at it, even remarkably, because they cheated us in various ways in trading with them; by placing a handful of rice on top of a basket of coconut leaves; it looks as if there was much inside, but upon opening it, one finds only leaves and other things, because when bartering they place their canoes behind or on the side of the ships without coming aboard, & one must tie a piece of iron to a cord, & take in exchange what they give. Some of them came aboard the ship, where they were given some food and drink, & one of them seeing one of our people who had a sword in hand, who was doing his turn at guard duty, grabbed it from him and leapt overboard with it, diving under the water. We aimed a few shots at others who had also stolen some things: but they all jumped overboard to avoid the shots, & the others who were not guilty did not care at all. These people live in the water as well as on land, according to our opinion, because they know how to dive so skilfully, the women as well as the men, which we noticed when we threw five pieces of iron into the water which one single man went in

1 Ed. note: I have already made a comment in Volume 1, to the effect that such a phenomenon, i.e. Guam appearing as more than one island as seen from afar, from the east, may have fooled Pigafetta into sketching three islands for the Guam-Rota group.

2 Ed. note: Cocos Island.



The island of Guam where Noort stayed 15-17 September 1600. The two ships of Oliver North came down the east coast and rounded Cocos Island before anchoring and trading with the natives for one full day, 16-17 September 1600. Note the native swimming with a stolen sword in his hand (right of the flag on the right). (From *Le Pénible voyage*, Amsterdam, 1602)

to get all from below, something that amazed us very much. Their canoes are very beautiful & well made, such as any that we have seen in the Indies, being about 15 or 20 feet in length, & one foot & a half wide: they knew how to handle them well, sailing before the wind rather skilfully, without turning around to tack; rather, they sail against the wind with the other end forward, leaving the sail as is, which is made of reeds like dressed sheepskin.



Dutch rendering of the inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands. *According to van Noort, the men of Guam wore their hair short and the women wore a green leaf to hide "their middle".*

Some women came aboard us as well completely naked as the men, except that they had a green leaf before their middle. They wear their hair long & the men short [sic], just like we see at home Adam & Eve in paintings. These thieves are of a tanned color & seem to be very libidinous & without law, keeping their women in common; because there were quite a few of them with their tools [sic] out of order; some had their face & nose eaten by the pox, so much so that they had only a small opening for the mouth, & they were showing us with a finger that this came to them from the pox.¹

¹ Ed. note: This was probably leprosy, although the natives pointed out the sexual origin of the disease. De Brosses has noted that the first Dutch version (the Extract from the logbook, Rotterdam, 1601) of the narrative has a note, in French, that says, incorrectly, that the face of the natives was disfigured by smallpox ("petite vérole") but the Latin version agrees with the French version: "Facies exesa lue venerea." The Dutch thought it to be the result of syphilis.

Original French version of the narrative of Olivier van Noort.

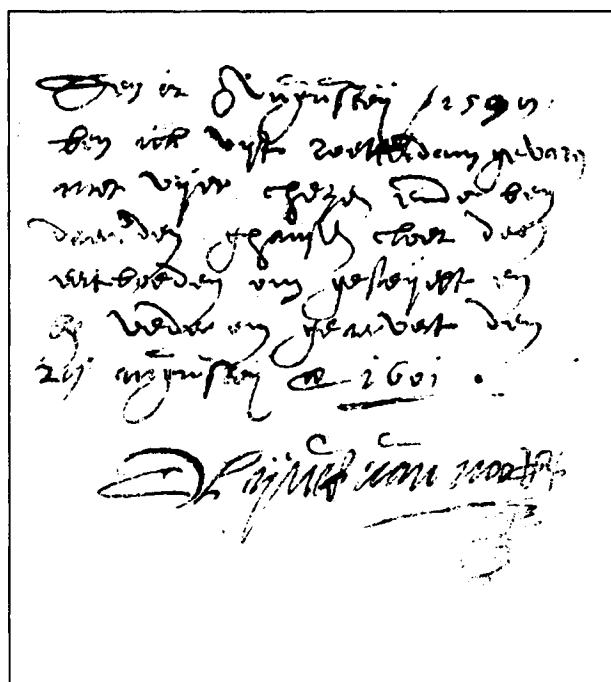
Le 15. dict au matin le vent E.N.E. le cours O, au S la nuit precedente la hauteur de 13. deg. 30. min. & au midi le Soleil aussi en hauteur de 13. deg. 30. min. Apres middi environ trois heures veimes l'Isle O.S.O. de nous c'estoit un territoire bas ayant aucunes collines que sembloient estre Isles, le soir approchames a trois lieues pres de l'Isle retirames nos grandes voiles, tenant au plus prez du vent la nuit, pour n'en estre dechez le jour ensuivant.

Le 16. dict du matin approchames prez de l'Isle au costé Est, & ainsi qu'en estions encores bien demie lieue distans, nous abborda une Canoe puis plusieurs aultres apportans quelques Fruictz & Poisson, a sçavoir Coquos, Bonanas, Cannas de Sucre, ce que troquames a vieil Fer, car ilz l'appetent fort le sachant nommer en Espagnol Hierro, a cause que les Espagnolz y abordent annuellement: nous singlions aussi costoyans l'Isle laquelle s'étend S. & N. bien 7. ou 8. lieues selon notre conjecture: nous courrumes au-tour du cap sud, duquel vimes sortir une pointe basse ou nous pensions ancrer, & les canoes venoient a nous de tous costés pour troquer. Il y avoit bien passé 200 canoes & dedans chacun, 2, 3, 4 & 5 hommes, faisant une grande presse & huée, criant hiero, hiero, qui veut dire fer, fer, & par la presse en enfonçames bien 2 ou 3 par dessous la quille; mais ils ne s'en soucient guères, car ils sont fort bons nageurs, sçavent radresser leurs canoes & rapporter dedans tout ce qui y étoit.

Ces isles ont leur vrai nom Larrones, car toute la gent y est inclinée au larcin, & fort subtile en cela voire a merveille, a cause qu'ils nous tromperent en divers façons en négociant avec eux; mettant une poignée de ris au-dessus d'un corbillon fait de feuilles de coquos; il semble qu'il y a beaucoup dedans, mais a l'ouverture on n'y trouve que feuilles ou autres choses, car au troc ils se mettent avec leurs canoes derriere ou a costé des navires sans y entrer, & il faut attacher une piece de fer a une corde, & prendre a l'encontre ce qu'ils donnent. Quelqu'uns venoient dedans la navire, ou leur donnames a boire & a manger, & un d'eux vyant un de nos gens que avoit une épée en main, faisant la garde a son tour, la lui arracha sautant avec elle en mer, se plongeant dessus l'eau. Nous tirames quelques coups aux autres qui avoient aussi dérobé quelques choses: mais ils sautèrent tous en mer pour n'estre pas atteints, & les aultres qui étoient inculpables ne s'en soucioient point. Ces gens vivent aussi-bien dans l'eau comme en terre, a notre avis pour ce qu'ils sçavent si adextrement plonger tant femmes qu'hommes, ce qu'avons remarqué, jettant cinq pieces de fer en mer qu'un seul homme alla querir toutes dessous l'eau, de quoi étions fort émerveillés. Leurs canoes sont forts jolis & gentiment faits, voir comme aucuns qu'avons vues aux Indes, étant longs environ 15 ou 20 pieds, & large d'un pied & demi: ils les sçavent bien manier, cinglans vent derriere assez dextrement sans se tourner, en boutant en loo; mais ils cinglent lors avec l'aultre bout devant, laissant la voile en son estre, lequel est fait de roseaux comme en basane. Aucunes femmes nous vinrent aussi a bord toutes nues comme les hommes, hormis qu'elles avoient une feuille verte au-devant du milieu. Elles portent longs cheveux & les hommes courts, proprement comme on voit chez nous Adam & Eve en peinture.



Title page of the first edition of van Noort's Journal. It was published less than 4 months after the return of the Mauritius to Rotterdam.



Sample handwriting of "Olijuer uan Noort".

His signature is on the last line (From Ijzerman's *De reis*, 1926)

*Ces larrons sont d'une couleur tan-
née & semblent estre fort luxurieux &
sans loix, se meslant avec les femmes en
commun; car il y en avoit plusieurs qui
étoient mal en ordre aux outils; aucuns
avoient la vérole mangé le visage & le
nez, tellement qu'ils n'avoient qu'un
petit pertuis en la bouche, & nous mon-
troient du doight que cela leur venoit de
la vérole.*

Document 1600C

The text of the original Dutch edition of van Noort's Journal

Source: Dr. J. W. Ijzerman, De Reis om de Wereld door Olivier Van Noort 1598-1601 met inleiding en aantekeningen uitgegeven door Dr. J. W. Ijzerman. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1926. A modern edition with non-Gothic spelling.

Schipvaerd Oliviers van Noort om den gheheelen Aerd-kloot

...
1 September [1600].

Den 1. September de windt als vooren, met styve coelte, ginghen ons cours west ten zuyden, ende maecten snachts cleyn seyl, overmits de Stuerluy meenden dat wy by de werck¹ waren, omt Landt van Ladrones te beseylen.

Den selfden dito heeft de Generael gheen water laten deelen, ende een yder heeft zijn drinckwater moeten gaeren, want het reghende hier daghelijckx veel, en hebben voorten snachts meest op de Ly ghesmeetten, en cleyn zeyl ghemaectt, doordien de Stuerluyden meende byt Landt te zijn, waren ontrent op 14. graden, ende wy begonnen weder seer gheplaeght te worden van de Scheurbuyck, soodat wy seer verlangde om in de Ladrones te comen.

(Overleaf) **Title page of the 1648 edition of van Noort's Voyage.** The Mauritius and the Eendracht made it as far as Manila Bay where they were engaged in battle by a Spanish fleet commanded by Dr. Morga. The Eendracht was captured and remained in service in the islands. The captured Dutch seamen were executed as pirates.

¹ Bij de wercke = aan het werk.

Wonderlijke Voyagie,
 By de Hollanders gedaen,
 Door de Strate
MAGALANES,
 Ende voorts den gantschen klood des Aert-
 bodems om, met vier Schepen: onder den Admirael
Olivier van Noort, uytghevaren Anno 1598.

Hier achter is by-gevoeght
 De tweede Voyagie van Jacob van Neck, naer
OOST-INDIEN.



'AMSTELREDAM,

Door Joost Hartgerts, Boeck-verkooper in de Gast-huis-steech/
 in de Boeck-winkel/ bezijden 't Stadt-huis / ANNO 1648.

15 September.

Den 15. dito des smorgens, de wint o.n.o. ons cours w. ten z. de voorgaende nacht de hooghte op 13.graden 30.minuten.

Comen byt Eylant Ladrones.

Des naemiddaechs ontrent drie uren, saghen wy 't Eylandt w.z.w. van ons, t'was een laeghachtich Landt met sommighe heuvelen, t'welck scheen oft al Eylanden gheweest waren¹, des avonts quamen wy ontrent 3.mylen by het Eylandt, namen ons Mers seyls in, houdende de nacht ten naeste by ende aen, om des anderdaeghs daer niet beneden te zijn.

16 September. Ruylen met de Ladrones.

Den 16. dito smorghens, quamen dicht byt Landt aen de oostsyde, ende alsoo wy daer noch wel een myl af waren, quam een Canoe aen ons boort, daernaer noch veel anderen, brengende eenighe vruchten, ende Visch, te weten Coques, Bonnanas wortelen, Suyckerriet, t'welck wy van haer ruyliden voor oudt IJser, want sy seer begheerich nae IJserzijn, ende wetent te noemen int Spaens Hirro, overmits de Spaengiaerts daer jaerlijcks aencomen, wy seylden alsoo langhes t'Eylandt, t'welck hem streckt zuydt ende noordt wel 7. ofte 8. mylen naer ons gissingh, wy liepen om de z. hoeck, daer wy een laghe punt saghen aflegghen, alwaer wy meenden te Anckeren, ende de Canoas quamen van alle canten met ons ruylende, daer waren wel over 200. Canaos [sic], in yder 2.3.4.5. man, en maecten een groot ghedrangh ende ghetier met roepen Hiero, Hiero, t'welck is IJser te seggen, ende doort gedrangh seylden wy daer wel een oft twee in den gront onder de Kiel door, maer vragen daer seer weynich nae, want sy zijn fraye Swemmers, connen haer Canoas weder ophelpen en daerin comen, met alt goet dat daerby is.

Bechryvinghe van de Ladrones.

Dese Eylanden hebben haer rechte naem Ladrones, want t'volck is altemael soo Diefachtich en subtyl int steelen, dat het wonder is, doordien sy ons in diversche manieren bedroghen int handelen, leggende een hant vol Rys boven op een Cort van Coques schellen² ghemaect, ende tschijnt datter veel in is, maer int ophalen vinden daeronder bladeren oft ander ruyghte, want int handelen legghen sy achter of ter zyden met de Canoas, ende comen niet in de Schepen, so moet men een stuc IJser aen een Coorde binden, ende tgene sy daer voor geven weder ophalen; sommighe quamen over in de Schepen, daer wyse t'eten ende te drincken gaven, ende een siende ons volck een Rappier in de hant hebben, heeft zijn slach gesien, en hem tselve ontruct, daermede over boort springende, en ondert water duyckende, en wy schooten naer sommige anderen die yet gestolen hadden, maer sy sprongen al overboort, om niet gheraect te worden, maer die andere die geen schult hadden trocken haer tselve niet aen. Dit volck can soowel opt water leven als opt Lant, naer ons vermoeden, doordien sy soo meesterlijck duycken, soowel vrouwen als mannen, twelc sy saghen, smytende wijf stucken IJsers in

1 Op eenigen afstand uit zee gezien, geleken deze heuvelen eilanden.

2 Ed. note: The French version rectified this, correctly I think, by translating it into "baskets of coconut leaves" rather than "of coconut shells".

de Zee, heeftse een man ale vijf weer opgehaelt ondert water, daer wy seer af verwondert waren; haer Canoas zijn seer fray ende polyt¹ ghemaect, iae als wy eenighe in al de Indos ghesien hebben, wesende ontrent 15. ofte 20. voeten lanck, ende anderhalf voet breed, weten daer seer wel mede om te gaen, seylen heel scherp tegen de wint, ende als zy laveren wenden niet, maer zeilen weer met het achtereste voor, latende tzeyl staen, twelck besaensche wys² ghemaect is van Riet; daer quamen oock sommighe vrouwen aen boort heel naeckt, ghelijck als de Mans, maer hebben een groen bladeken voor haer middel, draghen het hayr lanck, ende de Mans cort, t'welck is als oft men Adam ende Eva, in ons Landt gheschildert sghen.

Dese Ladrones zijn van een taneyte couleur, schynen seer luxurieuus te wesen, ende sonder Wet, mette vrouwen int ghemeen te doen hebbende, want daer warender veel die heel qualijck ghestelt waren aen haer regiment, sommighe t'aensicht mette Noes van de Pocken heel opgeheten, dat sy maer een cleyn gaetken in de mont hadde, wesen mette vingers dat het van de Pocken gecomen waer³; alsoo wy meende by de z.o. hoeck van dit Eylandt te setten, vonden daer gheen Ancker gront, soodat wy ghenootsaect waren by the houden, om onse verversingh te ruylen, ende het was weynich te beduyden dat dit volc aen boort brocht, sommighe hadden maer een Coques of twee in, brochten weynich water in eenighe Calabassen, de Rys was noch in Bolster, doch was niet veel dat sy brochten; des avonts seylde al de Canoas weder naer Landt, wy hielden ten naesten by, af ende aen, om des anderdaeghs noch meer verversinghe te becomen, de wint was o.n.o.

17 September.

Den 17. dito smorgens alsoo wy ontrent een half myl want Landt waren, quamen die vant Eylandt met haer Canoas, brochten weder Coques en ander fruyt, gelyck de voorleden dach, maer brachten seer weynich; ende alsoo wy redelijck ververscht waren, siende hier niet veel te becomen, is voor goet gevonden ons reys voort te vorderen nae de Philippines, welcke legghen ontrent 250. mylen west van dit Eylandt, t'welck wy meenden te zijn Guana, is een groot Eylandt, wel 20. mylen nae ons gissinghe int ront, ende wy sagen anders geen Eylanden meer hier ontrent, hoewel de Spaengiaerden schryven dat hier veel Eylanden leggen; dese verversinge quam ons hier seer wel te pas, want de schuerbuyck seer regneerden, ende soudent qualijck langer hebben mogen harden, maer van dese fruyten die wy hier creghen, waren wy meest al te recht ghecomen.

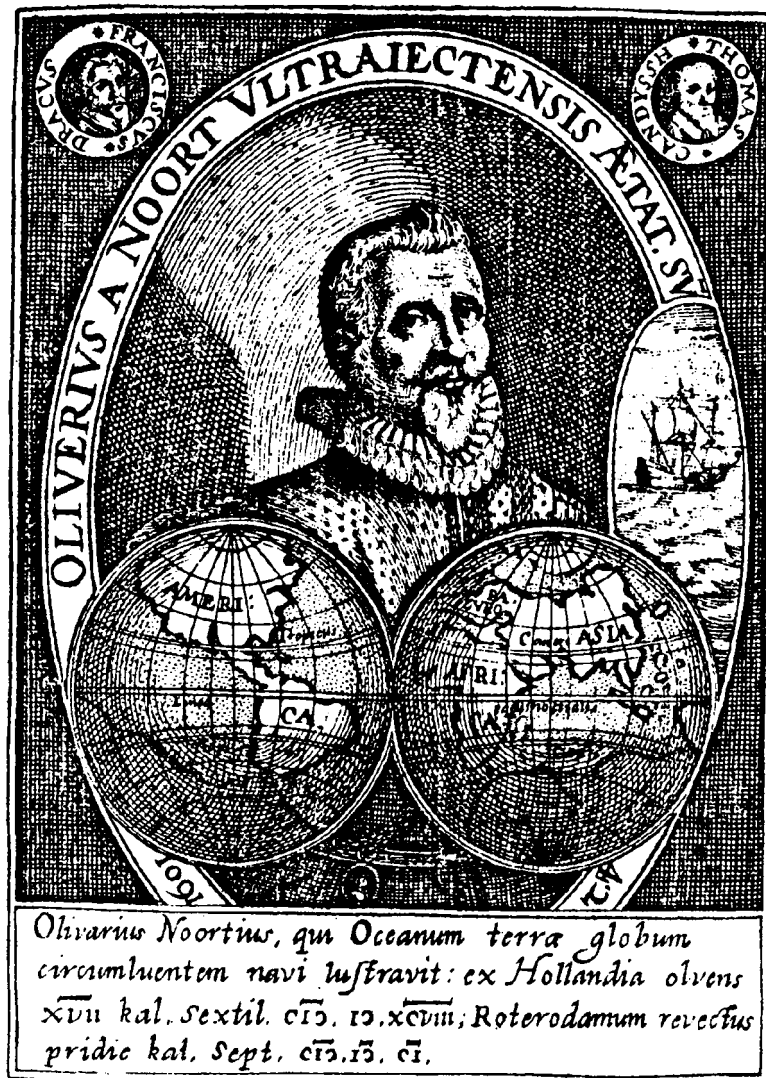
Seylen van de Ladrones.

Den 17. dito, smiddaechs setten sy ons cours van dit Eylandt...

1 Sierlijk, fijn, glad.

2 Het driehoekig, latijnsche zeil.

3 Van de Spaansche pokken, syphilis.



Portrait of Oliver van Noort.

(Facing page) **Title page of the appendix containing the Voyage of Oliver van Noort** in the Latin edition of *de Bry's Voyages*. This is Vol. 9 of the edition that was printed at Frankfurt by Matthew Becker, in 1602.

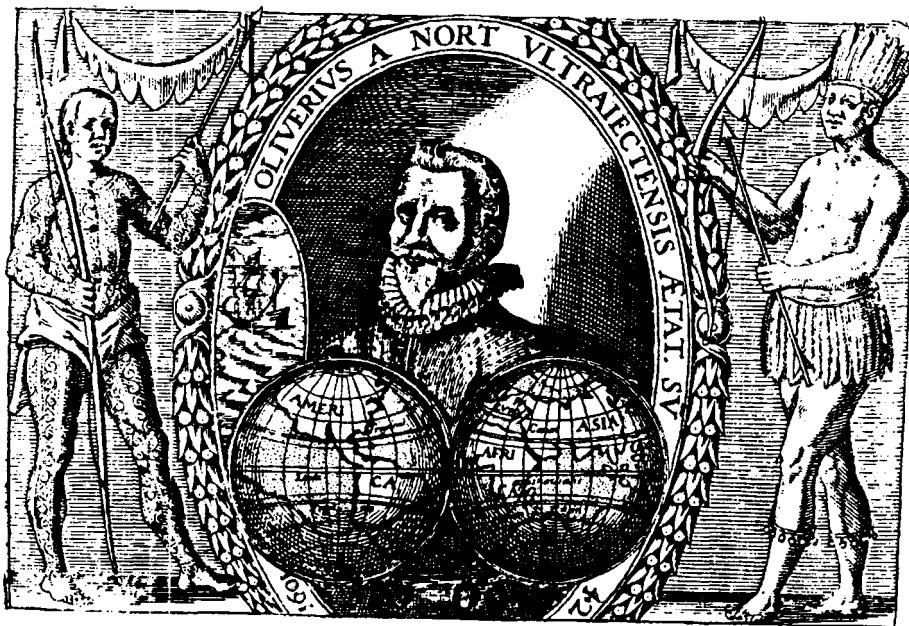
ADDITAMENTVM
NONÆ PARTIS AMERICÆ.

Hoc est,

VERA ET ACCVRATA
DESCRPTIO LONGINQVÆ,
DIVTVRNÆ AC PERICVLOSISSIMÆ NA-
uigationis, quam OLEVIER à NOORT, classis quatuor nauium
& 248. hominum Generalis præfectus constitutus, ac rebus necessa-
riis aliis vberimè instructus per æstuosum fretum Magellanicum
confecit: qui triennij spatio velis vniuersum terræ globum in-
trepidus obiuit, eoque in cursu varia, ac scitu neces-
saria admodum iucundaq; notauit.

*E GERMANICO LATINITATE DONATA,
& figuris seu iconibus aeneis pulcherrimis ornata, editaque
opera ac sumptibus*

THEODORI DE BRY P. M. VIDVÆ AC FI-
liorum binorum IOAN. THEODORI & IOAN. ISRAELIS
ciuium Francofurtensium.



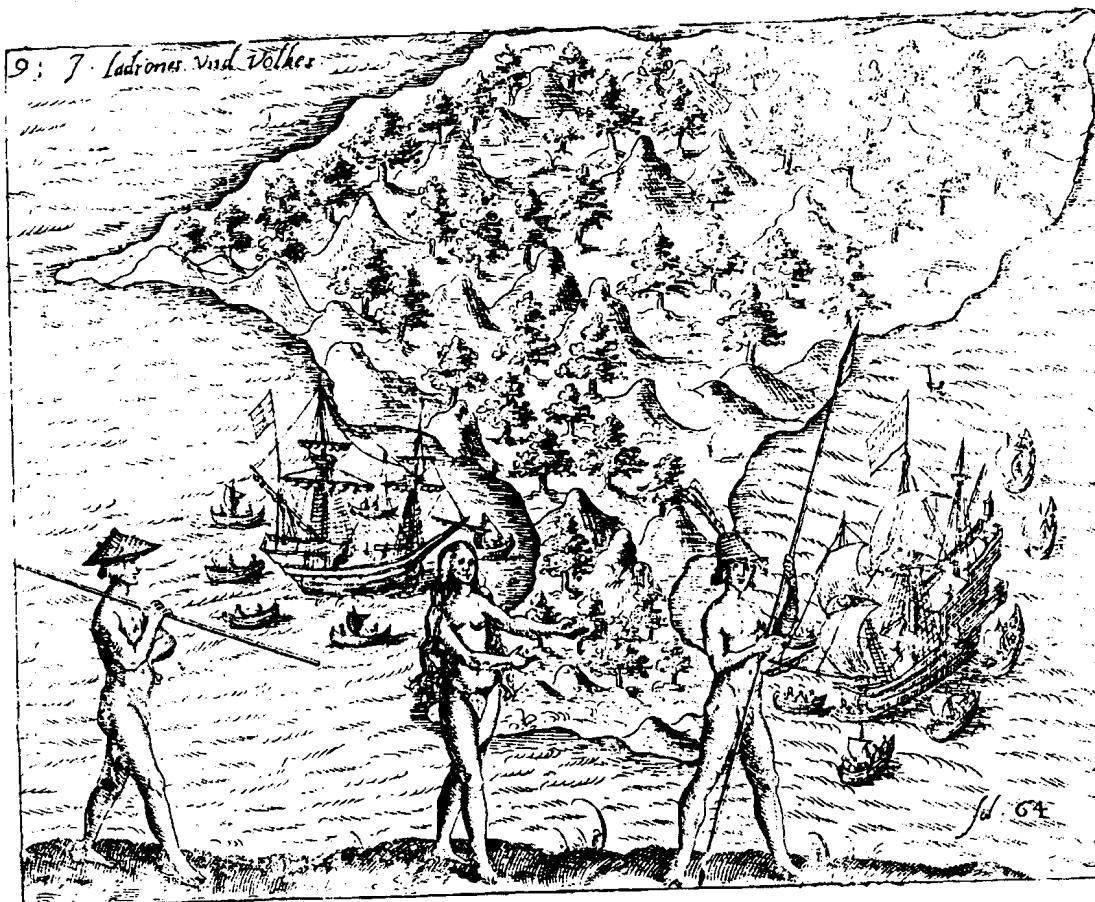
FRANCOFVRTI,
EXCVDEBAT MATTHÆVS BECKERVS.
M. DCII.

Document 1600D

**The text of the Latin edition of van
Noort's Voyage****IX. Description of the Ladrone Islands.**

This island is small and low-lying, full of trees and many hills. The island got its name from the fact that its inhabitants are notorious thieves and so skilled that the Dutch were unable to prevent their depredations. They walk around naked; however, the women hang a leaf in front of their female part. Their bodies are tawny. The men shave their hair, whereas the women let it grow. Without any law, they live together like a flock and copulate. Consequently, many of them are horribly corrupted and obviously defaced by venereal diseases.

IX.
LADRONES INSVLAE
DESCRPTIO.



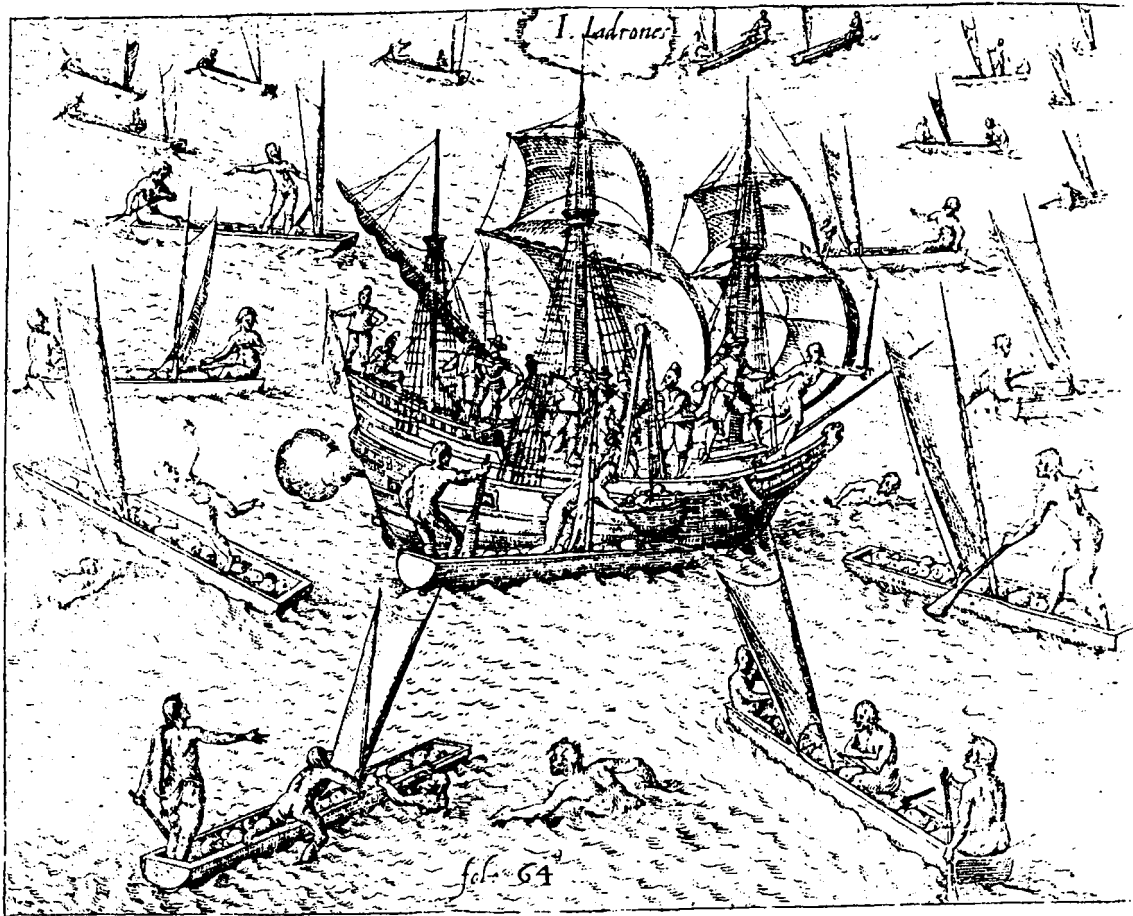
INSVLA haec humilis est ac depressa, arboribus ac scopulis frequentibus aspera. Ex re nomen ea insula obtinuit: cuius incolae admodum furaces sunt & dolosi, adeo, ut satis sibi à furto eorum Hollandi cauere minimè potuerint. Nudi inambulantes, nisi quod praesuspensio folio pudenda sua foeminae obuelent. Corpore fusco sunt. Viri capillos radunt: foeminae promissos alunt. Sine legibus inter sese pecudum ritu cohabitantes, coeuntque. Vnde fit, ut multorum corpora luis venerea veneno miserè corrupta & defœdata conspiciantur.

X. What happened to the Dutch at the island of the Ladrones.

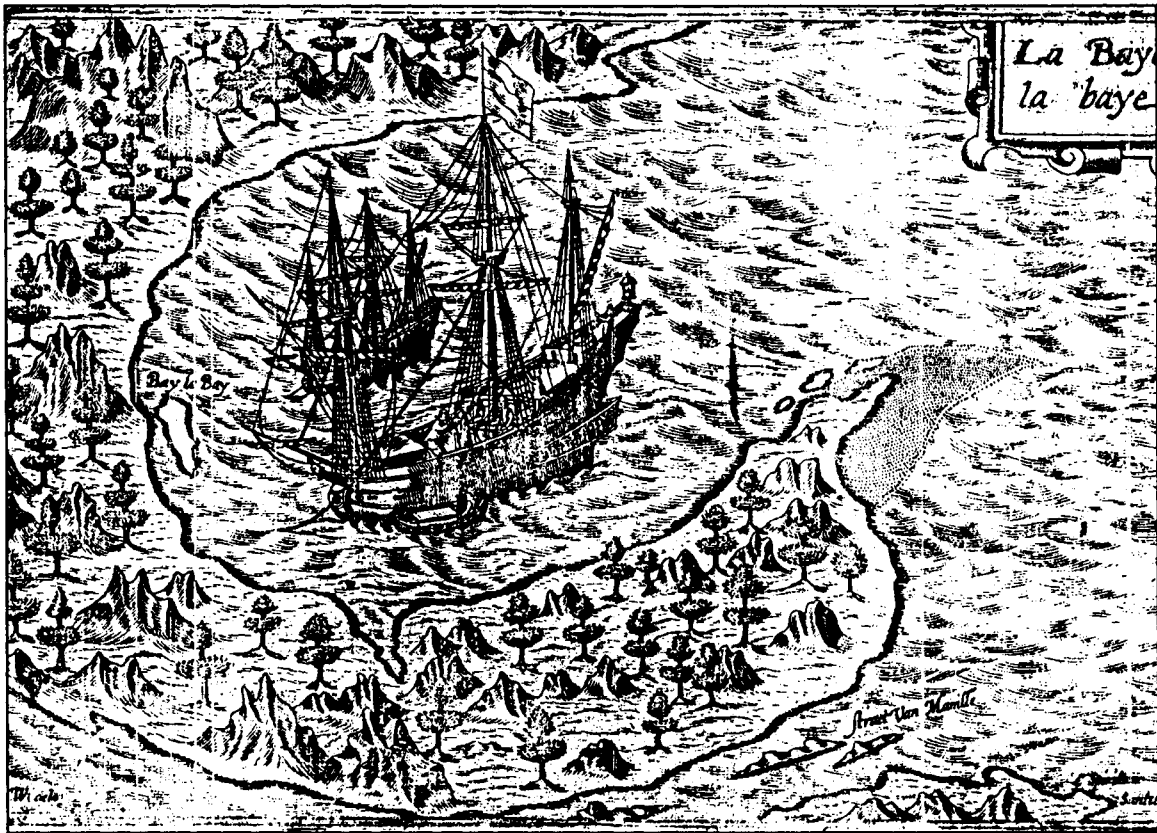
At this island about 200 canoes surrounded the Dutch, two of which came alongside and proposed to open commercial trading operations, [but] of the most fraudulent kind. The operations were made as follows. From the Dutch ship, a container with some pieces of iron was conveyed to the canoes. Having taken the iron, the Indian would return a container full of rice. However, it only appeared to be full, when it was in fact half full. Indeed, the bags supposedly full of rice were full of leaves and other useless things at the bottom. That is what happened.

Some of them climbed aboard. There, one approached an unsuspecting Dutchman and grabbed a sword from his hands, and with it jumped overboard and swam toward the island. As a result, the General was offended and wished to take revenge against those in the canoes, but, throwing their possessions into the water, they escaped by diving and pushing off their empty canoes... Their canoes are elongated, and narrow, and with them they sail with skill against the wind, with no need to change the sail as the prow becomes the poop...

X.
**QVID IN LADRONES IN-
 SYLA HOLLANDIS ACCIDERIT.**



In hac insula ad Hollandorum nauem 200. circiter Canoas confluerunt, quarum qualibet duos ternosue ferebat. Hi in contractibus & commercijs supra modum fraudulentis inuenti sunt. Permutationes ita fiebant. Hollandi è naue funiculum, cui fragmentum ferri appenderant, deorsum ad Canoas demittebant. Ferrum Indi auide arripientes, funi sacculum oryza plenum appenderunt. Qui tamen sacci pleriq, cum effunderentur, vix semipleni reperti fuerunt, quod supernè quidem oryza cineretur, fundus verò sacci folijs ac rebus inanibus alijs confertus esset. Sed & hoc accidit. Quidam ex illis nauem ascenderant. Ibi vnus, dispecta occasione, incauto Hollando gladium è manibus extricat, & cum eo in mare deorsum insilit, ac infra vndas ad insulam pernatat. Cum ergo Generalis crebris iniurijs offensior in eos sclopetis desulminasset, confertim pleriq, ex canoas exilientes, aliquandiu sub aquis latitarunt. Qui cum suis nauiculis euersi fuerant, hi ranarum modo adnatabant, & canoas suas conuertentes priore situ locabant. Nauicule eorum oblonga sunt, angustaq, quibus inconuersis mira agilitate nunc prorsum nunc vrsus vela facienses vtuntur.



Van Noort and his 2 ships anchored at Albay, Philippines. *The ships displayed stolen Spanish flags and dressed a sailor with a religious habit in order to lure some Spaniards aboard. (From T. de Bry's Peregrationes, Amsterdam, 1602)*

Documents 1600E

Van Noort at Manila and other events of 1600

Sources: 1) Fr. Chirino's Relation of 1604; B&R 13:116-118. 2) Annual Jesuit letter for 1600, by Fr. Francisco Vaez (1543-1619), which was published as an Italian translation (edited by Fr. Diego de Torres) at Milan in 1603, and in the Latin original (edited by Fr. John Hay) at Antwerp in 1605; B&R 11:191-195. Note: Thus it can be seen that Fr. Chirino followed the text of the annual letter very closely, and his version can be considered the Spanish translation of the letter.

E1. The loss of some vessels, and in them of two of the fathers of the Society. Chapter LXIV

Among other calamities and troubles which our Lord has been pleased to send upon these islands in the form of loss of life, property, and ships, one was the destruction of two large ships (a flagship and an *almiranta*) which, in the previous year, 1600, set out for New Spain with cargoes of very rich merchandise. These vessels, after having sailed the seas for 8 months, with violent storms, and encountered great dangers, and after having lost many men through hunger, pest, accidents, and the billows of the sea (which washed them from the vessel itself), were driven back and stranded—or rather dashed to pieces—on the shores of the Ladrones and the Catanduanes, where they were destroyed.¹ But few persons were able to escape, who only served, like the servants of Job, to carry the news of the disaster—which, following upon many other losses and misfortunes of war, was keenly felt and bitterly lamented.

In one of these vessels, named **San Jerónimo**, went Father Pedro López de la Parra, a professed member of our Society, who after this long voyage and another, even longer, of 37 years in the religious life, finally came to port, as we believe, in the Fortunate Land, toward which he was making his main voyage with good works. In New Spain, he had taught the arts and theology, and was one of the first founders [of missions] who went thither from the Society; and both there and here he exercised our ministries with good results. Although we know no details concerning his death, it is believed, from his

¹ Ed. note: The Santa Margarita, and the San Jerónimo, respectively.

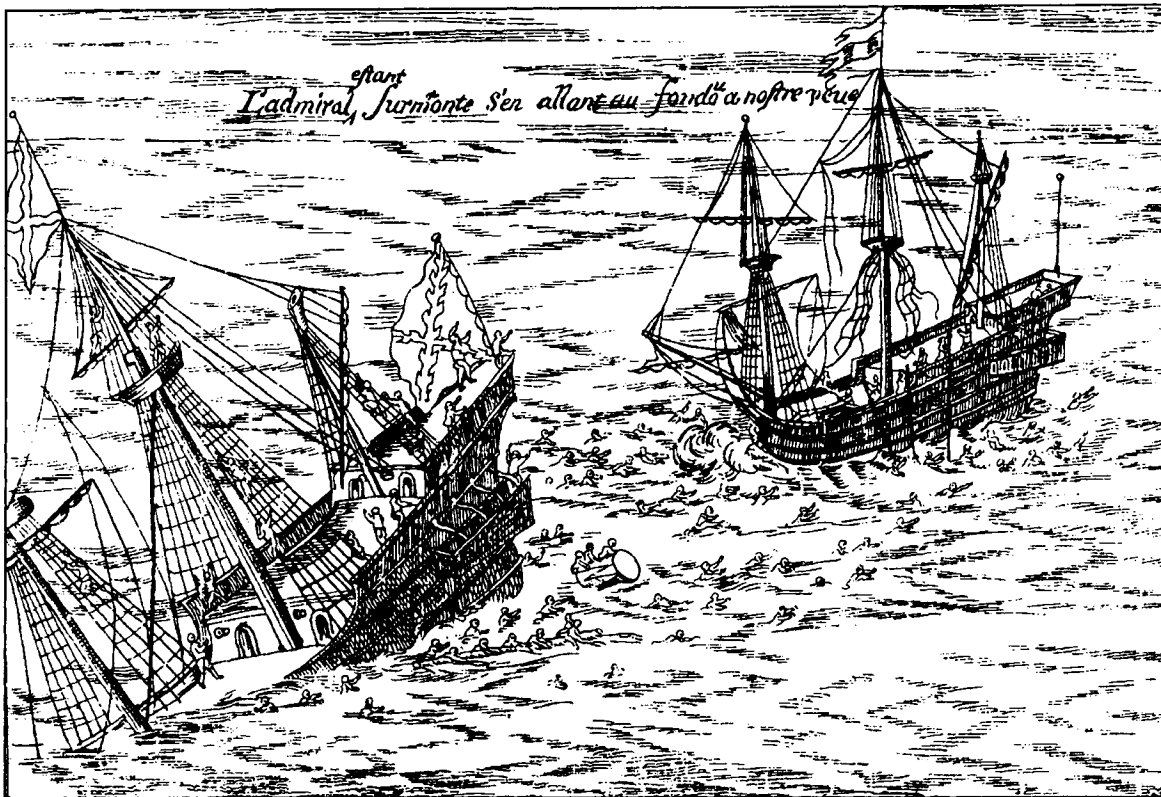
having been one of the last to die, and from his great devotion to confession and the care of souls, that in that hour of peril he must have been of service to all with much charity, as he always acted thus during his life.

By another disaster and misfortune, in these islands, we lost another father and a brother, if we may call those lost who, to win souls and aid their brethen, die with them in a righteous war. Some heretic corsairs from the islands of Holland and Zeeland went to those of the Philippines, bent on plunder, in the month of October of the year 1600; they had robbed a Portuguese vessel in the North [i.e. Atlantic] Sea, and in the South [i.e. Pacific] Sea, having passed the Strait of Magellan, some frigates from Peru. These corsairs entered among these islands, committing depredations and threatening even greater excesses. For this purpose their *almiranta* [Eendracht] and their flagship [Mauritius] (in which sailed, as commander, a corsair named Oliverio del Nort) were stationed at a place 6 leagues from Manila, where the ships from [New] Spain, China, and Japan were obliged to enter, and where all the ships and vessels which leave that city must be inspected.¹

Against the two Dutch ships went forth two others from Manila, carrying more than 300 men, the flower of the militia of those islands, with much artillery and military supplies. In the flagship [San Diego] went Father Diego de Santiago and Brother Bartolomé Calvo, at the request of General Antonio de Morga, auditor of the royal Audiencia, and other officers, who were wont to confess to the father, because he had a very affable manner, and could adapt himself to all persons. At the outset he heard the confessions of most of the men, and encouraged them, as well as he could, to make the attack and to fight valiantly. Finally, on the 14th day of December, they sighted the enemy; and crowding on sail, in their eagerness to overtake him, both flagships grappled together, so closely that one could cross unimpeded from one vessel to the other. They finally succeeded in seizing the enemy's colors and hoisting them on our flagship, our men confident of success, and already shouting "Victory!" But the ship, whether unsteady (for, carrying so many people on one side, it took in water through the port-holes of the lower tier of cannon), or laid open at the keel by the very weight of our guns (which were very large), or by the will of God, went to the bottom with all its crew—except a few men who seized the enemy's shallop and escaped in it, and some others who reached the shore by swimming. Among the latter was the commander, who with the enemy's two flags gained the shore. Our *almiranta* (which was a new *galizabra*,² in charge of Admiral Juan de Arcega [or Alzega], grappled with the enemy's *almiranta*, captured it, and brought it to Manila, where justice was executed upon the corsairs who were in it.

1 Ed. note: This inspection station was located in the port of El Frayle, near Mariveles, on the Bataan Peninsula.

2 Ed. note: A type of oared galley fitted with a sail. This vessel was called the San Bartolomé.



The Spanish flagship San Diego sinking on 14 December 1600. *It sank after battling with the Dutch flagship Mauritius (shown on the right). Most of the crew were carried down with the ship. Those who swam to the Mauritius were received with pikes and killed. Very few escaped by swimming to the island of Fortuna. The Spanish almiranta, however, was able to capture the Eendracht, with 19 men still alive, and took it to Luban Island to make hasty repairs. The Manila authorities later garroted the 13 Dutch men, sparing the 6 boys among them. (From de Bry's *Peregrationes*, Amsterdam, 1602)*

Among the dead and drowned—who numbered 109 Spaniards, the pick of the captains and soldiers of those islands, and 150 negroes and Indians; Father Diego de Santiago also perished. He died bravely, encouraging the men, and having heard the confessions of nearly all. Seeing, a short time beforehand, that the ship was about to go down, he intended to save himself by swimming; but he heard the voice of a captain, who said to him: “Father, hear me but a word, for it concerns my salvation.” With much charity, he remained until the last moment, to hear the soldier’s confession; and afterward neither the father nor his companion was seen. The father was 29 years old, a member of the Society for 15 years, and a shepherd of the Indians and Spaniards. Brother Bartolomé Calvo was of the same age, attached to the Society in these parts for 7 years. He possessed much virtue and died through obedience, a quality for which he ever professed much esteem.

E2. Annual letter from the Philippine Islands

From Father Francisco Vaez, 10 June 1601, to Reverend Father Claudio Aquaviva, general of the Society of Jesus.

Amid all the calamities and miseries which it has pleased the Lord to inflict on these islands, the chief has been the loss of some ships which were wrecked, including among others the flagship and the *almiranta*. They set sail from this coast during the last year, 1600, for New Spain, being laden with a large amount of treasure and merchandise; and by them the records of this province and the letters from Japan for your Paternity were sent. But, after sailing for 8 months, these ships encountered a violent contrary wind, and, having on board a great number of sailors, were gradually driven back by sickness, hunger, and the fury of the waves, which swept the men from the very decks of the ships to be drowned in the waters. The vessels struck on rocks and were wrecked, a few men only being rescued, like the servants of Job, from the immediate danger, to announce the destruction which, being increased by one misfortune and mishap in war after another, heaped sorrow upon us.

On one of these ships, called the **San Jerónimo**, was Father Pedro López de [la] Parra, a professed religious of our Society who, as we trust, after this long voyage (or rather that longer one of 37 years in religion), has entered the gate of eternal life, laden with a rich treasure of good works. He had taught philosophy and theology in New Spain, having been one of the first members of the Society formerly sent thither; he trained our ministers with fruitful results. Although we have heard nothing certain with regard to the details of his death, yet, as he took great delight in the duty of hearing confessions and helping souls, it is likely that with great devotion he aided all in that extremity of danger.

In another disaster we have lost another priest and a brother, if loss be the proper name to give to the death of those who have been slain for the gain of souls, and while aiding their brethren in a just war against heretic pirates. These were Hollanders and Zeelanders who were driven to the Philippine Islands in the year 1600, and came to get booty on the sea called the North Sea (for they had already made spoil of a Portuguese ship), and, after passing the Strait of Magellan, had, in that South Sea, done likewise with a small vessel from Peru. Their leading vessels, the flagship and the *almiranta*, took a station 6 leagues from Manila, where the Spanish, Japanese, and Chinese ships had to unload their cargoes, and to which all the smacks and other small boats that left the city had to hold their course.

Against these ships of the enemy there were sent out from Manila two ships provided with 300 of the best soldiers of these islands, together with many bombards and other equipment of war. In the chief ships were Father Diego de Santiago and Brother Bartolomeo Calvo, at the request of the general, Antonio de Morga, auditor of the royal Audiencia, and of other officers of rank, who were accustomed to confess to the said father.

Now when the father had exerted himself to receive the confessions of the soldiery, and had exhorted them to fight bravely, on the 14th of December they came in sight of the enemy; and the flagship spread its sails and bore down so swiftly on the other flagship that the passage from one to the other was easy. In the conflict our men tore away the enemy's flags and carried them back to their own ship, shouting "Victory!" with joyful voices. Just then our ship, having taken in a great quantity of water from all sides, was by the permission of God suddenly swallowed by the waves with all the sailors, except a few who by the help of a skiff captured from the Dutch, or by swimming, made their way to land. The general was one who threw himself into the water with two flags of the enemy's. Then the *almiranta*, having encountered the enemy's *almiranta*, captured it, and carried it away to Manila, where punishment was inflicted on all the sailors.

Among the number of those on our side who were slain or drowned, 159 in all, Father Diego was drowned. He had heard, as it appeared, the confessions of all; and as he was making the effort to throw himself clear into the sea, he was called back by the voice of a captain desiring to make his confession. While he was hearing the confession he was drowned, with the brother and the rest. The father was in the 29th year of his life, and had lived 15 years in the Society. The brother, his companion, was of the same age, and had lived in the Society 7 years; he had entered it in these regions. He was a man endowed with every virtue, being specially noteworthy for his obedience, to which he was always greatly inclined.

E3. A successful eastward passage by Pedro de Teixeira

Source: E. W. Dahlgren's Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, p. 54.

The unhappy fate of these vessels [i.e. the San Jerónimo & the Santa Margarita] is also mentioned by the Portuguese traveller, Pedro Teixeira, who arrived at Manila from Malacca on 22 June 1600. At that time he was unable, as had been agreed, to make the voyage on one of the two vessels which were afterwards wrecked. As regards the third, **La Contadora**, he says that she was 7 months on her voyage to Acapulco, and got there little better than a wreck. Teixeira himself travelled on the fourth vessel, whose name is not mentioned, but whose [former] owner was Gabriel de Ribera and whose captain was Domingo Ortiz de Chaboya.

They sailed from Cavite on 18 July 1600, and reached the Entrance as early as 26 July, which is mentioned as an unusually quick passage, whereas many vessels needed as much as two months to cover the same distance. After taking provisions on board at the island of Capul, they steered out into the open sea, with a course laid for Japan. When they had reached the latitude of Japan and believed that they were not far from land, the course was altered to E. As regards the continuation of the voyage Teixeira's narrative contains only the following short notice: "Sighting some islands new and unknown, we sailed many days on that wide South Sea, for the lands of New Spain. On 3 November, we made the land in 40° N. lat., at Cape Mendocino. This is a point of no

variation of the compass. Thence we ran down the coast southward, looking out for certain islands that lie thereby.”

... While sailing along the coast of California they met three vessels belonging to a squadron that the Viceroy of Peru had sent out to look for the Dutch privateers, who, under the command of Olivier van Noort, had appeared in the Pacific Ocean shortly before. In the course of their fruitless search for these privateers the Spanish fleet had been scattered by a storm, 21 September 1600: on this occasion the flagship itself, under the command of Don Juan de Velasco, disappeared without leaving any trace of its fate. On 1 December 1600, Teixeira arrived at Acapulco: “he had been four months and a half at sea, which was a good voyage enough.” (The Travels of Pedro Teixeira, transl. and annotated by William F. Sinclair. London, Hakluyt Soc., 1902, pp. 9-13.)

Documents 1601A

The shipwrecks of 1601

Sources: 1) Report by Licentiate Fernandez de Castro: a rare printed pamphlet in AGI; translated in B&R 12:46-56. 2) Morga's Sucesos; B&R 15:237-240. 3) Fr. Colín's Labor evangélica of 1663, pp. 448-449. 4) Fr. Chirino's Relation of 1604; B&R 13:118-123.

A1. Principal points in regard to the Philippine trade, by Licentiate Alonso Fernandez de Castro [Mexico, ca. 1602]

Sixth point: The losses of ships which have been employed in the Philippine trade, and the cause thereof.

Through news brought [to New Spain] by the ship **Santa Potenciana** in the year 1601, it seems that the ships **San Jerónimo** and **Santa Margarita**, which sailed in the year 1600, lost their masts in a storm; and the Santa Margarita drifted to the island of the Ladrones, and the San Jerónimo to Luzon, near Catanduanes. Both were driven ashore in February 1601, without being able to save themselves. This loss is attributed by some to disagreement among the officers, and by others to the late sailing of the ships, and to the lack of sailors, and (what is more nearly correct) to the general overloading of the vessels.

The ship **Santo Tomás** was lost also on the voyage out [from New Spain] near the channel of Catanduanes; the hulk was lost with some supplies, small wares, and 2 millions or more of silver, besides the 500,000 pesos which were allowed to be carried.

Seventh point: What property may be taken to the Philippines, and where it goes.

By the sixth point it appears that in the ship Santo Tomás alone, which was lost at the entrance of Catanduanes, there were over 2 millions besides the 500,000 pesos allowed.

This and all else which is carried is placed in the power of the infidels, who receive it as the price of the Chinese merchandise; and it can therefore be returned neither to

the Indies nor to these kingdoms. Silks, damasks, taffetas, needlework, hand-mills, cotton stuffs, earthenware, wax, nails, and other merchandise of little profit are carried to those regions, thereby depriving his Majesty of his dues.

...

Eleventh point: That ships be bought on his Majesty's account; and those which have already been bought.

Until the new ships shall be built, the viceroy has supplied the line with ships in place of those which were lost. He commanded one [N. S. de los Remedios?] to be bought from Marshall Gabriel de Ribera. That and the **Santa Potenciana** were conveyed [to Manila] by Don Pedro de Acuña; also two ships from Peru¹ were in his convoy, moderately laden with freight. Grace was granted, in the name of his Majesty, for some permissions for carrying money and a quantity of freight. This was given as to private persons, but not that the ships should be navigated on their account or under their administration, or that they should exercise any more authority than that of a passenger. This did not deprive the city of Manila of any of the 600 tons which could be shipped, but merely utilized the surplus space of the ship, thereby doing no damage to the citizens of Manila.

Twelfth point: That the ships of the Philippine line may be assigned by contract.

The viceroy made the experiment, in the year 1599, of giving two ships in trust to Don Fernando de Castro [the San Jerónimo?] and Alonso de Torres [N.S. de los Remedios, alias La Contadora?], with the privilege of appointing officers, a salary of 1,000 pesos, and permission to place in the cargo 20 or 25 tons of their own goods; they were obliged to give bonds, and to keep correct accounts of the profits and expenses. If the profits should exceed the expenses, the excess should belong to his Majesty; if the costs should amount to more than the profits, the trustee must supply the deficit from his own purse.

The officials of his Majesty at the port of Acapulco oppose this plan, and say that it is very unprofitable and to the injury of his Majesty and the royal treasury, in that the trustees attend only to their own profit. It is the universal opinion that the **Santa Margarita** did not come here [i.e. New Spain] on account of having been sent out thus in trust.²

1 Ed. note: The N.S. de la Antigua and the San Alfonso.

2 Ed. note: This ship had belonged to Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, the conquistador of Mindanao and been bought by the Governor-General for the Acapulco run. Was it then assigned in trust to Guillestegui in 1599?

A2. Dr. Morga's relation of the 1600-1601 events.

In the same year of 1600, two merchantmen left Manila for New Spain: the flagship **Santa Margarita**, with Juan Martínez de Guillestigui as general, who had arrived the year before in the same capacity; and the **San Jerónimo**, under Don Fernando de Castro. On their way, both ships met with storms in the latitude of 38° and at 600 leagues from the Philippines, and suffered great hardship. At the end of 9 months at sea, after many of the men had died and much of the merchandise had been thrown overboard and lost, the **San Jerónimo** put back to the Philippines, off the islands of Catanduanes, outside of the channel of Espiritu Santo, and there was wrecked, although the crew were saved. The flagship **Santa Margarita**, after the death of the general and most of the crew, sought a port at the Ladrone Islands and anchored at Zarpana [Rota]. There, natives who went to the ship, seeing it so abandoned and battered, boarded and took possession of it, and of its goods and property. The few men whom they found alive, they took away to their settlements, where they killed some and apportioned others to various villages, where they maintained them and gave them better treatment. The Indians wore the gold chains and other things of the ship around their necks, and then hung them to the trees and in their houses, like people who had no knowledge of their value.

In the month of May of the year 1601, the galleon **Santo Tomás** arrived at the Philippines from New Spain with passengers, soldiers, and the return proceeds of the merchandise which had been delayed in Mexico. Its general was Licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera Maldonado who had been appointed auditor of Manila. A small patache had sailed in company with the galleon from the port of Acapulco, but being unable to sail as rapidly as the **Santo Tomás**, after a few days' voyage, it dropped behind. When they arrived off the Ladrone Islands, some natives went out, as usual, to meet the ship in their boats, and brought with them 5 Spaniards of the crew of the ship **Santa Margarita**, which had been lost there the year before.¹ The loss of that vessel was learned from those men; also that as many as 26 Spaniards were living in the villages of those islands; and that if the ship would wait, the natives would bring them out.

The religious and men with the general tried to persuade him, since the weather was calm, to wait in that place, in order to take these men from those islands, where they had lingered for a year.² Certain more courageous persons even offered to go ashore to get them either in the galleon's boat or in the boats of the **Ladrones** themselves. But

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- 1 Ed. note: Error, as the ship had been lost there the previous month. These 5 survivors told their story, reproduced as Doc. 1601B.
 - 2 Ed. note: They had been there only 1 month, from 9 March to 19 April 1601, not a year. Here Morga makes a mistake by jumping ahead to 1602, and describing what happened to the **Santa Potenciana**, with Governor Pedro de Acuña aboard, and Fray Juan Pobre jumping ship.

the general would not allow this, believing that time would be lost, and his expedition exposed to peril.

Without leave from the general, Fray Juan Pobre, a lay-brother who was in charge of the discalced religious of St. Francis who were coming on that occasion to the Philippines, jumped into one of the Ladrones' boats, and was taken by the Indians to the island of Guan,¹ where he remained with the Spaniards whom he found.

The galleon **Santo Tomás**,² without further delay, pursued its voyage, to the great grief and regret of the Spaniards on shore, who saw themselves left among those barbarians, where some of them died later of illness and other hardships. The galleon reached the Philippines, making for the Cape of Espiritu Santo and the harbor of Capul [Island], at the conjunction of the moon and change of the weather. The land was so covered by thick fogs, that the ship was upon it before it was seen, nor did the pilots and sailors know the country or place where they were. They ran toward the Catanduanes, and entered a bay called Catamban, 20 leagues from the channel, where they found themselves embayed and with so much wind and sea astern of them that the galleon ran upon some rocks near the land and came very near being wrecked that night with all aboard. At daybreak, the general went ashore with the small boat and had the ship made fast to some rocks. As the weather did not improve, and the ship was hourly in greater danger of being wrecked, and the cables with which it was made fast had given way, he determined to disembark the cargo there, and as quickly as possible, by means of the boat. They went to work immediately and took off the people, the silver, and the greater part of the goods and property, until, with native boats, the Spaniards and Indians of that province carried everything to Manila over a distance of 80 leagues, partly by sea and partly by land. They left the ship—a new and handsome one—wrecked there, without being able to derive any profit whatever from it.

A3. The last voyage of the Santo Tomás according to Fr. Colín

Chapter XXIV. Voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines of Fr. Gregorio López, with nine companions. How they were delivered from a great sea peril by the intercession of our holy Father Ignatius.

The news of the generous increase of Christianity in the Philippines and of the obvious signs that our Lord was giving of the utility of the Society there, and the reports sent by the ministers and teachers of the Pintados, calling for companions to help them pull in the evangelical fishing-net, were heard in our provinces of Mexico and Spain. They moved many, some subjects advanced in education and virtue, to wish to come to these parts, and to offer themselves to the Superiors for it. Desirous to promote such

1 Ed. note: Error for Rota.

2 Ed. note: Here Morga jumps back to the events of 1601.

an enterprise, the latter were sending almost every year a new band of workers from Mexico to Manila. That of this year of 1601 comprised 10 religious, 7 priests and 3 brothers. Father Gregorio López came as their superior. He was from the province of Toledo, where he entered the Society. He had gone to Mexico and been a reader there of the arts and theology, with special mention. On account of his great learning, virtue and prudence, he was selected by the Superiors to help promote the Society and to govern it in these islands, as he in fact did, being its first Provincial, as I will mention later.

He embarked at Acapulco aboard the galleon **Santo Tomás**, whose General was the Licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera Maldonado, who was coming with the appointment of member of the royal Audiencia and chancellery of Manila. They left the port on 16 February and, on 19 April, they found themselves at the island of Zarpana, one of the Ladrones Islands, which is in 14°, where they learned how, the previous month, the galleon **Santa Margarita** had been lost. The General wished to send the ship's boat ashore to pick up the Spanish from the shipwreck. The wind was brisk and the neighborhood not too safe to anchor; so, it was necessary to pass on, four [survivors] whom the Indians brought in their canoes having been ransomed. The others were given notice that they could board a patache that was coming behind; if not, he would send them help from Manila.

The wind persisted so that, 8 days later, the pilots were making out to be near the Cape of Espiritu Santo, which is the first land of the Philippines that is usually sighted in this navigation. It was between the 22nd and the conjunction of the Moon, a dangerous lunar week; the sky was closing in with thick clouds and the wind was becoming steadily fresher with showers, so that the pilots were unable to recognize the land and they lost the opportunity of entering the Strait of San Bernardino with favorable weather.

They ended up, without warning, upon Catanduanes where, a short time previously, the galleon **San Jerónimo** had been lost and was aground. Although some seamen insisted that the opening seen there between certain islands was the entrance to the Strait, the Pilot Major, would not assert himself and, on account of the approaching night and a brisk wind, prudently decided to make for the high sea, thus avoiding the bad neighborhood of the Catanduanes in which he was. However, the next morning, on the last day of April, he found himself stuck inside a bay on the other coast of this island of Manila, full of dangerous reefs, points and shoals, with a cross-wind and the sky overcast, ruffled and signs of an approaching storm. Since they found themselves embayed and with a notorious danger of being thrown upon the coast, and such a rough coast at that, where few would escape with their life, all those who came in the ship tried to revert to assistance from Heaven through some saint who could be their advocate in such a fix. There were aboard some religious of St. Augustine, and some discaled of St. Francis; the former selected St. Anthony of Padua as their advocate and the latter St. Nicholas Tolentino. Some of ours [i.e. Jesuits] wished to propose publicly on our part the name of our holy Father Ignatius; but Fr. Gregorio López, deferring it to the individual devotion of each one and interrupting the publicity, only tried to exhort everyone

to penitence, the confession of their sins, and animated them by his example. As for his companions, he encouraged them to offer many masses to God, alms, and other pious works, so that He would be pleased to free them from the danger they were in.¹

A4. The shipwreck of the Santo Tomás according to Fr. Chirino

Nine new members of the Society reach Manila, having been saved from a shipwreck through the intercession, as is devoutly believed, of our Blessed Father Ignatius. Chapter LXV.

In the month of May in the year 1601, there arrived in the Philippines Father Gregorio López with a welcome reinforcement, of 9 fathers of the Society. Their arrival was most opportune for filling the places of the dead, and aiding the living who are ever clamoring for new companions to help them draw in the net of this spiritual fishery. It was an extraordinary consolation to hear of the mercies vouchsafed to them by our Lord through the intercession of our propitious Father Ignatius—specially when they reached the opposite coast of that island of Manila, near Catanduanes—as I shall briefly relate, referring to the judicial investigation of this disaster, which was made with many and competent witnesses, and was brought to Rome for the honor and glory of God our Lord, and of his saints.

In the latter part of April of that year 1601, when the galleon from New Spain² (in which came the 10 fathers of our Society) reached the region of those islands, bad weather shut them in with heavy fogs and rains, so that, although in front and on both sides the land was not far away, it could hardly be descried or recognized a such. As soon as the weather cleared somewhat, they found themselves in a bay hemmed in by shoals and rocks, with a rugged shore, upon which the wind was driving them. In spite of their efforts they were unable to gain the open sea, for the force of the wind was driving them out of their course and upon the shoals. They then resolved to cast anchor, hoping in this way to gain some safety for the vessel, and thus they remained during an entire night in 26 fathoms of water, exposed to great danger, and in fear of being lost.

The next morning, the auditor Don Antonio de Ribera (who went as commander and chief of the vessel), seeing the great danger to which they were exposed, and considering all human means weak and useless, hastened to entreat the Divine favor; and,

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- 1 Ed. note: Unlike Fr. Chirino in the narrative below, Fr. Colín is quick to point out that the display of the image of Fr. Ignatius was not approved by the Church as he had not yet been beatified. Hence the Jesuits could not publicly pray to him.
 - 2 This was the Santo Tomás. Another account of its voyage is given by Fr. Concepción (History of the Philippines, vol. 3, pp. 428-435). He says that at the Ladrones Rivera found the survivors of the ship Santa Margarita which had been wrecked there only a month before; of these he ransomed 4 [rather 5], promising to send from Manila for the others, later. He mentions, as a part of the cargo, “horses, sheep, goats, and cats.”

recalling those which our Lord had recently bestowed upon certain persons through the mediation of our Blessed Father Ignatius, resolved upon this occasion to implore his favor and assistance, and to beseech our Lord, through the merits of his servant, to give them at 10 o'clock that day a propitious wind whereby the vessel might reach a place of safety. He added that he did not set that time as a limitation to the divine Majesty, but because such answer to their prayer would show that the mercy bestowed upon them had come through the intercession of the Blessed Father Ignatius, to whom they made an offering of the vessel and its deliverance. This petition and its conditions he called those to witness who were then present in the stern cabin.

The ship's boat was launched, to seek some refuge within the shelter of the shore where the ship might be anchored, and the men were ordered to give signals when they should find it. But while the ship's boat was reconnoitering the shore, the galleon began to drift from its moorings toward the shoals and the rocky coast, where the force of the wind was taking it. Accordingly a cannon was fired, to call back the crew of the boat, so that it might accompany the vessel and lend to its crew what assistance it could. The shot was heard a long distance on land, but those in the boat could not hear it, although they listened attentively and observed the fire and smoke; they continued, therefore, their search for a more suitable landing. Thereupon the men on the ship cut the anchor, and hoisted sail, aiming to get as far out into the sea as possible. At that moment a miracle occurred; the wind suddenly became favorable, shifting three or four points, so that they were able to steer the vessel to the only place which was safe and sheltered, where the boat's crew had already found bottom and a place for anchorage. At the same time Captain Francisco Cadena—a Venetian, and an expert in nautical affairs—without knowing of the commander's petition, said with great surprise: "This is a great miracle; for just when we hoisted sail the wind shifted four points, so that we who thought ourselves lost may now hope to be saved." This unexpected shift in the wind was also observed by the chief pilot and other seamen.

The commander, Don Antonio de Ribera, beholding this change and good fortune, and recognizing God's mercy toward them at the very hour of 10 which he had appointed, twice repeated with extraordinary tenderness and devotion what he had that morning sought from our Lord—through the intercession, as they piously believed, of our Blessed Father Ignatius. Soon afterward he related the same incident, in his stern cabin, to some Augustinian and Franciscan fathers, with many tears and great devotion; and those religious fathers, full of admiration, rendered thanks to the Lord that He had chosen thus to honor His servant Ignatius, by displaying in that hour of peril his great holiness and merits.

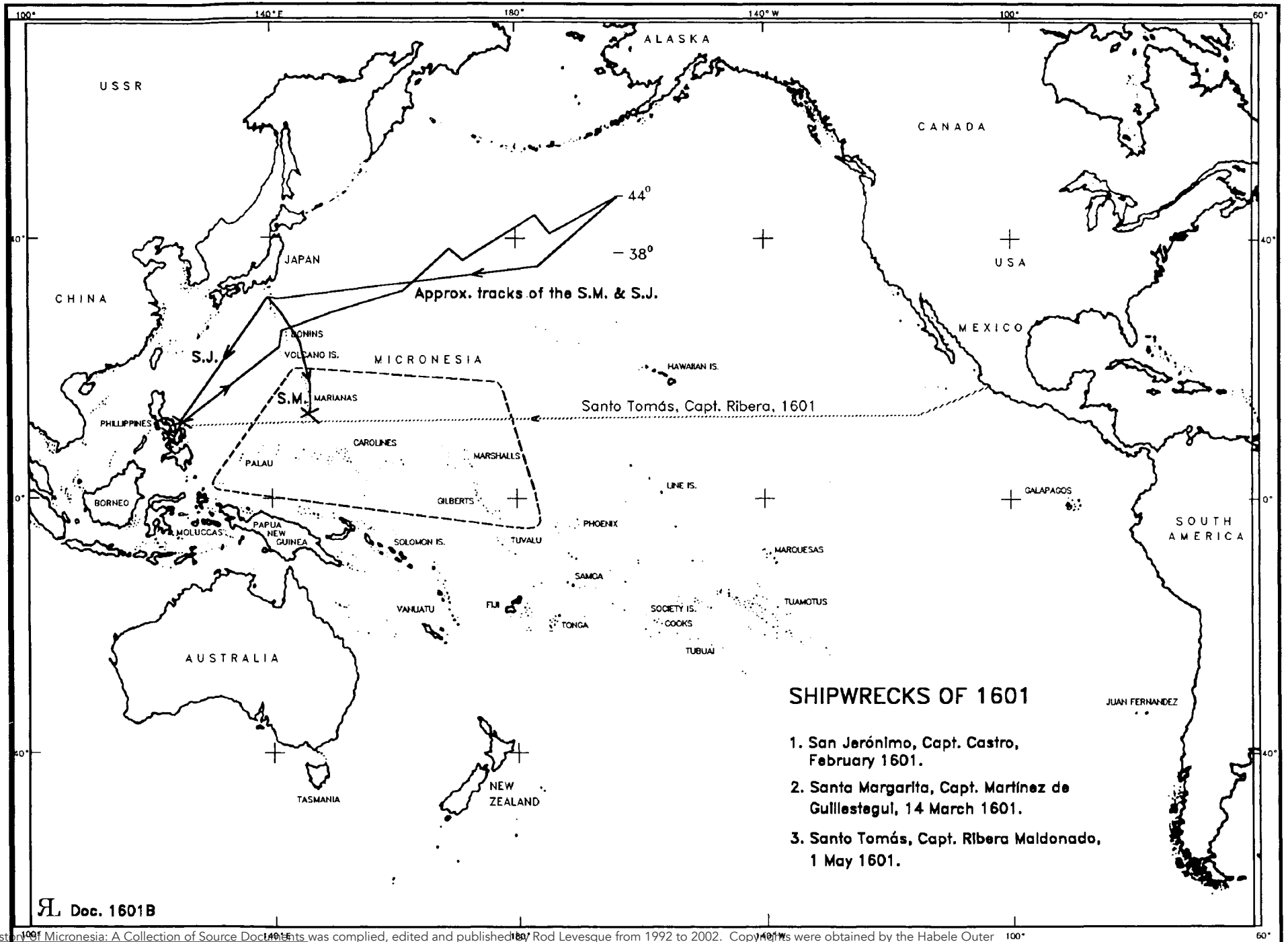
Upon reaching shelter and casting anchor, the commander announced to all, publicly, what he had requested from our Lord through the mediation of our Blessed Father Ignatius; at which those who had been about to cast themselves into the sea, to escape, if they could, by swimming, and had seen themselves at the point of death, realizing that they had been saved by such means, offered many thanks to the Lord and praises to His saint. Both religious and laymen asked that the image of our Blessed Father

Ignatius be brought, and thereupon they all, of every rank and age, began to adore it—falling on their knees and kissing it with great devotion, while all the religious chanted the *Te Deum laudamus*. In memory of this event, all, with one voice, desired that this place be called the Port of San Ignacio, which name it now bears.¹

Afterward, that our Lord might reveal more clearly the merits of His servant—while the ship was at anchor in the very place where they had so marvelously been aided, and while they were about to leap joyfully ashore—a violent hurricane suddenly arose, on Tuesday 1 May [1601], which toward midnight caused the galleon's single anchor to drag, so that it was carried toward the shoals and the perilous coast. At this, all feared the utmost danger, for peril seemed most certain amid the darkness of the night, and with such an angry tempest; but when they began to cry out and entreat the favor of our Blessed Father Ignatius, then the vessel ceased to drift. Thus invoking him in every danger—as they frequently did, both religious and laymen—the Lord again bestowed upon them a special favor; for when the main-mast fell, which they were obliged to cut, its fall was not, as they feared, such as to sink the vessel, inasmuch as the yard and the topsail, falling upon the rocks, served as a support, and on that side held back the ship so that it could not drift to destruction. At the same time, as they were held by only one anchor, with such a great risk of further dragging, or of the cable's being cut by the many submerged rocks, they urgently requested an image of the Blessed Father Ignatius, and with great devotion and confidence, made it fast to the cable. It was wonderful to see how the cable was held in place during the rest of the night and a great part of the following day; and how, when they tried to improve the position of the ship by casting another anchor, they were able to raise the first one, which was very heavy, by working the capstan, although they found that three ropes of the cable were fretted, and only one remained entire—whereat they all were greatly astonished and proclaimed it a miracle.

...
In these vessels² which arrived in the year 1601, there were also many religious of the sacred Orders of St. Francis and St. Augustine, and in the following year, of the Order of St. Dominic...

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- 1 Ed. note: This story was published soon after, in 1604. There is no place bearing that name on the Luzon coast opposite Catanduanes Island today; perhaps it corresponds to a small bay within the Albay Gulf.
 - 2 Ed. note: The other vessel, the slower patache, must have made it to the Philippines.



R Doc. 1601B

SHIPWRECKS OF 1601

1. San Jerónimo, Capt. Castro, February 1601.
2. Santa Margarita, Capt. Martínez de Gullestegui, 14 March 1601.
3. Santo Tomás, Capt. Ribera Maldonado, 1 May 1601.

Document 1601B

The official account of the shipwreck of the Santa Margarita at Rota in March 1601

Sources: AGI ex-Simancas, various papers, undated; transcribed by Muñoz on 8 November 1794 and copied by Martín Fernández de Navarrete in his Collection of manuscripts, vol. 18, n° 64 (at MN); since published in facsimile (Nendeln, 1973).

Story told by some of the survivors who were rescued by the Santo Tomás on 19 April 1601

Year of 1600 [sic]—Narrative of the loss of the galleon Santa Margarita that was going from the Philippines to New Spain in the year of 1600, her general being Juan Martinez de Yleguistigui.¹

She left Cavite on 13 July of the said year of 1600 and tacked back and forth in the Bay [of Manila] for 6 days [hours?], and she anchored at an island next to Mariveles where the said general unloaded a few persons, and then they made sail. At the end of another 3 days, they again came to an anchor at another island where he unloaded the Royal [Navy] Lieutenant Pedro de Guzman and other persons with their properties, and the Father Fray Gerónimo de Ocampo who was aboard as vicar of the said galleon, to which [post] he had been appointed by the chapter of the vacant see of this city [of Manila]. The said vicar excommunicated the said general and told him that he was not going to have an easy voyage to New Spain, given that there were so many unreasonable and wrong things aboard the ship. The said general told him that he was not concerned. Two days before they came out of the strait [of San Bernardino], they met with the ships coming from New Spain² and as they could not get alongside to give

1 Ed. note: His name is properly given elsewhere as Guillestegui.

2 Ed. note: There is no record to identify two small vessels sent from Manila in 1599 and that were probably the same two that returned in 1600.

news, the said general ordered that the boat be put out. In order to wait for the boat they anchored at Fican [Ticao?] where they stayed for two days waiting for the boat and with this they pursued their voyage which would have been better had they not had so much delay caused by the whim of the general. Well, since the other ship of Marshall Gabriel de Rivera which came out of the Strait ahead of the flagship and then the said galleon came out on the first of August with the *vendavals* [monsoon winds] that had been blowing for 9 days, the winds had [had time to] change to *brisas* or headwinds. They lost a bolt from the rudder which obliged them to face a cross-sea that took down the topmasts.

[Discovery of the Bonin Islands]

Sailing onward, they came to a latitude of 28° where they saw 7 islands that ran north—south, heretofore unknown because they are not on the nautical chart. However, it is understood that they lie between the Ladrones and Japan.

Pursuing their voyage, they had many storms and, on the eve of St. Francis Day [i.e. on 3 October], there came a big wave that carried off the poop gallery with all its works. Given this weather, the Pilot Major ordered the boatswain to run out and nail down the hatches but, since he held a grudge against the pilot, he did not do it. Not to have done it caused much damage, because such a great blast came that it carried off the whole part of the quarter-deck reserved for the pilot, as well as the jars and the boxes that were tied on top of it, the pilot's chair and the pilot himself who was in it. The whole thing was carried overboard and the galleon was foundering. With this storm that lasted two hours, some 23 persons were carried off by the sea, and they threw much cloth overboard.

Pursuing their voyage with many wind storms and heavy seas, the General wished to turn back in distress to Japan but all the people argued stubbornly for him to go to Manila. However, the said General did not wish to do so, on account of what he had done. So, they pursued their voyage. The General collected all the provisions in the galleon and he delivered them to the Basques from his native region, whom he had brought along, and who kept them and ate as they wished, while they gave the rest a [daily] ration of 4 ounces of biscuit and half a quart of water. The Indians who were serving aboard ship and the slaves belonging to individuals were given [each] a handfull of rice and half a bowl of water. As for the attendants of the said general, he kept them inside the very room reserved for the storage of food where they ate anything they wished, and they did no work. Thus, [the rest] were falling sick and dying of hunger. When anyone became sick, Indian or Spaniard, the General would order that he not be given a ration. The result was such that, no matter how small the sickness, they were not eating, and they would die and be thrown overboard. The said General was so severe that, because a sailor answered back to him, he grabbed a *campilan* [Filipino-style cutlass] and cut one of his arms off, from which he died; then, a Dominican father reprehended him for that bad treatment with words. He answered back that if he became more angry, he would throw him overboard; then, he ordered that he not be given a ration until his anger had calmed down.

With these things and with brisk winds and heavy seas, they sailed onward until the 1st of January [1601] when they found themselves near the island[s] of the **Ladrones** [sic]. Seeing that they could not turn back to Japan as they wished, they were all in agreement to turn back to the said islands of the Ladrones and, in the vicinity of 13° [18°?], the said General died. Before he died, he begged forgiveness from everyone. He said that he had placed his servants inside the food storage room so that they would not die, as he had been left without any property by the big wave that carried off the pilot's chair and berth; that they should try and take the ship to Manila, and that they would gain much honor in doing so. He appointed as chief in his place a certain gunner, Joanes de Galzagorta, whom they did not wish to obey because they said that it would be more sensible if it were Rodrigo de Peralta who came as the Lieutenant of the said General. With this, they obeyed him. Within three days [weeks?] they sighted the island of Zarpana [**Rota**] which is in 14° and is in contact with the other island of **Guan**, between which two islands pass the galleons that come from New Spain to these islands of Manila.

They anchored at the said island of Zarpana on 9 March of this year of 1601. Then many Indians came and they came aboard the ship and they were told by sign language to work the pump but they did not know how to do it. The said chief Rodrigo de Peralta gave an order to the pilot, that he was to weigh anchor within two days and go to Manila, to which he responded that his legs were swollen and the whole crew was very sick, and that he would comply as soon as he was better. On the 11th of the said month, they put the ship's boat in the water and with 6 men aboard it, the chief ordered them to go ashore and look for a house in which to place all the sick people. The boat and its crew did not return. The boat was never seen again, although it was [later] searched for all over the island. The rest of the people aboard stepped ashore and, on the 14th of the said month, the cable was cut and the galleon drifted upon the rocks where it was lost. There was some cloth on board, and enough supplies to make it possible to return to Manila.

The Indians of that island make a fuss over and entertain the Spaniards without agreeing to having them do work. They are loving and it appears that they would embrace the gospel well, and religious, specially Franciscans. Until now, they have been asking about a Franciscan friar who was among them some years ago.¹

This relation has been made and written from the [verbal] report given by 5 Spanish men who were picked up this year by the galleon **Santo Tomás** that came from New Spain.

The galleon **San Jerónimo** which was going as *almiranta*, at the end of 8 months turned back to these islands with most of the people having died, to the coast of the Catanduanes where it was lost while anchored. Much cloth was taken out of her, although it was damaged.

1 Ed. note: Referring to Fr. Antonio de los Angeles who was there in 1596-97.

Document 1601C

Rota, March 1601—A just revenge?

Source: Fr. Juan de la Concepción's Historia, Vol. 3, pp. 388 et sequitur.

A cruel gentleman killed by the natives

... The galleon **Santa Margarita** hit the coast broadside at the islands of the Lardones who did a thorough job of taking possession of the whole cargo; the people who had survived were already so exhausted by so many shocks, hard work and menial labor that they took it as a good thing to be picked up by those barbarians, even though they were declared to be the slaves of such useless masters. Such a fate was obtained only by those who had a robust appearance; they clubbed to death those who lacked vigor. Included among those who suffered the latter disfavor were well-born people used to a life of ease, one of whom was a young gentleman, whose name and hometown History must purposely not reveal. He had come to the islands a few years before, abandoned by one of his relatives who held a distinguished royal appointment.¹

When they had passed by these islands, he had been entertaining himself by shooting with an arquebus, loaded with peas instead of balls, at the naked islanders who came to the ship in small craft to bring refreshments. He did not think that he could do them much harm. However, either because it happened by chance, or that he shot at close quarters, or that the pea was very hard, he knocked one of them dead with one of these shots.

His companions resented this and they were very agitated when they picked him up to give him a burial. Those aboard the ship were also resentful and the event caused them much sorrow; they were predicting fatal consequences from it, perhaps, now that

¹ Ed. note: My educated guess is that he was the son of the nephew of the Archbishop of Manila, Fray Ignacio de Santibañez, whom he had brought along with him from the Court at Madrid, aboard one of the 1598 ships. The Archbishop had tried to arrange a marriage between this young gentleman and the daughter of the new auditor Tellez de Almazan, also aboard the same ship (B&R 10:152). The archbishop died 2 months after arriving at Manila and thus “abandoned” his young relative. Doc. 1602A does state that “the Bishop’s nephew” was indeed aboard, and that he had his belly ripped open during a storm.

the islanders had already been made distrustful by this precise step, they might not bring out the usual refreshments; and, in case of some necessary conjuncture, it would become necessary to solicit it with weapons at the ready. This inhumane diversion was revealed later on at Manila and it was criticized for the sake of Christian zeal, even from pulpits; such is our propensity to extend our own defects, as if such public complaints would provide a remedy. They only managed to render more odious the person in question, and to cause scandalous feelings against his dignified protector, and relative, turning this holy cathedral into the scene of a dirty play in which free rein is given to less decent passions.

It so happened that this ship had been wrecked at the same island and that the memory of the event in question was [still] fresh. It was not chance, as such does not exist for Divine Providence; rather, it was a severe punishment from the supreme justice. He fell into the hands of the offended ones, who, without knowing who he was, treated him with more cruelty. Because he was disgusting and sick with diarrhea, they dragged him away from there with a rope so that he would not infect them, and with clubs they finished off his unfortunate life.¹ Such a disastrous death, specially [brought about] by Divine justice, should make us wiser.

1 Ed. note: Doc. 1602A also mentions a Captain Gonzalo Manuel who was killed for that reason. Hence, we learn the name of this cruel young gentleman and Army captain, son of the nephew of the late Archbishop Santibañez...

Document 1602A

The story of Fray Juan Pobre's stay at Rota in the Ladrone Islands in 1602

Source: Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Phil. mss. II, 1591-1603: the manuscript of a book written by Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, a discalced Franciscan who jumped ship at Rota.

Introductory note

The title of the book, on the cover page, can be translated as: **“History of the loss and discovery of the galleon San Felipe and of the martyrs of Japan”**. The full title, as it appears on the title page reads: “History of the loss and discovery of the galleon San Felipe with the glorious martyrdom of the glorious martyrs of Japan”. A note was added to the fly-leaf by Fr. Pedro de Quintanilla who rescued the bound manuscript from a grocer's shop in Rome in 1655, where it surely would have been used as wrapping paper. He says that the martyrs referred to in the book are Fr. Pedro Bautista and his companions, that the author is Fray Juan Pobre of the discalced order who finished writing it in 1603, as he says in the last chapter, folio 316. More interestingly, there is another note added to the bottom half of the title page which reads as follows:

“When I, Fr. Pascual de Torrellas, was coming from the Philippines to Rome carrying the original proceedings of the Martyrs of the Moluccas, I found in Babylon [i.e. Baghdad] this book composed by the venerable Brother Fray Juan Pobre; the Moslems stole this book from him when he passed there. I recovered it and brought it along as it seemed to me that it could be useful in proving or informing upon our Martyrs of Japan and for this purpose I delivered it to these Archives of the Congregation [of Rites] on January 17, 1620.”

A note on the back of the last page says: *“Archives of San Diego, Year of 1791.”*¹

1 Ed. note: See the bibliography at the end of this volume, under 1596-1602.

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Envo que vea a los indios ^{y pescadores} que tienen ^{en} sus pesqueras
 hecha acad ^{una} muy larga ^{para} con ^{lo} y ^{en} ^{los} ^{que}
 usan ^{de} ^{las} ^{redes} ^{que} ^{son} ^{de} ^{una} ^{especie} ^{de} ^{caña} ^{que} ^{se} ^{usa} ^{en} ^{los} ^{países}
 chomas ^y ^{en} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 ajira ^{no} ^{se} ^{descubren} ^{en} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 que ^{ellos} ^{en} ^{parte} ?
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 que ^{ayra} ^{los} ^{mos} ^{los} ^{son} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
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 para ^{la} ^{pesca} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 los ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 barcos ^{cada} ^{uno} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 calabaca ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 anuelo ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 punta ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 maron ^{no} ^{se} ^{usan} ^{en} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 bocas ^{al} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}
 tiene ^{una} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países} ^{de} ^{los} ^{países}

Folio 283 of the Narrative of Fr. Juan Pobre about Rota. On this page is described the industrious ways used by the natives of the Ladrones in fishing. (From Fr. Lorenzo Pérez' article in Erudición Ibero-Ultramarina, 1931)

Index of chapters

Chapter 1: The news that came to Madrid about the conversion of Japan and of the marvellous beginning that the friars of the glorious St. Francis had in the Philippine Islands and about other events [as of the year 1576].

Chapter 2: A brief discourse on the [32] kingdoms of Japan.

Chapter 3: How the King of Bungo sent a large army through the lands of the King of Saçuma [= Satsuma] with the intention of taking possession of them and how the King of Saçuma routed him and took his lands instead.

Chapter 4: Of what happened to Taicosama before he became King of Miaco¹ and of the death of King Nobunanga, his predecessor [in 1582].

Chapter 5: How more friars of the glorious St. Francis came from Spain to the Philippine Islands [in 1581 & 1582] and how some of them wished to go to Japan and how they were hindered. The Fathers and how the King of Bungo asked assistance from Taicosama against the King of Saçuma and the beginning of the persecution of the Emperor against the Fathers of the Society [of Jesus].

[Chapters 6 & 7 do not exist]

Chapter 8: How Gaspar the ambassador arrived at Manila and the visit his embassy made to Governor Gomes Perez de las Mariñas [sic] and of the valor and effort made by the latter for the defence of the city, and other events.

Chapter 9: How Governor Gomes Perez decided to send another embassy to Taicosama [in 1593] which took along the holy Fr. Bautista and his companions being in the company of Captain Pedro Gonzalez.

Chapter 10: How the holy commissioner arrived in the presence of Taicosama, gave his embassy and about other occurrences involving the Emperor.

Chapter 11: How Taicosama came in to see the religious and of the way they asked for the site that he had promised them and how Pedro Gonzalez returned to Manila to give an account of what was going on in Japan.

¹ Ed. note: Usually written Meaco, later became Kyoto (the old capital) when Edo became Tokyo (the new capital). Taicosama was Hideyoshi, the transitional chancellor.

Chapter 12: How the religious began to erect a convent and next to it a hospital for lepers.

Chapter 13: How new religious arrived from Spain, four of whom went to Japan [in 1594] and found themselves with the holy Fr. Pedro Bautista in Miaco, who embarked for Nangasaque [Nagasaki] where he built a small chapel.

Chapter 14: How a friar named Fray Juan Pobre [i.e. the author] embarked at the port of Manila [in 1595] to seek adventure in Japan and what happened to him.

Chapter 15: How the simple Fr. Juan left Miaco and what happened at Nangasaque where he embarked to return to Manila [early 1596], and how he went on to the island of Camarines and went up the Bucor River.

Chapter 16: How Paul, the guardian of the town, interpreting my words, made a long and spiritual sermon supporting some of the good customs of the Christian Indians and what happened between him and the simple Fr. Juan until the latter returned to Manila.

Chapter 17: How the ship **San Antonio** left Macan [Macão or Macau], a town of Great China, aboard which there was Bishop Pedro Martinez, determined to eject the friars of the glorious St. Francis from Japan and what happened about that.

Chapter 18: How the galleon **San Felipe** left the point of Cavite, the port of Manila, for New Spain [in July 1596] and about the great storms that she had until she sought shelter at the island of Tosa Urando, port of Japan.¹

Chapter 19: How General Matías de Landecho sent a big present to Taicosama, Emperor of Japan, who was to give [death] to the holy Fr. Pedro Bautista.

Chapter 20: How the Emperor's greed for the property aboard the galleon **San Felipe** increased and also the envy of the mellow advisors who made him break his word, break the peace, not follow the laudable customs of Japan and order that Ymonojo² go to Tosa Urando to take possession of the property of the Spaniards.

1 Ed. note: Tosa Island is now called Shikoku. Urando (or Urado) was probably one of the small ports in Tosa Bay.

2 Ed. note: Written Ximonoxo below. The Spanish consonant "x" is interchangeable with "j" and both are pronounced somewhat like "h" in English. Hence, the name of this Japanese official might have been transliterated as Himonoho instead. However, other sources give this Governor's name as Masuda Nagamori, alias Emon-no-ojo (Ref. Murdoch, ii, p. 288).

Chapter 21: How Bishop Pedro Martinez went up to Miaco and gave the present which he carried to the Emperor who was at Fuxima¹ and who received him very well and sent him to Miaco where he met with the holy Fr. Pedro Bautista and about other events.

Chapter 22: How Fr. Juan Pobre boarded a small boat or *funei*² at Usaca [Osaka] on the trail of Governor Ximonoxo and, by sailing or rowing with such speed that he arrived six days before him and how Ximonoxo arrived at Urando and then began to take the property from the Spanish.

Chapter 23: How the Governor asked for the gold and silver that the Spanish carried and what happened about that.

Chapter 24: How the galleon **San Felipe** was discovered lost and broken to pieces after Taicosama had taken the property from her.

Chapter 25: How Governor Ximonoxo, after having taken the gold and property, returned to Miaco and gave permission to General Matías de Landecho to go and see the Emperor to find out the reason why he had broken the peace with those of Luzon and taken the property from the galleon.

Chapter 26: About what happened to Fr. Juan Pobre in the city of Usaca and how he learned about the imprisonment of the glorious martyrs and what else was discovered.

Chapter 27: How General Matías de Landecho arrived at Usaca and went to take lodgings with the King of Urando and how he went to see the holy martyr Fr. Martin who was a prisoner in Beten [?] and of a few marvellous cases that happened on the day of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chapter 28: How Emperor Taicosama entered Usaca with his son the prince and the great retinue that he brought along.

Chapter 29: About the grief and sadness that afflicted the General and his companions after the holy martyrs passed by Usaca with their ears cut off and how they gave them a few old clothes to console them, among which there came out the royal flag of Castile and how the Emperor ordered that the General be given permission to go to Nangasaque and also the Spanish of Urando.

1 Ed. note: That is Fushima on the outskirts of Meaco in the direction of Osaka.

2 Ed. note: This Japanese word for boat is also used by Fray Juan throughout his book to mean any small boat or native canoe.

Chapter 30: How the General and his companions embarked for Nangasaque and the Pilot Major for Urando [in January 1597] and what happened to a Jesuit brother.

Chapter 31: How the General and his company embarked for Nangasaque and what happened along the way until they met with the tyrant Foçanbro¹ who was the one who ordered the crucifixion of the glorious martyrs.

Chapter 32: How the General and his companions arrived at Nangasaque with the intention of rescuing and freeing from death the glorious martyrs [February 1597].

Chapter 33: Of the great benefit gained in Japan with the coming of the glorious martyr Fr. Pedro Bautista and his brothers.

Chapter 34: Of the great benefit made in Japan particularly with the poor and of their exercises.

Chapter 35: How all those in Japan benefitted from the coming of the holy martyrs and presently from the religious of the glorious St. Francis.

Chapter 36: About some marvellous things that happened [in July 1594] in the work of the holy temple of St. Mary of Porçincula.²

Chapter 37: Firstly, of the holy exercises with which the glorious martyrs occupied themselves at the holy temple of Our Lady and in the hospitals [circa 1595].

Chapter 38: Secondly, of the holy life of the glorious martyr Fr. Pedro Bautista and where he came from.

Chapter 39: Thirdly, about the life of the glorious martyrs Fray Martin de Aguirre and Fray Francisco Blanco, priests, and that of the holy martyr Fray Felipe [de Jesus], chorister.

Chapter 40: Fourthly, about the lives of the glorious martyrs Fray Francisco de la Parrilla and Fray Gonzalo García.

Chapter 41: Fifthly, about the lives of the glorious martyrs, the valiant Leo and Paul, his companion [both Japanese born in Meaco].

1 Ed. note: A transliteration of Hasaburo. Hirotaka Hasaburo was the brother of the Governor of Nagasaki, Hirotaka Terazawa (Ref. Murdoch, ii, p. 295).

2 Ed. note: Could this have been written Poshikura?

Chapter 42: About the four glorious [Japanese] martyrs Francis the physician, Francis the carpenter, preachers, and Gabriel and Ventura Doxicos.¹

Chapter 43: About the lives of the glorious children and martyrs Anthony [of Nagasaki], Louis and Thomas [of Meaco].

Chapter 44: About the lives of the glorious Japanese martyrs and the holy exercises with which they occupied themselves, along with their wives and other devout persons who wished exceedingly to share their martyrdom.

Chapter 45: About a devout letter that came into the hands of Fr. Juan Pobre which was written by the holy martyr Pedro Bautista and sent to Usaca to the holy Fr. Martin who was already in prison in which he was giving him an account of his imprisonment and of the other Japanese martyrs.

Chapter 46: About another letter written by a good Christian named Cosme Joya to Manila to the Provincial Fr. Juan de Garrovillas in which he gave an extensive account of the imprisonment of the glorious martyrs and of their martyrdom.

Chapter 47: About what happened during the imprisonment of the holy martyrs.

Chapter 48: What happened inside the holy convent at the time that they wanted to throw the holy martyrs out and how they threw them out and took them to the public jail where they found the five preachers.

Chapter 49: How they cut the ears off the glorious martyrs and dragged them for public humiliation aboard some carts through the city of Miaco.

Chapter 50: How the holy martyrs were taken back to jail and on some other morning were taken out for public humiliation on top of some old horses and, going out of Miaco through a gate they call Tonxi, they were conducted to Usaca and Sakai and again to Usaca where they were sentenced.

Chapter 51: About the sentence that Emperor Taicosama ordered to be given against the holy martyrs at the city of Usaca and how they were taken in public humiliation as far as Nangasaque.

Chapter 52: How the holy martyrs left the town of Simonoseque and were taken as far as the town of Toquiche² and what happened there with the tyrant Foçanbro.

1 Ed. note: Not their family name, but a Japanese word, "doshuku", meaning catechist.

2 Ed. note: This place may correspond to Hirado-guchi today.

Chapter 53: How the holy martyrs were disembarked at the town of Toquiche and what happened with them and a Spaniard named Rengel until they were taken to Nangasaque.

Chapter 54: How many Portuguese and Japanese came out to see the holy martyrs when they learned of their arrival at the town of Nangasaque and about the sermon that the holy martyr Fr. Martin gave in Arracame.¹

Chapter 55: About a devout letter written by a devout Portuguese to Fr. Juan Pobre in which he gave an account of what happened to the holy martyrs until they arrived at the calvary where they were crucified.

Chapter 56: Of the glorious martyrdom of the holy martyrs, out of which are made twelve stations [of the cross].

Chapter 57: In which is given the list of all [26] names of the holy martyrs and their ages and the places they were from.

Chapter 58: About the marvellous things that happened in Japan before and after the martyrdom.

Chapter 59: How the bishop embarked for Macan bringing along in his company as prisoners the four religious of the glorious St. Francis, and Vasco Días sailed for Manila.

Chapter 60: What happened in Urando when the Pilot Major Francisco de Olandía embarked at Usaca.

Chapter 61: How, while the poor Spaniard was complaining, there arrived an Indian [i.e. Japanese native] who succeeded in removing his complaints and his tears.

Chapter 62: How, once the Pilot Major Francisco de Olandía had arrived at Urando, he narrated the sad news of what he had seen at Usaca and the fear the Spanish had felt and how the King of Urando gave them permission to embark for Nangasaque and how Vasco Días arrived at Manila and about other things that happened to them.

Chapter 63: How the ship **San Antonio** arrived at Macan, where the bishop and the religious of the glorious St. Francis were going, and what happened.

Chapter 64: Of the discussions between the devout Portuguese and Fr. Juan Pobre and the most efficient means they found to convert Great China.

¹ Ed. note: Actually Urakami, a northern suburb of Nagasaki.

Chapter 65: Of the good proposal made by the devout Portuguese for the conversion of Great China and what Fr. Juan Pobre asked him about that.

Chapter 66: How the ship that made Macan in distress under the command of Cristobal de Mercado took the religious of the glorious St. Francis from there and took them to Manila [in January 1598].

Chapter 67: How our brother Provincial Fray Diego Bermeo decided [in 1599] to send Fray Juan Pobre to Spain so that he would give an eyewitness account of what had occurred in Japan.¹

Chapter 68: What happened to Fr. Juan Pobre [in 1602] and to his companion, with the Indian who was taking them to an island in the Ladrones which they call Çarpana [i.e. Rota] where a good sailor named Sancho came to visit them from another island.

Chapter 69: How Fr. Juan Pobre, while walking with his companion Sancho, begged him to be told the story of the arrival in distress of the galleon Santa Margarita at the island of the Ladrones [in March 1601].

Chapter 70: How the good Sancho gave a detailed account of the customs of the Ladrones to Fr. Juan Pobre.

Chapter 71: How Fr. Juan Pobre narrated to Sancho the pitiful event of the loss and return in distress of the ship San Jerónimo.

Chapter 72: How that night an Indian named Sínaro struck Sancho with a lance and how he died from it nine days later and what happened about this [in August 1602].

Chapter 73: About the burial of the good Sancho and what was done about his death and how Brother Fray Pedro de Talavera went to the island of Boam [i.e. Guam].

¹ Ed. note: The **Santo Tomás** left Cavite on 17 July 1599, with 3 other ships. The General of the fleet was Fernando de Castro. They arrived at Acapulco after a stopover at Navidad. After a stay in Spain, Fr. Pobre returned to New Spain and, in 1602, joined the new Governor of the Philippines Pedro de Acuña in the fleet going to the Philippines. The story of his escapades is fully translated after this table of contents.

Chapter 74: How four ships left the port of Manila [in July 1602] for New Spain and what happened to them.¹

Chapter 75: How Fr. Juan Pobre from the island of Carpana descried a ship [in October 1602] and thinking that she was a Spanish ship in distress like the Santa Margarita embarked with his master aboard a canoe to go to her.

Chapter 76: About the Manila Fire [of 30 April 1603], followed by a word of pity about men who inconsiderately think that events occur at random and that in Heaven there is no providence about the future and thus the story ends.

[...]

Chapter 67: How our brother Provincial Fray Diego Bermeo decided [in 1599] to send Fray Juan Pobre to Spain so that he would give an eyewitness account of what had occurred in Japan.

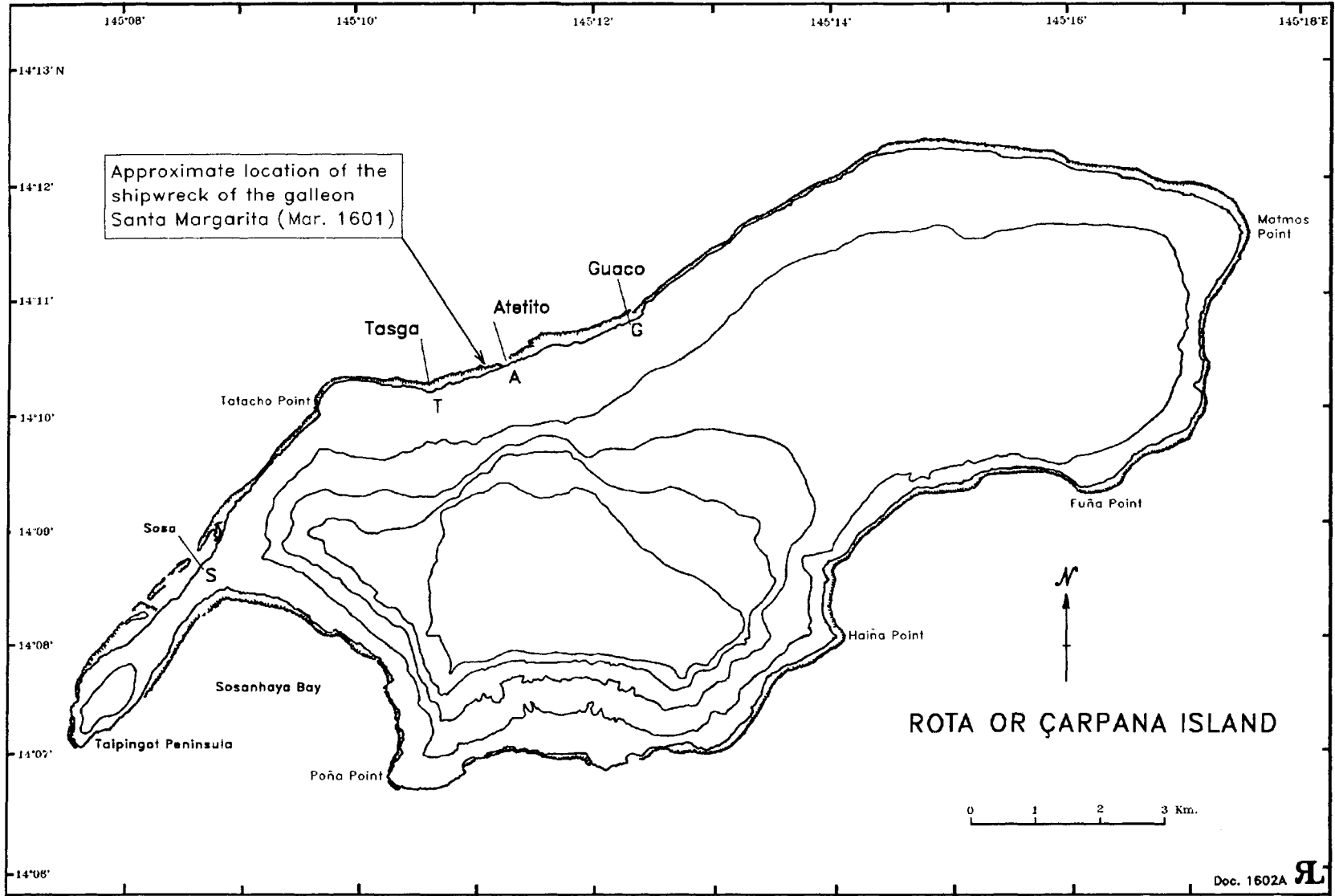
[...]

God be always praised and blessed that we arrived successfully at San Juan de Lua [i.e. Veracruz] where we disembarked and went up to Mexico, arriving at the time that the ships were supposed to leave Acapulco. Fray Juan Pobre left Mexico, as I said, in the service of the religious of the glorious St. Francis. Some encounters and land storms occurred to him also in Mexico and along the road to Acapulco but I was going so fast so as not to miss the ship for Manila that I do not tarry to narrate them. At the arrival at the port, Don Pedro de Acuña who was going as Governor of the Philippines [in 1602] was already there; he made so much haste to embark that that was the year in which the fleet was the earliest to sail of all those that had left and the one that was the earliest to arrive at the Philippines. The good Governor embarked with some Augustinian Fathers and others of the Society [of Jesus], bringing along three other ships and one patache carrying the rest of the religious from the other orders.

All ships sailed with the same favorable weather that usually prevail and they arrived at the islands of the Ladrones who came out as usual with their customary refreshments; some of those *funei* or canoes made it to the ship where the friars of the glorious St.

¹ Ed. note: The ships left on 10 July 1602 under the command of General Lope de Ulloa. The flagship was the **Espiritu Santo** and she was pushed to Japan; her consort was the **Jesús María** and she sought relief at Rota. Both returned to Cavite. The other two ships, the **Rosario** and the **San Antonio** made it through to Acapulco and returned to Manila in 1603.

Francis were. Everyone was busy bartering with the Indians they call Ladrone like their islands. When Fray Juan Pobre saw that the others were occupied with their sale of iron, given that on account of their desire for it those islanders come and bring refreshments of water, coconuts, sweet potatoes and other things, he went down as secretly as possible to a window that was below deck and passed through it with a large knife in his hands so that the Indians would come upon seeing it, as they covet iron very much and specially knives. A canoe with four Indians in it came up near where the poor Juan was and he let himself fall into it with the knife. Another religious named Fray Pedro de Talavera did the same thing and Fray Juan urged the Indians so much so that they returned ashore where he embraced them and made them kiss a cross that he carried in his hands, no matter how those aboard the ship [had] shouted at them; the more they called them [back] and offered them new iron, the more poor Juan urged them on toward the shore. The canoe having pushed off the ship was soon lost sight of as those canoes are very swift. The ship continued its voyage with the other religious and, when they gave an account to the Governor about what had occurred, they passed it off as foolishness on the part of Fray Juan but they let it go because they already knew that this was not the first time and expected that it would be the last time for me. They came into view of the [Philippine] islands with their usual favorable weather, as there usually is as far as them, entered the Mouth [i.e. the San Bernardino Strait] and went on to disembark in Cavite as usual. The joy of those at Manila was as great then as it always was on account of the arrival of not only many good religious, in particular those of the holy orders of St. Dominic and of the humble St. Francis, but also of many soldiers who were sorely needed in Manila. The contentment and the pleasure were great because they were good additions to the [Spanish] population of the city and the islands. This was due to the good Governor who brought them because until then no governor had arrived with as much fame as a soldier as well as everything else as Don Pedro de Acuña. May it please God to keep him and to make him come out as good in the future as it is hoped for the present. The whole [population of the] city and cathedral chapter came out very happy to welcome him and such a good company of religious as he brought that year. I now want to leave them here and hope to God that I will in time join those who were with me, because now I want my friend the reader to return to the trail of the canoe of the Ladrone Indian who was carrying Fray Juan Pobre and his companion Fray Pedro with their consent.



(Facing page) **The Island of Çarpana or Rota in the Ladrones or Mariana Islands.** On the north side of the island facing Atetito [i.e. As Teteto or Teteto's Place], the galleon **Santa Margarita** was wrecked in March 1601. Many Spaniards were killed by the people of Atetito. Tasga is where the Franciscan Fathers Pobre and Talavera stayed for 6 months after they jumped ship at Rota in April 1602. Guaco is actually Guato or Guata today.

Chapter 68: What happened to Fr. Juan Pobre and to his companion, with the Indian who was taking them to an island in the Ladrones which they call Çarpana¹ where a good sailor named Sancho came to visit them from another island.

The continuation of the story is that, after having lost sight of the ship, the Indian who was taking Fr. Juan Pobre and his companion went directly to his town which was called Tazga, [located] between two others called Guaco and Atetito.² [See map]

The Indian disembarked directly in front of his house and stepped ashore very happy with the spoils that he carried in the persons of the two brothers. With the desire to see new things, so many Indians came up to see the religious that I was pleasantly surprised to see the multitude of Indians that the island contains. The Indian led us to his house which was one of the best in the town as the Indian was one of the chiefs of the island. There he kept us for a few days during which Fr. Juan succeeded in meeting with some

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- 1 Ed. note: The Spanish called the island Çarpana from the name erroneously given to it on an early chart. The natives called it Ruta, as Fr. Pobre will mention later, and the name Rota was eventually adopted by the Spanish also.
 - 2 Ed. note: From As Tetito or As Teteto which means Teteto's Place. The words that follow were later stricken out from the text: " where they killed Rodrigo de Peralta and ten to twelve other Spaniards from among those who had arrived in distress aboard the **Santa Margarita** lost at the island of Çarpana".

young negroes who were in the town of Atetito and had been the slaves of some Spaniards who were lost there, as will be told below.¹

Fr. Juan having been informed of how many Spaniards had been left behind, he learned how at the island of Saipan had been left a Spaniard named Soto² and in the other island called Tenian there was another named Diego de Llerena and in the island of Boan [i.e. Guam], the largest of them all, there was another Spaniard named Sancho.³

There were also left behind as many as 16 male and 2 female slaves who had wanted to stay willingly among those gentile barbarians⁴ go ahead to barter with the Spanish because they covet iron. The slaves, male and female, cannot prevent their going there. This is the harm made by the harsh and bad condition accompanied by cruelty of the Spanish and thus these fugitive slaves do so much harm among the gentile Indians against their conversion as much as against the good reputation of the Spanish Christians because by this example and many others in which they see harshness in the Spaniards not many want to convert themselves.

This gives me an opportunity to tell what happened to me at the island of Çarpana, in the town of Atetito where, as I have said, they killed the Spaniards for the edification of all of them and to show that for God's sake they should not continue to be so cruel. As I was saying, walking along the beach of Tasga which was the town where I lived, I arrived at the town of Atetito which was next to mine and I met a few Indian chiefs with their wives and bringing along one negro named Periquillo. As I came up to them, the first thing I told them was that they were very bad, which in their language is pronounced *are are* and when they say *are ari* it means that they are extremely bad. They were astounded, because they resent being told that they are bad, they answered me: "Why are we bad?" and I told them: "You are bad because the Spaniards had brought you a ship to this town and in it so much iron and tortoise [shell] and other things that you esteem very much. You killed some Spaniards who came here and for that you are bad." He took the hand of a [slave] woman who was there with them and told me: "You are worse, all of you too, and these are good people", while pointed at the slave. As I asked him what was the cause why he called all of us bad, he answered me: "Why do you do this to them", and he showed me the discolored shoulders of the

1 Ed. note: Stricken out are the words: "from whom he learned that all [sic] the Spaniards who wandered about the islands had been taken away by the patache brought by Governor Pedro de Acuña but at the islands."

2 Ed. note: The manuscript says Sosa, but that is a local name, perhaps that of the Spaniard's master. Pérez says that the real name of this Spaniard was Soto.

3 Ed. note: Stricken out are the words: "These three Spaniards were left behind [in 1602] because the patache did not even wait for half a day more because they could not come out as fast as the others whom it took away no matter how much speed and diligence they made".

4 Ed. note: Stricken out are the following words: "fearful of returning into the hands of Spaniards, so great is the mistreatment they receive that they prefer to live among barbarians than among Christians, and as eyewitnesses they do not feel safe even there because when they are told that the ships are coming and they may return to Manila, they begin to flee to the woods while the barbarian islanders..."

negro, the latter having told them that the Spaniards had branded with fire and given them cruel whippings, and they were so bad. For this reason, the people of that town did to the Spaniards as much as the Spaniards did to the [slaves].

According to what I learned later, there have been some discussion among some Spaniards in Manila about going to Atetito and taking them as slaves for the [Philippine] galleys for what they had done but I believe that it will not be so easy to carry this out in Çarpana. While they were thus discussing the matter in Manila, some Indians told me later on that they had decided to kill me also as they had done with the others, because those who were there [that day] had been those who had killed the Spaniards and they showed me where they had buried them and they told me that if they killed them it was because they thought they came to take over their lands. According to their fierce looks, I felt fearful for my life; in fact, as I learned later from the negro, they were already discussing it among themselves but the slave [said that he] told them: "Look, do not kill this one. Those who walk around dressed like him never do us any harm, rather much good. When the others do us harm, these take us away so that we will not be harmed. If you kill this one, you will all die a bad death." From then on they liked me so much that whenever they saw me, they would call me and give me some of what they had. Sometimes they asked me: "Why are Spaniards so bad that they do so much harm to those young negroes whom we consider like our sons" and thus it was true that the negroes were very happy to be with them and I was at odds with them [over] why they did not return to the ships that came into sight, when they were Christians and should not live nor die among those barbarians, they were telling me: "These barbarians treat us like Christians and the Christians like barbarians." "Well then, my sons, I was telling them, let us commend ourselves to God and pray that He make them good Christians." A few took this [advice] in good stead but others went off and followed the local customs. I have told this story so that Spanish Christians will understand the great harm they do by being cruel with their slaves and servants, so that in future they work together for the same God and his blessed Mother. I beg those who are harsh and cruel with their servants not to be that way, because let them see the harm that results from it and how their servants become worse the more they punish them, and the reason for it is that their masters are worse. Thus there is no remedy to this situation, unless, firstly, the masters be good and then give to the servants more than pain, etc. May Our Lord provide a remedy, given that He came down from Heaven for our salvation.

I now wish to return to the story of Fr. Juan Pobre who, as I have said, had been in his master's house for a few days and near there, the Spaniard named Sancho who was at the island of Boan heard his master say that in Çarpana two Spaniards had arrived, one named Dios [i.e. God] and the other Padre [i.e. Father], and they were in the town of Tazga. Once Sancho heard that, he decided to go to Çarpana to see the two recently-arrived Spaniards and he embarked with a few Indians from his town¹ who were going to Çarpana to trade. He disembarked at a town called Guaco, at one big league from where lived Fr. Juan Pobre and his companion, and then went along the beach

1 Ed. note: As will be mentioned later, his town was Pago, on the east coast of Guam.

until he arrived where we were and with tears told us: “Praised be Our Lord that he has let me see your charitable selves, because in Boam the Indians told me that *Díos Padre*¹ was here.” The religious embraced him with great love and the joy they received in seeing him. Once Sancho learned that the religious had come from the ship, he wished to know how it came about that the Indians said that *Díos Padre* lived in that town. “You should know, Brother Sancho, that as Fr. Juan Pobre walks around saying to them from time to time “*Díos, Díos*”, the Indians call him *Díos* and, when they ask Fr. Pedro for his name he tells them that it is *Padre*, so that joining one to the other, they told him in Boan that *Díos Padre* was here.” They were all very happy for a few days, two religious with their companion, Sancho, who was certainly religious on account of his good way of life. The master of Fr. Juan Pobre, whose name was *Suñama*, gave them all food; his wife was named *Sosanbra*, his oldest son was named *Maripego* and his two daughters were named *Marifoguez* and *Mominasaria*. Our masters considered us like sons, and their children like brothers, so much was the love and affection they showed toward us, because the native is peaceful and tame, as I will discuss later, God willing. As Sancho had been with the two religious for a long while and for too long, it seemed to him he should return to the town where the Indians with the canoe had left him, as they were due to be in Goan in a few days. When the good Sancho had taken leave of the two religious, it occurred to Fr. Juan Pobre to go with him leaving Brother Fr. Pedro alone at the house of their master.

Chapter 69: How Fr. Juan Pobre, while walking with his companion Sancho, begged him to be told the story of the arrival in distress of the galleon *Santa Margarita* at the island of the *Ladrones* [in March 1601].

Dear brother and friendly reader, we will now have to disgress in company of Sancho and Fr. Juan Pobre. The latter, wishing to know the event of the arrival in distress of the galleon ***Santa Margarita*** and seeing an opportunity at hand to ask someone who had experienced it, while going by that very calm beach and coast, told his faithful companion:

— “Well then, dear brother, it led to their death... Sancho, you would do me a favor if you told me in sequence the details of what happened since the miserable ship in which you left Cavite and arrived here in distress, to our people’s disconsolation and the delight of these Indians who all have a beam [from it] in front of their house to show off and for us to see.”

— “Sure, Brother Fr. Juan. Now that we have time, Our Lord willing, I will narrate as many details as possible of that miserable event.”

1 Ed. note: The local rendering may have been: “*Diyos Pale*”.

— “May Our Lord pay you back for this work that you will undertake for his love and, if you wish, to reward you for it, I will also for the love of God tell you what happened to the other three ships that left at the same time as the **Santa Margarita**. I will tell you in particular about the ship **San Jerónimo** that went astray like this one.”

— “So help me God! said Sancho. The ship **San Jerónimo** was lost, dear Brother, yes, and in a very miserable and disastrous manner but not, said Sancho, as bad as the disasters and miseries that happened to us and, because I also wish to know what happened to this ship in which I might just as easily have been on, I want in the name of God begin my pitiful story and make it into a sort of narrative of the whole pitiful event.”

Authentic narrative of the voyage and sad outcome of the galleon **Santa Margarita**.

— “For our greater misfortune, Brother Fr. Juan, that year was a leap year and we set sail from the port of Cavite on the 13th of July 1600. We never thought we would carry it off on account of our sins. As General of the sad fleet we had Juan Martínez de Guillesteguí, as Pilot Major Juan Lorenzo and as his mate Antonio de Olivera. We had over 300 persons aboard the ship, out of which there were few sailors and, if all were good ones, hear me God! or at least one third of them, it would be enough, but to tell you the truth, I don’t know if there were one just among all of us as this would have been very necessary indeed for what we were about to go through.”

— “Do not be amazed, Brother Sancho, said Fr. Juan, at not finding even one just and good man aboard a ship and even less in one of the ships from Manila. Well, in five cities, God our Lord did not find ten of them and when he punished the world with the deluge he found very few.”

— “Well then, said Sancho, when the Pilot Major had the galleon rigged well enough for the voyage if those who knew how to sail would help us, we set sail as I have said and arrived at Mariveles where a contrary wind hit us which forced us to anchor at 6 p.m. when the fury of the wind and sea increased so much that we thought we would be lost and it was at about 10 p.m. when such a great hurricane hit us and made us drag as far as the Cañas River. When the fury of the wind ceased, we returned to Cavite Point. There the captain of the point, Felipe Corço, came out to welcome us and asked us if the galleon needed anything. They answered him that good sailors were needed, because they had too few of them on board. Felipe Corço told them to wait until 2, that he would go and look for some. They waited until 5 and as in the whole of Cavite there were no good ones, I mean good ones who were the God-fearing men whom the galleon needed, He gave them good weather [instead] and they set sail, leaving Captain Felipe Corço searching for good sailors until now.”

— “May it please God, said Fr. Juan, that he find them now.”

— “With the good wind, Brother Fr. Juan, we were in sight of Mindoro on the 15th of the said month. There we descried the Marshall’s galleon¹ which came close to us and ordered the General to move away from them but to follow them as in a convoy.² The Marshall said that he liked it that way. We continued as far as the repair dock² where the General had decided to lighten the overload that it seemed the ship was carrying. The Marshall, seeing the slowness of the **Santa Margarita**, set sail and in three hours, with a favorable wind, we lost sight of him and the General was left at the repair dock lightening the best of what we carried, which was Father Fray Gerónimo de Campo our chaplain and he unloaded him as well as his companion, plus [Lieutenant] Pedro de Guzman, Captain Ayllon and six other Spaniards, and even sixteen Indians and negroes and this in the opinion of all against reason and justice because there were others who deserved to be unloaded even more. Therefore, the Master-of-Camp³ Miguel de Alacanadre, the comrade of the Father chaplain, along with Captain Gonzalo Manuel, wishing to intercede in favor of the Father chaplain, went to the poop cabin to talk to the General but he had ordered that the door be bolted from the inside and with two soldiers posted outside to prevent entry. They knocked very hard on the door and when the General did not want to admit their requests, the Master-of-Camp and the Captain said that they too wanted to unload, given that he was unloading their comrades. Later, someone came out of the poop cabin on behalf of the General to say that all those who wanted to leave could do so then. The Father chaplain said that he did not want to unload unless they threw him off into the sea. The General ordered that he be expelled by force with his box and bundle if he did not board [the boat] willingly. The Father chaplain was sitting on his box and he said that he did not have to go willingly and that if they wanted to throw him off by force, they had better watch what they were doing. Then, Olalde⁴ wanted him to get up from the box to unload it by force and many people came up and they dissuaded him and begged the Father Fray Geronimo that for God’s sake he should go into the boat, given that there was no remedy with the General, and given that he had been begged to do so for the love of God and of his blessed Mother. When the chaplain saw the extent of the wickedness, he decided to go and said good-bye to the people of the ship leaving them very sad on account of their losing such a Father and their vicar who, when about to embark, said: “May it please God that a ship so loaded with evil things and sins make her voyage!”, and with this he boarded the boat. Then, Olalde who was the one the General had sent, told Pedro de Guzman that the General had ordered that he was to leave next. “What reason is there for that, said Don Pedro, and what will my uncle the Governor say other than I have done something bad? Why do you unload me? Ask the General to give me a certificate

1 Ed. note: Marshall Ribera’s galleon was the N.S. de los Remedios, alias La Contadora, it seems.

2 Ed. note: Mindoro’s chief port was then called “El Varadero” and it may correspond to Puerto Galera today.

3 Ed. note: This was a military rank equivalent to Colonel.

4 Ed. note: Fr. Pobre will say later that he was a Sergeant Major, i.e. he held the equivalent of the modern rank of Major.

to the effect that there is no reason to unload me.” The scribe then made the certificate which Don Pedro de Guzman took and went off with the two blessed Fathers who received him with many tears and, at the moment the boat was moving away from the ship, the Father chaplain said that he excommunicated the General because he unloaded him without a reason although he was a Father and chaplain of that galleon.

After some water was taken on at the repair dock, we set sail and made it to a latitude of twenty-one [?] degrees¹ where the wind was favorable but the currents were so great that we could not overcome them and it appeared they were telling us: “Go back. O miserable ones, where are you going without your chaplain and pastor?” For seven to eight days we were forcing and fighting the currents and as we did not want to believe them, for our own harm they left us and with the good weather that we were given, we came out by the point of San Bernardino. There we let go the launch for it to seek its own adventures and it was the one that came out best because it stayed in the islands and so it pleased God that the currents did not leave us. A very good weather was with us as we came out of the Mouth [of the Strait] and with it we hit the high seas.

Three hundred leagues from the islands, which [distance] was enough for us not to be able to take shelter, then a very big storm hit us, dead ahead, so that with a cross-sea the galleon could not overcome such furious blows from the sea [hitting] from the bow to the stern, larboard and starboard, that it covered the whole deck. It was something terrible to behold the great swings that the galleon went through and that she did not seem able to stand us, and we could not stand ourselves either, so little was the patience we carried with us. This storm lasted for three days, at the end of which the ship gave such a big lurch that it carried off one of the carpenter’s slaves and, not being able to remedy the situation, he drowned in front of our eyes. Our misfortune did not even stop here. This storm and warning from Our Lord being over, we had a period of some calm but without a corresponding improvement in those aboard the ship, but Our Lord, out of his mercy gave us a little wind with which we sighted some islands that the pilot said had never been discovered, but that appeared to him to be the islands they call [Rica] de Oro. They were large islands with flat land. They are in 31 degrees.²

Thus, two days after we lost sight of them such a great hurricane hit us that the masts came down and one swing saw half the yardarm of the main yard go under, and with another blow the galleon became all soaked up to the hatch and thus the boxes [inside] were floating back and forth and, when they met [one another], the jars and jugs broke into pieces. We thought we were already drowned. This warning from heaven lasted four days and then the weather improved with a good wind in order to see if our hearts admitted improvement and some calm or peace, but instead it was a pitiful thing

1 Ed. note: This is a puzzle, unless they first tried to go north along the west coast of Luzon. Perhaps this should read 12 degrees instead of 21.

2 Ed. note: They were the Bonins, as their latitude, given in the official account (Doc. 1601B), is given as 28°. The Spanish charts of the time placed Rica de Oro at about 34-35° (See Vizcaino’s report about his search for it in September-October 1611).

because, leaving God asides, we went on so much at odds and with enmity against one another that many offended God, for instance, by publicly living in concubinage,¹ swearing a lot, with little fear of offending God and his saints.”

— “Well, where there is little fear of God, said Fray Juan, there would be even less fear of his saints.”

— “O Brother Fray Juan, if only I could narrate the cruelties that some did and the insults they said to the religious. In order not to scandalize you, I will not tell them to you.”

— “Tell them to me, dear brother, and if Our Lord saves me and I go back again [to Manila], I will repeat it as a warning and a lesson to those [sent] from Madrid to Manila, so that they be warned and arrange their things in a Christian manner and not send us as generals, chiefs, captains and commanders those who are a cause of perdition. This is important; if it is not done, Manila is about to become ruined and even half of the world has gone to ruins. Thus do not be afraid of telling them to me, because I want to tell it to all and more to those who are the cause of such great misfortunes.”

— “I won’t be able, my dear Brother Fray Juan, to say it all, but what I can say is that how tyrannical they were when they wanted to torture the martyrs they did not tell them more galling words than those of the poop cabin told the religious, so much so that there was someone who said to a certain religious that he would peel his skin off to make some belts and a small alm box with it, because he had been asked for alms and was not sending any. He [i.e. the General] treated the rest of the people so badly that it was pitiful to see them, specially the poor cabin boys and the negroes who, on account of the great cold would throw themselves one on top of the others and when morning came they were found choked and the rest would die of thirst and hunger. The General ordered that weapons be taken from those who had them, fearing that those who were even downcast may yet rise in revolt. After the weapons had been taken away, those of the poop cabin placed their sabers in their belt saying: “Let them die and let us live”, and they created very great wrongs by this, wounding many who did not approve of their enterprise. When the General saw that his male and female slaves suffered greatly from the cold, he had them placed below deck and with the leftovers from the food they ate there, they could have saved those outside who were dying from hunger and thirst. The Biscayans who walked in high spirit all fell sick and to escape and to hide themselves from death they tried to cure themselves and relax themselves below deck but it did not do them much good because where they thought they could escape with their lives death entered. Thus most of them died and some were such bad Christians that the other people did not wish to throw them into the water when dead but if they could have, they would have thrown them while alive. There was one of those who, because a religious did not want to take his confession or wanted to test him so that he would improve himself on account of the great wrongs he had done, instead of asking for confession with humility, he ordered that the religious not be given any food for three days to see if his anger would come down as a result.

1 Ed. note: With their female slaves.

We went this way and that by the grace of God, although this grace we did not want to receive from heaven and the man we carried to act as our curate and chaplain to reprehend us, to guide us and for him to be able to placate God, had been the first one unloaded by the General. However, we also had on board other religious who with their saintly life and words were guiding us, but it went in one ear and out the other. I truly believe that on account of the prayers and the disciplinary exercises of the religious that we carried there, our Lord was tolerating us so that we would amend ourselves, but there was no such amendment in us because all was confusion with this good storm that the Lord offered us.

We continued our voyage until the first of October and three days later, on the eve of the glorious St. Francis, on a clear and calm day, without any warning or premonition, in 37° and 1/2, during this calm, there came a shock wave that carried off the galleries leaving us in complete confusion on account of seeing that without a change in the sea they had been carried off, rather it was seen as a warning from our Lord that we should thank him for it not to have carried the poop cabin also and the people who were inside it and well deserved that. Well then, not heeding this warning, the galleon began to take in water and to list. Then there came such a terrible hurricane and such great rollings and shock waves that the galleon was wallowing and entirely covered. In particular, there came one roll and such a furious wave that, while I found myself on the deck forward of the main mast with some people, the sea carried off 17 people whom it found on deck and another 5 or 6 drowned inside the ship as they were floating back and forth inside. A few of those died when their heads bumped into ornaments and from broken legs and arms. What were we to do, Brother Fr. Juan, those of us who were left? Seeing that with every wave so many went missing and still the furious buffeting did not stop, we were asking God for mercy. A few confessed themselves, others had crucifixes, crosses, images in the hands; others made vows and promises of religion and chastity, but as they say it was because we could not do anything else and because we understood that that day was to be the last day of our lives when the few of us who remained receive the necessary warnings and more so when a big wave that later came over the poop was so great that it made a gaping hole through which over forty crates went out, some of them so big that it was necessary to have from 4 to 6 men to carry them, and they were carried off as if they were feathers, as Lasarrelato [?] said. The furious wind and seas appeared to say: "Give us these crates. We come to get them. Because your hearts are with them", and they broke them up in front of our eyes. Later there was a second and bigger one which carried off the whole bow section and one cannon leaving the forward deck clean and the same with the bow, and the galleon hardly appeared as she was under water and did not even look like a galleon. This furious blow carried off not only the Pilot Major along with his chair but carried off also the hatch, which had been nailed down and secured with a thick chain and two padlocks, and it took it all to sea along with six people but our Lord allowed that with this great roll the whole ship and sides went under and there ended up on board once again the five people who had fallen overboard and the other got hold of the hatch cover. The

assistant pilot Olivera, who was the one who remained as our pilot, contrived in spite of the grave risk to have ropes around the hatch and to pull it in with the person who were holding on to it, and they exerted themselves so much that they nailed it down again, although at the cost of some great labor, but in the meantime as much water came in below deck as the ship had outside. Everything looked as if there were no sea and as the ship was leaning the people began to place themselves on top of the side, so that we were already safer outside the ship than inside, and there were a few people who swore that they could touch the keel with their hands. Our Lord showed his great mercy to those who were on top of the ship's side, because though it was beaten by the fury of the waves, he left them safe on top of the side. The wind was so furious that, when the steward was cutting the hoop [?] off the main yard with a sabre, the sea took him off along with the main mast, the topmast [?] and the topgallant mast [?] which made the galleon appear completely dismasted. **It ripped open the belly of the Bishop's nephew** and it broke the leg of another his cousin,¹ and making a mockery of the captain and master by making the ship's sails so sad looking that they appeared as if the devils had made them naked with rags that looked like the wings of a bat. The sea and the wind were so severe and furious that they carried off two anchors that had been very well secured. The storm carried off the yard of the foresail, that of the sprit-sail and the mizzen sail, as well as the bunk upon which the Master-of-Camp was lying, along with him and all of his jars and sea stores. It threw it all upon the ship's side and broke the jars to pieces. It wounded him so much in the head, the legs and the arms that it was a great pity to see him bathing in his own blood.

Well, you tell me, Brother Fr. Juan, what would you do if you saw a galleon so destroyed and lost, with those who were in it awaiting no other refuge except that of our Lord who, out of mercy gave us one and made the ship straighten up a little and the fury of the wind abate. The cries and the exclamations made by all were so great, begging God to have mercy upon us which he did then and would have if he saw amendment in our lives. He straightened up the galleon for us halfway up from where she had been and calmed the wind. The sea still remained so agitated that it caused great rolls. With the great amount of water below deck the jars, the bundles and the crates would get loose and everything was so upside down below that for those of us fearful ones up above, it seemed to us to be like hell and that the world was sinking under us.

The fury of that storm lasted from the morning until 5 or 6 p.m. Two hatches were opened under the quarterdeck and as many as 400 pieces of crates and bundles were heaved overboard. Later they manned the pumps during that whole night and there was no hope of being able to overcome the 19 palms of water that the galleon had [in the hold], not even one palm, so much was the water that came into the sad ship. That whole night the galleon was beaten by the sea but on the morning everything became very calm, the wind as well as the sea, which came in handy to repair some of the great damage and they saw that over 6 or 7 eyebolts of the rudder were pulled out and through the holes the water was coming into the ship in such a quantity, as I have said, that it

1 Ed. note: This one, named Francisco, died soon afterward (see below).

was not possible to remove as much as came in, until two divers jumped into the water and plugged the holes with wooden plugs. The water stopped coming in and by working the pumps with much speed our Lord allowed that the water was removed but one hour later another storm overran us like the first and it was such that it dislocated the bowsprit and it swung from one side to the other. There was no-one who dared to go to the bow on account of the great rolling of the ship and of the waves until the Fathers, with two crucifixes in their hands, began to encourage the people, telling them to go to the bow and cut loose the bowsprit. Therefore, Olivera the pilot with six men with axes went to cut it off and Don Gonzalo Manuel with others went loaded with mattresses and clothing to place them on the sides of the bowsprit from the inside while they were cutting it. We were all with the religious commending ourselves to God. It was indeed a great miracle of Our Lord that in such great storms and in a ship so destroyed not all of us had drowned, when the ship had been under water so many times.

However, what happened during these storms, Brother Fr. Juan, was a great miracle that our Lord operated in a newly-born child, born in the sad and wretched ship to an honorable woman named Doña Catalina, wife of Baldivieso [of Los Arroceros¹]. It had been fifteen days before the storm that she had given birth to a child whom she held in her arms and when the wave came over the poop it carried the child from her arms and she remained in such a state [of shock] that she hardly remembered who she was nor what happened to her son. Once this storm was over, at about 7 at night, they found the creature behind a box within six palms of water. They took it to its mother alive, as it had not drowned in spite of the whole time it had been under water. Pilot Olivera took it in his arms and carried it to the bishop's mate, named Fray Agustin, who baptized it and named it Francisco. It survived for eight days at the end of which the Lord took it, assuredly saved, more so than those who had already died or later died.

Later, behind this angel our Lord took away another who was the nephew of the archbishop, also named Francisco; the main-mast had broken his leg and he went through purgatory in those few days because his pain must have been great.

After the bowsprit was cut off, it did us great damage because the swells were taking it and bringing it back and it hit the ship's side so furiously that it appeared that we were being hit by cannon shots until it pleased God to move it away. We spent that sad night in the middle of salt water and tied with ropes while we went on with the swells rolling us from side to side and a few of us hitting our heads and bodies against the ship's beams. We were hoarse, stupefied and aghast, and finally as we were stunned from shouting and crying and from walking from one place to another, bumping and tripping, falling and getting up another day in the morning, God gave it to us with some calm, and we gathered in the poop cabin to give thanks to God. Bringing a few crucifixes, crosses and images, we said the litanies and other prayers begging our Lord to have mercy upon those who were left, and promising amends for the future. Once the praying was over, the Master-of-Camp ordered that two trunks of clothing be brought

1 Ed. note: This later addition indicates that the Baldivieso family lived in the area of the rice market which was located outside the Parian Gate of Intramuros Manila.

up and he distributed it among the needy with much love and goodwill, saying that he wished to help everybody if he could.

About eight days would now have passed, Brother Fr. Juan, when out of some waist beams of the ship they made a main-mast and out of the mizzen a foremast and with the poor rigging and sails they were making the miserable ship ready when they went up to the General to ask which heading he ordered them to take and he answered: "To Japan". Olivera the pilot told him that if they went to Japan, they would all die on account of the great cold. The General persisted that they go to Japan as it was the nearest land. Once decided, they made a blade out of some boards and used it as a rudder and headed for Japan. They began to ration the provisions and God allowed the stingy ones who were at the poop to remain the way they had been since the ship left Cavite in giving rations to those aboard it, but what we lacked was taken by the General and his assistants and thus began, as I have said, the rationing of food and drink with ended with hunger and thirst, because the ration given in general was little more than two ounces of biscuit and as for the water, it was not even one half of half a quart and this they gave every period of from twenty to twenty-four hours accompanied with a little salted meat or two sardines and most of the times this was eaten raw because it could not be roasted or cooked. There began what had happened during the storms; with the new hunger and thirst and great cold that prevailed, many people began to die off, two one day, another four the next, and there were even days in which eight or ten died. Everyone walked around so skinny and reviled that they looked like statues of the dead. The pitiful words that we the survivors uttered as we saw so many die were: "O Lord God, take us to some island and let us die there, even though we have nothing but field grass to eat and even if they kill us with clubs or by some other means when we get there."

We had adopted St. Ann as our patron saint and every Saturday she was sending us a little shower with which we wetted our tongue and appeased the great thirst we suffered from, soaking our toques and sailcloths on the forward deck and even in turn with urine because there was no strength enough to go to the side to urinate. In the midst of so many efforts our Lord visited us with a warning, a furious hurricane, and not being able to shorten the foresail as there was no-one motivated enough to do it, one of the Pilot Major's boys, named Silva, went up to see if he could. He shortened it, but a gust of wind carried him and the foresail off into the sea and he drowned in front of our eyes and we could not help him. We all carried on and it was pitiful to see us involved with the rolling that brought us from one side to the other and those who could not tie themselves well kept on rolling like balls from one side of the ship to the other and were beaten and broke their bodies into pieces and this ended up by causing weakness that [even] those who ate and drank well feared they would not tolerate that rolling, although almost everyone ended up by dying as death takes away the thin as well as the big and fat. I mean to say that those who withstood it well did not escape either. That was the reason why we ourselves did withstand it so badly that I cannot possibly exaggerate the description of the ill treatment that we suffered more or less the way I have said it so far and will say later."

— “You did not exaggerate it, I am sure, Brother Sancho, you said it well. Let us hope it will become rooted in those of Manila from now on to live with so much conformity that, at least in the ships they send, the commanders would be as I have said good Christians, God-fearing, because for such people, as God animates them and teaches them to regulate their lives and the rest by order from Heaven, unlike the haughty and arrogant ones who are enamoured with themselves and with their industry and government; as such things are not without sins, they are under the rule of the devil and thus do not do correctly what they put their hands or their mouth to.”

— “That is what it seemed, Brother Fr. Juan, because the General never let himself be ruled by reason nor by what he was told by those who had any, but by his comrades who did not tell him anything good but everything to harm us. Thus nothing but harm resulted because our misfortune due to our great sins did not stop with the past storms because they began again and the storms inside our bodies were even worse than those that hit us from the sea because by that time they were giving us only a handful of raw rice and less water than before. The General ordered that the water be transferred to some jars that were there abandoned and then placed below deck and from there it was rationed to the people who were left, and they took it away from those who did not obey even when it rained and the thirst was so great that there were some who satiated themselves with salt water and they died from it. Hunger and thirst became as great a misery as I have said it was, and I leave much more unsaid. Such a misery could have been remedied if only some good means had been taken and that was to have those who ate and drank very well to share it with those who were dying from hunger and thirst. This would have been ample remedy but as charity did not exist a thousand wrongs were done.

We were carrying on, dear Brother, ploughing the sea from here to there, some days with the sad ship beaten by more than 35 hurricanes, something that was never seen nor is it necessary to say that a ship was never so beaten by winds and seas. We were going on that way as I have said and every day many people were dying off and we found ourselves along the coast opposite Tartary [sic] and from there the sea took us as if we were toys from one place to another; in that way we were subtracting and multiplying the degrees until nearing land lying in 31 degrees, according to what the pilot was telling us, and we were about 15 or 20 leagues from it.

About 3 months after the last storm had passed our Lord sent us a peaceful shower with such water that many jars were overfilled and we had such a surplus of water that I saw a man who, with only one handful of rice that he ate, drank three phials of water and having finished to drink them promptly passed it out by the ordinary way as clear as [when] he had drunken it. At the same moment, there was another who found himself so thirsty that, thinking that what the other had urinated was waste water that remained in the pump's channel, drank it all. Do not marvel at what I am saying, dear Brother, because much worse happened as I will narrate to you later.

Well, as the pilot was telling us we were near land and that he believed it was the island of Tosa where the **San Felipe** had arrived in distress, we carried a small foresail

and a jury mast for a main sail but the currents were so strong that we could not overcome them; instead, they took us seaward ten leagues. We tried again hoping to make the land but the currents seemed to tell us that they did not wish to let us get there, thus, we could not overcome them. No matter how we tried, well, seeing that it was as they say to kick against the pricks to want to resist the currents and that on account of the cold, the thirst and the hunger every day more people died, those of us who remained went up to see the General saying that for the love of God and of his blessed Mother, we ought to take another heading and course because the few remaining in the galleon were already all swollen like balls and half dead. That was the truth, Brother Fr. Juan, that those of us who had escaped thus far were so discolored and disfigured that it seemed that we were like dead people even before being dead, and sentenced even before Judgment Day, because some could be seen inflated and others with teeth and molars rotten, gums, lips and mouth blackened and others whose teeth and molars were falling. In short, almost everyone was a spectacle the sight of which live men have never seen.”

— “Well, dear brother Sancho, I promise you that those at Manila, having heard all of this will not amend themselves.”

— “May it please God, Brother Fr. Juan, that there will be improvement in those of us who saw it and passed through it all, even though the rest of them never remember that they must die until they are already half dead, and even then they do not believe it; they would not believe even if it hit them, as they will have to go through death and through what awaits them afterward which is the very just judgment of God. The General, seeing that he could not do otherwise, said that they would go where the pilot thought it best to go, but it was already too late.”

— “I have always seen, said Fr. Juan, that men who are opinionated and head-strong rarely do so unless it is when they cannot do otherwise.”

— “My dear Brother, said Sancho, with all this the pilot expressed the opinion to go toward the islands of the **Ladrones** with the intention of awaiting there the ships that come from New Spain and be rescued by them, those of us who would remain. The course was then taken toward them. With the work caused by the new rudder and as the people went half dead there died many more, because much effort was necessary and they did not give us more ration than the one I have indicated. The rest went about so weak they threw up blood through the nostrils, mouths, ears and fell dead. There were some [veterans] there who said they had been held prisoners and found themselves in similar difficulties and storms in the eastern, the western and the northern [seas] but that everything was a dream in comparison with the sad spectacle they had seen and were looking at. May it please God that we will forever keep it in memory. There occurred, dear Brother, another very great cruelty; it was that to those who could not work on account of being purely crushed and broken up, the General ordered that they were not to be given any ration. As they could not live without it, they died.

There had been about eight days during which we were headed for the Ladrones when the General fell sick of melancholy. He had in his company a few Biscayans who would

come out and with kicks, beatings and sticks wanted to make people get up and work, and as they could not, they took them by force and those who did not have any strength to do work, they did not give them any ration. That way they died. Those Biscayans went around the ship giving orders on behalf of the General and saying in their language: "Let him die who is to die. Let him live who is to live. Let us live and let them die." This is what they said, as I have said before.

After having received so many warnings and punishments, there now followed so many hardships and so many hurricanes. Since the time we began to lose latitude from 44 degrees until we reached 21 degrees, we were hit by five hurricanes as big as the past ones so that there had been **a total of 40 hurricanes** to have hit the miserable ship. In such a manner we were making our way to the Ladrones. The General who, as I have said, was then sick with melancholy, his greatest obsession, which was to return to Manila, began to press him so that he was placed at the last extremity when he said things so astounding and frightening that I do not dare tell them, except that a little before he died, he took a crucifix in his hands, begged forgiveness of all for the great wrongs and cruelties that he had used against them and more against those he had held some grudge and hate. He also asked forgiveness for the evil deeds that those who acted in his name had done and, in particular he asked pardon for having allowed his Sergeant Major Pedro Ruiz de Olalde who had very cruelly abused many [people] physically and with words, and others too, solely for the pleasure of it and whom he had later removed [from his post] as this had been convenient for peace which they were to keep from now on. He appointed the pilot and one Biscayan to take over his place, and we were to obey them as if they were him; they, after his death, were to go below and search for the provisions that were left aboard the galleon and in accordance with what they would find, they should consult among themselves, until the Lord took them to Manila."

— "It seems to me, Brother Sancho, said Fr. Juan, that, if the General had, at the first storm, ordered what he did at the last moment of his death, the way our Lord warned him to amend things, much would have thus been regulated in his life as well as in the provision of the supplies to the others."

— "That is the truth, Brother Fr. Juan, of what happened at the end, as I have said before and now say again, there were so many who were then dying of hunger and thirst, with sores in the throat, falling gums, molars and teeth, and other various illnesses. Out of the 300 or more persons who left Cavite, by the time we sighted the islands of the Ladrones, 260 persons had died the way I have said. I truly believe that if we had not sighted land so soon none of us would have escaped. The General, after having reconciled his soul, was taken back to the poop cabin and three or four days before we saw land expired and went to face God's judgment."

— "And with him most of his assistants, said Fr. Juan. May our Lord have mercy on them. As St. Augustine says, "it is very difficult for those who wait until the last moment to repent themselves to effect their salvation", but better late than never. May God take us by the hand who are still here below."

— “May He have mercy on me, said Sancho, who has gone through so many deaths. I don’t know what will become of mine.”

— “I have not lacked many such warnings myself, said Fr. Juan, but our Lord has delivered me so many times from a death brought by my sins so that I could serve Him, while my beloved brothers [in Japan] died for the confession of the faith. A miserable one such as myself, their worthy brother, was reproached not only by the gentiles but also by the Christians.”

[Saipan and Tinian bypassed]

— “We were already making our way with a favorable wind, said Sancho, toward the islands without a rudder and with a small rag for a sail when it pleased the divine providence to let us sight what we desired so much, that is a very big island, [i.e. **Saipan**] on the eve of Ash Wednesday,¹ and already felt so suspicious that we were saying that we ought to throw ourselves into the sea and now Olivera the pilot would tell them so that they would not throw themselves in: “Brothers, let’s give thanks to God for such a great favor as he has thrown at us”, and that is what we all did. Then Don Rodrigo de Peralta and the others requested the pilot to make for that land. The pilot said that they should let him be, that that island had never been discovered by the Spanish, that he would take them to another better island. Nevertheless, we all wanted to go to that island. The pilot said: “Look, we would have to anchor and it is possible that we would never come out of there alive because this island is called Buenavista² which others call **Saipan**. It is only 10 [sic] leagues from here to Çarpana [**Rota**] and if it is not so, you may cut my head off.”³ When all saw that the pilot was right in what he said, they told him to do what he saw fit. The galleon was headed in the direction ordered by the pilot.

[Arrival at Rota, 8 February 1602]

That afternoon another island⁴ was sighted also high and with this night fell. We placed a broken jar as a headlight with a torch heavy with wax and wrapped with canvas until we saw that the Indians ashore responded to our light with big fires. We guided ourselves toward that direction and went to anchor in front of a great fire and so near it that we could hear the shouts made by the Indians ashore. There we spent the rest of the night giving thanks to God who had used his great mercy toward us miserable ones.

When the desired dawn arrived, we then saw alongside the ship many Indians with their usual refreshment of coconuts, sweet potatoes, water and fish, which they gave us in exchange for the desired iron. We spent the whole of that day consoling ourselves with food and drink. One man went so far as to eat 30 coconuts. When the Indians saw our weakness, they came into the ship and began to rob what they found and to take

1 Ed. note: By using Church rules for mobile feast days, and a perpetual calendar, I was able to derive that Ash Wednesday 1602 fell on 27 February. So, they sighted Saipan on 26 February.

2 Ed. note: This name was later applied to Tinian by the first missionaries, ca. 1670.

3 Ed. note: His head should have been cut off, because the true distance is over 3 times as much.

4 Ed. note: That afternoon of the day they sighted Saipan, the second island must have been Tinian. According to the official account, they anchored at Rota on 9 February, one week later.

the swords we had at our belts. They took a few people, threw them into the sea and from there they took them ashore. We had built a very small boat out of some crates that had been left and although we were somewhat better, with all this there were still not enough strength to be able to put it into the sea until we hailed some Indians who were in some canoes near the ship and by signs we told them to throw it into the water for us, which they did and we paid them three iron hoops for that. Later it was agreed that up to six of us from among the healthier ones and one Indian who had remained would go ashore to trade for a few palm trees in order to make masts and lateen yards and to return to Manila and just at that time to fill a few jars with water. The six Spanish embarked and the Indian with them; there was another canoe belonging to the Ladrone Indians that accompanied it. They carried their arquebuses but there was no-one able to fire them, thus they were used as make-believe weapons. They also carried many iron hoops and swords to barter for the palm trees, the small boat making straight for the shore, directly in front of the galleon. There were many reefs as there are at all the islands of the Ladrones close to the shore. The Indians told them that they should turn to the right because there was the entrance through the reef, but they were lying because there was no entrance except where they were going. Thus, they were tricked and, as they reached the reef, the boat overturned and broke into pieces. Thus, when the Indians saw them lost, over 400 of them threw themselves into the sea and they took them, pulled them ashore and there tied them to a tree. They burned a few and others they killed by throwing stones at them and hitting them with clubs.

We who remained in the miserable ship waited for five days and we discussed what might have happened; some thought we should wait for the palm trees, others that they had died as described above. We were with real grief for five days and on the sixth in the morning, the Ladrone Indians doing the pumping and we being very distracted, we found ourselves upon the reef. We thought that the Indians had cut the rope with which we were anchored, but in truth it was as rotten as we were and it must have come apart. Seeing that there was no longer any remedy, we let the Indians come in, rather, they came in because there was no longer any defence to prevent entry. Thus they took over the galleon and began to take out of her whatever they found made of iron and other things and put those things in their canoes. As for us, those who could board their canoes; as for those who could not they took them in their arms, lowered them and placed them into other canoes because there must have been over 500 canoes about the ship. Don Gonzalo Ordóñez fell overboard and was drowned without the possibility of saving him. The Indians, now in charge of the miserable ship took all of us ashore and distributed us among various towns. Father Fray Hernando, when he saw the land, expired then and there. Father Fray Mateo Marmolejo, made the land but died two days afterward. From among the Spaniards they took ashore, a few were very badly treated although they gave them reasons for that. They killed up to ten of us; among those killed was Don Rodrigo de Peralta because he did not let them take a gold chain and they threw him head first upon a reef [outcrop] that was on the beach and they took him from there dragging him as far as the place where they buried him.”



The San Margarita shipwreck. Some survivors killed at Rota.

— “I have already seen his grave, said Fr. Juan, which some Indians of Atetito have shown me.”

— “That is true; it was in that town that they killed the ones I told you about. As for the Guardian, they placed him in a pit and with stones they threw on top of him, they buried him. They strangled another. As for Captain Gonzalo Manuel, who was very sick in the bowels, the boys killed him by stoning.¹ Another Spaniard was surrounded by a great crowd of over 200 Indians and he was defending himself from them until they hit him with a volley of stones; he was the one named Diego de Llerena who is now at the island of Tenian.

Now, Brother Fray Juan Pobre, I have told you our pitiful and miserable story. See now what you must do because we have already arrived at the town of Guaco. Guaco where we will find the Indians who brought me up from Pago, as that is the name of the town where I am held captive in Boan.”

— “I pray to our Lord, my dear Sancho, to repay you with gifts from heaven for the charity you have shown me in informing me about everything that happened to you and the others aboard the ship **Santa Margarita** which corresponds more or less to what happened also during the disastrous and miserable voyage of the **San Jerónimo**, but before I begin to narrate them to you as I have promised, better do it tomorrow because there is no time now... Why don't you tell me something about the customs of the Indians instead, given that thank God you know their language and would have also learned something about the natives of this land.”

— “I will do as you ask, but now that we have arrived at the town, let us go to the lodge where I left the Indians.”

We arrived and found them all under the house lying on their mats as they usually do. Later, we ate supper out of the poor fare the Indians gave us, and after having rested during the night, before dawn we arose and went along the beach until we found a thick grove in which we entered.

¹ Ed. note: Brother Pobre will say later that the natives abhorred those who moved their bowels at the wrong places, even those who suffered from diarrhea.

Chapter 70: How the good Sancho gave a detailed account of the customs of the Ladrones to Fr. Juan Pobre.

As the site was peaceful enough for Fray Juan to be informed about the customs of those Indian islanders whom we call Ladrones, he said to Sancho: “Until the next meal, do me the favor to tell me all about the nature of these Indians so that, if the Lord keeps me alive, I may be able to give an account of what is happening and in due course, I trust in my Lord, they be converted, because in the short time I have dealt with them, they seem to me to be of a peaceful nature.”

— “Somewhat more than we are, said Sancho. They keep the peace, love one another, do themselves favors but they are not Christian like ourselves. Because I want to give you an account and to satisfy your wish, I will tell you all I know not only about their customs but also about their rites and ceremonies.

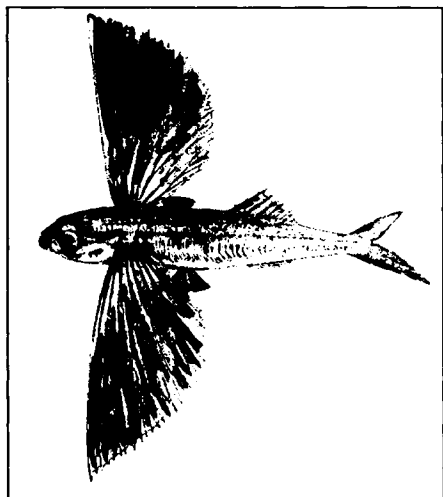
Firstly, as you will have seen already, dear Brother, they all go about, men and women, naked in the flesh and they do so from the time they are born until they die, and this is the same in all the islands. There are many such islands. Besides those shown on the navigation chart which are only the seven or eight they call Gani, [plus] Saipan, Guijan, Tenian, Ruta la Çarpana, and Boam which is the one closest to Manila and the largest, there are many more in the direction of the Volcano [Island], so that according to what I have been informed by these Indians there are over twenty islands [and they all have the same language]¹.

These Indians are among the most robust and generally strong who have been discovered in the whole of the East [and West]² Indies. When they are born, they all come out white, but as they usually walk much in the sun and water they become dark. They usually anoint their bodies and hair with coconut oil and they like the luster it brings out of their very black hair, and it naturally becomes very blond. They do not [need to] make the lye water nor the wash water that at home the sad and miserable ones who are not happy with what God gave them use to make themselves blond.

As for the industry and schemes they use in their fishery, it would make a very long story to narrate it all, so I will say that they use all the known nets and inventions to catch fish and many more, and that covers their fishery. As for their **canoes**, until now no better sailors or divers have been found in their craft. They teach their children from the time they are four or five years old to go to sea and they make them miniature canoes complete with their outriggers (like the ones their big canoes have) and they become so skilled at it that when the son becomes 14 years old he knows as much as his father and when they reach 16 or 18 the sons go out alone as I have seen to fish with a hook and a net. One of them by himself in a canoe fishes, bails out the water, manages

1 Ed. note: Later addition to the manuscript.

2 Ed. note: Later addition to the manuscript.



Flying-fish, or "gaaga" in Chamorro.

the sail and if the canoe capsizes he straightens it up, so much is the strength they have.

The common fish they catch in the islands is the flying-fish which is a very good fish (in the islands). They use many different kinds of hooks, of very hard wood, of shells, and they make them with surprising workmanship although most of them now make them with nails from the ones the ships give them and those they found in the sad ship, the **Santa Margari-ta**, which must have supplied the whole island. When they fish for these flying-fish, those from one town all come together in a bunch and they go out in their canoes, each one with from ten to twelve gourds; to each gourd is tied with a very slim cord a small two-pointed shell hook. One hook is baited with coconut meat and the other with shrimp or some minnow

from the sea. All the fishermen throw these gourds into the sea together, everyone taking care of his own. It is by watching the gourds and seeing them wiggle that they know they have a flying-fish. There are so many fishermen because all those living on the coast of all the islands are fishermen. There are flying-fish for all of them as there are sardines in Spain. The average fish measures about one palm in length, and others about two. The first flying-fish they catch, they then eat it raw. The second one is placed as a bait on a large hook and the cord is thrown over the poop and in this manner they usually catch many dorados, swordfish, and other big fishes. They are much enemies of the sharks and they do not eat them. The Indian chiefs do not eat any fish with leathery skins nor soft-water river fishes either. I want to conclude, as far as their fishery is concerned, with two things I have seen by which the reader will be convinced that they are the most skillful fishermen and sailors who have been discovered.

When the ships that go from New Spain to the Philippine Islands pass by, these people go out with their usual refreshments of coconuts, sweet potatoes, water and some rice and other little things produced locally. They bring it all on account of their covetousness for iron which is more useful to them than gold or silver. At the beginning, their desire for iron was so strong that sometimes it was thrown into the sea and they would throw themselves in after it and they would catch up with it before it reached bottom and pulled it out because there was a depth of over two hundred fathoms. The Indians also used to go aboard the ships, then begin to go about looking for iron, because in it was their affection and heart as it is for someone pining after gold and silver. One day, one of them was walking around looking, when he saw an arquebus and underhandedly noticed that its barrel was fixed to a piece of wood, he made as if he were not looking at it and when it appeared to him that he was not being watched, like someone who hurls a spear, something they can do very well, he threw it into the sea. The Indian threw himself after the arquebus and it was a marvellous thing that, when

everybody thought that the arquebus was lost and the Indian drowned, he came out at a distance of an arquebus shot from the ship carrying the arquebus in the hand and showing signs of joy, and ridicule directed at those aboard the ship.

What I have just said appears to be an impossible thing, and more so to those who hear about it without knowing what it is to see even a bit of a sea or countries other than Castilla la Vieja [i.e. Old Castile], [to believe that] these people are such great divers. From the time they are newborn they bathe themselves as much under water as above it; therefore, it is something worthy of admiration, which the Christian reader will also gather from this story. I will conclude the part about their fishery by saying that they are indeed the most skillful in their occupation as [any] fishermen who have been discovered.

My master, whom they called Suñama, went out to fish upon the high sea and having, as I have said, eaten his first flying-fish and placed the second one on his hook, a very large swordfish caught it and as he had a slender cord he did not dare to pull on it for fear of losing it although he wished to get the fish. He thus spent much time playing the fish and getting it tired and some space of time is required for that. There came a big shark and it seized the swordfish by the middle of the back so that the Indian, on account of not letting go of the line, had his canoe overturn. He threw himself into the water and following the line and coming upon the shark pushed him off his fish, brought up the swordfish, righted his canoe and finally put a mat flag up the mast and, returning ashore, began to narrate to us what had happened, strutting on the beach and gesturing as if he had performed a great exploit. When these Indians return from fishing, in accordance with the quantity of fish they bring, and if they bring back some big fish, this [signal] flag is big. They go out with the tide and return at two and at that hour their children and the other children of the town are already awaiting their fathers or brothers. If they see the signal or flag, then they begin to make great shouts giving signs of great joy and they throw themselves into the water to receive him and he throws the fish that he has taken into the water at them. The children take it, pull it to the beach, place it upon some sticks and take it home. Upon the arrival of the fish, the first thing their children do, if they are big or with their brothers, relatives or friends, four of whom can pull the canoe and place it under a very big shed that they have for this purpose, so that their canoes are never left in the water overnight. Then, upon arriving ashore, he throws himself again into the water where he stays for a while and, when he comes ashore, the person who is his best friend brings a big gourd full of fresh water and washes him from head to foot and as a treat massages his shoulders. Then, he walks slowly home and at the cleanest place and spot he has next to his house he places a clean and well-washed mat and on top of it some plates made of fresh palm leaves. There he keeps his swordfish or his dorado or other kind of fish that he brings and he begins with a flint knife, although nowadays they all have iron ones, to cut open his fish and to the children who brought it for him he gives all the blood, the entrails, fat and gut on account of their being [considered] a delicacy. He himself places the same into his mouth raw. The children love this as much as those of Castile when a very big pig is killed and

their mother distributes the blood pudding among those who are in the house and sends also to those outside. Thus, these people take from the back of the fresh fish and send it to their neighbors and the rest of the fish is salted with certain ceremonies that they have for the purpose. One such ceremony is that at a certain time when the fish must take the salt well, they take a big cord and tie it from the end of their house to some palm tree some 8 to 10 fathoms away and when the other Indians see this signal they pass on the other side of the house because they understand that, on the side where the cord is, the fish is being salted. They call the flying-fish *gaga*,¹ and the dorado *batogue* and the swordfish *batofé*. This suffices insofar as it concerns their fishery.

Sometimes when they come back from fishing early or when they do not go fishing, they go up into the bush to check on their plantations where those who can work go every day. The most common product is their potatoes of which they have four kinds, some that are bitter and big which they call *piga*, others that are shaped like hands and feet and are called *dago*, other big white ones they call *nica* and others very hairy, round and purple in color they call *sune*. Then they make their ovens to cook the potatoes and the breadfruits which they use instead of bread and, to make a few presents to the Indian chiefs, they bake some pies they call *tazca* or *tazga*.² It would be endless to tell it all, at least to do it at the least cost, about such things as we do not have in our country as you would have already seen yourself.

I now wish to talk about things that they make inside the houses which is how they make mats which in Castile are called *esteras*. They are very skilled at it. Mats are used as mattresses and blankets because they sleep with a mat underneath and another one on top. The men and the women use mats to make tables upon which to eat, to send their presents, to make hats of different styles, and that is why they know how to work the matting well. It is made out of some trees that look like nipa palms or shorter palms which they call *nipay*.³

They also make their ovens every day in the morning and in the afternoon in accordance with their own means. The women go to the plantations to work as in many parts of Spain to plow and sow. The plantations cost them much labor to work the earth because as they do not have any plows nor anything made of iron, which as I have said they esteem so much that they do not want it to touch the earth. Thus to work the earth they use some sticks made of a hard palm wood they call *bonga* and at the tip of which they are going to use to work the earth there is a sort of blade the thickness of three fingers and, with both hands they swing it from side to side⁴ and so cultivate their lands and keep them clean [of weeds].

They are not lazy and they do not like the lazy ones either. Thus the men and women are great workers and they make their sons and daughters work from the time they are small. They instruct them in their trades and from a very young age they know them as

1 Ed. note: Now written *gaaga*.

2 Ed. note: The origin of the name of the town where Fray Pobre lived (that of its founder).

3 Ed. note: The same custom and word are used in the Philippines.

4 Ed. note: That must be the traditional Chamorro tool called *fusiño*.

well as their parents because they are taught with much love. This love they have for their children is so great that I would need much space to extoll it as it really is. They never beat them in punishment. They are loving in their words and if the child resents what they tell him and gets angry, he moves away a little from his parents and with his back turned toward them he throws some sand or dirt or stones backward so as not to face them. After he has cried for some time the father or the mother gets up and goes where the child is and with very loving words picks him up into their arms or on the hips and take him where they were themselves and they give him something to eat, always from the best they are eating and after he is no longer angry they tell him what he has to do. If he should [already] be tall, they admonish him to be good. That is the love with which such barbarians raise their children and they in turn become obedient and orderly in their chores and functions. Naturally, they are merciful toward one another because, even though they practice from childhood in order to become skilled in their weaponry such as in shooting darts and slings both for offence and defence with those they are at war, which ordinarily takes place between one coast against the other, at present they keep the peace. The peace is such that, as an eyewitness, in all the time I have been among them¹ I have never seen them (those of one town) fight one another, surely an affront to those of our country, I don't say people, where there is hardly any peace in one house. These people keep such a great peace that I don't know how to ask why there is so much [of it] among barbarians and so little among Christians.

They have other things in which they are skillful and for which thank God I understand one must learn from them because they are naturally peaceful.

If one day the Indian is sick and cannot go fishing, his child goes to the beach at the time the people of the town return from fishing and, knowing already that the father or brother is indisposed, they give him some of what they bring, even though he had a houseful of salted fish they give him some fresh fish to eat that day. On a day when the owner of the house or the wife or the children fall sick, all the relatives in the town take them lunch and dinner and from the best they have and this until they die or get up from the bed or usually for at least nine or ten days.

When their houses become old, they have them repaired. All the relatives or neighbors gather the materials and on the appointed day, even if it were from the bottom up, the house is finished in half a day or at two or three o'clock. As far as Indian houses are concerned, these are the best I have seen because they are all based upon their stone pillars² which the others [elsewhere] do not have. They not only take their labor to build the house of a relative or neighbor but also they bring over food for him, for his whole household and also for themselves. Their custom is such that what one does with his other relatives and friends, he [also] does it with his friends.

They gather at certain times or holidays they have during the year, not only those from one town but other towns and they host a feast and banquet for one another. For this purpose, they keep the salted fish and at some of these meetings as many as 2,000

1 Ed. note: Six months, from April to October 1602.

2 Ed. note: Now known as *latde* or *latte* stones.

or 3,000 get together although only 100 or 200 eat, or 1,000 depending on the means of the one giving the feast.

They also come together to debate. The people of one party take their places inside some sheds and the other party likewise. One gets up and begins to debate and to throw verses and tell witticisms in their style against whomever is in front of him or against the other town and after he has finished another from the opposite side begins to debate against the former one. In that manner many towns come together as I have said to debate against one another. This dispute or debate persists from 8 in the morning until 2 when they eat what they have brought although usually the town where the gathering takes place gives them food. Such debates usually lead to some enmities between them as is the case with all disputes and more so when they want to show off their knowledge. The most knowledgeable among these Indians gather to attend this dispute. Some of them are taught from childhood and they call this one an *ari*¹, and this meeting is the most esteemed of all those they hold. For that reason dissents arise from it and they defy one another, town against town, and they come out to their posts, plains or palisades. They have a marked boundary and they carry out their skirmishes with their slings and sometimes they meet in battle with their spears although, since I have been among them and seen a few of these disputes, they have ended peacefully.

They are very cheerful and jokers. They wrestle and test their strength and all this very peacefully. At 20, 30, and at 40 and even at 50 paces they do not miss the target they aim at with their spears. At 100 and at 200 paces they are very skillful in shooting with the sling. They make marble stones for this purpose the size of very large acorns in such a way and with such strength that they shoot them with their slings like an arquebus, always hitting what they aim at with the stone. So great is the force that if the stone hits the head or the body it penetrates it. Boys from the time they are small challenge one another, those from one shed against those of another, or one town against another; they [then] make the stones out of mud and they blunt their small spears or bars and they carry out their skirmishes and they meet and give battle. Sometimes they knock one another down but once the fight is over they embraced one another with great love.

When, Brother Fr. Juan, they arrive at the marriageable age, these Indians make a big feast and banquet and they have their own custom of the dowry, as all the Indians who have been discovered have. They reckon relationship from the first-born brothers upward and a bond also exists between father and godfather, mother and godmother, and between those who are great friends.

Friendship is such between some of them that upon arriving at the house of his friend, if he should find him at home then he may take whatever he wants from it and he does the same with respect to his property and his coconut trees as if they were his own. What these people value the most are their boats, canoes, and nets. Their friends use and consume everything they own between themselves, so great is the faithfulness they keep for

1 Ed. note: Is this word akin to the Polynesian word for a wise man, *alii*? Fr. Pérez has transcribed this word as "mari".

each other. When two friends meet, they then embrace each other and walk while holding each other with the arms around the neck and thus they walk through the town. The boys also agree with one another to keep this friendship forever and this with great chastity, quite unlike the regretful and miserable custom that exists in many parts of Europe which is something to make one cry and more so [because it is] among Christians. These barbarians have been asked many times by the Spanish if among them they practiced some vice against nature. Arms akimbo they gasped in much surprise upon hearing about it that they said that such a thing had never been seen nor heard of in all their islands, that they did not even have a word for it and if anyone among them did it their relatives would later kill them in a bad manner.”

— “Truly, Brother Sancho, these people whom we take for granted as barbarians, have some natural things that are so good that on Judgment Day our Lord God will have to judge us for it because, look what is going on nowadays in many parts of Italy and, to begin with, even in Spain on account of our sins! God save us!”

— “The holy office [of the mass], said Sancho... If our Lord had not placed this defence which serves as an undisputable barrier, the whole [world] would already have been lost or most of it corrupted.

They do not practice justice nor is there anyone among these Indians to carry it out, but there is in each town one or two or three chiefs for whom they show some respect, for example, when he comes from fishing, by pulling his canoe up the beach, by taking what he brings to his house and the same thing when he returns from his plantation. The first persons from the town who encounter their chiefs take from them and carry some thing or other in their hands or on their shoulders. They also show him respect at meetings by giving him the first and best place, and at banquets the first slice and dish. They call such Indian chiefs *omacarai*¹ and they do the same to their wives. In some islands they also show the same respect to old people although they may not be as important as the others. The young men usually show off their strength in front of these chiefs and they wrestle arms open and make each other tumble. Then, the friend of the one who fell down comes forward with great arrogance saying: “Friend, you have to take me also” and he begins to wrestle with the other. Then there comes forward another and yet another, some with so much arrogance as they say: “You, you are nothing but a child and you should wrestle with children and not with me”, and thus they test their strength or sometimes they move apart from each other and, although in jest they usually act as earnestly as in fencing. They take some spears at 10 or 12 paces, one throws at the other and although they are skillful at hitting correctly, they are more so in avoiding being hit, and many times they grab the spear in the air and say to the one who threw it: “You think I am blind? Understand that I have very good eyes”, and this is the way they prove themselves in front of the Indian chiefs.

1 Ed. note: Or so it appears in the manuscript. Fr. Pérez has transcribed this as “magaraies ó macaraies”. One may wonder if the word *macana* was meant instead, even though the word seems to have been reserved for chiefs who were also priests or sorcerers, as will be seen below.

When one kills another, if they are from the same town he absents himself from that town to go to another island so that the relatives will not kill him. He remains absent until from the killer's house or from that of his father or mother they take one or two palms of tortoise [shells] which is the thing that is most valued among them and with some big fish and rice they pay the father or mother or wife of the deceased for the death. Once this has been done, they send word to the exile and he can come freely and walk about fearlessly through his town and that is their form of justice. The Indians killed four of the Spaniards who went over to the island of Boan but the latter had no one to blame but themselves, as the Indians would tell those of us who remained: "Why are you so bad? Why don't you want to be at peace with us? If we kill you it is because you do us much harm." In truth, that is the way it was because there were some Spaniards who would punch the [native] children without provocation and do other wrongs which the parents would tolerate many times until they became angered and killed them, but at present they tolerate much because these Indians hold it as a great honor to have a Spaniard in their house and on account of the good amount of iron they hope to get in exchange for him. Thus they must be provoked very much to kill them. Even though they are barbarians, they esteem very much the Spaniards who have good customs and thus they say of one who is very good that he is *marireri*¹ and about one whom they see as dishonest or badly conditioned that he is very bad, which is the same as saying in their language *areri*.²

When the time comes to get married, as I have said, and for the husband and wife to share one house, although they may have been married 20 or 30 years, if the faithful husband should cheat on his live-in wife and if the latter becomes angry enough, she leaves the house and takes all the children she has with all the furnishings from the house and goes to the house of her parents or relatives and she remains there. In all that time the children do not recognize the father although he may pass next to them. The husband's relatives must implore her very much before she goes back to him; however, when she cheats on him, it is easier for her to get pardon from the husband because this sin is more serious for males than for females.

The names which they give themselves from the time they are small are names of fishes or of trees which they use to make their canoes or of other similar things that they value very much. When they are walking and they meet one another, they make courtesies by removing their straw hats when they have them, and treating one another with betel nut that they call *sano*³ which they always carry in some little baskets very well made of matting and when they have run out of them and they meet with some person, they call on his good will by showing the [empty] basket and letting him know that it has been shared with so many others that it is finished. Then the other gives him some of the betel nut which he is carrying; otherwise, he does the same thing as the other.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Pérez has transcribed this as "mastreri".

2 Ed. note: The author mentioned earlier that the words for "very bad" were *are ari*.

3 Ed. note: Fr. Pérez has transcribed this "sauo".

The island of Boan [**Guam**] which is biggest among those we have discovered would have nearly 400 towns and some of them with 200, 300 and 400 people each. It would have a circumference of 50 leagues. Its population would be over 60,000 inhabitants. Two towns have grand chiefs and are among the largest; one is called Fuña and the other Motac.¹

The island of Carpana [**Rota**] has as many as 50 towns; there would be more or less from 10,000 to 12,000 Indians. If I mention only these two islands, it is because we Spanish have been in them and have informed ourselves and because about the others neither the size nor the population is known although they are said to be highly populated. The people on the coasts have an abundance of fish and those who live in the interior have an abundance of land products from the land and thus they trade and deal among themselves giving in exchange for fish some rice, potatoes and other kinds of produce from the land. They value very much a type of tall trees they call *rimay* [breadfruit] and with reason as it provides their daily food and serves them as bread.

About the iron they have, they work it with pure force in accordance with what they need, by taking some very strong cobblestones and with pounding they make their hooks and knives without fire and they know very well how to grind them so that they can use them to make their ships and things and the other stuff they need in their fashion.

The people closest to the sea and who live along the beaches are held to be more important than those who live in the interior. They do not use slaves but they have servants and they treat them very well. The people who live in the woods are held to be the lower class; they are called *mangachanes*² and they hold those of the upper class who live on the beach in great respect, so much so that without the latter's permission they could not reach their houses nor their canoes and boats.

I could tell you many other things, Brother Fr. Juan, about the customs and the nature of these Indians but for now what I have told you will suffice.”

— “Two things I would like to know about, Brother Sancho, if you don't mind. It is what they worship and how they bury their dead, that is which **rites and ceremonies** they use the most.”

— “I am happy to tell you what I know. With regard to worship, it is the same with them as for justice. As they have neither king nor castle, similarly they have neither law nor idols to worship. They only give some sign of holding much in reverence the skulls

1 Ed. note: In 1602, the largest towns in Guam were therefore Fuña, located abeam of Fuña or Aluton Island where the old site of Agat was located in more modern times, and Umatac, both on the west coast. The predominance of Agaña occurred later, after the arrival of the missionaries in 1668.

2 Ed. note: I think that the word “mangachan” could have been misunderstood by Fr. Pobre. There was then an inland village called Machanag (or Macham) situated southward of As Teteto.

of their ancestors, specially those of their grandparents and parents. Such skulls they keep in their houses, raised high above, and they make a sort of bowing gesture holding them in some respects.¹ Those who are more adept at these ceremonies give orders to their wives, sons, daughters and servants that, while they are gone fishing, nobody should go up where the skulls are because the deceased whom they call *anite* [or *anito*] would get angry and they would drown or would not catch any fish nor have good luck; hence, they should not touch anything. Thus they try and obey, even those of the household do not go up where the *anite* or skulls are until they return from fishing and the fisherman goes up first, takes the skulls from some small baskets like a box and places them in front of himself and makes his certain ceremonies offering them the flying-fish that he has brought in and talks to them very quietly so that no-one can hear what he says, and when he has taken some big fish like a swordfish or a dorado or a turtle or some small one which they call *tagafe*,² they offer it to the skulls and placing the oldest one on top of the other skulls and placing some of their fish catch on top of that, they send for their relatives and the nearest neighbors and they make a feast to their skulls, everyone bringing rice flour mixed with water ([and/or] preserves from grated coconut) and making signs and ceremonies as if to feed that old skull they begin to sing in a high pitch as if to say grace to the Indian by saying: "I love you much, much I love you skull, much I love you skull as you give me such good luck in fishing and I give you so much honor".³

There are some Indians among them whom they call *macana*,⁴ which means learned man, and who makes rain and knows how to foretell the future. Such men own many skulls in their house and are more adept than the others. When those of the town need water for their fields, they ask these *macanas* to make it rain and they like to be coaxed and thus they are much coaxed and are given some presents which they receive willingly and because the other Indians understand that they have power. To make rain, they take some of the skulls to talk to and they bury them for two or three days before the conjunction of the moon and, as for the most part the weather is usually damp and it rains then, those barbarians think that the Indian *macana* makes it rain and although he fails sometimes and most of the times, if at some other time by luck he hits it correctly, they esteem him a lot for that and they give him a few presents of which they are

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- 1 Ed. note: There is a 2-line addition to the manuscript which is scribbled so small that it cannot be meaningfully deciphered. Fr. Pérez has transcribed it as follows: "Por eso dicen algunos que usan de *Fotoques* y *anitos*, como a la verdad no usan dellos, sino de solares" [That is why they say that some of those, who use idols and anitos—in truth they make use of the ground floor only— those etc.].
 - 2 Ed. note: This corresponds to the red snapper, according to Amesbury & Myers' "Guide to the Coastal Resources of Guam", vol. 1, page 51.
 - 3 Ed. note: Similar customs existed in the Philippines and the idols were also called *anitos*. On the other hand, the priests (and priestesses) were called *catalonas*.
 - 4 Ed. note: It is a pure coincidence that the same word, of Mexican origin, was used by the Spanish to describe a "war club".

fond of (which does not surprise me much), as well as in many other parts because few are those who throw gifts away (I say that most of these are fond of gifts).

As the devil works for our perdition, although he holds all these barbarians under his banner, he tries to deceive them also with his tricks and schemes and by appearing to a few Indians, in particular these *macanas* who are most familiar to him, in the guise of one of their ancestors whose skull the *macana* keeps in his house and because they did not carry out very well the ceremonies that he has imposed upon them, he beats them and leaves them many times crushed and broken and at other times threatens them and tells them: “Why did you not take care to have the people show me some respect, not to have them touch the skulls and why do you let them go up into your house? I will have you drowned. Don’t go fishing, neither today nor tomorrow, as the boat will capsize and you will not have any luck either in fishing or in your plantation because you do not carry out my commands.”

Sometimes, after having beaten them well, he takes possession of their bodies and they usually go out between 11 or 12 at night shouting through the town saying a thousand nonsensical words and then the other Indians who are awake learn about the sickness that the miserable one suffers from and from then on they hold him in little esteem because they say that the *anite* which is the skull treats him very badly because he must not have carried out his orders well and they tell him to hurt his pride: “Go on, go, go away! You have not done well what it had ordered you to do. So, go on”, and he becomes so ashamed with what they tell him that he returns to his house and out of shame he does not come out where he would be seen for over ten days. Even though these Indians appear like barbarians to us, they think of themselves as being very knowledgeable and, by the questions they ask and the answers they give, that there is nobody in the world more informed.”

— “I don’t know the reason why they presume themselves to be so knowledgeable, said Fr. Juan.”

— “It is not remarkable that most of the barbarians in the world think of themselves as the most knowledgeable, said Sancho. Neither these Indians nor the gentiles presume. Why, they are simply blind in their knowledge of themselves.”

— “Well, they do not know about God and they do not fear him, and what surprises me the most is that those who have the light and torch of our holy catholic faith, because they do not regulate their lives based on the fear of God which is the true knowledge, they are on their way to perdition. A large part of the world has already been lost on account of some arrogant and envious men who have chosen to dispute wittily like Luther¹, Pelagius² and others. It is necessary, very necessary for us, Brother Sancho, to prostrate ourselves upon the earth and with deep humility to live with the fear of God because the wheel of science overfills those who are not so well knowledgeable about

1 Ed. note: Heretic born in Germany [1483-1546] who believed that salvation could not be obtained by faith and indulgences alone.

2 Ed. note: Heretic born in England [360-422] who believed that divine grace was not necessary for salvation.

their own selves but humility destroys that very wheel with the fear of God. Among all the opinions and esteems, the one that the pride of man esteems the most (said Fr. Juan) is to want to, and to appear to and to be esteemed as a prudent and wise man. It is by being so prudent that our first father [i.e. Adam] had a great fall and that we all fall with him on account of wanting a knowledge greater than the one we were given, and even the wise Solomon, who is the one commonly said to have been the wisest man in the world and the one who had received the most favors from God who, after having told the 3,000 parables through the Holy Spirit, fell into many errors. He who becomes crazy on account of God has no such doubt, although the whole world may call upon him. There is a very correct and true proverb and warning that says: "He who saves himself knows", although he may appear to be the most ignorant in the world. So, Brother Sancho, it is very necessary for us, I have already said, to lower ourselves as much as we can and subject our lives to the yoke of the fear of God in order not to misbehave by rising so much as to lose the foundation of the fear of God and to fall even lower."

— "Well then, said Sancho, so that you may see the presumption of these Indians who think that there are no people who are better, more knowledgeable, or more informed than they in the world. Look at the answers they give. Some of the questions are so barbarous; for instance, I have told them, by saying to them: "Who made the sky?" They answered me: "Well, we look at it, [therefore] we made it."

—"Who made the earth?" and they respond: "What a fool you are! If I go and sow my rice and plant my potatoes, who would have to do it if not me." And they say the same thing about the sea: "Well, we go fishing and we sail on it in our canoes, [therefore] we made it." With such nonsense they answer our questions and many times they say that we are the foolish ones.

They laugh a lot at our clothes and other stylish manners. They are ashamed to cover their body with any kind of clothing, so much are they naturally used to go about naked, as I have said, both men and women. Only the women above 8 or 10 upward carry a piece of tortoise [shell] in front or a leaf from a plant, the size of the palm of the hand, and appropriate for covering their nakedness. Although, as I have said, they go about all naked, I have not seen in the daytime shameful behavior among them, although in their dancing events and dances some behave that way, although not so badly as among Christians who dance that damned and devilish dance of the Etc. [sic] and I have not yet heard anyone witness here what Christian eyes can see when watching such a dishonest and shameful dance. These Indians also sing and make music in harmony and with much concert. They teach one another how to dance and sing. And now, Brother Fr. Juan, I wish to conclude with the **burial of the dead.**"

— "About 8 or 10 days ago, Brother Sancho, I was called to a house in the town of Atetito which is where they killed our Spaniards, and they told me to go up into it and

I saw a dead man they had there called Soom¹ who was one of the most important chiefs in the town. He was lying on a mat. Near his house they made a platform for him with coconut trees and very high beams and on top of it a chair where they could place the dead Indian and while he laid there the platform was surrounded by the other chiefs. A few were singing, crying and there they were telling him many things which I did not understand, then they took him down and they all together took him to the beach in front of the house of one of his brothers who was the one who was his heir, because among them the children do not inherit, but the brothers do. They made him a grave and threw him in. They buried him and placed a new mat on top. Around the grave they made a sort of bier with a roof, a small platform covered with new mats and they went from there with the older brother to the house of the deceased where they held a big feast mixed with some tears.”

— “That is what they usually do, said Sancho, with the Indian chiefs. That Soom, I have known him and he was one of the leaders of the town of Atetito, but what they commonly do to their dead is to wrap them in a new mat that serves as a shroud, and to cut his hair. Two women from among the oldest in the town who are his relatives arrive and, placing on top of the shrouded corpse a few tree barks or painted papers, they begin to sing and to cry together saying to so and so, calling him by his name: “Why have you left us? Why did you absent yourself from our sight? Why did you leave the women you were so much in love with? Why did you leave the sling, the spear, the nets and the canoe in which you went fishing? Why did you leave the little basket where you carried your betel nut? Why did you leave the axe and the knife?” They carry on in this manner for more than two hours saying such things and more. All of his relatives embrace him and carry him off together to bury him with great weeping and afterward they return to his house and each drink one mortarful of pounded rice (or grated coconut) diluted with cold water. They bury them in front of the house of the most important relative.²

When men or women are sick, the cure and remedy they apply to them is [by massaging] the part [of the body] where it hurts. They get up on top of them and they step over them as if to beat them, lifting one foot and lowering the other. One such sick person may have one Indian working on one muscle, another on another and yet another on the shoulders. Sometimes, there are as many as four Indians on top of the sick one. If he should have a headache, given that they cannot step on the head, they press on it with the thumbs. That is the way that they commonly cure the sick bodies.”

— “My Lord God, Brother Sancho, may take pity on them and cure their souls and send them the light of the holy gospel.”

1 Ed. note: Not pronounced as in English, but as two separate syllables, So-om. The name of this Chamorro family was later written Soon (See a later volume, ca. 1690, for the story of Captain Soon who had been sent to discover the central Carolines).

2 Ed. note: Very similar customs existed in the Philippines at that time. There were mourners who composed such panegyrics in honor of the deceased. One difference was that the drinks served were alcoholic in nature.

— “It will be difficult, Brother Fr. Juan, because until now no gold nor silver has been found in these islands.”

— “Well then, for the light of heaven to come among them, said Fr. Juan, I say that neither gold nor silver is necessary, my brother, because for the conversion of these Indians a ship has to come from Manila or from New Spain where the religious have come and the Spanish would not want to bring them unless motivated by some interest in gold or silver or another thing of value to them. What can be of greater interest, said Fr. Juan, than the conversion of the souls for which the Son of God came down from Heaven!”

— “That is good for sure, Brother Fr. Juan, but I tell you the truth. If these Ladrone Indians had any gold or silver, they would be Christians already and even greater thieves to take the gold from us after having traded it for iron.”

— “My Lord God in his mercy, said Fr. Juan, will incline the good nature of the Indians toward preparing them to receive the light of Heaven even though there is neither gold nor silver. If our Lord sees them prepared, he will send them help so that they may become Christians and that is what we have come from Castile for.”

— “Well, we Castilians, Brother Fr. Juan, do not come only for that but we are almost all dissolute. And because it is already time to eat, let us go toward the lodge and afterward you will do me the favor to narrate to me the loss of the ship **San Jerónimo** to see if it was equal to ours.”

— “Surely, Brother Sancho, not many more escaped from one ship than from the other. The troubles were almost the same. Although the big storms that you tell me about have surprised me, the ship **San Jerónimo** also passed through the same storms, not surprisingly since both were there at about the same time.”

When they arrived at the lodge they learned from the Indians that they had to embark for their island the next day in the morning. Then they all ate together and I ended up with a good part of the potatoes, breadfruit, and some flying-fish, and this meal was the last one and the [last] proper bite that the good Sancho ate. After the meal, the two returned to the point they occupied in the morning whereupon Fray Juan began to say:

— “Now, my dear brother Sancho, I want to give you an account of what happened to those who were in the disastrous and pitiful ship **San Jerónimo** and as you have shown me the order I have to follow, in the name of my Lord I will begin.”

Chapter 71: How Fr. Juan Pobre narrated to Sancho the pitiful event of the loss and return in distress of the ship San Jerónimo.

[...]¹

... “They sighted an island at 4 in the afternoon. It was a round one, at a latitude of 32 degrees² and they brought up the sick pilot in a chair so that he could see it. He was of the opinion that it was one of these [Ladrone Islands] and others contradicted him giving as their opinions that they had to be lost because it was not a known island and thus they should continue to sail going northward where they sighted another island like the first and in the same latitude.³ A few were of the opinion they should go to it, so much was their desire to make land.”

... “Well, while being so desirous of land and the Lord having offered them two islands, some people wanted to touch at them while others defended the point of view that they should not, they sighted another smaller island behind the second one they had seen and, since they thought it was more appropriate to live the small amount of life that remained to them, they determined to make for it. There was no lack of a person to criticize their going there, although all wished to go there, saying that they did not know the place and that there might not be any port.”

— “It seems to me, said Sancho, that the port of those miserable afflicted ones was the whole sea, given that it offered them some risks but not as many as the land.”

— “Thus it became true, said Fr. Juan, because when they reached it, very few went out and they were more dead than alive. Thus they again turned northward.”

[...]⁴

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- 1 Ed. note: The companion ship of the **Santa Margarita**, i.e. the **San Jerónimo**, was making her way back from the North Pacific and was near Lat. 32° N. when they saw signs of land. Since Fr. Pobre had left Manila in 1599, the only way he could have heard the story of the San Jerónimo was from news brought to Acapulco by the **Santa Potenciana** in 1601.
 - 2 Ed. note: Such an island may have been Ao (which means Blue) Island at about 4 degrees south of Tokyo.
 - 3 Ed. note: This could have been the same island, or Hachijo Island in 33°, or, if the latitude was 34° instead, either the Miyake or the Izu Islands.
 - 4 Ed. note: The ship made the Japanese coast at 35° N. Lat., i.e. directly east of Tokyo, by mid-September but a storm took them off and on until finally they decided to leave Japan to return to the Philippines.

Chapter 72: How that night an Indian named Sínaro struck Sancho with a lance and how he died from it nine days later and what happened about this [in August 1602]

Both Fray Juan Pobre and Sancho went out from the fresh coconut grove after having given each other an account of the sad and pitiful events of the miserable ships and, heading toward the inn which was near the beach, they found other Indians who had arrived from the island of Saipan and, when Sancho asked them about a Spaniard who was in it by the name of Sosa [Soto?], they said that he was already dead because, having sailed from Saipan for Boam, such a severe hurricane hit them, and he was found [dead] along with the Indians who were in the canoe (Lord have mercy on his soul!) when the Indians drowned because they fear neither storm nor hurricanes in the middle of the sea.

— “So help me God, said Sancho, for the favor that we have gained, now that we are no longer forced to remain in these islands, except that two or more favors would be required for some to come willingly to live among these barbarians but I decide not to leave them until I die or until we go back to Manila.”

Sancho did thus because in the little time I knew him I judged him to be a truthful man.

— “Brother Sancho, said Fray Juan, now in all the islands besides ourselves there is only Diego de Llerena who is at the island of Tinian.”

— “God save him, said Sancho, because he is a very Christian lad. There are also a few [negro] male slaves and about two female slaves. Between them, I believe there would be up to 16 in all and most of them are at the island of Boan but those will never go back to Manila because they are not in the possession of the Spanish; they hate and fear them so much that they prefer to become barbarian once again among these than to go and live among Christians, so cruel are those who ply these sea lanes, going back and forth to Manila. Thus when the ship comes, we have the desire to seek it; these slaves have a stronger desire to flee from it and no matter how much we beg them to come with us, there is no remedy. Rather they go into the bush, thinking as I have said, that they are not in security there.”

It was then already time for supper when the two companions sat down together, Fray Juan and Sancho, and once the poor collation was over, as supper was so little, they were together a while speaking until 8 at night, when they fell asleep. The good Sancho was in the habit of getting up a few times during the night to pray and entrust himself to God and he did his morning prayers as if he were a religious. This night, either because he could not sleep or because it was his usual time to go and pray, he got up more or less at about 11 and, leaving his sleeping companion, went toward the beach which was at about 50 paces and there walked for a while and came back into a shed

that was next door to the house and throwing himself upon the sand fell asleep at about 20 paces from where Fray Juan was.

There was at that time a traitor of an Indian spying on the unwary Sancho who had avoided so many deaths at sea as well as ashore because three times after he came to the Ladrone Islands they intended to kill him and from all of them our Lord had delivered him until this hour which was the last one because now he had a religious of the glorious father St. Francis, toward whom the good Sancho was very devoted, present at his death and burial. Well then, as the traitor saw the opportunity presented by the sleep, because had Sancho been awake he would not use it on account of his great fear of him, he crept close to him and gave him a thrust with his lance through the back next to the spine and kidneys and then fled carrying the shaft in his hand and leaving a palm-long bone¹ stuck in the body of the good Sancho who awakened from the sleep of death and went to find his companion Fray Juan and told him: “Brother, they have killed me, because they have speared me through the spine.”

— “Didn’t I tell you, Brother, said Fray Juan, not to leave my side”, because he had been so told the day before when, Sancho having similarly gotten up during the night, they threw some stones at him. Through many tears the wound was inspected and dressed with coconut oil (to imbue²) as there was no other medicine in the whole island but even if there would have been many, all would have been ineffective because there was no way to pull out the barb-shaped bone that had its tip [shaped] like an arrow and had many points as far as its other end so that to enter the body it goes in easily and cannot come out without the flesh being torn. If only it had gone in into another part of the body there might have been some remedy but as it went in between some bones of the spine there was no way to pull it out and worse than that it seemed to be way in and must have transpierced the entrails and intestines and even worse was the fact that there was no blood coming out of the wound.

As the wound was fresh, there was reason for Sancho to wait until the morning and return with Fray Juan Pobre to the town of Tazga to the house of his master Suñama. It was a pity to see the poor fellow stooping and yet both in fear as long as they remained in the town of Guaco, as the place where he was speared was called. There was one big league to reach the place of the Indian Suñama, master of Fray Juan. A few Indians had gathered and accompanied him as far as the lodge where was Brother Fray Juan [rather Pedro] who came out first to receive his brother [i.e. Fray Juan] and Sancho and with many tears and sadness they took him up into the house where they told their masters what had happened to Sancho. This Indian Suñama had two big houses as he was the main chief of the town of Tazga. In one house there were himself, his wife

1 Ed. note: The ancient Chamorros made the pointed ends of the spears lethal by tying a fractured human bone, often the tibia from the leg portion of a skeleton, to them. Such a bone was barbed and designed to break off from the shaft and remain in the wound to infect it and thus cause slow death by blood poisoning, if not by bleeding.

2 Ed. note: The word in parantheses seems to be the Latin word *imbuerere* written in as a reminder by the author.

and children, and in the other which was one arquebus shot away from the first, there was the oldest son and his wife and the two religious. Well, when the good Suñama learned what had happened he then moved his whole household and with wife and children went where Sancho was and showing much feeling with many tears, he remained with his wife during his whole sickness and took him as if he were his son or brother. The praiseworthy custom of the land was kept during Sancho's sickness, as it has been mentioned in greater details previously, that is when the relatives saw that Suñama had taken him in as for a son, they brought him food in the morning and in the afternoon, not only for Sancho but also for the two religious, and also for Suñama, his wife and children and whomever was in the house and this with great abundance because, although they suffer from some hunger during the two months of April and May and until the middle of June, during this period of Sancho's sickness it was the period of their harvest and thus they could sustain us all with great abundance. In the morning and in the afternoon, the friends and relatives brought their presents and placed them all in one line in front of our master's house. They waited next to them until our master or his wife or the eldest son came down to take them and give them thanks, then they went back home. The food was taken into the house and then Sosanbra who was Suñama's wife chose the best and the freshest of the flying-fish and the best and biggest of the breadfruit and the same with the potatoes and coconuts and she prepared the food in accordance with their custom, first for the sick one. May powerful and rich men who think of themselves as good Christians and let their poor relatives and neighbors perish from hunger learn something from the [example given by the] good nature of these Indians.

The ordinary food which was given to the sick one, because the others got it stewed, was to roast for him one or two good and fresh flying-fish which in that island are healthier than trouts in Castile. After roasting them, they took off the offals and, fish-bones apart, made the body into little pieces and then they grated a coconut from among the best ones and the coconut meat was rolled in a little salt and thrown upon the fish if the sick one liked it that way and otherwise it was put next to the thing by itself. They also placed a big and pretty breadfruit, roasted or cooked. Breadfruit, in season, is surely the biggest and best fruit in the world. They use it instead of bread and when it falls from the tree out of ripeness it is like *manjar blanco* [custard]. They placed this food in front of the good Sancho and three or four very good and big potatoes, and the best treat they have among them which is to grind a little rice with grated coconut which they roll into balls because the juice that comes out of the coconut meat is mixed with the rice flour and this they esteem as a great treat among them and they eat it also instead of bread. They also make a drink out of it by diluting it with cold water in a great mortar, from which they drink by a spout it has without the mortar touching the mouth because they hold as bad manners while drinking to have the mouth touch the vessel or cup and thus they drink high up. All of this that I have said here they placed in front of the good Sancho twice a day, at 8 in the morning and at 3 or 4 in the afternoon and besides at other times during the day they asked and begged him to eat because they

are great eaters. The same thing they do with their sick children and were doing with Sancho they do with all the relatives and friends that come from other islands, because after their arrival the relatives of the one who receives them in his house bring him food for himself, for his travelling companions and, as I have said, the whole household. It is surely an admirable and good custom so different from the miserable, greedy and avaricious Christians, who could well follow the example of the good nature and customs of these Indians and cast aside and take out what they have accumulated, given that after their death these stingy unfortunate ones in hell will find very few of the ducats that they left locked inside their coffers, not like these Indians who are so liberal in giving what they have [not only] to their relatives and friends but even to strangers.

The Indians were giving to Sancho 9 days to live and they were treating him with everything the way I have said. He suffered great pains in everything. He suffered much because he had no respite neither day or night, rather everything was a pitiful cry on account of the great pain he suffered because as it was in the spine and it had passed through the entrails and intestines everything was being corrupted inside. It was as if he were in purgatory. As the poor fellow could not move about, it was necessary for him to move his bowels there and either my master and his wife or their children would come with more charity than I ever heard of and would take him to the toilet or would bring it to him there, something that among them they much detest to [have people] move their bowels right where they sleep or right next to their houses. Thus they have a place earmarked in the bush or on the beach for the purpose. They tolerated Sancho and they tolerated Fray Juan and his companion too all the time that it took them to get used to the land when they were in bed until little by little they got used to the food of the people. Even though in the beginning it was difficult for them, after being naturalized they never ate meals in Spain that gave them as much pleasure as the simple meals of those islands. Our friend Sancho lasted until the limit that some Indian men and women had given him which was 9 or 10 days, and on the last night and day of his passing he had great anguish and pains; he had not one period of respite except by turning himself from one side to the other and it was to such an extent that it caused fear in us to see the things he did, fearing that our masters might get angry and ended up by killing him and us too as they had done to the sick Spaniards in the town of Atetito, but our Lord decided to give some respite to his afflicted spirit two hours before he expired. After confessing himself with great contrition, he expired with greater peace in his very great soul which he entrusted to our Lord who received him in his holy glory, amen.

Chapter 73: About the burial of the good Sancho and what was done about his death and how Brother Fray Pedro de Talavera went to the island of Boam.

Next to the house where the good Sancho and Fray Juan Pobre slept on the night he was speared lived an Indian named Sínaro who, I do not know what words he had had with Sancho, was in the habit of not tolerating any misdeed on the part of the Indians either in jest or for real. He must have said some word that the Indian was ashamed of or offended by, because although they are much jesters, they also get angry at times. The day before had been the day they held the palavers and I do not know if Sancho gave him some shove or while laughing parried with him, Fray Juan did not see this on account of his having moved away for a while for some necessity he had, nor was he told by Sancho when he returned, on account of Sancho being truthful and spirited by nature and of the opinion that the Indian would never dare do what he did but the latter must have gone home with a much different opinion. He [Sancho] was not much on his guard against him given that that night he gave him as I have said the blow with a spear from which he died ten days later during the month of August. Later Sancho said that that Indian had speared him in spite of his never having said anything bad about him and it was later divulged that Sínaro the Indian was the one who had killed Sancho.

The two Brothers arranged with much sorrow to bury the good Sancho and some Indian relatives of our master did it in front of the more important house that Suñama had, at about ten fathoms from the sea almost half-way between the house and the beach. They brought the deceased well shrouded as there was an oversupply of white blankets from those brought by the sad ship **Santa Margarita**. Upon arrival at the grave where many of the Indian chiefs had gathered, the two Brothers took the body and entrusting it to the Lord placed it into the grave and covered it with sand, as that whole beach was sandy. The Indians asked if he was a *chamuri*, which means if he was a chief¹ and upon being told he was, they placed next to the feet a very high clay pot which a piece of *tapestan* [?]² inside as a sort of pledge and another a little apart. They made a small tabernacle around the grave as a sort of bier. The two Brothers placed a cross at the head of the grave and when the Indians wished to hang on the arms of the cross an axe and a knife that they made of wood and painted black the religious did not consent to it. They persisted saying that such a thing was very good and a sign that the dead was a chief and the decorations most esteemed by them and that they had to hang

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- 1 Ed. note: This comment by the most authoritative source we have so far is that the word *chamuri* or *chamori* means "chief", although it meant "good friend" originally (see HM2: 95). Passing ships used to hear this word a lot, besides the word for iron, and the Spanish started calling the Ladrone Indian *chamorro*, a closely-sounding word which means "shorn", "bald" in Spanish. By the same token, Ruta became Rota, on account of a town of that name near Cádiz in Spain.
 - 2 Ed. note: My guess is that could have been a woven carpet ["taftan" in Persian] from the wreck of the **Santa Margarita**, or simply some taffeta.

them on the arms of the cross, but as the friars did not assent to it, they waited until they were gone and hung their knife and axe on the arms of the cross. Afterward, when the two Brothers came back, they found what the Indians had placed and as they wanted to remove them, it was not possible because the Indians prevented it. The cross was very tall, because fearing that the things would be removed, they had made another one much taller.

Two days after Sancho's death the Indian who killed him came to our town for a walk as if to find out in what spirit his death was taken and when he passed next to the house where the religious lived the Indians came to tell them: "There goes Sínaro, there goes Sínaro, the man who killed Sancho." One of the religious came out and went behind him who walked next to his father, telling him some injurious words which Sínaro must have understood and because he saw in front of Sancho's grave a few spears planted there as a sign that the people of the town of Tazga had to avenge Sancho's death against those of the town of Guaco. Later on Sínaro absented himself and embarked to go to Boan and although there is no justice in the islands, what was done with Sancho was what they do with those who kill in the islands which is to go to his house and take from him or from his father and mother a piece of tortoise [shell] which, as I have said, is what the Indians appreciate the most and a few fish and other little things and they carried it back to our master Suñama as a gift to atone for Sancho's death. This is done even with the chiefs and those who gave it to them may then go freely, although Sínaro did not return so soon from Boan as he feared the Indians of Tazga. Fray Juan went to Guaco a few times and one time he went as far as Sínaro's house and not finding him there he let it be known to his neighbors that Sínaro was a bad man. They were much surprised because they resent very much to be called bad and told that they are bad. That was not done by way of vengeance, which could not be done, but to let them know that they had done a bad thing in killing Sancho. As soon as Fray Juan had said that Signaro [sic] was very bad, the majority of all those people also said that Signaro was very bad, specially an Indian chief who lived next door to Sínaro who was called Roca and had had a Spaniard in his house who had given him a bitch, the first animal that came into Carpana Island. This Indian thought that he was very bad and, according to what they told me Signaro went about very fearful and ashamed. Thus it will be an example so that from now on they may not kill Spaniards so easily, given that at present they are much honored to have some in their houses, as I have already said.

A few days had already passed since the death of the good Sancho when the two Brothers thought that one of them should go to the island of Boan, because their master would not let nor give permission for both of them to go, because Fr. Juan said: "If the light of Heaven must come for the conversion of the Indians, it must be by means of the coming of some ship bringing Spaniards and religious. This island of Carpana where we are does not have a port nor a river where they may come in and then the island of Boan is bigger and the best. It would be good for one of us to go there and get information about a possible port so that if some ships come from Manila or put back in distress we could guide them to some port. Well, they say that that island has many

rivers.” Brother Pedro thought that what his brother said was good and with the desire he had to convert those islanders, he determined to embark, despite a few risks, with the first Indians who would go or return to Boan. The two Brothers were entertaining themselves with such desires while they were in the house of their master who was treating them as if they were his children when there arrived some Indians from the island of Boan, from the same town of Pago where Sancho had lived; they were relatives of Sancho’s master who was named Ama. Seeing the good opportunity, Brother Fray Pedro determined to embark with them, bravo! Suñama having negotiated with those who had come and given them some provisions for the voyage. Brother Fr. Pedro said good-bye to everybody and left them crying because they loved him very much on account of his good nature and as he was very friendly with them. Having said good-bye to his brother, he left for Boan, and Fray Juan was left in Çarpana where I want to leave you and where, God willing, I will return soon by one of them¹ that is about to arrive at Manila to see the order that the good governor gives for the despatch of the ships that must go to New Spain.

Chapter 74: How four ships left the port of Manila [in July 1602] for New Spain and what happened to them.

After the good Don Pedro de Acuña was welcomed with much joy by those to whom he brought hope, as his fame had preceded him, that in his administration he would be a very good governor, given that he had been well informed by the reports he had read, given that the good gentleman carried fresh in his memory the disasters of the returns of the ships in distress, and even more those he had in recent memory, like those of the **Santa Margarita** and of the **San Jerónimo** which had happened not more than two years since both were lost with the whole property and all the people, out of the 550 or more persons that both carried, only 30 having escaped as it has been mentioned in this story, and given that the return of these sad ships in distress was due to their having departed late, the Governor tried as soon as he arrived to despatch them soon and thus he ordered that the ships be made ready for New Spain and be ready on the 10th of July, except those that were to stay. Two of them were the **Jesús María** and the **Espiritu Santo** that were not yet ready but the Governor gave so much haste that, in the scheduled period, the two ships were already equipped because the other two smaller ones² had already made sail a few days before, as there were four ships that left for New Spain that year. The **Jesús María** and the **Espiritu Santo** made sail on the very day as scheduled which was the 10th of July of the year 1602 and along as General was Don

1 Ed. note: The following sentence has been scratched out: “to tell you what happened to Don Pedro de Acuña, Governor of the Philippine Islands when he arrived at Manila.”

2 Ed. note: They were as mentioned below the **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** and the **San Antonio**.

Lope de Ulloa. The two galleons left, or better said the two brothers or two sisters, because until then they had been together in the shipyards, had been finished at almost the same time, had sailed together, left the islands together, were hit by rainy weather together, and were separated by a storm that made one come back by way of Japan and the other by the Ladrones Islands. What is more marvellous is that both returned on account of water [shortage] and leaking badly. Even more amazing to me is the fact that one did not wish to enter the port of Cavite, from which they had left together, without the other; the flagship [i.e. the **Espiritu Santo**] having arrived from Japan remained next to Mariveles Point for seven days unable to enter [Manila Bay] until the ship **Jesús María** arrived from the island of the Ladrones, and then when the latter passed by Mariveles Island her sister the flagship, which appeared to be awaiting her, followed her and arrived at the port of Cavite within one hour of the other having anchored.¹

Let us go back to these same ships that we had left sailing for New Spain. The two smaller ones, the **Rosario** and the **San Antonio**, pursued their voyage and with help from our Lord arrived at Acapulco.

I must remain for a while with the other two ships until they have come out of the Mouth [of San Bernardino Strait] and come up to the latitude of 26 degrees where both were hit by a storm, although they could not see each other, and, on account of the bad leakage of the **Jesús María** which could not be stopped, she determined to go back to Manila. As far as the galleon **Espiritu Santo** is concerned, so much water was coming in through the hatch that she eventually got 18 palms of water [in the hold] and as she had lost her main-mast and they found themselves near Japan, they determined to go there although this was not the [intended] direction but they found themselves without supply on account of the few ship stores and in order to reprovision the galleon they veered toward it and made port in the island of Tosa where the **San Felipe** was lost although not in the same port. Of course, the Japanese would have done with the ship **Espiritu Santo** the same as they had done with the **San Felipe** but they were not given the opportunity for it and thus after having been anchored in the port of Çiminço² as they suspected the treachery they raised anchor and left the port with some loss because five religious and four Spaniards had stepped ashore and upon leaving the port, as it was narrow and close in to the land, and the ship against the tide, the Japanese shot many times with arquebuses which killed two of our people and cut down seven foretopsails, but with our Lord's favor they came out of the narrow port and with good weather returned to Manila.

I now return to the ship **Jesús María** which, as she could in no way reduce the great depth of water in her hold and that they could not find nor see the [leaky] spot, they put out a bonnet [i.e. a diver's bell] and with the oakum they carried on board they saw the break and the fissure in the planking and thus much was remedied although in spite

1 Ed. note: The rest of this page in the manuscript is crossed out, as well as all 32 lines on the next page and the first 8 lines of the next.

2 Ed. note: This port is that of Tosa Shimizu on the SW tip of the island of Shikoku, formerly Tosa Island.

of all this it was still necessary to operate the pump 6, 8 or 10 times a day and when the sea rose so much water came in that it could not be overcome and as so many storms and dangers usually happen throughout the voyage which would amount to a great risk, they determined to return to Manila, because, although they later discovered where the damage was on the inside through which the water came into the ship, they could not in any way remedy it as the water was coming in from behind some knees somewhat separated from the ship's side and in order to repair it they would have to take them off and there was the danger that a great amount of water might come in if they removed and separated the knee which was nailed to the side. Having decided upon turning back, much to the hurt feeling, shame and sorrow of the captain, of the pilot as well as of the others, they retraced their course which had previously taken them through the Ladrones and made their way, beating a few times through some of them as the breezes, which are the favorable winds to go to Manila, failed them and in their place came the contrary monsoon winds. Thus they were for a few days in sight of the island of Boan where a few Indians came to trade for iron. The pilot who was aboard the ship **Jesús María** was the same man who brought the friars of the glorious St. Francis that same year that Fray Juan Pobre and his companion stayed at Çarpana and he wished to come and take them to Manila, thinking that he might please the Governor by doing so. Everyone else aboard also wanted the same thing, but to tell the truth they were of that opinion as long as they could pursue their voyage without any delay and as I have said already they were beating their way from Boan to Çarpana and they were surprised not to see in some of the canoes the Spaniards who had been left at the islands but as they had to go and see if the two [Brothers] and the other who was left who was Diego de Llerena at the island of Tenian, they were beating off the opposite [i.e. south] coast of Çarpana for 5 [?] days without the right weather to be able to go away except a few times when the storm was keeping them off it. Some (who saw that they could not keep off it) thought they should call it the enchanted island because (at the beginning they hesitated for a few days as) they did not know which island it was until the Indians arrived from it and told them it was the island of Ruta¹ which the Spanish call Çarpana.

1 Ed. note: The word Ruta was originally crossed out and replaced by the phrase: "Çarpana which the Indians call Ruta", before being corrected as shown.

Chapter 75: How Fr. Juan Pobre from the island of Çarpana descried a ship [in October 1602] and thinking that she was a Spanish ship in distress like the Santa Margarita embarked with his master aboard a canoe to go to her.

A few things worth mentioning happened to Fray Juan Pobre and to his companion ashore during the 7 months that they were in the company of those Ladrone islanders, which I beg to leave untold and to narrate in this story only what was public and notorious to all. A few times he would go from his town of Tazga to that of Atetito where they had killed the Spaniards and he made them understand how badly they had acted and thus they understand it already. At other times he would go to the town of Guaco and would tell them the same about the death of Sancho. At other times he would go to other towns and would communicate with everybody and thus I trust in our Lord that, even if ships arrive in distress, they will do no harm to anyone unless harm is done to them, but the Spanish will not be finished with them because, although no-one does them any harm, they do harm to everyone. I also trust in divine providence that when some religious will go to convert these Indians they will be well received at least in Boan and in Çarpana.

At other times the solitary Pobre would go up into the bush and reach the plantations where he would sow a few grains of corn among his master's sweet potatoes. The corn produced so well that some 58 days or at most two months later the ears of corn would be harvested, something that the Indians liked very much, but there is such a large quantity of rats in the islands that they destroy more than half of what is sown. There is no other animal of any kind in any of the islands and very few birds.

It would have been already the 4th of October, the feast day of the glorious Father St. Francis, when at dawn Fray Juan came out of the house of his master Suñama and went to take a stroll upon the beach and, looking at the sea, he saw a ship of the high seas abeam his house and then an Indian passed by him shouting: "*Jumames braco* [sic]"¹ as someone would say "a boat from your land". It then occurred to Fray Juan that it could be one of the ships that go to New Spain and that was turning back in distress and thinking that it came in a state similar to that of the Santa Margarita, he then tried to go to it in case they wanted to make the land in order to guide them to Tazga so that the Indians would not do them the harm they might do if they went to the other towns. With this determination he went to his master's house and told his master that he already knew that there was a ship from Castile. The latter then began to make his canoe ready and similarly all those in the town. Fray Juan embarked with his master

1 Ed. note: Fr. Pérez transcribed this as: "Juan, mames biraco." The last word could have been written "girago" ("gilago" in modern Chamorro) which means "from overseas". It is not related to the Filipino word "biroco", or the cognate "brak" for boat...

and his oldest son and two other relatives of theirs and beginning with paddles and sail went off in search of the ship, but no matter how fast they went, there were already many canoes from the town of Atetito ahead of them. When they were half-way between the land and the ship, Captain Juan de Malmaseda and from six to eight other passengers had come off the galleon aboard a small *barangay*¹ with the determination to look for Fray Juan Pobre and his companion. They brought their arquebuses, halberds and lances from Japan, and upon coming to the vicinity of the boat bringing Fray Juan, they saw him going to the ship and shouted loudly at him, but the master of Fray Juan did not want to go elsewhere but straight to the ship. Many other boats were heading for that of the Spanish to bring them some refreshment while others would throw themselves in, swimming and carrying some coconuts in their hands or secure in their mouth, but the Spanish, fearful that if they got to the boat and got hold of it they had to capsize it, were threatening them with arquebuses and lances and thus they did not let them come close and they all returned to the ship. At that moment, such a great shower and wind hit them that if it had lasted one hour the Spanish would have drowned although the Indians were not affected much because our Lord made it last only a short time. The sky cleared and they all arrived at the ship. With great pleasure they rang the bell and there were many Indian canoes surrounding the ship and they did not dare go on board but when Fray Juan went up his master along with his son and many Indians went up as well. The joy that all received was great. They gave some iron to the Indians, in particular they gave to the master of Fr. Juan one monkey and a few iron hoops and knives and scissors.

Fray Juan Pobre learned that two days before a certain Brother Fray Andrés de Noches Buenas had boarded an Indian canoe and had gone to look for him toward the island of Çarpana but that they did not know to which town he had gone. Fray Juan told them that his companion Fray Pedro had gone to the island of Boan and that it was necessary for them to look for him and also for Fray Andrés, that they could not go without them. They had been at this for half an hour more or less since coming on board when a wind arose coming from the poop [i. e. easterly]. So many days had passed, as I have said, since they were waiting for such a wind, as the Captain, the Pilot and the others saw what they desired so much and Fray Juan also saw how healthy the people aboard were and that the large quantity of ship stores they carried was extraordinary and then they told him how they were going back on account of the leaky ship and how they had been on the point of being lost. Much was also heard by Fray Juan from the Indians who were seeing that such a big ship was full of people much different that those who arrived aboard the Santa Margarita and they were all healthy and good. Well then, as the wind was a tail wind there was no remedy nor did they remember Fray Andrés not even Fray Pedro but they then chased the Indians back to their boats and not letting Fray Juan go, they pursued their voyage toward Manila. It appeared to Fray Juan that, if he went to Boam for his Brother Fray Pedro, Fray Andrés would be left behind in Çarpana and, if he went back for Fray Andrés, Fray Pedro would be left and that

1 Ed. note: A Philippine inter-island canoe with double outrigger.

those of the ship did not want to hear about one or the other, not to leave him behind either, it was then determined to leave them both behind with God's blessing.

He said good-bye to his master Suñama, to his son and the other Indians he knew and who, once aboard [the canoe], raised again the cross and flag that Fray Juan had carried as a signal, those of the galleon pursuing their voyage with a favorable wind almost as far as half-way between the Philippine Islands and the Ladrones when some monsoon winds hit us and pushed us back. We saw ourselves at 17 degrees, almost in the vicinity of the Volcano [Island]...¹

1 Ed. note: Folios 314 & 314v are unfortunately missing. They arrived at Cavite on 18 November 1602. Fr. Pobre then left Manila on 10 July 1603 aboard the **Espiritu Santo** and arrived at Acapulco on 24 December. In 1604, he was authorized to conduct yet another band of missionaries to the Philippines, which he did. Later on, when he returned to Spain for good, by way of India, he had this book manuscript stolen from him at Baghdad. As for Fr. Andrés de Nochebuena, Fr. Pedro de Talavera, and the Spanish soldier [Llerena?], they were picked up at Rota on 19 May 1603, by either the **Rosario** or the **San Antonio** (ref. AGI Fil. 19, doc. 147).

Document 1602B

Instructions from King Philip III to Governor Acuña

Sources: AGI Fil. (1597-1634) 105-2-1; translated in B&R 11:263-288.

Instructions to Pedro de Acuña

The King:

To Don Pedro de Acuña, whom I have appointed my governor and captain-general of the Philippine Islands, and president of my Audiencia therein. My royal Council of the Indies having examined some letters from the said islands, I have resolved upon the following.

...

I have also heard that one of the things by which my treasury is most defrauded, and the inhabitants of the islands most wronged, is to be found in **the lading and despatch of the ships** for New Spain with merchandise; for the governors, for several years, have appointed to that duty various personal dependents and friends, who have succeeded through illicit means in lading the ships with their own goods and even those of their relatives, friends, and others; and all the cloth which is shipped beyond the general apportionment goes without paying the duties.

To remedy this it would be expedient that hereafter the allotment of freight be made in the presence and with the supervision of the government and other persons appointed for it—an auditor and a royal official, appointed each year in turn, beginning with the oldest ones; and that immediately after the said apportionment the royal official make a copy of it. The persons to whom the said cloth is allotted should go with their inventories in order to value the goods and pay the duties in the presence of my officials, who would give in return a permit for lading. One or two of the officials should be present in the port of Cavite, the place where the ships are laded. Likewise the lading of the ships ought to be witnessed by the freighters who are usually appointed, and by an auditor, in order to prevent the lading of goods not included in the apportionment and for which no permit was given by the said officials, as an acknowledgment that the duty was paid. Since it is not right to allow opportunity for the irregularities and fraud which

are reported to have occurred, and of which the citizens have complained, I charge and command you to restore order and to employ the remedy which most fits the occasion, appointing for the allotment of the merchandise and the lading of the ships persons in whom great confidence can be placed. You will see that all this be done according to equity, by being yourself present at times, if that seem best, and you take the necessary measures that my royal rights be in no manner defrauded.

...

I have been informed that the ships which go to those islands from New Spain carry each year, without a merchandise register, a large quantity of money from that country and Peru—which is not found on reaching the port, on account of the care with which they hide it; and that it was necessary to make investigations and inspect the said ships before their reaching port. Since I understand that there is some foundation in this, and that many irregularities occur in this respect, I charge and command you to prevent and correct this evil in a fitting manner; and to see that the fiscal shall go with the officials of my treasury to inspect those ships, at such place as they find convenient. Let the penalty be rigorously enforced in connection with what is found and discovered to be brought without register and against orders, adjudging to the informer the share which may seem to be best to my royal Audiencia of those islands.

...

[Justice, Philippine style]¹

Although, as there are such excellent judges and officials in the Audiencia of Manila, it is reasonable to believe that justice is administered therein, I have learned that in certain cases there has been laxity, and specially in two—namely, when Melchor Ramirez de Alarcón, being intoxicated in the said city of Manila, and being reprimanded by his son-in-law, Pedro Muñoz, gave the latter a blow with his fist, receiving in return nine dagger-thrusts, of which he died; and when, in the city of Cáceres,² Captain Pedro Cid killed Juan Martín Morcillo in a duel. In spite of the gravity of these cases, the delinquents were not sent to prison, but were set free after paying a fine of 800 pesos each—a procedure which caused censure and discontent among the people.

Since it is right that similar cases not be left unpunished, I charge and command you that, as soon as you reach the islands, you demand and copy, without declaring your purpose, the record of the proceedings in regard to the said two murders, and examine it in company with the Licentiate Don Antonio de Rivera, auditor of the Audiencia; and with the consent of the fiscal; and, if you find sufficient cause for action, you will have the culprits seized, and will make all the investigations and efforts necessary for ascertaining the truth. If it seem to you that the administration of justice requires it,

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- 1 Ed. note: The following section on justice in the islands is reproduced here, because it invites a comparison with what was practiced by the “barbarian” natives of the Ladrones that same year, 1602, in connection with the death of the Spanish sailor, Sancho. The attentive reader will not fail to notice the irony of it all.
 - 2 Ed. note: In the province of Camarines, Luzon Island. It no longer appears on the map under this name.

you will send the prisoners under arrest to New Spain, together with the records of their cases, and will inform me of what has been done and of the investigation made. You will always take great care that justice be done and administered in every case, and that crimes which merit punishment receive it, so that disorders may be repressed and justice exist and be feared, and that it shall not set a bad example or occasion lawless conduct in the land.

I have learned that many of the decrees and orders issued for those islands are not being executed, and that there is laxity in this respect, specially as concerns the ordinances about the equity with which the positions of profit in that country should be apportioned, and those persons who have not yet been remunerated should be rewarded...

...

The said Don Francisco Tello writes that because he did not carry with him the instructions which were given to him, he did not execute what he was therein ordered to do when passing by the **Ladrones** Islands—namely, that he was to provide for the religious instruction of those Indians, leaving there such persons as he should select. He said that, with the consent of the Audiencia, he wrote to the viceroy of New Spain, requesting him to fulfil that command by ordering the officers of the ships which were to sail for those islands last year, 1600, to follow. He added that this work would prove of great service to God, as those islands were thickly settled with Indians who were docile, and inclined to receive instruction; and that, if religious should enter that region, there is reason to expect that they would convert many of the natives. And because this means no less than the salvation of so many souls, I charge and order you that, if the viceroy has not fulfilled the above order, you yourself shall do so, in accordance with the orders regarding it which were given to the said Don Francisco in his instructions. You will notify me of what is being done in this matter.

...

At Zamora,¹ 16 February 1602.

I, the King.

Countersigned by Juan de Ibarra.

Signed by the Council.

1 Ed. note: By coincidence, the court was sitting in the hometown of Fray Juan Pobre, while he was in Mexico preparing for his missionary adventure in Rota.

Documents 1602C

Other documents of 1602

C1. Narrative of the voyage, by Fr. Aduarte

Source: Fr. Diego de Aduarte, O.P. Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario, Madrid, 1962; synopsis in B&R 31:165, 169-170.

Chapter LIV.

...
 At about this time, at the end of April [1602], those religious reached Manila whom Father Fray Diego de Soria had collected in Spain during the previous year. He assembled them at the port, where he delivered them to Father Fray Tomás Hernández, Father Fray Diego remaining in Spain to collect and conduct another company, in which he succeeded. The band of friars who arrived at this time was one of the best that had come to this province...¹

On the trip from Mexico to Acapulco, which is very long and over a very bad road, many covered it on foot, something quite unusual at that time, which edified those who saw them. There was only one ship in from the Philippines² and it was reserved for Governor Don Pedro de Acuña, for himself and his soldiers. Since remaining behind in Mexico was a major disaster, they prayed and made the vow of a novena to our Lady of Los Remedios, with as great a solemnity as they could afford, for her to remedy this bad situation. While they were busy with these devotions, the Lord made them happy with the news that another ship that was expected from the Philippines had arrived³ and that two had come from Peru; all were pressed into service.

During the second [i.e. Pacific] crossing they did much for the consciences of those who were in their ship, by frequent sermons, discourses, teaching catechism and examples. In order to obtain more organized results they divided all the people among themselves, from the Admiral⁴ and his entourage down to the most humble convict or ship's

1 Ed. note: There were 31 Dominicans.

2 Ed. note: The Santa Potenciana.

3 Ed. note: By coincidence, perhaps, this ship was dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.

4 Ed. note: They were therefore aboard the *almiranta*, the N.S. de los Remedios.

boy. Every afternoon or evening, at less busy times, each religious would join those to whom he had been assigned and teach them what they had to learn, talking to them about divine subject matters and the good of their consciences. Many consciences were thus disentangled; many were those who had not made a good confession in many years, out of fear or shame, given the blandness of the confessors they had had. What they were told about the sweetness and the suffering of the afterlife made them desire the one and fear the other, and confess themselves well.

...
When they reached Manila they were then distributed by the provincial council, then in session...

Chapter LV.

...
The witnesses, when asked specifically if it would be an advantage to have religious of various orders [in the Japan missions], specially if they were under the vow of poverty, replied unanimously that such would be very well received. They called to witness the case of the holy Fray Juan Pobre, a discalced friar, poor in name¹ and even poorer in things of this world, who had been driven to Japan on a voyage to China, and whom the Japanese, both heathen and Christian, adored, so much was their respect for him. They all swore this to be the truth which they had not only heard about, but seen with their own eyes.

C2. Anonymous narrative of the voyage

Sources: Chicago, Newberry, Ayer ms. 1359, whose title (translated) is: General History of the islands of the West, called Philippines—sacred and profane, political and religious (Tome 2, Book 5); cited in B&R 53:381.

Chapter XI: The Governor Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña arrives at the islands, and a few of the events of the beginning of his administration.

In May 1602 there arrived at the port of Cavite four ships from New Spain, aboard which there came the new governor of the islands Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña... During the course of the 60 days of the voyage since his departure from Acapulco, he arrived at the Islands of the Ladrones where he ransomed 25 Spaniards from among those who had been left there from the galleon **Santa Margarita**. From there, 26 days later, he anchored at the port of Cavite after a prosperous voyage...

The first thing the new governor did was to order the preparation of 3 ships so that the voyage to New Spain could take place that year...²

1 Ed. note: Pobre in Spanish means poor.

2 Ed. note: Four ships left but only 2 made it.

C3. A piratical episode

Source: Fr. Casimiro Díaz (ed.). Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas (1890), Part 2, Book 2, Chapter 33, page 435.

In the year of 1600 [rather 1602] there arrived at the Philippines 2 ships from Peru, and, having encountered the *vendavals*, they could not pursue their voyage to Manila through the San Bernardino Strait all the way to the port of Cavite. So, they saw themselves with the obligation of taking port at Ibalón in the province of Albay. However, some merchants aboard the flagship, called **Sta. Potenciana**, wishing to pursue their voyage in order to overtake the galleons that came out every year for New Spain, chartered a sampan from the sangleys [i.e. Chinese] in Bagatán, aboard which they loaded all the silver which they could. This silver then captured the heart of the greedy Chinese who, aware and excited by such a rich booty, fomented the treason with their natural astuteness, and succeeded in it on account of the naked indolence of the merchants; they killed them all and voyaged to China in order to distribute the booty there in safety.

C4. Letter from Governor Acuña to King Philip III, dated Cavite 11 July 1602

Sources: AGI 67-6-7; cited by B&R 53:276, quoting Navarrete's Bibl. mar. esp., ii, p. 525; partly reproduced in Fr. Lorenzo Pérez' article on Fr. Pobre, in AIA series 2, n° 2 (1942): 21-22.

Note: Marjorie Driver says that this letter is also to be found in AGI Fil. 19, ramo 5, doc. 121.¹

...

Fr. Juan Pobre, in whose charge were the discolored religious of his order, and another one of his companions, also a Brother, threw themselves from the ship in which they came into a boat of those barbarians, who, when they saw them there, went ashore without anyone being able to prevent it, not even suspecting that Fr. Juan had had such an intention, although he had said in New Spain that he was thinking of leaving a couple of religious in those islands. He left his friars much grieved and I was not a little embarrassed by his decision. Nothing much could be done about it, besides entreating some leading men among the Indians to take care of him, because the ships [sic] they use are so light that all those I have seen in my life, those worthy of the name, are heavy by comparison. May God give help and enlighten such a barbarous people.

¹ Ed. note: While he was still at Cavite, Governor Acuña also wrote a report about the state of affairs with Japan. This letter is in AGI 67-6-19.

C5. Summary narrative of the loss that occurred in the year MDCII [sic] of the galleon Santa Margarita at the island of Çarpana, one of the Ladrones, and of the condition in which he found his government of the Philippines at his arrival at Manila in the said year of MDCII

Sources: Idem, cited by B&R 53:276, and others.

[Document wanted. If found, will appear in the supplementary volume of this series]

C6. Narrative of naval officer Juan Colmenero de Andrade, dated Acapulco 24 December 1602

Letter written to the Viceroy of New Spain, giving him a report of the events of his round-trip voyage and navigation to the Philippines, beginning on 16 February 1602 when he left Santo Tomás, under the command of General Don Antonio de Ribera.

*Sources: AGI and BNM; cited in B&R 53:277, quoting Navarrete's *Bibl. mar. esp.*, i, p. 206.*

Note: This officer must have been a captain in the fleet (of 4 ships and 1 patache) that made the westward voyage in 1602. He must have also been in command of 1 of the 2 ships that made the eastward voyage that same year.

[Document wanted. If found, will appear in the supplementary volume of this series]

C7. Report by Dr. Morga

*Sources: Dr. Antonio Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, 1609; translated in B&R 15:258-263.*

During the first days of the governor's [Acuña's] administration he found in the shipyard of Cavite two large ships which were being finished to make their voyage that year to New Spain. One of them [the **Jesús María**], belonging to Don Luis Dasmariñas, by an agreement which the latter had made with the governor's predecessor, Don Francisco Tello, was to go with a cargo of merchandise. The other, called the **Espiritu Santo**, built by Juan Tello de Aguirre and other residents of Manila, was to make the voyage with the merchandise of that year credited to the builders, but was to pass into possession of his Majesty on its arrival in New Spain, according to an agreement and contract made with the same governor, Don Francisco Tello.

Don Pedro de Acuña made so great haste in despatching both ships that, with the cargo which they were to carry, he sent them out of port at the beginning of July of the aforesaid year 1602, with Don Lope de Ulloa in the **Espiritu Santo** as general, and Don Pedro Flores in charge of the **Jesús María**. Both ships went on their way, and in 38° met such storms that they were many times on the point of being wrecked, and threw overboard a quantity of their merchandise.

The ship **Jesús María** put back into Manila with difficulty after having been more than 40 days at the island of the Ladrones, whence it was unable to depart.¹ During this time they had opportunity to pick up all [sic] the surviving Spaniards from among those left by the ship **Santa Margarita**, among them, Fray Juan Pobre, who had jumped into one of the boats of the natives from the galleon **Santo Tomás**, when it passed that way the year before.² Five other Spaniards were [still] in other islands of the same Ladrones, but although every effort was made to bring them, they could not come. The natives brought Fray Juan Pobre and the others to the ship in their boats, with great friendship and good will. After they had been entertained on board the ship, which they entered without fear, and after iron and other presents had been given to them, they returned without the Spaniards, weeping and showing great sorrow.

The ship **Espiritu Santo**, with the same difficulty, put into Japan, as it could do nothing else, with its mainmast gone, and entered a port of Firando,³ 20 leagues from a station of the religious of St. Augustine, who had gone there the same year from Manila, and where also the ship bound for Quanto⁴ had entered. The harbor had a good bottom, but it was difficult to enter and leave it, because its channel had many turns, with rocks and high mountains on both sides. However, as the Japanese natives with their *funeis* towed and guided the ship so that it might enter, it had less difficulty. When it was inside, a Japanese guard was placed on the ship, and those who went ashore were not allowed to return to the ship. The supplies furnished them did not suffice for all their necessities, and the price was not suitable. On this account, and because a large number of soldiers had assembled quickly at the port from the whole district, and had asked the general for the sails of the ship, which he had always declined to give, he feared that they wished to seize the ship and its merchandise, as was done at Hurando with the ship **San Felipe** in the year 1596. He acted with caution, and kept much closer

1 Ed. note: On account of the contrary winds to return to the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: Error, as he had been there a little over 6 months, after jumping from the **Santa Potenciana** earlier that same year.

3 Ed. note: Rather, the port of Tosa Shimuza, or Shikoku Island, as Fr. Pobre has reported.

4 Ed. note: Kwanto, rather Kanto, was the eastern coast of Honshu, i.e. the region centered on Edo, Tokyo today.

watch thenceforward, without leaving his ship or allowing his men to leave it alone, or any of the merchandise to be unloaded. At the same time he sent his brother, Don Alonso de Ulloa, and Don Antonio [sic]¹ Maldonado to Miaco with a reasonable present for Daifusama² so that he might have provision given them and permission to go out again from that harbor. These men made the journey overland. Meanwhile, those on the ship were greatly troubled by the Japanese who were in the port, and by their captains, who were not satisfied with the presents which were given them to make them well disposed, but forcibly seized whatever they saw, giving out that everything was theirs and that it would soon be in their power.

Fray Diego de Guevara, the Augustinian superior in Hirado,³ came to the ship and told the general that he had put into a bad harbor of infidels and wicked people, who would take his ship and rob it, and that he should endeavor with all his might to get it out of there and take it to Hirado where he was living. Meanwhile he told him to be on his guard to the best of his ability. As the Father was returning to his house with some pieces of silk given him on the ship for his new church and monastery at Hirado, the Japanese took it away from him and did not leave him a thing, saying that it was all theirs, and he went away without it.

About a dozen and a half Spaniards from the ship were ashore, where they were kept in confinement and not allowed to go on board again, and although the General warned them that he had determined to leave the port as soon as possible, and that they should make every effort to come to the ship, they could not all do so, but only 4 or 5 of them. Without waiting any longer he drove the Japanese guard from the ship, bent the foresail and spritsail, loaded the guns and, with weapons in hand, one morning set the ship in readiness to weigh anchor. The Japanese went to the channel at the mouth of the harbor with many *funeis* and arquebusiers, stretched a thick rattan cable which they had woven, and moored it on both banks in order that the ship might not be able to sail out.

The general sent a small boat with 6 arquebusiers to find out what they were doing, but at their approach, a number of the Japanese *funeis* attacked them with the purpose of capturing them. However, by defending themselves with their arquebuses they returned to the ship and reported to the general that the Japanese were closing the exit from the harbor with a cable. Taking this to be a bad sign, the ship immediately set sail against the cable to break it, and a negro, to whom the general promised his freedom, offered to be let down over the bow with a large machete in order to cut the cable when the ship should reach it.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Error for Francisco, as Morga himself says later. He was here thinking about the auditor Antonio Rivera Maldonado, who was not aboard.
 - 2 Ed. note: Another name of Ieyasu, Lord of the Kanto, who succeeded Hideyoshi, and really began the shogun regime or Tokugawa rule over Japan.
 - 3 Ed. note: Not in Hirado, but in Bungo, across the Bungo Channel in Kyushu, where he had gone earlier in 1602 and where he did not stay, as he was sent to Spain in 1603 (See B&R 12:137).

With the guns and the arquebuses he cleared the channel of the *funéis* there and, when he came to the cable, with the momentum of the vessel and the strenuous efforts of the negro with the machete, it broke, and the ship passed through. It still remained for it to go through the many turns which the channel made before coming out to the sea and it seemed impossible for a ship which was sailing fast to go through them, but God permitted it to pass out through them as though it had had a breeze for each turn. But the Japanese, who had assembled in great numbers on the hills and rocks within range of where the ship was passing, did not fail to annoy the ship with many volleys, with which they killed one Spaniard on the ship and wounded others. The ship did the same, and with the guns they killed several of the Japanese. The Japanese failed to obstruct the ship's passage, and accordingly were left without it.

The General, finding himself on the sea and free from the past danger, and seeing that it was beginning to blow a little from the north, thought it best to venture on his voyage to Manila rather than to seek another harbor in Japan. Having raised a jury-mast in place of the main-mast, and with the wind freshening daily from the north, he crossed to Luzon in 12 days, passed Cape Bojeador, and reached the mouth of Manila Bay where he found the ship **Jesús María**, which had also put back in distress, through the Capul Channel.¹ So, the two ships together, as they had gone together out of the port of Cavite 5 months before, made harbor there again in distress after having suffered many damages and losses to the treasury.

C8. Letter from the Audiencia to the King, dated Manila 2 July 1603

Sources: AGI Fil. (1600-1612) 67-6-19; translated in B&R 12:127-132.

Sire:

...

Last year [i.e. 10 July 1602], the ships **Jesús María** and **Espíritu Santo** left the port of Cavite of this city. After having sailed for a long time and encountered many hardships, the ship named **Jesús María** arrived at the said port, having lightened much of its cargo, at sea, and having been at the point of being lost. The ship **Rosario**² (which was the flagship of their commander, Don Lope de Ulloa) arrived, without masts and dismantled, at a port of Japan called Tosse [Tosa], where it entered at great risk. When it had come there, it appeared that the people of that land were inclined to be friendly with them, and to give them what was necessary to go on and continue their voyage. The said general finding this to be so, and being prudent, as he is an experienced man, and one who has done his duty in all other voyages to everyone's satisfaction, held a

1 Ed. note: The Strait of San Bernardino.

2 Ed. note: Error for Espíritu Santo. There is a narrative of this voyage in AGI 67-6-19, whose title, translated, is: "Narrative of the flagship Espíritu Santo whose general was Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, who came out of the channel on 26 July of this year, 1602."

council with the religious and the most trustworthy persons in the ship. It was agreed to send a present of several articles which were in the ship, and which were most suited to that country, to the emperor of Japan. This was put into execution, and the present was sent to the said emperor. The Japanese who had gathered in this port at the news of the coming of the ship, moved by their great greed, made an attempt to seize the ship. To accomplish this, and to keep the Spaniards from going away, they began to close the harbor with timbers and trees. They showed their evil designs by giving occasion to the ship's people to quarrel with them. When the said commander learned this, without awaiting the response, with all diligence he managed to get together the men who were ashore, and sailed from the port, preferring rather to submit to the risks of the sea than to the grave one which confronted him in this treachery which accompanied their departure. But when the Japanese saw that he was going out of this port and that their design was known, they had recourse to arms, trying to do by force what they had not been able to do by cunning. But our men defended themselves so well, inflicting some loss on those of that kingdom, that they returned to these islands, which was a very fortunate outcome. Those who were left there, not being able to embark with their commander, have all returned on the ships which come here to trade, together with those who took the present to the emperor. The latter say that they were well received.

...

May our Lord protect your Majesty many years, according to the needs of Christendom.

Manila, 2 July 1603.

Don Pedro de Acuña

The Licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera Maldonado

The Licentiate Tellez Almazan

The Licentiate Andrés de Alcaraz

The Licentiate Manuel de Madrid y Luna

[Examined 30 June 1604; provided for].

C9. 1602 aftermath: Fr. Pobre organizes another mission in Spain, 1604-1607

Sources: Streit & Dindinger, vol. 9, entries #929, 931, 936, pp. 223-228; reproduced in Archivo Ibero-Americano, series 2, vol. 3 (1943): 223-231.

Delivery of 225 ducats to Fray Joan Pobre, discaled of the Order of St. Francis, dated Valladolid 5 November 1604.

Summary: Licence to return to the Philippines with 50 religious, i.e. 40 priests and 10 brothers, plus 4 servants. Given at Lerma, 4 November 1604. Contains copy of the licence, plus a Royal Cedula addressed to Fr. Juan Pobre, dated Valladolid 10 November 1604.

Roll of the religious of the Mission, 1605.

Note: Fr. Pobre entrusted them to Father Fray Sebastián de San José. He himself stayed behind and went to Rome in 1606 to look after the cause of the beatification of the holy Martyrs of Japan, in which he labored for two years.

Royal Decree authorizing the payment from the royal treasury of the expenses of the 30 religious whom Fr. Juan Pobre is to take to the Philippines, dated Madrid 6 February 1607.

Note: Original in the Archives at Pastrana, Cajón 2, leg. 1. It was not before 1609 that Fr. Pobre arrived at Manila with a band of missionaries, which by that time had grown to 56 members. In 1611, Fr. Pobre returned to Spain, by way of India. While travelling overland in present-day Iraq, the manuscript of his famous book was stolen... He died at Madrid in 1614 or 1615.

Documents 1603

Events of 1603

1. Morga's mention of the ships of 1603

Sources: Dr. Morga's Sucesos; translated in B&R 15:281; 16:27-30.

Chapter 7.

...
 At the end of the same month of May [1603], there came to Manila two ships from New Spain, in command of Don Diego de Çamudio, with the regular reinforcements for the Philippines... In the same ships came two auditors for the Audiencia of Manila, Licentiates Andrés de Alcaraz, and Manuel de Madrid y Luna.

The captain and sergeant-major, Juan Xuarez Gallinato, with the ship **Santa Potenciana** and the men whom he had taken in it to the Moluccas in aid of the Portuguese fleet which Andrea Furtado de Mendoça had brought to assault the fortress of Ternate, found this fleet in the port of Talangame...¹

On the 10th [July] of the same year [rather, month], the ships **Espiritu Santo** and **Jesús María** left the port of Cavite en route for New Spain—in the wake of two smaller vessels, which had been despatched a fortnight before—with the Philippine merchandise. Don Lope de Ulloa was their commander, while Doctor Antonio de Morga [i.e. the author] left those islands in the *almiranta*, the **Santo Espiritu** [sic], to fill the office of criminal court official in Mexico. Before leaving the bay, both ships were struck head on by a storm, and went dragging upon the coast, buffeted by the heavy seas and winds, and amid dark and tempestuous weather, from 3 in the afternoon until morning of the next day, notwithstanding that they were anchored with two heavy cables in the lee of the land, and their topmasts struck. Then they grounded upon the coast of Pampanga 10 leagues from Manila. The storm lasted for three more consecutive days. Consequently, it was regarded as impossible for those ships to sail and make their voyage, inasmuch as the season was now well advanced, and the ships were very large ones and heavily laden, and were deeply imbedded in the sand.

1 Ed. note: Hence we learn of the final disposition of a former Manila-Acapulco galleon.

Advice was immediately sent overland to Manila, whence were brought several Chinese ships, cables, and anchors. By dint of the great efforts exerted, each one of the two ships was fitted with tackle and cables, which were rigged at the stern. There awaiting the high tide, the ships were drawn, by force of capstan and men, stern first for more than one league through a bank of sand, upon which they had struck, until they were set afloat, on the 22nd of July, St. Magdalen's Day.

Immediately they set sail again, as the ships had sustained no injury, nor sprung any leak; and they made their voyage and navigation, under light winds, to the coast of New Spain. A violent SSW gale, accompanied by heavy showers, hail, and cold, struck the ship **Espiritu Santo** on 10 November in 42° and within sight of land [of California]... It made the port of Acapulco on 19 December. There were found the two smaller vessels that had sailed first from Manila. Three days later, General Don Lope de Ulloa entered the same port of Acapulco, in the ship **Jesús María**. That ship had sustained the same storms as the ship **Espiritu Santo**. From the time when the two ships had separated, on sailing out of the Capul Channel in the Philippines, they had not sighted each other again during the entire voyage.

In the same year 1603, Governor Don Pedro de Acuña sent the ship **Santiago** from Manila to Japan with merchandise. It was ordered to make its voyage to Quanto, in order to comply with the desire and wish of Daifusama...¹

2. Letter from Licentiate Andrés de Alcaraz, dated Manila, 27 June 1603

Source: AGI Fil 19, ramo 5, doc. 147.

Report to H.M. about his rescue of two religious of the order of St. Francis and one soldier at the island of Zarpana in the Ladrones, survivors from the shipwreck of the galleon Santa Margarita.

[Document wanted. If found, will appear in the supplementary volume]

¹ Ed. note: This ship was carried Fr. Luis Sotelo, who was soon to gain notoriety with the Japanese and lead an embassy to Rome. The name of the ship could have been the **San Antonio**, although the latter may have made a similar voyage in 1604 instead; a ship by the name of "Antonio" is mentioned in a letter by Ieyasu to Governor Acuña in 1605 (B&R 16:48).

3. Letter from Governor Acuña to the King, dated Cavite, 20 July 1603

Sources: AGI Fil. (1600-1628) 67-6-7; translated in B&R 12:134-135.

Sire:

On the 4th of the present month there left this port the ship **Nuestra Señora de la Antigua**, one of the two from Peru that I brought in the fleet last year, with the reinforcements of troops, arms, and military supplies which came to these islands.

On the morning of the next day the other ship, called the **San Alfonso**, left...

With this goes a memorandum of matters which occur to me as necessary, and which, after due examination and consideration, with much thought and reflection, it has seemed best to me to send to your Majesty. The most important thing in these matters is promptness and secrecy, and the latter is most necessary in Spain, since there watch can be kept upon the Dutch, so that reasonable preparations can be made in Spain, and they be prevented from becoming masters of the Moluccas, before we can do so—which would be a very great loss, and one very difficult to repair.

May God grant success as He may, and protect the Catholic person of your Majesty, according to the needs of Christendom.

Port of Cavite, 20 July, 1603.

Don Pedro de Acuña¹

1 Ed. note: This letter probably made it aboard the **Espiritu Santo**, and was not examined by the Council of the Indies until 14 June 1604. The Spanish government did heed the warning against the Dutch presence in Asian waters and the Moluccas, and sent a large reinforcement that crossed the Pacific in 1605. Meanwhile, in 1603, the Manila authorities were busy dealing with a revolt of the Chinese residents and a fire that destroyed much of the city.

Documents 1604

The ships of 1604 & those sent in 1605 for the re-conquest of the Moluccas in 1606

Sources: Letters from Governor Acuña to Philip III in AGI Fil. (1600-1628) 67-6-7; translated in B&R 14:53-73.

1. Letter dated Cavite, 8 July 1605

Sire:

In two ships which left here for New Spain last year, 1604, General Don Diego de Mendoça, of my order,¹ wrote to your Majesty in duplicate, giving information of all the events which had happened here. It pleased God that the flagship [**Remedios**] should turn back to port, after having suffered from a tempest during which it was obliged to cut off the mainmast. It returned to this port today, 4 [12?] months after it had left it, although without any loss of the property which it carried.

[The loss of the San Antonio]

The ship **San Antonio**, the *almiranta*, which left port first, has not been heard from up to the present time. It is regarded as certain that it was lost, by having struck upon some desolate island or some shoals as it was driven by the tempest. A few days before the return of the flagship, there were seen on the coast of this island [Luzon] opposite Manila, and on the Babuyanes, which are some islands in the province of Cagayan, a quantity of bales of cloth from the lading of the *almiranta*. It is accordingly inferred that the ship was lost on its way [back] to port here, during some very severe storms which took place during that season and in that region. Still, some hopes were entertained that it might have made its way to New Spain, although with a very small amount of cloth; but these hopes were lost with the coming [in June 1605] of two ships on which arrived the Master-of-Camp Juan de Esquivel, and the officers of the expedition for the Moluccas. These ships, having left Acapulco on 22 March, reached Cavite on the 17th

1 Referring to the military order of St. John of Jerusalem, to which Acuña belonged.

of the present month [i.e. June], and reported that they had no news of the said *almiranta*. This has been a very great loss, and one which has thrown this kingdom into almost incredible misery. The return of the flagship has added to its wretchedness, because the citizens have nothing from which to obtain money from New Spain, since their goods have not arrived there. The documents which were sent in the flagship last year go in it again; and in this ship.¹ I send duplicates, which your Majesty may give commands to be shown to you.

...

I shall examine some despatches which have been received here this year, which as yet I have not been able to do because of the necessity of concluding this despatch, and I shall answer them at the first opportunity.

May God keep the Catholic person of your Majesty, as Christendom has need.

From the port of Cavite, 8 July 1605.

Don Pedro de Acuña

2. Letter dated Manila, 1 July 1605, mentioning the 5 ships that came from Acapulco that year

Sire:

On the 25th of February [sic] of the current year, 1605, there arrived at the port of Cavite a ship from New Spain, and in it Brother Gaspar Gomez of the Society of Jesus, with news of the decision which had been reached regarding the matter of the Moluccas; the order for this military service also came.² There were, besides, in the said ship about 200 infantry, in two companies, of those who are to go on the expedition. Their arrival was very timely and caused much rejoicing in these islands, because it occurred at a time when we had received news by way of Macao that an army was being prepared in China to come here.

The diligence shown by the viceroy of New Spain in despatching these advices, and informing me of the condition of the embarkations there, was of great value in assisting me to prepare some necessary supplies; for nearly everything has to be obtained from different provinces, while some supplies must be imported from distant kingdoms, as China and Japan. Hence time is required for this purpose—and, indeed, even more than we have; but all will be made ready although with some difficulty.

The Master-of-Camp Juan de Esquivel, arrived [with 2 ships] at the mouth of the Strait of Capul on 11 June, and came into Cavite on 17 June, after having disembarked the forces at the port of Ibalon [in Albay]—where he received my order to do this, and found ships in which to send them on to the island of Panay, where provisions for them are provided. The number of troops who have come with the Master-of-Camp are 650

1 Ed. note: The **EspirituSanto** was despatched, in company with the **Remedios**, it seems, to Acapulco in July 1605.

2 Ed. note: The King's letter was dated 20 September 1603.

men, including 30 who came afterwards in a small vessel which had been left behind; these men had gone from Acapulco to Tehuantepec for 4 pieces of artillery which were cast in New Spain for the expedition.

The forces for which I asked from New Spain for this undertaking were 1,500 men, including sailors and soldiers. As for the 500 who have served in old companies and are not altogether new recruits, I was told by the Master-of-Camp, that those of his regiment are for the most part good soldiers. What I can assert is, that the troops in the two companies who arrived first, and the troops of the Master-of-Camp who are here, have satisfied me very well.

...
I expect to take with me on the expedition four of these galleys, and a ship which has arrived here just now from Acapulco, which was made here and has capacity to carry a large amount of troops and provisions; it is of 700 tons.¹ This ship I will have fitted and put in good order. I expect also to take another of moderate size, of 250 tons, which I have built in the province of Camarines. I shall take three Moro ships from Peru.² These will be very light, the largest being of 150 tons, and the other two of 130 each, more or less. Thus in all there will be 5 [ships], in addition to 7 brigs and 5 *lorchas*, vessels built after the fashion of China and Japan. These are very good with both and sail, and have greater capacity and accommodation for carrying provisions than any other kind of vessels with which oars are used.

...
May our Lord keep the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty, as Christendom has need.

Manila, 1 July 1605.

Don Pedro de Acuña

3. Dr. Morga's comments

Sources: Morga's Sucesos, chap. 7 (cont'd); translated in B&R 16:49-63.

The governor, carrying out his dearest wish, was to make the expedition to Ternate in the Moluccas, which should be done quickly, before the enemy could gather more strength than he had then; for he had been informed that the Dutch, who had seized the island and fortress of Amboina, had done the same with that of Tidore, whence they had driven the Portuguese who had settled there, and had entered Ternate, where they had established a trading post for the clove trade. Accordingly, as soon as the despatches in regard to this undertaking arrived from Spain, in June of 1605, and the men and supplies from New Spain, which were brought at the same time by the Master-of-Camp Juan de Esquivel, the governor spent the balance of the year in preparing the

1 Ed. note: It appears, from the descriptions of the Molucca expedition of 1606, that this large ship, which was lost, was none other than the **Jesús María**. It must therefore have gone to Acapulco in 1604.

2 Ed. note: Probable transcription error for Cebu.

ships, men, and provisions that he deemed necessary for the undertaking. Leaving behind in Manila sufficient force for its defence, he went to the provinces of the Pintados, where the fleet was collected, in the beginning of the year 1606.

By the 15th day of the month of March, the governor had thoroughly prepared the fleet which consisted of 5 ships, 4 galleys with lantern-poops, 3 galliots, 4 sampans, 3 *funéis*, 2 English launches, 2 brigs, 1 flat boat for the artillery, and 13 frigates with high freeboard. There were 1,300 Spaniards, counting regulars, captains and officers, substitutes and volunteers. Among them were some Portuguese captains and soldiers, under charge of the Captain Major of Tidore who was at the island when the Dutch seized it. These Portuguese came from Malacca to serve in the expedition. There were also 400 Indian pioneers—Tagals and Pampangos of Manila—who went to serve at their own cost, under their own officers, and with their own weapons. There was a quantity of artillery of all kinds, ammunition, tools, and provisions for 9 months.

Don Pedro de Acuña left the point of Iloilo, which is near the town of Arevalo in the island of Panay, with all the equipment, and coasting the island of Mindanao, made port at La Caldera¹ in order to replenish his water, wood, and other necessaries. The governor embarked in the galley Santiago and took under his charge the other galleys and oared vessels.

[The shipwreck of the galleon Jesús María]

The ship **Jesús María** acted as flagship of the other vessels, and was commanded by the Master-of-Camp Juan de Esquivel. Captain and Sergeant-Major Cristoval de Azcueta Menchaca acted as admiral of the fleet, which, after attending to its necessities at La Caldera, left that port. On setting sail, the flagship, which was a heavy vessel, was unable to leave port, and the currents drove it shoreward so that, without the others being able to help it, it grounded. It was wrecked there, but the crew, artillery, and a portion of its ammunition and clothing, were saved. After setting fire to the ship, and taking what nails and bolts they could, so that the Mindanaos could not make use of them, the fleet continued its voyage.

[Summary of the military feats: The expeditionary force found only one Dutch ship in the heart of the Moluccas and it fled to Amboina. The forts of Ternate were taken by force and its native king carried to Manila as a prisoner. Colonel Esquivel was left as governor of Ternate with a garrison of 600 soldiers, in 5 companies; another company was left on Tidore.]

The governor entered Manila in triumph with the remainder of the fleet, on the last day of May 1606... The governor, upon entering Manila, took over immediately the affairs of his government, specially the despatching of two ships about to sail to New Spain. He was present in person in the port of Cavite at the outfitting and lading of the ships, and the embarkation of the passengers. He was seized by some indisposition of the stomach which compelled him to return to Manila and take to his bed. His pain and vomiting increased so rapidly that, without its being possible to relieve him, he died

1 Ed. note: West of, and near, Zamboanga.

in great anguish on St. John's Day, to the great sorrow and grief of the country... It was suspected that his death had been violent, because of the severity and the symptoms of his illness. The suspicion increased, because the physicians and surgeons, having opened his body, declared, from the signs that they found, that he had been poisoned, which made his death more regrettable.¹

[Two unnamed ships to Acapulco in 1606]

The Audiencia buried the governor in the monastery of St. Augustine at Manila, with the pomp and ostentation due to his person and offices. Then, again taking charge of the government, the Audiencia despatched the ships to New Spain, whence advice was sent to his Majesty of the taking of the Moluccas and the death of the governor.

The flagship, in which Don Rodrigo de Mendoça was sailing as general and captain, reached New Spain quickly with this news. The *almiranta*, notwithstanding that it left the islands at the same time, delayed more than six months. Eighty persons who perished from disease were buried at sea, while many others stricken by disease died of it upon landing at the port of Acapulco. Among these was the Licentiate Antonio de Ribera [Maldonado], auditor of Manila, who had been appointed auditor of Mexico.

4. The eastward voyage of the *Espiritu Santo* in 1605

Narrative of the voyage by Licentiate Hernando de los Rios Coronel.

Sources: Bibl. Real Madrid, Codex 91, Estante J; MN Ms. #142, fol. 94-101v.

[Summary: The ship left Cavite on 10 July 1605. There is no mention of any islands in the N. Pacific, except the sighting of one island at 29° [Bonins]. They arrived at Acapulco on 9 December 1605. The Pilot Major was Francisco de Bolaños. His Mate was Gaspar Nuñez.]

[Note from his Brief to the King, B&R 19:272: "I can affirm as an eyewitness, that when we arrived at the port of Capulco, after having been on the voyage 5 months, and a great many of our people had died, and God had brought us through such boundless hardships and dangers to the place where we were to refresh ourselves, they treated us worse, indeed, than they did the Dutch; for to the latter they gave food there [in 1616?] and sent them away satisfied, and to us they acted as they should have done to the Dutch."]

¹ Cf. *La Concepción* (Hist. de Philipinas, iv, pp. 105-106); he ascribes the report of Acuña's poisoning to the physicians, who sought thus to shield their own ignorance of his disease.

Document 1605

The routes of the Manila-Acapulco galleons, circa 1605

Sources: Dr. Antonio Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, Mexico, 1609; translated in B&R 16:174-175, 200-206.

[Introduction]

In the vessels and fleets of large vessels for the New Spain line, the ships that are sent [to Acapulco] carry a general, admiral, masters, boatswains, commissaries, stewards for food and water, *condestables* [sergeants of marine artillery], gunners, sailors, pilots and their assistants, common seamen, carpenters, caulkers, and coopers, all in his Majesty's pay, on the account of New Spain, from whose royal treasury they are paid. All that is necessary for this navigation is supplied overthere. Their provisions and appointments are made by the viceroy; and this has hitherto pertained to him, even though the ships may have been built in the Philippines. They sail with their cargo of merchandise for New Spain, and return from there to the Philippines with the reinforcements of soldiers and supplies, and whatever else is necessary for the camp, besides passengers and religious, and the money proceeding from the investments and merchandise.

...

[The eastward voyage of the galleons]

Acapulco, in 16° and 1/2 of latitude, is 80 leagues from Mexico and in its district. It is an excellent port, sheltered from all weather; and has a good entrance and good anchorages. Its vicinity is advantageous being better provisioned and more populous than that of La Navidad. There a large Spanish colony has been established, with its senior mayor, and royal officials who have charge of his Majesty's treasury; and these attend to the despatch of the vessels.

The vessels that sail to the Philippines, as they are despatched annually on his Majesty's account, must necessarily leave in the certain season of the *brisas* [breezes], which begin in the month of November and last until the end of March. This navigation should

not be made at any other season, for from June the *vendavals* [monsoon winds] blow, and they are contrary to the [westward] voyage.

As a rule, these ships sail and are despatched at the end of February, or at the latest by the 20th of March. They sail west toward the islands of Las Velas, otherwise called the **Ladrones**. One of them, the island of Guan, lies in 13° of latitude. Inasmuch as the vessels on leaving Acapulco are wont sometimes to encounter calms, they sail south [i.e. SW] from 16° and 1/2, in which the port [of Acapulco] is situated, until they strike the *brisas*, which is generally at 10° or 11°. By this route they sail continually before the wind, and without changing the sails, with fresh and fair breezes, and in other moderate weather, for 1,800 leagues, without sighting any mainland or island.¹ Then leaving to the south the Barbudos [i.e. Marshalls] and other islands, and advancing gradually to a latitude of 13°, they sail until they sight the island of Guan; and above it, in 14°, that of La Çarpana [Rota]. This voyage to those Ladrone Islands lasts generally 70 days.

The natives of those islands, who go naked, and are a very robust and barbarous race, go out to sea to meet the ships as soon as they discover them, at a distance of 4 to 6 leagues, with many vessels; these are one-masted, and are very slender and light. These vessels have a counterpoise of bamboo to leeward, and their sails are made of palm-leaves and are lateen in shape. Two or three men go in each one with oars and paddles. They carry loads of flying-fish, dorados,² coconuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, bamboos full of water, and certain mats; and when they reach the ships, they trade these for iron from the hoops of casks, and bundles of nails, which they use in their industries, and in the building of their ships. Since some Spaniards and religious have lived among them, because of Spanish ships being wrecked or obliged to take refuge there, they come more freely to our ships and climb aboard.

Our ships sail between the two islands of Guan and Çarpana toward the Philippines and the Cape of Espiritu Santo, a distance of 300 leagues farther on, in the latitude of about 13°. This distance is made in 10 to 12 days with the *brisas*; but it may happen, if the ships sail somewhat late, that they encounter the *vendavals*, which endanger their navigation, and they enter the islands after great trouble and stormy weather.

From the Cape of Espiritu Santo, the ships enter the strait of Capul, [go] toward the islands of Masbate and Burias; from there they sail to Marinduque and the coast of Calilaya [Tayabas], the Strait of Mindoro³, the shoals of Tuley, and the mouth of Manila Bay. From there, they go [eastward] to the port of Cavite. This is a voyage of 100 leagues from the entrance to the islands and is made in one week. This is the end of the voyage, which is good and generally without storms, if made in the proper season.

-
- 1 Ed. note: This routine explains why the Hawaiian Islands were never discovered by the Spanish.
 - 2 A marine fish (*Sparus auratus*), thus named because it has spots of golden-yellow color.
 - 3 Ed. note: Not the present Mindoro Strait, which is south of the island, but the Verde Island Passage.

[The eastward voyage, via the Northern Marianas]

These vessels now make the return voyage from the Philippines to New Spain with great difficulty and danger, for the course is a long one and there are many storms and various temperatures. The ships depart, on this account, very well supplied with provisions, and suitably equipped. Each one sails alone, hoisting as much sail as possible, and one does not wait for the other, nor do they sight one another during the voyage.

They leave the bay and port of Cavite at the first setting-in of the *vendavals*, between the same islands and by the same straits, by the 20th of June and later. As they set out amid showers, and are among islands, they sail with difficulty until they leave the Capul channel. Once in the open sea, they catch the *vendaval*, and travel east[ward], making more progress when they reach the latitude of 14° or 15°.

Then the *brisa* starts. This wind is the ordinary one in the South Sea, specially in low latitudes. Since it is a head wind, the course is changed, and the bow is pointed between north and east, as much as the wind will allow. With this they reach a higher latitude, and the ship is kept in this course until the *vendaval* returns. Then, by means of it, the ship again takes an eastward course in that latitude where it happens to be, and keeps that direction as long as that wind lasts. When the *vendaval* dies, the ship takes the best course that the winds allow, by the winds then blowing between north and east. If the wind is so contrary that it is north and northwest, so that the ship cannot take that course, the other course is taken so that they may continue to maintain their voyage without losing time.

At 400 leagues from the [Philippine] islands they sight certain volcanoes and ridges of the islands of **Ladrones**, which run north as far as 24°. Among these they generally encounter severe storms and whirlwinds. At 34° is Cape Sestos at the northern [sic] head of Japan, 600 leagues from the Philippines.¹ They sail among other islands, which are rarely seen, in 38°,² encountering the same dangers and storms, and in a cold climate, in the neighborhood of the islands **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata**, which are but seldom seen. After passing them the sea and open expanse of water is immense, and the ship can run free in any weather. This gulf is traversed for many leagues with such winds as are encountered, until a latitude of 42° is reached, toward the coast of New Spain. They seek the winds that generally prevail at such a high latitude, which are usually northwesterlies.

After a long voyage the coast of New Spain is sighted, and from Cape Mendocino (which lies in 42° and 1/2) the coast extends 900 leagues to the port of Acapulco, which lies in 16° and 1/2. When the ships near the coast, which they generally sight between 40° and 36°, the cold is very severe, and the people suffer and die. Three hundred leagues before reaching land, signs of it are seen, by certain *agua malas*³ as large as the hand,

1 Ed. note: This is Cape Omaezaki, SE of Shizuoka, today. See maps reproduced at the end of Doc. 1596J.

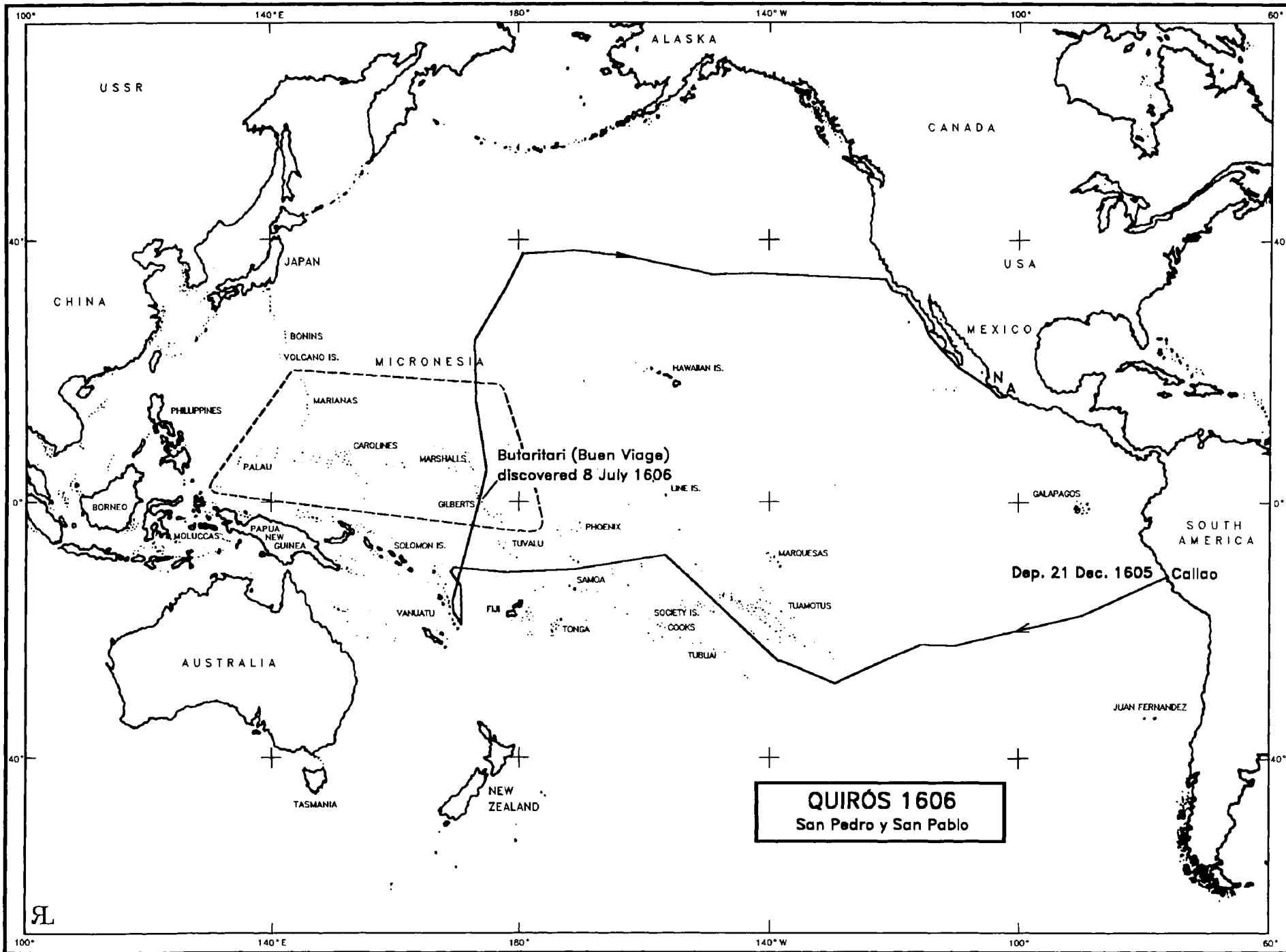
2 Ed. note: This is probably a transcription error for 28°, i.e. the Bonin Islands.

3 A fungous substance that grows in the sea, and contains signs of life.

round and purple in color, with a crest in the middle like a lateen sail, which are called *caravelas*. This sign lasts until the ship is 100 leagues from land; and then are discovered certain fish, with half the body in the form of a dog;¹ these frolic with one another near the ship. After these *perrillos* ["little dogs"] are seen the *porras* ["knobsticks"], which are certain very long, hollow shoots of a yellow herb with a ball at the top, and which float on the water. At 30 leagues from the coast are seen many great bunches of grass which are carried down to the sea by the great rivers of the country. These grasses are called *balsas* ["rafts"]. Also many "little dogs" are seen, and, in turn, all the various signs. Then the coast is discovered, and it is very high and clear land.

Without losing sight of land, the ship coasts along it with the NW, NNW, and N winds, which generally prevail on that coast, blowing by day toward the land, and by night toward the sea again. With the decrease of the latitude and the entrance into a warm climate the island of Cenizas [i.e. San Martin] is seen, and afterward that of Cedros. Thence one sails until the Cape of San Lucas is sighted, which is the entrance of [the gulf of] California. From that, one traverses the 80 leagues intervening to the islands of Las [Tres] Marias and Cape Corrientes, which are on the other side of California in Valle de Banderas, and the provinces of Chametla. Then one passes the coast of Colima, Zacatula, Los Motines, and Zihuatanejo, and enters the port of Acapulco—without having stopped at any way-station or touched land from the Capul Channel in the Philippines throughout the voyage. The voyage usually lasts 5 months or thereabout, but often 6 and even more months.

1 Ed. note: Probably the dogfish, says Robertson, but I think they were seals.



Document 1606A

Second Quirós expedition—Narrative by Quirós, as edited by Zaragoza

Sources: MN ms. 951; Royal Palace ms. 1686; published by Justo Zaragoza in 1876 (I:192-402) and badly translated by Markham in 1904 (I:261 et seq. See also sources for Doc. 1596D).

Introduction

Pedro Fernández de Quirós (whose family name in Portuguese was Queiros) left the port of Callao in Peru on 21 December 1605, intent on pursuing the discoveries made with Mendaña in 1595-96. After his previous voyage, he had left Lima (17 April 1598) to go to Spain, thence to Rome where he spent almost 2 years (September 1600 to April 1602) before he got the support of Pope Clement VIII. After another year spent at the Spanish Court, he finally obtained permission for a second expedition, on 31 March 1603. He arrived back at Callao in March 1605 and immediately began the preparations for his new expedition.

All of the above events are described in a manuscript diary written by Quirós himself, including the aftermath, a long 7-year stay at the Court of Spain (1607-1614) during which he tried anew to get approval for a third expedition to settle the Austral Lands.

Quirós' fleet consisted at first of a flagship, the **San Pedro y San Pablo**, an *almiranta*, the **San Pedro**, and a launch or patache called **Los Tres Reyes**. In April 1606, the ships reached the archipelago now called the New Hebrides or Vanuatu. At the beginning of June, the flagship became separated from the rest of the fleet which made their separate way to Manila, after discovering Torres Strait.

As for the flagship, it made a return voyage to New Spain, in three stages: from 10°20'S (and 18 June council meeting) to 38°N (20 August) heading from NE to N (although the winds and currents made that an average heading of N by E); then eastward along the 38° parallel until the land of California was sighted; and, finally, the coasting down to the port of Navidad, reached on 20 or 21 October, and to Acapulco, which the flagship entered on 23 November 1606.

The flagship had crossed the equator on 2 July. The only land sighted between the equator and California was seen on 8 July in the afternoon. It was a small island,

situated at about 3°30'N, which they skirted on the east side during the following night. It was baptized **Buen Viaje**. This island can only correspond to the Makin atoll, whose main part is Butaritari. The land first sighted was probably the SW corner of the atoll.

There are three eyewitness accounts of the return voyage; all have been published: by Quirós himself, as dictated to his secretary, Belmonte Bermudez, and published by Zaragoza; by the Pilot Major, Gaspar González de Leza, also published by Zaragoza; and by a Franciscan friar, Fray Martín de Munilla, published by Fr. Kelly. Naturally, the most useful narrative, as far as the possible identification of Buen Viaje, is that of the pilot.

There is also a worthwhile secondary account, that of Fray Juan de Torquemada, contained in his book "Monarquía Indiana" of 1614. This man was Provincial of the Franciscans at Mexico and probably heard the story direct from many of the eyewitnesses, specially the three members of his Order who were aboard the flagship: Fr. Munilla, Fr. Vascones, and Br. González. However, Torquemada makes no mention of the island of Buen Viaje in the manuscript which I have seen (BNM ms. 2995, folios 533+).

Original narrative of Quirós

...
Al fin todos fueron de parecer que se fuese en demanda del puerto de Acapulco, y lo firmaron de sus nombres á diez y ocho de Junio [de 1606].

Al punto el capitan ordenó á los pilotos que fuesen navegando del Nordeste al Norte, si el tiempo diese lugar; mas que si de la parte del Sur, en que estábamos, se hallase alguna isla, se procurase surgir en ella para se hacer una lancha y nuevo acuerdo, en orden á ser Dios y Su Magestad más servidos; y en caso que no se hallase, se fuese siguiendo la referida derrota hasta poner la nao en altura de trece grados y medio, parte del Norte y paralelo de la isla de Guahan en los Ladrones, camino que llevan las naos de Acapulco á Filipinas, para que allí, conforme á la disposición de la gente, tiempos, nao y bastimentos, se hiciese último acuerdo y se tomase resolución de la derrota que se havia de seguir para buscar puerto amigo.

Cap. LXXIII.—Cuéntase cómo de dos grandes aguaceros se cogió cantidad de agua; y cómo doblada la equinoccial se descubrió una isla, y la junta y último acuerdo, y lo demás de derrotas y alturas hasta cierto punto.

Con el viento Sueste, que ya habia quebrado su furia, se fué navegando hasta vispera de San Juan Bautista. Este día fué Dios servido darnos un grande aguacero, del cual, con veinte y ocho sábanas tendidas por toda la nao, se cogieron esta y otra vez trescientas botijas de agua; remedio puro de nuestra necesidad y gran consuelo de toda la gente.

Con algunos pocos contrastes y algunas calmas, la proa al Norte, llegamos á la equinoccial á dos de Julio. Esta noche fué marcada la aguja, y se halló que tenia de variacion cuarta y media á la parte del Nordeste; cosa notable teniendo en la Bahía siete grados y siendo casi un mismo meridiano, y la distancia tan corta.

Con el viento Sur y Sudueste el más del tiempo Leste fuimos navegando hasta ocho de Julio. Este dia se vió una isla de hasta seis leguas de boj; y porque hasta aquí no se habia encontrado tierra alguna ni bajo, ni otra cosa que impidiese nuestro camino, se le puso por nombre Buen Viaje; su altura son tres grados y medio parte del Norte. Acordóse de no ir á ella por no ser ya á proposito y por el riesgo de ser baja. Deste paraje para más altura tuvimos algunos aguaceros, en especial uno de que hinchieron de agua todas las vasijas que en la nao habia vacías, y toda ella se bebió sin hacer el menor daño, ni se corrompió jamás. En suma, los aguaceros, despues de Dios, nos dieron las vidas.

A veinte y tres de Julio ordenó el capitan á lo pilotos que dijese la altura en que se hallaban, y las leguas que á su parecer estaban de Filipinas y de la costa de la Nueva España, y que determinadamente declarasen á cuál de las dos partes se habia de poner la proa de aquella nao.

Cuanto á la altura dijeron ser de tres¹ grados y un tercio: que estaban á Leste de Manila setecientas y ochenta leguas; de la costa de la Nueva España novecientas leguas al Sudueste della, y que á Manila no se podia ir por ser los vientos vendavales en aquel tiempo muchos y muy contrarios, por lo que eran de parecer se fuese en demanda de la costa de la Nueva España y puerto de Acapulco.

Pareciendo al capitan que el mayor servicio que al presente podia hacer á Su Magestad era la salvacion de aquella nao, ganar tiempo, excusarle los gastos que se le podrian hacer en Manila, y los sueldos de un año de toda la gente, y que por estar tan á barlovento del meridiano del Japon no habia viento que le pudiese impedir el subir á más altura ó allegarse á la costa; que la nao estaba con fuerzas, con agua y bizcocho muy bastante y toda la gente sana, y dos indios de aquellas tierras que podrian declarar; y que si él muriese en aquel golfo, la gente ya empeñada procuraria llevar la nao y ser Su Magestad informado de lo descubierto y prometido, y estaba obligado á escoger el menor de los dos inconvenientes presentes; y así ordenó a los pilotos que fuesen en demanda de la costa de la Nueva España y puerto de Acapulco, y que cada dia le diesen cuenta de la derrota que seguian y la altura en que se hallasen; y les dijo que el que más sufriese y más útil fuese, seria digno de premio.

1 Ed. note: Transcription error for "trece".

Translation of the above text, by R. Lévesque

...
In the end, they were all of the opinion to go in search of the port of Acapulco, and they signed it with their names on 18 June [1606].

At this point the captain ordered the pilots to sail on headings from NE to E, if the wind permitted it; but if, on the south side [of the equator] in which we were, they found some island, they were to anchor there in order to make a launch and a new agreement, for the better service of God and his Majesty; and, if none were found, they were to follow the said course until the ship was placed at the latitude of 13° and 1/2 on the north side and the parallel of the island of Guahan in the Ladrones, on the route followed by the Acapulco-Manila galleons, so that there, depending on the condition of the men, of the weather, of the ship and supplies, they would make a final agreement and take a decision about the course to follow to reach a friendly port.

Chap. 73.—Mention of two big showers during which much water was collected; how an island was discovered after they crossed the equator; the meeting and final agreement, and mention of the courses and latitudes until a certain position.

With a SW wind whose fury had by now abated, we sailed until the eve of St. John the Baptist Day [i.e. 23 June]. On this day God was served to give us a big shower out of which, with 28 blankets spread out all over the ship, 300 jars of water were collected, on this and on another occasion; it was a real solution to our problem and a great consolation for all the people.

With a few variable winds and some calm periods, heading north, we arrived at the equator on 2 July. That night the compass needle was checked for variation and it was found that it pulled to NE by 1-1/2 points [i.e. 17°]; a remarkable thing, given that at the Bay [of Santa Cruz] it was 7° and the two positions were almost on the same meridian, and the distance so short.¹

With the wind S and SE most of the time we sailed E [sic]² until 8 July.

[Discovery of Butaritari Island]

On this day an island was sighted, up to 6 leagues in circumference; and because no land or shoal had been encountered up to that time, nor anything else that would have blocked our navigation, it was given the name of **Buen Viage** [Good Voyage]. Its latitude is 3° and 1/2 on the north side.

-
- 1 Ed. note: In 1600, navigators still believed that the lines of equal magnetic variations were somehow parallel to meridian lines from pole to pole, and remained fixed with time, neither of which was true.
 - 2 Ed. note: Actually, they headed N and NE during these early days of July (See Doc. 1606B).

It was decided not to go to it because it was not yet timely and on account of the risk [involved in] it being low-lying. From this vicinity to a higher latitude we got some showers, specially one that filled with water all the jars that had been empty aboard the ship, all of which was consumed without the slightest harm; it never became putrid. All in all, the showers, after God, kept us alive.

On 23 July, the captain ordered the pilots to give the latitude in which they found themselves, and the leagues which they thought we were from the Philippines and from the coast of New Spain, and that they should definitely state which was the better direction toward which the bow of the ship should be pointed.

With regard to the latitude, they said that it was 3 [error for 13] degrees and 1/3; that they were East of Manila by 780 leagues and 900 leagues SW of the coast of New Spain; that it was then impossible to go to Manila on account of the *vendavals* which were frequent and contrary during that season; hence, they were of the opinion that we should go in search of the coast of New Spain and the port of Acapulco.

After it seemed to the captain that the better service that he could render his Majesty at that time was the salvation of that ship, the saving of time and the costs that would be made in Manila and the salaries for one [more] year for all the men, and given that they were to windward of the meridian of Japan there was no wind to impede them in gaining a higher latitude or in getting nearer the coast; that the ship was full strength, with water and biscuit quite enough and all the men healthy, plus two Indians from those lands¹ who could made statements; that if he were to die in that wide sea² the men were duty-bound to take the ship [there] and inform his Majesty about what had been discovered and seen to be promising, and he was obliged to choose the least of the two difficulties under consideration; hence, he ordered the pilots to go in search of the coast of New Spain and the port of Acapulco, and that each day they were to report to him the course they followed and the latitude in which they found themselves; and he told them that he who suffered the most and was the most useful would be worthy of a reward.

1 Ed. note: From Melanesia.

2 Ed. note: Quirós was then very sick and forced to remain in bed.

Document 1606B

Second Quirós expedition—Logbook of Pilot Major Leza

Sources: BNM ms. 3212 (formerly J.150 & J.91), fol. 1-37; copies of this ms. are in MN as #142, doc. 7 & #196; other 3 copies in BM London: Add. ms. 13974, fol. 210-222 & Michelena Coll. Add. 17615, fol. 1-44v & Egerton ms. 1816, fol. 135-157; published by Justo Zaragoza in 1876 (II:76-186) and translated by Markham in 1904 (II:321-403).

Original text in Spanish, transcribed by R. L.

[Fol. 1]

Relaçion verdadera del viaje y suçesso que hizo el Capn. Pedro Fernandes de Quirós por órden de su Magd. á la tierra austral é incógnita.—Por Gaspar Gonçalez de Leza, Piloto Maior de la dicha armada, año de 1605.

Diciembre.—

Salimos del pto. del Callao á .21. de diciembre á las 3. de la tarde de año de 1605.

Salió por cabo de este nuevo descubrimiento Pedro Fernandes de Quirós; por capitana el galeon S. Pedro y S. Pablo, por almiranta el galeon S. Pedro, y el patache se llamava los tres reyes...

...

[Fol. 67]

21 [Junio 1606]. Se tomo el sol en 10 g 1/2 lo que se hizo saver al Gral. el ql. repon-dió que pues estavamos en la altura de Sta. Cruz y no la veíamos no era cordura ir abajo ella al oeste con tal tiempo y serazo [=cerrazón] y sin saber de sierto si estava al leste, ó, al oeste que nos ensenariamos en la nueva guinea de la parte del sur y la pasariamos mal por ser tiempo de vendevales aqui y en las filipinas como lo avemos visto, y se quedaria todo sin que su magd. fuese sabidor de lo que se avia descubierto, que seria bien ir la buelta del norte asta altura de 13 g. para que de alli paresiendonos fuesemos en demanda de la Isla de Guan y de alli a las filipinas y esto quedo ansi tomado primero el parecer de todos sus oficiales y ansi mando al piloto maior siguiese aquella derota.

22. Anduvimos 25 .leg. al norte en este dia vimos muchos paxaros.

23. Anduvimos 10 .leg. en toda esta noche tuvimos muchos turbo[n]jadas coximos mas de 100 botijas de agua, y nos allamos en altura de ? g ? que de altura de 6 g. a la parte del sur para el norte jamas emos visto paxaros como soliamos ver de alli para el sur ni señas de tierra.

24. Tome el sol en 4 g 5/6 anduvimos cosa de .6. leg al norte.

25. Tome el sol en 4 g hizimos el camino del norte.

[Fol. 68]

26. Anduvimos 25 .leg. al norte 4^a al nordeste.

27. Tome el sol en .2 g 1/3 al rumbo norte 4^a al nordeste.

28. Anduvimos con contrastes de una buelta y otra todo el dia y parte de la noche y anduvimos al leste cosa de .6. leg.

29. Tome el sol en 2 g 1/2 escasos anduvimos el camino del leste 4^a del sueste.

30. Estuvimos en calma.

Julio.—

1. Tome el sol en 1 .g. 1/2: la derota al norte 4^a al nordeste.

2. Tome el sol en medio grado el mismo rumbo.

3. Me hize de la otra banda de la linea: anduvimos en calmas con poco viento andariamos cosa de 10 .leg. al norte.

4. Anduvimos 8 .leg. al nordeste 4^a al norte.

5. Tome el sol en 1 .g. 1/2 de la banda del norte la derota 20 .leg. al nordeste.

6. Tome el sol en 2 .g. 1/4 hizimos el camino del nordeste.

7. Estuvimos en calma, y en todos estos dias tomamosnos agua de la que llouia que desde que salimos de la Baia asta hoy que ha un mes no se nos a dado ración de agua.

8. Tome el sol in 3 .g. 1/4 la derota al nordeste en este mismo dia vimos una isla chiquita por la proa cosa de 4, 6, 5 .leg. estara en altura de 3 g 3/4 no era alta.

9. Estuvimos en calma y andariamos cosa de .5. leg. al nordeste y este dia coximos muchissima agua de mas de 150 botijas.

10. Fuimos la buelta del lesnordeste 12 .leg. que luego viramos la buelta del norte con el viento leste y lesnordeste.

11. Anduvimos 17 .leg. Tome el sol en 4 g.

12. Anduvimos 8 .leg. tomose mucha agua.

13. Tome el sol en 5 .g. largos la derota al nordeste 4^a al norte.

14. Estuvimos en calma y tomamos algunas botijas de agua.

15. Anduvimos del mismo modo en calma y en estos dos dias tomamos mas de 150 botijas de agua.

16. Tome el sol en .6. g. menos un cuarto anduvimos el camino del norte quarta al nordeste.

[Fol. 69]

17. Anduvimos en calma con muchos aguaceros que por no tener botijas [vacias] ya no tomavamos agua.

18. Tome el sol en 7.g. 1/2 anduvimos la derota al nornorueste. En este dia y altura nos empezaron a dar las brisas generales aunque a rratos no faltavan aguaseros y eran nordestes y nornordestes.

19. Anduvimos 10 leg. al nornorueste.

20. Tome el sol en 9 .g. camino del norueste.

21. Anduvimos 20 .leg. al norueste y al norueste 4^a al norte, todos estos dias fue el viento nordeste.

22. Anduvimos 28 .leg. al norueste, al norte 4^a al norueste.

23. Tome en 13 g. 1/3 el sol anduvimos 28 .leg. al norte 4^a al norueste, en este dia dixe a nro. Gral. que ya estavamos en la altura que avia mandado el ql. mando al escrivano notificase a los pilotos y demas oficiales y ansi mismo al Almte que diesen su parecer, y todos respondieron que se remitian al parecer del p[rimero] acuerdo, todo lo ql quedo por escrito.

24. Tome el sol en 15 .g. 1/6 tuvimos el camino del norte 4^a al norueste, mando el Gral. a los pilotos hiziesen la nauegacion que se suele hazer de filipinas [a] acapulco.

25. Anduvimos 25 .leg. al norte 4^a al norueste.

26. Tome el sol en 18 .g. al nornorueste.

...

Translation of the above text, by R. L.

True narrative of the events of the voyage made by Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quirós by order of his Majesty to the Austral and Unknown Land.—By Gaspar Gonzalez de Leza, Pilot Major of the said fleet.—Year of 1605.

December.—

We left the port of Callao at 3 p.m., on 21 December 1605.

It happened that the chief of this new expedition was Pedro Fernandez de Quirós; the flagship was the galleon **San Pedro y San Pablo**, the *almiranta* was the galleon **San Pedro**, and the patache was called the **Tres Reyes**.

...

21 [June 1606]. The sun was taken in 10° 1/2 which was reported to the General who responded that we were then at the latitude of Santa Cruz and that we could not see it; it was [therefore] not prudent to go below it to the west with such a weather and overcast sky, not knowing for certain if we were east or west of it; we could become embayed on the south side of New Guinea and would have a hard time as it was the season of the *vendavals* here and in the Philippines as we had seen it; everything would then be to no purpose and his Majesty would be left ignorant of what had been discovered; that it would be well to go north as far as the latitude of 13°, and once there, we would decide to go in search of the island of Guan and from there to the Philippines. There

the matter stood, after having first taken the opinion of all his officers, and so he ordered the Pilot Major to follow that route.

22. We covered 25 leagues to the N. Today we saw many birds.

23. We covered 10 leagues. During the whole of this night, we got many sudden squalls and collected over 100 jars of water. We found ourselves at a latitude of 6° degrees $1/2^{\circ}$. From the latitude of 6° S toward the north we never saw any birds as we used to see south of it, nor any sign of land.

24. I took the sun in $4^{\circ} 5/6$. We made something like 6 leagues to N.

25. I took the sun in 4° . We headed N.

26. We covered 25 leagues to N by E.

27. I took the sun in $2^{\circ} 1/3$. Heading N by E.

28. We ran with variable winds on one tack and another all day and part of the night, and we made about 6 leagues to E.

29. I took the sun in just under $2^{\circ} 1/2$. We made our way E by S.

30. We were becalmed.

July.—

1. I took the sun in $1^{\circ} 1/2$; the heading was N $1/4$ NE [N by E].

2. I took the sun in $1/2^{\circ}$; same heading.

3. I got myself on the other side of the line; we encountered some calm and a little wind; we covered something like 10 leagues to N.

4. We made 8 leagues to NE by N.

5. I took the sun in $1^{\circ} 1/2$ on the north side; the course 20 leagues to NE.

6. I took the sun in $2^{\circ} 1/4$; we headed NE.

7. We were becalmed, and during all these days we took water from the rain which, since we left the Bay [of Santa Cruz] until today, that is one month, did not lead to water rationing.

8. I took the sun in $3^{\circ} 1/4$; heading NE. On this same day, we saw one tiny island ahead, about 4 to 5 leagues; it would be in a latitude of $3^{\circ} 3/4$; it was not high.

9. We were becalmed and we covered about 5 leagues to NE; on this day we collected a lot of water, over 150 jars.

10. We tacked to ENE for 12 leagues, and then we veered to N, the wind being E, and [then] ENE.

11. We covered 17 leagues; I took the sun in 4° .

12. We covered 8 leagues; much water was collected.

13. I took the sun in 5° plus; the heading was NE by N.

14. We were becalmed, and we got a few jars of water.

15. We were still becalmed, and during the last two days, we got over 150 jars of water.

16. I took the sun in 6° less $1/4$; we followed a heading of N by E.

17. We were becalmed with many showers, but because we had no more jars [to fill] we no longer took water.

18. I took the sun in $7^{\circ} 1/2$; we held a course to NNW. On this day and altitude we began to feel the general *brisas*, although at times we did not lack squalls, and they were from the NE and NNE.

19. We covered 10 leagues to NNW.

20. I took the sun in 9° , heading NW.

21. We made 20 leagues to NW and to NW by N. The wind was NE for the last few days.

22. We made 28 leagues to NW, to N by W.

23. I took the sun in $13^{\circ} 1/3$; we made 28 leagues to N by W. Today I told our General that we had reached the latitude that he had ordered. He then ordered the clerk to notify the pilots and other officers, as well as the admiral, that they were to give their opinions. All answered that they deferred to the opinion of the first agreement; all of this was written down.

24. I took the sun in $15^{\circ} 1/6$; we took a heading of N by W. The General ordered the pilots to make their navigation in accordance with the usual route followed from the Philippines to Acapulco.

Documents 1606C

Second Quirós expedition—Narrative by Fray Martín de Munilla

Sources: Ms. XI-33. Mexico, Relaciones et Descriptiones, S. XVI-VII.33, in the Archivum Generale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, in Rome; translated and published by Fr. Celsus Kelly in his book entitled: La Australia del Espíritu Santo (1966: pp. 245-247).

C1. The Journal of Fray Martín de Munilla, O.F.M.

True account of all that happened on the new voyage of discovery to the Austral and unknown Region of the South, written by the Very Reverend Father Fray Martín de Munilla, commissary of the six religious who went on this voyage, whose names are: Father Fray Mateo de Bascones, confessor, Father Fray Antonio Quintero, preacher, and Father Fray Juan de Merlo, preacher; Brother Fray Francisco González and Brother Fray Juan de Santamaría.¹

Two ships and one launch, in good condition and well fitted out, left the port of Callao on 21 December 1605 at about 4 in the afternoon.

...

July [1606].

1. Saturday, 1 July. The sun was taken, and we were in 1° and 1/2 S. We proceeded on our course northward with a fresh E to ENE wind all the time. This night we sailed sometimes to leeward [i.e. west] of north.

2. Sunday, 2 July. The sun was taken and we were on the Equator, God be praised for all. At dawn there were some rain squalls from the NE. Thus we sailed this day and night, though with little wind, which by dawn had failed completely.

1 Ed. note: Munilla says six religious and enumerates five. Fr. Kelly thinks that when he wrote "six", he perhaps included himself, or had in mind an unnamed Franciscan *donado*, or member of a third order, aboard the flagship.

3. Monday, 3rd. At sunrise it came up in the east¹ and proceeded on our course northward, keeping slightly to windward [i.e. east] of north. In the afternoon it was calm and remained so until Tuesday.

4. Tuesday, 4th. A breeze sprang up from the W and SW, and we ran before it on our course N to NNE. It has already been mentioned that the compass erred by 1/4 [i.e. 1 point] to the NE and now it was checked on the Equator and found to vary more than 1-1/2 points [i.e. about 17°] to the NE. So it was gathered that our course was in fact further to windward of New Guinea than we thought. This night there were rain squalls with fresh SE to SSW winds which compelled us to reef sails. These continued until

[Discovery of Butaritari]

6[-8]. Thursday, 6th, and again until Saturday, 8 July, with a fresh SSW wind and we ran with it to the NE. The wind increased steadily. This day, Saturday, the sun was taken, and we were in 3° 1/2 N. At about 10 in the morning of that day there was a heavy shower brought by the same wind. Fifty jars of water were collected, which was no small relief. **At about 3 in the afternoon land was sighted to the NE. Heading for it with a fresh southerly wind, we sailed until nightfall, steadily making for it, and keeping it in sight until we hauled to the east in order to keep clear of it. After dark it was decided to proceed under little sail for fear of reefs.**

9. Sunday, 9 July. We proceeded on our course NE and at 8 in the morning there was a shower from the SE and with it the wind ceased, leaving us becalmed. Afterwards, however, it began to blow S and SW. We steered NE 1/4 N [i.e. NE by N]. At about nightfall we sailed with the foresail only and at half-mast for fear of contrary land breezes until the morning of

10. Monday, the 10th. We sailed NE 1/4 N with a westerly wind, and with very frequent and contrary gusts on both sides [of the ship] and some occasional light showers which, however, in no way prevented us from sailing ENE and E. Thus we sailed that day and night with very little wind until

[12]. Wednesday, the 12th. When the sun rose a SW wind sprang up aft with showers from every quarter. We proceeded in this manner this manner until

[17]. Monday, the 17th. The sun was taken this day and we were in 6° 1/2 N. We met contrary changes of wind.

18. Tuesday, 18th. The wind freshened from the NE, and we sailed NNW and to leeward. This day the sun was taken and we were beyond 8° N. At about nightfall we tacked to ENE and E because the wind changed to N and NNW. In this way we proceeded this day, heading E for about 3 hours, and then tacked to NNW. With this wind we proceeded along this course for the remainder of the night.

19. On Wednesday, 19 July, the day dawned with a steady NE to NNE wind. There were showers from the north. The wind veered to become E and ESE and aft and that same night we sailed northward; and continued thus until

1 Ed. note: In Europe, in the summertime, the author was used to seeing the sun rise in the NE.

20. Thursday morning, 20 July, with the wind NE and ENE. At midday the sun was taken and we were above 9°N. We sailed due north with a fresh ENE wind until

21. Friday, the 21st, then the sun was taken and we were above 10° 1/3 N. So we sailed until dawn on

22. Saturday, the 22nd, when with the previous day's run we must have made this day more than 30 leagues in the direction 1/4 ENE.¹ We were above 12° N. This day and the following night we sailed with the same NE to ENE wind, heading N and NNW.

23. Sunday, 23rd. The sun was taken and we were in 13° 1/2 N. This day, in accordance with the decision agreed upon at the last meeting in 10° S, when the General gave orders to sail north as far as latitude 13° N where he would consider the best course of action, he called upon Admiral Pedro Bernal Cermeño to declare his opinion, together with the other pilots, concerning what was now to be done. Having given their opinions, the General, bearing in mind their declarations, which were to continue the said course to the port of Acapulco, decreed that Pedro Bernal was to keep him informed concerning everything (because he had made that voyage and realized what the present one meant for the service of God and his Majesty), so that he should be able to give his Majesty an account of all that had been done in his royal service. The General ordered the said Admiral, considering his own poor health and the fact that he had brought him into this flagship from the launch in order to steer and control it as pilot, (and as if he himself was ordering and commanding him), that he issue instructions to the [other] pilots to make for the port of Acapulco in New Spain and to do what was otherwise most suitable. And the said Admiral had an order drawn up in handwriting by which he commanded the said pilots to carry out and fulfil the above instructions.

C2. Identification of Buen Viage Island

There is not really any candidate other than the Makin-Butaritari atoll for this discovery, if only because there is no other island or group within 1° of its given latitude (the maximum possible error), and no other islands anywhere near its longitude.

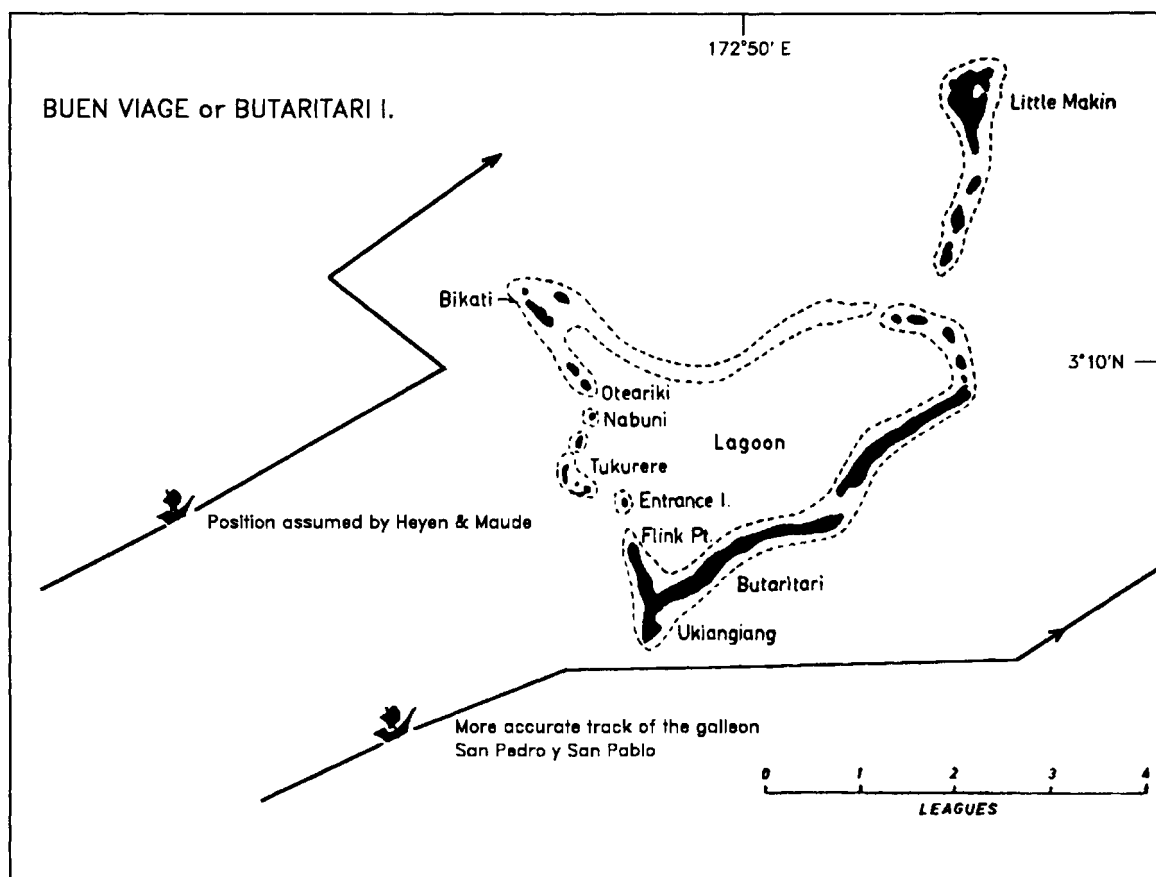
The opinion of H. E. Maude²

“Despite the lack of descriptive detail it is possible to state with confidence that Buen Viage is the island of Butaritari, in the Northern Gilberts, which, with Little Makin Island, stretches from 3°00’N to 3°19’N. The next island to the south is Marakei, in 2°03’N, and there is no justification for holding that Quiros was as much as 1-1/2 degrees wrong in his latitude. To the north, there is nothing until one comes to Ebon, the most southerly of the Ralik chain in the Marshalls, in 4°35’N, and Mille, the most southerly of the Ratak chain, in 6°14’N.”

...

1 Ed. note: Transcription error. The directions were all northwesterly, according to Doc. 1606B.

2 Ed. note; "Spanish Discoveries in the Central Pacific" in JPS 68 (1959):319-320, 326.



Butaritari Island discovered by Quiros on 8 July 1606. *It is obvious that Maude had not had access to the narrative of Fr. Munilla above (not yet published in 1959) when he and Captain Heyen imagined that the ship followed the upper course. The real track was closer to the lower one, as the ship veered east at nightfall to clear the atoll. (Adapted from JPS 68, p. 320)*

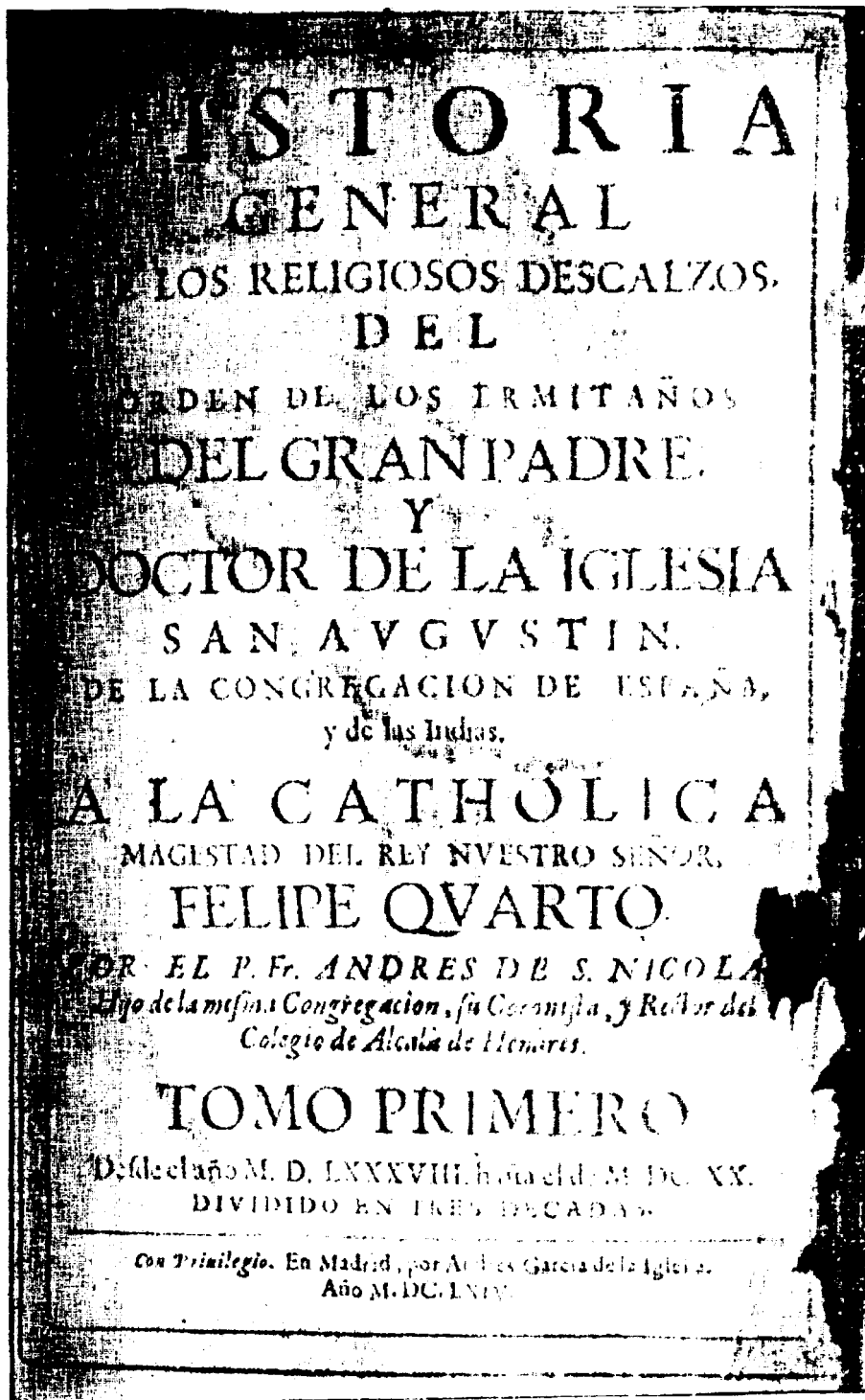
“As various navigational points seemed involved, the identification of Buen Viaje was referred to Captain G. H. Heyen, who first visited Butaritari when mate of the sailing barque **Alexa** and later lived there for several years, when he surveyed the whole of the lagoon and surrounding reefs. The substance of his reply is given in the Appendix, from which it will be seen that Quiros most probably first sighted Bikati Islet, on the NW corner of Butaritari lagoon: any other landfall would seem to necessitate a change of course to clear the atoll. While Quiros must have passed close to Little Makin Island it is unlikely that he actually saw it, since the difference between his noon sight and the position given for Butaritari rather indicates that on a NE course he would have passed it at night: if he did sight it, or lights on the shore, he evidently considered it to be part of Butaritari.”

The plot of the return voyage, studied by Admiral Espinosa y Tello.

Source: MN Ms. 96, fol. 235-242v.

The positions along the route followed by the **San Pedro y San Pablo** were plotted by **Admiral José Espinosa y Tello** in 1812, when he was Director of the **Depósito Hidrográfico**. His starting point was the **Bay of San Felipe y Santiago**, whose center, corrected, is at **14°36'30" lat. S. & 174°26' long. E. of Cádiz (168°12' E of Greenwich)**. This corresponds to the island now called **Espiritu Santo in Vanuatu**.

Taking the mouth of this bay as the base or reference position, i.e. Lat. 15° S & Long. 0°00'00", Espinosa computed the route NE all the way to California and Mexico. Since the longitude of Butaritari is $173^\circ - 168^\circ = 5^\circ$ east of that of Espiritu Santo, the track plotted by Espinosa should pass by its approximate position of 3° N & 5° E (relative).



Title page of the Recollect History by Fr. San Nicolás. This is Part 1 of the History of the Philippine missions by the discalced Augustinian Fathers.

Documents 1606D

A Recollect Father died in sight of the Ladrones in 1606

Sources: 1) Fray Andrés de San Nicolás, Historia general de los religiosos descalzos del orden de los Ermitaños del gran Padre Doctor de la Iglesia San Agustín..., Madrid, 1664; translated in B&R 21: 107-127. 2) Fray Juan de la Concepción, Historia general de Philipinas, Manila, 1788; translated in B&R 21: 261-268.

D1. Extract from the History of Fr. San Nicolás

Decade II. Chapter V. Year 1605. First mission of our religious to the Philippines.

To his arduous labor in the formation and growth of the poor discalced Augustinians, the first provincial [i.e. Fray Juan de San Gerónimo] gave a heroic end by beginning the very observant province of San Nicolás de Tolentino, in the islands adjacent to Asia which we commonly call Philippines...

The Father vicar-provincial had already chosen his workers, men like himself. They were among the choicest and best men that the Reform then had in their convents. They

were as follows: Fathers Fray Andrés de San Nicolás, who was called de Canovas, an apostolic man, and a great preacher in word and deed;¹ Fray Miguel de Santa María, a most exemplary man, and devoted to the rigorous life;² Fray Gerónimo de Christo, very austere and observant;³ Fray Pedro de San Fulgencio, a capable and very clever man for all things;⁴ Fray Diego de la Anunciación, adorned with very singular virtues, and regarded as a saint;⁵ Fray Rodrigo de San Miguel, most keen-witted and erudite in all learning;⁶ Fray Francisco Baptista, a penitent to excess, and regulated by conscience; Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios, most zealous for the discalced, and for the welfare of his brethren; Fray Andrés del Espíritu Santo, a religious, although very young, very modest and retiring.⁷ The Father superintendent also chose four other religious, lay brethren, who were of use and a great credit to the Reform, on the voyage, and at the time when they came, whose names are as follows: Fray Simon de San Joseph; Fray Juan de San Gerónimo;⁸ Fray Gerónimo de la Madre de Dios; and Fray Juan de San Guillermo. They all assembled in Madrid on the 15th or 16th of May [1605]. Thence they left for Seville, and from there went later to San Lúcar. They were detained there until they could embark in one of the ships of the New Spain trading fleet, which set sail from the great bay of Cádiz, on 12 July, and commenced its voyage happily.

...

Finally they reached the port of San Juan de Lua [i.e. Veracruz], on 17 September, with the rejoicing common to those who sail, and specially on those seas. They disembarked and, after having rested for some little time, they took the road; this they moderated by stopping several days in Puebla de los Angeles, as guests of our calced fathers, where they received the friendly reception and love that that province has shown to the discalced very often because their beginning was in that form.

...

-
- 1 Ed. note: Not the same man as the author, because he died at sea, when the ship was in sight of Guam, as will be mentioned below.
 - 2 Died at Manila as a result of having been stoned by the natives of Mariveles.
 - 3 Died at Manila in 1608.
 - 4 Soon returned to Europe to get more missionaries, but died on reaching Milan.
 - 5 Served as superior of the convent at Bagumbayan (outside the walls of Manila) and, after some years, returned to Spain where he lived until his death in 1625.
 - 6 His civilian name was Rodrigo de Aganduru Moriz, an author, born in 1584. In 1614, he went to Spain for more missionaries, returning in 1617-18. Again voyaging to Europe (1622) via India, he arrived at Rome in 1626. He died in Spain on 26 December 1626. He left a manuscript history book which was not published until 1882 (See Doc. 1542F).
 - 7 Born at Valladolid in 1585, served in Zambales. Went to Spain and returned with more missionaries in 1622. He spent the rest of his life in the Philippines, where he died at Manila in 1658.
 - 8 Ed. note: Bears the same name as the Father superintendent.

Chapter VI. Our religious reach Luzon, after the death of Father Andrés de San Nicolás in sight of the islands...

We left Father Fray Juan de San Gerónimo and his 12 associates, anxious to finish their journey, continuing their road from Mexico to the port commonly called Acapulco, because it was necessary to embark once more in order to reach the Philippines, where God our Lord had prepared many souls who, oppressed by the demon, had no ministers to lighten their darkness.

There was already in the said port a ship ready to sail, called the **Espiritu Santo**, and they were accordingly detained but a short time. They finally set sail on 22 February of that year, 1606, in all safety, and all being overjoyed at seeing themselves nearer the land that they were seeking.

Some incidents happened on that voyage which were afterward regarded as miracles, and all attributed them to the good company of such notable religious whom they carried. The first one was that, the ship being all but sent to the bottom by burning, the fire having approached near some barrels of powder, warning was given in such a good time that it could be extinguished, when if there had been but little more delay, this would have been impossible. The second seemed more prodigious; for on a certain very clear and serene night, shouts came from the bow from those who were stationed there, crying: "Land! land!" The pilot and sailors were thunderstruck as soon as they saw themselves upon some shoals or sunken rocks, and already lost beyond all remedy. Thereupon bewailing their misfortune, they tried to seek confession, as quickly as possible. They thought that all efforts were useless; therefore, they cared for nothing else. However, they tried to cast the [sounding] line, but uselessly, for their lines were cut, and they even more confounded by their slight hopes of life. The ship went ahead into that *reventazón* [dashing waves]—as it is called—as if it were passing through a strait; and after having sailed a goodly stretch without accident, among so many reefs, they found themselves on the high sea, free from everything.

Father Fray Andrés de San Nicolás had preached the previous afternoon with great energy against the great licentiousness and shameless conduct of the passengers and the other people, who had no fear of God. He severely censured their excesses, and the little anxiety that they showed in that time of greatest danger. With burning words, he exhorted them to do better, representing to them their danger and begging them, finally, to confess, since they did not know what was to happen that night. The fruit that proceeded from that sermon was large, for, his audience becoming terrified and contrite, many of them confessed, and others proposed to do the same by having their entangled consciences examined as soon as possible. After a few hours, what is described above was experienced, whereby all thought that the good preacher had had a revelation of that event; and they could not thank our Lord sufficiently for having granted to them the company of such good religious, but more specially the company of him who preached to them of their danger—whom they regarded as a distinguished servant of God, as he was. Some certified afterward that that place through which the boat had passed had been a rocky islet, and that they had seen it on other voyages; and they were

astonished at having escaped alive on that occasion, attributing it, beyond doubt, to a manifest miracle, which the Lord wrought at the intercession of those Fathers. They desired, therefore, to listen to their daily teaching, and specially to that of the Father who announced to them what we have seen. Consequently, not sparing themselves at all, the Fathers gave in alternation their inspired discourses, which were the health and medicine of the many who were there—the ship so conforming itself to these that it seemed a reformed convent, where before it had been a house of confusion and bluster, with soldiers, seamen, and sailors.

The same Father, Fray Andrés, among the continual sermons, preached a very fervent one on a certain day, and gave them to understand that he would live but a short time, and that he was not to reach the promised land, for his faults and defects. That happened so, for not long after, he fell sick, before sighting the islands called **Ladrones**. His sickness increasing, when he was told that the islands were in sight, he arose from his bed, and looking at them, through a porthole of his cabin, immediately lay down again, saying: "*Nunc moriar lætus.*"¹ His weakness was already very great, and, as he had already received the holy sacraments, and was in great resignation and joy of soul, and all our Fathers were present, he begged Father Fray Juan de San Gerónimo to have the passion of Jesus Christ our Lord read to him very slowly. That was done, in the manner that he desired. He, holding an image of the same crucified Lord in his hands, broke out into very glowing utterances of love, and shed many tears during those moments. After the passion was finished—which lasted until near dawn, on account of so many pauses—he begged pardon of all for his omissions and neglect. He asked to remember him in their masses and prayers. They recited the penitential psalms and other prayers, at the end of which, the sick man, very happy, conversed with his brethren with great affability. He charged them to keep their vows and the observance of the rules of the order. He persuaded them to persevere steadfastly in their purpose, and to be mindful of the zeal with which they had been ready to leave their fatherland for the welfare and conservation of many souls. He encouraged them to place their confidence in God, for His Sovereign Majesty had special providence and care over that small flock. Accordingly, they were not to become disconsolate with the thought that they had no house or convent in the Philippines, for already a lodging suitable for their purposes was being prepared for them. He concluded by urging them to commend their souls to Him, and then became very calm. All obeyed him, surprised, and desirous of such a death; and, at the end of the prayer, that chosen spirit went out in peace and quiet from the waves and shipwrecks of this world, and reached the safe and calm harbor of glory.

Upon beholding his death, one cannot imagine the grief of both religious and laymen; for, venerating him as a father, they bewailed him universally, and, in all truth, there was not one who did not show great affliction.

The corpse remained in such manner that it caused gladness to all who looked at it. Various opinions were expressed as to whether they should bury it in the sea or not.

1 "Now I shall die happy."

The laymen promised that they would deposit it in a fitting place, until they should cast anchor in the [Philippine] islands then near. Father Fray Juan de San Gerónimo did not consent to this, in order to avoid innovations—and specially when they were going to countries where they had no home, and where they knew no-one. Therefore, placing the body in a closely-sealed wooden box, with an inscription written on a certain sheet of lead, which denoted his name, country, and virtues, amid their lamentations and tears the body was cast into the sea, without having added the weight which is used to draw the body to the bottom of the water.

On account of that carelessness, the box should have remained on the surface of the water, without being able to sink at all; but on that occasion the Lord permitted that the waves should receive such deceased without any violence. As the ship was in a calm, consequently, all were witnesses that it settled to the bottom very gradually, and easily.

Certain violent fevers were raging in that vessel, from which about 40 had already died, at the time the noted Aragonese and observant religious finished the navigation of his life. But from that instant all had health, becoming better and recovering very soon. That was attributed to his prayers in Heaven in fulfilment of the word that he gave them, during the last moments of his life, namely, that he would commend them to God in glory, provided that he went there, as he had good hopes of doing. After the conclusion of the services for a death so fortunate and so bewailed, they soon arrived, on 10 May, at the islands that they were seeking. Having disembarked first, according to the order that they bore, at the island of Cebu, the discalced were lodged in the convent of our calced Fathers, the venerable bishop, and that example of prelates, Don Fray Pedro de Agurto, as we saw in his life, having gone out to receive them in procession. That most illustrious man desired that the new missionaries should not go further, and offered them a foundation and whatever they wished, in order to exercise themselves in the conversion and salvation of the infidels. It was impossible to assent to so many kindnesses, for their immediate passage to Manila was unavoidable, in order that the Governor might see the despatches and the decrees from Spain, which it was necessary to present to him. After having given the bishop the thanks due, they had to set out as soon as possible.¹

1 Ed. note: They arrived at Manila before Governor Acuña returned from the Ternate expedition. However, he was busy at Cavite with the despatch of the ships for Acapulco when death hit him suddenly. Consequently, he did not have time to receive and examine the mail brought by the friars. They, in turn, handed it over to the royal Audiencia.

D2. Extract from the History of Fr. de la Concepción

Volume IV. Chapter VII. Arrival at these islands of a new mission of the discalced Recollects, the reformed branch of the Hermits of the order of the great father St. Augustine.¹

...
37. The president Fray Juan considered such liberal propositions as these as annoying temptations² to which, through the motive of their zeal, not one of his could consent. He considered it advisable to avoid them by flight, and resolved upon his voyage to the port of Acapulco. There was already a ship there about to sail to the Philippines on the day of the invocation of the Holy Ghost. Having embarked on it, they set sail on 22 February 1606.

They had their terrors during the voyage; the ship caught fire, and the fire was already quite near the powder barrels that were stored in the Santa-Bárbara.³ Warning was given of this (which is one of the greatest of dangers), in sufficient time to enable them to extinguish the fire. Had it reached the powder, the worst ruin would have surely followed. I think that there is no peril of the sea more horrible. Another danger happened on a calm, clear night, when the cry of: "Land!, land!" came from the bow. That danger startled the pilots, who had no shoals down on their charts there.⁴ They were aware of them by the breakers in the water, and the vessel was so engulfed in them that it could neither bear away nor put in, without the same risk. As the breaking of the waters was getting nearer the ship, they considered all their efforts vain, and without any urging, allowed themselves to be carried in the same path. They tried to make soundings, but the plunging of the ship and the violent dragging of the sounding-line on the reefs did not permit them to make an accurate calculation of the depth. In such a contest, the hopes of all were already weak, besides which they were entering amid the breakers. The ship sailed a long distance without meeting accident, and later they found themselves in the deep sea, free from such a dangerous fright. That shoal was marked down accurately on the charts, and was noted on other voyages. It was a rocky islet surrounded with many covered reefs.⁵ They considered it a marvelous occurrence that they should pass over them without meeting with an accident on them.

1 Ed. note: It is obvious that this version has heavily borrowed from that of Fr. San Nicolás.

2 Ed. note: Invitations to remain in New Spain.

3 Ed. note: The gun-room which was usually located at the poop under the steering compartment.

4 Ed. note: This may be a free assumption by the author, as the same shoals had been met on previous voyages, and would surely have been recorded on all sailing charts in use at Manila.

5 Ed. note: Since the position is not recorded, we can only speculate as to the identification of this shoal. Could it have been an emerging reef, such as the Wilder Seamount, at 9°N & 174°W? This is a possibility, as Morga has just said that they sometimes went down as far south as necessary to catch the brisas, 10° not being unusual, before climbing back to 14°, the latitude of Rota (see Doc. 1605). This Wilder Seamount, according to a modern chart by the national Geographic Society, is now only 3 fathoms below the surface.

Father Fray Andrés de San Nicolás fell sick near the islands of the **Ladrones**, and, recognizing that his attack was serious, he sought consolation in the holy sacraments. During his last hours he fervently exhorted all to persevere in the undertaking that had been begun, promising them a happy result. He yielded up his spirit to God amid tender colloquies. Those of the ship wished to keep his body in a well-sealed wooden casket, in order to give it decent burial on shore; but in order to avoid innovations, the venerable superior, Fray Juan, did not consent to this. Accordingly, having been placed in a casket, he was cast into the sea, accompanied with the usual obsequies.

38. They continued from that moment their voyage prosperously, after an almost general epidemic of fever, safe and sound. By special orders they anchored in the port of Cebu.

Documents 1606E

Eyewitness report on the Dominican mission that came aboard a patache in 1606

Sources: 1) Fr. Aduarte's History, Manila, 1640; partly translated in B&R 31: 252-254; 32: 271-272. 2) Fr. Aduarte's letter in AGI Fil. 68-1-37; translated in B&R 14: 331.

Volume I. Chapter 63. The conquest of the Moluccas ... and the entry of religious into the province.

...
At the beginning of August in the same year [1606], large reinforcements of religious came from Spain; and so great was the need which there was of them that they came at a very fortunate time, especially since they were picked men in virtue and learning... Father Fray Diego del Aguila ... labored much in the ship, hearing confessions, and preaching and teaching; for as in voyages there are so many kinds of people, there is need of all these things, while many of the people need them all at once, because they do not know the doctrine which it is their duty to know and believe, and do not take that care of their souls which they ought to take. Some of them do not even desire to have such things spoken of, that their ignorance may not be known; and hence there is much labor in teaching them, and it is a great service to God not to refuse this labor.

The college student from the college of San Gregorio at Valladolid who came with the rest of the religious was Fray Pedro Rodriguez,¹ a native of Montilla and a son of the convent of San Pablo at Córdoba. His departure was deeply felt because he was much loved and esteemed. His parents loved him tenderly, for he was, like Benjamin, the youngest of the family and had always been very obedient and docile toward them, very devoted to them, now that old age had begun to affect them. The religious of his convent were grieved because they had seen in him such a notable beginning in virtue

1 Ed. note: Later on, Fr. Aduarte refers to him as Fr. Pedro Valverde (see below).

and letters, and they knew that he had progressed in both at the college of Valladolid, that every day he made progress; they were sorry that he left that convent without the many benefits and advantages which they hoped from such a son. Everyone had some arguments to put before the constancy of Father Fray Pedro, each one having his own set of arguments which he defended as best he could. His parents, brothers and relatives were all begging him, with tears and sighings, with such an obstinacy that they followed him and pursued him until the embarkation. As for the religious, they objected by letting him know how inadequate his little strength was, how big the labors were in the Philippines for which lean and weak friars like him were not adequate, and that it was imprudent and therefore not acceptable to God to leave the exercises of reader and preacher, for which God had given him special talents, in order to go to the Philippines, where the work would be superior to his capacities and he would not be as useful. However, the constant religious was not moved, either by the tears of the former, who must be underrated since we are dealing with matters in the greater service of God, or by the entreaties of the latter, trusting that God, who had given him such an ardent desire to undertake such a pious journey, would also provide him with the required strength. Indeed, God does not give great desires for higher works so that they would be left undone, since He is perfect in everything.

[Fr. Pedro was sick in bed with fevers when the mission band was in Mexico. While aboard ship, he took special care of ministering to the sick.]

The Lord considered Himself well served and sent to his faithful servant the final illness when his ship had already come among these islands.

[They were already at the port of Ibalon and he was being carried ashore when he lost consciousness.]

He had wanted to walk on foot over the 150 leagues of bad road that exist from one port to the other in New Spain, and he had even persuaded Father Fray Juan, his companion who was as delicate as he was or worse; he would have accomplished it and would have caused money to be left over from these two trips, had not the Prelate [i.e. the author] objected to it, given the state of his little strength.

At the islands of the **Ladrones**, he had offered himself to stay, and had even tried to put it into execution, moved by the fact that, being so poor, they had never had a minister and they remain heathen, [although] every year our ships pass by there when they come from Mexico. By signs, as he did not know their language, he was asking them to take him along, but he was not permitted to do so on account of the many difficulties involved. It may be that Father Fray Pedro, on account of his determination, would have overcome them, but one must not look at these things for one person only, and the disadvantages that this may entail, as things now stand, are morally greater than the benefit that can be expected, as experience has told us as a result of some religious of the seraphic Father St. Francis having stayed there.

...

The religious were much affected by his death, since they had conceived great hopes out of his determination, as they had seen clear signs that his ministry would have

reaped many souls, if only he had made it. Some of our religious, and a Franciscan, carried his body to be interned in the church of Casigura[n]¹ and they placed it next to the altar steps on the gospel side. He left the reputation of a saint among his companions and also in the town where he was buried, even though the Indians had never seen him alive, but his works were such that alive or dead this name was given him.

Aduarte's History, completed by Fr. Gonçavez

Volume II. Chapter 59. Other journeys of Father Fray Diego in the service of the Lord, for the advancement of the conversions of these peoples.²

...
 This company embarked at the beginning of July 1605; and, after suffering the ordinary discomforts of two long voyages following so closely one after the other, they reached Manila the next year, six having died in the voyages and journeys. One of these was Father Fray Pedro Valverde [sic], a student in the college of San Gregorio, a son of San Pablo at Córdoba, and a religious of superior virtue. He died as the ship was just beginning to come among the islands, and was buried in an Indian hamlet near the port of Ibalon. Some years afterward, when the Father Provincial sent a religious for his bones, he found the body still entire, without a foul odor or any decay, just as if it had been newly buried; but neither the Indians nor their *encomendero*³ would permit him to take it away, keeping possession of it as a holy body.

Report by Fr. Aduarte concerning the 1606 arrival of the Dominicans in the Philippines

Information by Father Fray Diego Aduarte, concerning the voyage that he made in the year 1605 from Spain to the Philippines, with 38 religious of his order; and, further, that made by Father Fray Gabriel de San Antonio in the year of 1608; and, further, what is necessary that there should not be failures in such voyages.

By command of Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of this country of New Spain, in compliance with a clause of a letter from his Majesty—whereby he was commanded to advise his Majesty of the religious who, going under his orders to the Philippines, have remained here [i.e. in Mexico], and what was the occasion of it; and in particular of

1 Ed. note: Now within Sorsogon Province, in SE Luzon.

2 Ed note: Fr. Aduarte died in 1636, but the events subsequent to 1634 were added by his editor, Fray Domingo Gonçalez, who wrote a sketch of Aduarte's life, thus repeating some of the events of the 1606 mission reproduced below.

3 Ed. note: The Spanish owner of the landed property.

those who remained of my company, two years ago [i.e. in 1606]¹—I, Diego Aduarte, declare as follows, having come as his vicar; and I call God to witness that in all I tell the truth.

In the month of July of 1605, I sailed from Spain, with 38 religious of my order, whom I was empowered by his Majesty's decrees to convey thither; and none was missing. Among these there were only 4 lay brothers; and of the rest, who were priests (they being in the majority), all except one were preachers and confessors; and those who were not such had studied sufficiently to be ordained as priests for mass—as all of them now are, and actual ministers, who preach and hear confessions in various languages which they have learned, much to the service of God and the increase of His Church.

I arrived in this country of New Spain with all the said 38 religious, where two of my priests died. One of them was named Fray Dionisio de Rueda, who had come from Valencia, of which he was a native; the other, Fray Pablo Colmenero, who came from Salamanca, and was a native of Galicia. Both of them were religious of excellent abilities.

I embarked at the port of Acapulco for the Philippines, with only 28. Although it is true that at the time of embarkation some 9 were absent, who had not yet arrived at the port, yet even if they had arrived they could in no wise have been embarked; for the ship which was given me was very small, and had accommodations for no more than 12 friars at the most. So true is this, that the treasurer of his Majesty of this city of Mexico, one Bribiesca, who was then at the port to despatch the ships by command of the Marquis of Montesclaros, told me not to embark more than 12. This I swear to be true *in verbo sacerdotis*.² I left that very port several religious, with permission and order to return to Mexico until they could go to the Philippines; and I was many times sorry for those whom I had embarked, on account of the poor accommodations that we had. Four of them died at sea, between here and the Philippines (3 of these being priests, and the other not), all of them being friars from whom much was hoped. I have made information of all this before the notary of the ship itself (who was called Francisco de Vidaurre), with witnesses who were aboard—which, with the favor of God, I myself shall take to Spain, as I am now on the way there. This was in the year of 1606.

The very next year two religious of my company—priests, confessors, and preachers, Fray Jacinto Orfanel and Fray Joseph de San Jacinto—went to the Philippines with Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, nephew of the Marquis, who was commander of two pataches; and this year, 1608, I sent four others of the same qualifications with the Governor, Don Rodrigo de Vivero.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Aduarte had returned from the Philippines in 1607 (see B&R 32:275).

2 Ed. note: Which means “on the word of a priest.”

Thus, of all my company, except six who have died, only one has failed to go to the Philippines. To this one, I confess, I gave permission to remain; and he is at present in the province of Oaxaca as minister and interpreter...¹

¹ Ed. note: He had granted his permission because, he says indirectly, that the subject lacked “apostolic spirit”.

Document 1606F

Reaction to a royal decree about shipping

Sources: AGI Audiencia de Filipinas, 1600-1612: 67-6-19; translated in B&R 14: 140-148.

Letter from the Audiencia to the King, dated Manila, 6 July 1606

Sire:

By the death of Don Pedro de Acuña, governor of these islands, who died on Saturday, June 24, this Audiencia succeeds to their government. In it has been considered a new order which your Majesty commands to be followed in sending out the merchant ships that are to go from these islands to New Spain. Since those which are to go this year are already laded, and must set sail within three or four days, it has not been possible to put your Majesty's commands into execution for the present year. Although this city has prayed for this new order and for the decrees which have been granted in pursuance of it, yet on account of the many fires which have occurred in this city in recent years, the wars, the forced return of some ships, and the loss of others, by which a great amount of property has been lost, the inhabitants of these islands are burdened with heavy afflictions and necessities, which render them unable to pay the new duties imposed by the royal command. Although these necessities are well known, the new order of your Majesty will be followed next year, in spite of the fact that some details involve much difficulty, and that some sections might well be moderated and limited in the form in which each one is stated. This matter is of importance to your Majesty's royal service, and to the welfare of the inhabitants of these islands.

In the **first section** your Majesty commands that only the inhabitants of these islands and no others may ship the merchandise which is to be transported to New Spain, and that the amount invested therein shall not exceed 250,000 pesos of eight reals, as was previously determined by other orders and decrees;¹ while the returns from this

¹ Ed. note: For instance, Philip II, Madrid, 11 Jan 1593; Philip III, 31 Dec 1604.

shall not exceed, in principal and profit, 500,000 pesos. As for this section, it deserves serious consideration that after the expenses of sending out a cargo—including the fees to be paid here and in New Spain, which amount to 30% in all, with the addition which the new decree imposes—it is impossible to recover from 50,000 pesos the principal and the [present] profits on the investment of the said 250,000 pesos which are granted by this permission. To reach this amount, it is considered necessary that at least 350,000 pesos be spent on the cargo. In addition to the charges referred to, many expenses fall upon the inhabitants of this city for the maintenance and provision of their houses, and thus are consumed and expended a part of the profits made on the investments which they make here. If your Majesty were pleased to permit that the amount of these investments might be at least 300,000 pesos, wherewith all expenses might be paid, then the permission to bring back 500,000 might well stand. Until it is known what decision will be reached on this point, your Majesty's commands shall be fulfilled. Care will be taken that the investment shall not reach 300,000, or pass far beyond 250,000. It should also be considered that when his Majesty, the sovereign of the realm, who is now in heaven, granted this permission, it was at a time when these islands were beginning to be settled. Then there were no inhabitants who could invest such a great sum, while now there are many. They do not send as much as they might lade in the vessel; and if this condition of affairs continues to increase, there is no other means of support than this trade, nor does the country produce those means. If it shall diminish, the people who come to live in these islands will likewise become fewer in number. If it should increase somewhat beyond the new grant, so many more people will come to the colony here. This population, however great it is, is all very necessary, in view of the way in which this country consumes the whole of it no matter how many come.

The **second section** provides that four freight ships should be built, each one of 200 tons; and that two of them shall make the voyage every year, very early, while the other two lie in port, ready for the following year. In this matter your Majesty's will shall be fulfilled, and the first ships that shall be built will be of this tonnage.¹

The **third section** provides that there shall be only one commander for the said two ships, with a lieutenant who shall be second-in-command. The intention of this section is to avoid the great expense which has previously been incurred in this voyage. The section also provides that each vessel may carry a military captain in addition to the master, with as many as 50 effective and useful soldiers on each ship, who shall receive pay. They may also have the necessary seamen, a certified pilot and his mate. If this section is to be fulfilled in this form, then, instead of avoiding many expenses, it will be the means of increasing again many others which are much greater. Such will be the result if 50 soldiers sail in each vessel, since because of the requirement that the capacity of the vessels shall be so small, they cannot carry such a large number of people. The voyage is so long that 5 to 7 months are spent in it, and the seasons are very severe. Many people die at sea; and it is necessary to carry so many sailors and ship boys that

¹ Ed. note: This provision was later changed to allow ships of 300 tons.

a great amount of provisions must be taken for them and the other men. For this reason the late governor of these islands kept down the number of permissions to go hence to New Spain to a very small number. He granted them so seldom that he did not allow the tenth part of those who asked for them to go. Yet in spite of all this, the commanders of the vessels were obliged, on account of the great amount of space occupied by the necessary ship stores, to send ashore, before leaving these islands, some of the few passengers who had received official permission. In the despatch of the ships this very year [1606], our experience is of the same sort. There had returned from the expedition to the Moluccas many captains, ensigns, and soldiers detained on shipboard, whom it is necessary to send back again to Spain. It was found very difficult to put more than 30 soldiers on a ship of the capacity of 400 tons, although its cargo amounted to no more than 350. As for this number of 50 soldiers voyaging [in one ship], the regulation cannot be carried into effect. If it were to be done, it could only be at the risk that most of the men on board the ship should perish, while all would travel in great discomfort. Further, at the time when the ships are sent out, it would be hard to find in the city 200 soldiers having the qualifications necessary for them to be useful in any battle. It would be a serious evil for this garrison to be left with such a small number of people. It is considered as beyond doubt that those who go away from here will not return again to this city; this will also cause others to abandon the idea of coming here. Hence it seems that on this point it is not desirable to make any innovation upon that which has hitherto been done, as that would be of little advantage, and cause much expense. When the ships return to these islands they are of much use in defence if they come well supplied with arms and ammunition, with 100 soldiers in each as reinforcements for the troops in these islands. As for the regulation that the officials who are to go on these ships are to be appointed here, and that they shall be chosen from among the most influential and most honored citizens of these islands and those best qualified for such posts, and that they shall give bonds and that *residencia* shall be exacted from them, your Majesty's decrees shall be fulfilled.¹

As for the **fourth section**, it provides that the commanders and seconds-in-command and the officers of the said ships, shall have in the voyage no trade or commerce, either small or large. As regards the commanders and seconds-in-command, your Majesty's decrees shall be executed; as for the other officers, we refer to the following section.

The **fifth section** deals with the salary paid to the commander, being 4,000 ducats [?], while the second-in-command receives 3,000 for each voyage, including the going and the coming. It seems that this might be reduced, and that it would be sufficient to allow the commander 3,000 pesos and the second-in-command 2,000. As for allowing salaries and regular pay to the captains, soldiers, seamen, and gunners who sail in the

¹ Ed. note: The pertinent decrees then in effect were: Philip III, Barcelona, 15 June 1599; and Valladolid, 31 Dec 1604. They were later updated by: Philip III, San Lorenzo, 22 April 1608; and Madrid, 23 May 1620.

said ships with the regulation that they shall have no trade or commerce, it seems, with reference to the pay of the captains and soldiers, that for the reasons referred to in the third section these expenses might be avoided. It would be sufficient to give wages to the gunners and seamen, without prohibiting them to trade; for the amount of their trade is very small, and with the permission to take 2 bales of cargo granted to each of the seamen and gunners the whole of their small capital would be expended. Under these circumstances, if the ship were to be in any peril from storm they would obey commands with greater zeal and willingness because of their share in the treasure of the ship. Without such bait as this, which induces many seamen to come to these islands, without doing any harm to the residents, it would be difficult to find anyone willing to come here. If this permission were taken the wages alone would not be sufficient to support the men.

The **sixth section** provides that only so many officers shall be appointed as may be needed, that no-one shall go as a gunner who is not one in fact, and that only one gunner shall go for every piece of artillery carried on the said vessels. In this matter your Majesty's commands shall be obeyed.¹

The **seventh section** provides that an inspector and an accountant shall go on the said ships to take the accounts and inventory of all the cargo. It directs that they shall keep books, in which they shall enter the merchandise shipped from these islands and that which comes back on the return voyage. It would seem that this expense also might be avoided, since this account and inventory are taken by the royal officials of these islands, and also by the royal officials of the port of Acapulco. By their account it is possible to know the cargo which goes there, and what returns. From here is sent to the Viceroy of New Spain a statement in which is contained the amount of the merchandise sent in the cargo, and the names of the consignors, in order that in conformity therewith licence may be given, to the citizens who have shipped the goods, for sending back the money which their merchandise shall have yielded. In this way the account and inventory required by your Majesty are obtained, since only the inhabitants of these islands send consignments, and the proceeds thereof are returned to them and no others.

The **eighth section** provides that the vessels shall be no more heavily laden than they ought to be, and that room be left in them for everything that is necessary for the men that sail in them. This section also provides that sufficient provisions shall be carried for this long voyage, so that the men may not perish for lack of food. This section also decrees that the vessels shall not be overladen and thus embarrassed and endangered; but that they shall be laden so as to be buoyant, and able to meet dangers from storms and enemies. It is also provided that in lading the vessels a proper division of the space should be made. In all these matters your Majesty's will shall be carried out.²

The **ninth section** decrees that the freight charges to be paid on cargos in the aforesaid vessels, for the voyages both going and coming, shall be determined and regulated

1 Ed. note: The decree in question is Philip III, Valladolid, 31 Dec 1604.

2 Ed. note: Idem.

in proportion to the expenses of the voyage, no more being charged than is necessary to meet them without any supply being required for this purpose from your Majesty's treasury. The section provides that for these expenses the duties shall be increased by 2% on the goods carried in the ships, and another 2% on the money sent to these islands as proceeds from the shipment. It provides that this fund shall be put in a chest apart, and kept in this city, to meet the expenses of the said ships and the men in them. This sum is to be kept together with the freight charges collected. The contents of this section require careful consideration. When the ships return to these islands, they come laden with the forces intended for this military district and garrison, and artillery, arms, and ammunition; and with the religious, and the colonists who come to settle in these islands, in addition to other things required for the service of your Majesty. Although they do indeed bring the money for the citizens of this city, they at the same time bring much required for the reinforcement of the military establishments here. If these freights are to be apportioned as your Majesty commands, there will be a large amount which might fall upon your royal treasury. Hence it seems that, if your Majesty should be pleased, it would be well for the present not to change the custom which has hitherto been followed; and that only to assist the expenditures which your Majesty incurs in sending out these vessels should the citizens of these islands be charged 2% on the merchandise which they ship, and 2% more for the money sent them in return. For, although it is said on the other side that the profits are large, they commonly are not; while the freight, fees, and duties are very great. From these profits there is paid to your Majesty in this city 5%, including the new increase, and in New Spain 16%; while the expenses of the ships which had to put back to port, and the goods lost in those which have been wrecked since the year 1600, come to more than a million. It will take many years for the profits to make up for such a loss.

May God keep the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty.

Manila, 6 July 1606.

The Licentiate Telles de Almazan

The Licentiate Andrés de Alcaraz

The Licentiate Juan Manuel de la Vega

Documents 1609A

Royal decrees regarding a way-station for the Manila galleons

Sources: AGI Fil. 329, libro 2, pp. 153-156, 170-172; formerly 105-2-1; translated in B&R 14: 270-277.

A1. Decree of 27 September 1608

The King:

To Don Luis de Velasco, my viceroy, governor, and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain.¹ Your predecessor in the government of those provinces, the Marquis de Montes Claros, informed me by a letter of 24 May of last year that he had received my decree of 19 August 1606, in which were contained the directions to be followed by him in the opening to navigation and the settlement of the new port of Monte Rey, discovered by Sebastian Vizcayno on the voyage from New Spain to the Philippine Islands. He stated that the decree could not be carried out in any respect, since it reached his hands when the trading fleet for those islands had already set sail, and since Sebastian Vizcayno—whom I had commanded to undertake that voyage and found the colony, as being the discoverer of the said port—had departed for that kingdom in the fleet of that year. He stated that with a view, above all, to reaching a decision in regard to what must be done for the prosecution of this business, it seemed to him well to inform me of what he had heard, and of what had been brought before him with reference to the matter. He took for granted that it was of great importance to discover a port where the ships returning from the Philippines might stop to refit; for on so long a voyage the greatest part of the danger is due to the lack of a place where the injuries received in the voyage may be repaired. If no more suitable place should be found, he said, it would be advisable to make use of the port of Monte Rrey, of which he had been notified; but, to understand better the importance of this port, it would be well to notice that according to the survey made by the said Sebastian Vizcayno it seems to be

1 He had filled this post before, during the 1590-95 period; he succeeded the Marquis of Montesclaros on 2 July 1607, and governed New Spain until 12 June 1611.

in latitude 37°, on the coast known as the coast of New Spain, which runs from Cape Mendocino to Acapulco. Now while it is true that most of the ships on this voyage sight land within 1 or 2 degrees of that place, still, it must be understood that they always regard themselves as being at the end of their voyage and out of danger on the day when they reach there. This is so true that there have been ships which, when they were at the mouth of the harbor of Monte Rey, decided, as soon as they recognized it, not to enter it, but kept on their voyage with all sails spread. They felt that as soon as they sighted land anywhere they could go on, and, with favorable weather, reach the harbor of Acapulco in 25 or 30 days. The accidents and injuries caused by hurricanes—which are the things that place ships in jeopardy, and which oblige them to return to their port of departure, with so much loss—ordinarily occur from the time when they pass the Cape of Espiritu Santo on the island of Manila, all along the chain of the Ladrones until they pass the end of Japan at the point called the Cape of Sestos and reach latitude 32 or 33°; consequently, the ship which receives such injuries always does so before entering the great gulf of New Spain [i.e. the NE Pacific], and can find no place of refuge without returning to Japan or to the Philippines. If its condition should permit it to sight the coast of Cape Mendocino after 52 days (the usual length of time), its troubles would be practically over. On this account, and since the harbor of Monte Rey is so situated that when the ships from the Philippines reach it they feel that their voyage to the harbor of Acapulco within 25 or 30 days is certain, as has been said, and since it has never been known to occur that a ship after sighting land has been obliged to put back, therefore, the Marquis declares that, as the object is to provide ships with a harbor where they may land, or at least touch and refit, the harbor should be provided, or at least be sought, where it may be of use before the vessels enter the great gulf of New Spain. This he urges the more because there are two islands in latitude 34 or 35°, named **Rrica de Oro** and **Rrica de Plata**,¹ to the west of the harbor of Monte Rey and in almost the same latitude though very distant in longitude. Those who have undertaken that voyage and have made it declare that both these islands are very well suited to be places of refitting for the ships from the Philippines, and that it would be advantageous to find them again and colonize one of them for this purpose.

Regarding this as certain, the Marquis thinks that the exploration and colonizing in question should be mainly at these islands, being committed to some person of competence, care, and fidelity. For this he judges that the said Sebastian Vizcayno would be suitable, because he would know, as well as anyone could, the way to the harbor of Monte Rey, being already acquainted with it. If the commission were entrusted to him, it would be well for him to go from Acapulco as commander of the ships for the Philippines, returning from Manila with 2 small and lightly-laden ships for no other purpose than the discovery; for if he were to return as commander [of the trading fleet] the

1 That is, “Rich in Gold” and “Rich in Silver”, two mythical islands, often mentioned in documents of that time... The Japanese learned of them from the reports of Spanish navigators and referred to them as Kin-shima and Gin-shima respectively.

merchandise and stuffs of the inhabitants of Manila would run great risk of being detained on the voyage, and of suffering some loss, and the owners would have a right to recover damages from my royal treasury. Then after the new harbor which is affirmed to exist shall have been discovered, Sebastian Vizcayno may go as commander of the year following, and may make a beginning of refitting a station there with the trading ships, so that the navigation may be opened.

After this report had been brought before my Council of the Indies and my Council of War for those lands, and had been discussed there, both sides having been considered by me, the suggestions of the said Marquis of Montes Claros were approved by me. Therefore I command you that since he declares that the two islands, Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, in latitude 34 or 35°, will be much more suitable than the harbor of Monte Rey as a port in which the ships of the Philippine trade may refit, you shall suspend for the present the opening to navigation and the settlement of the harbor of Monte Rey. I command you that in conformity with the opinion of the said Marquis of Montes Claros, you shall give the charge of the expedition to Sebastian Vizcayno; and shall cause to be undertaken the discovery, settlement and opening to navigation of a harbor in one of the said islands, Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata as shall seem best and most suitable for the purpose intended. For the present I entrust to you the choice of all that concerns the matter. On account of my trust in your prudence and caution, and my confidence that you will not permit any excessive expense, I license you to expend from my royal treasury, for all the aforesaid and for the arrangement of all other requisites, all the money needed, drawing the same from my royal treasury of the City of Mexico. I sanction and command the granting by you to the colonists of the same privileges that were granted in my decree of 19 August 1606 to those who should go to colonize the port of Monte Rey. In case it seems to them that the latter port is entirely preferable to either of the two islands referred to, you will execute the decree previously issued with reference to the said colonization and opening to navigation of the said port of Monte Rey; and by this my decree I command my accountants for my Council of the Indies to record this command.

Dated at Martin Muñoz, 27 September 1608.

I, the King.

Certified to by Juan de Civica and signed by the members of the Council of War of the Indies.

A2. Decree of 13 May 1609

The King:

To Don Luis de Velasco, my viceroy, governor and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain, or to the person or persons in whose charge the government may be. Having understood that as a way-station for the ships in the Philippine trade, one of these islands, **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata**, would be more suitable than the port of Monte Rey—which had been explored, and for the opening and colonization of which orders had been issued—because the former are in a better situation: by a decree

of the 27th of September of the past year, I commanded you to suspend for the time being the opening and settlement of the said port of Monte Rey, and to undertake the exploration, settlement and opening of one of those two islands, Rrica de Oro and Rrica de Plata as it appeared better and more suitable for the object desired; and you were to spend from my royal treasury whatever money was necessary for this, and settle other matters, as should be expedient. You were accorded to those who were to go to settle the port of Monte Rey; and in case it still appeared to you that the latter was better fitted than either of the two islands, you were to execute what I had ordered you to do in connection with its settlement and opening, as is explained more at length in my said decree, to which I refer you.

However, Hernando de los Rios Coronel, procurator-general of the said islands, has represented to me that in any case it is best that the said exploration should be made from the Philippines, and not from New Spain—both to avoid the great expense which would fall on the royal treasury, if the ships for this expedition were built there, as all marine supplies are very dear in your country, and difficult to procure; and also because it would be necessary to make that voyage at hazard, mainly, and there would be great danger of not finding the islands and of losing the results of the voyage and the expenses incurred. For they are in a high latitude, and far distant from your country of New Spain; and, besides, as all those who should go in this expedition would necessarily take a large amount of money to invest in the Philippines (for, as the ships are to go back empty, they would take the opportunity to lade them with merchandise), they might, in order not to lose their goods by going on the exploration, draw up an information on the ship (as has been done at other times), saying that on account of storms, or for some other reason, they were unable to make the islands. But if the said discovery were made from the Philippines, all these difficulties would be avoided; for it is evident that the cost and danger would be much less, as the two islands to be discovered are so near at hand that they can almost go and take them with their merchant ships. All the rest may be arranged merely by ordering that, having made the discovery, they shall come back to the Philippines without going to New Spain; for in this way there will be no reason for them to lade their vessels with merchandise. Furthermore, there are in the Philippines trustworthy persons for this affair, to whom it may be entrusted; and the sailors there are more competent since they have more experience.

Having again considered this in our Council of the Indies, it has seemed best to command you, and you are so commanded and ordered, that if you have not begun to carry out the preparations for this exploration, as I have ordered you to do, and if you have not so advanced them as to make it inconvenient or very expensive to abandon it, you shall examine and consider with especial attention whether, for the suitable execution and less cost of the exploration, it would be expedient to place it in the hands of my governor and captain-general of the said Philippine Islands, so that he may proceed to undertake it from those islands. And if it appear to you that this plan is expedient, you shall send at the first opportunity to my said governor the letter which will accompany this, for him, in which he is so ordered; and at the same time you will remit to him the

money that in your opinion may be necessary, which is not to exceed the 20,000 ducats which I had granted for the settlement of the port of Monte Rey.

Dated at San Lorenzo el Real [i.e. El Escorial], on the 3rd of May of the year 1609.
I, the King.

Countersigned by Juan de Civica; signed by the members of the Council.

Documents 1609B

Ship movements of 1608-1610 and involvement with Dutch enemies and the Japanese

B1. The westward voyage of the San Francisco in 1608

Letter from interim Governor Rodrigo de Vivero, dated Manila 8 July 1608.

Sources: AGI 67-6-1; copy in TNL Manila; mentioned by Robertson in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1915.

[He talks about his arrival at Cavite on 13 July 1608].

B2. Notes from the ship captain, Juan Cevicos, who later became a priest

Source: RAH Jesuit Papers, tome 84 (modern ms. 9/3657)¹ in the middle of which is a printed booklet of 20 folios, printed at Madrid in March 1628, entitled as follows.

Discourse of Doctor Don Juan Cevicos, Commissioner of the Holy Office, regarding a letter to His Holiness which was printed in Latin, and came to light in Madrid at the beginning of this year of 1628, dated at Omura, a city in Japan, on 20 January 1624, about which

¹ Ed. note: This bundle in RAH is said to cover the period 1617-1630s; before 1760, it was in the Jesuit College at Seville. A previous owner of some of the material therein, specially the old missals of 1517 and 1595, was Fr. Jacob de Hermenegildo of that college. The documents in it are generally in poor condition.

there is an affidavit to the effect that it was written by Father Fray Luis de Sotelo, a religious of the Order of St. Francis, while he was a prisoner and very near his glorious martyrdom, which in fact he suffered a few days later for having taught and preached the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

...

Before going into the censure of what this letter contains, in order for me to bring out what I may know about what it says, it seemed to me appropriate to make a brief summary of my voyages and of a few circumstances that are necessary for the purpose.

I was born in Cantalapedra, and I went to New Spain as a lay person in the year of 1604. From New Spain I went to the Philippines as captain and master of the flagship galleon **San Francisco** in 1608.¹ And, while returning in that [same] capacity from the Philippines to New Spain in 1609,² I was lost in Japan on the last day of September of the said year, near the city of Yendo which is in its eastern part.³ In order to board a ship in Nangasaqui, on the west side of Japan, I crossed almost the whole of that kingdom, passing by the said city of Yendo, Surunga⁴, Meaco, Fugime [Fushima], Usaca, Sacay, and Nangasaqui, which are its main cities.

In Yendo, I had communication with the said Father Fray Pedro Baptista, who is now [1628] at San Gil, and, in Surunga I met with Father Fray Luis Sotelo, and in the other cities other religious of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Augustine, and of the Society of Jesus. For the half a year that I was in that kingdom I observed and noted with some care the things that are in it. During that time the first Dutch ships came to the port of Firando [Hirado], near Nangasaqui, and founded a factory; also in the port of Nangasaqui, the Japanese burned the Portuguese galleon from Macao. These two things had much to do with the persecution that a few years later took place against our religious.

I embarked in Japan for Manila at the end of March 1610 but the Dutch picked me up on the coast of the Philippines. However, as a result of the victory that Governor Juan de Silva had against them, I recovered my freedom. When I got to Manila, I studied and had me ordained as a priest. I became the treasurer of the cathedral of that

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- 1 Ed. note: The General of the 1608 westbound galleon is said (elsewhere) to have been Suarez de Cevallos.
 - 2 Ed. note: In the Jesuit relation of 1609-10 by Fr. Gregorio Lopez (B&R 17:123), it is said that the commander of the **San Francisco** was then Juan de Ezquerria. However, ex-Governor Vivero (see next document) does refer to Cevicos as being the captain of the ship. Hence, Ezquerria was General and ex-Governor Vivero a notable passenger. In a memorial, dated Madrid, 20 Dec 1627, Cevicos repeats that he was captain and master of the **San Francisco** in 1609 (see B&R 22:169).
 - 3 Ed. note: See the next document for the full story of this shipwreck. Yendo was Yedo or Edo, now Tokyo.
 - 4 Ed. note: Now called Shizuoka.

city and procurator of that archdiocese; as such, I left the Philippines to attend to the business of my church at this court at the end of August 1622. I arrived in Spain in 1623 and was in Rome during the Holy Year of 1625.

...
[The shipwreck of the San Francisco and the Japanese ship San Buenaventura]

This [planned] embassy¹ by Fr. Sotelo was badly and seriously viewed at Manila, since he had been heard of there for having, in the year of 1608, approached the Pilot Guillermo Pérez, a Spaniard, for the purpose of guiding it from Japan to New Spain. And in 1609 he had been the prime mover behind the project to obtain a ship that the emperor of Japan had had built in the European style² for Don Rodrigo de Vivero, [now] Count of Orizabal, who was coming back from governing the Philippines [for a year] when he was lost on Japan with the said galleon **San Francisco**, so that he would pursue his voyage from there to New Spain. This did take place [in 1610].

...
 [More about Father Sotelo and the Japanese embassy to Rome later on. As for the Japanese crew of the **San Buenaventura**, they were brought back to Japan by Sebastian Vizcaino, aboard a Spanish ship which, by coincidence, was also called **San Francisco**.]

B3. Relation of 1609-1610 by Father Gregorio Lopez, S.J., dated Manila 1 July 1610

Sources: Ventura del Arco Mss. in the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library in Chicago, vol. i, pp. 273-340; translated in B&R 13, pp. 132 et sequitur.

Three ships left here in July of 1609 for New Spain, and all of them were exposed to dangers and storms. The ship **San Andrés**, which was the *almiranta*, and the only one to reach New Spain, encountered such terrific storms that its bow was under water during most of the voyage, and they were in such a great danger that the pilot vowed never to embark again—a very rare thing.³

The ship **Santa Ana**, almost entirely dismantled by the violent winds and heavy seas, reached Japan, and its arrival there was through not a little of God's mercy. Although it remained 13 days aground in a port of the kingdom of Bungo,⁴ still it did not go to

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- 1 Ed. note: Sponsored by Date Masamune, the daimyo of Voxu, or Oshu, the former name of the Sendai region of Japan.
 - 2 Ed. note: Actually, it was the Shogun, not the Emperor, who had paid for a ship built by William Adams. The Spanish re-named this small ship the **San Buenaventura**.
 - 3 Ed. note: This ship must have been repaired because it made the westward voyage in 1610.
 - 4 The modern province of Bungo is located on the eastern side of the island of Kyushu, on the Bungo Channel.

pieces. On the contrary, it was able to refit, and intends to prosecute its voyage this June of 1610.

The ship **San Francisco** of the said two ships [that failed to reach New Spain] encountered a greater storm. From the first it gave the passengers plenty of fear, both because of its dangerous leaks and a poor helm, and because of the disservices to the Divine Majesty which were committed. To narrate all its misfortunes would be long, so I shall content myself by referring to some of them.

...

During the first gale the ship, at the beginning, because of obeying its helm poorly, was struck head on. The sails pulled with such force on the masts that, as the captain dared not take them in, they were blown into shreds. The pilots began to throw overboard whatever was above decks, until nothing was left on them. They threw overboard the boat, and the crates and bales of merchandise. On that account the sailors lost their poor possessions, and some of the passengers lost a goodly amount. The ship tossed and rolled frightfully, and dipped below the water on both sides. Consequently, it shipped so much water that it was generally waist high above the deck. The waves were furious and high, and so great that the fore and aft cabins shipped water. One wave carried away a considerable portion of the stern gallery, together with four little slave girls who were in it. In this way they passed one night, almost in despair of seeing the morrow. But day came, and they repaired the ship by bending other sails that were carried for that purpose. After this storm the ship was very crank, and even in fair weather its sides were under water, although it had a high freeboard. Consequently, it shipped so much water that the waves washed over the decks with great noise and uproar, and entered the berths where the better-class passengers are generally quartered. The rigging had to be repaired piecemeal. Consequently, for those reasons, and as the vessel lacked other necessities, some tried to make them turn back to Manila. However, this was without effect, and they proceeded on their way with some storms; and in the last, which was frightful, the people had no safety, even inside the boat, for the waves tore them from it, and drew men after them. The ship leaked very badly, and consequently it was necessary to work the pumps continually. All, seeing the danger before their face, helped in this; even Don Rodrigo de Vivero, who had just completed his office as president of the Audiencia and governor and captain-general, assisted in his turn, as did Father Pedro de Montes and the other religious.

Finally, at the end of this struggle, they were wrecked on the coast of the kingdom of Quantu [Kanto], at the head of Japan, in almost its extreme east. That coast extends from that kingdom to the district of Ximo, where the port of Nangasaqui is located and from where many vessels sail yearly to Manila, which is farther west.

Almost 400 persons went ashore—that is, all except some 25 or 30, who were drowned in the course of the voyage. After a time the sea washed ashore some pieces of gogram, satin and velvet. Those who had gotten away with less clothing wrapped these about their bodies, while they made sandals from bits of silk, like those of leather

worn by shepherds in Spain, because of the sharp rocks upon which they were walking barefoot.

They found two Japanese in some fields, and were greatly comforted thereby; for they [had] imagined that land to be a desert islet without any food, upon which fortune had cast them to die. However, they would have had not a little clemency from God if they had been able to die after confessing at leisure. The Japanese guided them to a town nearby, where they were given some rice for their support. There most of them were kept carefully guarded for many days. The chief Japanese continued to take charge of all the silk that could be saved, but did not give it up until an edict therefor was granted to the Spaniards by the king. Consequently, some of it was given to them; but the Japanese rebought it at what prices they wished, paying for it with very impure silver. Consequently, the Spaniards were scarcely able to get 50,000 pesos in current Castilian money for it; although it is regarded as certain that if all that could have been saved had been delivered to the Spaniards, and they had sold it at a just price, they would have received 500,000 pesos beyond all doubt.

Although General Juan de Ezquerria tried to negotiate with the king for the return of some 40 boxes which were held by one of the Japanese lords, he failed to do so. On the contrary, the counselors advised him to be content with what had been returned, unless he wished to keep nothing. In short, they are pagans who believe in only the law of might and do not keep faith and friendship more than they think advisable. Governor Rodrigo de Vivero visited the King [i.e. Ieyasu] at his court at Suronga. The king received him and treated him with great honor, and gave him 1,000 taels as a concession. Each tael is worth 10 reals when made into [Spanish] money. The General gave this money to the people to provide for their journey to Nangasaqui, whence many have come to this city [i.e. Manila].

Don Rodrigo de Vivero and Father Montes continued their voyage in the ship **Santa Ana** which was in Bungo.¹ The Japanese came very near attacking it, but they say that they did not do so because such action was not expedient; for they had injured their trade with Macao by attacking the galleon en route from that city to Japan with silk, until they had to burn it, with the loss of 800,000 taels; and they would curtail their trade with this country and suffer great lack of silk.

...
I have endeavored to make this relation very faithful for the greater glory of God our Lord. May He preserve your Paternity² for the welfare of the whole Society.

Manila, 1 July 1610.

Gregorio Lopez.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Vivero did not go back to Manila aboard the Santa Ana but went straight to Acapulco aboard a ship loaned by the Shogun of Japan.
 - 2 This phrase, the usual epithet of the general of the Jesuit order, would indicate that Lopez was addressing that official—who was then Claudio Aquaviva; he died on January 31, 1615.

B4. The westward voyage of an unnamed ship in 1609

Sources: Fr. Aduarte's History of 1640, chapter 67; translated in B&R 31:279-280.

On the 11th of April in this year [i.e. 1609]¹ there arrived at Manila some [Dominican] religious from the number of those who were brought from Spain to this province by Father Fray Gabriel de Quiroga. He died on the voyage before he reached Mexico, and most of the others were scattered, and remained in New Spain... Of all those who came with him, only 8 [out of 30] completed the voyage which they had begun.

1 Ed. note: The ship arrived early that year, because it brought the proprietary governor, Juan de Silva.

Documents 1609C

C1. The narrative of Governor Vivero's shipwreck in Japan on 30 September 1609

Sources: "Relación que hace D. Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, Gobernador y Capitán General de las Islas Filipinas", dated at Bungo, 3 March 1610; published in Barcelona in 1904 by the newspaper "Diario de Barcelona"; copy in Chicago Newberry Library (Ayer 2113 V85 1904).

Introductory note.

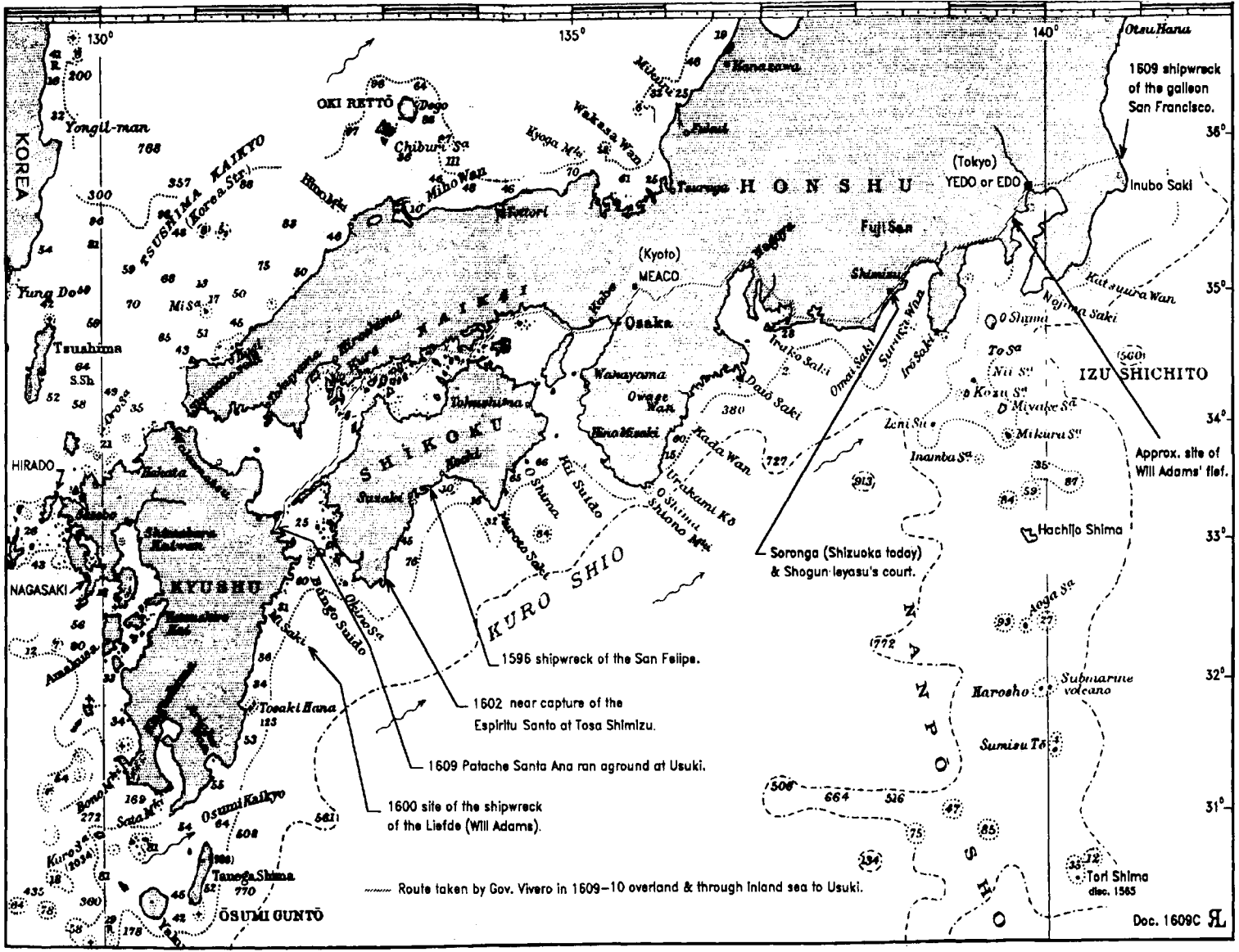
Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco had been a page of Queen Ana, the wife of Philip II. When he left the court, it was to serve aboard Spanish galleons in the Atlantic for 2 years. In 1581, he moved to New Spain where he served the viceroy for 10 years. In 1595, he was named fort commander at San Juan de Ulúa [Veracruz]. Afterward, he was named governor of New Vizcaya until the viceroy received the news that Governor Acuña of the Philippines had died. Vivero was then appointed interim Governor of the Philippines, a position in which he served from June 1608 until the new Governor (Silva) arrived at Manila in April 1609.

From this point runs the relation reproduced below. After he returned to the court in Spain, Vivero was appointed Governor of Panama, a post in which he served for many years with the additional title of Viscount of San Miguel. At the end, he was promoted to Count of the Valley of Orizaba. On 24 January 1636, he was appointed General of the Spanish army in New Spain. He made his testament that year, leaving everything to his only son, Don Luis Vivero y Velasco.¹

The direct addressee of the following report was probably the Viceroy of New Spain, but Vivero knew that it, or or copy of it, would reach the King. The version beginning on next page was most probably sent via the **Santa Ana** from Bungo to Manila, then by the same ship to New Spain later that same year, 1610.

¹ Ed. note: The title of his biography by J. Monbeig seems to indicate that he died in 1636: "Rodrigo de Vivero, 1564-1636." (Paris, 1972).

Map of Japan, with the sites of the 1609 galleon shipwrecks. The flagship San Francisco hit the coast east of Edo and the Santa Ana ran aground in Bungo.



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C1. Narrative made by Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands

Narrative made by Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco of what occurred when he was returning from [a term as] Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, and his arrival in distress in Japan, in which very specific things are found.

In the year of 1608 [rather 1609], on 30 September, the feast day of the glorious San Jerónimo, the galleon **San Francisco** was lost, aboard which I came out of the Philippines, having served his Majesty there as his governor. Although the storms and shipwrecks [sic] which had been suffered until this date were numerous enough to make a long narrative, I do not know if, during the 65 days that the navigation lasted¹ until this unfortunate hour arrived, any greater misfortunes had ever occurred in the North [i.e. Atlantic] Sea or in the South Sea. The outcome of those storms and the beginning of others was that the galleon broke into pieces upon some reefs at the head of Japan in 35° and 1/2 of latitude [north], one that is erroneously shown, at a great detriment, on all the nautical charts that had been used to navigate up to that time; on these charts, the head of Japan was shown at 33° and 1/2. In summary, for this reason and for the original and true one, that is by the will of God, this galleon was lost with a treasure worth 2 millions² and, from 10 p.m. when she ran aground, until half an hour after day-break the next day, all those of us who were saved were hanging on to the rigging and ropes, because the galleon was breaking up into pieces. The more excited individual thought that his end had surely come, such as happened to 50 persons who drowned when they were carried off by the battering sea waves from among the rest of us who were saved by God's great mercy. Some of us went off hanging on to beams, others to boards, and those who came off last were aboard a piece of the poop which was the strongest part and was preserved [in one piece] until it reached the shore.

When ashore, while we considered whoever had come out with a shirt on as the richer one, none of us knowing if the island was uninhabited or not, or in which vicinity it was, because the pilots were saying that, on account of the latitude, it could not be part of Japan, I sent two sailors up [the cliff] to have a look around the land. A short time later, they returned begging me for a reward for the good news that they had found some rice fields. Although these could serve as food eventually, it would not ensure the lives of those of us there, without weapons nor human defence, should the islanders unluckily not be what they turned out to be, Japanese, within a quarter of an hour; this news was a very happy one to us all, specially for me, because when I became Governor

1 Ed. note: Hence the ship had left Manila during the third week of July 1609.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Lopez had reported the value of the recovered cloth cargo alone to have been worth 1/2 million pesos.

of the Philippines and learned that the Royal Audiencia in charge of the government before my arrival had put 200 Japanese in jail for a reason that must have been justified at the time they were arrested but that no longer existed, I had decided not only to release them from jail but also to give them a boat and safe passage to their country, something for which the emperor had shown himself specially thankful. So, I was counting on the sure judgment that he would not have forgotten about this and always held to the firm belief that he would be grateful, something which in fact I saw fulfilled.

There came 5 or 6 of the above-mentioned Japanese to us and they showed by words and behavior that they were sorry to see us that way, and through a Christian Japanese who was shipwrecked with me, I asked them where we were, and they answered that we were in Japan and that their village, called Yubanda,¹ was a league and a half away. We headed overthere, the air being thin and cold, because the air of those islands is rigorous in winter, a season about to begin, and on account of the few clothes that we wore; we arrived at the village, one of the last hamlets of that island and, I think, the loneliest and poorest one in the whole kingdom, because it did not have more than 300 residents, the vassals of a lord who derived a rental income from many vassals and places and has an inexpugnable fortress (about which I will talk later), although he is not one of the prosperous ones there.

After arriving at this small place, the interpreter of their nationality who was traveling with me told them that I was the Governor of Luzon, which is how they call the Philippines, and he related our unfortunate story by which they were saddened, and the women wept, as they are compassionate in the extreme. So, that was the origin of their asking their husbands to loan us some clothes, which they call *quimones* [kimonos], lined with cotton, but they gave them to me, not refusing to give us the food which they enjoy either, which is rice and a few vegetables like radishes and egg-plants, and, although rarely, some fish, which is difficult to fish along that coast.

Then they advised the *tono* [i.e. *dono* or *daimyo*] or lord of their village, who lived 6 leagues from there. He ordered that I should be entertained, but that we should not be allowed to leave nor anyone in my company, but not, however, until after they had held a meeting in which it had been decided that we should all be killed with knives, news of which was given to me by the owner of my inn. God, who had delivered us from worse storms, placated that one as well. Within 3 or 4 days, this *tono* and lord of that country came with a great show of authority, being preceded by various banners, like those of the *Daire* or King of Japan, every one of these gentlemen, in accordance with his quality and status. Most of these men who were accompanying him came with lances and arquebuses, and some of those they call *nanguinatas*² which resemble the halberds that we use here, although they are made of steel and stronger and better. Before entering the place, he sent a message by one of his servants who came in with over 30

1 Ed. note: According to the modern Japanese historian, Naojiro Murakami (See Doc. 1609F), the proper transliteration of this name is Iwada. The site of the shipwreck is nearly due east of Tokyo on the eastern side of the Chiba Peninsula, near Cape Inubo.

2 Ed. note: Rather "naginata".



A Japanese samurai, or warrior, circa 1600. *Dr. Antonio Morga described the Japanese who came to Manila in 1605 in the following terms: "They are a spirited race, of good disposition, and brave. They wear their own costume, namely, kimonos of colored silks and cotton, reaching half way down the leg, and open in front; wide, short drawers; close-fitting half-boots of leather, and shoes like sandals, with the soles of well-woven straw. They go bare-headed, and shave the top of the head as far back as the crown. Their back hair is long, and fastened upon the skull in a graceful knot. They carry their cattans [swords], large and small, in the belt. They have scarce beard, and are a race of noble bearing and behavior. They employ many ceremonies and courtesies, and attach much importance to honor and social standing. They are resolute in any necessity or danger." (From C.R. Boxer's *Fidalgos of the Far East*, Plate IV. From a Japanese painting of the Tosa School)*

persons, to say that he was coming to see me. As I responded by telling him that I would be delighted to meet him, he went off to give this answer to his master. Within a short time, another one came with a greater show and more authority than the first, and he came in to see me and gave me the following compliments, saying that the *tono* his lord was kissing my hands and that he was already in the place, and that while he was approaching he would be most pleased to be able to meet me. As for me, it seemed that, to conform with the custom of the country, I had to send a servant to meet him. He met with him very near my inn and, after having been welcomed in a very amicable and friendly manner, he responded as well as the best courtier in Madrid would have done.

He alighted from a very pretty horse he came with, and there he sent in another servant, and this one came in with more authority than the previous ones to tell me that he was coming. I went out to meet him and, when he saw me, he stopped and made a curtsy with the hand and the head, which is similar to a bow that is part of the local customs. He argued with me for a long time over who should go in the best place which, unlike among Spaniards is the right-hand place, in Japan it is not; rather, it is the left-hand side, because they say that, since it is the sword side, whoever is trusted there must be a very good friend. Finally, he forcibly put me in the best place and, upon entering the doorways, he always gave me the best place, which is the second one, given that they always consider it a greater courtesy to go behind, because they say that unless one is a great friend, he should not be trusted behind one's back. Upon seating ourselves, he did the same thing by giving me a better seat and he began to let me know how sorry he was of my loss, with such discrete reasons and such good concepts that I was at a loss for fitting words to respond. He brought me four coats as a present, which were as I have said some kimonos lined with cotton, made of damask and various [other] woven cloths, decorated with gold, and of silk, very elaborate and elegant, in accordance with their usage and mode of dress. He also gave me a sword, which they call *catana*, a cow, some chickens, fruits from his land which are carried from afar, and rice wine [i.e. *sake*] about which I do not think any wine comes near, except wine made from grapes.

Although this present was far from being small or of little assistance when it arrived, he did another great deed worthy of being narrated; he ordered that, until the emperor gave an order regarding what he was to do with me and with the 30 men who were there, we were to be all fed at his expense. We were in fact fed for the 37 days that our stay at his village lasted. He gave me permission to send two persons to the prince and to the

emperor with the news of what happened to me, and I did, sending Lieutenant¹ Antón Pequeño and Captain [Juan] Cevicos² with letters giving them a report about it. Although the court of the prince was 40 leagues from there, at the city of Jeudo³ and from there to that of Zurunga, where the emperor his father resides, there are another 40,⁴ and although such subject matter was so new that it could not but create difficulties with the rulers of Japan, they were so easy with the despatches that within 20 days my messengers returned. With them came one of the servants of the prince, within whose jurisdiction that [matter] fell. Although he did not dare take decisions about anything without [first] communicating it to his father, the *chapas*⁵ which he sent me, and which are like royal decrees, mentioned that a report had been made to the emperor and that this servant came by his order. As I said, the servant came to tell me on behalf of both of them that they were sorry about my loss, but that they were sending me a despatch to the effect that the cloths that would have come over to the galleon beach were to be delivered to me, and that, in order for me to pass to the court of the prince and of the emperor, the justices and governors along the way were to provide me with lodging, [food] provisions and entertainment. Also, [I was told that, with respect to] the cloths from the lost galleon which the prince was ordering to be delivered, it was in conformity with the laws of his kingdom, because one of them stated that from whichever galleon shipwrecked in Japan, belonging to natives or foreigners, whatever comes ashore belongs to its king, but that he has decided to make me a favor by giving them to me for me to buy provisions with, and that I should be given the keys to the warehouses where they were stored, that I would then receive them and he ordered that I should dispose of them as I wished.

There was some differences of opinion between all [of us] regarding whether the emperor could give me these cloths or if I could take them with good conscience, but, even though I was in a difficult period of my life, there was no lack of opinions favorable to me. After having considered it all, I received the keys and I delivered them to the captain and master of the galleon⁶ for him to return those goods and merchandise to Manila or to their point of origin, and for him to deliver them to whom they rightly belonged.

1 Ed. note: The rank of *alférez* (literally ensign or lieutenant) aboard ship was next in rank to the highest rank present, i.e. lieutenant-general or lieutenant-commander, rather than that of a modern cadet officer. The captain was then an inferior rank, the simple master of that particular vessel, or rather the operations officer, in charge of the sailing crew only.

2 Ed. note; See previous document.

3 Ed. note: Transcription error for Yendo, otherwise known as Edo, Tokyo today.

4 Ed. note: The semi-retired shogun resided at Suronga, or Sorongo, now called Shizuoka. It is about 200 km beyond Tokyo, where the ruling prince resided.

5 Ed. note: A word of Chinese origin used in Japan to denote an official letter bearing the seal of the official issuing it.

6 Ed. note: Juan de Cevicos.

This done, I left for the city of Jeudo, and the first day's journey brought me to a place from 10 to 12 leagues away, called Hondaque,¹ and, having alighted [from my horse] at an inn, the *tono* sent word as to why I did not stop at his house, and that he was then coming for me. This forced me to go there; it was situated on a high point overlooking the whole place. At the entrance of the first gate, there was a ditch over 100 statures in depth, with a drawbridge which, if raised, made it appear very difficult, if not impossible, to reach the gate of the fortress. Given that this site was naturally, or at least not much artificially, so inexpugnable, I was amazed no less by what I saw of the fortress afterward, not just by the gates being all of iron and very big, but also by the walls which had been made upon an embankment next to the ditch, over 6 yards in height and as many in width. At this [first] gate, there were about 100 arquebusiers with their weapon in the hand, and in a high state of readiness as if the enemy were upon them. At about 100 paces further on there was another strong gate with another smaller wall, made of big quarried stones. Between the first and second gates there were houses, vegetable and other gardens, even rice patches, so that even if the fortress were closed they could sustain themselves for a few months.

At this second gate, there must have been 30 persons with lances. Their captain, with a very great politeness, took me up another 40 to 50 steps as far as the beginning of the palace and house of the *tono* who was waiting for me with some 15 to 20 servants at the first door. After he had spoken and said that I was welcomed at his house, he went forward and through 5 or 6 halls and rooms, letting some servants show me the way. These apartments were all made of wood, because the sleeping and living quarters of the great lords in Japan are not made of stone, as they fear earthquakes, but they are skilfully crafted and they have such a variety of gold, silver and colored hues, not only on the roof [rather ceiling] but from the ground [rather floor] up, that one never loses sight of them. I arrived at a room where the *tono* was, and after we had seated ourselves and conversed for a while, he showed me his weapon collection which seemed to belong more to a king than to an individual gentleman.

Later on, the hour for eating arrived; he got up and brought me the first dish, a well-considered custom in Japan, by which they show the love they have for their guests. There was some meat and fish dishes, some fruits, all in abundance and delicacies. After the table was cleaned up and we had rested for a while, I took leave to go and sleep 2 leagues from there; he gave me one horse to go with, [one with] a very pleasant gait. From this time until I saw him again, when I returned from the prince's court over 6 months later, he wrote to me regularly and continued the same friendly treatment as at the beginning.

Along the 30 leagues, more or less, that I covered as far as the city of Jeudo which, as I have said, is the prince's court, I did not find anything noteworthy; although the places became bigger and the population so numerous that we were amazed, since we

1 Ed. note: Rather Hondaqui, really Odaki, according to Japanese historians. It was the site of the castle town of the local baron, or daimyo.

saw as many, or more, afterwards, it could very well be omitted here. Everywhere I was lodged, fussed over and entertained with as much love as they could have given to their king or lord. On the day I entered the court and famous city of Jeudo, many gentlemen came out to beg me to become their guest, and I was unable to make this choice because, by order of the prince, an inn had been reserved for me. I got there at 5 in the afternoon, much accompanied by the people who had come out to welcome me to the city, and for the novelty of seeing foreign persons and clothes which they had not seen before, the crowd was infinite, so that it became necessary to impede them and clear a way in the wide streets in order to pass through. The news of the recent arrivals spread so fast that, during the 8 days that I spent in this city the first time, they did not let me rest one moment. Although I did not mind the visits made by the leading people, in order to have the plebeians and common people let me eat and sleep a while, I had to appeal to the secretary of the prince. He placed a guard at my door and a decree nailed to it, so that no-one would come in without my permission. Although the city of Jeudo does not have as many people as others in Japan, it is nevertheless famous in other respects; I will mention those below, in a special section.

[Description of Old Tokyo]

This city has 150,000 inhabitants and, although the sea does not bathe its houses, there is an important river that runs through it, with boats of a reasonable capacity on it, but the galleons cannot come up as it is not deep enough. Since this river branches out and drains many streets, through it comes most of the food supplies, at such a convenience and at prices so cheap that a man can eat reasonably on half a real a day. Even though the Japanese make use of bread only in exceptional circumstances, as a delicacy, it is not exaggerated for me to say that the bread made in that town is the best in the world, but, because they buy little of it, it is worth very little. As for the streets and sites of this city, they are worth seeing for what they show of its government, because it can compete with that of the Romans. At every few streets, there is a better one, except that all of them are equal in size, being wide, long and straight, much more so than ours in Spain. The houses are made of wood, some with two stories, but not all. Even though our houses look better on the outside, the elegance of those are so much better inside. The cleanliness of the streets is such that it looks as if no-one is using them.

All the streets have end-gates and they are distinctly separated according to trades and tradesmen: the carpenters in one, without any other trade or tradesman, the shoemakers in another, the blacksmiths, the tailors, the merchants, etc. In short, every street and neighborhood has its special trade, even many which do not exist or are not common in Europe. The same thing happens with the merchants, because those selling silver goods have a neighborhood of their own, the gold merchants the same, as well as those for silk and other goods with the same order, never mixing one type in the street reserved for any other.

There is a specific site and streets reserved for game animals, such as partridges, as well as wild geese, *cabancos*, cranes, chickens, and all sorts of fowls in abundance. In another street are sold game animals such as rabbits, hares, wild boars and deers, of

which there also an incomprehensible number. In another neighborhood, there is what they call the fish market which, on account of its curious aspect, they took me to see, because all kinds of fish, the sea- or fresh-water kinds, that anyone can desire can be found there, dried, salted and fresh. In some very large pots full of water, there was some live fish, so that anyone can find whatever is to his taste. Since the sellers are very numerous, they go out on the road and sell cheaply, in accordance with the season and the [financial] need in which they find themselves.

The neighborhood for vegetables and fruits is also set apart and it is not less slightly than all those I have already mentioned, because, in addition to the abundance and variety, the neatness with which it is displayed causes appetite in the buyers. There are also one or more streets reserved for taverns only, without any other type of houses intermixed. There are streets where horses can be rented and sold; there is such an abundance of those that whenever a traveller shows up, given that their custom is to change horses every two leagues, there are so many who come out to entice him and to show off the good gait of his horse that he has a hard time to select one. The neighborhood and street of the bad women is always set apart in the suburbs of the place. The gentlemen and lords live in streets and neighborhoods set apart from the rest of the town, and no common man can mix with them nor anyone who is not of their status. They are easily recognized by the fact that they have their arms [i.e. insignias of rank] painted and gilded at the top of the entrances to their houses, and they spent so much money on them that some gates cost over 20,000 ducats.

With respect to the political government of the city, there is a governor who is superior to all the other justices. However, every street has two end-gates, one at the entrance and one at the exit, and the man who is the most suitable and most respected from among those of this street is mayor or justice there; all the civil and criminal cases pass before him and he refers the serious cases and those that offer some difficulty to the superior governor, since among them the basic law is such that no-one can interfere and appeal, whether inferiors or superiors, they are not impeded in their judgments. Every one of these streets is closed at sunset and there are always soldiers posted there day and night, so that whenever a crime is committed news of it is transmitted and in one very brief instant the end-gates are closed and the delinquent is trapped inside and can be punished.

Although I am describing the city of Jendo and the prince's court, in matters of political government and any other, the same thing is current and commonly in place in all the other cities of the kingdom. As many of them are built near the coast, they similarly enjoy fish products but not meat, except that obtained through hunting, because it is against their law.¹ In this city of Jeudo, the prince has publicly allowed the monastery of the disalced friars of St. Francis but this permission is unique in the kingdom because there is no other open church, only those with the title of residences.

1 Ed. note: A confused statement which seems to indicate that hunting was forbidden to the general public and restricted to the land-owners.

[A visit to Hidetada's palace]

Two days after I arrived, and the prince having sent me twice during that time the General of his navy, I was advised by Consecundono, his secretary, that I could [come and] kiss his hands, and I did one afternoon at 4 p.m. It would not be exaggerated to talk about the greatness that I saw, in the material aspect of this royal house and buildings, as well as the many gentlemen and soldiers with whom the palace was populated that day, given that without a doubt, between the first gate and the private chamber of the prince, there were over 20,000 persons, not visitors, but servants who are assigned pages and work in the palace in different ministries. The first, and principal, wall is made of very large and square quarried stones, without any mortar or any other mixture, but fitted in the wall; this wall is very wide, with embrasures to shoot cannon; they had some, but few of them [in place]. Below this wall there is a ditch that communicates with the river¹ and a drawbridge the like of which I have never seen. The gates are strong, and when they were opened for me, two rows of arquebusiers and musketeers were revealed to me; I estimated that there were over 2,000 men, and if I am not mistaken, that is what their captain told me who guided me as far as the second gate, where I saw another kind of wall built like a rampart; the distance from one gate to the other was 30 paces. Here was a company of 400 men with pikes and lances.

They took me to a third gate that has another stone wall 4 yards in height; this wall has some ravelins at intervals for the arquebuses and muskets, and another company with halberds to the tune of 300 soldiers. Such companies have their quarters in the spaces between the various walls, with very pretty gardens and windows with a view of the city. Beginning at the third gate is the royal house. On the left are the stables filled with over 200 horses; they look so well fed and fat that there must be some people looking after them as in Spain. They lacked nothing. Each was tied up with two pieces of chain, their rumps toward the wall and the heads facing toward the part by which one enters the stable, so that there was no risk of anyone being kicked.

On the other side is the prince's armory, full of gilded corselets of the type they use, pikes, lances, arquebuses, swords, and with enough weapons to arm a thousand men. Straight ahead was the first hall of the palace, where neither the floor nor the walls, not even the ceiling, could be seen because on the floor they have what they call *tatanes*² which are some kind of mats, although much prettier, ornamented with golden cloths at the corners, and embroidered in satin and velvet with many golden flowers; as they are square, the width of a comode, and they can be fitted easily, they make for extreme fanciwork. As for the walls, they are all made of carved wood and boards; they are decorated with paintings in gold, silver and [other] colors with various hunting scenes. The ceiling is similarly finished, so that one cannot see the white of the wood underneath. Even though it seemed to us foreigners that it was not possible to surpass what could

1 Ed. note: The Imperial Palace in the Chiyoda district of Tokyo no longer has a direct access to the Sumida River.

2 Ed. note: An obvious misprint for "tatames". The tatami mats have always been of a standard size.

be seen in this first hall, the second one was better and the third one ever more so; the uniqueness and richness always improved as one proceeded further inside. In all of these halls, many gentlemen and lords came forward to meet me; according to what I understood, they had limited access and were not allowed to pass from their posts and places, because whenever some would leave me, others would take over.

The prince waited for me in a big hall in the middle of which there were three steps. From 6 to 8 paces further on, he was seated on the floor upon this type of mats that I have mentioned before, on top of a square cloth, a sort of rug of red velvet with gold decorations, and his clothing was red and yellow, made up of two of those robes called *quimones*, and fastened around the waist were his sword and dagger which they call *catanas*. Upon his head were simply a few colored ribbons, his hair entwined with them. He is a man of 35 years of age, dark, but with a good face and stature. His [two] secretaries asked my companions to remain behind and so, only the two of them went in until they had shown me a seat which, although it was also upon the floor like that of the prince, was near him something like 4 paces and at his left side.

He later asked me to cover myself and, smiling at me, told me through interpreters that he had been waiting for a long time to see me and know me, that he was sorry that I must feel saddened by my loss, but that important men should not be saddened by such unhappy events that were not their fault; that I should take heart, as I was in his kingdom where he would grant me everything that it was possible to offer me. I gave him thanks for his favor and I answered his questions as best I could. He detained me for half an hour to ask about navigation and the galleon. Finally, I begged leave to go the next day to the court of the emperor, his father; he answered no, not for the next day, but yes, he gave me his permission for 4 days hence, because he wished to notify him first, and that he would send orders that I be lodged and entertained along the way as a person who deserved it.

This done, I said goodbye and it was already late when I returned to my inn. Four days later, I left for the court of Soronga, 40 leagues from that of Jeudo; and although I could make a description of the cities that I saw along the way, of their greatness and peculiarity, in order not to waste time I omit them, except to say that they call a hamlet there is a place which contains 1,000 residents, and that along the whole route separating one court from the other, and even between Soronga and the city of Meaco, one cannot find a quarter of a league without inhabitants, although the distance is over 200 leagues, and whenever the traveller looks up he can see people coming and going, very ordinary people similar to those found in our towns. On both sides of the road there is a row of shady and pleasant pines so that the traveller is very seldom incommodated by the sun. There is no need to ask about the distance in leagues as they have them measured out; where a league ends up, they place as a sign-post a mound with two trees, and if the end of a league happens to be in the middle of a city block, they tear down the houses at that spot and place a sign-post, without lengthening or shortening [the measure] to please anyone.

Finally I got to Soronga, having spent 5 days on the road and, thanks to the warring from the prince, I was also lodged and welcomed everywhere so well that, if God were not absent from among those barbarians [sic] and I were not a vassal to my King, I would forego my country for his.

[A visit to Ieyasu's palace]

What occurred at Soronga, I will briefly narrate. The city of Soronga would have 120,000 residents, and although it does not have as good streets and houses as Jeudo, the climate is judged superior; that is why the emperor Taicosama [i.e. Ieyasu] has chosen it for his residence. A servant of his came out to the entrance of the place to welcome me and to show me the inn where I was to alight. I got there with the same tempest that had followed me in other places, because of the throng of people jostling to see the strangers; those who followed us were so numerous that we passed through the streets with much difficulty.

The day following my arrival the emperor sent me one of his secretaries who brought along twelve sets of clothes like that which he had on, with many flowers of gold and silk, and of various colors. The secretary told me that the emperor had been very happy to hear about my arrival at his court, that I should let him know about my trip and that I should rest and should put on those clothes and dress, that he had heard about how I came out of the sea naked, and that he had thought that the best gift that he could make me was to send me something to dress with. He stayed for a while, asking me about things of Spain and about the King our lord. During the rest of my stay there, I would receive either from him or from the emperor some gift of fruits and preserves, and some pears as big in size as two of the bigger ones in Spain.

After I had been six days at court, the secretary asked me if I wished to see the emperor. I answered that this did not depend upon my will, but on that of his Highness; he then left, telling me that the next day at 2 he would send some horses from the palace to take me. At that hour, I went out and arrived at the first gates of the royal house which does not have as many things to see as that of the prince, his son, nor is the house as pretty, although if I had not seen the other I could not have told the difference.

In certain matters the [ruling] prince has greater authority. Although it is true that the two palaces differ little in the guards posted at the gates, the ditch and the walls, given that the emperor is older and may fear a death like some of his predecessors, as these kingdoms are not inherited but obtained through tyranny and force of arms, there have been a few accidental royal deaths, that is why the emperor lives on his guard with a larger force of armed soldiers than the prince. There are also three fortified gates as in Jeudo, with the same soldiers here as there, although in greater number. Beyond these, I came into the rooms of the palace and noticed specifically that the clothes and rank insignias of those who received me in one hall were different from those of the ones who received me in another. When I came to the room just before that where the emperor was, two of his secretaries came out. Their positions close to the royal persons in Japan are those of the highest authority and esteem, and they showed it by the great retinue they brought out.

A short time was spent in arguing about who should occupy the front seat, at the end of which they convinced me and placed me in the best place. The oldest and most eminent among them made me a long discourse, congratulating me for having come so close to their king, that all my cares would now find consolation and a remedy, that since they were like his ministers who deal with the most important matters of the kingdom they would take care of all my affairs and requests. I thanked them for it and after I had answered them, once again he took my hand and told me that among the things he had kept in suspense was that, since the emperor was the owner of the biggest kingdom in the world and as such had as much majesty and authority, and that it was not proper [for anyone] to get a dispensation from royal ceremonies, and he gave as an example that of a lord whom they call *tono* there, with 3 millions in rental income, who would kneel upon the floor at a distance of over 100 paces, lower his head while placing before him a rich present, then go back home without having spoken a single word to the emperor, nor anyone having spoken to him on the emperor's behalf. He added that he feared that, as much as he would like to entertain me further, he had to refrain from this treatment and condemn me to formality in the presence of the emperor, not to see the dryness in it but his very great desire to entertain me.

As for me, it appeared that this warning obliged me to consider a [careful] reply. So, after I warned the interpreters to listen and interpret legally, I told him that I had paid attention to the good arguments that he had proposed to me, and that the best thing I could answer to him was to tell him a second time what I had put forward to him once before, that the King, Don Felipe, my Lord, had honored me by asking me to serve him in the government of the Philippines and that I was returning to give him a report of what had been in my charge, the [planned] return route not having been via Japan, not by many leagues, and that none of my successors would ever arrive here unless he fell into similar misfortunes, the galleon in which I came having been hit by a fierce storm, torn by the force of the winds and currents, and brought to a grinding halt upon some reefs and sunken rocks on the coast of Japan, where she broke into pieces, those of us who escaped having done so aboard some wood beams and boards, thinking that we were at some uninhabited island, becoming afterwards very glad to find ourselves in the land of Japan, where the ruling king was so great and so merciful toward strangers; however, although our fate was thus improved, it was clear that, being naked men as we were, whom Lady Luck had discarded overthere, leaving us only with life, and even that at the discretion of the emperor, that whatever favor they were given was appreciated, and that I, being one of them, who had also been held captive for so many days, simply could not make requests upon the courtesy of someone who, by giving me my life, had already done so much. I added that the emperor could deal with me in one of two manners: either as an individual gentleman who had been shipwrecked in his kingdom, or as a servant of my King, one who had represented his person so closely; that the first manner presented only difficulties for me, given that in accordance with my own merit, any honor done to me by his Highness would be indeed excessive; however, by deciding to treat me as a servant and minister of my King, as I could still be thought

of, because my lord King Philip is known to be the most powerful and the greatest King in the world, since his kingdoms and empires extend over the whole of the east Indies and throughout the New World, without mentioning what he owns in Europe, and that his predecessors had passed for great Kings; given that the emperor was his friend, as he professed to be, every effort made [in the past] to foster this friendship and preserve it should not now be interrupted by ceasing to make favors to the vassals and servants of my King, I therefore believed that his Highness would provide them. Nevertheless, as far as I was concerned, in whatever manner that he dealt with me, I would be thankful and honored.

The secretary listened to the above words with very great attention, and pleasure it seemed, and as soon as the interpreters had finished to tell them, he kept silent for a while, then said that he now wished me not to enter to see the emperor so soon, because what I had communicated to him seemed important to him and that he would thus go in to discuss it with his Highness. He was detained inside for more than half an hour, which I spent looking at some pretty things from among those that the emperor kept in two storage-rooms near where I had been, worthy of such a great King. The secretary came out to tell me to come in, that the emperor was waiting for me to do me the best favor and honor ever seen to be made to anyone in those kingdoms, such as would cause some novelty and much wonder in the population at large.

This done, I went into two private rooms farther; and, although when I kissed the hands of the prince they had ordered all the servants and my companions to remain behind, from here on they were allowed to come into the presence of the emperor, whereupon they were asked to kneel down. The emperor was in a hall, not too big, but the words fail to describe its peculiarity. From the middle of it forward, there were a few steps going up, at the end of which began a grating all made of gold, running on one side of the hall and the other until the end of it, at about four paces from where the emperor was; it was two yards in height and had many small gates through which the servants who were now and then called by the emperor would come and go. They all moved in a kneeling position with their hands placed upon the ground, very silently and respectfully. There were 20 such gentlemen on either side, and all the secretaries who moved near the emperor carried such long pants that they dragged about the floor for more than two palms, so that their feet could not possibly be seen, and some mantles whose width and shape were similar to those used here to make entrances during tournaments, with a very long skirt.

The emperor was seated upon a chair of blue velvet and, at about six paces on his left side he had a similar one reserved for me, without any difference at all between the two. The dress of the emperor was of blue satin, embroidered with many stars and half moons of silver, and he had his sword by his side, but no hat or anything else upon his head, except that his hair was very much braided and fastened with colored ribbons. He is an old man of about 70 years of age, of medium height, whose face is venerable and happy, not so dark as that of the prince, but fatter.

I arrived with the secretaries who were guiding me, made the reverences and marks of respect that are customary in the palace of the King our lord, and since I had been forewarned not to ask for his hand to kiss, I remained standing next to the chair reserved for me, but when I got there I made the last curtsy, even though until then his face had not changed in aspect, he bowed his head a little, and with much affability he laughed with me, raised one hand to show me to take my seat. I once again made another very low reverence, and remained standing. He persisted a second time, as a result of which I sat down, then he begged me to cover myself. After a great silence had been observed for the duration of three Credos, he called two of the secretaries to his side and asked them to tell me how pleased he was about my visit, that, although difficulties and misfortunes could not but make the heart sad, I should have fun and be excited at finding myself in his kingdom, where everything that King Philip, my lord, could do for me, he would do likewise and do it with greater benefits.

I arose and uncovered myself to hear the message and to respond to him, but he did not consent to it. I told him that I kissed the hands of his Highness for the great favor he did to me, that the presence of such great kings and monarchs was powerful enough to chase away difficulties greater than mine, so that I found myself much relieved of them, very proud and content at being in his court where I hoped for as many favors as if I were in that of my King.

After a while he again spoke and asked me to think about what things I wanted, regarding my provisions or whatever else I could think of, and that I was to communicate them to his secretaries, that he would see that the requests were expedited. I responded to him by saying that the favors from a king such as his Highness could not be forgotten, hence the next day he would have them in his possession, and that I would bring to H.M.'s attention the things that were to be received in his name.

After this I wished to get up and go but he asked me to sit, saying that he was enjoying my visit very much and that he wished that it should not be so short, that those who wished to see him could come in. Thereafter one of the greatest lords of Japan came in, and his present showed it too, because it was made up of silver and gold bars, silk clothes and other valuables that could well be worth over 20,000 ducats. This man first took a place at some tables which I will not certify that the emperor could see; and at more than 100 paces from where his Highness was, the above-said *tono* prostrated himself on the floor, lowering his head so much that he seemed to be kissing the ground. Then, without anyone having spoken to him nor the emperor having raised his eyes, either when he came in or when he went out, he departed with his very large retinue that some of my servants told me exceeded 3,000 followers.

After this present came that of Sués, General of Mínoa [Meaco?] who did the same as this lord that I have just mentioned, and in the same condition, after which he went home. Then came in the Father commissioner Alonso Muñoz with the present from the Governor of Manila; he was given a better consideration as they placed him 10 to 12 paces closer, and without saying anything he went off like the others. At the end of all this, I begged leave and the emperor gave it to me saying that I should go and rest.

His secretaries accompanied me to the first two halls, and then, reversing the order followed at my arrival, some gentlemen accompanied me out of the palace, and others came as far as my inn.

The next day I went to see Consecundono, the emperor's principal secretary, whose house was smaller than the palace but looked just as good. He came out to the first rooms to welcome me and he gave me a light refreshment, during which he greeted me with wine—a custom that is very common among them—placing it above his head to give me a toast. After that he told me that I was not to waste my time to do business, but that I should enjoy the time I had and the great goodwill that the emperor had favored me with.

[Three requests presented by Vivero]

I gave him a paper, translated into his language, and told him that to reduce his work I preferred to give it to him in concise terms, but that I wished not to make it so short that I would not enjoy the promise that the emperor had made to me. So, it consisted not of one thing, but of three things.

In the first request, I beseeched him to be pleased to honor and favor the religious of all orders who were in Japan, to order that they should be left free in their houses and temples, without anyone bothering them, because King Philip, my lord, respected the religious and ministers of God. Given that this was the thing which H.M. considered foremost, I recommended it as the first and most important.

That in the second clause I beseeched him to preserve and increase the friendship with King Philip, my lord. Given that his Highness had to have it with some prince in the world, he could not hold it with a more worthy person as he was such a great monarch, so generous and the owner of so many lands, that the more his Highness would deal with him, even through such distant and remote means, the more he would be pleased by it.

That the third request I had to beg of him was derived from the one I had just presented, given that to preserve the friendship of King Philip, my lord, his Highness should not admit the enemies and those opposed to his royal crown, such as the Dutch who were at present in his kingdom; hence, I beseeched him to order them out, since contact with them was incompatible with the friendship of my King, they being men of bad dealings and behavior who go about the sea like pirates, this was sufficient for his Highness not to confront them nor give them a refuge or shelter in his lands, kingdoms and provinces.

The secretary listened to the whole content of my petition, and said that all was well, that he would communicate it to the emperor, and that he would give me a reply the next day. He was so punctual that the following day at 10 he was at my inn where, after the usual courtesies that they observe very carefully, and after the refreshment and toast which is the first thing done before discussing serious matters, he narrated to me that, having read my petition to the emperor, the latter had turned toward him and with great admiration said to him: "I have nothing to envy King Philip except a servant such as this one. Look, and learn. This gentleman was shipwrecked and came out naked, and

I offered him to favor him with whatever he asked of me. He did not ask me for gold or silver, not one thing for himself, but what concerns his religion and the service of his King. So, you should tell him that I will favor him in whatever he asks of me. I will order that from now on the religious who are in Japan should not be expelled, that the friendship of King Philip should be preserved, since it is proper to have it with such a great King. However, regarding the expulsion of the Dutch from my kingdom, it would be difficult this year, because they have my word and safe-conduct; that in the future I would be glad to learn about their ruinous dealings.”

This is what was answered to my petition. Then he went on and said: “In addition, the emperor has ordered me to tell you that he has a good ship¹ and that if you needed it to go to New Spain he would order that it should be given to you, as well as a supply of money necessary for you to outfit it. Since his Highness has heard that overthere there are plenty of miners who know how to extract silver, if King Philip could send 50 of them, he would give all the facilities that they wished, because although there are many silver mines in these kingdoms, it is known that half of the output is lost on account of not knowing how to extract it.”² I raised an objection about this, on account of not knowing the will of my King, but if his Highness were to give him permission, I would go to the province of Bungo where the galleon **Santa Ana** was, and it were not possible to go with her, I would welcome the favor he made me of offering me his ship, that I would give him an answer, either by returning to his court, or from there depending on the route taken, with respect to the follow-up about the miners.

[Side-trip to Bungo]

This done, I then said goodbye to the court of the emperor to go to the province of Bungo, and I will refer to what I experienced during the journey there. From the city of Soronga and emperor's court one must go overland as far as the city of Usaca [Osaka] in order to get to Bungo, passing first by the famous city of Meaco which was previously the site of the court of the emperors of Japan.³ From Soronga to Meaco, there are 80 leagues with a flat and peaceful road, although there are important rivers that are crossed aboard barks that are pulled from one side to the other, and the boats are so big that there is plenty of room for the horses of the travellers, no matter how many there are. The travellers are assured of not having to sleep in the open, because as I have said before, in the whole of Japan there is not a quarter of a league without habitation. It would not be surprising if the settlements were small and country homes scattered, but the places are so big, with so much commerce and such nice streets and squares that I am sure that similar ones cannot be found in any other kingdom in the world. So, the road through that country is very much entertaining and pleasant, because everywhere

1 Ed. note: The European-style ship that Will Adams had built for him.

2 Ed. note: The Japanese were also using quicksilver, or mercury, from China to reduce their silver ore by amalgamation, but this quicksilver was impure (it contained lead). Therefore, the Japanese request for Spanish miners was probably an indirect way to get their hands on the proper technology for making pure quicksilver. This process had been developed in New Spain.

3 Ed. note: Meaco, now called Kyoto, which means the Old Capital.

there is an abundance of refreshment and so much of it is offered that they come out to invite you to buy it very cheaply. It is not necessary to reserve an inn either, nor to inquire when the meals will be served, because they can be had at any hour of the day whenever one wishes to ask for them.

In this manner I was travelling as far as the great city of Meaco, well feasted and entertained along the way by all the governors and lords who lived there, because the emperor had sent word to them and so ordered. I know very well that I omit the details of the towns and cities along these 80 leagues, about which I could write a very thick book, because I passed through many that had from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, and I do not remember having seen any hamlet nor small place during the whole of this journey.

[Description of Old Kyoto]

At last I arrived one afternoon in sight of the city of Meaco, called famous in the world for a good reason of the particular excellences that are found there. It is laid out upon a plain wide enough for the multitude of people inhabiting it, since I ascertained that there are 800,000 people and over in the area. Although I found various opinions, some saying that it is 400,000 residents, others fewer than 300,000, the truth is that surely there is no bigger place in the whole world that I know of. Its walls occupy a space of 10 leagues from one end to the other which I myself covered between 7 in the morning until a little before the hour of prayer,¹ not stopping except for one hour at mid-day, and even then I did not go beyond the last houses.

In this city resides the *Daire*, who is the king of Japan, whom they also call *Boy*[sic].² This king, from the first beginnings of Japan, has succeeded in a straight line; however, as the Japanese think it majestic to keep their kings and lords out of sight or touch, he is always in seclusion. Even though by right and justice he has a claim on the government of all the kingdoms of Japan, a few years ago Taicosama [i.e. Hideyoshi] took away the kingdom, reducing by force of arms all the *tonos* and lords to his obedience. This *Daire*, who is the natural king, was left with only the name. He confers the dignities, titles and investitures, to the grandees of the kingdom as well as to the emperor [i.e. shogun] himself; he has a day of the year reserved for this purpose. On that day they all flock to see him with their specific insignias, which represent the rank of each one.

He also gives ranks and dignities to the ministers of the idols, who are called *bonzos*, of whom he is the head and supreme priest, so that only the emperor excuses himself from coming to make this acknowledgement, except when he receives the first investiture, because then he must. In outdoor acts and public ceremonies, the emperor [sic] makes a show of respect and yields the best place to the *Daire*. This is all well and good, considering the little he gives him afterwards, hardly enough for his upkeep. The

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the hour of the Angelus, at 6 p.m.

2 Ed. note: According to Klaproth, the word "Dairi" means "the great interior", a reference to the imperial palace. The generic name for the traditional emperor was also Mikado. The word "boy" is probably a misprint for something else, perhaps Bod, or Butsu.

palace or royal house in which lives in this city of Meaco is very sumptuous and it may rival the palaces of the prince and of the emperor. However, I did not see it, because unless it be that special day that I have just mentioned it is not shown to anyone. He does not let anyone see him, nor does he get out of his house. He has nothing to do with the government of the city, and his only authority does not extend beyond his own gates.

There is a viceroy in this city, placed there by the emperor. The city of Fisime [Fushima] is one league away, and beyond it those of Sacay and Usaca, and many other big places, but the Viceroy of Meaco does not have jurisdiction over them, nor does it extend beyond the canals of the place, but there is sufficient to keep him busy as in any large kingdom. He is treated with as much authority as the emperor, and he rarely goes out of his house; he appoints six governors over the place itself. He entertained and favored me very much, and he asked about things of Spain. After having spent some time on this, he said that he wished to pay me back for the pleasure that I had given him in narrating them to him, by telling me about a few of the great things of that city, over which he himself was viceroy. Although I was indeed forced to wonder and admire, I did not let it show, in order not to infer by it that the wonders of Spain came out short.

He told me that only in the city of Meaco there were 5,000 temples to his gods, not counting the many hermitages. He also affirmed to me that there were 50,000 public women, selected and distributed by the justices in various neighborhoods. He ordered that I should be taken to see the burial place of Taicosama, and to the Daybu [Daibutsu], which is an idol made of metal that is there, and to the hall of his gods. I occupied three separate days with these three things, because although they were within the city they turned out to be so far from my inn that I could not return to it until very late, and with specific favors because there, if a man goes out of his house, he must be very expert to be able to return to it, when he goes a little far from it.

This metal idol they call Daybu could very well be one of the seven wonders of the world, and I think that it could compete with the most wonderful. It is wholly made of bronze, of such a size and exaggerated height that no matter how it is praised—and it was certainly praised to me—what is imagined is nothing compared with what I later saw. While I was thinking how I could best ascertain its description overhere, I sent one man from among those who were in my company and belonged to the great ones in this kingdom to go up and measure how big was the thumb of the right hand of the idol. He went up in my presence and that of over 30 persons, and with both arms tried to encompass the finger by extending them as much as he could, but there were two palms missing for him to succeed and surround it. This piece of truth is enough to say something about its great proportion. Nothing less can be said, because it is one of the things more perfectly finished that have ever been seen, because even if a famous painter were to paint the feet, hands, mouth, eyes, forehead and all the other parts of the face, I don't know if it could reach what I have seen there.

They were building the temple when I visited there, and according to what they have written to me afterwards, it is not yet finished. I learned that, counting the carpenters and other tradesmen of all the trades, there were about 100,000 persons or more in-

volved in the works. What a drain of money! Only the devil can make the emperor waste so much of the wealth in his treasury.

I later visited the burial place of Taicosama, where I found so many things to see that it was a shame that so many buildings, so famous and sumptuous, could be used for such an abominable purpose as to worship the ashes of a man whose soul is in hell.

The entrance of this temple is at the end of a street that goes up, completely paved with stones that are white tinged of jasper. If I am not mistaken, I had someone count the paces that it has, and there are 400 plus, and from one side to the other there are three paces. In the middle there are some pillars of the same stone, about five yards in height, at the end of each of which there is a lamp that is lit at sunset and whose brightness does not make one miss the absence of the sun. At the end of this street there are found the first steps by which to go up to the temple but before going in, on the right-hand side, there is a monastery of monks who also serve as chaplains for the offices there, although it occupies a separate and different place.

The main doorway through which one enters the temple is completely of jasper, inlaid with silver and gold that are so well crafted and elaborate that just looking at it gives an idea of what to expect inside. The main body of the temple is all mounted upon columns and pillars of notable size, and between those is a choir with its railings and chairs, such as they have them here in the cathedrals. The chaplains and canons were singing in one tone similar to the usual chants sung here for the [canonical] hours. According to what I was told, they also say their prayers at the first hour, third, vespers and matins, although I declined to listen to them, as it seemed to me that I should not pay attention to them, they being so contrary to our holy faith. The one who acted as my guide by order of the viceroy went into the choir and he must have told them who had come because four of the canons came out to bid me welcome. Their dress I would truly say that it was like that of some prebendaries in Toledo, and it seemed to me that it was similar to them, because the cassocks as well as the surplices were not different, except that the skirts were so wide as to cover half of the temple, and their bonnets were wide at the top and narrow at the bottom.

They spoke with me in a very friendly manner and they guided me to the altar of their bad relics where I found a crowd of lamps, so many that if one were to put together all those left by the miracles, pilgrims and devotees of Our Lady of Guadalupe they would make up only a third of these. I was much taken aback by this, but when I saw so many people in the temple with such great devotion, attention and silence, I was flabbergasted.

There ran some five or six curtains of iron and the others of silver as far as the last one which they told me was of gold, and inside it a box containing the ashes of the Taico, but no-one could see the box except the top priest among them. However, they prostrated themselves upon the floor even before arriving at the last curtain. As I was noticing their insidious and false devotion, so they must have noticed in me the little respect with which I held their sanctuary.

In summary, when I was able to, I cut short my visit and they took me to see their house, groves and gardens which, when compared to those I know at Aranjuez belonging to the King our lord, have something better in their artificiality, but in the naturalness of the site and its arrangement, are no doubt inferior.

I ate with them that day, and they spared nothing in entertaining me. From some high corridors I was able to observe the large crowd that visited that house, never failing, according to what they told me, day or night. I saw them make use of holy water, or better said, unholy water, and their bead-rosaries for their prayers dedicated to Jaca and to Nido, their gods. Nevertheless, from these two gods, numerous others have been derived with infinite names, so much so that in Japan there are 35 different sects and religions. Some negate the immortality of the soul, others say that there are many gods, still more worship the elements, without anyone coercing or forcing them to do that. So it is that all the *bonzos* having joined together to ask the emperor to expulse our friars and religious from Japan, seeing himself pressured by the reasons they were giving him, he asked: "How many different sects and religions do you make up in Japan?" They answered to him: "Sire, there are 35." He promptly told them: "Well then, where there are 35, if there are 36, it does not matter. Let them live."

After I had spent over two hours in this house, they took me to that of the nuns [adjoining theirs] with a wall in-between. Their dress consists of some habits of blue and white silk, their heads being covered with blue veils, clothes that look more like formal dress than those for nuns. The mother abbess came out to see me in a big hall and gave me a refreshment and some wine. She was the first one who took up the cup for a toast, and behind her all the other nuns, as she had gathered 10 or 12 for this feast. And, in order to make it more complete, they went back in and re-appeared later dancing with some jingle bells in their hands. They danced for over half an hour, and if I had not said that it was time for me to leave, they would not have stopped so soon. With this, I said goodbye and returned that afternoon to my inn.

The next day they took me to see the great hall of the idols, properly called great, because it has three rows of giant horses. It contains 2,600 idols, each one placed in its tabernacle and with its different insignias, in accordance with what they represent. All of them are of gilded metal and the Japanese are famous for making these metal figures with the best neatness and perfection that can be obtained. There is some private income derived in this hall for the cult and maintenance of these idols. I did not tire of looking at them and they were numerous, the better the motive the devil has to offer to those miserable people in order to snatch their souls.

At this city of Meaco there are three monasteries: one of the Society, one of St. Dominic, and one of St. Francis. Although the houses and churches are not in the open, but rather with other houses that look like normal houses in front of them, they reap a very great harvest and they already have a large number of Christians.

From this city I went, on Christmas Eve, to that of **Faxime** which is beyond the suburbs of Meaco. This city of Faxime has had the court within it a few times, until this emperor moved it to Soronga. Although the streets are somewhat narrow, with regard

to the rest, it has the best things in Japan. I took my lodging in the house of the dis-calded Fathers of St. Francis. I was not a little pleased with the many Christians who flocked on Christmas night to hear and celebrate the divine offices, and to take communion almost everyone with as many tears and devotion as the most exercised religious.

From this place, I went on to the big city of **Usaca** by a river like that at Seville that is 10 leagues [in length], and has no fewer boats and trade than the other; they have to force [i.e. pole] their way at some places and they make the trip in one day with little work. Here also I took my lodging at this city of Usaca, this time in the house of the religious of St. Francis; there are those of the Society and of St. Dominic as well. This place is in my judgment the prettiest in Japan. It has 200,000 residents, and since it is built on the sea-coast, one can enjoy the fruits of both the sea and land very much in abundance. The houses are generally of two stories and curiously crafted.

The city of **Sacay** is next to it, two leagues off, and although I did not see it, I know that it has over 80,000 residents. I boarded a ship they call *funca* [sic]¹ at Usaca, whose capacity was almost as much as those on the river at Seville. I departed for the province of Bungo, along the same way that one takes to go to Nangasaqui where the bishop and a few Portuguese live and where the martyrdom of those holy martyrs took place [in 1597]. Although this navigation is done in from 12 to 15 days by sea, each night is spent ashore, so that these craft are very seldom lost. One passes by some very pretty places, although not so full of people as those I was leaving behind.

Having arrived at **Bungo** within a few days, there happened the burning of that unfortunate galleon from Macao² by order of the emperor, and on account of the rebellion of its Captain Major; the emperor has sent for him twice to come to his court to answer to a charge that they had accused him of, for having hanged some Japanese in Macao with little justification, and among these had been two ambassadors sent by the emperor to the kingdom of Siam; they had arrived in distress there. The Captain Major made a retort and refused to present himself. When the emperor saw this contempt, he ordered that he be captured or that the galleon be sunk or burned. The latter action was pursued with such a great determination by the Japanese that they attacked her with artillery and set the stern ablaze; no-one aboard escaped with his life.³

1 Ed. note: Probable transcription error for "funei".

2 Ed. note: She was called **Madre de Deus**, Captain-Major André Pessoa. This incident happened in early January 1610. C. R. Boxer has written a full account of it: "The Affair of the Madre de Deus" (London, 1929). See also Boxer's "Fidalgos of the Far East", pp. 52-62.

3 Ed. note: The Captain Major himself is said to have set fire to the powder room, because she exploded into a thousand pieces. About 50 Portuguese died, including the captain. The Japanese killed most of those who had survived the explosion and were swimming away. Very few managed to reach the shore and safety.

Since this had happened with some justification on the part of the emperor, because he had had his vassals and ambassadors hanged under the guise of his friendship with the King our lord had not been wise; that is why it was disapproved. As I had spoken about the Captain Major while at court, I sent for a letter from its secretary¹ giving the just reason that he had had for doing what he had done. To treat of these matters as well as for the others regarding the miners and the mines, and what to do with the Dutch, he wished me to return and to know if I wanted to go to New Spain aboard his ship, a matter which Father Luis Sotelo of the order of St. Francis had begun to look after; he had carried some of my letters from Meaco. Although the captain of the galleon **Santa Ana** offered her to me, as the galleon had been aground for 13 days and she was so old and not safe, and that I had such important business matters pending with the emperor for the service of the King our lord, this being the first opportunity he would have to ask me for these miners, he was giving me an occasion for conducting what was proper for the service of God and that of H.M. Taking up the matter of the despatch of some miners from New Spain and its referral to the King our lord, I began sketching these contracts and some others that are today in the Council with the *chapas* and royal decrees that the emperor gave me² whose substance I will repeat had three brief aims: It is true that I never pretended anything but giving direction and impulse to things spiritual and the preservation of those souls; secondly, to ratify the friendship of the emperor with H.M.; and, to get the Dutch out of there.

C2. The summary version of Vivero's narrative previously edited by Rundall

Sources: Thomas Rundall (ed.), Memorials of the Empire of Japon: in the XVI and XVII Centuries, London, Hakluyt Society, 1850, in appendix.

Note: This summary is there reprinted from the Asiatic Journal of July 1830. The source is not given, but appears to be a different copy from the text translated above. There are a number of differences between the Rundall version and the text above; the population and other statistics about Japan have been inflated, by a copyist or by the 1830 translator, leading to a small number of inaccuracies. The "new" material is as follows.

Finding the vessel he had intended to take a passage in not in proper repair, Don Rodrigo accepted an invitation from the emperor to return to Zurunga, where he

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- 1 Ed. note: He means that he requested an official explanation from Consecondono, whose real name was Kosuke-nosuke Masazumi, otherwise known as Honda, the Cardinal Richelieu of the shogunal court.
 - 2 Ed. note: This manuscript copy is obviously an improved version made by Vivero himself much later than when he wrote his original draft narrative, dated at Bungo on 3 March 1610.

renewed his endeavors to persuade the prince to expel the Dutch; but without effect. After procuring sundry concessions from the emperor, and receiving presents and despatches for the King of Spain, he set sail (from what port is not mentioned) on the 1st August, 1610, after a stay of nearly two years¹ in Japan.

Don Rodrigo has appended to his narrative some remarks upon the character and customs of the Japanese.² He says the men are addicted to drunkenness and incontinence; the number of public women is very great. Japanese wives, he says, are exemplary; scarcely an instance is known of their infidelity. They live rigorously secluded even from their fathers, brothers, and sons; and when they go out to pay visits, or to the temples, they are carried by servants in a sort of cage.³

The Japanese are very industrious, ingenious, and expert: they are clever at invention and imitation.

The municipal government is excellent. The internal police is admirably regulated: the chiefs and the subalterns are animated with the same zeal and intelligence. The streets are kept very neat; it is the same with the interior of every house, even of the meanest artisan.

Rice is the ordinary food of the people; but wheat grows well in the country. Cotton is cultivated abundantly in the province of Bogu [Bongo]; they manufacture it into fabrics for the dress of the people. The grandees are clothed in stuffs of silk, which is obtained entirely from China, it being better quality than their own. The weapons are of extraordinary strength and temper, and they are much prized among them. A Japanese could cleave a man in two with one of their swords. They ridicule the extraordinary value we attach to diamonds and rubies, considering the worth of a thing to consist in its utility.

The nobles of Japan are fond of pomp and a retinue; they never go out unattended by a vast suite, and exact from their inferiors the same respect they themselves pay to the emperor.

Pride, arrogance, and a resolution which is almost carried to ferocity, are the distinctive traits of the Japanese of all classes.⁴

1 Ed. note: Rather, 1 year. One of the inaccuracies of this version is that it dates the shipwreck in 1608, rather than in 1609.

2 Ed. note: He probably wrote this appendix when he reached Spain and made a final draft of his report. By the way, he may himself have inflated the statistics about Japan at that time.

3 The women, as well as the men, are conveyed frequently, in *cangos*, or *norrimons*, a species of *palanken*. The seclusion of the women is not only not corroborated, but is contradicted, by the statements of other writers.—T.R.

4 Ed. note: In an article by Thomas Calvo (see Bibliography), at least four of the Japanese who accompanied Vivero back to New Spain remained there, in and near Guadalajara, for the rest of their lives.

Documents 1609D

The two ships of Will Adams and the Spanish, 1609-1611

Source: Thomas Rundall (ed.), Memorials of the Empire of Japan, Hakluyt, 1850; Part II, containing the letters of William Adams.

D1. Extract from the 1st letter of William Adams, dated October 1611

...
You shall vnderstand, that the first ship that I did make, I did make a voyage or two in, and then the King commaunded me to make an other, the which I did, being of the burthen of an hundred and twentie tunnes.¹ In this ship I have made a voyage from Meaco to Eddo, being as far as from London to the Lizarde or the Lands end of England: which in the yeere of our Lord 1609 [rather 1610], the King lent to the Gouvernour of Manilla, to goe with eightie of his men, to saile to Acapulca. In the yeere 1609 was cast away a great ship called the **S. Francisco**, beeing about a thousand tunnes, vpon the coast of Iapon, in the lattetude of thirty fiue degrees and fiftie minutes. By distresse of weather she cut ouer-boord her maine mast, and bore vp for Iapon, and in the night vnawares, the ship ranne vpon the shore and was cast away: in the which [one hundred]² thirtie and sixe men were drowned, and three hundred fortie, or three hundred fiftie saued: in which ship the Gouvernour of Manilla as a passenger, was to returne to Noua Spania. But the Gouvernour was sent in the bigger ship which I made, in anno 1610, to Acapulca.

1 Ed. note: We learn here that the future San Buenaventura was a small ship of 120 English tons.

2 Ed. note: Additions in brackets are as published by Purchas.

And in anno 1611, this Gouvernour returned another ship in her roome,¹ with a great present, and with an Embassadour to the Emperour, giuing him thanks for his great friendship: and also sent the worth of the Emperours ship in goods and money: which shippe the Spaniards haue now in the Philippinas.²

Now for my seruice which I haue doen and daily doe, being employed in the Emperours seruice, he hath given me a liuing, like vnto a lordship in England, with eightie or ninetie husbandmen, that be as my slaues or seruants: which, or the like president, was neuer here before geuen to any stranger.³ Thus God hath prouided for mee after my great miserie; and to him only be all honnor and praise, power and glory, both now and for euer, world without ende. [Amen.]

Now, whether I shall come out of this land, I know not.⁴ Vntill this present there hath been no meanes; but now, through the trade of the Hollanders, there is meanes. In the yeere of our Lord 1609, two Holland ships came to Iapon. Their intention was to take the Caracked, that yeerly cam from Macao, being a fue or six dayes too late.⁵ Neuerthesse, they cam to Firando, and cam to the Court to the Emperour, where they were in great friendship receiued, making condition with the Emperour yearely to send a ship or two; and so with the Emperour's passe they departed.

...

Dated in Iapan the two and twentieth of October 1611.

By your vnworthy friend and seruant, to command in what I can,
William Adams

D2. Third letter of William Adams, dated January 1613

To my assured good frind Augustin Spalding, in Bantam, deliuer this, per a good frind Thomas Hill, whom God presserue.

Laus dei: written in Japan in ye Iland of Ferrando, the 12 of Jeneuari 1613.

My good and louing frind: I do imbolden my self to wrytt theess feaw lines vnto you in which I do hartylly sallute me vnto you with all the rest of my good country men

1 Ed. note: A Mexican ship, also called San Francisco.

2 Ed. note: There is evidence (from Vizcaino's report, Doc. 1611B) that the San Buenaventura re-crossed the Pacific in 1611. It was then assigned to the Moluccas. It was still doing service between Ternate and Manila in 1618 (See B&R 18:140).

3 Ed. note: This statement is probably quite true, and the same might have happened to the Spanish miners, had they come. Adams' fief, we learn from the diary of an English merchant, Richard Cocks, was called Hemi, or Heme, or even Phebe, and was located near the port of Uruga, i.e. between Yokohama and Yokosuka today.

4 Ed. note: He never left Japan and died in 1620.

5 Ed. note: The Dutch ships were cruising for the Portuguese galleon off Formosa, but a dense fog allowed her to slip through.

with you, with hope of your good health, which God long continew: as I prayss God I am at this present, etc.

...

You shall [understand?] by the letter of Sr Thomass Smith, he hath written that he will send a ship heer in Japan to establish a facktori, of which, yf yt may be profit I shalbe most glad: of which newes I told the Emperour thearof, and told him yt in ye next yeer the kinges majti. of England would send his imbashador with mony and marchandiz to trad in his country; and of the certenti theerof I had receued newes. At which hee wass veery glad, and rejoyced that strange nacions had such good oppinion: with many other good speeches. Now, my frind, if it so fall out that on of our country shipes do coum heer to traffick thear [...] not lee [...] welcoum. And this I do inseur you of, for it is in my power to do it. I doo prayss God for it: who hath geuen me fauor with the Emprour, and good will to me, so farr as that I may boldly say our country men shalbe so welcoum and free in coumparisson as in the riuier of London.

...

Your vnwourthe frind yet assured to coumand,
William Addames.

[P.S.] I hau writte 2 letters all in on maner, so yt yf on coumes to your hand I shall be glad.

D3. Adams' fourth letter, dated December 1613, and sent aboard the Clove, Captain John Saris

The Allmightye God by whom all enterprisses and purpoosess hau thear full effect be bllesed for euer. Amen.

Right Woorshipfulls, hauing ssoo just occasion, I haue imboldned my self although unwourth to writt thees feau vnwourthy lines vnto you: in which first of all I crau your woorships pardon in whatt fayll in.

...

Now conserning this discoverie to the northward. Yf it stand with your woorshipps liking, in my judgment neuer hath bin better menes to discover. My ressons: First, this Kingdome of Jappan, with whom we hav frindship: the emperador hath promysed his assistance to you, his letter of frindship to the countri of Yedzoo and Matesmaye, whear his subiects are ressident.¹ Secondly, lanwiges, that can speak the Corea and Tartar language, for Japan langedge not to be reckined.

For shipping: yf your wourship send not, yet you may hau bylded, or cass to be bylded, svch shipes or pinness² necessary for svch discoveri with lesse charges. Things ar heer good cheep, as tymber, plank, irroun, hemp, and carpenteres: only tarre heer is

1 Ed. note: Yezo was the northern island, now called Hokkaido, inhabited by the Hainu people. Its southernmost peninsula is still called Matsumae.
2 Ed. note: What the English called a pinnace, the Spanish called a patache.

none; rosen annouf, but verry deer. Thees thinges I hau experience of, becass I hau byllt 2 shipes in this country for the emperor: the one of them sold to the Spaynard vpon occacion; and the other I sayld in my selff vpon dyvers voyages vpon this cost, whear in was the gouernor of Manilia, to whoum the emperor lent hir to carry him to Akapulca, a place in Nova Spaynia; which ship they found so good as they neuer returned agayn, butt sent so mvch monny ass shee wass wourth, and afterwards wass imployed in the vyages from Nova Spaynia to the Philippines. Sso that neuertheless by my profession I am no shippwright, yet I hop to make svch shipping as shalbe necessary for anny svch discouery. Now men to sayll with only excepted, the peopell are not acquaynted with our manner. Therfor, yf your wourshipps hav anny svch pvrposes, send me good marriners to sayll with; and yf you send but 15 or 20, or leess, it is no matter, for the peopell of this land are verri stoutt sea men, and in what way I shall go in, I can hau many as I will.

Now for vytelling [i.e. victualling]. Heir is in this land annouf and svch plenty, and so good cheep, as is in England, as thoss who haue biin heer can satisfi your wourshipp therin. So that I say agayn, the wantes be coordish [cordage], pouldaues [canvas], and tarr, pich, or rossen, and coumpasses, rounning glasses, a payr of gglobes for demonstracion, and soum cardes or mapes, contayninge the wholl world. Thees thinges yf your wourship do furnish me with, you shall find me not neglegent in svch an honora-bell surues [service]: by God's grace.

...
By your vnwourth saruant and vnknown ffrind, yeat faythfvll to coummand tell death

William Addames.

D4. Adams' 5th letter, also dated December 1613

...
I my seelf hau bylt 2 shipes in Jappan, the on[e], by occasion sold to the Spaynnards, went for Nova Spania. Which ship, on viage vpon this cost I mad with her: being of burden 170 [sic] tovnnes.

Your woourship shall vnderstand I had thought to a coum hom in the Cloue, but by som discovrtissis offred me by the generall, changed my mind: which injuries to wryt of them I leau; leauing to others, God sending the ship hom, to mak rellacion.

...
By your unwourthy frind and seruuant to covmmand,
Wm. Addames.¹

1 Ed. note: William Adams died on 6 May 1620 leaving an estate worth 500 pounds sterling, which was then equivalent to 5 years of salary for an English merchant in Asia. Half of this estate passed on to his wife and daughter in England, and the other half remained with his wife and only son in Japan. The latter son inherited the title to the fief. His family name was not Adams, it seems, but Anjin, which means Pilot and was the name by which Adams was known to the Japanese.

Document 1609E

Historical facts about Don Rodrigo de Vivero and General Sebastián Vizcaíno

Source: A 144-page booklet, containing 40 pages of facsimile reproduction of documents from AGI, printed at Madrid in 1926 by the printing shop of the Ministry of the Navy; copy in Chicago, Newberry Library (Ayer 111 A71 1926).

Historical facts about Don Rodrigo de Vivero and General Sebastián Vizcaíno found in AGI by Navy Commander Don Cristóbal Ariza Torres, M.D.

Research carried out to comply with a handwritten royal order of 5 March of this year issued by Naval Commander, Don Carlos Luis Díez y Pérez Muñoz.¹ Seville, 20 July 1925.

...
[When Vivero was named interim Governor General of the Philippines] he presented himself at Mexico, whence he left for Acapulco, after he had written on 24 February 1608 to the royal Council of the Indies to let them know about his appointment and acceptance. For his part, the Viceroy wrote to H.M. on 9 March of the same year about the selection of Don Rodrigo for the post, because he more than met the qualifications of nobility, diplomacy and polished manners, acquired in the Royal Household while he had been a page to Queen Doña Juana [rather Ana] and he showed signs that he would proceed and serve the King with complete satisfaction, since he had talent and experience in both war and peace, as he had demonstrated when in charge of the government of Nueva Vizcaya.

Before he left for Acapulco, he requested and obtained an advance of 4,000 ducats from the royal treasury of Mexico, to attend to the necessities of such a long voyage.

¹ Ed. note: This Commander Díez was a public information officer at the Navy Headquarters. This research study was initiated by a request of the Spanish Naval Attaché in Tokyo.

Once in Acapulco he learned, from Captain Sojo and his pilot Oliveras, that two Dutch ships had weighed anchor from the island of Guan and, cruising about the 11° [sic] of the said islands, were awaiting no doubt the passage of the galleons that go from New Spain to the Philippines, and vice versa. Confronted with such news, he resolved to modify the route of the flagship and *almiranta* galleons¹ and, sailing on 15 March, passed by 17° [through the Marianas], thus outwitting the vigilance of the Dutch and still making sure the navigation would avoid the danger of the *vendavals*. Without more misfortunes than a few illnesses and the death of 24 men aboard the flagship, they arrived at Cavite on 13 June.² Upon his arrival he was able to verify the lack of people and money, since the total Spanish population of 1,800 was scattered among the Moluccas and the provinces of of Pintados [Visayas], Cagayan and Cibri [Cebu], and the rest in Manila, whose walls were crumbling. The ships in the port of Cavite were defenceless, with the guns upon the ground and the Indian population stirred up and disposed to reject the faith unless their pay were raised by the two reals established by the Bull of the Crusade which the [Father] Commissioner Don Luis de Robles had just published; he forbid him to preach and to collect the said tribute until His Majesty had been informed. He learned and undid the plot hatched between the Mindanaos, those of Jolo and the Dutch in order to fall upon the Moluccas, by sending Juan Xuárez Gallinato to their succor. He fortified the province of the Pintados and reduced the rebellion of the Mindanaos. He raised resources of people, money and expert tradesmen in founding cannon, in order to make those islands safer against the Dutch pirates who had the control of the sea with a fleet of 10 ships and a schooner, and had a fort a league and a half from the Moluccas. In addition, he concocted the first general budget documents for the Philippines, a true model of meticulous work and honesty. Such was, very briefly, his marvellous labor during his short interim stay in those islands.

Embarkation and shipwreck on the coast of the Quanto [Kanto].

The proprietary governor, Don Juan de Silva, having arrived, Don Rodrigo embarked aboard the flagship **San Francisco**, along with three religious and a total of 400 men. In the same convoy as the flagship were the *almiranta* San Antonio [rather **San Andrés**] and the patache **Santa Ana**. Raising the sails on 25 July 1609, they left the port of Cavite bound for Mexico.

From the three ships, the only one that made it through was the *almiranta* San Antonio [sic], since the patache **Santa Ana** and the flagship ended up, the first one at the port of Ucique [Usuki] on the coast of Bungo, running aground on 13 September, unmasted and with great damages. The flagship was destroyed upon the reefs of the coast of Kanto. Not everybody perished by drowning because the poop cabin, the bunks and the top deck of the vessel were dislodged by a surge and they were transported as aboard a raft by the waves toward a small beach, from which point they were able to reach the

1 Ed. note: This is the only reference to a second ship for the 1608 westward voyage.

2 Ed. note: The 13th of July, says Robertson (see Doc. 1609B1).

shore by taking advantage of the mouth of a stream that lessened the waves and the surf.

All in all, not more than 300 were saved, among them Don Rodrigo and the religious. This shipwreck occurred on 30 September. The horrible spectacle was witnessed by some dumbfounded fishermen¹ who guided them to their hamlet (Yuwanda) where they were given refuge, food and a few clothes.

Once the sea had calmed down our people got ready to rescue some cloth and supplies but the quantity they extracted was such that it stimulated the greed of the Japanese who had been peaceful and compassionate until then; they decided to take everything for themselves and to make them prisoners. Not far from that hamlet could be found the fortress and lands of a *Tono*, Honda Tadatomo. The Prince of Katsura,² having learned of the situation and rank of Don Rodrigo, visited him and maintained them all at his expense for 36 days. Vivero decided to send two Spanish officers to Surunga, the court of Emperor Shogunsama, and to Yendo, the residence of the prince and heir Cubosama, to ask them for clemency or justice, and, accompanied by an official of the Emperor, they returned 24 days later with the authorization for presenting themselves at court. Don Rodrigo began his march at the end of October, by going first to Ohotaki,³ a castle-town of 10,000 soldiers and the metropolis where the Imperial Prince [sic] lived, by whom he was very well received. He later went on to Yendo and, called by Consuquedono, the secretary of the Prince and heir, he was received in audience by the latter who made him sit four paces on his left.

According to Don Rodrigo, he appeared to be 35 years old, had a good appearance, a noble air and a brown face. He gave the General an honorable welcome. His palace, decorated with luxury, employed over 20,000 persons. Four days later he went on to Surunga, a city of 600,000 inhabitants.⁴ Received by the Emperor within a week of being at court, he took along Father Juan Bautista Porro, to serve him as interpreter. The Emperor was awaiting them upon a two-step platform; they took their place behind a golden grating located four paces away. Shogunsama looked like someone who was 60 years of age, with a regular stature, well fleshed out, [his face] less dark than that of the Prince and with a venerable and gracious aspect. Once the audience was finished, Don Rodrigo withdrew with decorous ceremonies and he delivered to Konsuquedono a petition beseeching the Royal protection of the religious and the free use of their houses and churches, the establishment of a mutual alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain, and the expulsion of the Dutch from the kingdom. The next day, after a banquet, he received the answer, the first two clauses having been granted, but

1 Ed. note: Poetic licence. This is not what Vivero said. The shipwreck took place during darkness and some sailors were sent inland in the morning and discovered some peasants at work in their rice fields.

2 Ed. note: Former name of the Chiba Prefecture.

3 Ed. note: Misprint for Hondaki, actually Odaki.

4 Ed. note: In what seems like the original version of Vivero's letter (Doc. 1609C1), the population of Soronga is said to have been 120,000 people only.

not that about the Dutch because they had already received the royal permission to reside in Japan. He was offering him one of his ships, built by Adams in the European style, in order to convey him to New Spain, begging him to obtain from Philip III some miners from among the most skilful to exploit those mines of his that produced little on account of the lack of expertise of his own miners.

The Emperor was much amazed by the insistence with which Vivero asked for his Royal protection for the religious and the expulsion of the Dutch, something not surprising because he ignored that everywhere we [then] battled for the faith and that Prince Maurice of Nassau, or of Orange, not content with the obtention of independence for Holland, sent his squadrons to the Orient to perturb our commerce with China and Japan, taking over our spice islands and pillaging our galleons. Being convinced that our major enemy was the Dutch, Don Rodrigo was not afraid to insist upon their expulsion. But it was already too late, since Prince Maurice, in 1605, and even before, had opened dealings with the Emperor, through his intermediaries the admirals of those piratical fleets, Stephen Verhagen and Cornelis Matlieff, to whom he had given letters to be delivered to Shogunsama, in which he proposed good trade and commercial relations, a port, protection and friendship, and recommended in passing that such treatment should not be given to the Portuguese or the Spanish.

Besides, the Dutch were supported by the English pilot Adams, so that Don Rodrigo did not have any success in this pursuit, the Prince [of Nassau] having won the battle not only in Europe but also in Japan.

Vivero thanked the Emperor for the offer of the boat and begged him permission to go to the province of Bungo where the **Santa Ana** was found, in case he should find it in sailing conditions and pursue his voyage and, if he did not, he would consider himself lucky to make use of the generous offers of his Highness. Taking leave, he departed for Bungo.

While he was at this point¹ there he received a letter from the captain of the ship **Santa Ana** in which he promised him splendid accommodation, in spite of the many passengers he had aboard. Vivero answered him that he was very thankful for his good wishes, but that he did not accept because there were not enough accommodations left for the voyage. Upon learning that the Emperor was thinking about sending to New Spain a ship that was at the city of Yendo, under the command of Bolaños the pilot and other seamen, Don Rodrigo offered himself to go aboard, so that on account of his authority the Japanese personnel to be taken along would be given a more comfortable voyage and better accommodation and attention upon arriving in New Spain. Then, upon learning that two Dutch ships, from among those that had intervened in the Moluccas, had arrived in Japan, he desisted from such a voyage, hoping to renew the negotiations and insist again for their expulsion. [However,] when Shogunsama learned that Vivero had accepted his offer of a boat, he was very much pleased and he

1 Ed. note: The patache was at the port of Usuki.

charged him to hurry to come up to the court where he would be lodged comfortably, according to a letter sent by the Senior Majordomo, Amindono, the Captain General of the Empire, by the Treasurer of the Royal Treasury, Goto Yosabrot,¹ and by the Secretary.

During his stay in Bungo, as he came to know about a campaign on the part of some religious to obstruct his labor, he resolved to counteract such intrigues, not too noble to be sure, by forwarding a letter² meant for the attention of His Majesty King Philip, in which he clearly says what Japan was, its power and wealth, what harm or benefit could accrue to New Spain or to Manila by trade and commercial relations with it, and that his purpose in so doing was none other than to serve the cause of God and that of his monarch as best as possible; in passing, he asked for the royal approval of what he had negotiated and intended to negotiate, given that nothing that had previously been referred to His Majesty would be compromised by it.

In this precious letter, dated in Bungo on 3 March 1610, whose copy is enclosed in full in the documental part of this work, he tells the King about the 66 kingdoms into which Japan is divided, about its fertility and wealth, the tributes paid to the Emperor, the quality of the land and its products, the climate, the population density, its culture and military power and the benefit that the [Spanish] monarch would derive from trading and mine exploitation. He paints the [Japanese] people as being so prosperous, intelligent and rich that he did not find any fault with them except that they were not governed by our pious monarch.

(Facing page) **Map of Japan and its 66 provinces, by Fr. Cardím, ca. 1619.**

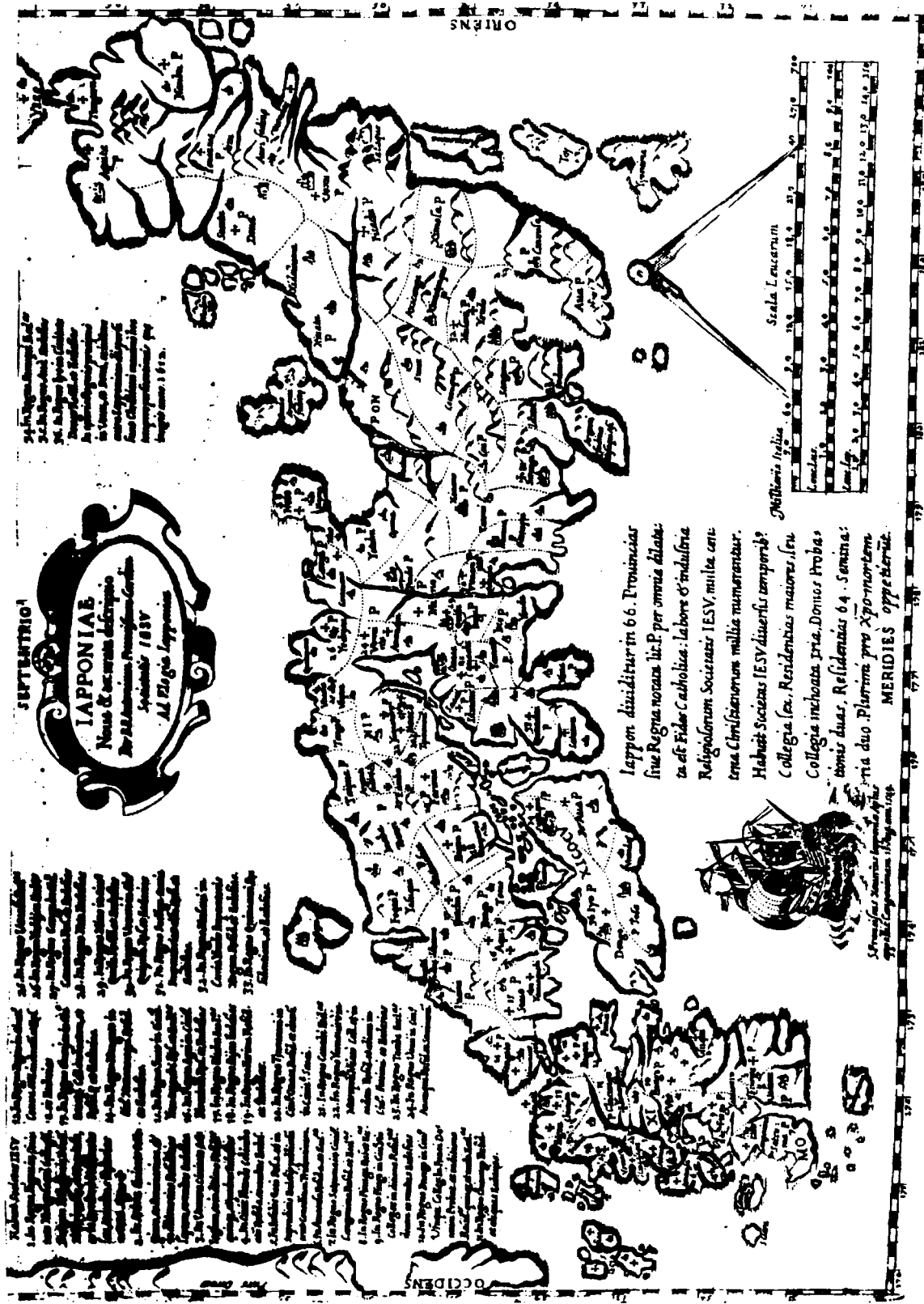
Because of the relative historical importance of this map, I have translated the Latin text by this Portuguese Jesuit, as follows:

[Title, upper vignette:] New and accurate description of Japan by Rev. Fr. Antonio Francisco Cardim, S.J. in praise of Japan.

[Lower middle, beginning below the ship drawing:] St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of Japan, arrived at Cangoxima [Kagoshima] on 15 August 1549. Japan is divided into 66 provinces or kingdoms, indicated by the letter P. The Catholic Faith is propagated through all of them, thanks to the labors and industry of the religious of the Society of Jesus, and the Christians number into the hundreds of thousands. Here are various statistics of the Society: 6 colleges, 3 major residences with their colleges, 2 probationary houses, 64 residences, 2 seminaries. Many are those who suffered martyrdom for Christ.

1 Ed. note: Referred to as Goto Fosabrodono below.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1609C.



[Top left corner:] The Jesuits have:

1. In the kingdom of **Figen** [i.e. Hizen], in the city of Nangasaki are a college, a probationary house, a house of mercy and hospital, and within the territory 6 residences and many churches marked with a cross symbol.

2. In the city of **Arima**, a college and seminary, and in its dependencies 7 residences and many churches.

3. In **Vomura** [Omura] City, a college and in its dependencies 5 residences and many churches.

4. In the city of **Firando** [Hirado], a college including a residence, and many churches.

5. In the **Goto Islands**, 2 residences, and in the above-mentioned churches the Council of Trent was published.

6. In the **Amacusa** [Islands], 2 residences and churches.

7. In the kingdom of **Satsuma**, in the city of Kangoshima, residences and churches.

8. In the kingdom of **Fiunga** [Hyuga, now part of Miyazaki Prefecture], residence and churches.

9. In the kingdom of **Fingo** [Higo, now part of Kumamoto Pref.], in the city of Uto, a college and in its dependencies 12 residences and many churches.

10. In the kingdom of **Bungo**, in the city of Usuqui a college, in Funai [Yufuin?] a probationary house, and in its dependencies 15 residences and many churches.

11. In the kingdom of **Chicungo** [Chikugo], residences and other churches.

12. In the kingdom of **Bigen** [Buzen, now part of Kitakyushu], in the city of Cocura, comprising a college, 2 residences and churches.

13. In the kingdom of **Chicujen** [Chicuzen], in the city of Fakata [Hakata, better known as Fukuoka] comprising a college, 3 residences and churches.

14. In the kingdom of **Nangato** [Nagato], in the city of Ximonoxequi [Shimonoseki], residence and churches.

15. In the kingdom of **Suuo**, in the city of Yamanguchi, residence and churches.¹

16. In the kingdom of **Aqui**, in the city of Firoxima [Hiroshima], residence and churches.

17. In the kingdom of **Bitchu**, churches.

18. In the kingdom of **Bijen** [or Bizen, now part of Okayama Prefecture], churches.

19. [Mislabelled 20 on the map] In the kingdom of **Farima**, residence and churches.

20. In the kingdom of **Tçunocuni**, in the city of Ozaca [Osaka], a residence, and another in the city of Sacai.

21. In the kingdom of **Cauachi**, churches.

22. In the kingdom of **Yamaxiro**, in the metropolis of Miaco, a college with a residence, as well as another in the city of Fuximi [Fushima], and churches.²

1 Ed. note: Yamaguchi was first visited by St. Francis Xavier in 1550.

2 Ed. note: All of these are now part of the Kyoto Prefecture.

23. In the kingdom of **Tamba**, churches.¹

24. In the kingdom of **Uomi** [Omi], in the city of Anxuqui, a residence and seminary.

25. In the kingdom of **Uacasa** [Wakasa], churches.²

26. In the kingdom of **Yechijen** [Echizen, now in Fukui P.], churches.

27. In the kingdom of **Canga** [Kaga], in the city of Canazaua [Kagazawa], residence and churches.

28. In the kingdom of **Noto**, churches.³

29. In the kingdom of **Mino**, in the city of Quifu [Gifu], residence and churches.

30. In the kingdom of **Uouari** [Owari], in the city of Quiyosu [Kiyosu], residence and churches.

31. In the kingdom of **Surunga** [today Shizuoka], court of the Emperor Daifu [i.e. Ieyasu], residence and churches.

32. In the kingdom of **Musaxi** [Musashi], at the court of the Emperor Shogun in Yendo [Edo], residence and churches.

33. In the kingdom of **Quinocuxi** [Shinotsuke], a residence and churches.⁴

34. In the kingdom of **Sanuqui**, churches.⁵

35. In the kingdom of **Aua**, churches.⁶

36. In the kingdom of **Iyo**, in the city of Dongo [Dogo], residence and churches.

In the other kingdoms, mainly in **Voxu** [Woshu or Oshu] and **Deva**⁷, and in **Yezo** [Hokkaido] beyond Japan, the Christians are dispersed, due mainly to the persecution that began in 1612.

[There are 3 distance scales: Italian miles (top), Portuguese leagues (center), and Japanese leagues [sic] (bottom).]

(From Fr. Antonio Francisco Cardim's book: "Fasciculus è Iapponicis floribus..." [Pamphlet about the fruits in Japan], 1646; also reproduced by Cortesão y da Mota's *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, Vol. V, Plate 609)⁸

[Back to Yedo in March 1610]

At the request of Don Rodrigo, the Commissioner of the Order of St. Francis, Fray Alonso Muñoz, sent Fray Luis Sotelo ahead of Vivero in order to prepare everything for when Don Rodrigo would arrive at court. Once there, they were received by Shogunsama and they renewed the negotiations, Vivero delivering some [draft] contracts in which he asked a port in the Kanto [region], with warehouses, dockyards, churches

1 Ed. note: Probably part of the Hyogo Prefecture today.

2 Ed. note: Appears to be in the Tottori Prefecture.

3 Ed. note: Now part of the Ishikawa Prefecture.

4 Ed. note: Now in Wakayama Prefecture.

5 Ed. note: The Kagawa Prefecture today.

6 Ed. note: Now Tokushima Prefecture.

7 Ed. note: Both are to be found in the Yamagata Prefecture today.

8 Ed. note: Father Cardim was born near Évora, Portugal, in 1596 and went to Asia in 1618, visiting Siam, Cochin China, Tonquin, China and Japan. He died at Macao in 1659 (B&R 22:140).

and religious; for a good treatment for the galleons from New Spain and the Philippines, without damage to persons and property; supplies and tradesmen for repairs, at regular prices; that if, as a consequence of relations between the two countries, an ambassador were to come, he would have to be received, honored and lodged as required for a Minister of such a great Monarch; that he would discuss the despatch of the [silver] miners with King Philip, but on the condition that half of the silver would be theirs, and the other half to be divided between the Emperor and the King of Spain; that if the miners would be granted, there would be in each mining settlement a priest, and that there would be no other jurisdiction but that of the Emperor; the expulsion of the Dutch; the sounding of all the ports, and that whatever ship that lost its way or arrived by stress of weather was to be well received; that everything stipulated had to have a *chapa* and royal decree, and that he, on his part, obliged himself to treat this with the King his lord, and to send an answer and resolution within two years, and he did not ensure nor promise anything without it having been first approved by His Majesty.

We will see now what he answered to Fr. Luis Sotelo.

[Fr. Sotelo becomes honorary Japanese ambassador]

By a decree of the Emperor, Minamoto no Yoritomo by name and Vogojosama by honorary designation, Sotelo was named as his ambassador at the court of the King of Spain and that of the Viceroy [of New Spain]. Called by Goto Fosabrodon, President of the Council of the Treasury, he was received in audience on 21 January 1611 [rather 1610]. After the Emperor had communicated his appointment to him, he ordered the Secretary to cause the letters to be written upon gold and elegant paper, called *fjiabaxe*,¹ which would be delivered to him by the President with the royal seal; these were written with much elegance and respect, on account of their being for the Lord of some kingdoms so far away, and with common characters, called *kana*, as they are easier than the *mofin*.² After they had been written, they were shown to him. When they were warned [by him] that they did not use compliments, they laughed, and told him that he had to say them verbally, given that he was going as such [i.e. as an ambassador], he was to make use of them to the satisfaction of his Lord; that the use of compliments in letters was considered a lack of courtesy in Japan; that in these letters only the substance of the embassy would be written, and in order to differentiate between that meant for King Philip III and for the Viceroy, that for the Monarch would bear an endorsement marked very private, called *turicungui* [turikugi?] in Japan, and the second one, addressed directly to him. This type of mannerism is called *firojo* [hirosu?], and indicates greater compliments and humiliation on the part of the Emperor. When he was asked if the endorsements should be written at the end of the letter, as is the custom in Japan, or at the beginning, he answered that it was written the latter way in Spain, and

1 Ed. note: With the usual transliteration, this could be "hizyabashi" or something like it.

2 Ed. note: A reference to the cursive, or *hiragana* style of writing, as compared to the Chinese-style characters, or *kanji*. See the illustration below.

so it was done. The contracts, peace agreements and presents were despatched by Fondaco Juquedano [Honda Kosukedono], President of the Council of State and Government, and that regarding the miners, by the senior Majordomo, Amindono, Captain General of the whole empire. The President of [the Council] of State, in sending his regards that he had to transmit to His Majesty and the Viceroy regarding the security and firmness of this business and about the excuses for the Macao affair,¹ he ordered that a ship that the Emperor owned be made ready in the kingdom of the Kanto. This ship was later baptized by Don Rodrigo with the name of **San Buenaventura**.

Legal translation of the above-mentioned letters.

(Overleaf) **Letter from Shogun Hidetada, dated Edo, fall of 1610.** *“The Universal Lord of Japan, Minamo Hidetada, greets the Duke of Lerma, Governor of Spain: The former Governor of Luzon speaks of the coming of a ship from New Spain to Japan.*

I declare that, as far as I am concerned, there is no inconvenience to the said ship coming to any port of this land.

All the details of this matter will be dealt with by Fathers Fray Alonso Muñoz and Fray Luis Sotelo who are carrying five (Japanese) armors as a gift.

On the 4th day of the 5th month of the 15th year of Keicho.”

[Red seal of Shogun Hidetada]

(From AGI MP Escritura y Cifra #30. Translated by Higashitani Hidehito, 1964).

(Overleaf) **Letter from Shogun Ieyasu, dated Soronga, spring of 1610.** *“The Universal Lord of Japan, Minamo Ieyasu, begs the Duke of Lerma, in Spain, to show this letter to the Supreme Majesty.*

The former Governor of Luzon spoke of having a ship come from New Spain to Japan. That is fine. Therefore, in whatever part that the ship may reach, it will be well received and no harm shall be done to it, rather only a favorable welcome.

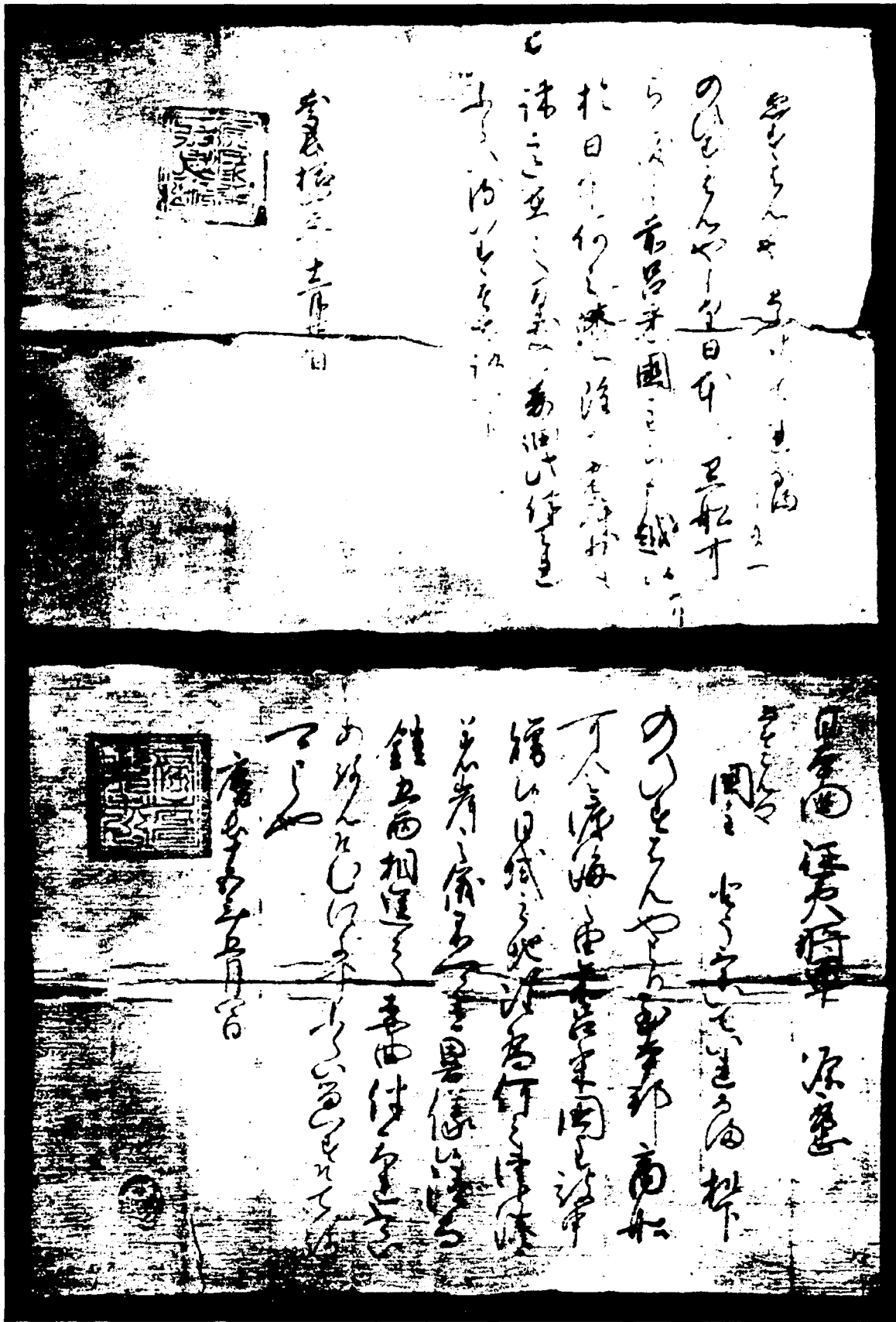
All the other small details will be dealt with by this Father Fray Luis Sotelo.

On the 28th day of 12th month of the 14th year of Keicho.”

[Red seal of Shogun Ieyasu].

(From AGI Fil. 193 (old 68-5-7), now MP Escritura y Cifra #31. Translated by Higashitani Hidehito, 1964. See also MN ms. 477 and Pages 38 & 39 of Commander Ariza’s booklet)

1 Ed. note: The fracas in which Captain Major Pessoa had figured.



The contracts that they delivered to Sotelo are the same that Vivero had proposed, with the exception of the clause referring to the Dutch, which is not mentioned. He sent as a present to the King 8 bodies of armor and 1 sword, and this Father as an ambassador for him to communicate verbally the small things that are in the heart of the Emperor. These contracts were subscribed and signed by order of the Emperor by the President of State, Fondacosugedono [sic], on the 9th day of the 1st month of the 15th year of Gecho [Keicho].¹

The letter directed to the Viceroy is identical, and is differentiated only by the fact that it is addressed directly to him; as a present, he was sent 2 bodies of armor and 1 broadsword.

As soon as the letters, contracts and presents had been delivered to him, he left for Sugeme [i.e. Fushima] where he translated those and sent them to the Commissioner of his Order, Fray Alonso Muñoz, so that the religious of the other orders and some Japanese who understood our language would certify and verify if they were faithfully translated. For this purpose, Fr. Alonso Muñoz begged the Fathers Fray José de San Jacinto and Fray Tomás del Espíritu Santo, Dominicans, and Fr. Hernando de San José, Vicar General of the Augustinians, and he ordered, out of obedience, the Franciscans Fray Luis Gómez, Fray Julio de Santa Marta and Fray Francisco Galves to do the same, as they effectively did and they verified them.

At about this period the Emperor decided, either because Sotelo was sick or for other reasons, that Don Rodrigo would designate another religious to become ambassador, and the Commissioner Fray Alonso Muñoz was proposed.

[The voyage of the San Buenaventura]

Once the Emperor's boat, the **San Buenaventura**, was ready, Vivero received 4,000 ducats for his victualling, and authorization for selling it if, at his arrival in New Spain, it was not in condition to return. He embarked along with Jocukendono [Hosukedono?] and 22 Japanese. On the 1st of August [1610], they sailed and, without very bad weather, they arrived without incident at the port of Matanchel on 27 October.

Once again in Mexico, the Viceroy was told by his nephew what had happened in Japan and, receiving the presents, endeavored not to undo the diplomatic labor so ably initiated by Vivero. He treated the Japanese mission as best he could and, wanting to respond to the honorable welcome made to his nephew and pay back the money loaned by the Emperor and the value of the boat, and presents, in return for those he had received, he did not wish to detain the embassy much longer. For this purpose, he called a meeting of the War Council, which consisted of the Visitor [i.e. Inspector General] of New Spain, Don Juan Villela; of the President of the Audiencia of the New Kingdom of Galicia, Don Antonio de Morga; plus Fray Alonso [Muñoz], and Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, Procurator of the Philipppines; of Don Sebastián Vizcaíno and other persons.

1 Ed. note; This date and the one above confirm that they were written in the spring and early summer of 1610, respectively.

As one clause of the contracts referred to the survey and sounding of the ports of Japan, General Vizcaíno, one of the most expert navigator, specially in this type of work, was designated to carry out the embassy of the King of Spain and his Viceroy. He had proved it beyond doubt in his voyage to the Californias, whose coast from Acapulco to Cape Mendocino he had charted and sounded, sketching the maps of so many islands, bays and anchorages that he found along the way, recording in his logbooks the more appropriate ports the galleons could use as a shelter and for reprovisioning. As a man accustomed to the sea, determined, valiant and educated, there was nobody better than he to carry out such a delicate commission. [Furthermore,] he had been made responsible, by royal letter of 22 September 1608, to go and discover the islands of **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata** which they said were found very near Japan. Like no-one else he could raise the spirit of the people, so many times terrified by the numerous storms they had to weather. His soul tempered upon the hard anvil of very dangerous situations, he had always come out of them scot-free, as he overly proved it during the above-mentioned glorious voyage when, his crew completely sick and decimated by a terrible epidemic of scurvy, he succeeded in making port at the islands of Mazatlan with only the five seamen that were left with hardly enough strength to stand up. Instead of resigning himself to losing all his people, he preferred to risk his life in search of something that could operate the miracle of curing them. He stepped ashore with those five famished men, and God wished to place within his reach a juicy and acidic fruit, similar to small pineapples, with which he cured all those sick of scurvy, without exception, within six days. I did not wish to pass up this opportunity without adding my modest, but fervent, tribute to the memory of this illustrious man for having discovered the treatment of this scourge of sailors, until then unknown to the medical class.

On 7 March [1611], he left Mexico for Acapulco, arriving on the 19th at this port. [Meanwhile,] Fray Alonso Muñoz, after having taken part in the above-mentioned Council of War, went on to Spain, carrying the letters, contracts and presents that Minamoto and his son had sent to His Majesty.

Having been seen by the Monarch, he was delighted with them, and, having referred the papers that had been brought to the Royal Council of the Indies, they reported favorably on 18 May 1611.¹

The King, on his part, wrote to Minamoto a letter dated 20 June of the same [sic] year, in which he thanked him for the present, the good welcome that he gave Vivero and the good treatment to the religious and vassals, and as a just gesture he was sending him another present with the said Father; that he accepted with much pleasure the friendship, trade and commerce, and that he was ordering the Viceroy of New Spain to have a ship go out to Japan every year. He addressed a letter in similar terms to the Prince Dainangosama.²

At the end of the year [1613]³, Alonso Muñoz returned to Mexico, bearing the letters and present from the King of Spain, who also had advised the Viceroy about this commission, urging him to give them accomodation aboard the ship which had to go out to Japan the following March, or aboard another of good capacity, so that the Japanese brought by Don Rodrigo could return with great comfort and attention. Given the good desire on both parts to consolidate these friendly relations and to establish trade and commerce between New Spain and Japan, we will now give a brief narrative of the embassy led by General Sebastián Vizcaíno.

1 Ed. note: Two years earlier, on 4 July 1609, the King had already issued a letter to the Governor of the Philippines, entrusting him to maintain friendly relations with the Emperor of Japan (See AGI 105-2-1, Libro 20, folio 94). The documents relating to the here-mentioned consultation of the Council of the Indies are contained in AGI 67-6-4. The consultations dragged on from 1611 until 1613. The same file contains letters and memoranda regarding this embassy of Fr. Muñoz, the possible commerce between Japan and New Spain, as well as the list of the presents to be sent to Japan, etc.

2 Ed. note: According to James A. Robertson's article in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* for 1915, the said letters were not despatched until June 1613 (not 1611), as follows: 1) Letter to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated San Lorenzo el Real, 17 June 1613: The King advises him of what he has written to the King of Japan, and the viceroy is to send a ship with Fr. Alonso Muñoz and his companions with the present that he carries. (AGI 87-5-2 tomo 6, folio 70 verso, 3 leaves); 2) Letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated San Lorenzo el Real, 17 June 1613: In case Fray Alonso Muñoz and his companions were to go through Manila on their way to Japan, he is to give them transportation. (AGI 87-5-2 tomo 60, folio 80, 2 leaves).

3 Ed. note: This author has confused his chronology, assuming here that Fr. Muñoz could possibly have made it back to Mexico at the end of 1611 and taken a ship in March 1612, but Vizcaíno had left one year earlier... It was not until the end of 1613 that Fr. Muñoz' replacements arrived at Mexico.

Embassy led by General Sebastián Vizcaíno.

On 22 March 1612 [rather 1611] General Vizcaíno sailed from Acapulco aboard the ship **San Francisco**¹ taking along with him the Japanese personnel that Vivero had brought and the Commissioner of St. Francis, Fray Pedro Bautista, with five other religious. The ship had for a pilot Benito Palacios, with 51 seamen under his control. To comply with the instructions of the Viceroy, they were bound directly for Japan.

On the day before his departure, Vizcaíno wrote to His Majesty that he was about to leave with the embassy and Japanese, to whom he would attend during the voyage and that, after wintering in Japan, he would go out to the discovery of the islands of **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata**, and that he would send him a detailed narrative of everything that would happen.

For his part, the Viceroy let His Majesty know, in a letter written in April, about the departure of Vizcaíno with instructions and the money sent to the Emperor that he had advanced, in addition to the presents and the money resulting from the sale of the **San Buenaventura**; that the **San Francisco** was a ship of good capacity, with 60 persons aboard, being officers, seamen and ship's boys; that it was carrying 40 arquebuses and muskets, two cannon and the necessary provisions.

During the crossing they suffered from bad weather and damages, which they repaired, and frequent disputes arose between the Japanese and the Spanish which Vizcaíno had to cut short by giving very severe orders, placing Jocukendono at his table during the voyage, for the sake of courtesy and correctness.

On 9 June [1611] they saw the land of Japan and various junks came near them. He invited them to come aboard but only four of the most determined did so. In case they were coast pilots, he invited them to remain aboard but, when they denied to be so, he retained one of them who broke down and cried when he saw the others leave. He calmed down when he was given gifts and money, and gave some information about that land. It was called Tuginahama and its lord was one of the minor sons of the Emperor. He also indicated that the port of Urangava² was 40 leagues away, but that at 25 leagues there was another, called Uracami, and even closer another port in the bay of Xiraca, into which the the river that comes out of Yendo empties. As the weather was good, Vizcaíno decided to go to Urangava, where he anchored at 5 in the afternoon of the next day.

At his arrival he was received by the Governor of the port and the General of the junks. All three together issued a declaration in which it was forbidden to the Spanish to steal, to use firearms or force on the Japanese, under penalty of death. This declaration was proclaimed according to our usage, and, once the General was installed, he

1 Ed. note: Different from the galleon that was shipwrecked in Japan in September 1609. For the original account by Vizcaíno himself, see Doc. 1611B.

2 Ed. note: I think that the port of Uranga, rather Uraga, was located on the cove just north of the port of Yokosuka today.

was authorized to raise the royal standard at the topmast of the ship and to display the flag at his lodging.

He wrote to the Emperor asking for royal licence to go to the Court and he reported that his arrival coincided with the [return of the] Japanese mission that accompanied Vivero, and that in order to make the voyage more comfortable and to avoid that the money advance, the value of the ship and the presents might fall into the hands of the Dutch pirates along the way, they had come directly to Japan, as he had been ordered by the Viceroy. He sent a similar letter to the Prince.

On the 16th [of June 1611] he received an answer from Cubosama [sic], and on the 17th one from the Prince, both authorized him to come to Yendo and Surunga.

On the 17th, in the morning, accompanied with 30 of his men, with arquebuses, a few religious and the Japanese, except Jocukendono who had preceded them to Surunga, he boarded five junks and arrived at Yendo at sunset of the 18th. He was received by Guatanave [Watanabe] Amajirodono, private secretary to the Prince, who honored him and installed him comfortably. The next day he received the visit of Guinjason and Escavaguinban who announced to him that he would be received the next day. They discussed the protocol and, not coming to an agreement, he gathered his Council, in which it was agreed that the embassy would be in accordance with Spanish customs, except that the muskets would not be fired until a bridge had been passed, and that the drum, flag and people would remain at the first of the five gates of his palace. In addition it was detailed that upon arriving in the presence of the Prince to make the embassy and deliver the letters and present of the Viceroy this would be done on the step right next to the one where the Prince was sitting, and that after leaving the hall he would return to present his own embassy, but at another lower step, and that he would be given as much honor and favor as possible.

As per the agreement, over 4,000 soldiers of the Imperial Guard presented themselves at his house at 8 in the morning, as they were to form the vanguard and the rear-guard, as well as many other gentlemen to accompany the Ambassador. In the middle of our people, in formation and supplied with their arquebuses, there was the royal standard on whose left and right were Vizcaíno and [Fray] Sotelo, and the Fathers Fray Pedro Bautista and Pedro Gómez. Before them was placed the General of the junks.

The retinue having been organized, they began marching at 10 in the morning and the quantity of people gathered on the road was such that they took until 2 in the afternoon to arrive at the Palace. The effect was picturesque and brilliant; as for the crowd, it amounted to no less than a million men, women and children who attended in silence and good humor that grandiose spectacle, without precedent. Everyone would prostrate himself at the passage of the Ambassador who provoked a great curiosity on account of his costume. The roll of the drum, something never seen nor heard, also called their attention. The extraordinary cleanliness of the streets and the order observed during the procession also astonished the General.

Upon arriving at the Palace, he was received by the Captains of the Guard of His Highness, and the people, the drum, flag and weapons having been left behind the first

gate, as agreed, they accompanied him as far as the last one. There he was awaited by two private secretaries of the Prince who invited him to enter a luxuriously-decorated hall, where they seated him as well as the Fathers. Shortly thereafter, two other private secretaries made them go into another hall, even more luxurious and neatly laid out than the previous one, and after a very brief wait they were invited by two other private secretaries to pass into a third one, even more royal and spacious than the former, with a corridor and lookout points where over a thousand gentlemen were assembled, each wearing his own insignias, whom he saluted individually beginning with the sons of the Kings, then the statesmen, and finally the rest. After the salutation was over, he was invited to pass into the hall where the Prince was already awaiting him, seated and adorned with his best formal royal dress. In a corridor situated on the right of the Prince the Presidents of State and the Counselors witnessed the embassy and, a little lower, the Majordomo, Chamberlain and Secretary.

A great curiosity was aroused by the arrogant presence of the General, dressed with a cape and breeches, jerkin¹ with double-sleeves, white buttoned boots, hat with plumes, an open lace collar folded into ruffles, gilded swords and daggers. With a true distinction he executed the protocolary ceremonies, and having delivered the letters and presents, the Secretary showed him the site reserved for him to sit down. Among other things, His Highness told him about the hardships that he must have suffered during such a long voyage, regretting them very much. Vizcaino answered that he kissed the hands of His Highness and considered all of them well spent given the happiness of seeing such a great Prince, whose finesse he was very much thankful for.

During this ceremony they had already prepared the present of the General and, when he departed, he left with the same reverences as when he made his entrance, always keeping his face toward the Prince. He came in again to present his present, and as the Fathers and part of the General's retinue had remained in the outer salon, His Highness then allowed them to see him; they came in and resumed their formation and were saluted by the Prince. He detained the Fathers, as was natural, since they understood the language; they were able to converse, and they observed the pleasing impression that such an embassy had produced in him. After a friendly farewell, the retinue was organized, and with as much splendor and elegance as the earlier procession they arrived at their lodging.

From Yendo he went on to Urangava, to await the invitation to the Court. Invited by the Emperor, they left for Surunga, where Jocukendono was waiting for them; he had been made a *tono* upon his return from New Spain, and he provided them with lodging. The next day he received word from the Shogun, authorizing him to present the embassy, and the following day at 12, he entered the Palace, perhaps one of the best ones in the world in space and wealth. Here he was received by the guards and their captains and, the drum, flag, weapons and some people remaining past the first gate, they proceeded with the royal standard as far as the last one. There they were awaited

1 Ed. note: A doublet or close-fitting vest or jacket.

by the President of the Council of the Treasury, Jocabro, another gentleman and the father-in-law of Jocukendono and many others. Here they waited a long while, during which they advised the Emperor. Then the Secretary came out of the salon where the Emperor was to notify him that he should first give the embassy that he brought on behalf of the King of Spain and his Viceroy and, upon coming out, he would return to present his own.

The ceremony was identical to that sketched earlier. Once the presents had been presented, they pleased the Emperor well enough; above all, he was very much pleased to see the portraits of Their Majesties and the Prince.¹ He spoke with Father Sotelo and Father Porro, interpreters of the first and second presentations and, after a brief dialogue, the latter came to an end.

Two days later he asked, along with Pilot Benito Palacios, for the permission and *chapas* to sound the ports and build a ship, and so that our merchandise would not be subject to government monopoly or *pancada* [wholesale restriction], to which the Emperor acceded. However, upon renewing the petition to have the Dutch expelled, he said that, given that he would stay for a long time in Japan, he would be advised in due course. Having received the *chapas*, he returned to Urangava where he began all the preparations for his works.

[Vizcaíno's survey of the coast of Japan during the winter of 1611-12]

A few months were spent by Vizcaíno in exploring the whole coast, from Enangasake [Nagasaki] as far as Cape of Sestos, sounding all the ports, bays and anchorages, charting them and mapping everything he had discovered upon four sets of charts. Having finished the charts on 2 July 1612, he went on the 9th to the Court for the purpose of delivering to the Shogun two sets, as had been agreed, and to ask for permission to return to New Spain.²

During this time, our enemies the Dutch were not sleeping. They, supported by the Englishman, Adams, and a few influential counselors at court, convinced the Emperor of the danger that his kingdoms were running in continuing relations with the Spanish. As a result of this intrigue, he granted him permission to leave but he suspended those negotiations under the pretext that he did not like our law. Unaware of this change, in Spain they were preparing rich presents, they were studying and resolving favorably those negotiated contracts by the Royal Council of the Indies, our Monarch was writing to the Emperor and to the Prince approving what Vivero had negotiated; the Viceroy of New Spain was being ordered not to forget to send every ship a ship of good capacity; free trade and commerce was being promulgated with China and Japan, and that good friendship was being praised and accepted.³ What things did they say to the

1 Ed. note: These had to be the portraits of King Philip III, Queen Margarita of Austria, and the future Philip IV.

2 Ed. note: From this account, it would seem that the Cape de Cestos was located east of Tokyo and may have corresponded to Cape Inubo. None of the charts made by Vizcaíno has been preserved.

3 Ed. note: See the documents, dated June 1613, whose reference is given in an earlier footnote.

Emperor to make him hate the religious, who until then enjoyed his friendship and protection? We will answer this question later.

[Vizcaíno's return aboard the Date Maru]

Vizcaíno wished [to use] the same ship that had taken them in and, having embarked with his people and those who had been left behind by Vivero. The sailed on 16 September 1612. A few days later, he anchored once again at the port of Urangava on account of the uselessness of the ship **San Francisco**.¹ He was not to embark aboard the Japanese ship **San Sebastián** either, because it was beached.² He solicited 6,000 pesos from the Shogun to build another, but this assistance was denied him. Faced with this situation, he decided to enter into negotiations with Mazamune, King of Voxú.³ Being looked after and assisted by the latter, he signed contracts, then leaving with his people for that kingdom where, having built a ship and made it ready,⁴ he embarked with his people, but as a passenger, because a religious that he does not name⁵ had been elevated to the rank of Governor and Captain General of that voyage.

On 27 October [1613]⁶ they sailed, arriving in good time at the port of Zacatula at the beginning of the year 1613 [rather 1614].

Events that impeded the good trade and commerce between Spain and Japan.

The historian Tekutomi, according to our [i.e. Spanish] Naval Attaché in Tokyo, attributes this change in the Emperor to his displeasure at seeing Vizcaíno arrive without the expert ship-builders and miners. On the other hand, Father Diego de San Francisco, in the eyewitness account of these events that he published in 1625 blames the whole thing on the Dutch and the English pilot, Adams, who, wrongly interpreting the purpose of Vizcaíno's voyage, provoked suspicions at the court. I believe that the opinion of this Father is more believable, since it gives us the key to [understanding] the second persecution of the Christians, much more terrible than the first one.

If Tekutomi were right, we would have to admit an unjustified impatience on the part of the Shogun, given that Vivero had clearly told him not to expect an adequate answer until after two years had passed. Vizcaíno's embassy was prepared in fewer than

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- 1 Ed. note: Not a few days later, but months later, because Vizcaíno was then returning from a voyage of discovery to the mythical isles of gold and silver.
 - 2 Ed. note: This has to have been the name given by the Spanish to the first of the two ships built by Will Adams.
 - 3 Ed. note: A kingdom in the NE part of Honshu Island, now consisting of Yamagata and Sendai, whose ancient name was Oshu, or Woshu, although from now on the Spanish most always wrote its name as Voxu. Masamune's family name was Date.
 - 4 Ed. note: This ship was named **Date Maru** after its Japanese owner. It was supposedly built at a village or town named Tsuninoura, in Matsusima Bay near Sendai. Meriwether (1893) says that the name has since been changed to Oginahama.
 - 5 Ed. note; It was Father Luis Sotelo whom Vivero had replaced with Father Alonso Muñoz the last time.
 - 6 Ed. note: The letter from Date Masamune to Philip III is dated 6 October 1613.

three months and when Fray Alonso Muñoz, named [honorary] ambassador by the Shogun to take the letters and contracts to the King, was still in New Spain. Therefore, if the Viceroy were to proceed in complete independence, could anyone impute Philip III with the responsibility for such an act? Obviously not, since he even ignored the existence of such dealings. On the other hand, the inconstancy of the Viceroy was also forgivable, given his intention at sending Vizcaíno was to quickly follow up Vivero's attentions and favors, and to return the loaned money and the money that came from the sale of the **San Buenaventura**. In addition, as it was the first time that relations were established with a cultivated and prosperous kingdom in the Far East, he could not give his consent to everything without previous consultation with the King. Finally, taking advantage of the fact that Vizcaíno had to go to the discovery of the islands of **Rica de Oro** and **Rica de Plata** which they said were in those seas, he did not wish to delay the beginning of those good relations, counting on the talent and expertise of Vizcaíno to have the friendly ties bound even more, preparing in passing the survey of those coasts in order to facilitate good communications in the future. The opinion of Father Diego de San Francisco seems to be closer to reality.

The fear of the Shogun, who had lifted [his protection] when confronted by the possibility of the risk that his kingdoms ran if he continued to protect the religious, was continuously stimulated by those Dutch, and reinforced by the perfidious campaign by the astute Adams. They did not take long in making him angry, breaking all communication with the Spanish and decreeing the expulsion of the religious. This Adams augmented his distrust by warning him that those surveys by Vizcaíno were nothing but the most elegant demonstration of a probable declaration of war, this being a custom practiced by the kings of Europe to make this type of reconnaissance upon the rupture of hostilities [sic], and that for this reason they rejected us on all sides. Such tricks would not have exercised an influence upon the Shogun if certain circumstances had not contributed to reinforce that imaginary danger. One of those was the boastful indiscretion of the pilot of the galleon **San Felipe** who, when asked by Yemondono in Tosa [in 1596] how our kings could lord it over kingdoms so distant, did not hesitate to say that, once the field has been prepared by the religious, some powerful squadrons then go in and take away their kingdoms unless they are our friends.

On the other hand, Safioye, the Governor of Nangasaqui, on account of his friendship with Arimadono, a convert to Catholicism, propagated at court the absurd idea that the Christian doctrine taught people not to obey their kings and lords, but only the ministers of the faith; that everything was sacrificed to the religious ideal; that they worshipped and glorified those who died of a violent death as a result of being evil-doers and disobedient; and finally, that to imitate their God who had died crucified between two thieves they preferred to die that way, and that, being revolutionary, they were dangerous people for the Empire, forever ready for whatever bad deed. Others were making efforts to present the religious as disguised captains for the King of Spain, who, under the pretext of the faith baptized ceaselessly, thus making every one a soldier, given that the religion obliged them to obey them; that, when they believed they

had an army powerful enough the revolution would follow and their squadrons would come to assist them; that is why Vizcaíno had surveyed the ports and taken the latitudes.

If the additional facts that Arimandono was condemned to exile for the crime of bribery, and that Daifachi, the Secretary of Conzuquedono, was burned alive for having forged a royal decree, and that both were Christian, we will understand the bases of that unfortunate end suffered by the first official trial at European contact.

Consequences of that campaign.

The saddest and most disastrous consequence was the persecution of the Christians, carried out with more cruelty than the one of 1597. There were decreed the expulsion of the religious and the exile of all the Japanese who had been converted to Christianity and did not apostatize their faith. Very severe orders were sent to all the *tonos* and governors in the Empire to refuse them assistance and asylum. Royal decrees were published threatening very serious penalties on those who would provide shelter or help to any religious or Christian, native or not. The churches were taken down and those who resisted the execution of the imperial orders were martyred.

On our part, the embassy that Fray Alonso Muñoz carried in the name of Philip III was suspended and precautions were taken to avoid that the Japanese became expert pilots in those seas. Such were the results of that implacable hostility of the Dutch.¹

Seville, 20 July 1925.

1 Ed. note: Soon they alone, among all the European nationalities, were allowed to visit Japan, albeit only the island of Deshima within the harbor of Nagasaki, from the 1620s until well into the 19th century, when Commodore Perry arrived with his “kuro fune” or “black ship”.

Document 1609F

Japan's early attempts to establish commercial relations with Mexico, by Naojiro MURAKAMI

Source: Chapter with the above title, in Stephen & Bolton's book: The Pacific Ocean in History (1917), pp. 467-480.

It is only ten years since the steamers of the Tôyô Kisen Kaisha began to run between the ports of Japan and Mexico [i.e. since about 1910], but attempts to open the same route were made more than 300 years ago by one of the greatest statesmen of Japan.¹

At that time, Japan was carrying on an active foreign commerce, and the *Daimyôs* vied with each other in inviting foreign vessels—Portuguese, Spanish and Chinese—to their own ports. This was, however, limited to Kuyshu, and the *Daimyôs* of the northern provinces had no share in the lucrative commerce.

In December 1598, Fray Gerónimo de Jesús of the Franciscan Order, who came from Manila in May of the same year and was secretly ministering to the Christians in the Province of Ise, was found out and taken to the presence of Iyeyasu, then newly intrusted with the government of the country during the minority of Hideyori, heir of Hideyoshi, and destined to be the founder of the Tokugawa family of *Shôguns*. Iyeyasu wished to seize this opportunity for the development of the resources of his own provinces, and in the course of conversation with Fray Gerónimo expressed his intention of giving up the menacing attitude of Japan taken in the time of Hideyoshi towards the Philippine Islands, and of being friendly to the missionaries. He told the friar that the Spanish ships from Luzon Island would be welcome to the ports of his provinces of Kwantô and that he would also like to establish commercial relations with New Spain. In order to prepare for it, he wished to build ships after Spanish models and he desired the Philippine government to send some ship-carpenters and also pilots and sailors to teach navigation. Fray Gerónimo accordingly wrote a letter to the Governor of the

1 Ed. note: In April 1902, AGI provided this author with an index of documents relating to Japan, of which 34 were transcribed for him.

Philippine Islands, informing him of the desire of Iyeyasu and begging him to send merchant ships to Kwantô and also to give all the necessary help for opening commerce between Japan and New Spain, as it would be conducive to the propagation of Christianity in Japan. This letter was taken in 1599 by a messenger of Iyeyasu, Gioyemon by name, a native of Sakai.¹

In those days the Philippine Islands were continually harassed by Japanese pirates, and since Hideyoshi sent an embassy in 1592 to demand subjection of the Islands to Japan, the government of Manila was always in fear of a Japanese invasion. The confiscation of the ship **San Felipe** in 1597 and the subsequent crucifixion of Spanish missionaries almost threatened a rupture between the two countries. The promise of Iyeyasu to stop all hostilities and to promote friendly relations with the Islands was, therefore, heartily welcomed by the Philippine government.² No immediate steps, however, were taken in response to the letter of Fray Gerónimo.

Iyeyasu was then busily occupied in preparing for the great struggle, which ended in the victory of Sekigahara, but after establishing his authority over the whole of Japan, he again turned his attention to the matter. In October 1601, he wrote a letter to Governor Tello, informing him that according to the latter's request he had caught and punished the Japanese pirates who ravaged the Islands in the previous years and diminished the number of licences to be given to Japanese junks for going to the Islands, and asking the governor to consider his request concerning the commerce with New Spain. A Franciscan lay brother took this letter to Manila, with another from the governor of Nagasaki. Antonio de Morga mentions the arrival at Manila in 1602 of a certain Chiquiro sent by Iyeyasu. Fray Gerónimo is also said to have been sent to Manila in the same year.³ These repeated efforts on the part of Iyeyasu caused the Audiencia to decide to send a ship to Kwantô, when in May 1602, the new Governor, Don Pedro de Acuña, arrived at Manila. The news of the arrival of a Dutch ship at Bungo in April 1600,⁴ and of favors shown to the crew by Iyeyasu caused the governor to fear lest the Dutch should open commerce with Japan to the injury of the Spanish interests. Therefore, he agreed to carry out the arrangement already made and sent a small ship to Japan,⁵ in which

- 1 See the letter of Fray Gerónimo addressed to Juan de Santa María, given in the Annex to Léon Pages' *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon*. See also document entitled: "Sobre el estado de las Islas Philipinas con el Japón, 1600 años," in AGI 68-1-32.
- 2 See the letter from Governor Don Francisco Tello to the King of Spain dated June 1601, in Padre Colin's *Labor evangélica*, vol. 2, p. 339.
- 3 See B&R 15: 251-258. Ed. note: This is the translation of chapter 7 of Morga's *Sucesos*.
- 4 The **Liefde**, the only remaining ship of the fleet of five ships which had sailed from the Texel in June 1598, to come to the South Sea by way of the Strait of Magellan was greatly damaged by storms and forced to change its course for Japan and arrived at a port of Bungo on 19 April 1600. The ship was ordered to go to Sakai and thence to Uraga. Captain Quaeckerneck and crew, 18 in all, were kindly treated; some of them took part in the Battle of Sekigahara and with their large guns helped the army of Iyeyasu to gain victory over the enemy.
- 5 Ed. note: It was named **Santiago El Menor** [St. James the Less] (see B&R 15: 256).

the Franciscan brother was sent back with his letter and presents for Iyeyasu. In his letter to the latter, dated 1 June 1602, the governor said that although his predecessor had already written to the viceroy of New Spain to report to the king of Spain about the desire of Iyeyasu, he was going to do so again, and about a month later he wrote to the king¹ asking him to assent to the requests of Iyeyasu, as it would bring many advantages, among which he enumerated the opening of new fields for the missionaries, liberation of their coasts from pirates, freedom of the Spanish ships sailing on the Pacific Ocean to take refuge in Japanese ports and ejection of the Dutch from Japan. He, however, believed that the Japanese would very soon give up the voyage as they were not good navigators and the merchandise they could send would not bring much profit.

Although the ship from Manila did not come to Kwantô, but entered the port of Usuki in Bungo, Iyeyasu was very much pleased with the Governor's message and presents, and the Franciscan friars were shown many favors. In 1603, Governor Acuña sent another ship² to Japan, but neither this nor that of the following year arrived in Kwantô; they entered the ports of Kyushu, whence envoys were sent to the court of Iyeyasu. In December 1604, Father Diego Bermeo of the Franciscan Order had to write to the Governor, begging him to send a ship next year to Kwantô, as otherwise all Franciscan missionaries would be banished from the country.³ But it was only since 1608 that the annual ships from the Philippine Islands regularly came to Uraga. Thus, after waiting for almost 10 years, Iyeyasu realized one of his wishes, but nothing was done as regards the other request—the establishment of commerce with New Spain. The death of Fray Gerónimo in 1602 had deprived the cause of its chief promoter.

An event, however, happened in 1609, which unexpectedly led to the opening of the desired commerce, I mean the shipwreck of the **San Francisco**. The ship left Cavite for Acapulco in July of that year, ex-Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero on board. It met violent storms on the way and was so damaged that it was decided to put into Japan for repairs. As the knowledge of Japan was very imperfect, the ship was stranded on the 30th of September, in the night, on the coast of Kazusa, about three miles from the village of Iwada, when it was thought they were sailing in the open sea north of Japan. All believed that they were lost on an unknown island, when at daybreak a Japanese passenger on board learned from some farmers in the field that they were in Japan. They were taken to Iwada, a poor fishing village with about 300 houses. A notice was sent to the *Daimyô* of the place, who lived in the castle of Odaki, about 10 miles distant, and thence to the *Shogun's* Court. When the *Daimyô* of Odaki knew that the ex-Governor of Luzon, by which name the Philippine Islands were known in Japan, was among the shipwrecked, he visited him and provided for all his present needs. Don Rodrigo was then invited to the courts of Yedo and Sumpu [sic]. During the interview,

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- 1 Letter from Governor Acuña to the King, dated [Cavite] 11 July 1602, in AGI 67-6-19. Ed. note: The text of this letter is given, in Spanish, in the author's footnote.
 - 2 Ed. note: Morga (B&R 16: 29-30) says that it was again the **Santiago El Menor**, with Fathers Diego de Bermeo, Alonso de Madre de Diós, and Luis Sotelo aboard.
 - 3 See Padre Colin's work, vol. 2, p. 341.

Iyeyasu spoke of his desire to trade with New Spain, and tried to gain Don Rodrigo over to his idea. In Fray Luis Sotelo, who acted as interpreter on this occasion, was found a worthy successor of Fray Gerónimo. He came to Japan in 1603 and was engaged in missionary work in the Franciscan Church at Asakusa in Yedo. He burned with zeal for the conversion of the Japanese and the glory of his order. When the Dutch got permission, in September 1609, to establish a factory at Hirado, he thought that any further delay would be fatal to the cause of the Franciscan Mission. He, therefore, did all he could to make the ex-Governor understand that it was to the interest of Spain and the Church to let Iyeyasu have what he desired. Don Rodrigo was convinced of the truth of Sotelo's views and decided to accept the offer of Iyeyasu and take passage in a Japanese ship and to use all his influence to bring about regular trade with New Spain. The ship was of 120 tons and built a few years before by William Adams, who came to Japan in 1600 as chief pilot of the *Liefde*, and became a favorite of Iyeyasu. It was named **San Buenaventura** and left Uraga on 1 August 1610, arriving in safety at Acapulco at the end of October. This ship took the first Japanese merchants to New Spain and also an envoy from Iyeyasu to the court at Madrid. Father Sotelo was first nominated for the mission, but, as he became ill, Father Alonso Muñoz was sent.

When Don Rodrigo arrived at Mexico, an expedition for the discovery of the Gold and Silver Islands was just going to start. For some years back there were rumors about some islands in the Pacific Ocean, enormously rich in gold and silver, to which a Portuguese vessel was driven by the wind.¹ Philip III gave orders to the viceroy to send out vessels of discovery either from New Spain or the Philippine Islands. As the islands were said to be in the vicinity of Japan, it was decided to send the expedition first to Japan [rather the Philippines], where they were to build a ship, store provisions, and thence sail to the islands. Sebastián Vizcaíno, commander of the expedition, well known in the history of California, was appointed ambassador to Japan in order to return thanks to Iyeyasu for the kindness shown towards the unfortunate crew of the **San Francisco**. Vizcaíno left Mexico on 7 March 1611, embarked at Acapulco in a ship, also called **San Francisco**, and set sail on the 22nd of the same month. The ship arrived at Uraga on 10 July 1611. The Japanese who went to Mexico in 1610, 23 in all, returned in the same ship with cloths, velvets, wines, etc.; the money advanced by Iyeyasu to Don Rodrigo and the value of the Japanese ship were also invested in Mexican goods.

The ambassador was first received at Yedo by Hidetada and then at Sumpu by Iyeyasu, to whom the letter of thanks from the viceroy was presented with his gifts, among which were the portraits of the king and queen of Spain. After delivering his messages Vizcaíno asked and received permission from Iyeyasu for surveying the eastern coast of Japan, in order to find safe anchoring places for Spanish ships. He also got permission to build a ship, but on inquiry he found the charges exorbitant and accepted Hidetada's offer to build one at his own expense on condition that the general should lend him ship-carpenters and then take in the ship some Japanese merchants to New

1 Ed. note: See my HM 2: 530-536.

Spain. He then went overland to Sendai, where he saw Masamune Date, the most powerful of the *Daimyôs* of the northern provinces, and then surveyed the coast of his provinces of Oshu, starting from Shiogama and proceeding as far north as Kombaku, during the course of which he found many good ports. He then returned to Sendai and the survey was continued along the coast to Uruga, and thence to Osaka, and four copies of the map of the survey were made at Kyôto, one for Iyeyasu, another for Hidetada, and the remaining copies for the king of Spain. The map would be of great interest, but so far it has not been found either in Japan or in Spain.

The general then took leave of Iyeyasu and Hidetada,¹ and, as he found the ship built by Hidetada² unfit for his purposes, sailed in the old ship on 16 September 1612. On the 25th of September, the ship arrived at the place where the Gold and Silver Islands were located on the chart, but no island could be found. The search was continued until the 14th of October, since which day violent storms frequently arose and so damaged the ship that the general was obliged to make for Uruga, where he arrived on the 7th of November. He immediately reported to Iyeyasu the need he was in and asked for his help, but after trying in vain for five months to get access to his presence, the general found that there was no hope of getting any help from the government. This attitude of the Japanese government seems to have been partly due to ill feeling caused by the discovery of the true object of the mission.³ The uncompromising attitude of the Spanish ambassador in the negotiations concerning the etiquette to be observed on his reception at the courts was another cause of displeasure. The survey of the coast was also represented by the Dutch as preliminary to an invasion of Japan by Spanish forces, but Iyeyasu did not believe it. He had been prepared for such a survey by Fray Gerónimo. The general then tried to borrow money from some Spaniards at Nagasaki, thereby to build a ship, but in this he also failed. In his report he says that all this was due to the intrigues of some Franciscan fathers, specially Father Sotelo. From the news he received from Mexico, Sotelo understood that there were many difficulties to the success of Father Muñoz' mission, and wished by going himself to persuade the viceroy and the Spanish government to agree to the opening of Mexican ports to Japan. As the general did not allow him to go in his ship, Father Sotelo started for Mexico in the ship of Hidetada, but the ship sank just outside the port of Uruga. He was very intimate with Masamune, lord of Oshu, and knew that the latter wished to trade with New Spain.

1 Their letters to the Viceroy of Mexico are given in the *Ikoku Nikki Shô*, pp. 50-64.

2 Ed. note: It had been named the **San Sebastián** by the Spanish.

3 It is true that Sebastián Vizcaíno told Iyeyasu about the voyage of discovery and proposed to take some Japanese with him; but this was only after he had found out that the ex-Shogun had heard all about it from the Dutch. Although Iyeyasu is reported to have said that he had no objection to the Spaniards' undertaking the discovery, as he would claim the Islands if they were within the Japanese territory, and if not, he had no reason to complain, yet it is quite natural that he should resent the attempt to deceive him. Ed. note: It was Adams, not the Dutch, who told Iyeyasu about the exploration project he had heard about while building the San Sebastián with Portuguese and Spanish workers. He was jealous of the surveys made by Vizcaíno and wanted Iyeyasu to use English ships instead, as he said in his 4th letter of 1613 (see Doc. 1609D3).

He, therefore, advised the *Daimyô* to build a ship for taking Sebastián Vizcaíno and his crew to Mexico and to send by the ship an embassy to Europe in order to make a commercial treaty with the king of Spain, and to ask the Pope to send Franciscan friars from Mexico.

Masamune first came to entertain the idea of opening his ports to foreign commerce when he was informed of the discovery of many good ports in his own provinces. He intimated his wishes to the general, but the latter knew that the viceroy was not favorable to opening ports to Japan and did not give any definite answer. Now that no other means could be found for returning to Mexico, Vizcaíno was glad to accept Masamune's proposal and engaged to build a ship for him and bring it to Mexico.

The ship sailed from the port of Tsukinoura¹ on the 27 October 1613 with Masamune's ambassadors, Rokuyemon HASEKURA and Father Sotelo, and suite, with a large number of Japanese merchants and sailors on board. A large quantity of goods was freighted by merchants of Sendai and Yedo. The ship arrived at Acapulco on 25 January 1614, and the embassy proceeded to Mexico.

We must now return to Father Muñoz, whom we left at Mexico, at his arrival there in November 1610. He crossed over to Spain in the fleet of 1611, and arriving at Madrid in December, presented to the king the letters² from Iyeyasu and Hidetada with their presents. The Council of the Indies was ordered to consider what answer was to be sent to Japan.

While Don Rodrigo was still in Japan, a ship from Macao was destroyed at Nagasaki. The commander of the ship was commandant of Macao, when the crew of a Japanese vessel from Arima were killed for rising against the authorities. On his arrival at Nagasaki, the general was summoned to appear before the Governor of Nagasaki and explain the reason for the measures he had taken. As he did not obey the summons and tried to get away, the ship was attacked by numerous Japanese boats. During the fight, the powder magazine took fire and the ship was sunk with all the crew on 6 January 1610. This caused great consternation in Macao. The prosperity of the city was almost entirely due to the commerce with Japan, and its cessation meant desolation to the whole community. The municipal authorities therefore resolved to take measures for preventing such a great disaster, and in doing so were heartily supported by the Jesuits.

The Jesuits came to Japan soon after the Portuguese trade was opened and in 1584 were given the privilege of preaching in the country. They were angry with the Franciscans for coming to the country in disregard of the bull of Pope Gregory XIII, and for managing to get in 1600 a new bull from Clement VIII, which permitted all orders to

1 This port is mentioned in Vizcaíno's report. It was found to be well sheltered and the name of San Felipe was given to it. The village contains at present only a few fishermen's houses. There is a spot called "Namban-goya" (the hut of the "Southern Barbarians", which was the name for the Portuguese and the Spaniards at that time). This is supposed to be the site of the yards where Masamune's ship was built.

2 The original letters are kept in AGI. See the *Dai Nippon Shiryo*, Part XII, vol. 7, pp. 215, 216.

enter Japan, although on condition that they did so via Macao. They repeatedly appealed to the Archbishop of Manila and to the king of Spain against the unlawful entrance of the Franciscans and other mendicant orders, but these continued to increase in number and in influence. In the destruction of the Portuguese ship they saw, or pretended to see, the hand of their enemies. They affirmed that the Japanese government took such a daring step because it was assured by the Franciscans that the Philippine commerce would make up for the loss of the Portuguese trade, and joined with the municipal authorities in requesting the authorities of Manila not to send any more ships and missionaries in order that Japan should make amendment for the damages done to the Portuguese and again welcome the ships from Macao. The Bishop of China undertook the negotiations in person and got the municipal Council of Manila to decide in favor of the request. Petitions were then sent to the king asking him to suppress the trade of the Philippine Islands with Japan and not to permit Japan to open commerce with New Spain. The papers¹ were sent to the Council of Portugal and the reports were in favor of the petition, but the Council of the Indies reported to the king in May 1612 that it was advisable to open commerce with Japan via Mexico.² The interests of the Spanish colonies were always placed above those of Portugal and her colonies.

In the end of that year, however, a letter³ came from the Audiencia of Manila asking the king not to listen to the representations of Don Rodrigo and Father Muñoz, as Japanese commerce with New Spain would be injurious to the interests of Spain. It was alleged that there was no fear of any invasion of the Islands by the Japanese so long as they were not taught navigation; but if Japanese vessels were allowed to come to New Spain, the Japanese would very soon become a menace to the Spanish dominions in America, just as they were to the Philippine Islands. The true reason, however, for the opposition of the Philippine government was their desire to keep up their own trade with Japan, which, it was feared, would suffer greatly from competition with New Spain. As the Japanese commerce grew in importance the Islands came to depend upon it for the supply of silver, provisions, ammunition and materials for shipbuilding, in exchange for which they exported goods from China and Spain at good profit.⁴

On receiving this letter the Council of the Indies decided to reconsider its report and to wait for further news from the Philippines; but as Father Muñoz continually importuned them for an answer, it was decided, in June 1613,⁵ to send a letter to Iyeyasu

- 1 The "Consultas del Consejo de Portugal" of 4 & 29 January 1612, with accompanying papers from Macao, are in AGI 67-6-4.
- 2 See the "Consulta del Consejo de Indias" of 18 May 1612 in AGI 67-6-4. This and most of the documents referred to in the following pages are given in the *Dai Nippon Shiryô*, Part XII, vol. 12.
- 3 This letter is dated 16 July 1611 (AGI 68-4-12).
- 4 The Islands actually suffered very much when Japan was closed to the Spaniards in 1624, and the governors were repeatedly instructed to look for an opportunity to re-establish commercial relations with Japan.
- 5 See the "Consultas del Consejo de Indias" of 10 and 14 June 1613 in AGI 67-6-4.

promising him to send one vessel yearly from New Spain if the latter protected the Spaniards and allowed the missionaries to work for the conversion of his subjects. Father Muñoz was intrusted with the letter¹ and some presents in return for those sent from Japan, but on account of illness Fray Diego de Santa Catalina was substituted, who went to Mexico with two other Franciscan friars. While they were still in Mexico, the embassy from Masamune arrived at the city.

As we have already seen, the attempt of the Jesuits to break the intercourse of Japan with the Philippine Islands failed, but they consoled themselves with the success of an embassy sent by the viceroy of Goa in 1611 to re-establish the commerce of Macao with Japan, thereby assuring the maintenance of their own order. They, however, got alarmed when they learned that Father Sotelo was going with an embassy from Masamune to Europe. They owed their own predominant influence in Japan largely to the success of an embassy from the Christian *Daimyôs* of Kyushu which visited Europe under their guidance at the end of the 16th century. If the Franciscans succeeded in their embassy, they were sure to get ascendancy in Japan. So the Jesuits set themselves to hindering and discrediting the embassy. They could not prevent its leaving Japan, but their efforts, together with that of Sebastián Vizcaíno, who bore ill will towards Father Sotelo, succeeded so far as to induce the viceroy of New Spain to doubt the sincerity of Masamune and distrust Father Sotelo. The viceroy reported to the king the opinions he had formed about the embassy and decided in the first place to detain Fray Diego for another year, and to ask the king for new instructions about the envoys, as Iyeyasu was persecuting Christians contrary to his promise.

The viceroy, however, dissimulated his feelings towards the ambassadors [of Masamune] and treated them well and gave them passage to Spain on the fleet of 1614. The embassy arrived at San Lúcar de Barrameda at the beginning of October 1614, and went via Seville to Madrid. There Fathers Sotelo and Muñoz succeeded in persuading the government to send Fray Diego to Japan in the ship of Masamune, which had been detained at Acapulco by the viceroy, pending the orders of the king whether to send them direct to Japan or by way of the Philippine Islands. The letter to Iyeyasu was, however, revised, the clause about sending a ship from New Spain every year being omitted.²

The Franciscan friars left Acapulco in April 1615 [aboard the **Date Maru**] and arrived at Uruga on 15 August. Iyeyasu was then engaged in the final siege of Osaka, which ended in the complete defeat and death of Hideyori.³ The envoys had, therefore, to wait for more than two months before they were received by Iyeyasu. They then went to Yedo to see Hidetada, but could not get access to the court, and were finally ordered to leave Japan with the presents from the king of Spain. This was in accordance with

1 A draft of the letter, dated 20 June 1613, is preserved in AGI 87-5-2.

2 AGI 87- 5-2. The draft of a letter addressed to Hidetada is in the same volume.

3 Ed. note: This event, the death of the heir of Hideyoshi, marked the true beginning of the Tokugawa Shogunate that lasted until the restoration of the traditional emperor in the 19th century.

the new policy adopted by Hidetada towards foreign commerce and Christianity. All missionaries were to be sent away and the preaching of Christianity was to be strictly forbidden. The foreign merchants who had been hitherto allowed to trade in the interior were ordered to do their business only in a few open ports—Uruga, Nagasaki, and Hirado. The death of Iyeyasu in July 1616 marks the end of Japan's open commerce with foreign countries. The Spanish envoys were, in disregard of the orders of the viceroy which forbade the Japanese to come again to New Spain and ordered the Spanish who came in the Japanese ship to return by way of the Philippine Islands, forced to take passage [back to Acapulco] in the ship of Masamune, which went out in September 1616 on her second voyage for New Spain, where she was to meet the embassy from Masamune on its way [back] from Europe.

We have already seen that the Jesuits did all in their power to discredit the embassy, but it was to no avail and the ambassadors were enthusiastically welcomed all over Spain. They were received in audience by King Philip III and were sent at his expense to Rome, where Pope Paul V received them with fatherly tenderness and granted them almost everything they asked for. He promised to use his influence with Philip III to create a new bishopric of Northern Japan in Oshu, the province of Masamune, nominating Father Sotelo to the office, and to establish commercial relations between Japan and New Spain. The Senate of Rome made Hasekura a patrician and presented the chief members of the embassy with the citizenship of Rome. The embassy was entertained on their way back to Spain by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Doge of Genoa. But when the ambassadors returned to Spain, they found a decided change in the attitude of the government. It was chiefly due to the persecution of Christians in Japan, and although they refused to return before the object of the embassy was attained, they were obliged to leave for Mexico in July 1617. On arriving at Mexico, they learned that their ship was waiting at Acapulco, but this time they were told to return by way of the Philippine Islands, for which they set sail in April 1618 in company with the fleet of Don Alonso Fajardo, the new governor of the Islands. Soon after their arrival at Manila, the Islands were threatened with an attack by the Dutch. The governor therefore asked the Japanese ambassador to sell his ship and equipped her for the coming fight. Hasekura and his suite took passage in a junk and arrived at Sendai in August 1620, after a long absence of 7 years.¹

1 The embassy of Masamune to Europe is one of the most interesting episodes of Japanese history, but nothing about it was known in Japan before the attention of Ambassador Iwakura and his suite was drawn to it in 1873 when they visited Venice. Later investigations by Italian and Japanese scholars have brought to light an immense amount of material preserved in the archives of Italy, Spain, and Japan. All the materials hitherto discovered are given in the *Dai Nippon Shiryô*, Part XII, Vol. 12, which volume is devoted entirely to that embassy.

The repeated attempts of Japan to bring the countries on the opposite sides of the Pacific Ocean into close commercial relations thus ended in failure. During the years of her seclusion even the fact that such attempts were ever made came to be forgotten, and the idea was first realized after a lapse of almost two centuries and a half, when the United States induced Japan to open the country, almost against her will.¹

1 Ed. note: Ambassador Hasekura is said to have returned to Sendai, apostatized and died ca. 1620. As for Father Sotelo, who had stayed behind in Manila in 1618 when the junk sailed for Japan, he went back to Japan before 1622, the year in which he was imprisoned for preaching against the prohibition. He was confined for two years at Omura, during which time he wrote several works in Spanish and Japanese. Finally, he was burned at the stake at Omura on 25 August 1624.

Document 1610A

Father Medina's visit to the Ladrones in 1610

Sources: Fr. Juan de Medina, O.S.A. Historia de la Orden de S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas, Manila, 1893. However, this history was written in 1631. Translated in B&R 23:137-138, 141; 24: 53-58.

Chapter IV

Of the voyage made by our religious to the Western Islands.

...
 This island of the Ladrones where the Spaniards anchored is a lofty, mountainous land, with its coasts fringed with thick coconut groves, and other cool and shady trees. The natives of the islands ear rice, which is the chief food of all the islands. At times, when I consider how many people use rice as bread, I think that 3/4 of the world are sustained on this kind of food. These Ladrone Islands number 13, and extend north—south. As they were the first islands of which the General [Legazpi] took possession, his Majesty granted them to Melchor López de Legazpi, only son of the general, giving him the title of *adelantado* [i.e. military governor].

These Indians go naked. Both men and women are fine sailors and swimmers, for they are accustomed to jump from their little boats after fish, and to catch and eat them raw. Their boats are very narrow, and have only a counterweight at the opposite end, where they carry their sail. The sail is lateen, and woven from palms. In these craft do they venture forth intrepidly through those seas, from island to island, so that one would think that they had a treaty with wind and water.

The ships en route to the Philippines pass through these islands, at different latitudes at various times. So many boats go out to meet them that they quite surround the ships. The natives try to trade water and the products of their islands for iron, the substance that they esteem most; but, if they are able to steal the iron, without giving anything for it, they do so. It is necessary to aim an arquebus (which they fear greatly) at them in order to get the article returned. And to induce them to leave the ships free, there is

no better method than to fire the arquebus in the air, the reverberations of which cause them to hide, fear, and vanish.

While the ship in which I took passage was passing one of the islands, many small boats come out as usual. Among them came one belonging to a robust youth, who was coming to look for a Spaniard, who had been his captive, as he desired to see him. This Spaniard, with others who survived from the ship **Santa Margarita** (which was wrecked at those islands) [in March 1601], lived among those barbarians, until, by good fortune, the ships with succor passed there, and they embarked in them. The Spaniard, who had been the slave of this Indian, was with us. As soon as the latter saw him, he boarded our vessel fearlessly. And still with no signs of fear, he went among our men and threw himself into the arms of the man whom he knew, and who had eaten his bread and lived in his house.

He was quite covered with marks of teeth; and when the Spaniard, who knew something of their language and customs because of his stay among them, was asked the reason, he said that that native had but just been married, and the dowry that he had given was to receive those bites from his wife without murmuring. In that way do the women elect and choose their husbands.

The native was loaded down with scissors, knives and iron. With all this load, he dove into the water, and at the moment he was thought to have gone to the bottom, because of the weight of his load, he reappeared quite at his ease, placed his load in his little craft, then got in himself, and hoisted his sail. He himself attended to all the duties of helmsman and lookout, and ploughed those seas as if his craft were a powerful galleon. The household economy of these, as of the other natives, is uniform, as will be told later on; so that all appear as if cut out by one pair of shears—notable indications that they are all lopped from the same tree trunk.

...

Chapter XXXIII

Continuation of the preceding chapter.

[Synopsis: The band of missionaries that included Fr. Medina was well received by their brethen in Mexico. But their despair of getting vessels for the islands, “for already they were long overdue”—that is, the vessels from the Philippines, which are to return thither again. However, within a short time the **San Andrés**, bearing two Augustinians, Fathers Carrillo and Plaza, arrives in port. They bring a tale of storms and almost shipwrecks. “The *almiranta* suffered 11 hurricanes, and all had already lost hope of life. The vessel miraculously made the voyage through the courage of the pilot Toral, and that of Father Fray Estévan Carrillo who, lashed to the mizzen-mast with a crucifix in his hands, consoled the crew, and animated and encouraged them. He always shared his food with the sick.” Of the other two vessels of the fleet, the flagship [San Francisco] runs aground in Japan, but the crew are saved. “It was one of the greatest losses sustained by these islands. Don Rodrigo de Vivero was returning in the vessel. He had

governed the islands for one year, on behalf of his uncle Don Luis de Velasco. The latter sent him for that purpose until the Governor should be nominated in Spain.” The vessel **Santa Ana** is repaired and makes the voyage the succeeding year. “The arrival of the *almiranta* gave great comfort to New Spain; for, as these vessels are of great profit, their loss is felt more than that of those coming from Spain. Altogether the latter do not in any way compete with those coming from the Philippines.” The *almiranta* and another vessel, the **San Francisco** of Peru, return that year to the islands. The Viceroy refuses to allow all the religious who have come for that purpose to embark. Fr. Medina gives the names of the 19 Augustinians who embarked in the **San Francisco**, including himself, self-described as “of Seville, and a missionary to the Visayas.” He continues, *verbatim*.]

No other Order came then. The voyage was fortunate, for, without furling our sails, day or night, we reached Manila on 6 June 1610; and no voyage like ours has been made here since [i.e. between 1610 and 1631], as we sailed on 25 March. Both vessels were very swift, the winds strong, and the rain-showers must have been a help.

We were cordially welcome in Manila, as they were not expecting a company, for the procurator sent by the province—namely, the Father Reader, Fray Juan de Pineda—was detained in New Spain.

Document 1610B

The 1610 Battle of Playa Honda between the Spanish and the Dutch

Source: Extract from the relation of events in the Philippines during the years 1609 and 1610, by Fr. Gregorio Lopez, S.J.; original ms. probably in RAH Madrid; copy in Chicago, Ayer, Ventura del Arco mss, vol. i, pp. 273-340; translated in B&R 17: 100-143.

Relation of 1609-1610.

This country heard last year, by way of Jolo and Mindanao, that the Dutch were going to come in the year 1609, to harass it with a strong force. Consequently, Governor Juan de Silva entered upon his government with the intention of fortifying the port of Cavite, where our ships anchor, distant about 3 leagues from the city.

...

In Cavite the care and diligence expended in fortifying it, were of great importance; for the Dutch commander, one Francisco Witer [François de Wittert], although he had once before been in these islands as secretary to Oliverio del Nort [Oliver van Noort]—the commander of the two ships that anchored near the city in the year 1600, and had gone away defeated and disabled—yet he was determined to come and try his luck a second time. He was incited to this by certain traitors to his Majesty.¹ These having gone over to his side in the Moluccas, to the disservice of God and the king, recounted to him all the affairs of the Philippines.

...

Accordingly, as was reported, the Dutch commander set sail in the afternoon of St. Martin's Day, 11 November [1609], three or four days after he had been seen from this city. With two ships and his patache (for his flagship was left in the same location), he approached Cavite. However he was forced to retire because of the innumerable cannon fired at him. Although these did him no damage, he did none either with the guns that he fired. But he noted how slight were their forces for injuring him, for they had no more than three very small vessels, which could scarcely carry any guns: one old,

¹ Ed. note: He means some Spaniards, specially one named Francisco Aguirre.

dilapidated ship, called **Espiritu Santo**, which was already almost useless and broken up from the voyages to New Spain, and was mastless and without rigging¹; and one galley of 20 benches.

...
The Governor, seeing how leisurely the Dutch were remaining in this country, began to prepare a fleet to attack them. For that purpose great haste was given to finishing a vessel called **San Juan Bautista** which had been commenced in the island of Marinduque.² Although the enemy heard of this, their information was very confused, for they did not know to what place the ship **Espiritu Santo**—which was so disabled, as I have depicted above—had retreated. They were commencing to repair that vessel, and it cost even more trouble than if it had been built new. The Spanish also equipped the two small vessels as well as they could. For lack of iron for nails, they removed the gratings of the windows. While Manila was laboring under this anxiety, the strength of the enemy was increased by a good ship. That vessel came with food, and thus caused this community much distress...

With this new accession, the Dutch commander determined to come again in sight of Manila. Accordingly, he entered the bay on 19 January [1610] and, without doing more than to gather new information concerning our scarcity of vessels, he remained there until the 27th of the said month. Then he again left the bay, and commenced to capture the Chinese vessels that were already coming with the accustomed merchandise and food.

...
The governor built a new foundry, where he cast 7 large and reinforced cannon, which were of very great importance.³ A considerable quantity of powder was refined which was almost lost. A great number of balls were cast. In short, the greatest care was exercised in everything and great haste displayed; and they were able, as a consequence, to launch the finished and equipped vessel **San Juan Bautista** in the bay on 22 March...

The preparation of the fleet in Cavite was finished, so that it was ready to sail by 21 April... A day or so before our fleet sailed, a Japanese ship arrived at Cavite. The disastrous loss [in Japan] of the ship **San Francisco**, the flagship of the three vessels that had sailed for New Spain, was learned from that vessel. This was the most unfortunate thing that had yet happened; for by that blow this country was almost ruined, and the death of one man was hastened, a few days after, by his sorrow. Many Spaniards of those who escaped the wreck were aboard the said Japanese boat, and one Augustinian religious. The latter was seized by the Dutch, together with some of the wrecked Spaniards; but the Dutch did not harm the Japanese, in order to establish friendly intercourse with them. Under shelter of the latter, some other Spaniards were saved, and a considerable quantity of goods, although the Dutch stole some anchors and cables of

1 Ed. note: Its last confirmed voyage from Acapulco was in 1606.

2 Ed. note: The ship was completed in Manila Bay (see below).

3 Ed. note: Fr. Concepción says, in his *History of the Philippines*, iv, p. 286, that the bells of the churches were used for this purpose.

the king's that were aboard the vessel, and some 200 sacks of flour from private persons, but nothing else. At last, after diligent search for Castilian or Portuguese silver, the Dutch allowed the vessel to continue its voyage, because of a present of 300 pesos given them by the Japanese.

In the beginning of April an edict was issued for the men of the fleet to make ready. As many as 1,000 sailors and soldiers were enlisted, and many Indians for service and as common seamen. Besides these men, the Governor intended to take 200 other soldiers of great courage and valor; on those soldiers he placed great reliance...

The fleet left Cavite on Wednesday, 21 April, between 10 and 11 a.m., in search of the enemy, who were at Playahonda, 20 leagues from Manila. The Governor embarked in person in the fleet, as its commander... His lieutenant [aboard the *San Juan Bautista*] was Juan Juarez Gallinato, who has come this year as master of this camp. His admiral was Don Fernando de Silva, a courageous and spirited youth, nephew of the Governor. As the admiral's lieutenant and captain of the *almiranta* [the *Espiritu Santo*] was the Sergeant Major of the Moluccas, Pedro de Heredia, who last year overcame the galliot in which the Dutch commander, Pablo Blancard [Paul van Caerden], was sailing, with 70 of his men. The captains of the small vessels were: of the **San Ildefonso** (the largest), Juan Tello de Aguirre, *regidor* of this city; of the **San Pedro**, Captain Guillestigui—both of these men are Basque; of the **San Pedro y San Pablo**, Juan Pardos¹ de Losada, a Galician gentleman; of the **Santiago**, [Luis] Moreno Donoso. Of the two galleys, Captain Romanico was lieutenant; and Captain Juan Rodriguez commanded the consort.

The artillery was as follows: the flagship **San Juan Bautista** mounted 26 pieces: 4 of the new guns which were 18-pounders, and 22 good guns from 4- to 12-pounders. The ship **Espiritu Santo**, the *almiranta*, 22 pieces: 3 of the said new guns, 17 from 3- to 14-pounders, and 2 swivel guns. The other four vessels carried 4, 5, or 6 medium-sized guns; the galleys, what they generally carry.

Besides these vessels there were also 2 galliots and other small boats laden with provisions, and sheltered by the fleet, and ready to render assistance should the need arise...

[The Battle of Playa Honda,² on 24 April 1610]

The fleet anchored outside the bay. Although they intended to sail at dawn on Friday to give the enemy a rude awakening, they were unable to do so; for on weighing anchor, at midnight, they were delayed a long time, and happened to lose 4 anchors—one from the *almiranta* and 3 from the small vessels. This did not fail to cause uneasiness; but at last the Spaniards were able to sight the enemy on Saturday, between 6 and 7 in the morning. The enemy's flagship was riding with two anchors, and the other two vessels were somewhat farther out to sea. At this juncture, our fleet began to prepare

1 Ed. note: This name is possibly Fajardo, instead of Pardos.

2 Ed. note: Playa Honda is now called Botolan. It is located on the coast of Zambales, at about 15°15' lat. N.

for the battle. Orders were given for the crew to make their confessions to the religious aboard the vessels. There were 16 of these from the religious orders which are in Manila—2 Fathers of St. Dominic, 7 of St. Francis, 3 of St. Augustine, and 4 of the Society of Jesus. In addition there was another religious, a Trinitarian, who accompanied the Governor, and a secular priest. The soldiers proved very valiant and devoted on this occasion. They uttered many expressions of joy at finding themselves near the enemy. It seemed as if they were about to attend weddings and balls with great pleasure and delight, rather than to fight with vessels so powerful and well-equipped with artillery. Their greatest anxiety was lest the enemy should run away when he saw our fleet; but there was nothing to fear, for they were encouraged doubly to fight for the honor of God and the fame of the Spanish nation. Both of these, in a certain manner, depended on this battle in districts so remote: the honor of God, because the Chinese were looking on and saying “Now we shall see who is more powerful, the God of the Castilians, or the God of the Dutch”. Besides this, as the Dutch were about to take a great part of the silk that they were intercepting, to Japan, where they already had a trading post, their trade would be established firmly in that land, and that new field of Christendom would be in danger of heresy (which spreads like a cancer), in addition to the daily calamities to which it is subject under pagan lords. The honor of the Spanish nation was also concerned, because the temper of many of these peoples is “Long live the conqueror!” and they do not dare to stir because of their idea of the Spaniards. If these nations should become insolent on seeing the Spaniards overwhelmed and conquered, their pacification would cost more blood than the first conquest cost, as has been experienced in Mindanao.

Encouraged then, in this manner, the vessels approached. The Dutch, without any faint-heartedness, raised one anchor, and placed the other apeak, in order to go to meet our fleet. They made fun of our fleet, and encouraged their soldiers to fight by telling them that the Spaniards were coming to scare them with egg-shells—alluding to the small size and slight force of the vessels that they had seen. They bore down upon our flagship. At this juncture, they did not omit to report a singular providence of Heaven, namely, that our two vessels, the flagship and the *almiranta*, had some good pieces mounted low down, whose ports had to be shut, whenever the sea was choppy, as was experienced on one occasion of that sort. On that account the enemy had a great advantage, for all their guns were mounted high up. Accordingly it was our Lord’s pleasure that there was only enough wind to sail by, and the sea was almost like milk [i.e. calm and smooth]. Finally the vessels closed; and each fired heavy discharges of artillery and musketry. Our pieces—which, as I said, were mounted low—made the enemy’s hull tremble with the damage received from them. They killed men below decks, where they were sheltered under their rigging, so that scarcely a man appeared. Our men, who were above deck without a single shelter, also were injured by their artillery and swivel-guns. However they did not lose any of their spirit. They grappled the Dutch vessel, and stayed there fighting more than three hours; and amid balls, pikes, and broadswords, they boarded the hostile vessel, with such courage and valor that the Dutch

themselves were amazed to see them placing themselves in such manifest danger without shelter.

There was one who, when his companions tried to make him retire by force, because he had received a ball in his body, and a nail from a swivel-gun in his throat, tore himself from those who were carrying him, and returned to the fight, with the fury with which a wounded boar turns to avenge itself. Our men continued to decimate the enemy so thoroughly that they had scarcely five men on deck alive or not wounded. The commander was one of the first to be killed. The enemy, seeing themselves without any power to resist, tried to burn the ship. And they would have done it, to the evident loss of our men, but that was prevented by the master of the vessel, who, as he declared later, had always been a Catholic. He advised the Dutch not to do such a thing, for, although they had already lost their substance, they should not lose their souls. At this advice they surrendered with fair conditions.

Of the Spanish captives [aboard the enemy's ship], only the Augustinian religious Fray Pedro Montejo was killed, by a ball from our vessel. The others were safe and sound. Francisco Aguirre lost a leg in the battle, and being condemned to be shot as a traitor one day after the victory, he died that same night.

The same that I have related of our flagship occurred in our *almiranta*. It grappled with another good vessel, and defeated it after having fought with it with the same valor. The infantry captains, Don Pedro de Almazan and Don Juan de la Vega, distinguished themselves greatly in the battle, showing great courage and valor, although they were very young. The others can also be praised with good reason, for they proved themselves valiant captains. Such were Soriano, Rosa, Don Antonio de Leos, and Captain Madrid.

The third [Dutch] vessel was defeated by the two vessels **San Idefonso** and **San Pedro**. However so complete a victory was not obtained as with the others; for when it caught fire, they could not extinguish the flames. Two excellent bronze pieces were melted by the fire; and when the flames reached the powder, it blew up the men and other things and set fire to the neighboring forests, where the fire lasted for six days. However, they were able to take the artillery.

Ten Chinese vessels witnessed the battle. That was of no little importance, because of the opinion that they formed of the Spaniards, and the fear of our men that struck them, besides that which they have always had. Three of those vessels had already been plundered [by the Dutch], and the other seven expected the same thing. But seeing themselves free, they went to the Governor to thank him for his kindness in freeing them. Having received permission, they proceeded to Manila immediately, where they made great feasts for the Governor after their arrival.

The fourth Dutch vessel was outside and quite near a Japanese vessel that it had captured, whose captain and pilot were inside the Dutch vessel. These having displayed a banner on which was written "Viva Holanda" ["Long live Holland!"], and a letter of safe-conduct from the Dutch factors in Japan, the captain of the said vessel answered that the Japanese had nothing to fear, and that his commander would give them the

best of treatment. But the Dutch only wished to see if they had any Portuguese or Castilians aboard. But on hearing the sound of firing, they became anxious; accordingly, sending the said [Japanese] captain and pilot to their ship, and having crowded all sail in their own, they commenced to flee in all haste.

Others had come in this Japanese vessel, Spaniards from the ship **San Francisco** and among them was its commander, Juan de Ezquerra. The Lord delivered them from this second peril by so signal a victory.

The [Dutch] patache was also looking for vessels. Coming in that night with a Chinese prize, it sent its boat ahead to reconnoiter the position. Finding different signs from those that it had left, it became suspicious, and accordingly began to flee. The *almiranta*, the ship of Captain Juan Pardos [sic] de Losada and the flagship of the galleys went in pursuit of it but although they searched the neighboring coast twice, they did not sight the vessels, or discover what direction they took. The last time when they went to run along the coast they met a ship; and, as it seemed to be the patache, the galley pursued it with sail and oar, but found it to be a vessel from Macao. The bishop of Macao, of the Order of St. Dominic, was coming on business of great importance for the welfare of that community. Thinking our vessels to be Dutch, they fled at their utmost speed, and threw overboard all their cargo, although it was valuable, in order to make the vessel lighter.

News of the victory reached Manila at two in morning. At that hour the bells were loudly chimed and the people uttered many expressions of joy. Next day a very solemn procession was made, as a token of thanksgiving. The procession marched from the cathedral to our church, where a sermon was preached. It caused great consolation throughout the city and in all those who were present. After the sermon the Governor sent letters to each Order, thanking them for the prayers that they had said for his success. The one that came to me read as follows:

“We discovered the enemy this morning, and the battle began at 7 o’clock. It lasted about four hours, and during that time, our Lady and the glorious St. Mark showed themselves favorable to us. For we obtained the victory with the surrender of their flagship to ours, and their *almiranta* to ours. Fire was set to the other ship, and it was burned. Thus the battle was ended with but slight loss to us, and some wounded. I confess that this victory has been given me by reason of the prayers of your Paternity and those reverend fathers, whom I thank for their care in this, and assure them that I shall consider the same in what pertains to my office, by aiding whatever may be of pleasure to your Paternity.

May our Lord preserve you, as I desire.

From this vessel San Juan Baptista, 24 April 1610.

Don Juan de Silva.”

Document 1610C

Letter from Governor Silva to the King, dated Cavite September 1610

Sources: AGI 67-6-20; translated in B&R 17: 144-150.

Ships that sailed to Acapulco in 1610

Sire:

In the flagship **San Juan Bautista**, which sailed from this port on the 12th of July last, I gave your Majesty an account of everything that had occurred up to that time; I likewise did so by the [captured] Dutch *almiranta*, which left 4 days later. But as it was not so good a sailing ship as the flagship, and did not weather the storms so well, it was delayed several days, without being able to get outside the island of Fortun. I ordered it to return thence to this port, as it appeared that it was not fit for a freight ship, and because it was necessary for the service of your Majesty, owing to new developments, which I shall here detail. A fortnight after the ships were despatched, and when the *almiranta* was about to put out to sea, there arrived here a frigate belonging to your Majesty, which came from Goa, and had sailed from Ternate for India, loaded with cloves. It brought me a despatch from the viceroy, Ruy Lorenço de Tabora, in which he informed me of his arrival in that kingdom...

The day after the arrival of this frigate, there entered this port a Dutch patache, which had been taken by Captain Pedro de Avellaneda, with the galley **San Christobal**, close to the island of Tidore, after a fight of 3 hours; and in it were General Pablo Bancaorden [i.e. van Caerden], 20 others, and 5 Dutch. This general is the one who was captured in another galliot by Captain Pedro de Heredia...¹

I have already informed your Majesty that the Dutch, our enemy, are masters of all the Molucca Islands and Banda, and how important this is... Nothing has remained for

¹ Ed. note: This letter made it reasonably fast to Spain, because in his answer to Silva, dated Madrid 20 November 1611, the King orders him to release van Caerden and his men, "as they have not given any provocation for their second capture."

your Majesty throughout all these islands, except the fort of Ternate. All the natives are with the Dutch...

I have also informed your Majesty that the emperor of Japan has assigned two ports and factories in his kingdom to the Dutch, and the latter are making strenuous efforts to secure one in China. If they succeed in this, and trade in silks, gold, quicksilver and other riches from that great kingdom to Japan, and Europe, it will be worth to them every year more than the spice trade, in which case (God forbid!) this country and India would be ruined.

...

In this port I have ordered the outfitting of the flagship and the *almiranta* which were taken from the enemy, the ship **Espiritu Santo** and the **San Andres**,¹ 2 pataches, and 3 galleys; and I am busy providing everything necessary for food, artillery, and supplies. Thus when the vessels of Don Diego de Vasconcelos arrive here [from Goa], which I think will be at the end of November, they may start on the voyage toward Ternate...

I shall try to send information as early as possible of all that happens there, by way of New Spain, and other advices via the Strait of Sunda, or that of Bali, and the Cape of Good Hope.

...

For so costly an expedition, this royal treasury is in great need, for of the 200,000 pesos that the viceroy of New Spain sent here, there were taken to Macao 50,000 to buy quicksilver; 26,000 for provisions, powder, and other munitions and supplies; 35,000 paid to the fund of probated estates, and to citizens who had lent money the year past for the support of the fleet...

We shall have to get along as best we can, until the viceroy of New Spain provides for us.

May our Lord protect the Catholic person of your Majesty for many years, according to the needs of Christendom.

Cavite, 9 [or 5] September 1610.

Your Majesty's humble vassal and servant,
Don Juan de Silva.²

1 Ed. note: This mention of the San Andres is the proof that San Andres was the name of the ship that returned from Acapulco in 1610.

2 Ed. note: This letter was sent 2 months after the departure of the San Juan Bautista, either aboard one of the small vessels that had taken part in the Battle of Playa Honda (San Ildefonso, San Pedro, San Pedro y San Pablo, or the Santiago), or, more probably, aboard the **Santa Ana** that had diverted to Japan the previous year.

Documents 1611A

Logbooks kept by Hernando de los Ríos Coronel of the voyage of 1611 via Sarigan Island

Sources: 1) BNM ms. 3176, folios 214-219v; 2) MN ms. 142, folios 107v-112.

A1. An experiment to measure longitudes

Logbook of the voyage made in 1611 by the Philippine galleons from the port of Acapulco to Manila, aboard which was Licentiate Fernando de los Rios Coronel who, by order of his Majesty, made measurements with the fixed and regular compasses of Luis de Fonseca during this voyage, in accordance with the order given by H.M.

J.H.S. Mary Joseph

[Fol. 215] We began our voyage from the port of Acapulco, where I adjusted three sea compasses according to the secret procedure and method that Luis de Fonseca gave me, by order of H.M., and I set another so that it would show the longitude from east to west in accordance with its rules, and we sailed on Thursday 24 March [1611], carrying two instruments for the above-said purpose, which was to mark the compass and see if it was fixed and to compare it with the longitude, to check if the latter could be determined by the former's variation.

Acapulco Lat. 16°30'

We left steering that day and the following Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday to SSW...

Historical comments, by the Editor.

The rest of this logbook is entirely full of readings taken of the variations of the compass. No mention is made of the Ladrone Islands in this logbook. The two ships going

west to the Philippines that year were the **Santissima Trinidad**, and the **San Buenaventura** that had just been bought from Hosuke, the Japanese; this was the ship that Will Adams had built. The ship **San Francisco** of Captain Vizcaino, with Hosuke (alias Jocuquendono) and other Japanese passengers had left Acapulco 2 days earlier, bound directly for Japan.

This episode was not the only time that Hernando de los Ríos was interested in navigation and astronomy. Born ca. 1539, he had first passed to the Philippines in 1588. On 27 June 1597, he had already sent a memorandum to the King in which he said that he was writing a book on the construction and uses of an astrolabe. Navarrete¹ says that Governor Dasmariñas intended to send Ríos in 1590 to discover the Strait of Anian, but that other events intervened (the expedition to the Moluccas and the premature death of the Governor). In 1594, Ríos was an infantry captain for the expedition to the Moluccas; then he went on to the expedition to Cambodia in which he was shipwrecked in China. He left Manila in 1605 to become procurator-general of the Philippines at the Court in Madrid. He kept a logbook of the voyage in both oceans (see Doc. 1604/4). Navarrete relates the background to his 1611 voyage thus:

During his stay in the [Iberian] Peninsula, he promoted whatever causes he could to increase the prosperity of the Philippines, and acquired such a reputation at Court and in the courts [of justice] that, when he had already gone to Seville [in 1610] to return to those [Philippine] islands, at the time that the Council of the Indies in a war meeting was about to discuss the plan to experiment with the compasses proposed by Luis de Fonseca to determine longitude, he was consulted on 11 May 1610 about the selection of the pilots who should be charged with this study. He answered them by proposing that the experiments should be carried out at different latitudes in order to make the results more accurate.

They commissioned him to make these observations during his navigation to New Spain, and from there to Manila. To that end, Fonseca was ordered to go to Seville to deal with him and with the most intelligent cosmographers and pilots, to give to that great mathematician the instruments and necessary instructions. The planner did so, and Ríos, after he had made 4 observations overland to Cádiz, sailed on 29 June, and already on 5 August he was writing to Fonseca from [the island of] Guadalupe, saying that none of his compasses were of any use. He wrote the same thing to the King and to Secretary Pedro de Ledesma from Mexico, on the 5th and 7th of October respectively, adding what he could observe about the errors on the charts and the ignorance of the pilots, with a very commendable candor and ingenuity, and offering to continue his experiences as far as the Philippines.

So he did, leaving Acapulco on 23 March 1611; during this voyage he sighted the Ladrone Islands on 29 May and, on 10 June, the Cape of Espiritu Santo, always comparing the ordinary compass with that of Fonseca and using the amplitudes [sic] calculated

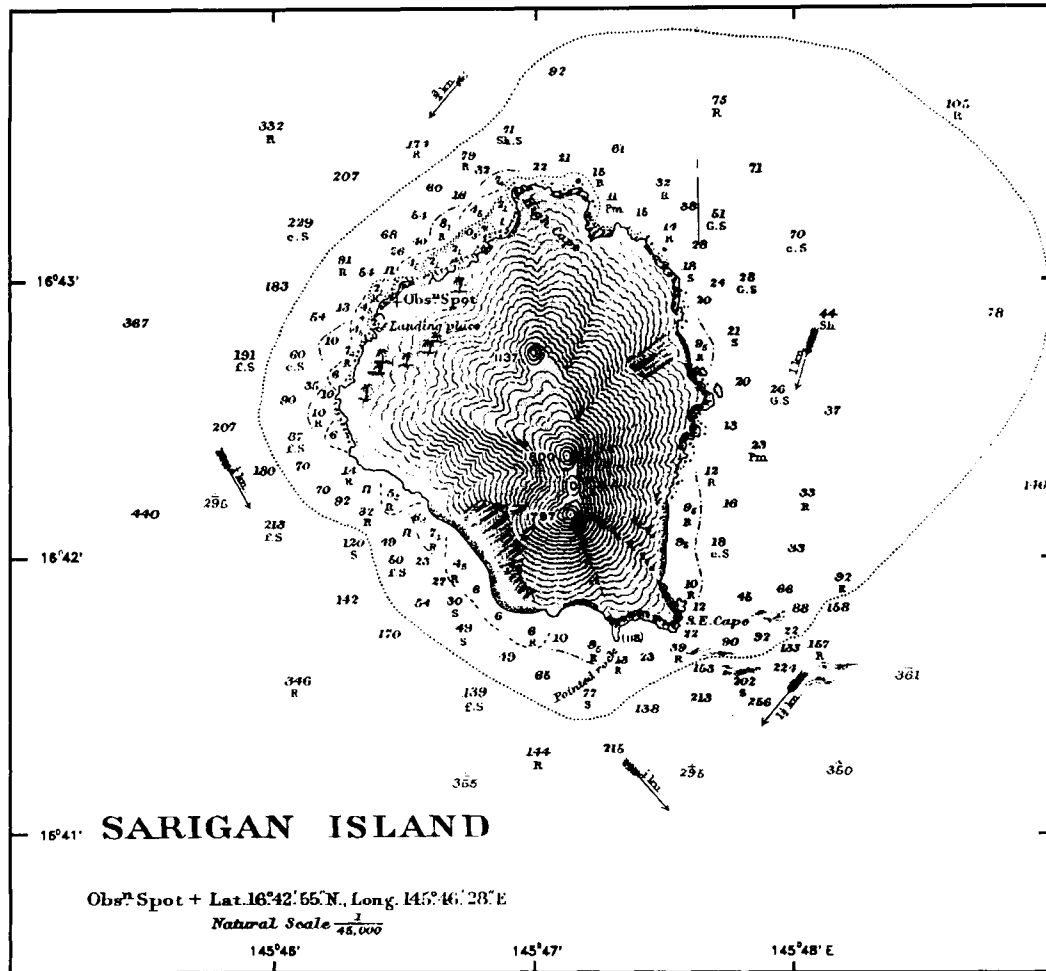
1 In his *Historia de la náutica*, section 76, e.g. see Vol. 77 of the Ribadaneira Collection (Biblioteca de autores españoles, Madrid, 1964; LC# PQ6171.A2B5).

in the tables given to him by order of the King. He arrived at Manila to give a report on his commission [as procurator-general] but, finding that the government and the business of those islands, when compared to 1605 when he had left, had changed so much, because of the invasions of the Dutch, that the Estates of the islands decided that Ríos should go once more to Spain to treat with the King and his councils whatever was proper for its remedy and prosperity. Although he was then an old man [of 77 years of age in 1616], was a priest, needed to rest and shrunk from the business aspect, the crowd of enemies infesting the seas and the hardships of such a long navigation, [however,] his love of the King, his zeal for the public good, his "torment at seeing mistakes being made" and his desire "to give a good example to so many people" were such that he accepted the task. He was to say later that this decision brought him more white hair than his advanced age, although he was no youth.

He returned to Spain in 1618, occupying his spare time during the navigation with the writing of a brief and a history of the Philippines, the reforms that were needed (see Doc. 1619B), the wealth to be found in them and in the Moluccas. This is a very appreciable document for our History, directed at the King, as well as very important for the government, in which "the truth was painted with total clarity, without the human considerations which usually contrive to hide it." This relation was printed at Madrid in 1622 [rather 1621] and at that time Ríos was consulted many times by order of the King and the Council of the Indies. He was asked to attend many of its meetings held to determine the route that the relief [fleet] to be sent to the Philippines should take, and his reports were much appreciated. In one of them he said that he had bween navigating those seas for over 30 years, always learning more about nautical matters and making many globes and nautical charts, giving his opinion that the route to those islands should be by the Cape of Good Hope, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Cedillo who proposed that it should go by the Strait of Magellan. Ríos added that he urged them exceedingly to despatch this expedition.¹

We ignore the fate that affected this illustrious nautical man afterwards; doubtless, he finished his days in Spain where, as in the Philippines, he was distinguished for his knowledge as well as his virtue.

1 This report was printed, without the year being mentioned; a copy was found in a tome marked Miscellaneous in the library of the Count of Gondomar, and it is now incorporated in the private library of the King, our lord. Ed. note: Probably still in the Biblioteca Real del Palacio in Madrid.



A2. Ordinary logbook of the voyage of 1611

Voyage made by the Licentiate de los Ríos from New Spain to the Philippines.

[fol. 107v] In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and of Jesus, Mary and Joseph, we began our voyage from the port of Acapulco. The General was Don Fernando de Silva; his admiral was Captain Juan de Balmaceda. We set sail on Thursday 24 March of the year 1611 at 10:30 in the morning.

...

[Only nautical observations were made in this log until they sighted the Ladrones at the end of May].

On the 29th [of May 1611] in the morning, at 30 leagues to the W by N, we sighted the **Ladrones**. One of them [i.e. **Sarigan**] is high, and round, the top of the peak cut off; it would be 6 leagues in circumference. From there to the other island [Anatahan] which is aligned NNE—SSW with it, the distance is over 5 leagues; it is laid out NW—

SE over 4 leagues. And NE of the first island, another 12 leagues [fol. 112], there is also a small one [Guguan], and further to the NE another 6 leagues [another, Alamagan].

The first island is in 16° and $3/4$, because the sun's elevation was taken.¹ A few canoes of the Ladrões came out to us.

On this day in the afternoon, I marked the compass and the sun set at [an angle of] 16° and $1/2$ from due west toward the north, its amplitude was $22^{\circ}24'$, the difference being $6^{\circ} 4'$ so that the compass was that much toward the NE.²

...

[They reached the Cape of Espiritu Santo on 10 June. The logbooks of Ríos for the voyages of 1605 and 1611 are also to be found in MN ms. 190; both were also copied by Fernandez de Navarrete in November 1790 for his *Colección de documentos*, Vol. 2, Doc. 8, folios 123 et sequitur].

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- 1 Ed. note: The peak of Sarigan Island is indeed located at $16^{\circ}42'$ N. The other islands, being seen from afar, or only on the chart, are not well described. It is too bad that the author does not compare the inhabitants of Sarigan with those of Rota or Guam.
 - 2 Ed. note: The so-called amplitude was probably read from a table for the date in question. The compass variation at Sarigan had changed to $1^{\circ}13'$ easterly in 1980, and was then increasing by $1'$ every year.

Documents 1611B

Sebastián Vizcaíno's voyages, 1611-1614

Sources: BNM ms. J.37 and BNM ms. 3046, folios 83-118v (described in Paz' America, pp. 111, N° 21); transcribed by Navarrete in his Colección de Indias, vol. 8, pp. 101-199.

Narrative of the voyage made for the discovery of the islands of “Ricas de Oro y Plata”, located in Japan [sic], being Viceroy of New Spain Don Luis de Velasco, and his son [sic], Sebastián Vizcaíno, being General of the expedition

In the name of God and of His Blessed Mother the Virgin Mary and of the glorious St. Peter, St. Paul and St. James. Amen.

During the reign over the Spains of the Catholic King Don Felipe, our Lord, third of that name, whom God may save for many years, and make his kingdoms and estates prosper and increase for the refuge of Christendom, and being viceroy, governor and captain general of the provinces of New Spain His Excellency Don Luis de Velasco, Marquis of Salinas, there was made a voyage to discover the islands named **Ricas de Oro y Plata**, which they say are in the neighborhood of Japan, by decree and orders of H.M., going as General and in charge of the said discovery, and as ambassador to the Emperor and the Prince of the said Japan, his son Sebastián Vizcaíno, landlord of the towns of the province of Avalos and resident of Mexico City, in the year 1611, aboard a ship named **San Francisco**, whose Pilot Major, Captain and Master was Benito de Palacios, and his mate Lorenzo Vasquez. The commissioner and the religious of the discalced Order of the Seraphic Father St. Francis were Fr. Pedro Bautista, Fr. Diego Ibañez, a theological student, and Fr. Ignacio de Jesús, a preacher, and three lay brothers: Fr. Pedro and two Fr. Juan. The clerk was Alonso Gascon de Cardona. There were 51 bodies in the sailing crew, and Don Francisco de Velasco, the leader of the Japanese, otherwise known as Joçuquendono [i.e. Hosuke], and 22 Japanese, who had come the previous year, 1610, from the said Japan to New Spain. The events of the said voyage and exploration are as [described] in the following narrative.

Chapter I.

The said general left Mexico, to pursue the said exploration and embassy, on Monday 7th of the month of March, on the feast day of St. Thomas of Aquino, in 1611, for the port of Acapulco, taking in his company the said Don Francisco Joçuquindono and the other Japanese, entertaining them and feeding them, although at the expense of the said Marquis who gave 200 pesos from his chamber for it. He arrived at the said port of Acapulco, on Saturday 19th of the said month and year. The contradictions that arose in order not to have the said exploration and voyage take place by a direct route from the said port of Acapulco to the kingdom of Japan, but would originate instead from the city of Manila and the Philippine Islands, are not [fully] mentioned in this narrative. His Majesty had about this ordered the despatch of three royal decrees, entrusting it to the said Viceroy, leaving it to him to assure the good conduct of the said exploration. He, wishing as the great governor that he was, and desirous to comply with the will of H.M. in everything and to see an increase in his royal Crown, called a meeting of persons of mark, of experts in navigation, who were: Don Juan de Villela, Visitor of New Spain; Don Antonio de Morga, President of the royal Audiencia of the New Kingdom of Galicia; Father Fray Alonso Muñoz of the Order of St. Francis, commissioner of the provinces of Japan; Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, procurator of the said Philippine Islands;¹ and the said general Sebastián Vizcaíno, and other persons and pilots. It was agreed and decided that the said exploration be made by the direct route from the said port of Acapulco to the kingdoms of Japan, with the pretext to take the said Japanese to their homeland and to give the embassy and present sent by the said Marquis to the said Emperor and to his son the Prince; that, once there and having asked for a licence and permission from the said Emperor to survey and sound the ports, bays and anchorages along that coast from Enangayaque [Nagasaki] as far as Cape of Cestos, which is the head of Japan, and having done the diligences and made the other ship to be built in Japan, wintered there, and by the summer or [even] spring, after having received the answer from the embassy to the said Emperor and Prince, weather permitting, to go out and explore the said islands of **Ricas de oro y plata**, in accordance with the orders received and a general instruction from the said Marquis.

Chapter II.

As previously said, the said general arrived at the port on the 19th of the said month and year with the said Japanese, where he found all the people under his command and the religious. The ship had been made ready to make voyages by the accountant Gaspar Bello de Acuña, Don Alonso de Monroy, factor, the accountant Cristóbal Ruiz de Castro, and the treasurer Alonso de Túnes. Final preparations were being made until the 22nd of the said month, when, between 11 and 12 noon, we sailed to pursue our voyage, going out to sea with a light favorable wind, in search of a lower latitude and the breezes. Within 8 days the pilots found themselves among them, and at a latitude

1 Ed. note: Ríos was then in Mexico City on his way back to Manila (see Doc. 1611A).

of just under 12°, and the heading was changed to W 1/4 SW [W by S]. In this narrative the headings, latitudes, signs of land, and everything about the navigation are not mentioned because the said pilots and expert seamen in the company are keeping logbooks; rather, it contains only the events with their respective dates, in order to make a report to H.M., his Council and the Viceroy about what happened during the said exploration and embassy.

Chapter III.

We were navigating, as I have said, with the said breezes in search of the neighborhood of the **Ladrone Islands**, until the 1st of May, when it was found that we had sailed almost 1,400 leagues; and the said General held a meeting with the pilots and expert seamen in accordance with his instruction. It was ordered to steer to W by N, because, according to the signs and birds that had been seen, we were getting near the said Ladrone Islands; and by this heading and that of NW by N, latitude could be gained in order to place ourselves E—W with the said Japan, until the 23rd of the said month, when the sun was taken and it was found that we were in 33° plus, almost in the vicinity of the port of Urangava [Uraga].

From the time we had left Acapulco as far as this neighborhood, we had always had favorable winds from the NE, E and SW and also the strong breezes. However, since we began rising in latitude, from 25° and up, we met with such strong showers, covered skies, fog and heavy seas that we were forced to lower the topmasts, take in the sails and to stall the ship in order to wait for clear weather and for the opposition of the moon, which occurred on the 25th. Up to that time, nothing remarkable had happened; we did not even sight any of the islands of the Ladrone chain, because it must have been night-time when we passed by them and they were not seen on account of the darkness, although there were signs of birds and other things that warned of their presence nearby. Among ourselves no quarrels occurred, not even differences of opinion, although the said Japanese did at the beginning give an occasion for it, by being rude with the sailors, specially in matters concerning the kitchen, they wanting to come to blows. But the said General put a stop to it, and ordered by a declaration that no Spaniard was to be impudent toward any Japanese, nor put their hands on him, or give him occasion for doing so, under penalty of death. He ordered the same thing to the said Japanese, telling them to be courteous, to come to him whenever they had a need for it, not to be impudent toward the sailors nor to pick a quarrel with them, because he would put on trial whomever was rude and would have him hanged from a yardarm, then give a report about it to his Emperor; that he knew very well about him and his disgust of rude vassals, the more so when they were given as good a passage as the others. With this, the Japanese became so fearful that they kept off and restrained their arrogance; hence, they became more humble than sheep, specially the leader, who is an honorable Japanese with very good connections, who did not give me any trouble during the whole voyage. The said General took him to his table, considering his good behavior and that it was expedient for the good service of H.M. to be graceful and pleasant with him, given that the report that he would make to the Emperor had an impact upon our good

reception and entertainment [at the court] and despatch from the said kingdom of Japan for the return voyage of discovery of the said islands which is the main purpose of this business.

On the 15th [rather 25th May 1611] in the afternoon, we set sail to pursue our voyage and, with a light wind from S and SW, until Friday, 27th of the month, when, at midnight, there came a hurricane with such a force of wind, rain and wave, caused by the SE wind, that it lasted until the next day, Saturday 28th, at sunset. Due to the strong waves, the ship opened up at the base of the main-mast and leaked a lot, so that it could not be taken out with the pumps. This caused us a great fright and suffering; as soon as the weather improved, the General ordered the diver overboard to see where the water was going in, but the leak was not found, and it gave us double trouble because of the large amount of water leaking in. The ship was then given the tourniquet treatment¹ and the General ordered someone to go below decks to have a look at the floor-timber and see where the ship and cloth [cargo] was flooded. It was done, and God was pleased to reward this effort by revealing where the water was coming in; it was through the seam where the poop begins. The amount of water was such that it came in as big as the size of a thigh. It was plugged but not without much work, and here one can imagine the happiness that the people got as a result, given that the risk they had been exposed to was not less than the loss of their lives.

The sails were raised once more to pursue our voyage, until Tuesday the last day of the said month, when, at the same hour in the night, another hurricane returned the same way, with a stiffer wind than the last, and if we had not stopped the leakage, this would have been the end of the voyage. God was pleased that, with the wind slackening in the morning, we found ourselves in sight of land, although with the heavy sea the pilots did not dare reconnoiter it but they veered off to sea to await good weather. The sun returned and we found ourselves to be just over 35°. In this neighborhood we were carried away by the waves and the currents with such a force toward the North; it was as if a river with very strong current² was taking us to higher latitudes. The weakness

1 Ed. note: The Spanish expression is "dieronse tortores al navío". I believe that this was an operation in which small ropes were strung under the hull from rail to rail, then the ropes tightened by twisting them with bars, in order to strengthen the hull in an emergency.

2 Ed. note: This was a manifestation of the famous "Kuro Shio" or Black Stream.

of the ship and the bad rigging with which it left Acapulco gave us some concern; may God forgive whoever despatched it that way. Well, they did not consider that it had come from the Philippines in the worst part of the winter and with so many hurricanes, yet had not received repairs other than some caulking with grease and lime. Even that was not done properly, because oakum would come off with each storm. On account of the voyage taking more time, another reason for concern was the food supplies, because there had been some trickery with those brought from Acapulco, given that this ship was exchanged for the one that had come from Japan¹ and the food supplies were [already] loaded; the master thus received in good faith what had been meant for the [voyage to the] Philippines, and part of those that he should have received for our voyage was missing, all of them being so bad that they could not be eaten. Above all was the water supply; out of the 60 pipes that were aboard, half came half full, and some of those with salt water and so bad they were good only to cause pestilence.² Everything gave us concern, but it gave fear to the Japanese, they being people who have not sailed. The General would console them, but they, seeing themselves so afflicted, would take one another as witness and they wrote it down on a piece of paper, signed with their names, in which they said that, if they should make it back to Japan and the King our Lord would let them go to Spain, they would not embark again for our Spain. God so decided, because they had been very eager to make another voyage with much merchandise.³

We were thus moving, pushed by the winds and currents which, as I have said, were so strong that we became almost certain not to be able to touch the coast of the said Japan, because the continuous wind was from the SW and blew from overland, so that it was feared that the ship would end up at Great Tartary or Corea. One should compare this with what was reported to H.M. and Council, to the effect that it was impossible to go up from the latitude of 15°, where the islands of the **Ladrones** are located,

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- 1 Ed. note: We learn here that Vizcaíno's ship had just come from the Philippines. This was a mid-size ship, already old in 1611, formerly belonging to Peru, it seems. It bore the same name as the Manila galleon wrecked in Japan in 1609. It is possible that it was privately-owned in the Philippines, as it was not rare to have more than one ship with the same name (there were two ships called Santiago, and two called San Antonio at that time); the smaller ones were sometimes described as "el menor" or "el chico", but not always, hence the confusion, and the difficulty in keeping track of them all. Finally, there is a slight possibility (unconfirmed) that Vizcaíno's ship was re-baptized San Francisco at the last minute (at the time it was switched with the San Buenaventura), to honor the Franciscans aboard and commemorate Vivero's ship; in this case, either the San Andrés or the San Antonio was thus renamed.
 - 2 Ed. note: I imagine that the wells near the beach of Acapulco Bay were then becoming polluted by human habitation nearby.
 - 3 Ed. note: As a matter of fact, the report which the Japanese merchants submitted to the Emperor is recorded in the Annals of Japanese Commerce (*Nihon Shogyo-shi*) in the following terms: "Some of our sailing merchants departed in company with this [Muñoz'] embassy. They returned the following year, and stated that the country visited was populous and productive. They also reported that the foreigners had thanked them, saying: 'Our countries are far apart and navigation is difficult. Pray do not come again.'"

to 35°, where they say the said Islands of gold and silver are; considering the continuous weather conditions of this sea and of the currents, one could well go up to 90°. Some people should excuse themselves from making decisions about things they have never seen or know anything about; having read cosmography and nautical almanachs is one thing, experience is another. For instance, they have been very much mistaken about this, and other things concerning the navigation from Acapulco to Japan, as will be mentioned in the logbook; in order to keep to the instruction, there was a risk of losing the voyage and not making the said Japan.

With this affliction and hardship, we continued until the 6th of June, when during the night another storm came from the SE with much fog and capricious seas that forced us to take down the topmasts and to run with only the lower foresail wherever the wind and sea would take us, because, as I have said, the ship was opened and leaked a lot, so that we could not face either the sea or the wind with it.

With this hardship, we were tacking back and forth until the 7th of the said month when the said General, considering the hardship and risk in which we were and that land could not be approached, specially land situated below 35°, because, as I have said, the winds and currents did not let us, and in order to ensure that the best thing would be done and to prevent the so obvious damage we were exposed to, for good measure, he called a meeting of the pilots and other expert seamen aboard the said ship and with the said Father Commissioner and the other religious. It was decided to go and make the land at whatever latitude that it could be done, even if it be in 50°, which was better than perishing at sea for the lack of a [good] ship and supplies. To this effect, it was steered to WNW which was where the weather would let the ship go with the least work. On Wednesday, 8th of the said month, everyone being very sad and afflicted, specially the General, in whose charge the voyage was; he was always by the side of the ship looking carefully if some land or island could be sighted. At about noon, there came a small bird of the type they call cane bird that landed upon his head, which made him very happy. Although during the past days, many other signs of land, such as flotsam and large birds, had been seen, this [small bird] made the people happier.

At this instant, the said General, looking toward the NW, sighted land; even though it was foggy he saw it and ordered people up into the topmasts for certification; it was seen very clearly and in the direction that the said General had indicated.

It would be impossible here to overrate the great happiness and contentment that we received, specially the Japanese who, as if they had lost their minds, demonstrated it in their fashion. The day became clear and over 20 leagues of high land was revealed; [when we were] at the northern end of it which was at 38° plus, the wind shifted to NW toward the land, and with it we coasted along until the hour of the prayer when we found ourselves to be about two leagues from the land, inside a wide bay.¹ Then, the wind went back to blowing offshore, a traverse wind, the sea rough and tumbling, so that the great happiness that we had felt upon sighting land was spoiled by the great

1 Ed. note: This must have been Sendai Bay.

risk in which we were that if the storm got worse there would then be no remedy but to run up the beach, and since it was so rough, we ran a great risk of losing our lives, the goods and the ship. However, God sends help to those who are most afflicted and desolate; so, His Divine Majesty was pleased to placate the sea until daylight when the wind blew offshore and with it we went off to the high sea. During the night, they had made many fires ashore and the ship had its lamp on.

At 9 in the morning, on the 9th of the said month, there came alongside 8 junks, well-manned, which are like barks, to see who we were. Although they came near and saw that there were some Japanese aboard the ship who spoke to them in their language and assured them that we would not do them harm, they did not wish to come aboard because they had never seen people dressed like us. Then came another junk, and for good reasons four Japanese came aboard and, the said General having entertained them with preserves and wine, of which they are most fond. In addition to the help and grace that Our Lord must give to these people, for them to receive His Holy Gospel, I consider the best go-between to be from San Martín de Valdeiglesias and from Jerez.¹ Having questioned the said Japanese as to the identity of the land and of what lord owned it, they said that its name was Tuginahama² and that its lord was the minor son of the Emperor. When asked if he was still alive and if the land was at peace, they said yes. [When asked] how many leagues to the port of Urangava and if there was any port before that into which a ship coming from the north could enter, they said that there were over 40 leagues [to Uraga] and that, 25 leagues from it, there was a port called Unacami, and at 15 leagues [from it] another very good one, which is a river inside a bay, called Xiraca.³

The said General told the said Japanese that two of them were to stay aboard the said ship to show them where the said ports were and to point out which was the better one, depending on the weather being favorable or not, and that they would be paid. Even though they were made to understand that this ship carried the property of the Emperor, they refused to do it; rather, they threw themselves into the junk to go ashore.

The General ordered that one of them should be grabbed, one who seemed to be more knowledgeable about the coast; he became much aggrieved and was crying when he saw his companions going away in the junk and he remaining aboard the ship. Finally, with good reasons he was made to understand why he was kept behind, that his

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- 1 Ed. note: We have here a rare indication of the origin of some of the Spanish wine and sherry carried aboard the Manila galleons, ca. 1610.
 - 2 Ed. note: Meaning Tugina Beach. The name of this place is transcribed Fuginahama below. Vizcaino was to visit it in December 1612. It is located east of Mito, at a latitude of about 36°20'.
 - 3 Ed. note: Since we do not have the benefit of Vizcaino's chart of 1612, and do not know if the distance is stated in Japanese leagues (1/3 shorter than a Spanish league), it is not possible to identify the above ports, other than Uraga, with certainty. Assuming that they were north of present-day Iwaki on the coast of Fukushima, Unacami [Urakami?] probably corresponded to the bay south of Cape Inubo, but Xiraca [Shiraka?] is recognizable as Shirahama today, at the tip of the Boso Peninsula.

work would be paid upon arrival at the port and that he would then return to his land. He being resigned, with the wind and breeze being favorable, we coasted in search of the said port mentioned by the Japanese, or that of Urangava. At about 4 p.m. we found ourselves so much closer to a port that the Japanese said was very good, where there was a river that came from the city of Yendo, through which many junks sail, but the weather was so favorable to go to Urangava that it was taken as preferable not to take it.¹ That night, the currents and the wind conditions were so favorable that, at day-break, we were one league off the place where the unfortunate **San Francisco** was lost [i.e. under 36°, in 1609] and, even though junks from that neighborhood and others came out, they could not catch us.

On this day [10 June 1611] we kept following the coast and, at about 5 in the afternoon, we recognized the port in question, so long desired.²

The General ordered the guns to be fired, to warn the general of the junks to come out and take us in. The *tono* of the place, which we ourselves call a justice, came with a large quantity of well-manned junks. The weather was becoming calm, so they towed us into the said port at 8 in the evening, through hidden rocks and shoals, many lights and lamps being lit to the delight of those ashore, specially the Christians; as for us, we were twice as happy, since we had survived a sure death. It turned out that the day in question was Friday [for us] and Saturday in this country; for us it was the eve of St. Barnabas Day, but here it was St. Barnabas Day [11 June], so that come Saturday, we celebrated Sunday.³ On this day [11 June locally] the General then despatched mail carriers to the Emperor and Prince, advising them of his arrival, and asking for instruction on what he had to do; the copies of these letters follow.

Letter that the General wrote to the Emperor [Ieyasu] of Japan.

Most Serene Emperor of the kingdoms and provinces of Japan:

I, Sebastián Vizcaíno, General and ambassador of the King of the Spains, Don Felipe III, his lord, and of the Marquis of Salinas, Viceroy of New Spain and his lieutenant, and Father Fray Pedro Bautista of the Order of St. Francis, we let your Majesty know that today, Saturday 10 [sic] of the month of June 1611, we have arrived at this port of Urangava aboard a ship in which we left the port of Acapulco in New Spain, on 22 March of this year, by a direct route to this kingdom, only to bring Y.M. news that the said Marquis has received the chapas and embassy that Father Fray Alonso Muñoz

1 Ed. note: A confused statement. They were then nearing Hitachi, more or less.

2 Ed. note: Since the distance from Iwada (site of the San Francisco shipwreck) to Uruga is about 120 nautical miles, covered in about 12 hours, the average speed of the new San Francisco was 10 knots.

3 Ed. note: An allusion to the difference in dates between the Portuguese (European date carried eastward around the world) and the Spanish (same date carried westward).

*took to him, on behalf of Y.M., also to bring back to this kingdom Josquendono¹ and the other Japanese vassals of Y.M., who last year went from this one to that of New Spain with Don Rodrigo de Vivero, and to return the money which, by order of Y.M., had been loaned to the said Rodrigo, and the value of the ship **San Buenaventura**, which the said Marquis, in the name of my King and lord, bought, although it was not fit to return to this kingdom, for the reasons about which the said Josquendono and the other Japanese will inform Y.M., and about the good treatment that has been given to them in the crossing to New Spain, the stay there, and the return voyage to these kingdoms, on behalf of the said Marquis and my own, being honored and entertained as servants and vassals of Y.M. Although the said Marquis could have despatched them by way of the islands of Luzon, he did not do so, considering that the voyage would be long and dangerous, as well as the navigation, since there are many Dutch ships cruising in their vicinity, as corsairs who go about robbing and in revolt against my King and lord, in order not to place them at risk, and the same thing for the said money and value of the ship, and the rest that we bring from the said Marquis, on behalf of my King and lord. Having to communicate with Y.M., we humbly beg a licence to go up to that court to kiss the hands of Y.M. and to defer to Y.M. whatever matter he may be pleased to discuss in the interest of peace and good communications that must continue with Y.M. and his kingdoms, whose live may Our Lord preserve, with an increase of kingdoms and estates.*

From Urangava, etc.

Letter to [Hidetada] the most serene Prince of the kingdoms and provinces of Japan.

*I, Sebastián Vizcaíno, captain general and ambassador of the King of the Spains, Don Felipe, our lord, and father Fray Pedro Bautista of the Order of the seraphic Father St. Francis, we let your Highness know that today, Saturday, we have arrived at this port of Urangava, just inside the point of Box [Boshu?], aboard a ship in which we left New Spain for these kingdoms on the past 22nd of March, and aboard it was Josquendono and the other Japanese who went with Don Rodrigo de Vivero last year, also the return of the money loaned to him by order of the Emperor, the father of Y.H., and the value of the ship **San Buenaventura** in which they went, as well as the advice that His Excellency the Marquis of Salinas, Viceroy of New Spain, has received the embassy and present that Father Fray Alonso Muñoz of the Order of St. Francis took to him. And, in order to communicate and give what we bring to the Emperor and to Y.H., we beg and beseech that you may be served to give us a licence to go up to that court for that purpose, with the instruction that Y.H. will be served to give, for which we remain hoping.*

1 Ed. note: For some reason, Nuttall (see Bibliography) refers to him as Tanaka Shosake. Joçquendono can be transliterated as Hosuke. Since he had been baptized Francisco Velasco, the Spanish also referred to him as Don Francisco.

May our Lord preserve you for many years, with an increase of greater kingdoms and estates.

From the point of Box, on Saturday, 10 June 1611.

Chapter IV.

What happened after the arrival at the port until the said General and Ambassador received instruction from His Highness to go up to Yendo to give the embassy.

Later on in the morning, the said ship having been moored, the said General and most of the people disembarked. He was saluted by the guns and at this point the said General of the junks arrived to visit him with a large company. After many greetings had passed between both of them, they went to the inn which was the best house in the port. The Governor of the port, the General of the junks and the Ambassador conferred together about the best procedure to follow to maintain peace between the Japanese and the Spanish and to avoid disputes and disturbances.

So it was agreed, and the said General ordered the publication of a declaration to the effect that no Spaniard was to take up his sword or any other weapon against a Japanese, nor to forcibly have relation with any Japanese woman, nor take anything from them against their will, under penalty of death.

This declaration was published with a drum, according to our custom, and the said General displayed the flag at his inn, with the consent of the General of the junks, and at the top of the ship the royal standard; and every day the drum was beaten. The same thing was done on the part of the said Japanese, about which there were disputes with us. From this day until Thursday, 16th of the said month, when the said Ambassador got a reply from His Highness, the people, men as well as women, who came to visit him and the ship were so numerous that they seemed like ants, so much so that they did not let him eat or sleep. He received them all and caressed them, specially the *tonos* who are like the gentlemen in our country, by using many compliments with them, giving them a chair, entertaining them with candy, making toasts to them with sherry of which, as I have said, they are very fond. With this I brought them to think differently from what they are used to, which is not to give out anything, specially not to strangers; they did it for the said Ambassador, by making him a gift of many chickens, fish, fruits and other products of the country, in great abundance.

It was quite proper, for the service of God our Lord and that of H.M., to have come directly to this kingdom, by the direct route, with the Japanese and the money for the Emperor, because they have made such a great show of joy, specially when they saw the Japanese back home; they can hardly believe that it is really them. The latter make them a great narrative of the good treatment and passage that they were given, and more so the said Joquendono who, as he came back after having been so well enter-

tained by the said Ambassador, does not stop repeating the story. He then left to go to the court to give an account to the said Emperor about his arrival and the other events. The poor Christians of this kingdom were very sad and afflicted, and they are being recorded for their crucifixion, the pretext used being that ships have not come from the island of Luzon and that the Spanish had fooled them, that they had been lost with the ship **San Francisco**; the Emperor [had been told] that the money that he had lent to Don Rodrigo de Vivero would not be returned and that the Japanese that had been taken to New Spain would have been made slaves or used by them, and other impertinences. Our arrival put a stop to it all; as I say, those Japanese who had never entered the church nor shown any devotion flock to entertain and congratulate the religious. With God's favor, if trade and commerce with this kingdom of New Spain continues, many of them would be converted, and God would be served if so many thousands of souls in this kingdom, now safe within the claws of the devil, are pulled away from them; it is incredible the quantity of people who inhabit it and the neighboring islands.

Answer sent by the Prince to the General's letter, written in Japanese and translated into Spanish, containing the statements made by those of his Council, chamberlain and secretary.

The Prince, our lord, has received your letter of the 3rd moon in which an advice and a relation are given of your arrival, about which he received particular pleasure, as well as the whole kingdom, even though he understands the many hardships that your grace must have had during such a long voyage; however, with your arrival at this kingdom, you will be compensated from them all. Thus, your grace may come to this court, where the Prince and all the gentlemen of the court are awaiting you, and in everything your grace may do as he wishes. The General of the junks sends some ships and the rest that will be required will be given by the Tono of that port and of Yendo.

—4th day of the 3rd moon.—

The letter was signed by the President and the councillors, secretary and chamberlain.

After the said Ambassador had received it, he arranged his despatch, taking with him 30 men with their arquebuses and muskets, the flag, the royal standard and the drum, because the said Prince had sent him permission to that effect. On Friday 17th [June] in the morning, he left with the said people aboard five junks, with the religious and a few Japanese from among those who had gone to New Spain.

Chapter V.

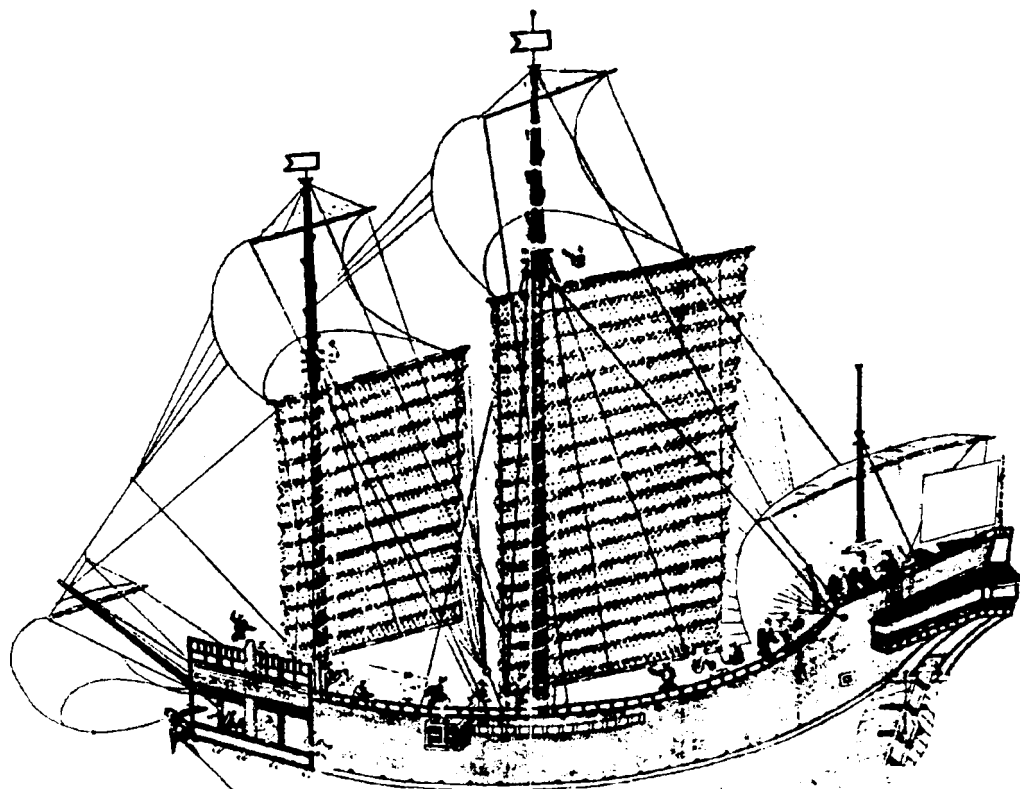
About the arrival and reception given to the said Ambassador in the city of Yendo, the embassy, and what happened until it was over.

We left Urangava, as I said, on the said day, at about 8 [a.m.] and, at 5 p.m. we arrived at the mouth of the river of the said Yendo, where we found the said General of the junks, his son and other servants of the Prince, who came out in formation to the said Ambassador with a great show of joy and honors in their fashion; they were answered with fire from the muskets and arquebuses, and the drum. The Emperor's junk carried the royal ship standard on top of its main-mast, another royal standard of Spanish damask on the poop, flanked by the royal arms on one side, and those of St. James, our patron saint, on the other, and, in addition, an infantry flag, and their streamers that gave the Japanese a great pleasure in seeing the people, the standard, the flags, and the gun salute that was made. Such a multitude of people, men and women, flocked to the beach, and so many junks in the water that they covered the river and the land, that there was no space to go through; the same thing happened at the fortress, the palace houses and the city. At about the hour of prayer, we came into it. Since it was at low tide, it was not possible to go to the vicinity of the fortresses and royal houses with the junks. We were obliged to disembark and go overland to the house of the said General. He, and his son, welcomed the said Ambassador and his retinue there. He gave a supper with an ample supply of food to them all and lodged them, with much love not just from father and son, but also from the 200 or more servants who were in his household.

While the said Ambassador was having supper, there came from the Palace a message from the Prince, in which he was told how it had been learned that he had already arrived at the city and he was asked about his health; also, that the son of the General of the junks had been ordered to give him a lodging and the expense for his person and retinue, that he should ask for everything that might be needed, and that such would be carried out immediately.

He answered the message with the required compliment, and this night went well. The next day, Saturday, in the morning, the Ambassador went with all his people to the house that had been selected for him. It was one of the best ones in the place, although not too big. It was made of stone, covered with tiles, and fireproof at that, something noteworthy because most of the houses in the city are made of wood and sometimes burn down. This house was very well furnished in the local manner. On this day, the guests were the said General of the junks, his son and other servants from the Palace; they ate according to our custom, drank to our respective health and joined in very willingly.

The next day, Sunday, in the afternoon, he received another message from the Prince, brought in by a gentleman named Guatanabe Amajirodono, one of the most private secretaries of His Highness, with a large retinue. He went out to welcome him, our



A typical Japanese junk of the 1610s. *It was still basically like a Chinese junk, but it had been modified to include European-style topsails and a spritsail. Such modifications would have added speed and maneuverability.*

people being lined up for the purpose. He made great compliments and reverences, bowing as low as the ground, in accordance with their custom, and the said Ambassador according to ours, with great compliments, specially upon entering the door, when he had to go in first. He gave his message, in which he said: that the Prince, his lord, was sending him to learn how he was and if he was well in his court and country; that he was to rest from the great hardship suffered during the voyage and that he was to consider it well spent, that he and his kingdom had received special pleasure with his coming, and that this gentleman would attend on his behalf to his entertainment and that of his people, very generously; that they would be fed six times a day; and, although those of his Council had given orders that they be given rations and money to buy enough rice, [saying that] with money everything necessary could be bought in this country; that His Highness having learned that, ordered that they be given silver and gold for the purchase of food, and he was angry with the small amount that the said councillors had given out.

He answered to the message with the appropriate submission and respect, which pleased the said gentleman; he was entertained with sweet things, according to our custom.

The next day [20 June], from the house of the Prince came two of his cooks, with many servants, equipment and supplies of chickens, pheasants, quails, doves, turtle doves and various kinds of fish such as can be found in this city, from all those that God had placed in the sea for man, in such abundance that no port in Spain could compete with it. He ordered two [meals], one in which the food was prepared according to their custom and the other according to ours. At 9 o'clock the said gentleman returned and sat down on a chair, secretly, to watch how the food was being prepared and to see if everything was done as he had ordered, but the said Ambassador invited him, so that on that day he was his guest, although he hardly touched the meat dishes but indulged in the sherry; however, when the Ambassador proposed a toast to his health twice, he drank sparingly.

The next day, Tuesday, another message came from His Highness, in which he was told that, weather permitting, he would be given permission to come and present his embassy. This message was brought by two gentlemen, named Guinjason, the royal wine steward, and the other, Escavaguinban, the royal food steward, both men of rank. The said gentlemen, after having given the message, asked him the manner in which he was thinking of using for the embassy: was it in accordance with the old royal customs of Japan, in which, upon seeing the face of the Prince, one bends both knees, puts his hands and head upon the floor, until the Prince gives a signal. To this he answered that he was thinking about doing none of the things they were saying, but [act] in accordance with Spanish custom, by making reverences and giving compliments, the same as was usually done to his King and lord, without removing either weapons or shoes, that he should be shown the place where he would sit, and that this should be close enough to the person of His Highness that he would be able to hear what he would say.

There were many exchanges about this; they sent messages to and visited the palace. Finally, the said Ambassador decided that, if His Highness did not give him permission to present his embassy as he had said he would, he would return to his kingdom without presenting it, and that he should then be given a message to the effect that he had delivered the Japanese and the money that had been lent to the said Don Rodrigo de Vivero.

To this the Council answered that, having learned that the said Don Rodrigo was a gentleman and a relative of the Viceroy and that he had been Governor of the islands of Luzon; and that when he was at this court and had seen the Prince, their lord, he did not mind at all accepting the manner that they had fixed for his entrance. To this the said Ambassador answered that it was true what they said about the said Don Rodrigo, that he had to accept for his part and that of others whatever favor made to him; however, they knew that if he came to the court it was because his ship had crashed upon the coast and he had been lost there, and he had been constrained to seek a remedy to proceed to New Spain, that whatever submission made by him should not be mis-

interpreted, as his need had been obvious, given that he came to beg for help, and it stands to reason that their King and lord had given it to him. Considering this, the said Viceroy had despatched him to this kingdom with the Japanese and he did, in order for them to understand that the Catholic King and Queen wished for good relations; that he had not come to ask them for anything, except to give his embassy and the above-said; that he would rather go away without giving it than compromise the authority of his King, and that of the Viceroy who sent him, or reduce his power, given that he is the greatest lord in the world.

They took this badly, and they went off to the palace without resolving anything, advising the Prince about it. The latter then ordered that a joint council of the presidents of the Councils of State and Government, with their members and other advisors, should meet. The outcome was a decree to the effect that the said Ambassador was to give his embassy in accordance with his custom, but in so doing, when he would do it in the name of his King, it should be one step away from where the Prince was sitting, and that the letter and the present from the said Viceroy would be received there, but, once this was over, he was to go down one more step, and from there offer the gift that he brought on his own behalf, and that he would take a seat on that same step, given that the Prince would be sitting down low; that he would be given as much honor as befitted the first ambassador who ever came from New Spain. So it was done, as follows.

[Reception at Hidetada's palace on 22 June 1611]

The next day, Wednesday, at 8 a.m., the whole guard of His Highness came to the house of the said Ambassador, along with many gentlemen to accompany him. He was to bring for good luck his flag, standard, drum and armed people in accordance with his custom, but he was not to shoot either musket or arquebus, except when crossing a bridge; and, upon entering the iron gate of the palace, the weapons and flag were to remain, but the royal standard could go as far as the last gate, and that no more and no fewer than the number of the people in his company. So it was done; at about 10, the said Ambassador came out of his inn, after having sent ahead the present sent by the said Viceroy, and his own, which was a reasonable one, consisting of a bolt of fine dust cloth¹ and another with fine stripes, plus a leather jacket made of buck-skin, well decorated and strong, a hat with its small band and very good plume, other pieces of glass-ware, some male and female sheep. The march began, with Lorenzo Vasquez, the pilot's mate, going first and acting as captain and leader, with his arquebus, something he did well, and followed by the rest of the men in good order. The flag followed with three files led by Sergeant Juan de Hoz, the standard with three more files, then the rearguard led by Alonso Gascon, the clerk of the said voyage, with Diego de Palacios acting as sergeant. The drum, which was in the center, made so much noise and attracted so many people, as I will say later on. The Ambassador went next to the standard, and, on his right side, Father Fray Luis Sotelo of the said Order and the commissioner for this

1 Ed. note: A guess on my part, since the exact meaning of "grana de polvo" is not clear.

kingdom, and on the other side, Fathers Fray Pedro Bautista and Diego Ibañez. In front of the said Ambassador there were the General of the junks and another gentleman of rank. The parade went on as far as the Palace, while the streets through which it proceeded were so clean and so adorned and with so many people, men, women and children, that, [even if] the distance covered being almost as far as that from Chapultepec¹ to the royal houses in Mexico, they were so full of people that one could not pass, in such a way that, without exaggeration, the number that flocked to see us that day was over 1 million. The Prince had so ordered on purpose, so that his grandeur could be seen. Along with us, both in front and behind, there went over 4,000 soldiers from his guard. Everyone was so quiet and calm that, in spite of the large number of people, there was not one word spoken, not one disturbance; it was as if no-one was present. However, when the Ambassador went by, they would all bow in their manner.

We arrived at the Palace at about noon, and at the first gate (there are five gates) the weapons and the flag stayed behind, and there the captains of the guard with their numberless attendants came out. They went up with the Ambassador as far as the last gate, and there the chamberlain and other private secretaries came out to receive him. They showed him to a hall that was there; one cannot say how clean and tidy the place was. They asked him to sit and wait. After a while, two other gentlemen came out to show the said Ambassador to another hall further inside, much tidier and richer; he was always with the said religious and his people, having left but a small guard behind with the weapons and the flag. Then, two other gentlemen came out and showed him into a very large court with corridors and bay windows, one that would be as big in size as the central square in Mexico. There were there over a thousand gentlemen, each one dressed with the insignias of their rank and title, the sons of the kings in a place by themselves, and the gentlemen of state behind them, and the others according to their precedence. Everyone had his insignia upon his head, by which they were known, some wore miters, others some bonnet-like three-cornered hats, others had them in the shape of clogs, others like colored turbans and of many other shapes.

These people are those whom the Prince holds as hostages from the lords of this kingdom. Here the Ambassador performed the required curtsies and reverences, beginning with the greater ones down to the last ones, and they responded in kind in accordance with their custom, by joining their hands and bowing their head down as far as the floor. Then, having passed forward into another court where the Prince was already seated at the place of honor, although it was upon the floor, upon rich mats, dressed in royal garments, and at his right side, outside of the court and within a corridor, the said presidents and councillors who were nine in number. A little below were the majordomo, the chamberlain and secretary. They made a certain sign from inside, hardly noticeable, on behalf of the Prince, giving to understand that the Ambassador should come in. Everything happened in so much silence that the place seemed enchanted; there was no more noise than if there had been no-one present.

1 Ed. note: The name of a park and castle in Mexico City.

As soon as the said Ambassador arrived in the presence of the Prince, he made three reverences, not too big, and he lowered the stick that he carried in the hand almost to the floor. He went forward about six steps, up another step, and he made three reverences a little lower. He went forward to another step where he made three other reverences even lower, he placed the letter which he brought from the said Viceroy upon his head, and, making three reverences, he placed it upon the platform.

The Prince and the councillors had looked very attentively at the said Ambassador as well as at the courtesies and the clothes that he wore, which, because they had never seen them, caused them great joy to see, since they were elaborate, with interlinings of fabric, cloth doublet, double-sleeve jacket to fit the pantaloons, with a cape of serge, a plumed hat well adorned with a gold band, some white buttoned boots, a sword and golden dagger, an open and frilled embroidered collar. This gave much pleasure to the Prince and the lords. With a great show of happiness, he summoned the secretary and gave him the message to the effect that the Ambassador should be told to sit down at the place that had been reserved for him, and that he was very glad to see him and about his success, considering the many hardships that he had suffered during such a long sea voyage; that he knew that he had spent 81 days aboard without seeing land, something to be admired.

The Ambassador responded to the message, saying that he kissed the hands of His Highness for the great favor that he was doing to him, and that the hardships that he had suffered during the navigation and that he would again go through during the return to his country were thought by him as rewards for having come into the presence of such a great Prince. The Secretary returned with the message, and while he was giving it to the Prince, the Emperor made certain curtsies with his head, by way of thankfulness. The Ambassador rose to his feet and made another very deep reverence and offered the present from the said Viceroy; the Emperor accepted it with pleasure and ordered it to be placed inside. Then, after a short suspense, without speaking a word but only opening his arm with great majesty and command, he gave to understand that the said Ambassador should leave, and so it was done. Then, his present having been made ready, he was requested to come in again, which he did with the same reverences as before, except that they were lower than the previous ones, although in neither occasion did he ever turn his back to the Prince, given that the reverences made upon leaving were the same as those upon leaving [in reverse].

There was a pause, then he was given another message by the president of the government, in which he said that the Prince, his lord, esteemed that present very much and he asked if he wished to have his soldiers and servants come in and see him. The said Ambassador said: If Your Highness so wishes. He went out of the court with the said curtsies and at the end of the court he placed his people with their weapons and footwear on. The Prince looked at them very attentively and, the said Fathers having always been present, with their own present which they gave to the said Prince, who said in a hardly raised voice that he was glad to see the Fathers; this about the Fathers was understood because he said it in our own language.

Fathers Fray Luis Sotelo and Pedro Bautista were very good as interpreters and did their work very well; everything was managed by them and directed by such saintly religious, so desirous of serving God and saving so many souls that they exerted themselves extraordinarily. Every time the said religious spoke to the said Ambassador, even though he was seated before the Prince, he [i.e. the Ambassador] would rise and humble himself respectfully before them, since they were priests, and all this was duly noted by the Prince and the councillors.

Thanks be to God, to whom thanks should be given, as He is arranging things to suit His holy service! Indeed, with this all the Japanese have shown so much devotion to the said religious and the Church, and they cannot do without them, some begging to receive baptism, others studying the things concerning our holy Faith. His Divine Majesty, who did indeed spill his precious blood for them, takes compassion and takes them out of the great blindness in which they are; this He will do, as a true Father, since He has begun to enlighten them.

After a quarter of an hour that the said Prince had been looking at the said people, he signalled to the said two presidents who then went to the said Ambassador and they led him out of the hall. They asked if the portraits that he brought and were meant for the said Emperor [i.e. Ieyasu] could be shown by the said Prince to his wife and children. Among the good things known about this Prince is that he has only one wife, whereas his predecessors had been known to have at least forty of them. He is very straight and very righteous, more so toward thieves and women of loose morals.

The said Ambassador said that he would very willingly give the portraits, that he had them all ready right there, very well prepared with their frames and their veils. These were placed inside. As soon as he [i.e. the Prince] saw them, he got up, ordered everyone out and remained with them. He ordered the Ambassador to go back safely to his inn, saying that he would send them later on. So it was done [but first] he had a message sent to the effect that he had been very glad to see them, and asking if the color on the cheeks of the [Spanish] King and Prince was natural or artificial, because it was very pretty. He was made to understand that it was natural. Also he said that he was very glad to see the Queen, our Lady, and that her prettiness and outfit caused wonderment in the Queen and the ladies of the palace, since what they themselves wear, from the Queen down to the least lady, is only a *timon*,¹ made of very fine and elegant-looking silk. Underneath it, from the waist down, they wear another by way of a little skirt. On top of the kimono they wear another that looks like a child's cape, of various colors and designs. Upon their head, they have only their hair, but gathered up on top in a very peculiar fashion.

Having received the message, the said Ambassador left the palace, taking back his banners and his company lined up as before. Although there were no more than 24 arquebusiers and musketeers, they made such a noise in a city as large as this one that it caused some admiration. Orders were given to the Ambassador that they were not to

1 Ed. note: Obvious transcription error for "kimono".

shoot until they had passed the five gates, ditches and bridges of the palace and two streets beyond that, after which he could do as he pleased. The order was carried out and, having arrived at the limit, the shooting began with such a rapidity that within the one hour that the march to the inn lasted, one barrel of powder had been expended.

The Ambassador would have willingly given up the province of Avalos that H.M. has given him in exchange for 500 men for this purpose on this day; however, the few men, although sailors, did it very well and old soldiers would not have been faster. The Japanese were glad to see them shoot, as they are people who like a show of force.

We arrived at the inn at 4 in the afternoon, although very tired and oppressed by the hot weather. There the Ambassador made a great curtsy to the gentlemen, captains and warriors who had kept him company, to thank them for it, and this made them very happy.

One could have come on foot to the said city, from Rome, if a road existed, just to see this day, because its natives said that they had never seen the reception of a foreign ambassador such as this one, specially one with the royal banners and the gentlemen wearing their insignias, something they usually do only for the King. They also do it when they elect *Daireques*,¹ the one who gives the titles and is among them like the Supreme Pontiff among us. [As for] the son of the General of the junks, who is now acting in the place of his father, as the latter is old, and because it was a special day, the said Prince, considering that he had received the said Ambassador in his house, entertained him and had attended to the necessary things for the embassy, and that he had done it well, very diligently, granted him the favor of an insignia that the gentlemen of this kingdom wear, that is a bonnet which among them is more esteemed than a habit of St. James among us; with it, he may enter as far as the last hall where the Prince holds court, and this is the greatest favor that he could make to him. That is why there was no lack of envious people among the gentlemen of this kingdom. Among them too runs this disease, specially among those whose fathers and grandfathers spilled their blood; besides, there are many pretenders, and retired captains, as we have at home.

The next day [i.e. 23 June], the said Ambassador went to visit the presidents and members of the councils, and secretary, and to each one of them he gave his present of striped cloth, glassware and soap, which they received willingly, except for the president of [the Council of] State who made quite a fuss upon receiving his present, by excusing himself through good means, saying that among judges it was not proper for them to accept presents in order not to compromise themselves and be able to carry out justice properly and not to feel obliged toward anyone but their King. To this I answered that, as a foreign ambassador who had no legal actions or pretences in this kingdom, he could accept the present as a sign of the love, goodwill and peace that were claimed to exist, and for the charity and alms that he gave the religious of St. Francis who reside in this city (this old man had received them with great joy and pleasure). So, he gave a seat to the Ambassador and he himself sat down upon the floor, one level below, and

1 Ed. note: A reference to the Dairi, or Mikado.

this was the greatest courtesy that he could have shown. This man is the father of the Emperor's Secretary, the man who is the most esteemed in this kingdom. As for the others, they received the Ambassador the same way, specially the Secretary [who did so] in the Prince's bathhouse. Here he ran the water with his own hand and invited him to join in; then, he showed him around his whole house, except for the women, as this is never done.

In order not to tire the reader, I cannot mention all the numerous people, gentlemen as well as *tonos*, sons of kings and grandees and other persons who came to visit the said Ambassador. There were so many of them that day and night the house was not empty, that he could not eat or sleep, which forced the Prince to send him a guard. Not one woman ever came in, either openly or in disguise; however, when he went out through the city, so many of them followed him that they were like ants. The city is so big that one whole day was necessary to visit the above-said.

The next day, Friday, the day of the glorious St. John [24 June], the said Ambassador arranged to go with his people, marching in formation, to the convent of St. Francis to hear mass and give thanks to God for the good outcome that had been had at this city where, in addition to having done something for the service of H.M. and pleased the Prince and filled the rest of the people with great joy, there had not been any disgrace or death, nor had any blood been spilled, something which is common at times in this city; even the Japanese themselves had pointed this out and they said that luck accompanied the Ambassador.

[Vizcaino meets Date Masamune]

As he was marching toward the said convent, in the street there was a gentleman posted there, named Muçamune, lord of the kingdom of Oxo [i.e. Oshu], with over 2,000 soldiers and many horsemen. He is so powerful that whenever he wishes he raises over 80,000 men of war in the field. Then, when he saw the Ambassador, he got down from his horse and sent him a message asking him for the favor of having the soldiers shoot their arquebuses, something he wished to see. This was done and with such speed that unexpectedly fired two loads; he was flabbergasted and covered his ears; however, the horses of the others that were in the street became excited on account of the noise, in such a way that [some] threw off their masters and sped off, while others which were loaded with supplies were rolling upon the ground.

This gave so much pleasure to this gentleman and to the other Japanese that they were bursting out laughing. When this was over, he approached the Ambassador and, humbling himself upon the ground, he gave him thanks, offering his people and status by preceding him, making great curtsies and compliments, something in which they excel over all the nations of the world, and specially the illustrious people.

I do not mention the people who followed us as far as the convent, where we arrived and had to shut the doors and place some guards, because as the multitude kept growing, they would have brought the convent down. This the Ambassador did for two reasons: one was to honor the feast of the glorious saint, and the other to incite these people to attend the church and respect the religious.

Mass was celebrated with great solemnity, many Japanese Christians, men and women, being present. When the Host was raised, the arquebuses and the muskets were fired and the flag and standard were lowered down to the pedestal of the altar. The Christians were very glad about this, seeing how respect was shown to the Most Holy Sacrament. Once mass was over, we returned to the inn; on account of the multitude of people, it was not possible to come in ordered ranks, because one whole day would not have been enough to get there. So, we came as a troop, shooting.

Later, the said Ambassador sent a message to the Prince, begging permission to go back to Urangava, to proceed with the embassy to the said Emperor, and offering himself, his people, property and ship in the name of his King and lord. At about 5 in the afternoon, there came the said Guatanabe Amajirodono, with the answer from the Prince. After a great submission and reverence, he said: That the Prince, his lord, was much pleased at the outcome, courtesy and offer, and that he should go on safely to give his embassy to his father, and that he had ordered the General of the junks to supply any number of them for the return to Urangava; also, to go from there to the court, if he wished to go overland, he was to be given any number of horses, as required. If he wished to go by sea, the junks and boats that he would need would be provided, and to go by whatever route he wished. He had ordered that the supplies and food be provided in quantity to him and his people, even though they may be 500 persons. In order to supply him and pay the expense, the said General of the junks, the young one or the old man, whoever the said Ambassador preferred, would go along, because his wish was that everything would be carried out. That upon arriving at Urangava, he should advise him about his departure and arrangement, so that if anything was missing, he may order it provided for, and that his God be pleased to give him a good voyage.

To this the said Ambassador answered, that he kissed the hands of His Highness for such a great favor, and that he would give a long report about this and the other favors that he had received to his King and to the Viceroy who had sent him. This done, the voyage was scheduled, and on Saturday [25 June] at about 7 a.m., we left the said city, well supplied and accompanied by a very large number of people. On this day we arrived at the said Urangava, where we were well received by the natives there and our people, with a great joy at seeing how well God was arranging things.

[Voyage to Soronga and Ieyasu's court]

Here we made preparations to go and give the said embassy and we laid the basis for our trade. The intention having been to sell the cloth that had been brought to cover expenses, as many local merchants had flocked from all over, and as the price was good, the said Ambassador then learned that two servants of the Emperor had arrived to buy and they had let it be known that they wished to acquire it for the said Emperor. That had caused the merchants to hide themselves and not to deal about purchases anymore; hence, some harm resulted. The said Ambassador sent for them and asked them if they brought an order with them, or a permit from H.M., to take the said cloth, because if they had, he would quickly offer it at a low price and would despatch it to the court; otherwise, he would advise their lord and Prince, because it was not just that, without

their King's permit, they would broadcast their intention to get the cloth that would then be meant for their own warehouses. To this, with great submission and prostrating themselves upon the ground, they said that they did not bring an order for it, that their lord was not involved; that a letter should not be sent, because they would be ordered to cut their own bellies. Later on, there came another letter from the court, urging the said Ambassador to go out to his interview with the said Emperor; that put an end to the sale, even though there happened a stumble and dispute with the son of the General of the junks, who had until then behaved so well, as it is said in this relation.

It so happened that a servant of the said Don Rodrigo de Vivero, whose name is not mentioned here because it is known, when he was in this kingdom, had received a quantity of merchandise from him in order to take it to Mexico and sell it there, and then he was to send him back a few clothes and fine cloth for his household. Upon learning that his property had sold well in Mexico and that nothing had been sent to him, he lost face and showed such great sorrow, not so much for the interest that he lost, but on account of the trick that had been played upon him, and he blamed equally the master and the servant. The Ambassador went on to placate him, and excusing the said Don Rodrigo, who could not have known anything about it, except that he [must have] thought that the servant had paid for the goods and he had not wished to interfere.

In view of the fact that our good despatch depended upon this matter being resolved, the said Ambassador and the said religious satisfied him with some clothes and fine cloth to the tune of about 700 pesos. This had been a bad deed and worthy of punishment; with people such as these, who are so punctilious and do not know of such bad dealings, as this one was. I do not say any more about it, because it would not be flattering to our nationality.

On Thursday, 29th [rather 30th] of the month, we left the said Urangava for the city of Soronga to give the said embassy to the said Emperor.

Chapter VI.

From the departure from the port of Urangava for the city of Corumba [sic] until the return to it.

We departed, as it is said, from the said Urangava, on Thursday, very well supplied with mounts and the rest, bringing with us as a lodge companion the General of the junks, the elder. On this day we spent the night at a place called Fuxiçao [Fujiçawa], where the inn was so well appointed and the food so ample for all that nothing further can be said, except that, the further we go and at seeing things, the buildings as well as the people and other things, it seems to me that some credit can be given to the old books dealing with knights, their feats and enchantments, and say that whoever wrote Don Guijote was not correct, because this is truly a great kingdom. Since the Emperor and the Prince had arranged all the rest, so that the Ambassador would talk about the greatness of their kingdom, the roads are full of people, so much so that on account of them it was impossible to go through.

On Friday [1 July], we arrived at night at the city of Ondabora [Odawara] which is greater than Mexico, with so many people, its residents as well as those who had come in from the neighboring towns, to see the Nambagi,¹ which is the name they had given to the Ambassador, that they did not let him sleep or eat [in peace]. Here the inn and the meal was very well supplied, since this city belongs to the secretary of the Prince, and he had arranged for the said Ambassador to be well entertained. It is worthy of note that these kings make use of very rich men in the posts of secretaries, because they say that with their wealth they will not be subject to taking bribes or cheating their masters; those who are poor are on the verge of doing it at times. I say nothing about the government, because I leave that for a special chapter. Here the said Ambassador received many visitors, from among the lawyers as well as from among private gentlemen.

On Saturday [2 July], we arrived at the city of Mexima [Mishima], where we were received very well and entertained by order of the said Emperor. At sunset, another letter arrived from the court, urging us to move on; the Ambassador sent someone on ahead to advise on how it was going.

On Sunday, we left this city, which is so big that one street alone is over one league in length; it is very rich and like a garden everywhere, with over 100 irrigation ditches passing through it and bringing water down from the Çorunga Volcano, the best water that can be found in the world. The people are very friendly, great workers and many of them merchants. On this day, at about 10, we arrived at another great city [Hara?] that has a great fortress whose king and lord is Ocuboquequino. At the gate, there came out to receive the said Ambassador a son of this king, of about 10 years of age, with good features, and accompanied with a large number of warriors. A Japanese who looked like a Philistine carried him on his back. He said that his father had sent him to bid him welcome, that he placed the city and fortress at his disposal, and that he would be pleased to have him come in to see it, rest a while and take some refreshment. He was given thanks with much feeling but was told that the Ambassadors of the King of Spain do not usually visit anyone until they have given their embassy to the local Emperor or King; however, upon his return he would do so and he accepted the favor. The child was made very happy with this news and he gave so many signs of joy that it was wonderful. The Ambassador gave him a very good hat which made him very happy.

On this day, at lunch time, we arrived at the city of Cambara, where its envoy came out to receive the said Ambassador at the inn by a river which is half a league from it, where some [ferry] boats had been made ready, as well as food in the city, very liberally, and a change of horses. At the hour of prayer [i.e. 6 p.m.], we arrived at the city of Yegueri [Ejiri?], which is the port of Çorunga, where we spent the night. We were entertained and lodged.

On Monday [4 July] in the morning, we left it and at about 10 a.m. we arrived at the great city of Çorunga, but before we got there, there came out to receive the said

1 Ed. note: Likely Nambanjin, or Southern barbarian. Vizcaino would not have reported this, if he had known its true meaning.

Ambassador the said Don Francisco de Velasco, already made into a gentleman and wearing the insignia of a *tono*, well accompanied, with another gentleman from the palace. They put us up in some very good houses not far from the palace, and then the said Emperor sent a message to the said Ambassador, bidding him welcome and that he should rest from such a long trip as he had had, that he was pleased with it, and that his secretary would advise him further. He was answered with the courtesy that the message required.

[Reception at Ieyasu's court, 5 July 1611]

The next day, Tuesday at 10 he sent an advice to the said Ambassador, saying that if he was now rested and wished to give the embassy, he could do so; otherwise, that he should do as he wished. However, as the Ambassador always took care not to impose his own point of view, he answered that he would give it then, but that he wished to know first how he was supposed to give the embassy, because he let it be known that neither the weapons nor the shoes were to be removed, nor were they to kneel down upon the floor; that they had to carry the war banners, the flag and standard, the drum, and the men armed with their arquebuses. It was answered that he should go ahead and give the embassy, in accordance with our custom, but that the firing of the arquebuses would not be consented to, because it was not permitted within his court.

With this precautionary message, we went out and marched, as was done in the city of Yendo, in the company of a large crowd of Japanese men and women; there were so many that it seemed as if God had sent a rain shower of them, as they covered the street, although there were few gentlemen among them, because all of those who are in this kingdom are kept as hostages in the city of Yendo, and the kings do not trust them on account of their bellicose nature.

At 10 in the morning we arrived at the fortress and royal houses. The complex must be one of the largest one in the world, in strength as well as in curious design, having three very large moats with over 10 fathoms of water and 50 paces in width; the ridge of the house where his women live is made of fine gold with two huge griffins at the ends, also of gold. Before we entered the first gate, the armed guard came out, along with the captains at whose charge it is; here the weapons, flag and drum remained, while the standard was carried up to the last gate.

So as not to stretch the story, I do not mention the greatness of this fort nor the people who are there; suffice to say that the whole population of Mexico and of another city of its size could fit in it.

At the first palace, the President of the Treasury Council, named Jocabro, came out with another gentleman and the father-in-law of the said Don Francisco who is a servant of the Emperor and a leading man, along with many other persons. Here the Ambassador was detained, they telling him that the Emperor was being advised about his arrival. The wait was a long one. Then the secretary came out to tell him to go in, that the Emperor, his lord, was waiting for him, and that he should first give the embassy that he brought on behalf of his King and Viceroy, that he would be received as such, and then at the second entrance, he would be received as a Captain General.

This was done, and the Ambassador entered and made the same compliments and reverences as he had done to the Prince, his son. Every time that he humbled himself, the said Emperor would lower his head. He gave the letter and the present.¹ Then he went out, only to come in again and give his own present which was a very rich golden cup and a long black cloak with a collar from the 24th² of Segovia, which he appreciated very much, and a quantity of glassware of various kinds. This time he was received one step lower with more severity, without a head bow except once at the entrance and at the exit. This done, he went out, leaving the said Emperor looking very attentively at the portraits of the King, Queen and Prince, our lord; his pleasure at seeing them was evident.

Then, Father Fray Diego Ibañez gave his present in the name of the commissioner general of his order in New Spain. Then, Fathers Fray Pedro Bautista and Luis Sotelo gave theirs. The latter remained talking with the said Emperor in a friendly manner; he asked them different questions, in their capacity as interpreters, about navigation as well as about the pleasure he received with the said portraits, and about other things.

Then the said secretary came out with another message for the Ambassador, in which he said that he had been very glad to see him, that he should go with God to his inn to rest and that he would like to talk with him later on. With this, we returned to the inn under a hot sun, tired, and the men being fretful for not having been given permission to shoot.

During this afternoon, the said Ambassador received many visits of people from the palace and of the father-in-law of the said Don Rodrigo, and among them Ocuboquidono, son of the Treasurer of the said Emperor, who is a great and valiant gentleman.

On Wednesday [6 July] in the morning, the Ambassador went to visit Conçuquidono [Kosuke], secretary of H.M., and having been given a reasonable present of fine cloth, glassware, soap and other things, the said secretary took it with a great show of appreciation, then he kept it for a while. Then, he said that he considered that the

1 Ed. note: This was the present sent by the Viceroy. In addition to the portrait of the royal family, there were many other curious articles, including the first mechanical clock seen in Japan. Nuttall (quoting Nuñez Ortega and Ernest Satow) has reproduced the Japanese official, but blurred, record of the contemporary events thus: "The Sairan Igen of Arai Haku Seki (B.1657, D.1725) says: In the 15th year of Keycho [1609] a merchant vessel belonging to New Spain was driven by a storm on the east coast of Japan and considerably damaged. The government ordered that it should be repaired, and provisions having been supplied it was started to depart. In the summer of the 17th year [1611], an ambassador came from that country on a complimentary mission, to return thanks. Among the presents was a self-sounding bell [clock], and our manufacture of this article commenced from this date." Nuttall says that the original clock is still preserved in the temple of Kino-San, near Shizuoka. An inscription records its history, and a small metal plate, fastened to it, records that it was made in Madrid. The other presents from the Viceroy were the royal portraits already mentioned, a waterproof coat, two saddles, a roll of paper, two barrels of Spanish wine, two sets of implements used in falconry, and a roll of ribbon with gold braid, such as was used in Spain to adorn gala shoes; however, this last item may have been samite.

2 There are three words that are undecipherable in the manuscript.



Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), also called Daifu. (From Capt. F. Brinkley's *Japan, Boston, 1901*)

present had been received and that he appreciated it at its just value in New Spain, but that the said Ambassador should make use of it, as he was giving it back, that he could not accept it, that he never accepts anything from any foreign nation, so that he would not be obliged by it but would continue to carry out his office in a clean and faithful manner, to serve his King, and lord, as he must, and always be able to truthfully assess the business that pass before him. Although there were a few arguments back and forth about his receiving the said present, it was not possible to make him accept it, as he kept using good excuses and reasons for doing so, not the type that a gentile or lawless Indians would use but of higher order. This should be an example to those who serve the kings and princes in similar offices.

Afterward, he went to the house of the President of the Treasury, who is named Jocabro, who is the one who administers this kingdom. He received him with much love, entertaining him and his people with sweet things. He was given a present of fine cloth and other things. This man took it without any scruples, because "he prefers 8 bits to

4 bits”¹ and he is said to own 6 millions in gold and silver. He offered his services toward our good despatch.

This done, we returned to the inn, where we found a servant, or better said, one of the ladies from the palace of the said Emperor, whose name was Julia, a Christian, who had come to visit the Ambassador and to hear mass. He entertained her and gave her a few glass toys and other things; she preferred to have images, rosaries and things of devotion, because they say that she is a good Christian; she did appear to be such. I will not relate the large number of Japanese Christians who flocked to the inn, to see the said Ambassador as well as to hear mass and console themselves with the said religious who were cajoling them with much love. Others came to listen to our holy catholic faith and to request baptism, something worthy of admiration.

[Petitions presented to Ieyasu]

On Thursday [7 July] order was given to ask the Emperor in writing, in their style, for the permission for a survey of the ports, as well as for the building of a ship, and a *chapa* so that the merchandise brought into this kingdom from New Spain and the Philippine Islands be exempt from duty or wholesale restrictions. The petitions are as follows:

[First petition]

“Sebastian Vizcaino, captain general of Don Felipe, King of the Spains, his lord, says: that he carries an order from his King and the Viceroy of New Spain to the effect that, should H.M. give him permission, with a few pilots and seamen, he is to sound, chart and determine the latitude of the ports along the coast of this kingdom that are usable for navigation, from Enangazaque [Nagasaki] as far as the kingdom of Agneta [sic], or as far as the coast extends, in order that the ships that come from the islands of Luzon bound for New Spain, which are forced by the usual storms to turn back to it in distress, would know which are the better ports to go into and not become lost as has happened previously.”

“He begs the favor to be given a permit for this and [the services of] a coastal pilot of this kingdom, so that he may be given the junks, the supplies and the rest that may be required, at moderate prices. At the completion of the said survey, he would give H.M. a copy of it; he would also take another copy for inclusion in his report to his King, and lord; that he looks forward to receiving this favor, etc.”

[Second petition]

“Sebastian Vizcaino, etc., says: that H.M. be pleased to favor him and give him permission to build a ship of moderate capacity in this kingdom, at the most appropriate place, so that he may return to New Spain with it and the other that he brought along, and carry a few things as gifts from this kingdom.”

“He begs the favor to be assisted by H.M. to be able to do so with greater ease, [to obtain] the wood, the carpenters, smiths and other required tradesmen who would, as a favor, be paid [only] the normal rates when they are occupied in the service of H.M.;

1 Ed. note: My interpretation of the Spanish colloquial expression used by Vizcaino.

that a permit be given for this and a gentleman of this kingdom be appointed to be in charge of the building of this ship; that he may be impartially granted the favor that he begs, and that he would be very grateful for it on behalf of his King, and lord, to whom it should be considered given, to return with it to this kingdom next year, and that the commercial treaty and friendship that existed should continue for many years, etc.”

[Third petition]

“Sebastian Vizcaino, etc., says: that he came to this kingdom only to bring back the Japanese vassals of H.M. whom Don Rodrigo had taken last year to New Spain, and to return the money that he had lent to the said Don Rodrigo, without any other interest or merchandise, other than a few clothes and fine cloth to be sold in this kingdom on his own account in order to purchase food for the people in his charge and to build the ship for which he has requested a permit; that, wishing to sell them at the port of Urangava, he could not do so, because some Japanese from this court had gone there and hindered him, saying that H.M. needed them for his household. If this is true, he offers the ship and everything that is in it, including his person, to H.M., on behalf of his King, and lord; if it is not so, then may he be pleased to have a permit issued to him, so that freely, without anyone placing a tax or a wholesale restriction, he may sell it, for this one time as well as for the other times when he may return to this kingdom from New Spain and the islands of Luzon, that the procedure may be settled once and for all, in order for him to know if he should come back to this kingdom or not, for the continuance of peace and friendship. This was effectively done in New Spain, since the Japanese who went with the said Don Rodrigo did sell freely, without any taxes placed on their merchandise, without paying any duties or anything else. That he may be favored in this, etc.”

Between this day, Thursday, and the following Monday [11 July] when the said Emperor gave an answer to the petitions of the Ambassador, nothing worth nothing happened, except the many visits of leading men, specially that of the young pages of the courtiers of the said Emperor, and of his three young sons. Among them, there were two nephews of the King of Bungo who was once the most powerful one of this kingdom. The said Ambassador entertained these and the others, by giving them glass toys and snacks, about which they left his presence very happy.

On this day, in the afternoon, the sons of the Emperor sent a message to the said Ambassador, begging him to send some Spaniards whom they wished to see; and if they wished to watch a display of Japanese martial arts, they had them ready for that, and that they should bring some musical instrument such as a guitar to show them how it was played and to dance in our fashion. This was done and 10 Spaniards went, from among the most expert of the volunteers; the sons were glad to see them play and dance, and to test their strength. Grateful of the courtesy made, they sent a thank you note. At about the time of the prayer [6 p.m.], the secretary sent someone to tell the Ambassador that his papers had already been despatched, the permits were ready, and that he had been granted permission to build a ship, where it would seem most appropriate in the kingdom, that the wood and the rest that he asked would be given to him at a very

moderate price; that, regarding the commerce, the sale of the cloth and the survey of the ports, was granted as he had asked.

To this he answered that he was thankful for the good despatch, but he warned that the main business for which he had come was that he wished to know if the Emperor would keep the friendship with the Dutch and let them come into his kingdom, and if that were so, the King, his lord, would not like to have his vassals come to this kingdom to trade, and that the peace that existed would not hold for many reasons which, should he be allowed, he would expose to H.M. and those of the Council of the said Emperor so that they may be made to understand it.¹

With this, the messenger left. The next day, a meeting was held at the house of the said secretary, with the president of the Treasury Council being present, and the said Ambassador proposed what has been said above, with very good reasons, which they understood well. In addition, he begged them to give him a note to the effect that he had delivered the Japanese who had gone to New Spain without any mistake, that they should enquire from them about the good treatment given to them during the voyage; if any of them should have a complaint, he stood ready to satisfy him. Also, since he had paid back what had been lent to the said Don Rodrigo de Vivero, and the proceeds from the sale of the ship that was bought at Acapulco on H.M.'s account; if anything remained to be paid, he wished to pay it, and that the letters left by the said Don Rodrigo and received by the said Japanese should be given back to him.² To this they answered that what he asked was just, and that they would consult with H.M. about the one and the other. They were also told that the Dutch who had last year come to this kingdom, and had signed a contract with the said Emperor to bring a large quantity of silk bolts, had gone to the islands of Luzon to rob the ships from China, Japan and other countries trading with the said islands. After their many robberies, the Governor there came out with a fleet to punish them. During the battle, he took three of their five ships and killed many people, and he gave back the stolen goods to their owners. As for the two remaining ships, that were small ones, they were destroyed when fleeing toward the Molucca Islands, and the Governor there captured one and the other fled. The outcome of all this is that they [i.e. the Dutch] will be hard pressed to satisfy what they had promised the Emperor. Since they are nothing but thieves and rebels against their natural King and lord, what friendship and cooperation can be expected from them? That they should consider all of this, because he would not leave the court without carrying the resolution of his embassy, in order to make a report to his King and the Viceroy who sent him.

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- 1 Ed. note: The above response was probably a tactical mistake on the part of Vizcaino. What followed was judged to be somewhat arrogant and even impertinent, and may have been one of the root causes of the ill feelings that were to plague the Japanese-Spanish relations, until the expulsion of the last Spaniards from Japan some 20 years later.
 - 2 Ed. note: Such letters were no doubt legal statements pledging the return of the Japanese from Mexico, and repayment of the loan.

They were surprised to hear what was said about the Dutch, because they had been expecting them to return as surely as rain in the month of May; because they had promised to all a large quantity of raw silk from Great China; and the fact that no ship had come last year to this kingdom from the islands of Luzon, nor had the Japanese gone to them as the said Dutch had prevented them from doing so, as those that will come this year will themselves confirm. With this, the meeting adjourned. Then they went off to report to the said Emperor.

The next day [13 July] came a message from the secretary and president, saying that they had communicated to H.M. everything that he had proposed at the meeting; that he was then at his leisure in the kingdom; that everything that he had brought up would be despatched before his departure, and that they wished him Godspeed to return to Urangava.

They gave him the permits to sound the ports, and with this we made preparations to return to this court. Since our arrival there had been much stinginess on the part of the Emperor, who did not order for either our food or lodging to be paid. It was learned that he was a little resentful for our having gone to give the embassy to his son the Prince first. Also, since he is getting old, each day he changes his mind, and not one of his courtiers or councillors dare to speak to him, specially about things of interest, and with age he becomes greedy; although, according to some, he has in his treasury over 300 millions, he wheels and deals as if he had nothing. For his refreshment, he keeps 40 women, none of whom are as old as 20 years old, and other heathen things that cannot be mentioned. He asks his vassals to worship him, because he is the most served and respected in the world, and other things that I will mention later, when talking about the form of government of this kingdom.

On Saturday, reckoned as the 16th of the said month of July, we left the court and that night we arrived at the said city of Cambara. The next day, Sunday, we came to sleep at the city of Mexima. On Monday next, at Ondavora, where we were well received on behalf of the secretary of the said Prince and where the food and lodging were very well taken care of. It was learned that the Prince was somewhat resentful about the stinginess which his father had used, blaming his councillors for it, specially the President of the Treasury Council who, since he is more of a trader than a gentleman, cheats the Emperor behind his back.

On the following Tuesday [19 July], we arrived at Guchinzava [Fujisawa?], where we were also well received and entertained on the account of His Highness, and the said Ambassador was invited to rest there as many days as he wished, because the Prince, their lord, had so ordered; however, to shorten the voyage, and to look after the sale of the cloth, the building of the ship and the survey of the ports, he did not wish to detain himself.

The next day, Wednesday, we arrived at the said port of Urangava, where we found our people in good health. I omit [the description of] the great flock of people, men as well as women, along the roads who came to see us pass, even though the weather was

brisk, with much rain and mud, but this did not stop them; for this reason, it is believed that an order to that effect had been issued by the Prince.

With this, we completed our embassies, with a great pleasure and contentment that, thank God, not one untoward thing had happened to cause conflict with the Japanese and that the said two embassies had cost no more than 100 pesos to H.M.'s treasury, because, as I have said, the Prince made up for it, and in his country nothing was spent for inns and other things, each one of the men being sustained by his ration. If the total cost of these two embassies had been on the account of H.M.'s treasury, it would have amounted to over 2 millions, given the formality given to them. However, the said Ambassador, with his prudence and resourcefulness, was spending so sparingly that one *real* of H.M. seemed to him as if it were 1 million. All of this was done in the interest of having enough for the despatch and building of the ship and the other expenses and costs of this voyage. May God follow up on the good beginnings so that the expected result can be achieved.

Chapter VII.

About what happened in the port of Urangava, until the departure from it to go and survey the ports of the northern¹ coast.

We arrived, as I have said, on Wednesday 20th of the said month of July to the said Urangava, and then the sale of the said cloth was begun, as had been planned. Extraordinary diligences were being made to market it; some were sold, but not much, since the clothing and fine cloth were very fine indeed and worth much, such as are unknown in this country; they are used to kimonos and things of little value. Also the building of another ship or boat was planned, in accordance with the order of Your Excellency, and it was put into practice with the carpenters and officers of this kingdom, who did not wish to make it less than 8,000 *toes*, which is a capacity less than 100 tons. Considering that the proceeds from the sale of the cloth that had been brought for the purpose, yet to be done, and the [living] expenses of the people and those for the return voyage, would not be enough, or even exceed the need by much, the said General decided not to build it, but to make repairs and strengthen our ship, and make our voyage with it.

While he had already decided this, there arrived at this port on St. James Day, 25 August, two Dutchmen who came from a ship that was in the port of Firán[do], which they say is one of those that escaped from the Philippines. They brought many presents to the said Emperor and Prince and they were well received and better despatched, because he gave them all the permits that they asked for. Their coming to the said Urangava was solely for complaining to the said General as to why he had said, when he was

1 Ed. note; More correctly, the NE or eastern coast.

in Çurunga, to the Emperor, that the Dutch were bad people and that they had risen and did not obey their King and lord, and that they were going around robbing and making much damage at sea. To carry this message to the said General, they sent an English pilot.¹ To him he answered that it was the truth, that he had said everything they said to the said Emperor and much more; that he had said too little about who they really are, and that they should come and complain to his face and he would give them satisfaction for this, and for everything else they wished. It was decided to do things that way, but they did not dare and they decided to go away that night, without seeing him.

In addition, there came a frigate from Macao, and aboard her as Ambassador to the said Emperor and Prince, the admiral of the fleet of India, Don Nuño de Sotomayor, who gave them their presents and a certain complaint about the galleon from that city which had been burned in Angazaque with so much property aboard her, the Portuguese thus apologizing for the charge that had been made against them; that if they were given permission, they would resume the trade and commerce with this kingdom at some conditions, for instance, that the *bunguio* or governor of the said Angazaque should be removed.

The said Emperor received them in a lukewarm manner and he despatched them not as the said Portuguese had wished. He only told them that if they wished to come to his kingdom, they could do so, but that he did not wish to do what they were asking him to do, that they should not ask him to reform things within his kingdom; and with this he went away without any more despatch and not a little bad feeling, according to what they said, toward the Japanese.

He [i.e. the General] remained in this port, to sell the cloth as well as for other things, until the 6th of October [1611], when he went out to the city of Yendo to ask for certain permits and despatches, and a *bunguio* who would, on behalf of the Prince, go with them and arrange for the necessary provisions along the roads, and in order to survey and chart the said ports and coast. The reason for this was that he had heard that the kings and lords who reside at the head and end of the kingdom are a little disobedient toward the Emperor, as they are bellicose people who have much power and weapons and the land is very rough; for this reason, they do not appreciate it very much. Hence, it was convenient to ask for and carry the said *bunguio* and *chapas* in order not to have any impediment in the work that was planned.

1 Ed. note: Will Adams.

Chapter VIII.

How he left to survey the ports of the kingdom of Ox [Oshu], which is at the head of Japan, on the north [sic] side, and what happened until the return to the port of Urangava.

We departed, as it is said, from this port of Urangava, on Thursday, 6th of the said month of October, and on the said day we arrived at Comunga, because the weather was contrary and did not allow us to get to Yendo. The next day we got there and began the negotiations for the said despatches, through Muca and Joquendono, General of the junks, who attended to the entire request with much love and goodwill and communicated our pretension to the Prince who then ordered his Council to give the whole despatch as soon as possible, so that the General could pursue his voyage.

To this effect, they gave 10 *chapas* addressed to the kings and lords of the head of the said kingdom, very favorable ones. He remained at court busy with this despatch until the 22nd of the said October, because the Prince and those of the Council were busy with the despatch and marriage of one daughter of His Highness, who was 12 years old, with a first cousin of hers, the son of the older brother of the Prince, they being grandchildren of the Emperor; to make this marriage, they do not need to obtain a dispensation from His Holiness [the Pope], they just do it.

The fiancée left this court on the 10th of the said month bound for Çorunga to receive the blessing of her grandfather, being accompanied by a large throng of warriors and courtiers, by 40 maids of honor and chambermaids in their sedan chairs, all adorned with gold and silver in an elegant manner, and specially that of the fiancée. So much so that it is hard to believe that a queen would go with more equipment, because the servants alone numbered over 4,000 and the guard included over 500 horses. Everything took place in such stillness and silence that it seemed that no-one was with her. One of the four Councillors of the kingdom went with her, and the groom was represented by the said Guatanabe Amajirodono, who had attended to the entertainment of the said Ambassador when he was in that city. The esteem in which the Prince holds the said Jonquendono that, after we got there, he did not go out, to hunt or for other things, without having him by his side, for which reason he is much envied by the gentlemen of the kingdom, specially by the sons and grandsons of the kings and lords who are his hostages in this court, and they uncover the background of his grandfathers and ancestors, who were humble people, and other things; it is such a pity that envy reigns supreme among these heathen people. However, he is very wise and sagacious and is taking it well, telling some that the services of his father and his family were so loyal toward the Emperor and the Prince that they deserve the honor made to him, and that the esteem they have for him was earned by him with weapons in his fists.

The President of the Council of State, in the name of all councillors, sent a message to the General, saying that the Prince wished to see him and speak at some length, but

on account of his being anxious to go on his voyage, it was postponed for when he would return to that city, at which time a few things he wished to talk about would be communicated to him, concerning the friendly relations between his kingdom and ours. Even then it was rumored that, upon the death of the Emperor, his father, he would give protection to the Christians, since he had given proofs of loving the Spanish nation and of thinking about becoming a Christian, because in a few discussions in which our holy faith and law was explained to him, he had been inclined toward it. May His Divine Majesty be pleased to enlighten him, because suffice for this Prince to become a Christian for the whole kingdom to become Christian.

In addition, he sent a message to the said General of the junks, saying that he had learned that the ship was not being built and that it was for lack of funds to do it; that he had resented his father's stinginess, and that the *chapa* for it should be handed over [to him] and that it should be done, so that it would go in convoy with the one [i.e. the San Francisco] that had been brought; that this would give him much pleasure.

In view of the obligation that he had toward this Prince and of the importance of not displeasing him on account of his friendship toward the Christians, the *chapa* was turned over to the General of the junks, with the condition[s] that the ship should not be of a capacity over 100 tons; that all the people aboard her would be under his [Vizcaino's] command, with no more than two Japanese should go as supercargos of it and of what they would send; and that not one *real* spent should be on H.M.'s account. Also, upon arriving at the port of Acapulco, if the Viceroy wished to buy it, it should be given at a moderate price; otherwise, he could send it on his own account to Manila or wherever the Viceroy would send it. In order to carry this out, he would provide the superintendent whom he had brought along for the purpose and the other men required, giving them the same rations as for the others.

With this in mind, a message was drafted by way of an agreement. In this, many aims were sought by the General: firstly, not to displease the Prince; another being that, the pay of the pilots and officers having already been made at the time of the despatch, they had to advance it to the General at cost to be repaid in New Spain, as it is understood will in fact happen.

[Overland trip to Sendai]

On Saturday, reckoned as the 22nd of the said month [October 1611], he left that city, to pursue his voyage, well despatched. This night he arrived at Coningay [Omiya?], 7 leagues away, where we were given lodging at an inn and a good supply of money, because the *chapas* did not mention the *machibunguios* of these towns.

On Sunday, to Coga [Koga], 11 leagues distant, where everything was paid for.

On Monday, to Cucimonio, where the same arrangement took place.

On Tuesday, to the city of Vecinomia [Utsunomiya?], whose lord is Daygendono. Before getting there, the General sent the *chapa* of His Highness with the interpreter; after he was given it, he ordered the inn to be prepared and that he should be given



The travels of Sebastián Vizcaíno in Japan, 1611-1613. *From his base at the port of Uraga, Vizcaíno travelled to both courts at Edo and Soronga in June and July 1611, then to Sendai in October-December to carry out a survey of the Rikuchu Coast. In the spring of 1612, while his pilot was surveying the coast west of Uraga, Vizcaíno was trading at Edo. He then went as far as Sakai in May-July to link up with the pilot. After a voyage of exploration in the North Pacific, he returned in distress in November 1612 and once again went overland to Sendai, where a ship was built in 1613, to return to Mexico.*

everything necessary and horses for free, with the message that if he wished to rest for a few days in his city, he could do so, that he would be entertained.

The General, pleased with the offer, sent him a message, saying that the cold winter period was coming and that he was on the way to a higher latitude, that to detain himself would be harmful, and that he had to follow the schedule already made; but that upon returning he would do so. He also excused himself for not seeing him, because visits to *tonos* in that kingdom are costly; one must always bring a present, not a cheap one but it had to be fine and rough cloth or another thing worth more than 100 taels; also, there are so many *tonos* in it that one would have to own Segovia and Florence. He in turn ordered that the said General and the other persons be entertained with many chickens, pheasants and quails, and horses for the voyage for free; he also sent a *bunguio* to accompany him so that the same treatment would be given within his territory.

On this day, we stopped for the night at a place of his, named Tonchie. The next day, to Otaura, where we were very well entertained by order of the *tono*.

On Thursday [27 Oct], to Xiracagua [Shirakawa]. Friday, to Xesindo, and Saturday, to the city of Bacamechi,¹ whose king and lord is Findandono, the Emperor's son-in-law, married to his older daughter. He, after he was given the letter of the Prince, his brother-in-law, ordered to have the inn prepared and everything necessary for the food and entertainment of the said General and the rest of the people, and that his magistrate was to attend to everything and give what was necessary. At the arrival of the General, he sent him a message to let him know that he had arrived and that he appreciated very much the good hospitality that he was offering him, and he asked to be given permission to go and visit him and kiss his hands. To this he answered through the Magistrate, bidding him welcome, that he should rest from travelling, because that day he wanted to go hunting to kill some game for a gift to him. He was out of the city for two days, since there was much rain. On Tuesday [1 Nov] he returned. Then he sent a message to the General that the next day he could come and see him, that it would give him much pleasure.

It was compulsory to bring him some considerable present, as he is such a great gentleman and son-in-law of the Emperor. This was done, with cloth, *jamanete*,² gloves, shoes and other things. The latter alerted his people to accompany him and the Magistrate, and the other *tonos*. He arrived at the palace with a large company, at about 9 a.m., and he received us very well, with great courtesy. Having talked about a few things, about the voyage as well as about where we were going, he ordered a meal to be prepared at our custom, that is, meat. He and the General ate together in one hall, with much simplicity and two of his sons; he toasted according to their custom, and he was responded to in turn with the compliment that his highness required. He gave food to all those who accompanied the said General.

1 Ed. note: This was probably what is Fukushima today.

2 Ed. note; Some kind of fine cloth, also written "hamáno" or "jamete" in some dictionaries, and called samite in English. It was probably a silk cloth interwoven with gold thread. If so, Vizcaino may have obtained it from Sotomayor, the Portuguese, who had brought it from Goa.

During the meal, the King told him that he was ashamed that he had come at such a time to his city and fortress, that it had been damaged by a great flood and overflow of a river and lake that was next to it and by a very great earthquake that had occurred the previous month, which had wrecked his fortress and over 20,000 houses in his city; that his vassals were busy with the rebuilding of it; that he should be forgiven for any stinginess there might be on his part; that his goodwill should be considered; and that he should be told if he knew the cause why the earth shook and trembled at some periods of the year, who was doing it and what was the reason for it.

The General, seeing such a good opportunity, told him that God was in the heavens, that He was the creator and maker of them and of the whole world and the men in it; and when His Divine Majesty was pleased to do so, he ordered the elements, which are the airs, to make it shake, so that the men who inhabit it, kings and lords as well as the rest, to remember their Creator and Lord, and if they were living badly, to amend themselves. He once again asked who was this Lord. He was told as best as possible about His greatness and lordship. Although the General lacked the good doctrine, talent and erudition of the archbishop of Mexico, Fray García de Guerra, what he said to him could have used for a reasonably-good sermon. He remained satisfied and fond of our faith and contact with the Spanish; a few more discussions like this one might turn him into a Christian, according to the many good signs that he displayed, given that he had such a good and easy understanding.

He was asked for permission to pursue our voyage the next day, Thursday [3 Nov]. He gave it with much love, and an order that all over his land food and horses be given very liberally. This night he sent the secretary to the General, to say that he had been pleased to see him, and that he considered that for such a long trip that he had made up to that time, far from his kingdom, he would be in some necessity, so that he was sending 30 bars of silver, each worth 43 taels, to pay for the inns; that he should be forgiven if anything else was missing, that he would attend to it willingly.

The message was answered and, the next day, Thursday [rather Friday, 4 Nov], we continued our voyage, taking along the *bunguios* to take care of the provisions along the way. On this day, Friday, we were late in arriving at the city of Yonanzua, whose lord is Canguicazudono, one of the greatest lords in the kingdom. Since he had not been a friend of the Emperor at the time of his wars and pretensions to the empire, he keeps him shut in and he took over 2 millions in rental income from him; he keeps his children as hostages in Yendo. Before getting these, he [i.e. the General] sent him the Prince's letter with the interpreter, to warn him of our arrival and to ask permission to enter. He in turn ordered that the required things and the inn be prepared; that we were to enter by all means, as if it were into our own home.

Having arrived, he asked permission to go and visit him and kiss his hands. He answered, by all means, but that he was a little indisposed, or to properly say, he was depressed at having been bled of the income by the Emperor. In view of this, the General was relieved at not seeing him, because, as I have said, the visits to those kings and lords are somewhat costly, there being a need to give them a present, which must be substan-

tial. So, he sent someone to ask his permission to pursue his voyage, which he granted and ordered that he be given everything necessary within his land, without having to pay anything for it.

On Saturday, we left this city and travelled until Tuesday [8 Nov], the day we arrived at the city of Gomday [Sendai],¹ whose king and lord is Date Maçamunedono, one of the greatest one in the empire and from an old caste, since it is second only to that of the Emperor. Before we got there, he sent the *chapa* with the interpreter, and, having received it, he ordered with great love to have the inn prepared, with the food and everything necessary for the said General and people, that it was to be the best and most ample that had been given during the whole voyage. Then he sent him a message, bidding him welcome and that he was very glad that he had come to his land, where he would be entertained and he would be provided with junks, horses and everything else necessary for his voyage. The General answered him, asking permission to go and visit him, and he granted it.

On Thursday [10 Nov], at about 10 a.m., while he had arranged for many horses and people for his reception at the palace as an Ambassador, it can be said that he was as satisfied with the reception as he had been with the one in the said Yendo.

In view of the highness of this lord and the great importance of his friendship for the intended project, since he is the lord of this whole coast, besides having shown himself fond of our holy Catholic faith, it was essential to give him a present that would be fitting. So, the General took heart and brought along *jamanete*, fine black cloth from London and other things, worth over 300 ducats.

We arrived at the palace with a large company, and inside we found a very large gathering, all lined up at the gates of the fortress, which is one of the strongest and best in that kingdom, because it is built on a crag and is surrounded on all sides by a very deep river, with over 100 statures² of sheer cliff and only one entrance. The whole city can be seen from it and it is as large as Yendo and better built, at many leagues from the sea-coast, because it is at about 2 leagues from it. In the halls, at the first one, the secretaries and councillors came out to receive him; at the second one, he was detained for a short while, after which they advised him to go in, because the King was at his post, although he was sitting upon the floor, and the General sat up high, upon a silk mat used for sitting purposes. As soon as he arrived within his presence, the King got up and made certain curtsies with his head and arms, according to their custom. The General did according to our custom. He asked him to sit down and cover himself, with a message through the Secretary, saying that the was very glad to see him, as he was the first Spanish ambassador to have entered his kingdom, offering him everything that was necessary from his house, that he was also glad that within his land there might be good and spacious ports, so that our ships, those from the Philippines as well as those

- 1 Ed. note: The bad transcription error here seems obvious, but it is typical of the difficulty facing even an expert deciphering old manuscripts; foreign proper words are specially hard to guess.
- 2 Ed. note: One stature is the average height of a man, so that the height was over 500 feet, or 175 meters.

from New Spain, might come to them, that of course he would assured them of good treatment and despatch, and that he wished to have friendship with the King, our lord, and relations with the viceroys of New Spain.

To everything he was answered and thanked for the offer, naturally, and that on behalf of H.M. he was assured peace and good relations. The General told him more; that on behalf of H.M. he was grateful and appreciated the friendship, charity and love that he held toward the religious of the Order of the Father St. Francis, and for having sent for Father Fray Luis de Sotelo to become informed about the things of our faith, making him understand the holiness of this religion, and that no-one could show him the way to heaven better than they. He said so, and that no greater pleasure could be given to H.M. than let the religious come into his land to preach the Holy Gospel to his vassals, that in this way the peace would be confirmed and permanent, because to the King of Spain the trade with Japan was not important as it had to do with material goods, because God had given him many kingdoms and dominions; being a Christian King, he was only motivated by the desire to have all the nations taught his holy Catholic faith so that they would be saved.

The discussion ended, though it was pleasant, and he ordered meat to be served, according to our custom. The King and the General ate together in one hall; many compliments were rendered, specially during the toasts, which in that land are a general custom, specially among the kings and lords. Once the meal was over, the General begged leave through the interpreter, to go back to his inn and to pursue his voyage. He granted it, adding that he would be much pleased if he would rest for a few days in his city, that he would willingly take care of his entertainment.

Hence he entertained us there until Tuesday, 15th of the said month, although the previous Friday, both the King and the General had been invited to the house of a councillor-secretary for a play and meal, which lasted from 10 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon and was pleasant, and about some stories of wars as well as Va, the daughter of a King, almost the same as those about the Kings of Aragon.

On Sunday [13th] in the evening, he had sent a message to the General, to say that he was so pleased to have make his acquaintance that, in order not to be forgotten, he was sending him a gift, though a small one, which consisted in two golden body armors, one sword whose handle was hollow and full of blood, the one that this King had when he went on the conquest of Coria [Korea], some kimonos, and other things, plus 20 bars of silver; that he was to see if he needed anything else, that it would be given, because he had already ordered that everything necessary in the way of food, horses and junks for the voyage were to be provided along the roads and in the ports to be visited, along with two *bunguios* to accompany him for that purpose, and some guardsmen. So, we left the said Tuesday, well provisioned.

This relation does not mention the greatness of this city nor its government, or the way of live, the trade and commerce, or laws, as things concerning the government of the kingdom will be discussed later, as will be seen.

On this day, we went to spend the night at Xicongama [Shiogama], where we found everything ready, as the King had ordered. On Wednesday [16 Nov], before daybreak, we boarded junks and went to a port 3 leagues away and it is suitable for small ships but not for the purpose intended. We went to spend the night at Mataxima [Matsushima], to see a *tera*, which is a [Buddhist] church or temple of these people that the said King had recommended to the said General for a visit, as it is the most elaborate one in this kingdom; they revere it as we in Spain revere Santiago de Galicia [i.e. Compostela], as a place of pilgrimage or Jerusalem, because a large number of people come to it. If it were a church where mass was celebrated and there would be the Most Holy Sacrament, it would be worthwhile to come from faraway lands to see it, because, being made of wood, it is most elaborate with sculptured works and the craftsmanship that can be imagined. One could say that it is like the Escorial that is of stone, but it is of wood. There is no other like it in the world. There we found a *bonzo*, that is like a bishop, who was in charge of it and had a large rental income; he sent someone to tell the General and Father Fray Luis Sotelo, who happened to be with him, that if they would like to receive some entertainment, he would be much pleased.

The offer was accepted, and then he ordered that three seats be placed; they are like seats covered with silk, to sit upon. The *bonzo* came out dressed like a pontiff with a miter upon his head and other insignias, in their fashion. He gave the best seat to Father Fray Luis Sotelo. The General, in the presence of the *bonzo*, knelt and kissed his hand, in order to oblige him to give the true respect due to the religious. He ordered a snack to be brought in, in accordance with their custom; he toasted first the Father, since this is also the custom among the religious in that kingdom, and afterward the General. After the banquet, there were some discussions and questions made by the *bonzo*. Excuses were given for not answering them, since it was not proper at the first visit to talk about the things concerning our holy Catholic faith. He gave great compliments.

The next day, Friday, we continued our voyage and went by sea to spend the night at Ozca [Otsuka?]. Along the way, we surveyed a large bay whose entrance is next to some islands; there is a suitable port for ships of 200 tons, safe and clear [of obstructions]. The next day, to Miato, where a large river flows into the sea, although the depth over the bar is not much; here we were entertained very well.

On Sunday, following our voyage, we found another river with a shallow bay, but at about 1 league from it there is a good, very deep port, sheltered from all winds, everything required for galleons, even those of 1,000 tons; this town is called Condaque [Kodaki?] and the port was baptized Santa Margarita. It is in a latitude of 38 degrees plus. At about another league further on, there is another as good as this one; it was given the name San Felipe. There is a town on the beach which is called Chiquimura. Three leagues further on, there is another as safe as the previous ones but deeper, with a town called Guindazu; it was baptized Salinas.

On this day, we spent the night in Onvara, which is 2 leagues further on. Whenever some ports and things worthy of consideration were found, the General always advised the King about them, as it was only proper, on account of the good provisioning re-

ceived in his land, and in order to gain his goodwill for the future and the purposes intended. Grateful about it and the good outcome, the General received this evening two letters from him in answer, in which he asked him to please continue to keep him informed, that he was very pleased and happy that in his land were found important ports, so that the King of Spain (with whom he seeks true friendship) and his vassals could make use of them.

The next day [21 Nov], we went to see another port which the natives had indicated at about 1 league further on, where there are some islands two leagues offshore;¹ we found it to be suitable for any ship, safe and clear, and one which can be entered into day or night, as will be said in the sailing directions.

Here the shore and the islands were charted; and what was necessary was done. We returned to spend the night at the said town. This port is called Cubruchi, but it was baptized with the name of La Magdalena.

The next day, we pursued our voyage and spent the night in Urangava [sic], which is in a wide bay where there are two very good ports, as will be said in the sailing directions; one is called Ichibama² and it was named San Antón, and the other Uragi, which was named Santo Tomás.

The next day, Wednesday 23rd, we went to sleep at Ongachi. Before we entered it we found two other towns, one is called Michuhama, which was named San Diego, and the other Baque, which was named Santo Domingo. At about 2 p.m., we arrived at the said town which is at the end of the bay, where there is a port, the best and the most sheltered from all winds that there is in the world that has been discovered up to now, because, in addition to having a very deep entrance and exit, next to the shore it has over 10 fathoms of good sea bottom. In it, there are many towns and gold mines, a large population and plenty of cheap supplies. It is like a closed box with water, wood and anything else necessary that one could want from nature, the most appropriate thing for the purpose intended.³ A better latitude could not be asked nor a better vicinity, since it is located in 38° and 1/3. It was given the name of Lemus.⁴

Here he received news that the said King was about 2 leagues from there hunting wild boars and deer. A letter was despatched to him, to tell him about this port and the others that had been discovered until then, that they had all been surveyed and charted. He answered that he was very grateful for the news and about the good ports that were found in his land. He was sending him a gift of deer and other wild game; that if he were not in the field he would be much pleased to see him, but that he was postponing it until he was back at his fortress; that he would be glad to have the General carried in the palms of the hands or in litters, so that neither the sun nor the cold could harm him; that he appreciated very much the work being done in his land to discover the ports,

1 Ed. note: These were probably the Kinkazan Islands.

2 Ed. note: Possibly Ichihama, or N° 1 Port.

3 Ed. note: He means for use as a port when turning back in distress.

4 Ed. note: This is possibly a transcription error for Samos, after the Greek island made famous in ancient times for its naval shipyards.

and that he would like to see the manner of their survey and the charts. They were sent to him with the interpreter and *bunguios*, and he was much pleased by them. He gave permission for the rest of the survey, and reiterated that they would find safety throughout his kingdom and always much goodwill.

On Thursday [24 Nov], we remained in this port until the sun had passed [noon] and to be able to find provisions so that we could continue our voyage the next day, since everyone was occupied with the King's hunt; there must have been a million people, servants as well as the neighboring workers who had been collected for the purpose. It was something to see the cunning used and the multitude of people who surrounded the bush in order to raise the game; they came to take it with their bare hands and with arquebuses. The game was so abundant that they formed flocks like sheep. The power of this King is truly great, in rental income as well as in vassals. Whenever he wishes, he can within six days raise an army of 30,000 men on horseback and 200,000 on foot. He has in his kingdom fortresses. He pays everyone and keeps them happy. He is just in his administration and an enemy of idle people and those of bad living and, as I have said, he is fond of our Christian religion. According to what they say, he has over 10 millions in rental income.

On Friday [25th], the feast day of the glorious martyr St. Catherine, we left this place by sea and went to spent the night in a wide bay, at the end of which there is a town that is called Oritate. On Saturday, by sea, to Iturra-Antacho. On Sunday, to Quexonoma [Kesenuma], which is in another very wide bay, and in it there are 5 ports, the best that can be imagined, as will be said in the survey. The name of Santa Catalina [St. Catherine] was given to the one next to the town, and to the one between the island and the mainland, San Ildefonso; the third one was named San Lorenzo, the fourth, San Francisco, and the fifth, San Sebastian. The latter is the best of all those seen so far; it has a very high hill, on whose peak, on the north side, there are three trees that dominate it and can be seen from the sea over 20 leagues away; this is a signal that it appears that nature has placed there on purpose to mark these ports. Inside the bay and the ports, there are over 40 towns, so well supplied that it seemed almost unbelievable to see the number of people there; not only is the mainland full of people, but there is not one neighborhood or island here that is not completely settled.

Here we remained one day [28 Nov], sounding the ports, charting them and taking the sun; we found ourselves to be in just under 39°. We left on Tuesday, by sea, and spent the night in a town called Imaxumi. On Wednesday, to Zacari, which is within another very wide bay, inside which there is another port as good as the above. It was named San Andrés, for having been found on his day [30 November].

On Thursday [1 Dec], we stayed at this place, on account of rain showers during which the Japanese did not dare go out, either to sea or ashore. The land is very rough, and so is the sea during bad weather, the coast being rough. Until then the sea had seemed more like a river than a sea, as we had not met with currents nor anything else to impede our voyage.

[Experience with a tsunami, or tidal wave]

On Friday, we arrived at the place called Oquinay, that has another, but useless, bay. Before we got there, we saw the people, men and women, abandon it and flee up the hills, which caused some novelty, because in the others, up to now, the people would come out to the beach to see us. As we thought that they were fleeing from us, they were shouted at to wait, but then the cause was realized; it was that the sea had risen by the height of a pike, caused by a great earthquake that took place and lasted one hour; it came out with such force flooding the town, the houses and the rice *almivares* [sheaves?] that were floating about the sea, and causing confusion. At this time, the tide rose and fell three times, preventing the natives from repairing their properties and, for many, their lives, because with this disaster along this coast a great many people had been drowned and lost their properties, as I will say later.

It happened at 5 p.m., and we at this time were at sea, where we felt its great movement, with waves piling one upon another, so much so that we thought it would swallow us, as it did two junks that came behind us; the sea caught them further offshore, swallowed them up and drowned them. His Divine Majesty delivered us from this hardship; however, when it was over, we arrived at the town, where we were entertained in the houses that had escaped [damage].

On Saturday, we went further on, about 8 leagues, to another useless bay, because it was not sheltered from the sea, and we spent the night in Combaza, which is built on a rise and was not affected by the disaster. The pilots took the sun and found it to be in 40°. The pilot Lorenzo Vazquez and Alonso Gascon, the clerk for the voyage and the survey, had a look at the coast from the top of a high hill; they saw it trending NW [sic].¹ They saw beyond this town another very good port; it was baptized Port Gascon.

[They turn back at 40°]

Here the General questioned the natives, who are mountaineers, wear sandals made of leather from the skins of wild boars, and are not much obedient to their lords. He asked them how many days of route there were as far as the north side and to the NW. They said that further on there were two kingdoms, the first one belonged to Vanbondono, and the other to Mazamaydono.² They are big ones, that in 30 days one cannot get to the end of them, and that past these kingdoms, the coast turned westward. Given that they know about the four winds of the compass, N, S, E, W, they have knowledge of them and can use them. From the end of this kingdom to Coria, [they say that] there is little longitude, fewer than 60 leagues; and before arriving at Tartaria, in the strait, there is a big island called Yeso,³ inhabited by wild people,⁴ all covered with hair, with only the eyes showing; they usually come to the said Japan at some times of the year, that is in July and August, to bring fish and animal skins and other trade goods, and to

1 Ed. note: It could only have trended N, or NNW, at this point.

2 Ed. note: A clear reference to Matsumae on the southern coast of Hokkaido.

3 Ed. note: Referring to the Tsugaru Strait, and Hokkaido respectively.

4 Ed. note: The Hainu.

take away cotton and what they need to that island; that at most other times of the year, this strait is not navigable, on account of the many storms and currents that sink the junks and boats, and they are lost; that the prevailing winds along this coast are westerlies and southeasterlies. It was verified that the tides and other sea phenomena occur about one hour later than in Spain.

Here the General came to an agreement with the said pilots. It was decided, given that so many good ports had been found in such good parts that we had just visited, and that those who could possibly be found ahead on the NNW—SW [rather SSE] coast would be of little use for the galleons of the Philippine trade, on account of their being at more than 40°, that what had been seen of the said coast trended in that direction and, according to what the natives were saying, may extend even 50 [i.e. up to 50° in that direction]; also, because December had come in and was creating havoc in these parts with cold and snow, that the hills had turned white and two days ago the streams had turned to ice and seemed to run no longer; would it be convenient to give it up, one way or the other. It was found proper to turn back to the said Urangava and survey the coast from the city of Genday [Sendai] toward it, before the snow came and the cold worsened.

Thus, on Sunday [4 Dec], we turned around with the junks by sea, reconnoitering what had been discovered and recording the signs pointing to the said ports and bays. We came to spend the night at Mayozumi where we found that the said tidal wave had carried off almost all the houses of the place, and over 50 persons had been drowned, so that he could hardly find a place to stay; the Japanese were afflicted by the loss of their wives, children and properties. However, they finally gave us a good reception.

On Monday, we continued our journey toward the said Genday [Sendai] overland, passing many places and with snow covering the roads and making them hard to see, the roads and the rivers being frozen.

On Thursday [8 Dec] we arrived to it, having doubled the daily runs in order to reach the King there, as he had advised of his departure for that of Çorunga to attend the court of the Emperor; the reason being that all the lords of his empire appear at his court during such a month. It is said that they do it for three purposes: firstly, so that they will recognize him and bring a present, which is of much importance and consists of a large amount of gold and silver that they take in; secondly, in order to take sustenance to the brothers or relatives who are being kept as hostages in the said Yendo; thirdly, to have them spend their rental income on the roads and courts along the way, because they are so bellicose and, if they have a surplus of money, they make war and upset the peace of the empire.

In spite of the great hurry that we did to try and get there, he had already gone, and his secretaries, and the governor who remained as his lieutenant, took care of us as before. We remained in this city until Friday¹ as it was necessary for us to remain there,

1 Ed. note: Working backward from a later date, the date of their arrival at Edo, this Friday was the 16 December. They remained 8 days in Sendai.

for one thing to draw the charts of the coastal survey, ports, bays, and open bays discovered, using Japanese painters; as a cosmographer could not be found for it, it was necessary to use those. For this and for other things, the despatch of the voyage had been very inadequate, specially the [financial] means that had been budgeted for it, since there had been predicted [only] a one-year stay, the sustenance of the men, the building of the boat and the overhaul of the ship **San Francisco**, the supplies and the expenses for the return, the cost of the embassies and of the port survey, all amounting to a little less than 5,500 pesos, [which were] spent in [the purchase of ordinary] cloth and fine cloth, something insufficient for a voyage of such importance and consideration, since it would not be sufficient for an honorable man going from Mexico to Aca-pulco.

[The King of Oshu's plan to build the Date Maru]

During the [8] days that we remained there, even though it was against our wish, it was agreed to, in order to please the councillors of this King, who had let them know that, as soon as the General would get there, they were to hold a meeting with him, to let him know that he would like to build a ship and send a present aboard it to H.M. and the Viceroy of New Spain and to ask for religious to come to his land to preach the Holy Gospel.

The meeting was held with the above-mentioned, and it was decided on the part of the General that he would give his answer to the said Mazamunu [Masamune], their master, in Yendo, since a business of such an importance required some mature study.

These days were spent well in this city, the General giving a banquet to the Governor, and he in turn in his house, with a substantial supply of meat, according to our custom. If all the things of this kingdom were to be all written down in detail in this relation and the events that took place in it, for instance, about the people who came out to the roadsides and places, such as their children begging the General to give them his blessing and to place the rosary of Our Lady upon their heads, as if to get indulgences; also, about their laws that are without basis and so numerous, as I will say later on, that they confuse everybody. Neither can be mentioned [in detail] the debates that the General¹ had with their *bonzos*, by showing how ugly their vices were, specially their sodomy and others, about which some of them were left defeated and ashamed. They were giving as an excuse that they had never heard of another God but their own, and that they were doing what their ancestors had taught them; their blindness is deplorable.

No mention is made either of the many gold and silver mines existing in this kingdom, or of the great fields of wheat and barley, which stuff is used by the common people, as rice is the daily bread used by all. The same can be said about the visits from the said Governor, secretary and other important persons, because more paper would be required than the one brought along. I also skip over the demonstrations of fright

1 Ed. note: It seems obvious that, in this paragraph at least, Vizcaino has changed the reference to Father Sotelo's missionary activities and claimed the credit for himself.

made by the people at high latitude upon seeing us, as they had never seen any Spaniard in this land, specially one negro [slave], the drummer of the General; the number of people who run up to see him and wished to take him away [was such] that, if he had been enclosed and an entry fee of 1/4 [real] had been charged to every person [to see him], he would have turned white and made some money; if one counts all those who flocked at various places to see him, there must have been over 2 million people who saw him, so much so that more than one ream of paper would not be enough [to narrate it].

On Friday [16 Dec], we left this city well supplied, leaving contented the said Governor, councillors and other Japanese living there, all of them being very inclined to receive baptism; they will no doubt do it, when trade and commerce is established between New Spain, as well as the Philippines, and this kingdom. We had the said *bunguios* with us in order to get attended to in the rest of their kingdom, something they in fact did very liberally, during Saturday and on Sunday when we tried to go out of it. On this day [18 Dec], we spent the night in the city of Camura [Nakamura], whose lord is Daygendono, but before we got there, he was sent the Prince's letter¹ and asked permission to enter it, which he did willingly, plus the inn, the food and whatever else necessary.

On Monday, the General went to visit him, taking along a present of fine and other cloth, because without it he could not see him, and it was done for this lord so near the coast, to get to know him and become friends, in case any ship had to come there in distress, and also to introduce him to our trade and our Christian religion. He received it with much affection, although at the gate of his fortress, excusing himself not to go inside as it was in bad condition and was being rebuilt, the city being in ruins and the towns near the beach having been damaged by the tidal wave. He offered us willingly his whole land and good provisions, not only for our present voyage but also for the galleons and Spanish people who might come there. He showed us that he was serious by keeping us there another day, Monday, to go to the coast and survey it and two bays that turned out to be of little use.

On Tuesday [20th], in the morning, he ordered a complete set of horses for us, and he sent the General a load of *genés* [sic] that are like quarters in Spain,² for travel expenses, and three *bunguios* and soldiers to accompany us. This night we arrived at another city of this *tono*, a very good one, with a great fortress, at about 1 league from the sea, and called Ondazudo. We found there a good reception.

1 Ed. note; It seems to me that, since they returned to Edo by another route, partly along the coast, this city being located on the coast south of Sendai near the frontier with that kingdom; hence, Daygen [or Daihen], the *tono* must have moved from Utsunomiya to Nakamura to meet the foreigners when they passed through Utsunomiya earlier. Nakamura was situated at the northern limit of the province, or kingdom, of Iwaki. It may correspond to the place called Soma today.

2 Ed. note: He refers to quarter-peso coins, the traditional American "two bits", i.e. two reals, as one peso was subdivided into 8 reals.

On Wednesday [21st], we went to spend the night in Fumangava. On Thursday, to Tomena, whose lord is Torindono. On Friday, to Tairacibando,¹ whose lord is Torizaquidono, which is a big city, with its fortress; even though the *tono* was not there, as he had gone to Yendo to attend the court, his secretary and lieutenant, however, took care of us so well, since their master had not missed to arrange the necessary things for travelling through his whole land, for us, the *bunguios* and the soldiers who accompanied us. We went through many places, arriving, on Monday [26th] at Oymatuca,² a city whose lord is Tozabandono. The General sent him a message before getting there, asking permission to enter and visit him. He gave it, saying that we were welcome and would be provided for, but that he was very sick and that he wished he could be healthy to have the pleasure of receiving us in his fortress, but that his secretary and councillor would do so instead, as he had ordered them to do; here we were all given a very good despatch and entertainment.

[The story of the resuscitated pilot]

This day we continued forward to another town, and there, as well as in other parts of his land,³ we were entertained as far as Fugunahama [sic]⁴ which is where we reconnoitered when we came from [New] Spain and we picked up the Japanese pilot who was mentioned earlier, who, although he was not in his town, as he had gone to sea to fish, his wife, sons, parents, in-laws and his whole clan received us with such great pleasure at seeing the General that the extraordinary demonstrations of happiness cannot be told; they entertained the General and everyone else in their houses, for having treated the said Japanese so well. They had given him up for dead and buried, and had held a customary funeral ceremony for him. They said that there had been great disputes with the other Japanese who had been in the junk, for having left him behind, and had been on the verge of cutting them up, but they had given as an excuse that he had been taken away by force and killed to feed a tiger carried aboard [the Spanish ship], and other things; however, at the end, as he had returned safe and sound, and with money for his work, they had been left surprised, and had asked him what he had seen in the afterlife and how it was that he had been resuscitated. He told them what had happened and about the good treatment that he had received and the pay for his work, that we were Christian people and that he himself wished to be one, and other things which I omit so as not to be too long, and they call him “the resuscitated”.

We went on to spend the night at Amito [Mito], a city belonging to the minor son of the Emperor, with a big fortress; he was not in it, as he was with his father. The Governor gave a good reception like the others, although we did not carry a *chapa* for him,

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- 1 Ed. note: This is recognizable as Taira today.
 - 2 Ed. note: Possibly Katsuta, or Tokai, today.
 - 3 Ed. note: They were then in the former Hitachi province.
 - 4 Ed. note: Transcribed previously as Tuginahama.

on account of the skill applied by the General, all along the road a good supply of horses, junks [sic],¹ and meals were supplied for free. By doubling the journeys, passing many places [without stopping], we arrived at the city of Yendo, on 30 December [1612], all in good health and having served God and H.M., leaving behind everyone on that coast, lords and vassals alike, as friends and inclined toward our holy Catholic faith, and so many good ports discovered and in such good parts at that, within the land of such a great lord as the said Mazamuney, who says that whatever Spanish ship that may arrive at his land will find such good treatment and provisions that they may always go to it, and that he wants his vassals to be Christians, as was said before.

As soon as we arrived, the General sent a note to the Prince's councillors to advise him of his arrival and asking permission to pass to Urangava to look after some business, before returning to kiss his hands and show him the survey charts of the ports that he had discovered. He was given it. Another note sent to the said Mazamuney was answered, saying that he did not wish him to pass through without seeing him, that he expected him at his house to eat on Monday [2 Jan 1613], and that each hour that passed without seeing him seemed to be like one year. At about 3 p.m., we went to his house, and there he entertained the General and Father Fray Luis Sotelo with such love that it is hard to describe the respect and reverence that he showed toward him; he even gave him to eat with his own hand and even served him as a wine steward, and the same for the General.² He told him [the General], why not, since they were friends and they were to remain so always, that he wished he would be a soldier, because he would then give him his sword in exchange for his dagger. He did so [i.e. hand over his dagger] and he received it with a great show of respect, kissing the cross³ and placing it upon his head and other ceremonies, according to their custom; this was something to see, even his vassals were surprised to see him so fond of Spaniards. He even went to the extreme of inviting one of his servants, who could hardly appear before him, to join the banquet, telling him: "You know very well that you are my servant and that in my presence you cannot appear unless your head is touching the floor; however, because you are a Christian and a friend of the General, you must eat with me at my table today, and you will wear three insignias of a *tono*." The others became amazed; they began to kiss the Father's habit, saying that they would flock to the convent to learn about the things regarding our faith. During the meal and conversation, the said Mazamuney was told things about our Christian religion, which made him come close to the fishing-net.⁴ May God enlighten his understanding, make him receive baptism and become the refuge of Christians and the cause the majority to become converts, because until now

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- 1 Ed. note: A puzzle, as they were going overland. Perhaps he meant ferry boats to cross the rivers, or junks used by the pilot Vazquez to go direct to Uruga with. Another possibility is that the word should be "bunguios", instead of "funcas".
 - 2 Ed. note: It becomes increasingly clear that Date Masamune's love was meant more for Fr. Sotelo than for Vizcaino; hence, Vizcaino becoming increasingly jealous.
 - 3 Ed. note: The cross probably adorned the handle of the dagger (probably owned by Vizcaino).
 - 4 Ed. note: A reference to St. Peter, the "fisher of men".

Christianity in this kingdom has been implanted like a radish by the leaves, that those who are Christian are poor officials, fishermen and ordinary people, but in order to give to them, and not to give to or ruin the poor religious who have hardly enough to sustain themselves, since the alms are few and money from masses non-existent, as they, as their forefathers do not need them, [so] they do not have them [masses] said.

At the hour of prayer, we returned to our inn, very happy with the good predisposition of this lord.

On Tuesday, we pursued our voyage to Urangava, and arrived on Wednesday, 4 January, and found there our people in good health. The said tidal wave had not reached them, although there had been some sign of it; the General was very happy [about this news]. God be blessed, given that this voyage was so pleasant and not more than 300 taels has been spent from the Royal Treasury; because, if the cloth that had been brought had been used for the presents, it would all be gone already. As it were, the General supplemented it with his property. [Although] he keeps giving it away, he will be left with the [pension] income that H.M. has pledged to give him for many years. If all the expenses had been made and paid for, 2,000 Spanish ducats would not have been enough, and it would have taken two years to do rather than the 90 days that it took to do the survey. He also found out that the cutting of the wood to lay out the said ship had begun, but everything was going very coldly and slowly, as will be said later on.

He was also informed that the Emperor and Prince knew about the main objective of the voyage, which was the discovery of the islands, that the English and Dutch who were visiting this kingdom had told them. They also asked them why they had given permission to the General to survey the ports and coast of their kingdom, since the Spanish were bellicose people and expert with weapons, who could come with a large fleet to take the kingdom away from them, and that in their country they do not admit them. He answered that if they do not admit them, they must be cowards, since they feared another nation, and that he did not understand the intention of the Spanish to be so, and he granted [us] a more liberal permission for future work. Let the whole of Spain come against him [he said], that he did not fear, that he had enough people to defend himself and that he did not care. What islands did they come to discover, anyhow? Were they in his kingdom, or in which parts were they located and what information did they have about them. How rich were they? So what? If they belonged to his crown, he would defend them; otherwise, let them be lucky enough to find them, that he would be glad if they bumped into them and that they be in a convenient place for trade to be established, because that was what he appreciated and wished and not anything else.

The Dutch certified to him that once a lost Portuguese ship touched at them by chance and they were there a few days; they saw that they were inhabited¹ and the land was fertile, with gold and silver, but that they did not know for sure in what latitude or longitude, nor how many leagues they were from his kingdom. The Emperor answered

1 Ed. note: The Dutch were referring to the so-called Armenian Islands discovered circa 1543; they were in fact the Okinawa Islands, not Rico de Oro or Rico de Plata (see HM 2:530-536).

them that the thing was uncertain, and that it would be lucky indeed if they found them. So, they were not given credence by the Emperor who did not listen to their gossips. The above was reported to the General by a Japanese who had been present, a Christian. It became necessary [for the General] to turn the tables and not to hide what was already public knowledge, but rather that the Emperor, Prince and Councillors should be made to understand that if they wished to send some Japanese in his company, he would take them willingly, not only to see if they could be found but also for anything else he wished, that the King, our lord, does not deal underhandedly with any other nation and specially theirs, with which he had trade and friendship and he wished to preserve that for many years, so that the Christianity then begun would continue [to grow]; that the Dutch, being such bad people, who had run off and rebelled against their King, were coming with gossips and trickeries to which no credence should be given. They appreciated this very much, on account of the success [of the survey] and the existing good relations.

[However,] the enemy, Satan, who never sleeps, had taken this opportunity, in view of the progress being made and the increase in Christianity, and blinded the eyes of a senior official of the secretary named [blank], a Christian, who accepted a bribe from a gentleman, who was seeking a favor from the Emperor, and he made a false *chapa*. He had received a quantity of gold and silver for this, but he became greedy and asked for more, so that his evil doing was discovered. The Emperor was very angry and had justice done to him; while being tortured, he confessed that he was a Christian, along with his wife and other servants of the Emperor. The enemy made efforts to have others found out at this time as well; consequently, they were all arrested. They were asked to denounce the faith and law of God, in which case they would not be excluded from his service and would not lose their rental income and properties. The majority remained firm and accepted to have those taken from them, to have their head shaved and to leave the court, and other things they did to them. Above all, the said Julia mentioned previously outshone the others, even though they say that the Emperor abused her, knowing that she was a Christian, he expelled her from his household and exiled her to an island called Ujima.¹ The good lady, as a good servant of God and firm in her faith, accepted to be insulted and thrown out of the palace, with her hair shorn, rather than leave the faith or do what the Emperor asked, in spite of the many promises they made to her. With the said Christians having become afflicted and fearful, those [others] who wished to become Christians became intimidated. As long as the devil does not take the said Emperor away to hell, where he is headed as long as he does not protect Christianity, there will not be any progress made in the kingdom.

There was also another setback for the church and convent of the Franciscans at Yendo; it was destroyed, being necessary for the building of a larger city. This happened during Lent, a time in which a great harvest was expected in the service of God, our

1 Ed. note: Probably Oshima, lying almost halfway between the tips of the Boso and Izu Peninsulas, SW of Tokyo.

Lord, but the devil prevented it, and the poor religious were left afflicted upon seeing themselves unable to make the desired progress, being unable in view of their poverty to build another convent or residence so quickly, because as I have said, the Christians are so poor [themselves], and there is no powerful *tono* to grant them favors.

We remained at the said town until 13 May [1612], making efforts in the said Yendo for the sale of the cloth which, although it was offered to the Japanese for sale at little more than their cost at Mexico, their were remiss in their payment, in particular some gentlemen who took it; it is pity that the problem of bad debts also exists in that kingdom, since the Emperor imposes so many obligations upon them that the outcome is that there is not one among them whose credit is worth more than 10 reals. If I were to tell about the endless negotiations that result about this, I would never finish.

At time was up, the General decided to pursue his voyage for the said Nangazaque, or to whatever place he needed to go to join with the pilot Lorenzo Vazquez who had gone ahead to purchase the supplies and survey the coast,¹ and during the return trip receive the answer of the embassy from the Emperor and Prince, in order to proceed with our voyage of exploration for the said islands at the end of July, the most appropriate time for it.

Chapter IX.

What happened during the survey of the coast, from the port of Urangava to Nangazaque, which is on the west coast, the farewell to the Emperor, and return to it.

We left the said port on 1 May, by sea, and this day we arrived at Ito, where the Japanese ship² was being built, to see how far its construction had progressed, and also for the General to gather evidence on the extent of his accomplishment toward them of what had been promised on behalf of H.M.; because, if by chance it were not finished in time on account of their remissions, they would be responsible for his not pursuing his voyage. Although the progress was found adequate, with such people it is not possible to deal, specially in matters concerning the expenditure of money. The General warned them in writing and verbally about what they had to do, and with this we left for the said Çorunga, and we arrived on the 18th of the month. Permission was then asked from the Emperor to go on further, and a *chapa* so that along the roads and at sea be given good provisions for the money.

On the 21st, we left for the city of Meaco, and we were given good provisions along the way, as we passed through very large places, some of them with fortresses and lords.

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- 1 Ed. note: Since he was to join up with him at Sakai, it appears that the pilot had time to make only a minimal survey of the coast between Uruga and Nagasaki. Therefore, the Spanish survey of the lower coast of Japan was not so comprehensive as first planned.
 - 2 Ed. note: To be named **San Sebastián** later.

The General excused himself from visiting them, since he had nothing to give them. We got there on the 28th. It is the largest city in the empire, the richest and with the most merchandise and commerce. The Dayde [Dairi] is here; he is the one who gives his blessing to the kings and lords when he gives them their titles, and he is much respected by the Emperor and the others. He never leaves the palace; he always uses women of his lineage, which he abuses, and the sons inherit the office from the father. They are the legitimate kings of the empire; those who have rebelled are those who usurped their rights and keep them shut in.

The people of the city are very lucid and courteous. Here we remained until 15 June, visiting the greatness of its temples and idols, that are so adorned that only to God such a thing is due. We also visited the sepulcher of the Taycosama [i.e. Hideyoshi], the past emperor, which is a very elegant one. The devil keeps them so blind that they do not know the right way.

It is 6 leagues in length and more than that in circumference, and 1 league in width. In it, there are many *teras*, that are their temples. They now have many freedoms; no resident pays duties, nor goes out to wars, or assists anywhere; no King or General may enter it by force of arms, under penalty of excommunication. All of this is on account of the Dayde, who has many other preeminences, a very large fortress, the best in the whole empire.

On the 16th, we arrived at the city of Usaka, having passed by that of Fuxime, which is almost as big as that of Meaco, where all the kings and lords have their houses, and there is a very big fortress with many people under arms. Its governor is a son-in-law of the Emperor. In Usaca is the son of Taicosama [i.e. Hideyori], who is son-in-law of the Prince. He keeps him shut in inside the fortress, which is one of the best in the empire; he does not let anyone speak to him, so that they will not tell him anything about the usurpations, in case he might aspire to make war on the Emperor. So, he is served by women who entertain him with dances and plays; it is a pity to see him, the son of such a valiant soldier, being so effeminate, so fat, and since he is no more than 30 years old, he cannot bestir himself.

At about 2 leagues from this city is that of Isacay [Sakai], which is very large, with as much trade and commerce as that of Meaco. It is on the coast, in a wide bay with a port for the junks that flock there from all over the empire.

Here we bumped into the pilot Lorenzo Vazquez, who came with the supplies and the survey of the coast. We returned to the said Meaco, where we busied ourselves until 2 July, drawing everything that had been discovered on 4 charts, to give to the said Emperor and Prince, as had been promised to them, and to take to H.M.¹ Once finished, we pursued our voyage to the said Çorunga, and arrived on the 9th. The General then tried to get permission and despatch from the Emperor, for our voyage. He answered

1 Ed. note: One set must have been for himself, for use on the Manila galleons. All copies of these charts have since disappeared. It is possible that an extra copy of the coastal survey of the Rikuchu Coast was made later for Date Masamune.

that we were to go with luck to the port of Urangava, that he would forward it there. His councillors said that he was disgusted with Christians on account of the treachery mentioned previously, and that none of them dared to speak to him. He proved it too, by having a few churches and convents in the kingdom demolished. With this, we left for Urangava, and arrived on the 16th [July 1612]. We found the ship ready, although it lacked supplies and other things. As for the proceeds of the [sale of the] merchandise, the collection was not complete; without it, it was impossible to complete the despatch and provide assistance to the men who were naked and in debt.

So, he then left for Yendo, to ask permission and an answer to the embassy to the Prince, who was remiss in giving it until he had heard from his father, as he did not do anything without his permission. [Finally,] he gave it and a present for the Viceroy,¹ and also to continue to collect what was due us, and look for a loan of 2,000 taels. In spite of the extraordinary efforts made, there was no-one who gave it. It thus became necessary for him to sell his silverware and the other things from his house, and he lent about 2,000 taels with which to complete the provisioning. When the merchants saw that they had not finished the sale of the cloth, they were giving it back; so, it was necessary to have the patience of Job. He gave it up and we all returned to our port, on 15 August, without finishing the said sale. We remained there putting the finishing touches to the preparations of the voyage until the 11th [rather 21st], because the ship belonging to the Japanese had left the shipyard and was being equipped, to see if he could take it in his company, but it was not possible on account of their mistake for having made the hull bigger than what had been agreed to; and annoyed at spending, and with no more than 10 seamen and a pilot, but as they were such bad people, not reasonable, not

1 Ed. note: The shogun's letter, according to Lera and Nuttall, was brief and reserved, but entirely friendly. He gives thanks for the Viceroy's letter and presents, stating "that intercourse and inclination, mocking at distance, have brought them together as neighbors, and that he would await with impatience the merchant ship, which, once a year, was to bring him news of the Viceroy and his nation." In conclusion, he mentions his own present of three breast-plates and other pieces of Japanese armor, which he begs the Viceroy to accept as a proof of devotion."

dealing truthfully nor keeping their word, rather looking to their interest, they gave a thousand reasons to the General. Because he had to and the season was so advanced, he would grant them a few, about which he will at the proper time give an account to H.M. and Viceroy. Although at the beginning they began well, they finished badly. As the Emperor hates Christians, they all wish to please him.

In addition, he received the letter and present of the Emperor for the Viceroy, although very different from what he had promised, to protect the Christians, because he wrote that he did not like our law.¹

With this, we decided to leave to go in search of the islands, and it had not been possible before for the above-mentioned reasons.

Chapter X.

The form of government in the kingdom.

Special attention was paid to and information gathered by me on the form of government in the kingdom and other things about it as follows.

In it, there is nothing fixed, nothing sure on the part of the Emperor or lords, because the rest own their titles by way of tyranny, and he who is stronger, obtains more. Upon the death of the Emperor there will be very great wars, not only on the part of the son, but also that of the Tayco, as well as from other pretendors. The soldiers do not wish for anything more, as they have been starving during the recent peace. These people are fond of weaponry, in such a way that before a child is weaned, they make him bear a sword. They are not loyal, since the children in matter of self-interest obey their superiors by fear and not out of love and because the heathen laws they have are carried out with great rigor. One could not govern otherwise, on account of the large

1 Ed. note: The complete text of this remarkable letter has been published by Lera. In his letter to the Viceroy, dated 18 July 1612, Ieyasu thanks him for his letter and presents, and “expresses the hope that Heaven will permit that their mutual relations will be as close as those which result from familiar intercourse between neighboring countries.” He remarks “that the interchange of merchandise could but be of mutual advantage” and then he explains that “in Japan, in making solemn compacts or agreements, it was customary to appeal to the gods to act as witnesses of their sincerity. These gods infallibly reward those who are faithful to their promises, and punish those who violate them.” Ieyasu then asks “whether the path of all virtue is not to be found in the practice of the five virtues: humanity, justice, courtesy, prudence, and fidelity?” “The doctrine followed in your country,” he says, “differs entirely from ours; therefore, I am persuaded that it would not be suitable to us. In the Buddhist writings, it says that it is difficult to convert those who are not disposed towards being converted. It is best, therefore, to put an end to the preaching of your doctrine on our soil. On the other hand, you can multiply the voyages of merchant ships, and thus promote mutual interests and relations. Your ships can enter Japanese ports without exception. I have given strict orders to that effect.” The presents sent with this letter are said to have been 5 pairs of gilt screens (*biombos*) and a map of Japan.

population in it; so, as soon as the fault is committed, the punishment is then executed, from the greatest punishment] to the smallest, without being motivated by self-interest, of which they are so jealous, or by favors, to such an extent that the smallest crime they may commit is to put their hand upon a sword, and for that they receive the death penalty. Any soldier of the Emperor or Prince can execute them. If they steal 10 maravedis, they cut them up; for something minor, they cut their fingers, and the rest follows from that.

They do not waste paper, because there are no public scribes, nor procurators or constables, because the cities and places are divided into wards, and in every one there is a man who is a judge. He knows what is there;¹ he takes the delinquent to the higher judge, and he in turn and without delay either condemns him or absolves him. Each one is a judge within his own household, over the people living there.

The Emperor has his councillors, who are members of the council and governors, who communicate the affairs of the empire to him; they are adept at finding out everything.

Their manner of writing is brief. The gentlemen behave respectfully, although with much vanity, foolishness and pretension, regarding their lineages and arms. They show off so much that, although they get much rental income, they are always indebted on account of what I have just said and on account of the Emperor.

The common people are very bad and worst in their dealings than anyone else in the world. They sell their sons, daughters and wives for money.

The workers are subjected to much [abuse], because out of 10 sacks of rice that they harvest, 7 are taken by the Emperor or lord; as for the barley and other seeds, the fourth part.

They have 14 laws, but they all come down to one, which is to be slaves to the devil, and they admit that he is bad; the gods that they worship are *Cames* [Kami] and *Fotoques* [idols]. The *Cames* are to whom they pray for material things, and the *Fotoques* to whom they pray for salvation. Some say that it exists; others say no, that glory consists in being a rich gentleman, in depriving and ordering, in maintaining oneself in great luxury and in having many women and good ones, and that on the contrary, hell is to be poor, crippled, sick, not having a wife, boarded, and above all the poverty and old age.

The priests they have are numberless, and they do not have rental income; so, when they hold some banquets, they become cooks. They are not married nor have anything to do with women, under penalty of death. Everyone of them has his own boy, with whom they sleep, and this is general throughout the empire.

What is most admirable is their way of making war. The Emperor, when he wants people, he can without making fuss raise over 5 million of them within 20 days, all armed and with food supplies, because each and every one of the kings and lords of the empire is obliged to maintain at home as many armed soldiers as his rental income

1 Ed. note: Meaning that he is first to hear the cases.

dictates, and to send part of them wherever he is asked, at his expense and with victuals, without anything in exchange. In case any of them did not do so and it became known, they would cut off all his rental income from him and from his descendents.

There are no vagabonds or men without a job, because then it is known how he makes a living, and he cannot stay more than three days in one place. If they find him without a job or master, they cut him up, because they say that such men are those who steal. There are no pimps, because the women's only master is money. May God remedy this and give them salvation, and give us glory.

There are no such things as excise or customs duties, no head tax either.¹ So, natives as well as foreigners can come to the kingdom and all go selling freely and bustling around the whole kingdom, without anyone being able to tell them anything against selling, buying, coming or going, receipt or expenditure.

The rental income that the Emperor and lords have is derived from the seeds and harvests of the land, specially rice, and there is an infinite number that is harvested by the farmers and paid to the lord, at the rate of 1 *fanega* for every 6, except for those farming wheat, barley and other vegetables who pay nothing; from the gold and silver mines, they get 7 out of every 10 marks; also from the plots for houses and the licences for the ships. Since the gentlemen of this kingdom are so numerous, except for a certain lord with an income of this kind of over 6 million, and they say that King Masamoney [sic]² gets even more, but they are all in debt and without a penny.

They tell us many other oddities about this kingdom and of its greatness and fertility, for instance, in every month of the year they harvest some product in it and hardly 8 days go by without rain, and almost everything is irrigated land. Given that it is over 500 leagues in length, [blank] in width, everything being the same language and one way of writing; all the men and women can read, write and count, and they are so skilled in matters of trade and commerce that there are no Jews like them, and so scrupulous that it seems as if God gives to these bad people whatever they ask him, for instance, they do not know what pestilence or sickness is, nor do they get it in general; they do not even need physicians or barbers [i.e. surgeons].

What is general among them, be they big or small, are the jousts, the feasts and the drunken bouts in which they spend most of the time of the year, even more so the lords and the priests, and they all live the good life. May His Divine Majesty take pity on them, give them salvation and deliver them from the great blindness in which they are, and may He give to this bad Emperor who persecutes the Christians the payment that he deserves, since there is no hope that he will do anything good as long as he governs.

1 Ed. note: The tax called *millones* in Spain was an excise levied to pay the expenses of the army.

2 Ed. note: There would be a witty remark to be made here, if the original text were in English: "King Mass of Money..." but he refers to his future patron, Date Masamune, King of Oshu.

Chapter XI.

Departure from the port of Urangava and the search for the said islands [of gold and silver].

We departed from the port of Urangava on Tuesday, 16 September [1612], at about 10 in the morning, with a wind blowing from the land, in company with the General of the junks and his vessels, leaving the Christians happy and settled, and we being well despatched and provided with necessities, leaving behind the said Japanese ship because it was not well despatched and provided with necessities. Even though they were making haste, there was a doubt that they would make the voyage this year, as they had few sailors and many things were lacking.¹

On this day, we came out of the bay of Yendo.

The next day, Wednesday, we got a stormy breeze and heavy sea and we had to eject a few things that were on deck. The storm abated and the wind became favorable. Pursuing our voyage in accordance with the instruction, on the 25th we found ourselves at the latitude of the said islands [i.e. 35°] and, having sailed for over 200 leagues, where the nautical charts say that they are located.

Here the General held a meeting with the pilots and they discussed what diligences could be done to come up to them, since we had come along a track passing by them and had not seen any sign of them. It was decided to lose latitude until 34°. So it was done, because the weather permitted it; in fact, it was so good and clear that, day and night, many lookouts were kept in the tops and topmasts, but we did not come up with them, although there were signs of land and a great quantity of large pieces of pumice that floated in long lines that hardly left room for the ship to pass through, and some turtles and ducks that are precise signs of land.²

They did not appear either. The General ordered to go back and all the diligences in the world were made to accomplish that, as it was the intention of H.M., because he did not think about going to Acapulco, until he was sure of their existence or not. This was done until the 12th of October, and the extraordinary efforts, depositions and meetings cannot be told. On the day in question, some of the sailors began to lose faith, and I do not wish to talk about the Pilot Major; he declared that there were no such islands

1 Ed. note: Apparently, the final preparations had purposely been delayed by the shogun, with the connivance of Father Sotelo, who, as soon as Vizcaino had left with the **San Francisco**, was named honorary ambassador. The Japanese ship, christened **San Sebastián**, whereas it was possibly called the Hide Maru by the Japanese, left port 5 weeks later, but, on account of the lack of experience of the crew, was soon driven back and wrecked. The shogun then placed all the blame on Fr. Sotelo, had him imprisoned and sentenced to death, from which he was saved, however, by the intervention of his close friend, Date Masamune.

2 Ed. note: Strange if true, as we now know with certainty that there is no land, or submerged volcano, anywhere near lat. 34°N and long. 155°E. The rafts of pumice must have provided a temporary ecological basis for the observed animal life.

in the whole world, that he had carried out his obligations and diligences and beyond what the Viceroy had ordered. Some of them became emboldened in words and in writing; and, as he saw them riotous and since he did not have any soldiers to back him up, he judged it necessary to pacify them with good reasons and not to let the business go on, because they might have killed him.

On the 14th, a storm with a NE wind that lasted 24 hours was so severe that we thought we would flounder. Some things were thrown overboard and it passed. Pursuing our voyage, on the 18th of the month, we were hit by a hurricane which began with the said NE wind, rotating through all points of the compass. We [thought we] were lost as the ship was half submerged, as it was so small that the waterline was way above its keel, and with the many swings and heavy seas, it being so old and worn-out that the planks would creak as if they were coming apart. It opened up below the fore-castle. We cut the main-mast and everything that was on deck was thrown overboard. We strapped it with five tourniquet ropes but we did not expect the first wave to do anything but swallow us; the people were discouraged and tired of so much work. The General would encourage them by giving them gifts from his cabin. However, God, through His merciful and blessed Mother who in such passages succor those afflicted, were pleased to placate the storm, but not the [heavy] sea that lasted for 11 days and was so bad that we could not open the hatches nor take out food or water, and the people were perishing of thirst and hunger; anyhow, there was nothing with which to prepare food because the kitchens had been thrown overboard.

We saw ourselves lost and unable to pursue our voyage to New Spain. A meeting was held and what was most convenient was done. With the agreement of everyone, we turned back to this kingdom of Japan, since there was no other remedy and that there we could gather what was necessary for the next year, with the help of a loan from the Emperor, which H.M. would honor. So, we pursued the voyage to the port of Urangava, or the land of Masamoney who had become our friend. In this, there were a few ideas that came from the pilot. While pursuing our voyage at a latitude of 36° and 1/2 in search of Japan,¹ at about 200 leagues before getting to it, precise signs of land were seen such as swallows, royal ducks, turtles, sparrows and butterflies that they came to the ship. As for the ship, it was in such a state that we could not stress it in any way; if it had not been given an extra layer of planks at Urangava, no doubt it would have left us at sea. However, at last, after many hardships we arrived at the port of Urangava on 7 November, where we found out that the Japanese ship **San Sebastian** had departed and, because they had followed their own mind and loaded it without Spanish supervision, it ran aground at about one league from the port; the Japanese admitted their mistake.

As soon as we had anchored, the General sent messages to the Emperor and Prince, letting them know about his having turned back in distress and the necessity in which

1 Ed. note: It appears that the pilot intended to hit the coast south of Sendai, then coast up to that port, the capital of Masamune.

he found himself and that which he had to be able to outfit for the following year. They answered that they were sorry for their hardships, that they should not feel bad because they would be given what was necessary; that he [i.e. the Emperor] was going up to see his son at Yendo, and that there would be discussed what was convenient. What happened will be told in the next chapter.

Chapter XII.

The return in distress to Japan and what happened until they left it [November 1612-October 1613].

When the said General heard that the Emperor was in Yendo, he then went there to visit him and solicit his provisions. He spent five whole months making extraordinary diligences with presents and petitions in order to conclude his business, by going out to the roads and neighborhoods where the said Emperor was hunting, suffering many hardships and colds, but he was never able to talk to him. As for the petitions, they were not delivered into his hands, because the advisers and secretaries prevented it, hence the confusion, given that they did not follow up on what they had promised at the beginning. [However,] the said advisers were not to blame, as it was learned later, but a religious (it is not said if he was authorized by his Order) had given a petition to the said Emperor in which he told him that he had understood that the General was hoping for [a loan of] 6,000 pesos to be paid in New Spain; that they should look out what they were doing, since he [i.e. the General] had not brought an order from the Viceroy to that effect, nor from H.M., and that he did not have anything to pay it back with and that the payback was doubtful; and that he himself and the rest of the religious should not be held responsible for it either. The Japanese did not need anything else to withdraw their hands from the loan, but in this matter they entertained him the whole time without saying yes or no; they never carry through or finish anything, because they deal falsely and completely opposite [of what they should do], they being a heathen and godless people.

Being occupied with the above, there came letters from Nangasaqui to the said General, from Captain Uñate and others, offering him whatever quantity of money was required, with some interest, to be paid back in New Spain. In view of the good deal and his great need, he accepted, and despatched a letter to the above-mentioned, along with an power of attorney sufficient to obligate him, mortgaging his property and income and that of H.M., in whose name it was taken, by which it was recognized for certain that what was promised would be complied with. All the people rejoiced about this, because they were suffering much hardship from hunger. To give them something to eat, the General had auctioned off his property and was taking gold at an unfair rate from the Japanese who are great profiteers. It did not have any effect, because another religious of the said Order wrote to the above-mentioned to warn them to look out and not to loan their money because he had very great doubts about it being paid back, and

[he told them] other things that cannot be said in this narrative. This was the reason why the Spanish became disheartened and refused to give the loan; he was thus advised about everything.

In view of this confusion and of the fact that the people were dying of hunger and were broken and in debt, that they could not go either by sea or overland, he called a meeting with his people and exposed the problem to them; since they were vassals of H.M., they should convince themselves of the necessity of selling everything they had, even their own shirts, that those who had any cloths [to sell] should loan the money [from their sale], that he, of course, pledged everything that he held on behalf of some gentlemen in Mexico who had entrusted the goods to him for the benefit of their households and his own, plus a negro woman he had [as a slave], even the mattresses of his bed were to be taken to Yendo and sold at auction, and everything was to be sold for the account of their owners and to compensate them. Some people were thus encouraged to loan some goods.

With the money that resulted from this, it was decided to pay back what had been borrowed and to prepare the ship **San Francisco** to make the voyage to New Spain, even with only water and rice, and to get out of the land of gentiles.

The next day, when they were asked for the cloths to take it to Yendo, the majority excused themselves and others hid their own or even sold them in secret and fled. Considering this, and that he did not have armed forces to exercise the authority and power of the royal justice, he thought it better not to say anything, to hide his feelings, to take his property and go with it to the said city of Yendo to sell it for whatever he could get and pay back to the Japanese what they had loaned him, because the rate of exchange for gold was very low; so he did, losing 100% on it.

There was no remedy but to lease the ship's bottom to Spanish and Japanese [merchants], and to buy supplies with the proceeds. The Spanish did not wish to do it, and some Japanese were inclined to do it and to give the money that was required for it, but another devil stepped forward, in the person of a religious of the said Order who was out of favor with his Commissioner and wished to go to New Spain without permission. His name cannot be mentioned here.¹ The General carries a relation about this event and all the rest, for the attention of H.M., his Council, and the Viceroy. The said religious, as he did not have any hope that the said General would take him aboard his ship, and he was so involved with the Japanese, serving them as *naguatato* [interpreter?], he pressed them to build a ship for [the trade with] New Spain in order to go with it. He contrived so well that, not only it became impossible to find someone to buy enough cloth to outfit a crate, but also to have a single Japanese merchant to come into the General's house.

1 Ed. note: Recall that the Father Commissioner Alonso Muñoz had taken the place of Father Luis Sotelo as honorary Japanese ambassador in 1610. Fr. Sotelo is the religious meant by Vizcaino here.

Finding himself now without any recourse or a way he could take to leave this kingdom, and everyone being discouraged, the General, out of grief, which was great, fell sick and his condition was going from bad to worse. King Mazamoneydono heard about this and sent him the notice that he wished to build him a ship, that he had the wood cut for it already and that he would give him and his people a comfortable passage, and that he should discuss the matter with one of his servants on his behalf, and that everything would be complied with. He then called a meeting with his people about what should be done with such a good opportunity, given that there was no other remedy. They all agreed that it should be done then and that such an opportunity should not be lost; so, it was undertaken. In this there was much give and take with the said servants, they being such bad and petty people, but finally it was agreed and the following contract was drawn.

Contractual arrangements.

Firstly, that the said Masamoney must give a ship equipped and outfitted with all the food supplies and other necessary things for a voyage to New Spain this year, without anything being spent on the part of H.M.

Item, that as of then the salaries and rations were to be paid to 26 persons, pilots and officers, at the rate which H.M. pays, until the arrival at Acapulco; and that the pay of the said General, for the royal constable, the water steward, the surgeon and three or four other persons, would run on the account of H.M., since they were his ministers.

Item, that they were then to give a pay advance to the said people, of 50 taels to the Pilot Major and carpenter, 40 to the mate, 30 to the other tradesmen, 25 to the sailors and 15 to the ship's boys.

Item, that they were to give them their ration in advance in money, and horses to bring them as far as Guenday [i.e. Sendai], where the ship was being built at his expense, a distance of over 240 leagues.¹

Item, that junks are to be provided to carry the cloth of the Spanish [merchants] until the place where the said ship is being built, at no transport charge or interest.

Item, that they are to give to the said people their shipping allowance, as is the custom in the Philippines, without any duty or transport cost.

Item, that all the people, Spanish as well as Japanese, have to go under the command of the said General.

Item, that the persons who go without a salary must be given rations from the time they embark until arrival at Acapulco.

Item, that, given thay there is no instruction from the said Viceroy regarding Japanese, few of them should go, as supercargos of the said ship, and some ship's boys, on account of the lack of personnel.

1 Ed. note: Must have been Japanese leagues, because the actual distance is about 300 land miles or under 500 km.

The above was the agreement between the said General and a servant of the said Masamoney. These contractual arrangements were accepted by the said General because they seemed to be very favorable to H.M., given that he would not have to pay the salaries and rations and other consumables, and that it was not possible to supply ourselves, that the ship **San Francisco** was very old and too leaky to make the voyage, except with a very great risk. They would have been more favorable, had not the said religious been the intermediary, given the great desire he had, as I have said, to leave; he warned the Japanese about a few things in order to ingratiate himself with them and get them to help him in his pursuit.

Everything promised in the said contractual arrangements had thus far been complied with very well. With this the said General and people left for the kingdom of Ox [Oshu] to comply with what had been promised, where we were engaged in the building of the ship and its preparation for the voyage until the 27th of October [1613], passing through many great hardships with the said Japanese who are the worst people, as I have said, existing in the whole world.

There was a few faults on his part, specially the food supply, which lasted for only half the voyage. They discovered at the departure some very bad dealings and great interest. They did not comply with some of the contractual terms, but the General kept quiet because not too much harm would result from it.

The said religious meddled in everything; he despatched the ship and embarked all the Japanese he wanted and he made himself Governor and Captain of it. The General, seeing that it could not be helped, even though he made a few diligences, embarked as a passenger. If he had done anything else, given the state of mind of the Japanese, they would have clubbed us to death.

Finally, on this day [i.e. 27 October 1613], we set sail to pursue our voyage, with reasonable weather, making a few attempts at finding the islands, because we were on their latitude. Nothing was found in the gulf [i.e. North Pacific], and on 26 December we saw the land of Cape Mendocino, and with spells of calm and fair weather we arrived at this neighborhood of Zacatula, where it was decided to send an advice to your Excellency, and in this state remained this narrative.¹

[Note:] This is a good transcript faithfully copied from the original in the [official record] book of H.M., the one that carries a rubric and is signed by the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, Marquis of Salinas, and which remains in the hands of the said General. It occupies 32 folios [in the said book]. Fathers Fray Diego Ibañez, Juan de Berga and Domingo de Villalobos verify that it is in conformity with the original, since they saw it being copied and corrected, they being aboard the said ship, on 22 January 1614. In witness whereof, I signed it with my name and made my regular rubrics.

Francisco Gordillo, appointed clerk.

1 Ed. note: The **Date Maru** made it into Acapulco in January 1614.

Documents 1613

The story of the Date Maru and the Japanese embassy to Rome, 1613-1619

Important printed sources: 1) Alonso Rodriguez Gamarra (ed.), *Relacion breve, y sumaria del edito que mandó publicar en todo su Reyno del Bojú, vno de los mas poseirosos del Japon, el Rey Idate Masamune, publicando la Fe de Cristo, y del Embaxador que embia a España en compañía del reuerendo Padre Fray Luys Sotelo Recoleta Francisco, que viene con embaxada del Emperador del Japon, hijo de Seuilla, y lo que en el viage le sucedio (Seville, 1614).* [See reproduction and translation of this booklet in Section 7 below].

2) Diego Perez (ed.), *Relación verdadera que embio el Padre Fray Luys Sotelo de la Orden de san Francisco, a su ermano don Diego Cauallero de Cabrera beintiquatro de Seuilla, en que se da cuenta del Bautismo que se hizo a el Embajador Japon (Sevilla, 1614).* [See reproduction and translation of this booklet in Section 8 below].

3) "Avvisi Urbinati" da Roma [Monthly periodical of the City of Rome], for October, November 1615, January and March 1616.

4) Fr. Angelus Rivolta (ed.) "Acta Avdientiae pvblica A S.D.N. Pavlo V. Pont. Opt. Max. Regis Voxv Japoni Legatis. Romæ die iij Nouembris in Palatio Apostolico apud S. Petrum exhibitæ, MDCXV." [Acts of the public audience given by His Holiness Paul V, Supreme Pontiff, to the embassy of the King of Voxu, at Rome on the 3rd of November, in the halls of St. Peter¹ of the Apostolic Palace, 1615] (Rome, Giacomo Mascardi, 1615). [Contains the Latin version of the Letter from the King of Oshu to the Pope, reproduced and translated in Section 5 below].

5) Dr. Scipione Amati, *Historia del Regno di Voxu del Giappone...* (Rome, Giacomo Mascardi, 1615) [Available at BNM #4/45022]; republished by Fr. Marcellino da Civezza with a new title: "Solemne Ambasceria del Giappone al Sommo Pontefice Paolo V..." (Prato, 1891); also reprinted Tokyo, 1954. [See further details in Section 4 below].

6) Fr. Luis Sotelo, *Relación verdadera del recibimiento que la Santidad del Papa Paulo Quinto (Seville, 1616).* [See reproduction and translation of this booklet in Section 9 below].

7) Fr. Diego de San Francisco, *Relacion verdadera...* (Manila, 1625; Mexico, 1626).

8) G. Berchet, *Le antiche Ambasciate Giapponesi in Italia (Venice, 1877).* [First published at London in 1876].

9) Francisco Boncompagni-Ludovici, *Le prime due Ambasciate dei Giapponesi a Roma (1585-1615) (Rome, 1904).* [Available at the National Library in Rome #56.5.H.32].

10) Periodical "Dai Nippon Shiryo", Part XII, Vol. XII (Tokyo, 1909). [Number entirely devoted to this second embassy].

1 Ed. note: The exact location is given in the text as "the hall adjacent to the Clementine Room".

1. A chronology of the events connected with this embassy and a calendar of some important manuscripts, by the Editor

6 October 1613—Letter from Masamune to King Philip III, in Mitsuhuri, l.c., 220-222.

6 October—"Litterae Regis Voxii ad Paulum V" [Letter of the King of Voxu to Paul V], in, among others, *Anales Ordinis Minorum*, XXII, 126-134.

27 October—Departure of the **Date Maru** from the port of Tsukinoura with 150 Japanese aboard; Father Luis Sotelo and Ambassador Hasekura as General, a post held in common, and Sebastián Vizcaíno as passenger.¹

26 December—Cape Mendocino in California sighted.

22 January 1614—Arrival at Zacatula and advice sent to the Viceroy.

25 January—Arrival at Acapulco. Only 80 Japanese accompany Hasekura as far as Mexico.

February—Japanese received in audience by the Viceroy of New Spain.

March—"Copy of the written order (dated Mexico 4 March) sent by the Marquis of Guadalcazar, Viceroy of New Spain, to Doctor Antonio de Morga, regarding the removal of weapons carried by the Japanese, and of the deposition (dated 5 March) provided for their good treatment" (AGI 58-3-17, 4 folios).

10 June—Japanese embassy leaves Veracruz.

5 October—Arrival at San Lúcar de Barrameda.

...—Arrival at Seville, hometown of Fr. Sotelo.

30 October—"Consultation from the Council of the Indies regarding the Ambassador of the King of Boxu in Japan" (AGI 67-6-1, 5 folios).

11 November—"Consultation from the Council of the Indies regarding the coming of the Ambassador of Japan and of Fr. Luis Sotelo" (AGI 67-6-1, 2 folios).

20 December—Japanese embassy arrives at Madrid.

23 December—"Report from the Council about the order regarding the present for the Emperor of Japan and his son, and the despatch of the ship in which came the Ambassador" (AGI 67-6-1, 3 folios).

23 December—"Royal decree to the Viceroy of New Spain in which is given the order regarding the present for the Emperor of Japan" (AGI 87-5-2, libro 60, folios 117 v, 2 leaves).

30 January 1615—Japanese embassy received in audience by King Philip III.

17 February—Japanese Ambassador baptized Felipe Francisco.

1 The navigation was probably still in the hands of Benito de Palacios. Meriwether says that the ship had been built mostly by Japanese carpenters under the supervision of Mukai Shogen, who had been trained by Will Adams at Uruga, during the construction of the **San Buenaventura** and the **San Sebastian**.

8 March—"Royal decree to the Viceroy of New Spain for him to deliver to Fray Alonso Muñoz [sic]¹ the letters and the present for the King of Japan" (AGI 87-5-2, libro 60, folio 119, 2 leaves).

29 April—"Report from the Council regarding the pretension of the Ambassador of Japan regarding the favor to be done him of a habit of St. James" (AGI 67-6-1, 3 folios).

9 July—"Consultation from the Council of the Indies to H.M. regarding the despatch of Fray Luis Sotelo, Ambassador [sic] of Japan and of the Japanese who accompanies him" (AGI 67-6-1, 2 folios).

28 April—Departure from Acapulco of the friars aboard the **Date Maru**.

15 August—Arrival of the **Date Maru** at Uruga.²

[Undated] "Itinerary of the Ambassadors of Japan from Madrid as far as Genoa" (National Library in Rome, Barberini lat. 3604 fol. 178).

28 October—Japanese embassy arrives at Rome.

29 October—Date of official entry into Rome.

3 November—Japanese embassy received in audience by Pope Paul V.

December—"First letter from Felipe Francisco Hasekura to the Pope [Note his Christian names. His Italian nickname is given in the draft of the answer as "Rocca nigra" which means "Black Rock", a pun if read "Ishi-kura".

27 December—Letter from Pope Paul V to Idato Massamuno Re di Vouxu [sic].

31 December—Second letter from Felipe Francisco Hasekura [In Fondo Borghese, Vatican Library].

January 1616—Japanese embassy received by the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

13 February—Japanese embassy arrives at Genoa, to be received by the Doge.

1 March—"Consultation from the Council of the Indies to H.M. regarding the Japanese who went to give obedience to His Holiness" (AGI 67-6-1, 2 folios).

12 March—Japanese embassy departs from Genoa.

...—Japanese embassy arrives back in Spain.

20 June—Japanese embassy departs from Seville.

July—Death of Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate of Japan.

4 July—Japanese embassy leaves San Lúcar for Veracruz.

12 July—"Reply to the King of Bojo [sic]" [signed by King Philip III] (AGI 105-2-1, libro 20, folio 208, 2 leaves).

30 September—Departure of the **Date Maru** from Uruga on her second voyage to Acapulco. The captain was General Mukai Shogen.

25 February 1617—Arrival of the **Date Maru** at Colima (Ref. MN 477 (ex-Depósito Hidrográfico Doc. 170, 176; AGI Fil. 193).

1 Fray Diego de Santa Catalina was to replace him as he became sick.

2 Ieyasu was then busy with the final siege of the fortress of Osaka which ended with the death of Hideyori, the heir of Hideyoshi.

Ca. 1617—"Narrative of what happened to three discaled religious of St. Francis with a present and embassy that they took on behalf of the King our lord to the King of Japan and to his son, written by one of the said religious" (AGI 58-3-17, 17 folios).

16 June—"Answer made to H.M. regarding his enquiry about the despatch of the Japanese Ambassador of the King of Boju [sic]. With a petition from Fray Luis de Sotelo" (AGI 67-6-1, 4 folios).

20 June—"Royal decree in answer to the Viceroy of New Spain regarding the letters and the present for the King of Japan" (AGI 87-5-2, libro 60, folio 178v, 3 leaves).

19 December—"Copy of the deposition regarding the suspension of the collecting of the duties that had been ordered collected for the merchandise from Japan" [signed by the Viceroy] (AGI 58-3-18, 4 folios).

4 February 1618—"Letter from Fray Luis Sotelo regarding the sending of religious to Japan" (AGI 60-2-35, 2 folios).

April—The Japanese embassy aboard the **Date Maru** sails from Acapulco with the fleet of Governor Alonso Fajardo.

3 July—Letter from Fr. Luis Sotelo, on his arrival at Manila.

Ca. Sept.—Japanese embassy forced to sell the **Date Maru** to Governor Fajardo.

Ca. 1619—Japanese embassy leaves Manila aboard a junk to return to Japan. Fr. Sotelo forced to stay at Manila.

31 October 1620—"Royal decree to the Viceroy of New Spain, requesting information about the disadvantages which the Archbishop of Manila says persist regarding the coming to these kingdoms of Japanese ambassadors" (AGI 105-2-1, libro 2, folio 365).¹

27 May 1623—Letter from Pope Gregory XV to Date Masamune (not delivered).

21 November 1625—"The King to the Governor of the Philippines regarding Japanese affairs" (AGI 105-2-1, folio 383, 2 folios).

2. Core members of the Japanese embassy, by the Editor

The names of the 20 core members of the Japanese embassy, besides Fr. Sotelo, at least those who went as far as Rome, are variously given by Amati and others. The names of the Japanese can be synthesized as follows:

1. HASEKURA Rokuyemon, alias Don Felipe Francisco Faxicura—Ambassador;
2. KAFIOE, alias Don Tomás Takino (i.e. de Aquino) Cafioe, or Çafioe—gentleman companion of honor, who became a religious, says Amati; he is probably the one whose apostasy (after he returned to Japan) so grieved the Franciscan friars;
3. ITANI Soni (or STAMISONO), alias Don Pedro Itamisomi—gentleman companion of honor; he also received advanced religious training;

¹ A letter of like date and tenor was also sent to the Audiencia of Manila.

4. NOMANO Hampe, alias Don Francisco Nomano Fampe—gentleman companion of honor; he also received advanced religious training;
 5. KAMIRO Gegi, alias Don Paulo Camillo Gueghi—gentleman and secretary; he was baptized and confirmed in Rome on 15 Novemer 1615.;
 6. KURANOGO, alias Simón—second(?) secretary;
 7. KINGI(?), alias Thome Quingi—gentleman or samurai;
 8. IAUMEN, alias Tomás—gentleman or samurai;
 9. TAROSAEM, alias Juan—gentleman or samurai;
 10. YAMAGUCHI Kanjiro, alias Lucas (Yamaguchi) Cangiro or Canjuro—page or samurai;
 11. TOKURO, alias Gregorio Tocuro—servant and flag bearer;
 12. KEISHIRO, alias Tomás Squeichiro [sic]—servant and flag bearer;
 13. KIUZO or KINIUZO, alias Nicolás Juan Quiuzo—servant and flag bearer;
 14. MOFEAYE, alias Santiago (possibly Jaime, which means the same thing)—servant and flag bearer;
 15. HARADA Kariamom, alias Juan Faranda Cariamom—pilgrim;
 16. YAMASAGI Kosuke, alias Gabriel Yamasagi Cansque—pilgrim;
 17. SATO Kuranocho, alias Simón Sato Curanojo—page;
 18. SATO Tarozayemon, alias Juan Sato Tarozayemon—page;
 19. TANO Kiugi or TANNOKIUGI, alias Tomé Tannoquiugi—page;
 20. YAGIAMI Kanoyagyemon, alias Tomás Iagiami Cannoyagiemon—page.
- The party was sponsored and guided during the audience with the Pope by two other Europeans: 1) Doctor Scipione Amati, an Italian interpreter [Spanish to Italian]; and 2) Francisco Martinez, a Spanish interpreter [Japanese to Spanish].

3. Summary of the events concerning the second and last Japanese embassy to Rome

Source: Zelia Nuttall's article "The Earliest Historical Relations Between Mexico and Japan", in University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 4, N° 1, Berkeley, 1906-1907, pp. 41 et sequitur.

Friar Sotelo's arrival in Mexico as the ambassador¹ of the Protector of Christianity in Japan, and with a flock of would-be converts, was regarded as a triumph of the Church and particularly of the deservedly much loved Franciscan Order. At Acapulco, the town officials determined to honor the members of an embassy to the Viceroy, the King and the Pope with extraordinary honors, and greeted it with salutes of artillery. Its members were escorted with music to luxuriously appointed lodgings, and the festivities were crowned by a gala bull-fight. The viceroy sent orders that provisions for the journey to the capital were to be provided, and a large mounted and armed escort was to accompany the embassy on its long and somewhat perilous journey. In all

1 Ed. note: The real ambassador was HASEKURA Rokuyemon.

villages, towns and cities along their route the travellers were received with military music and triumphal arches. Carpets strewn with pieces of gold were spread on their pathway, and they were lodged and lavishly entertained at the royal houses. In the capital, where they were anxiously expected, they were lodged in a palace near the Convent of San Francisco, where they were at once visited by the archbishop, the judges and officers of the Inquisition and the high nobility and gentlemen of Mexico. Having opportunely arrived during Holy Week, the Japanese were able to witness the solemn processions and impressive religious ceremonies held in the cathedral and churches of Mexico, the interiors of which were beautifully decorated with flowers. They were so impressed with what they saw that 78 members of the Japanese ambassador's suite expressed their desire to be baptized. This sacrament was performed in the church of San Francisco with great solemnity and the sanction of the archbishop's presence, members of the highest nobility acting as sponsors. Subsequently the Japanese ambassador expressed his desire to be baptized, but after consultation the archbishop and the commissioner-general of the Franciscan Order advised him to defer this ceremony until his arrival at the Spanish court.

It is recorded that on the day the Japanese ambassador went to "kiss the hand" of the viceroy, he distributed new liveries to his servants and went in state to the palace, with a mounted escort.

The [new] viceroy, Don Diego Fernández de Córdova, Marquis of Guadalcazár, who received him with great delight and courtesy, expressed his satisfaction at the embassy's having been sent from Japan. He consented to give the Japanese passports allowing them to go to Spain, but informed them that it would be necessary for them to obtain from the King of Spain permission to return to Mexico; a detail which again reveals the existence of an established policy of exclusion.

On account of the difficulties of transporting so many persons, it was decided that the majority of the ambassador's suite was to remain in Mexico. The baptized converts were sent back to Acapulco, and the few merchants who had accompanied the embassy remained in the country, doubtless studying its products and manufactures. The mercantile relations with Mexico, which are said in the "Japanese History of Commerce" to have been kept up until 1636, when they entirely ceased, were probably established by these merchants and limited to Masamune's domain.¹

Friar Sotelo, Masamune's ambassador, his relatives and the 60 *samurai* departed for Veracruz, visiting Puebla, where bull-fights and tournaments were held in their honor, and where they were lodged in the Franciscan monastery.

On the 10th of June, after spending 4-1/2 months in Mexico, the embassy embarked in one of the best Spanish vessels and, escorted by the fleet commanded by General [Juan] Antonio de Oquendo, reached Havana a fortnight later, and finally landed in Spain on the 5th of October 1614.

1 Ed. note: They were kept up with the Spanish from Manila until then, maybe, and with the Portuguese from Macao until 1640, but they were never maintained with New Spain.

The embassy was received with honors in Madrid, where the baptism of the ambassador was celebrated. He was given the name of the king [Felipe], who probably acted as his sponsor, and that of Francisco, the founder of Friar Sotelo's Order.

After a very short stay in Madrid, during which, however, the King of Spain appointed Friar Sotelo his court preacher, the embassy went to Rome, where the friars and Hasekura Philip Francis were received in audience by the Pope on the 3rd of November 1615. It is recorded that after being presented to his Holiness they read him, probably with a view of obtaining his support, Latin translations of Masamune's letters, in which the prince cordially invited Franciscan friars to his domain, promised to protect all converts to the Catholic faith, expressed his desire to hold friendship with his Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, and to enter into direct commercial relations with Mexico.

The Franciscan friar, Gregorio Petrocha, then made an address, and a Monsignor answered for the Pope, expressing his joy at the embassy, his benevolent acceptance of the homage and reverence paid to the Apostolic See by the "King," Masamune, who, he hoped, would soon follow his pious inclination and be baptized. The embassy was dismissed with presents and a letter for Masamune.

Beristian [sic]¹ states that a painting from life of Friar Sotelo and Hasekura is preserved in the Quirinal Palace, in the ante-chamber of the chapel.

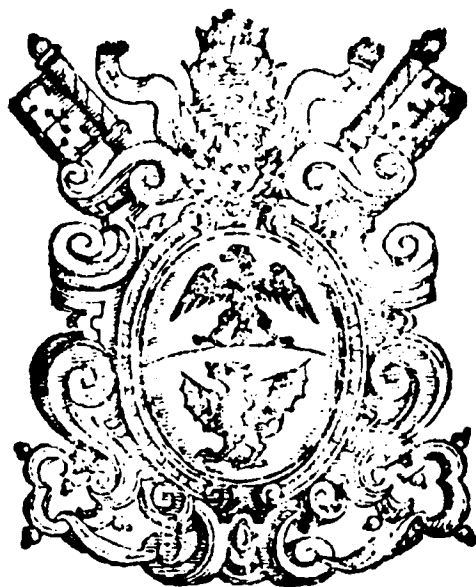
Señor Lera's publication contains the only statement I have been able to find concerning the date of the return of Masamune's embassy to Japan. He says that after an absence of 6 years it reached Nagasaki in 1620 [rather 1619]. This prolonged absence seems to indicate that it would have been dangerous for them to have returned sooner on account of the Emperor's persecution of the Christians, and the proscription of their religion. It is not impossible that some of these converted Japanese remained permanently in Mexico.²

...

1 Ed. note: A probable reference to José Mariano Beristáin de Souza's *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional* (Mexico, 1816-21).

2 Ed. note: A gratuitous assumption, unconfirmed anywhere else. The rest of Nuttall's presentation is too full of errors to be worth reproducing.

**HISTORIA
DEL REGNO DI
DEL GIAPON
DELL' ANTICHITA, NOME
E VALORE DEL SVOR
IDATE MASAMVNE,
DELLI FAVORI, C' HA FATTI
alla Christianità, e desiderio che tiene d'esser Christiano,
e dell'aumento di nostra santa Fede in quelle parti.
*E dell' Ambasciata che hà inviata alla S.^{ta} di N.S. Papa PAOLO V.
e delli suoi successi, con altre varie cose di edificatione,
e gusto spirituale de i Lettori.*
Dedicata alla S.^{ta} di N. S. Papa PAOLO V.
*Fatta per il Dottor Scipione Amati Romano, Interprete,
& Historico dell' Ambasciata.***



IN ROMA, Appresso Giacomo Mascardi. MDCXV.

Con licenza de' Superiori.

4. The History of the Kingdom of Oshu, by Scipione Amati

Table of contents of the present History.

Chap. 1—Of the greatness and fertility of the Kingdom of Voxu.

Chap. 2—Of the nobility and antiquity of the House and family of the King of Voxu.

Chap. 3—Of the valor, excellence, and great district of Idate Masamune, King of Voxu.

Chap. 4—How Father Fray Luis Sotelo acquired his friendship and communication with the King of Voxu at the Court of Iendo [Edo].

Chap. 5—How Father Sotelo went to the Kingdom of Voxu as a guest of the King and was invited to eat at the Palace.

Chap. 6—How Father Sotelo made many sermons to the King about Catholicism.

Chap. 7—How the King of Voxu confessed that the law of God was holy and good.

Chap. 8—How the King published an **edict** to have the law of God preached and that his whole Kingdom was to be baptized.

Chap. 9—How the King ordered that a house of idol worship be levelled.

Chap. 10—How many people of the Kingdom were baptized [after] seeing the destruction of the idols.

Chap. 11—Of the return of Father Sotelo from the Kingdom of Voxu to the Emperor's Court, and of the reason he had for returning.

Chap. 12—Of the persecution, which on account of the discord between the Christian nobles and the leaders of Japan, etc.

Chap. 13—Of the persecution, which was started by the Prince in Iendo: of the illustrious martyrdom of 28 Japanese Christians; of the imprisonment, condemnation to death, and liberation of Fr. Sotelo.

Chap. 14—How Fr. Sotelo obtained his freedom, returned to the Kingdom of Voxu and what happened to him there.

Chap. 15—Of the increase in the Christianity in the Kingdom of Voxu with the coming of the Father, and how he embarked with the Embassy for Spain, and Rome.

(Facing page) **Title page of the History of the Kingdom of Oshu by Amati, 1615.** *Its translation is as follows: "History of the Kingdom of Voxu in Japan, of its antiquity, the nobility and valor of its king Idate Masamune, the favors he has done to Christianity, his desire to become Christian, and the increase of our holy Faith in those parts. Of the embassy that has visited his Holiness Pope Paul V, and of its success, with other various things for the edification and pleasure of the readers. Dedicated to his Holiness Pope Paul V. Written by Doctor Scipione Amati Romano, interpreter and historian of the Embassy. Rome, at the press of Giacomo Mascardi, 1615. With the permission of the Superiors."*

Chap. 16—How the ambassadors arrived at the port of Acapulco and were received by the Spanish.

Chap. 17—How the ambassadors arrived at Mexico, pursuing the voyage to Spain.

Chap. 18—How the ambassadors were received with great pomp in Seville.

Chap. 19—How the ambassadors left Seville, passed through Córdoba, Toledo, on the way to Madrid.

Chap. 20—How the ambassadors entered into Madrid.

Chap. 21—How the ambassadors visited the Duke of Lerma, and other grandees.

Chap. 22—How Ambassador Faxicura [Hasekura] was baptized in the royal church of the discalced in Madrid.

Chap. 23—How the ambassador left Madrid for Rome.

Chap. 24—How the gentlemen ambassadors left Our Lady of Monserrate bound for Barcelona.

Chap. 25—How the gentlemen ambassadors arrived at Genoa from Savona.

Chap. 26—How the gentlemen ambassadors left aboard a galley from Genoa, bound for Civita Vecchia.¹

Chap. 27—How the ambassadors arrived at Rome, the see of His Holiness, etc.

Chap. 28—How the gentlemen ambassadors made their solemn entry into Rome.

Chap. 29—How the gentlemen ambassadors went to give obedience to Our Lord.

Chap. 30—How the gentlemen ambassadors began to visit [their eminences] the Cardinals.

Chap. 31—How the secretary of the ambassador was baptized, and confirmed in St. John Lateran, and of other attentions and honors made to the ambassadors.

[Ed. Note: The King of Oshu was then called Date Masamune in general, but the formal name he had adopted was Matsudaira Mutsunokami. In Chapter 15 of the above book, Fr. Sotelo told the writer that the Court of the King of Oshu was located in the City of "Xandai", i.e. Sendai. By the way, Meriwether says that the main port of the kingdom was Shiogama; it is still located at the mouth of the river on which the castle town of Sendai is built. When Fr. Sotelo left Japan, he took with him the only two other religious then in the kingdom, a Father Ignacio and a Brother Diego, leaving the churches in the hands of Japanese preachers. This Brother Diego may be the same person as the Father Diego de San Francisco who wrote an account of the embassy published at Manila in 1525 (See Source N^o 7 above). The butler or majordomo of the Japanese ambassador was a European by the name of Gregorio Matias; he accompanied his employer as far as Rome.]

¹ Ed. note: Civitavecchia is an Italian port about 70 km. NW of Rome.

5. Letter from the King of Oshu to Pope Paul V, dated Sendai 9 October 1613

Litterarum exempla Regis Voxu Iaponi ad Paulum Quintum Pont. Max.

Magni, et vniversalis, Sanctissimiq. totius, Orbis Patris Domini Papæ Pauli Quinti pedes cum profunda summissione, & reuerentia osculando Idate Masamune in Imperio Rex Voxij, suppliciter dicimus.

Cvm venisset Pater frater Ludouicus Sotelo Ordinis sancti Francisci religiosus ad meum Regnum & in eo Christianã legem prædicasset, me inuisit, ab eoq. eam audiui, & mysteria multa, quæ de ritu sunt, & ceremonia Christianorum, aperuit, que same in corde recordens, & perscrutans cognoscens vera esse, & salubria, suscipere profiterenda, nisi me aliqua negotia deturbarent, & inexcusabiles causæ detinerent, si tamen pro nunc ego non valeam, cupio statim meas gentes, & subditos populos Christianos fieri; hoc, vt sæliciter eueniat, ad me mittas quæso Beatissime Pater, Religiosos Ordinis sancti Francisci, qui de obseruantia nuncupantur; hos enim præcipuè diligo, & obseruo; tua vero Altitudo ipsis amplè concedere non horreat omnes licentias, fauores & quæcumque alia ad id necessaria. Ego autem iam terram hanc ingressos Adiuuare non desistam: sed in Monasteriis ædificandis, & in alijs rebus, quibus potero beneficijs inseruiam; similiterque exoptulo, vt in meo Regon disponas, gubernes, instituas, omnia ea quæ ad propagandam sanctam Dei legem vtilia tibi fore lacuerint, præcipuè, vt in eo instituas, & crees quendam magnum Praelatum instanter supplico, cuius obseruantia, & sollicitudine omnes, qui in eo habitant, quam pridie Christianos fieri non dubito; de ipsius autem expensis, & redditibus ne quæso anxius sis, quia vt copiose fiat, nostræ sollicitudinis, & curæ propium esse volumus.

Cuius rei causa ad te mitto præfatum fratrem Ludouicum Sotelo legatum meum, à quo possis de corde meo, quæ tibi visa fuerint sciscitari; optime namque nouit, quæ circa prædicta in eo sunt, & hæc, vt effectum habeant ipsi reganter misso beneuolas aures concedat, & honorem præbeat tua Beatudo, cui etiam comitabitur quidam nobilis eques domus meæ, qui Faxecura Rotuyemon [sic] nominatur, qui similiter legatus meus existit, vt ambo mei vices agentes obsequij, & obedientiæ causa ad sanctissimam vsque Romanum Curiam peruenientes tuos beatissimos pedes pro me osculentur, & si forte prædictus Pater frater Ludouicus Sotelo in via fuerit vita functus quilibet alius ab ipso designatus, vt legatus ad te admittatur tanquam si ipse viueret.

Cognoui præterea, quod meum à Nouæ Hispaniæ Regnis, quæ potestati, ac ditioni potentissimi Regis Hispaniæ Philippi subsunt, non, multum distat; qua propter cum desiderio communicandi cum ipso, & cum illi Christianorum Regnis, eius amicitiam exopto, quod equidem sic fore confido si tua auctoritas interueniat, precibus humiliter peto, vt hoc Altitudo tua incipiat, & ad finem vsque perducatur, maxime quia necessaria via religionis à te in hoc Regnum missis est. Præ omnibus pro me orabis omnipotentem Deum, vt ad eius amicitiam valeam peruenire. Si vero in hoc Regno aliqua videris tuo obsequio, & voluntati gratiosa, iubeat Altitudo tua, quoniam, vt voluntati tuæ respon-

deamus, totis viribus adimplebimus. Hunc autem licet exigua sint dona, quia tamen ex longinqua regione adueniunt, cum reuerentia, & timore pauca, ex Iapone tibi offero. In omnibus alijs nos remittimus ad prædictum Patrem Sotelo, & Equitem Rotuyemon, & ea quæ ex parte nostra tractauerint, & rata fecerint, ipsa & rata esse volumus.

Ex Ciuitate, & Curia nostra Fendai [sic] anno decimo octauo ætatis Quecho quarto die Lunæ nonæ, idest Anno salutis Millesimo sexcentesimo tertio decimo. Pridie Nonas Octobris.

Cognomen dignitatis: Matcundayra Mutcunocami.

Nomen, & Cognomen Regis: Idate Masamune.

Translation of the above letter

Copy of the letter of the King of Oshu in Japan to Paul V, Supreme Pontiff.

I, Date Masamune, King of Oshu in the Japanese Empire, prostrate myself at the foot of the great and universal and most holy Father of the whole world, our Lord Pope Paul V, with deep submission and reverence, and say:

With the coming of Father Fray Luis Sotelo, religious of the Order of St. Francis, to my kingdom and his preaching of the Christian law in it, he approached me and let me hear the many mysteries regarding the rite and ceremony of the Christians. Opening my heart and recognizing it to be true and healthy, susceptible to be beneficial, and, unless other things prevent it and inexcusable causes detain it, even if I do not wish it [myself] for now, I wish that my people and subjects become Christians at once. In order to make this happen, Most Reverend Father, send me religious of the Order of St. Francis, who are of strict observance and whom I specially cherish. I intend to give this a beginning and would truly like to have your Highness deign to grant all licences, favors and whatever else that may be required for it. I however will provide the land to ensure that the income will not cease; but for the building of the monasteries and, among other things, I may be able to provide. Similarly, I exhort that, in order to dispose, govern, institute everything that may be useful for the propagation of the law of God in my kingdom, I beg you to institute in it a big Prelate [i.e. bishop], under whose observation and solicitude everyone who live in it will doubtless become Christians. As for his expenses themselves, please do not worry about the rental income, as I wish it to be plentiful and to be entirely at the charge of my own court.

For this reason I send you Father Fray Luis Sotelo as my ambassador, whom I keep in my heart of whom you may, if you wish, about the dispositions of my heart, because he knows perfectly well what my heart feels about the above-mentioned subject matters, and, in order to fulfill them, I beg Your Holiness to lend to this ambassador a favorable ear, and to welcome him with honor. This Religious is to be accompanied by a noble knight from my house, whose name is Faxecura Rotuyemon [sic], who is also my ambassador, so that both will act as my plenipotentiaries and, for reason of obedience, should they reach your most holy Roman court, they are to kneel at your most

blessed feet for me and, should Father Fray Luis Sotelo lose his life along the way, the other is already designated to act as ambassador and should be admitted in the same manner as if the former were still alive.

Besides, I have learned that it is not far from my kingdom to that of New Spain, which is under the authority and direction of the most powerful King Philip of Spain; hence my desire to have communication between it and that kingdom of Christians, and obtain its friendship, something I am confident of getting if your authority intervenes, which I humbly beg Your Holiness to undertake and see through the end, above all because that kingdom is the necessary way station for the Religious you sent to my kingdom. Please pray almighty God for me so that He may be amenable to me. May it please your Highness to give an order, out of liberality and benevolence; I accept whatever you will decide and beg you for it with all my strength. May I be allowed to send some small gifts from here; they nevertheless come from the distant region of Japan, and I offer them to you with reverence and a little fear. In everything else I defer to Father Fray Sotelo and to Knight Rotuyemon [sic]; they will act on my behalf and make decisions, as is my wish.

From the city and our court of Sendai, on the 18th [year of the] era of Keicho, the 4th day of the 9th lunar month, i.e. on the eve of the nones of October [6 October] 1613 A.D.

[Honorary surname:] Matsudaira Mutsunokami.

[Name and surname of the King:] Date Masamune.

6. Answer given by Mr. Pietro Strozso, on behalf of the Pope

Petri Strozæ Smi. D.N. Secret. Apostol. Domestici Reponsio.

Iucundissimum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Nuncium attulistis, Oratores piè, ac religiosè Dei Sacerdos Ludouice, & Eques generosè Philippe Faxecura Idatem masamunem Regem Voxij, cuius tam latum inter Iaponicos Imperium, tam amplæ, ac validæ copiæ, atque vires, adeo firma præsidia, cum ex continuo, expeditoq. belli apparatu, tum ex arcissimo, ac duplici cum summo Iaponiæ Rege affinitatis vinculo; succensum diuini amoris ardore, Christianam fidem recipisse, & adhuc Cathecumenum, fidei propagationem, verumq. Dei cultum apud suos summo zelo curauisse, ac vos eadem de causa ad sanctam Apostolicam Sedem legauisse. Gaudet summopere Sanctitas sua, & Deo gratias ingentes agit, quod ministerij sui Apostolici tempore, Christi Domini Euangelium sollicitè audiri in Orientalibus Iaponiæ partibus cæperit, eiusq. rei Nucium allatum esse trigesimo tertio anno postquam ex Occidentalibus illius amplissimæ Insulæ regionibus primi Christianorum ad summum Pontificem legati Nauem conscenderunt. Quasi vero spes, quæ affulserat absoluendi per totum terrarum Orbem prædicationis Euangelicæ circulum, adimpleri, ac perfici debuerit mysteriosa annorum periodo, qua humani generis Redemptor in terris peregrinari dignatus est.

Diuina igitur misericordia fretus Sanctissimus Dominus Noster vtique sperat, Regem Idatem quantocyus candidam ex fonte sacri baptismatis vestem sumpturum, sicut ad eius animæ salutem illum efficacissimè hortatur. Qua fiducia amantissimè recipit vna his venerabilibus fratribus suis S.R.E. Cardinalibus hanc eius voluntatis declarationem, delatumq. per vos sibi, ac sanctæ Sedi obsequium, ac venerationem Et Deum toto cordis affectu prectur, vt per immensam eius bonitatem perficiat, quod per ineffabilem suam clementiam in Rege Idate incepit, nihil & ipse interea prætermisurus, vt quantum cum Domino fieri poterit, ipsius Regis pijs, ac iustis desiderijs satisfiat, subiectorumq. ei populorum spirituali solatio opportunè prospiciatur.
Sic me vobis respondere iussit. Dixi.

Translation of the above answer

Answer by Mr. Pietro Strozzi, secretary of the Apostolic Household, on behalf of the Supreme Pontiff.

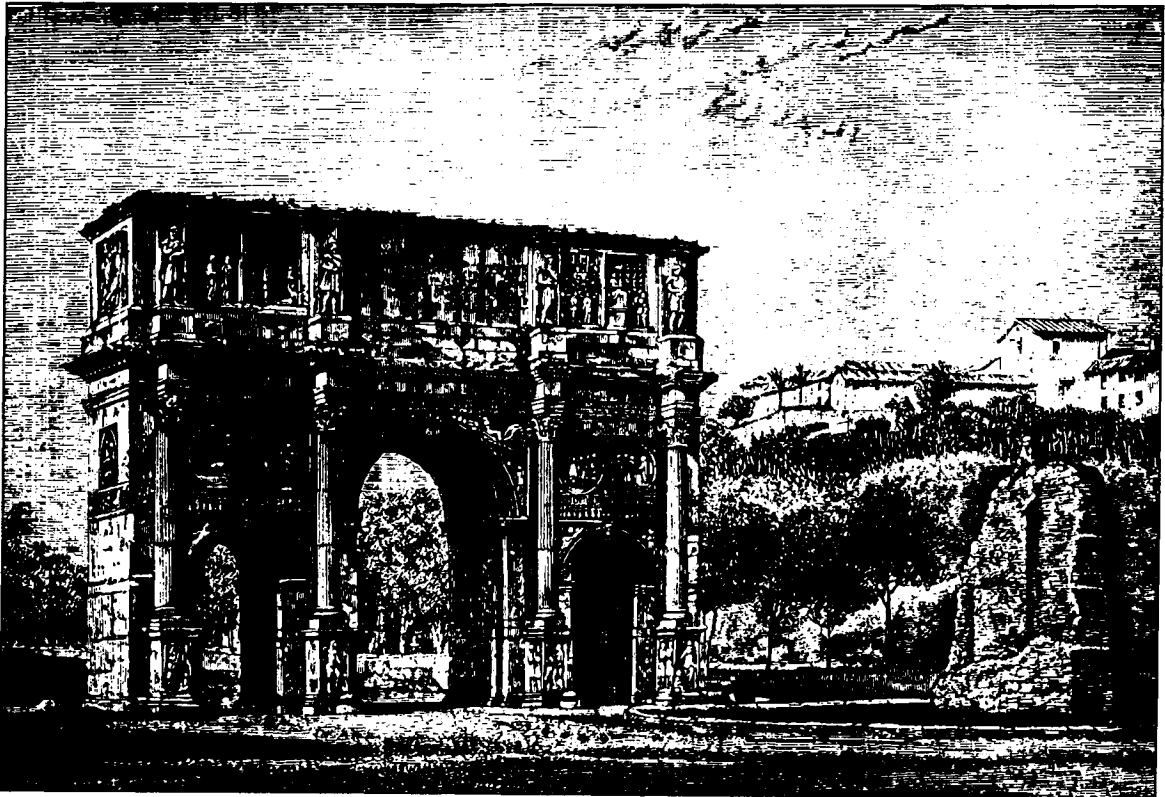
I am very happy, as the messenger of our most holy Lord, to hear from the pious and religious priest Luis and the generous Knight Felipe Faxecura about Date Masamune, whose kingdom of Oshu in the Empire of Japan is so vast, with many valiant troops and forces, besides some strong garrisons, always in a state of readiness for war, then a very cold one, and with a very friendly link with the King of Japan. Motivated by the ardor of divine love, he has received the Christian faith and so far has taken care of the Catechumens for the propagation of the faith and the cult of the true God among his people, and has also sent you as ambassadors to the Holy See. His Holiness is extremely happy and gives huge thanks to God because, during the time of his Apostolic ministry, the gospel of Christ, our Lord, has begun to be happily heard in the eastern parts of Japan, from whose king the messenger has brought word 33 years after the first Christians boarded a ship to come as ambassadors to the supreme Pontiff from the numerous islands of the western region.¹ As if true hope, which will flow completely around the circle of the globe of the earth, by absolving it with the preaching of the Gospel, should have taken such a mysterious period of years; this is worthy of the pilgrims of the Redeemer of mankind in the world. Therefore, our most Holy Father relies on divine grace and longs for the time when King Idate will follow you to the font of holy baptism, and to that end have you urge him very strongly to do so in the interest of the salvation of his soul. The declaration of his pious will was received with a very loving trust by his venerable brothers, the Eminent Cardinals here, and the admiration and veneration of the holy apostolic See were expressed by them through you.

And let us implore God from the bottom of our heart that He may bring forth His immense goodness, since, through his ineffable clemency, he sends to King Idate nothing that he has not already sent in the meantime, in order that he may become with

¹ Ed. note: He refers to the first Japanese embassy to Rome that originated from the kingdoms of Arima, etc. in 1582 and reached Rome in 1585, I believe, by way of India.

God's help the pious and just King that he desires to be, and send some timely spiritual consolation for the benefit of his subjects and people.

Such is my fair answer to you. I have spoken.



The Arch of Constantine near the Colosseum in Rome. *Since Constantine had been the first Roman emperor to issue an edict protecting the Christians, this arch in his honor was no doubt shown to the visiting Japanese embassy to Rome in 1615. (From Thomas H. Dyer's *The City of Rome*, London, 1883)*

RELACION

BREVE, Y SUMARIA DEL
 Edicto que mandó publicar en todo su Reyno del
 Bojú, vno de los mas poderosos del Iapon, el Rey
 Idate Masamune, publicando la Fe de Cristo, y del
 Embaxador que embia a España en compañía del
 reuerendo Padre Fray Luys Sotelo Recoleta Fran-
 cisco, que viene con embaxada del Emperador del
 Iapó, hijo de Seuilla, y lo que en el viage le sucedio.

DEsta gran Ciudad de Seuilla, tan conocida en el mundo por su nombre, que en las partes mas remotas del no se absconde la grandeza de su valor, y q̄ es como patria vniuersal de todas las naciones del, hallado cada vna de por sí su centso, siédo recibidas, acariciadas, y tratadas de sus nobles hijos con el amor que a sus mismos naturales; salio della vno de los muchos que an luzido tanto por el mundo, así en letras, como en armas, que es el Reuerendo Padre Fray Luys Sotelo año de mil quinientos nonenta y nueue Descalço, de la orden del Seraphico Padre S. Francisco cō feruentissimo desseo del augmēto de nuestra santa Fe, remedio, y prouecho de las almas, a cuyo piadoso intento concurriendo Dios con su fauor, se le dio tal, que en breue tiempo, y con menos peligros, y trabajos que promete vna embarcacion tan prolixa, y larga como la del Iapon, llegó a el saluo, y libre de todo; donde entró con tan buena fortuna, ayudado del claro ingenio que todos los hijos desta dichosissima ciudad tienen, y del feruor, y desseo espiritual del bien comun, que en pocos meses se hizo tan capaz de la lengua, que pudo començar a comunicarse, como lo hizo, de manera, que señoreó las voluntades así del Emperador, y su hijo, como las de los demas Reyes, y grandēs señores de aquel Imperio, con aplauso, y amor general de toda la nacion; con lo qual, á sido infinito el aumento de los fieles, el acrecentamiento de Iglesias, y doctrinas, y la mucha fe, y deuocion que se vâ descubriendo en ellos cada dia: sean dadas infinitas gracias a Dios nuestro Señor por todo.

¶ Despues de auer entédido el Emperador del Iapon la suma Magestad, y Monarchia del poderosissimo Rey de las Españas, y desseo de comunicarle, entró en acuerdo de embiarle Embaxador, porque teniendo trato con las Filipinas, y demas Reynos comarcanos, le parecio que con el de la Nueva Es-

paña

7. Brief and summary narrative of the Edict of King Idate Masamune,

one of the most powerful of Japan, has ordered be published throughout his Kingdom, publishing the Faith of Christ, and of the Ambassador whom he sends to Spain in the company of the reverend Father Fray Luys Sotelo, Franciscan recollect, who comes with the embassy of the Emperor [sic] of Japan, a native of Seville, and what happened to him during the voyage.

From this great City of Seville, whose name is well known in the world, where the greatness of its valor is not hidden from its most remote parts, and which is like the universal homeland of all its nations, each one of them considering it as its center, being welcome, cherished, and treated by its noble sons with the same love reserved for its own natives. From it has come out one of the many who have shone so much throughout the world, by their pen and their sword, I refer to the Reverend Father Fray Luys Sotelo who, in the year of 1599, as discaled of the Order of the Seraphic Father St. Francis, with a very fervent desire for the increase of our holy Faith, the remedy and progress of souls, to whose pious intention God in his favor concurred, and gave so much of it to him that in a brief time and with fewer dangers and hardships that such a time-consuming and long voyage as that of Japan that he got there safe and sound. He entered there with such a good fortune that, assisted by the clear mind characteristic of all the sons of this most famous city, fervor and spiritual desire for the common good, in a few months he became so able with the language that he was able to begin communicating, as he did, in such a way that he controlled the will of the Emperor as well as that of his son, and those of the other Kings and great lords of that Empire, with the applause and general love of the whole nation. Hence, the increase of the faithful, the addition of Churches and teaching centers, and the great faith and devotion that is found in them every day. Let us give infinite thanks to God our Lord for everything.

After the Emperor of Japan had heard of the supreme Majesty and Monarchy of the most powerful King of all the Spains, and being very desirous to communicate with him, he entered into an agreement to send him an Ambassador, because, already trading with the Philippines and the other neighboring kingdoms, it seemed to him that his greatness would be increased by trade with New Spain

pañã, y amistad de nuestro Rey, yendo y viniendo Nauios, y mercaderías, se aumentaria su grandeza: para lo qual, pidió al Padre Fr. Luys Sotelo, que por el seruicio de Dios, y de su Rey, se dispusiese a tomar a su cargo esta impreñã. Lo que acció con mucho gusto, y humildad, mandólele dar vn nauio con todo lo necesario, y ya arizado, y puesto a punto, no fue nuestro Señor seruido que por entonces se hiziesse este viaje, sobreuiniendole vna enfermedad tan graue, que lo pudo estoruar.

¶ Partio en nombre del Reuerendo Padre Fr. Luys Sotelo vn Religioso de su Orden, de cuyo sucesso de viaje no se sabe, mas de que en quatro años que avrá que salio, no á parecido muerto, ni viuo: y esta dilacion á sido causa de disponerse el dicho Padre a partirse, forçado del peligro que corrian las cosas, assi del seruicio de Dios, como de la Magestad Catholica, por causa de las cõtinuas ofertas que Holandeses, y Ingleses le hazian al Emperador si se confederasse con ellos, ofreciendole muy grandes commodidades, todas en perjuizio del Rey nuestro señor; a que oponiendose el dicho Reuerendo Padre declaró al dicho Emperador que naciones eran, la variedad de sus festas, y la poca estabilidad que tenian en la Fe de Iesu Christo, con otras muchas cosas tan viuas, y persuasorias, que mediante el fauor de Dios bastaron a reducirle a la mejor opinion.

¶ Pidióle con esto que supuesto que se hallaua con buena salud, y el cambio con su doctrina, a que estaua tan aficionado, que cada dia le hazian mil años de verse seguro en la amistad de su Rey, que siguiesse el començado viaje, prometiendole en el inter no innouar cosa ninguna, hasta ver de buelta su persona, o a todo acontecimiento, respuesta de su embaxada.

¶ Despidiose del Emperador, y de su Hijo, y demas Grandes, con el sentimiento que pedia el amor de perdida de tan santa conuersacion, y doctrina, y despues de abrazos embultos con algunas lagrimas, se embarcó, encomendandose, y encomendandolos a Dios nuestro Señor, y prometiendo al Emperador la mayor diligencia posible en la breuedad de su buelta.

¶ En el discurso de la larga comunicacion que el Reuerendo Padre Fray Luys Sotelo tuuo en este Imperio, fue Dios seruido cayesse tan en gracia del rey de Bojù, q̄ no solo le vino a reducir al conociemto de nuestra santa Fe, pero a obligar por edicto, y mandamiento expreso a todos sus vasallos a recibir el agua del santo Bautismo, haziendo su particular Embaxador a su Santidad, y Magestad Catholica, con sus dones de mucha estimacion, y cartas de tanta sumission, que claramente se le conoce el efecto, e impresion que en su Real pecho el verdadero conociemto de Dios á hecho, y lo que á podido en todo su Reyno el dicho Padre con su piedad, y santo zelo.

¶ Es este Rey Idate Masamune hombre belicosissimo, y poderoso, temido, y respectado en todo su Reyno, que es el mayor de los del Japon, y hombre que sustenta muy auentajados exercitos, y está en predicamento de suceder en el Imperio, muerto que sea el que oy reyna: pues enterado en las cosas de la santa Fe,

and friendship with our King, with ships and merchandise going and coming. For this reason, he asked Father Fray Luys Sotelo, for the service of God and of his King, to prepare himself to undertake this enterprise. He accepted with much pleasure and humility. It was ordered that a ship be given to him with everything necessary, but when it was already supplied and ready to sail, our Lord willed that he would not then make this voyage [in 1610], by sending him an illness so serious as to prevent him from doing so.

Another religious of his order [i.e. Fr. Muñoz] left on behalf of the Reverend Father Fray Luys Sotelo but nothing is known about the voyage; even after more than four years after his departure, he had not appeared, alive or death. This delay was the cause of the said Father getting ready to leave, forced by the danger that the things concerning the service of God, as well as those of his Catholic Majesty, were encountering, on account of the continuous offers that the Dutch and the English were making to the Emperor if he became their confederate, by offering him very great facilities, all in prejudice to the King our lord. When the said Reverend Father in opposition declared to the said Emperor what kind of nations they were, the variety of their sects and the little stability they had in the Faith of Christ, and many other things with such a lively and persuasive way that through God's favor they were sufficient for reducing him to the better opinion.

He asked him, given that he found him in good health and his preaching, of which he was much fond, was also healthy, that every day of waiting for the friendship of his King was like a thousand years, he should continue the previous voyage. He promised him that in the meantime he would not make any innovation, until he saw him again in person, or in any event, received an answer from his embassy.

After saying good-bye to the Emperor, to his Son, and the other Grandees with the feeling that the love of losing such a great conversation and teaching, and after placing their arms around one another with some tears, he embarked, committing himself and them to God our Lord and promising to the Emperor all possible diligence to shorten his return.

During the course of the long communication that the Reverend Father Fray Luys Sotelo had with the Empire, God was served that he received such a great favor from the king of Bojú that, not only he came to reduce him to the knowledge of our holy Faith, but to get him, by edict, to give an express order to all his vassals to receive the water of holy Baptism. He made him his private Ambassador to his Holiness, and to the Catholic Majesty, with his much esteemed gifts and letters of such submission that the effect and impression that the true knowledge of God has made in his royal heart are clearly seen, as well as what the famous Father has been able to do in his whole kingdom with his piety and holy zeal.

This King Idate Masamune is a very bellicose man, powerful, feared, and respected in his whole kingdom which is the greatest one in Japan, and a man who maintains very large armies and is expected to become the next emperor, once the present one dies. Well informed about the things of the holy Faith,

ra Fe, y pareciendole derecho, y verdadero camino de saluacion, y aun medio para acrecentar, y asegurar su estado, procura por el dicho Embaxador la aliança, y confederacion de la sacra Magestad Catholica, pidiendole Religiosos Predicadores que les enseñen las cosas de Dios, y declaren el Santo Evangelio; auiendo hecho sobre esto tan buenas capitulaciones, y conciertos, que no sólo muestra en ellas el aumento que se á de seguir en las cosas de la extensión de la Fe, pero en las del seruicio de su Magestad, y bien comun de sus Reynos.

¶ Vino este Embaxador (que es hombre de persona graue, autoridad, y calidad) en vna Naue de quinientas toneladas del dicho Rey de Bojú, la qual á dexado en Nueva España a muy buen recaudo de guarda, y acompañamiento, pareciendole passaria có mas comodidad sin el mucho q̄ traya, fuera del ahoro de los excessiuos gastos, y así se determinó partir con hasta treynta personas por todas, con q̄ llegó a España en compañía del Reuerendo padre fray Luys Sotelo, el qual dio luego auiso de todo al señor Conde de Saluatierra Asistente desta insigne ciudad de Sevilla.

¶ Dale cuenta entre otras cosas de como el rey de Bojú escribe a su señoria, pidiendole con todo encarecimiento honre a su Embaxador, y encamine, para que con mas comodidad, y seguridad haga su viage, de cuya honra le podra nacer mayor conocimiento, así de las grâdezas de España, como de los nobles caballeros, y ministros della.

¶ Y por sí le ha escrito su Paternidad a su Señoria en el particular de sus sucesos (de cuya carta se ha substanciado lo arriba dicho) juntamente suplicando le le honre su Señoria de manera, que merezca parecer digno hijo (así de tan santa, y gran Religion, como la del Serafin, cuyo hijo tienen casi abraçado el mundo, y a costa de cuya sangre tantas almas gozâ de Dios) como deste lugar, digno no solo de ser cabeça de España, mas del mundo todo, pues por diuersas partes del ha auido, y ay tan insignes varones, que le mandan, y luzen con tantas ventajas de los demas.

¶ Y acerca de la persona del Embaxador le suplica su Paternidad le regale, y acaricie con su acostumbrada largueza, y generosidad, honrandole de manera, que le haga conocer lo mucho que su Señoria vale, y puede, y lo que las Republicas Cristianas, y nobles dellas estiman, y fauorecen causas semejantes, y en particular por venir encomendado a vn hijo de Sevilla, y de padres, y abuelos, que tanto han seruido a su Señoria.

¶ Dize, q̄ con esto se verificará el buen cõcepto, q̄ por esta parte el señor Embaxador trae, hallando el cumplimiento de sus esperanças, y de las promessas que su Paternidad le tiene hechas, con que será nuestro Señor mas seruido, y vn conocido medio para q̄ su santa ley sea en aq̄llas partes promulgada, para el remedio de tantas almas, y que la nobleza de su Señoria seria mas conocida, agradecida, y estimada en los fines de la tierra, de los quales inuocando su nombre, tiene el dicho Embaxador, cõfiado de hallar en su Señoria el abrigo, y amparo, que en la cortè del Rey de Bojú su señor.

¶ Tambien

which seems to him the correct and true way to salvation, and even a means to increase and make his state more secure, he tries by the said Ambassador to get the alliance and confederation of the sacred Catholic Majesty, asking him for religious preachers to teach them the things of God and proclaim the Holy Gospel. Having made such good contractual arrangements and agreements about this that not only does he demonstrate the increase that faith has to follow in things concerning the extension of the faith, but in the service of his Majesty and common good of his kingdoms.

There came this Ambassador (who is a man of serious personality, authority, and rank) in a **ship of 500 tons** of the said King of Bojú, which he has left in New Spain under the care of a guard and retinue¹ as it seemed that he would make the passage with more comfort without the many that he was bringing along, besides the saving in the excessive costs, so he made the decision to leave with up to 30 persons in all, with whom he arrived in Spain in the company of Reverend Father Fray Luys Sotelo, who then sent an advice to the Count of Salvatierra, the assistant of this renowned city of Seville.

He gave him an account, among other things, regarding what the King of Bojú had written to his Lordship, begging him to honor his Ambassador with all endearment, and to make arrangements so that his voyage would be made with more comfort and security; such an honor would allow him to get to know better, not only the grandeur of Spain but her noble knights and ministers.

His Paternity has also written to his Lordship on behalf of himself about the detailed events of his voyage (the substance of which letter is contained above) begging his Lordship to please honor him so that he may appear as the worthy son (not only of such a holy and great religion, but of the Seraphic [St. Francis] whose sons cover almost the whole world and have provided so many souls to God by their blood) of this place, worthy not only of being the capital of Spain but of the whole world, given that so many of her famous sons have gone to its many diverse regions to govern and to outshine the others so well.

And regarding the person of the Ambassador, his Paternity begs him to entertain and cherish him with his accustomed largesse and generosity, and to honor him in such a way as to show him how much his Lordship is worth and can do, and the extent to which the Christian republics and their nobles esteem and favor similar causes, specially since a son of Seville has come with a commission, and his fathers and grandfathers have so much served his Lordship.

He says that in this manner the good reputation that the Ambassador brings to these parts will be confirmed, thus complying with his hopes and the promises that his Paternity has made to him, hence our Lord will be better served, and a known means of promulgating his holy faith for the remedy of so many souls, and of making the nobility of his Lordship better known, thanked and esteemed in the ends of the earth.

1 Ed. note: It appears that most of the 80 samurai did not go beyond Veracruz.

¶ Tambien suplica a su Señoria, que recibiendo sus buenos descos se firma de honrarle, y honrar su patria con hazer verdaderas las grandezas que della tiene publicadas, cuya resolucion queda aguardando con la seguridad que promete su mucho valor, y Cristiandad.

¶ Todo lo qual para el señor Conde de Saluatierra solo sirvio de auiso, pues para acudir su Señoria a semejantes muestras donde interuiene el seruicio de Dios nuestro señor, y de su Rey, notenia necesidad de exhortacion, ni ruegos, liendo sus mayores gustos hazer conocer al mundo el animo, y valor grande que de su cosecha tiene.

¶ *Copia de vnacarta que embiò el Embaxador del Japon a la ciudad de Seuilla, dando auiso de su llegada a España, y a que, desseando su gracia, y fauor.*

EN el Japon Idate Masamune Rey de Bojù mi señor, aviendo oydo las cosas de la Santa Ley de Dios, y juzgadolas por santas, y buenas, mandò en su Reyno se publicasse, que todos sus vassallos fuesen Cristianos. Y para esso sabiendo que la suprema magestad de España es grande, y poderoso, y Rey de Cristianos, y el señor Papa es la cabeça, y Prelado de todos los del mudo, me mandò vinielise con el padre fray Luys Sotelo a adorar a los dos con temor, y reuerencia. Sabiendose en el Japon la grandeza de essa noble republica, y ser patria del señor padre fray Luys Sotelo, lo estimò el Rey mi señor tanto, que de proposito embia embaxado a vuestra Señoria: y hallandome ya cerca con gran contento que dello tengo, le doy auiso; y a esto sucederà yrle a besar las manos a vuestra Señoria: el señor padre fray Luys Sotelo darà auiso de las demas cosas menudas, y assi no me alargo.

¶ Con respeto reuerencial delico caer
en gracia de vuestra Señoria.

De la mar a los veynte y seys de la Luna oraua. (q̄ es a los treynta de Setièbre.)
Ei año decimo nonode la era Querso. (que es el demil y seylciètos y catorze.)

¶ La firma dize: Faxecura Recuremon.

¶ El sobre escrito dize; *En todo el mundo a la vista conocida ilustre Ciudad de Seuilla*

Con licencia, en Seuilla, por Alonso Rodriguez
Gamarra, en la calle de la Muela.
Año de 1614.

Therefore, by invoking his name, the said Ambassador is confident of finding in his Lordship the same shelter and refuge that he has at the court of the King of Bojú his lord.

He also begs his Lordship that in receiving his good wishes he may be pleased to honor him and honor his hometown by showing the true grandeur that he has boasted about, not doubting that his great valor and Christian beliefs will make it happen.

All of the above was only by way of an advice to the Count of Salvatierra, given that in order to come up with such a show, in matters concerning the service of God and of his King, there is no need to exhort or beg him, his greatest pleasure being to show the world the great spirit and valor that is much part of its character.

Copy of a letter that the Ambassador of Japan sent to the city of Seville, advising of his arrival in Spain, and that he wishes to receive his good graces and favors.

In Japan Idate Masamune, King of Bojú my lord, having heard about the things of the Holy Law of God, and judging them to be holy and good, has ordered an edict to be published to the effect that all his vassals were to become Christians. For this purpose, knowing that the supreme Majesty of Spain is great, powerful and King of Christians, and that the Pope is the head and Bishop of all those in the world, he has ordered me to come with Father Fray Luys Sotelo to worship both with fear and reverence. Having heard in Japan about the grandeur of this noble republic and that it is the hometown of Father Fray Luys Sotelo, the King my lord esteemed it so much that he has sent an embassy to your Lordship for the purpose, and, finding myself already near, with great trepidation, I advise you of my arrival. I intend to go and kiss the hands of your Lordship. Father Fray Luys Sotelo will let you know the other details, and so I do not continue.

I sincerely hope to fall into the good graces of your Lordship.

At sea, on the 26th of the 8th Moon (which is 30 September) of the 19th year of the era of Querso [i.e. Quecho, rather Keicho] (which is 1614).

The signature says: *Faxecura Recuremon [sic].*

The writing on the envelope says: *To the illustrious city of Seville, the most famous in the whole world.*

With permission, in Seville, by Alonso Rodriguez Gamarra, in Muela Street. Year of 1614.

RELACION VERDADERA QUE EMBIO EL PADRE Fray Luys Sotelo de la Orden de San Francisco, a su hermano don Diego Cauallero de Cabrera beintiquatro de Seuilla, en que se da cuenta del Bautismo que se hizo a el Em bajador Japon

MARTES diez y siete de Febrero a las tres de la tarde, fue su Magestad a las descalças, con la Reyna de Francia y las demas hijas, el Principe quedo enfermo y sus hermanos acompañandole: autonos de como auia de ser alli el Bautismo, embiando coches para que fuessemos alla: estaua la ygleña colgada de los dos Reales, y en ella muchos grandes y señores con toda la guardja de su Magestad, que nos acompañó con muchos caualleros y abitos, hasta entrar en la capilla mayor: en cima de las gradas al lado y izquierdo del altar mayor estaua puesto vn altar con todo recaudo de Bautismo, y en las mismas gradas repartio los Japones a vno y a otro lado el mayordomo mayor de la Infanta Còde de Altamira, y el embajador: subio el Capellan mayor de su Magestad don Diego de Guzman a la capilla de la Emperatriz, y alli pusieron assientos y sillas, donde se aguardo a que llegase el Padrino que fue el Duque de Lerma, y la Madrina que señalo su Magestad que fue la Condesa de Barajas, a quien quiere mucho por ser la mas querida de la Reyna.

8. True account sent by Father Fray Luys Sotelo

of the Order of St. Francis, to his brother Don Diego, gentleman residing at N° 24 Cabrera Street in Seville, in which he gives an account of the baptism of the Japanese Ambassador.

On Tuesday, 17 February [1615], at 3 in the afternoon, his Majesty went to the church of the discalced [Franciscan] nuns, with the Queen of France and his other daughters,¹ the Prince being sick and his brothers remaining with him. He let us know that the baptism was to take place there, sending us coaches to take us there. The church was decorated with the royal daises and there were many grandees present, with the whole guard of his Majesty that accompanied us and the many gentlemen and habits as far as the entrance to the main chapel. On top of the steps on the left side of the main altar had been placed an altar and provided with everything for a baptism. The Japanese, and the Ambassador, were distributed on both sides of the same steps by the principal majordomo of the *Infanta*, the Count of Altamira. The principal Chaplain of his Majesty, Don Diego de Guzman, went up to the chapel of the Empress, and there were placed some seats and chairs reserved until the arrival of the Godfather who was the Duke of Lerma, and the Godmother, assigned by his Majesty, who was the Countess of Barajas, whom he likes very much as she is the dearest friend of the Queen.

¹ Ed. note: The wife of Philip III was Margarita de Austria. Their daughter, Ana de Austria, was then betrothed to King Louis XIII of France.

Llegados que fueron los Padrinos, se juntaron todos los Capellanes de su Magestad, y encendiendo muchas velas y hachas, salio vestido el Capellan mayor que fue el Parroco, por estar el Arçobispo de Toledo con la perlesia en las manos, el qual tambien se hallo presente a este acto.

Hizose el Bautismo con mucha solemnidad, y el Embajador lo rezibio con gran deuocion y afecto y afectos: en acabandole de echar el agua, empezo la capilla Real el Laudate Dominum, con chanzonetás, ministriles, y organos, que parecia la yglesia vn Parayso. Acabado este acto fuymos el Embajador y yo a dar las gracias al Parroco, y luego a los Padrinos con breues y discretos razonamientos, respondieron con gran contento, dandole parabien, y pidiendole los encomendasse a Dios: el Duque de Lerma nos tomo a el Embajador y a mi de las manos, diziendo que su Magestad nos llamaua, y nos metio a dentro al quarto Real, a donde salio su Magestad acompañado de la Reyna de Francia y de sus hijas, y de la Infanta monja, hechamonos a sus pies, su Magestad mandandole leuantar se abrazo con grande amor y contento dandole el parabien, y pidiendo le encomendasse a Dios, el Embajador le dixo q se tenia por el mas dichoso hombre del mundo assi por verse ya Christiano y cumplidos sus deseos, como por quedar tan honrado y enoblezido, en auer sido esto por ordē de su Magestad y é su Real presençia, y mucho mas por auerle mandado poner su nombre, cosa que aun imaginarla no se atreuiera, si cō su nobleza no preuiniera su cortedad, q daua a nuestro Señor muchas gracias, y a su Magestad el parabien del mucho fruto, que ensabiendose esto en el Japon auia de causar en las almas, su Magestad respondió que estaua muy contento del que mostraua tener y de uerle Christiano, y confiaua en nuestro Señor que por su medio lo auian de ser muchos en su tierra.

La Reyna de Francia y la Infanta monja, mostrando mucho contento y alegría le pidieron los encomendasse a Dios: mando su Magestad luego que lo lleuassen a dentro y mostrassen toda la casa, Doña Maria Manrique, y Doña Maria de Benauides, y otras dos monjas nos fueron

After the godparents had arrived, all the chaplains of his Majesty assembled and, many [regular] candles and four-wick candles having been lit, the principal Chaplain who acted as the parish priest, because the Archbishop of Toledo suffered from palsy in his hands, although he was also present.

The baptism took place with much solemnity, and the Ambassador received it with great devotion and affection. After the water had been poured, the royal Choir began the *Laudate Dominum*; with the small chants, minstrels, and organs, the church seemed like a Paradise. At the end of this act, the Ambassador and I went to give thanks to the parish priest, and then to the Godparents, with brief and discrete comments; they answered with great happiness, wishing him well, and begging him to remember them in his prayers. The Duke of Lerma took the Ambassador and I by the hand and told us that his Majesty was calling us, and he placed us inside the royal quarter. His Majesty came out accompanied by the Queen of France and their daughters, and the *Infanta* who is a nun. We threw ourselves at his feet but his Majesty ordered us to stand. He embraced him with great love and happiness, wishing him well, and begging him to remember him in his prayers. The Ambassador told him that he considered himself the luckiest man in the world, not only because he was now a Christian and his desires had been accomplished, but also for being so honored and ennobled, as all of this had been by order of his Majesty and in his royal presence, and even more so for having ordered that he be given his name [Felipe], a thing that he would not have dared imagine [possible], that his nobility had not prevented his being courteous, that he was giving many thanks to our Lord, and congratulations to his Majesty for the great benefit that would result in the souls in Japan, when they would learn about this. His Majesty answered that he was very happy to see how it turned out and to see him a Christian, and that he trusted that our Lord would make many more in his country with his help.

The Queen of France, and the *Infanta* the nun, showing much happiness and joy, asked him to remember them in his prayers. His Majesty then ordered to take him inside and to show him the whole house. Doña María Manrique, Doña María de Benavides and two other nuns

fueron a enseñar toda la casa que es muy Real grandiosa y deuota: en la enfermeria fuimos a ver la Abadesa con la qual voluimos a hallar al Duque de Lerma, el qual dixo al Embajador, que auia sido muy dichosa su uenida pues escogiendo le por Padrino le auia honrado, tanto por vna parte, y por otra vendria seguro le encomendaria a Dios, y tambien su despacho, el qual se daria orde fuese con mucha breuedad y a su gusto, el Embajador le respondió que quie auia dado honra a el y a toda su nacion era su Excelencia, pues a su sombra la recibia de su Magestad, assi en lo presente como en lo poruenir, y en lo vno y en lo otro le suplicaua hiziese officio de padre

Visito con mucha deuocion todas aquellas capillas y reliquias edificando grandemete aquellas santas monjas. Boluieron nos a llevar a donde estaua su Magestad con la Reyna y Infantas, y el Cardenal de Toledo dixo al Embaxador, q. por no tener manos no auia hecho lo que le auia mandado, pero que aunque sin pies auia uenido a hallarse a aquel acto de que yua muy edificado y contento, el Embajador le dio muchas gracias por ello y le suplico le encomendase a nuestro Señor q. le hiziese buen Christiano, fuese derecho a su Magestad q. estaua sentado en vna sillita pequeña hablando con la Infanta y preguntole su Magestad si se auia holgado de ver la casa, y respondió que le besaua los pies por el fauor y merced que le auia hecho en mandarsela enseñar, y en auerle dado nueua vida y ser, haziendole hijo y siervo de Dios en lo espiritual, y en lo temporal su Vasallo, para lo primero mandandole dar la señal de los hijos de Dios que es el santo Bautismo, y assi le suplicaua q. para q. España Ytalia y Japó fuesse conocido por su criado y vassallo le hiziese merced de honrarle con la Cruz de Santiago, con que señala y honra a sus vassallos nobles, su Magestad respondió dezilde que he recibido mucho gusto de lo que dize, y tendre memoria de lo que pide, y vos la tendreys de darnos memorial sobre ello.

Preguntome su Magestad si auiamos de yr luego a Roma, yo le respondi que solo aguardauamos su licencia y orden para ello, dixo su Magestad, yo la tengo dada, y con veras le acudirá a ello.

took us and showed us the whole house which is really very grandiose and devout. We went to see the Abbess in the infirmary and found the Duke of Lerma already there, who told the Ambassador that his coming had been very lucky, since he had been honored for having been chosen as Godfather, on the one hand, and on the other, he could count on his prayers and also on an expeditious and courteous dispatch, about which he would give specific orders. The Ambassador answered to him that his Excellency was the one who had honored him and his whole nation, since it was due to his protection that he received it from his Majesty, in the present as well as in the future, and he begged him to act as his father, now and then.

He visited with much devotion all those chapels and relics, thus edifying greatly those saintly nuns. They brought us back to where his Majesty was, with the Queen and the *Infantas*. The Cardinal of Toledo said to the Ambassador that, on account of his bad hands, he had not done what he had been ordered to do, but, even without legs, he would have been present at that act, that he had been much edified by it and happy with it. The Ambassador thanked him profusely and begged him to pray our Lord that he may become a good Christian; he went directly to his Majesty who was sitting on a small chair speaking with the *Infanta* and his Majesty asked him if he had been glad to visit the house, and he answered that he was kissing his hands for the favor and mercy done him in ordering that he be taught, and for having given him a new life and being, by making him a son and servant of God in things spiritual, and his vassal in things material, firstly, by having ordered that he be given the sign of the sons of God which is the holy baptism, and also he begged him that, in order that he be recognized as his servant and vassal in Spain, Italy and Japan, he may do him the favor of honoring him with the Cross of St. James, by which he signals and honors his noble vassals. His Majesty answered by telling me to tell him that he was pleased with what he had said, that he would keep his request in mind, and that I should send him a petition to that effect.

His Majesty asked me if we would then be going to Rome. I answered that we were only waiting for his permission and order to do so. His Majesty said "Consider it done", and in truth he will attend to it.

Pidiendole la mano á su Magestad no nos la quiso dar, dispidiendonos nos salimos por la puerta regular, donde estauan muchos señores y grandes, y la guardia que nos fue acompañando.

Entramos en los coches a la oracion, y llegamos a san Francisco, donde estaua el Padre Guardian con toda la comunidad, y con Cruz alta, y ciriales, y ministros; nos reciuieron en la yglesia, con Te Deum laudamus, con organos, trompetas, y mucha música de canto de organo, con que se acabo la fiesta, y todos quedamos contentísimos, y dando muchas gracias a nuestro Señor; así del suceso, como de la buena deuocion del houio, que confio en nuestro Señor a de ser muy gran Christiano, y el ynstrumento de muchas almas.

CON LICENCIA:
Impresso en Seuilla, por Diego Perez

We asked to kiss the hand of His Majesty but he refused to give it. Begging leave, we went out by the regular door where many lords and grandees were waiting, and the guard to accompany us.

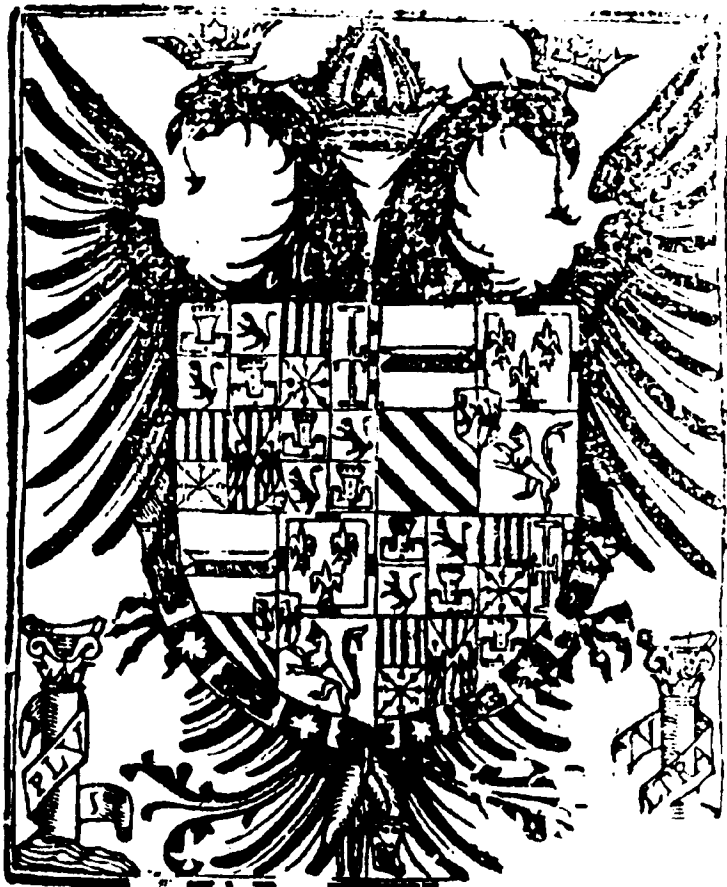
We boarded the coaches at the hour of the prayer and arrived at St. Francis, where the Father Guardian was waiting with the whole community. He welcomed us into the church with the cross held high, large candlesticks and ministers, with the *Te Deum laudamus*, with organs, trumpets, and much choral and organ music, and this put an end to the feast. We were all left very happy, giving many thanks to our Lord for the event as well as for the devotion of the newly-baptized one who I trust in our Lord will be a very good Christian and the instrument of many souls.

WITH PERMISSION.

Printed at Seville, by Diego Perez.

**RELACION
VERDADERA DEL
RECIBIMIENTO QUE LA SANTIDAD
del Papa Paulo Quinto, y los mas Cardenales hizieron en
Roma al Embaxador de los Japones, que desta
Ciudad de Sevilla partiò el año
passado.**

**¶ Escrita por el Padre Fray Luys Sotelo, dende Roma a vn
Religioso graue desta Ciudad.**



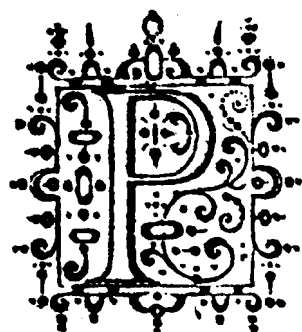
**¶ Impresso con licencia del Conde de Saluatierra Asistente de,
Seuilla, por Francisco de Lyra, junto a los Hercules,
Año de 1616.**

9. True account of the reception at Rome

which His Holiness the Pope Paul V and some Cardinals gave to the Ambassador of the Japanese, who left this city of Seville last year.

Written by Father Fray Luys Sotelo, from Rome to an important religious of this City.

Printed, with the permission of the Count of Salvatierra, Assistant of Seville, by Francisco de Lyra, next to the columns of Hercules, year of 1616.



OR auerme vuestra Paternidad mandado le auisasse de todo lo que por acá passasse, lo hago aora, que es la primera ocasion que el tiempo á dado lugar para ello. Primeramente á sido nuestro Señor seruido, que hemos llegado a esta Corte Romana, donde su Santidad, y toda esta Corte an recibido grandissimo contento con la venida de los Japones: en entrando en tierra de su Santidad, embió

el Cardenal Burgencio su carroza, con otras tres para nuestra entrada quarenta millas antes de Roma, y repuesto, recamara, gente de seruicio, y comida para toda la gente, y azemilas para el hato, todo con tanta abundancia, y regalo, que no se puede dezir, y vn Prínado suyo, Cura de la Yglesia, que nos acompañasse, como lo hizo, hasta que llegamos cerca de la Ciudad, donde salieron algunos coches, y Cavalleros a recebirnos. Llevaron nos derechos al pie de su Santidad, que nos recibió con grandes muestras de alegría haziendo particular honra al Embaxador. Visitamos luego en su palacio al Cardenal Burgencio, y al Príncipe sobrino del Papa, los quales nos ofrecieron grandes mercedes, y esperamos nos las concederá por la buena voluntad que todos muestran de acudir a estas cosas, por ser tanto del seruicio de nuestro Señor. De allinos truxeron a San Iuan de Letran, donde nos aposentaron en el quarto de su Santidad, y sus mismos ministros nos sirven a todos, como se hizo en el Alcazar de Seuilla. Los manjares, y lo demas son de los mismos que se sirven a la mesa del Papa.

¶ Dia de los Apostoles San Simon, y Iudas estaua ordenado el recebimento, y passeio por la Ciudad, con grande acompañamiento de a cavallo, y coches, y porque hazia tiempo pardo y llovia vn poco, ordenó su Santidad, que fuesse el recebimiento y passeio otro dia, el primero que hiziesse buen tiempo: pero haziendosenos larga qualquiera dilacion, pedimos a su Santidad, que fuesse el dia siguiente que hizo mejor, y fue assi. Vino el Gentilhombre del Cardenal Burgencio, que como dixé, es Cura de vna Yglesia, juntamente con el Maestro de Ceremonias del Papa, y con nuestro Procurador de Corte. Fuymos: los Religiosos que venimos con el Embaxador, en la carroza del Carde-

n.

BECAUSE your Paternity has ordered me to keep him informed about everything that goes on here, I do so now, as it is the first opportunity that time has given me for it. Firstly, our Lord has been served to let us arrive at this Roman Court, where His Holiness and the whole Court have received us with a very great happiness for the coming of the Japanese. As we came into the Papal lands, 40 miles from Rome, Cardinal Borghese sent us his own coach, with three others to make our entrance, with spare [horses], a dressing room, service people, food for everyone, and mules for the baggage, everything in such a plentiful and bountiful supply that it cannot be expressed, also a private secretary of his and curate of the Church to accompany us, as he did, until we came near the City, where some coaches and gentlemen came out to greet us. They took us directly to the feet of his Holiness, who received us with a great show of joy, giving special honor to the Ambassador. We then paid a visit to Cardinal Borghese in his palace and to the Prince, nephew of the Pope, both of whom offered us great favors, and we hope that they will grant them on account of the goodwill that they all show toward the despatch of these things, since they are so much for the service of our Lord. From there they took us to St. John of Lateran,¹ where they seated us in the quarter reserved for his Holiness, and his own ministers served us all, the same as was done in the Alcazar of Seville.² The victuals and the rest served here are the same as those served at the Pope's table.

On the Day of the Apostles St. Simon and St. Jude [28 October], [first] appointed for the reception and parade through the City with a great company of coaches and horsemen and, because the sky was covered and it rained a little, his Holiness ordered that the reception and parade be postponed until another day when the weather would be fine. However, because any delay was bad for us, we begged his Holiness to make it the next day that the weather would be better, and so it was done [on 3 November]. The gentleman from Cardinal Borghese came, the one whom I have said is Curate of a Church, together with the Master of Ceremonies of the Pope, and with our Procurator at the Court. We the religious who came with the Ambassador went aboard Cardinal

1 Ed. note: This church has been considered the most important in dignity in the whole Christian world since the time of Constantine, even more so than St. Peter at the Vatican.

2 Ed. note: The Alcázar, or fortress built by the Moors, is located next to the Cathedral and the famous AGI, or Archivo de Indias.

al Burgecio, y los demas Japones en otros dos coches, hasta el Claustro de San Pedro, que es vna legua, desde el Conuento de Araceli; venimos luego a vna gran caia, donde a la puerta hallamos la guarda del Papa, y estaua para el Embaxador el cauallo de su Santidad, y para los otros tres Japones principales, tres cauallos ricamente adereçados, sin otros muchos que auia para los criados del Embaxador, todos muy buenos, y con buenos jaezes. Entramos en la casa del Campo, donde vinieron el sobrino del Papa, y toda la Caualleria de Roma, de los Cardenales, sus Familiares, y de los Embaxadores que estauan en Roma, aunque el de España estaua fuera con su muger, pero no por esso faltó allí los familiares de su casa. Llegados todos, y hecho su conuencimiento al Embaxador Japon, y al sobrino del Papa, que estaua con el, como y apadrinando le sin quitarse de su lado y izquierdo, hasta q̄ boluimos a casa, subió el Embaxador en su cauallo, y los demas todos en los suyos, con la guarda delante, y detras, juntamente con el concurso de la gente, que era mucha. Precedian al cauallo del Embaxador, algunos Japones con otros muchos Cavalleros, que los seguian por su orden a todas bandas. Y al fin el Embaxador, lleuando delante quatro Japones con sus armas, a modo de Japon.

¶ Venian los tres Japones principales, a saber don Pedro, don Tomas, y don Francisco, vestidos como lo andauan en Seuilla: Don Pedro como Bonzo, con bonete de dos picos, que ya ninguno de los tres trae armas, ni cabello atras como los que son soldados. En passando cerca de San Pedro, tocaron los Cabales, y flautas, haziendo musica sobre las almenas, y passando San Pedro araron veynte y ocho picças grossissimas. Luego llegamos a casa de vn Cardenal, a cuyas ventanas se assomó el mismo, y otros Prelados de la Yglesia, cosa que jamas an hecho los Cardenales en semejantes ocasiones, como lo hizieron aqui este, y otros, assomandose en publico a sus ventanas. Estauan todas las demas calles, estremada, y curiosamente calgadas, quajados los terrados, y ventanas de Caualleros, y Damas, Prelados, y Religiosos, y por las calles y plazas infinitos coches, porque son los que ay en Roma muchos, mas que en la Corte de Madrid. Dixeran algunos, que el Papa viera este passco dende sus ventanas por debaxo vna vidriera, y que dando muchas muestras de alegria repitiera algunas vezes bella cosa, bella cosa, y lleuantando ojos

Borghese's coach, and the rest of the Japanese in two other coaches, as far as the Cloister of St. Peter which is one league from the Convent of Araceli. We then came to a great house, at whose gate we found the Papal guard. The horse of His Holiness had been reserved for the Ambassador and three other richly-adorned horses were for the other three Japanese leaders, not counting the many others for the servants of the Ambassador, all very good, and with good trappings. We went into the Field House, where there came the nephew of the Pope, all the knights of Rome, the Cardinals, the members of their households and the Ambassadors who were in Rome, except for the Spanish Ambassador who was out of town with his wife, although the members of his household were not missing. When all of them had arrived and done their courtesies to the Ambassador of Japan and to the nephew of the Pope who was with him—as if he were his patron he never left his left side until we returned home—the Ambassador mounted his horse and all the others theirs, with the guard in front, and behind, together with the crowd which was huge. Preceding the horse of the Ambassador were a few Japanese with as many gentlemen forming an orderly party with them. Behind them came the Ambassador bringing along four Japanese with their weapons Japanese-style.

Then came the three Japanese leaders, that is, Don Pedro [Itani], Don Tomás [Kafioe], and Don Francisco [Nomano], dressed like they had been in Seville, Don Pedro as a bonze [i.e. Buddhist priest], with a twin-peak bonnet, but the three of them did not then carry weapons, nor wear their hair long behind like those who are soldiers. As we neared St. Peter, they were playing kettledrums and flutes and making music on top of the ramparts, and as we passed by St. Peter, they shot 28 very large guns. Then we came to the house of a Cardinal, at whose windows he himself appeared, along with other Prelates of the Church, something that the Cardinals had never done under similar circumstances, as this one did, and others too, by showing themselves in public at their windows. All the streets were extremely and curiously filled, the terraces crowded, and the windows full of gentlemen and ladies, prelates and religious; throughout the streets and squares an infinite number of coaches, because there are many of those in Rome, more than at the Court of Madrid. Some say that the Pope himself saw this parade from his windows, from under a glass window, and that he gave many signs of joy by repeating many times “bella cosa, bella cosa” and, looking up

los ojos al cielo, dio gracias a Dios, que auia traydo de tan lexos aquellos Idolatras al conocimiento del verdadero Dios.

¶ Venia toda la gente mostrando vn general regozijo, con vn aplauso vniuersal de toda la Ciudad. Llegó el Cardenal Burgecio, que es el mas Priuado del Papa, y á tomado como proprio esta causa de Dios, y despues de muchos comedimientos, hizo entrar en el coche al Embaxador, y sobrino de su Santidad, y le hizieron parar hasta que llegamos los Religiosos que veniamos vn poco atras, en el coche del Cardenal Burgecio. Llegamos al Castillo de San Angel, donde vuo musica de atabales, y chirrimias; y en passando del, vuo otra de mas de cien picças de artilleria, que vna a vna fueron disparando por su orden, y compas, mientras passamos vna calle muy grande. Desta suerte llegamos a esta casa de Araçeli, donde auia atabales, y musica, y alli se despedieron todos con grande alegría, y nos dexaron muy bien aposentados; han venido a visitar al Embaxador de parte de muchos Cardenales, y otras visitas muy calificadas. Han sido muy celebrados algunos dichos del Embaxador, y respuestas que dà, y finalmente le tienen por hombre de grande entendimiento, y capacidad, como lo es.

¶ Ha mandado el Papa a los criados que nos sirven, que quando el Embaxador quisiere yr a ganar las estaciones de Roma, o quisiere salir fuera de casa, o de la Ciudad a alguna recreacion, lleuallen para esse efecto su reposteria, y le regalassen con todo el gusto possible. Y finalmente, en todo lo q̄ el Papa puede hazer de mostracion de honrarle, y regalarle, lo haze, y confio en nuestro Señor, le concederà todo lo que pide, y despachará presto, de todo lo qual auisariè a vuestra Paternidad en todas las ocasiones que se ofrezcan.

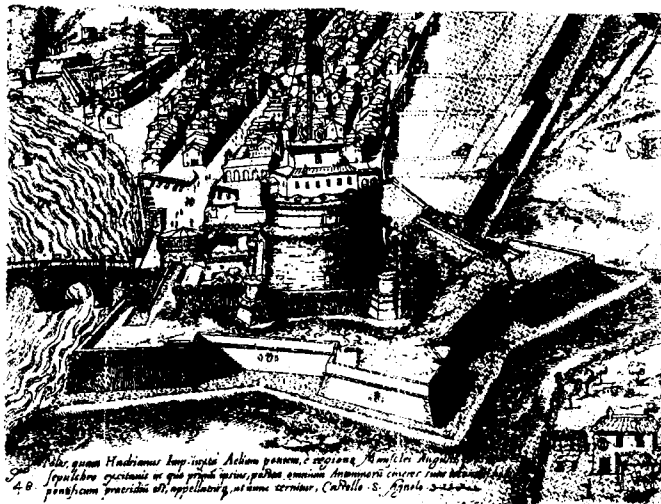
L A V S D E O!

to heaven, he gave thanks to God, who had brought from so far away, those idol worshippers to the knowledge of the true God.

The whole crowd was showing some general merriment, with the universal applause of the whole city. Cardinal Borghese arrived; he is most intimate with the Pope, and has taken this godly cause as his own. After many courtesies, the Ambassador and the Pope's nephew had him come aboard their coach and they made it stop until we, the religious who were coming a little behind, had arrived in the coach belonging to Cardinal Borghese. We arrived at the **Castle of San Angel**, where there was some kettledrum and hornpipe music, and passing by it, some more music from over 100 guns, each fired in turn all around, while we were crossing a very wide street. After this fort we arrived at this palace of Araceli, where there were kettledrums and music, and there, everyone said goodbye with much joy, and they left us very well lodged. Envoys have come on behalf of many Cardinals, as well as many other visitors of mark. Some of the sayings of the Ambassador and the answers that he gives have made the rounds; in the end, they judge him to be a man of great understanding and capacity, as he indeed is.

The Pope has ordered the servants who serve us that, whenever the Ambassador should wish to make the pilgrimage of the [seven] stations of Rome, or to go out of the palace, or City, for some recreation, they are to bring along his travelling kitchen and to entertain him as much as possible. Finally, whenever the Pope can demonstrate that he wishes to honor and entertain him, he does so, and I trust in our Lord that he will concede all that he asked and will despatch him soon. I will keep your Paternity informed about all of this at every opportunity that presents itself.

GLORY BE TO GOD



Castle of Sant'Angelo in Rome. *The carriage of the Japanese ambassador passed by this fort and on the bridge over the Tiber River in 1615. His embassy was saluted by over 100 guns from the fort. (From Giovanni Antonio Dosio's *Urbis Romae aedificorum illustrium*, Rome, 1569).*

Document 1615A

Nicolás de Cardona and his sketch of the Date Maru at Acapulco

Sources: BNM ms. 2468 entitled: "Descripciones geograficas e hydrographicas de muchas tierras y mares del norte y sur en las Indias, en especial del descubrimiento del Reyno de la California", [1619]; a facsimile edition has been published in 1989 by Turner Books, Calle de Genova 3, Madrid, ISBN 84-7506-283-0.

Geographical and hydrographic descriptions of many lands and seas, north and south, in the Indies, specially of the discovery of the Kingdom of California

Introductory note.

This manuscript has only been recently given to the National Library in Madrid by a Dr. A. Figueroa¹ but not before this well-illustrated document had already been published by the Ministry of Transport, Tourism and Communication, to commemorate the 500th anniversary of their existence.

In a preliminary study written by Pilar Hernández-Aparicio,² the story about the Cardona family is discussed. The Nicolás family was primarily interested in the **pearl fishery** of the Bay of California. In 1610, Nicolás enlisted in Seville to serve the Company of the Indies in the New World from 1613 to 1623. There were two voyages to California in search of pearls: one from 1613 to 1619 (the one of interest here), and another from 1619 to 1623. Nicolás Cardona crossed the Isthmus of Panama and built some ships on the Pacific coast. He left Panama with 2 frigates, but his N° 2 was completely lost by accidental fire while anchored at the port of Chiriqui, Panama; a sailor

1 Ed. note: So says the bulletin of the Library for April 1990: "Boletín de información trimestrial," N° 11, page 9.

2 Ed. note: She works in the Spanish-American Section of the National Library.

had forgotten about a lit cigar below deck. A replacement frigate was built at Chiriqui. On the way to Acapulco, he lost his N° 1 frigate on the bar at Tehuantepec. When he arrived at Acapulco, the **Date Maru** was already there and was the only ship in the harbor; this happened sometimes in 1614. Cardona then proceeded to build himself yet another frigate, plus a sloop.

In January 1615, Nicolás Cardona was ready to leave for the pearl fishery but, on account of the threat from Dutch pirates, he left only in March 1615 (see illustration). By the way, the Date Maru was to leave for Japan in April 1615, much before the visit of the 5 ships of the **Speilbergen** fleet in October of that year (see Doc. 1616B).

Off Zacatula, Cardona came face to face with Speilbergen. The date was 25 October 1615, according to Speilbergen. The Dutch captured one of his frigates. In the process, they took away two religious, 10-11 pearl divers, mineral samples and pearls that Cardona had with him. Cardona succeeded in fleeing and he went to join Sebastián Vizcaíno at Zalagua. A fight with Speilbergen ensued on 11 November, and the Spanish were successful this time around. Cardona left with his remaining ship to go to Acapulco to give a warning about the attacks. Consequently, his other frigate was commandeered twice in order to go to California and warn the galleons expected from Manila.

Cardona's manuscript is undated, but it was probably written at Madrid in 1619, because it was in fact part of a petition by him to obtain permission to return to California for his second pearl-fishing expedition.

Description of Acapulco in 1615, by Nicolás Cardona

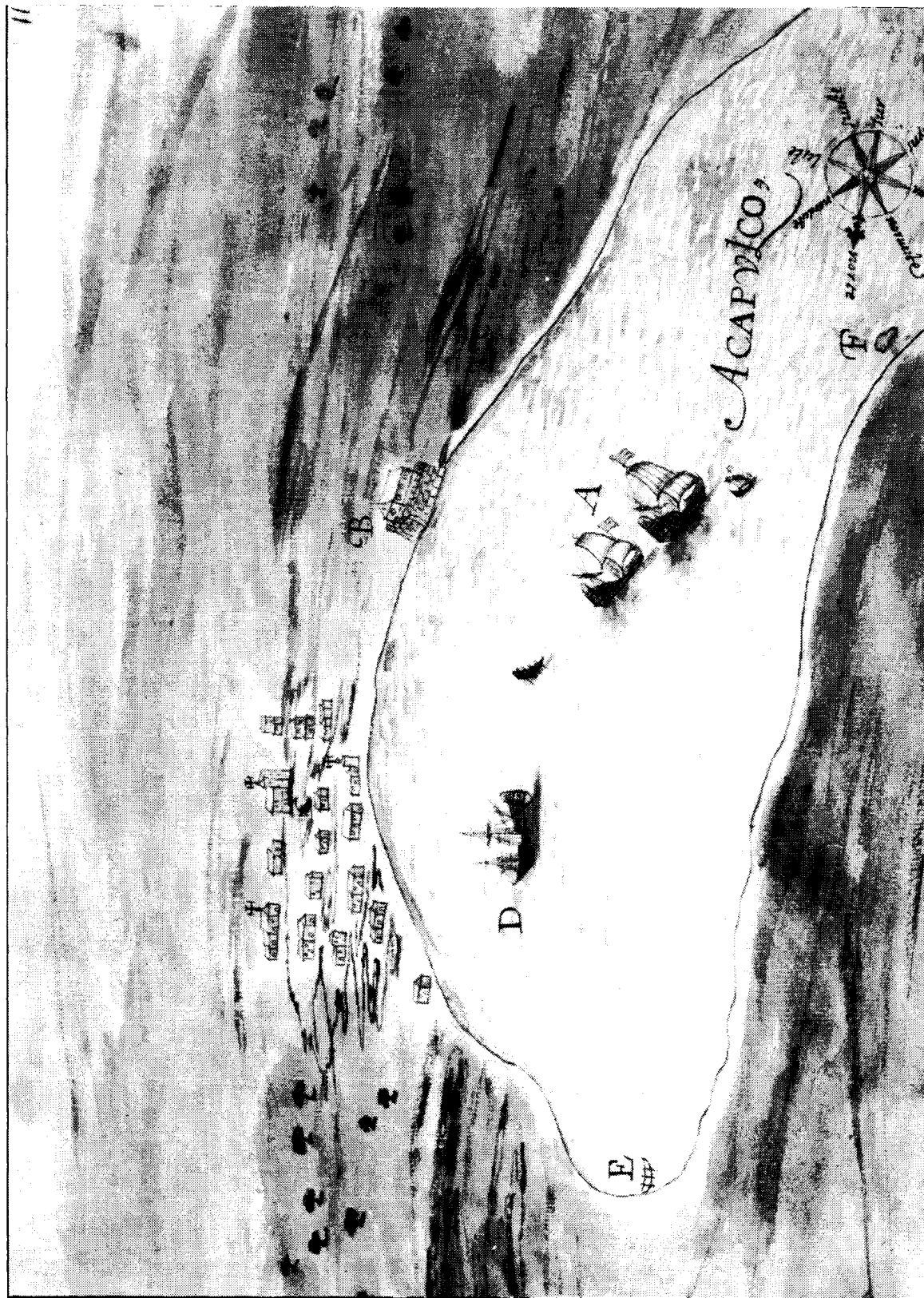
...

[Page 116]

The first voyage and navigation that I made to California was in the year of 1615.

I left this port of Acapulco on 21 March, the Viceroy of New Spain then being the Marquis of Guadalcazar and, although my departure was to have taken place much before that, it was suspended because news had been heard that the Dutchman was coming down the South Sea and coast of New Spain. Since the port of Acapulco lacked personnel, I was charged with guarding and defending it until help arrived from Mexico.

The port is in 17°. It is a hot country without any kind of supplies because they bring them from outside and they are very costly. Its port is safe and very well sheltered from all winds; its entrance is very wide and, in the year of 1616, the [re-]construction of Fort San Diego was begun, and I contributed to this work enough times.

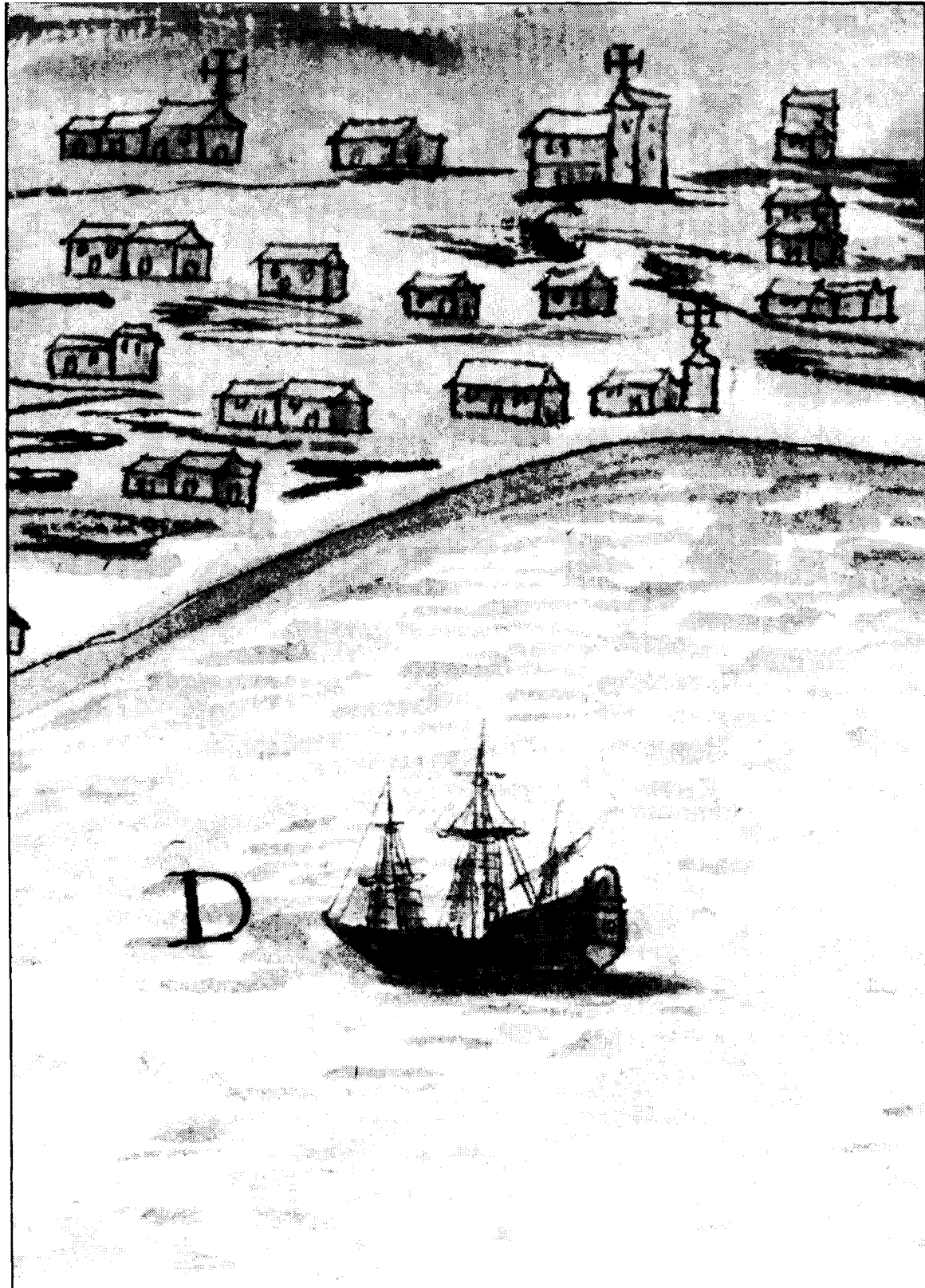


This port has wood for building purposes, although building is very laborious because the country is hot, expensive and with many disadvantages.

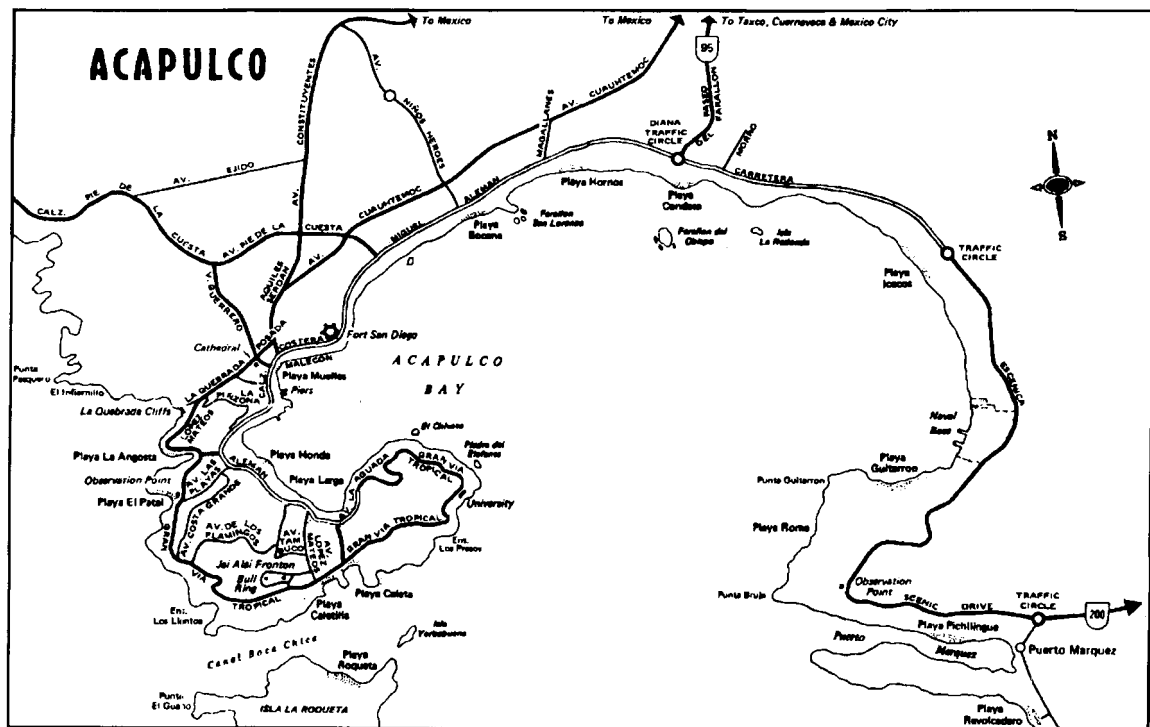
- A. The ships used for the discovery.¹
- B. Fort San Diego [in 1615].
- C. The town.
- D. A ship that had come from Japan.**²
- E. *Los Manzanillos*.³
- F. *El Griffõ* [The Griffin].

(Facing page) **The port of Acapulco, inside Acapulco Bay, in 1615.** *The author of this sketch is Nicolás Cardona, a pearl-fishing captain of the Spanish Company of the Indies. He was more or less based at Acapulco between 1614 and 1618. He fought the Dutch pirate Speilbergen, helped the building of Fort San Diego, and witnessed the going and coming of the Japanese ship **Date Maru**. His men probably had some fights ashore with the Japanese sailors as well. (Page 117 of Cardona's manuscript, with original in watercolor)*

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- 1 Ed. note: These were Cardona's two frigates and one sloop leaving Acapulco in March 1615. A ship's boat is also shown passing behind the Date Maru.
 - 2 Ed. note: In Spanish: "una nao q. avia venido del Japon". There is no doubt at all that this ship is the Date Maru, a three-mast 500-ton ship built near Sendai, Japan, in 1612-13.
 - 3 Ed. note: Literally "Little apple tress", but these could be Indian apple-trees, or even some kind of olive trees, located (but not shown) near that beach.



(Facing page) **Close-up view of the Japanese ship Date Maru at Acapulco in March 1615.** In the deepest part of the port lies the Date Maru, the 500-ton ship built near Sendai, Japan, in 1612-13. This is the ship that brought Father Sotelo, Sebastián Vizcaíno and the Japanese embassy to Acapulco in January 1614. Soon after this picture was drawn, it left for Uruga, Japan, with a viceroymal embassy to the Shogun. The ship came back and spent one more year at anchor here, from February 1617 to April 1618. The Japanese captain is thought to have been the same Mukai SHOGEN who had visited previously.



Modern map of Acapulco for comparison purposes. The port, as drawn by Cardona, is but a small part of Acapulco Bay. “Los Manzanillos” corresponds to Playa Larga today, and “El Griffo” is now called “El Chivato” [The Kid, or Young Goat]. By the way, Cardona’s compass rose is very wrongly orientated.

Documents 1615B

The letters and diary of Richard Cocks in Japan, 1615-1622

Sources: The diary is from BM Add. mss. 31,300 & 31,301 while the correspondence is from the India Office; published by the Hakluyt Society as: Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with correspondence. Edited by Edward Maunde Thompson, 2 vols., London, Series I, Nos. 66-67; reprinted in 1964 by Burt Franklin, New York.

Introductory note.

The editor of this book has given an excellent introduction to the history of Japan for the period that Cocks lived there, including references to William Adams, in the preface of his work. Basically, the history of the English trading settlement at Hirado was a failure; it lasted only 10 years, from 1613 to 1623. Cocks' name was also written Cox by his relatives and contemporaries. Although Cocks was the only English merchant to have lived in Japan for the full 10 years, the parts of his diary that have survived cover only intermittent periods between 1615 and 1622. He died in the Indian Ocean on 27 March 1623, when returning to England.

He was well acquainted with William Adams and made at least three trips to the court with him (1616, 1617 and 1618); in two cases, he made side-trips to Adams' fief of Hemimura (Hemi Village), near Uruga. Unfortunately, the part of the diary covering the death of Adams (16 March 1620) is missing. However, he writes in 1616 that "The Emperor [Ieyasu] esteemeth him much, and he may go and speak with him at all times, when kings and princes are kept out." In 1620, he adds: "I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was, he having been in such favour with two Emperors of Japon as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with the Emperors, when many Japon kings stood without and could not be permitted."

This diary adds important elements to the study of the causes of the break in relation between Japan and Christian traders of all nationalities, except the Dutch. It was Shogun Hidetada who had determined to suppress Christianity, even before the death of Ieyasu, who had, it is true, passed an edict to expel the Jesuits but they had been tolerated by some *daimyos*. Cocks was a witness to several persecutions, notably the

crucifixion of 37 Japanese Christians at Kokura in 1618, and the martyrdom of the last Portuguese and Spanish missionaries at Nagasaki and Omura in 1622. In 1620, the 10-12 churches and the monasteries in the Christian stronghold of Nagasaki had already been levelled to the ground. However, it was after 1623, when Hidetada handed over the Shogunate to his son Iemitsu, that the break was formalized.

In another vein, Richard Cocks may be remembered as the man who imported and grew the first European potatoes in Japan...

Extracts from letters written at the English factory

Ralph Coppindall¹ to Robert Larking and Adam Denton, dated Hirado 5 December 1615.

Loveing frendes,—Wishing your welfare, etc.

...
Upon the 11th September I departed from hence towards the Emperours court with a present (which every shipp or juncke that cometh hither must of force performe), which with charges much surmounted an indifferent custome, espetially when a shipp cometh with a small capitall, and sales soe base and slacke that nothings is here to be expected but losse...

The Portingalles are quite out of favour with the Emperor. They attended 40 daies at the Emperors court to deliver their present, which at last was recd., but none of them admitted to his presence. It is thought that they will com noe more hither with any great shippes from Amacon [Macao].

[Important, but garbled, report on the arrival of the Date Maru in 1615]

Certaine Jesuites came out of Nova Espania in embassage unto the Emperor, with a letter and a present from the King of Spaine, which, after a moneth or 6 weekes attendance, the Emperor recd., but none of the ambassadors admitted to his presence. All the answer to their embassage was, to gett them foorth of this cuntry with speede, upon paine of his displeasure.²

His cuntry is now in peace, for that the old Emperor hath made an absolute conquest, haveinge driven the young king quite out of this cuntry and made away most of his principall partakers.

...
Thus for present I committ yow and your affaires unto the protection of the Almighty.

Your loveing frend to commaund,
Ralph Coppindall.

1 Ed. note: He arrived in Japan in September 1615.

2 Ed. note: The Spanish religious were not Jesuits, but Franciscans, sent by the Viceroy officially, not really by the King of Spain, as Ambassador Hasekura was still in Europe.

Richard Cocks to [John Gourney],¹ dated Hirado 6 December 1615.

Worshipfull,—

...

As I advised in my last the Emperour did very graciously accept of the present Capt. Coppendall carid up unto hym, as Capt. Adames can better enforme yow whoe was an eye witnesse, the Emperour offring to geve us anything that might be for the benefit or good of our nation; esteeming us above all other Christian nations whatsoever.

...

[What Japanese merchants brought from Acapulco aboard the Date Maru in 1615]

Also yow may understand how a shipp arived at Quanto in Japon this yeare, which came out of New Spaine and brought good quantety of broad cloth, kersies, perpetuanos, and raz de Millan, which they offer at a loe rate; but I thinke it is the last that ever will be brought from thence, for it is said the Spaniardes made procleration with 8 drums at Aguapulca and other partes that, upon payne of death, their should never any more Japons com nor trade into New Spayne, and that both they and all other strangers of what nation soever should forthwith avoid out of all partes of New Spaine. But in requitall hereof the Emperour of Japon hath made procleration, in payne of death, that never hereafter any Japon shall trade or goe into New Spaine, and commanded the fryres or padres which came in this shipp should avoid out of his dominions; for the truth is, he is now frend nether to Spaniardes nor Portingalles.

...

Your loving frend at comand,
Ric. Cocks.

Richard Cocks to the East India Company, dated Hirado 25 February 1616.

Right worshipfull,—

...

I know not whether it be come to your W[ors. to understand the] conclusion of these greate wars in Japon [wherein Fidaia] Samme,² the sone of Ticus Samme,³ lost [his life, with the] slaughter of abbove 100,000 men which took his [parte. Some] report he was burned in his castell, it being fired; others think he escaped and is in Shashma [Satsuma] or the Liqueas [Okinawa]. His mother cut her own belly, and his littell childe was executed by comand from the Emperour, as also all others were the lyke which were knowne to take parte with hym. And Osakay and Sackay, two great citties, burned to the grownd, not soe much as one howse being saved...

...

1 Ed. note: India Office, Original Correspondence, vol. iii, n° 319.

2 Ed. note: Otherwise known as Hideyori.

3 Ed. note: Taikosama, or Hideyoshi.

Extract from the diary of Richard Cocks

...

[First record of Japanese interest in Micronesia]

September 18 [1616]

Capt. Adames went againe to the Cort [at Edo] to procure our dispatch, and fownd all the Councill busyed about matters of justice of lyfe and death; and, amongst the rest, one man was brought in question about Fidaia Samme [Hideyoshi's son Hideyori], as being in the castell [of Osaka] with him to the last hower. This man was racked and tormented very much, to make hym confes where his master was, or whether he were alive or dead;¹ but I canot heare whether he confessed any thing or no. Also the Admeralls sonne (our great frend), called Shonga Dono, came to towne, having byn sent out by the Emperour before about busynesses. He had much talk with Capt. Adames about sea matters, and other great men in company with them. And, amongst other matters, they tould Capt. Adames that they understood there were certen ilands to the northward, very ruch in mynes of gould and silver, which the Emperour ment to conquer, and asked hym whether (upon good termes) he would be pilot. He made answer, he was not now at his owne dispose, being servant to the English nation, and therefore could not serve two masters. They asked hym whether he had heard tell of any ilands called **les Ladrones**, or of the theeves. He answered yis, but that his opinion was that they were of no moment, in respect the Spaniards had not taken them, they lying in his way as they passed from New Spanie to the Philippinas. They also spoake of an other iland, called by the Spaniards Hermosa (or **Rico en oro y plata**). He answered he had heard of such a place in conference with Spaniardes.

In fine, the Councill tould Capt. Adames all our dispatch was ready, only they wanted Codgkins Donos hand, he being sick. So he was referred to com to morrow and bring Codgskin Donos letter.

...

September 19.

We went to the Admerall yonger, Shongo Dono, and carid hym a present. And Capt. Adames gave hym 3 gilt Syam skins and a tigers skyn. He took our visitation kyndly, and offerd us to do for our nation what he could. This man and his father are the trustiest frendes we have in these partes. And I thought good to note downe how this man entred into speeches about the ilandes **Ladrones**, taking them to be ruch in myne of gould and silver. My answer was, that I knew no such matter, but to the contrary esteemed that yf the[y] had byn such, that the Spaniard would have had them before now, they lying in the way from Agua Pulca to the Philippinas. But my opinion was that yf the Emperour pretended to make a conquest of any, that the Philippinas them selves were of more emportance, and the Spaniardes weake and ill beloved of the contrey

¹ Ed. note: After the massacre and destruction of Hideyori's castle at Osaka in 1615, the body of Hideyori was not found, and rumors abounded as to his having survived the bloody incident.

people, and that herein his Majestie needed not to dowbte the assistance both of the English and Duch, as occasion should serve. At which speches he seemed to make a pawse, and in the end said that they wanted such shipps as ours were. Unto which I answered, I marveled the Emperour did not make such, haveing both men (I meane workmen), tymber, and all things else necessary. Yt seemed to me that he tooke notis hereof.

...

Capt. Adames went to the Court againe for our dispatch, but was put affe till to morrow.

September 20.

Gonosque Dono returned to Firando, and viseted me at my lodging, offring to carry my letter yf I would write; for the which I gave hym thanks, telling hym I hoped to follow after to morrow.

Capt. Adames went againe to the Court with our *jurebasso* [interpreter] to procure our dispatch, but could not dispatch till to morow.

...

September 21.

...

Capt. Adames and our *jurebasso* went againe to Court to procure our dispatch, but could not.

...

September 22.

The Emperour sent me 10 *kerimons*¹ and an armor for a present, 2 *kerimons* to Mr. Eaton, and 2 to Mr. Wilson. And Oyen Dono sent me 5 *kerimons*, and 1 and 2 *catabras*² to Mr. Eaton, and the lyke to Mr. Wilson and our *jurebasso*. And we receved our priveleges and *goshons* [licences] from the Emperour.

Also I sent a present to Chubio Dono; and towards night he sent me thankes with letters for the King of Firando, and sent me a *wakadash*³ for a present, and 2 peces taffate to Mr. Eaton.

...

[After a short interval at Febys (which he also writes as Febe, or Phebie) and Uraga, Cocks and Adams returned to Edo to try and renew their request for a clearance to trade in the Osaka area].

...

October 3.

We went to the secretary Oyen Donos howse to have spoaken with hym about our occation of retorne...

1 Ed. note: A *kirimo*, or robe.

2 Ed. note: *Katabira*, or summer robe.

3 Ed. note: *Wakizashi*, or short sword.

Also we met there a Spaniard, com from the iland near Langasaque, where he was arived in a small shipp by contrary wynds going to Manilla, and might not be sufferd to goe out againe without lycence from the Emperour.¹

...

October 23.

[Safian Dono told me that] it was the littell Spanish shipp that is cast away neare Shashma [Satsuma], and not the greate. Also he says that the great shipp which is in Shashma bringeth newes that the Kyng of Spaine hath mad proclamation that all the English and Dutch pirattes that rob at sea, that he will take them under his protection, and geave them freely all such goods and shippes as they shall take, without reserving any part to hym selfe.

Richard Cocks to the East India Company, dated Hirado 1 January 1617.²

...

Soe we withdrew all our factors from Edo, Miaco, Osakay, and Sackay to Firando. **[Mention of the Acapulco ships of 1615 and 1616]**

The fathers which came in the shipp from Aguapulca [in 1615] brought a present from the King of Spaine to the Emperour; but, after he had kept it halfe a yeare, he returned it back, not reserving any thing, but bad them be gon.

And I had allmost forgotten to adviz your Wors. of a Spaniard, which was at the Emperours court at Edo when I was theare [in August 1616]. He went out of a ship of theirs from Xaxma, where 2 greate shippes of theirs arived out of New Spaine, bound, as they said, for the Philippinas, but driven into that place per contrary wynd, both shippes being full of souldiers, with greate store of treasure, as it is said, above 5 millions of pezos.³ Soe they sent this man to kis the Emperours hand; but he never might be suffered to com in his sight, although he staid theare above a month; which vexed hym to see we had accesse to the Emperour and he could not. So that he gave it out that our shippes and the Hollanders which were at Firando had taken and robbed all the China juncks, which was the occation that very few or non came into Japon this yeare. And som greate men in the court did not want to aske me the question whether it were true or no, Mr. Wm. Adames being present. Which we gave them to understand that, concernynge the Englishe, it was most falce. And withall I enformed the two secretaries, Oyen Dono and Codsquin Dono, that, yf they lookt out well about these 2 Spanish shippes arived in Xaxma full of men and treasure, they would fynd that they were sent of purpose by the King of Spaine, haveing knowledg of the death of the ould Emperour, thinking some papisticall *tono* might rise and rebell and so draw all the papistes

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- 1 Ed. note: This was the patache that had come from Acapulco with the galleon Angel de la Guarda, Captain Bravo de la Serna (see Doc. 1616C2).
 - 2 Ed. note: India Office, Original correspondence, vol. iii, n° 342.
 - 3 Ed. note: Actually, there were only 800,000 pesos aboard (see Doc. 1616C2).

to flock to them and take part, by which meanes they might on a sudden seaz upon som stron place and keepe it till more succors came, they not wanting money nor men for thackomplishing such a strattagim. Which speeches of myne wrought so far that the Emperour sent to stay them, and, had not the greate shipp cut her cable in the howse so to escape, she had byn arested, yet with her hast she left som of her men behind; and the other shipp being of some 300 tons was cast away in a storme and driven on shore, but all the people saved. So in this sort I crid quittance with the Spaniardes for geveing out falce reportes of us, yet since verely thought to be true which I reported of them.

Also may it please your Wors. that, at our being at themperours court, the amerall of the sea was very earnest with Mr. Wm. Adames to have byn pilot of a voyage they pretended to the northward to make conquest of certen ilands, as he said, rich in Gould; but Mr. Adames exskewced hym selfe in that he was in your Wors. service and soe put hym afe. And as I am enformed, they verely think that our pretence to discover to the northward is to fynd out some such rich ilandes and not for any [northwest] passage. Yet I tould the admerall to the contrary, and tould hym that my opinion was he might doe better to put it into the Emperours mynd to make a conquest of the Manillas and drive those small crew of Spaniardes from thence, it being so neare unto Japon; they haveing conquered the Liqueas allready. He was not unwilling to listen hearunto; and said he would comuncate the matter to the Emperour. And out of dowbt yt would be an easy matter for the Emperour to doe it, yf he take it in hand, and a good occation to set the Japons heades awork, to put the remembrance of Ticus Samme and his sonne Fidaia Samme, so lately slaine and disinhereted, out of their minds.

...

Your Worsp. most humble [servant] at command,
Ric. Cocks.

Documents 1616A

The voyage of Joris Speilbergen, as published by Captain Burney and De Broses

Sources: 1) The Voyage of Joris Spilbergen, Chap. 18, vol. 2 of Captain James Burney's Voyages, London, 1806 (see bibliography), pp. 328-353; 2) Charles de Broses (see bibliography), vol. 1, p. 348.

A1. The voyage of Speilbergen, by Captain Burney

1
...

During the height of this conflict [in Europe], in the year 1614, the East India Company of the United Provinces of the Low Countries equipped a fleet in Europe, which was destined to sail for the Moluccas by the Strait of Magalhanes and the South Sea. Joris Spilbergen, an able and experienced seaman, who had before conducted one of the fleets of Holland to the East Indies, was appointed to command this, with the title

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- 1 An account, in the form of a Journal, of the voyage of Admiral Spilbergen round the World, accompanied with charts and plates, was published soon after the completion of the voyage. It was written by Jan Cornelisz May, alias Menscheter, principal Mariner or Ship-master in Admiral Spilbergen's ship, and is the only original account of the expedition that has appeared. [Ed. comment: J.A.J. de Villiers of the British Museum, the translator of the original Dutch edition (see Doc. 1616B) has proven that it is not so. The Journal is by Speilbergen himself; only one sketch map bears May's name.] Translations of May's [sic] Journal were published in different languages. In 1620, one in Latin was added to De Bry's Collection of Voyages (in Appendix to America, Pars XI), with plates very little differing in the designs from those before published. The copy followed in this work is a French translation printed at Amsterdam in 1621, in a work entitled *Miroir Oost & West Indical*. [Ed. comment: Not so, says de Villiers. Burney's source was really a faulty French compilation by René Augustin Constantin de Renneville, entitled "Recueil des Voyages ... de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales...", Rouen, 1725. This wrong attribution of authorship was unfortunately reported by later compilers, including de Broses].

of Admiral, and under a commission from their High Mightinesses, the States General. The fleet was composed of six sail of shipping, of which four were of Amsterdam, one of Zealand, and one of Rotterdam. They were named,

The **Zon** (Sun) which was the Admiral's ship;

The **Halve Maen** (Half Moon);

The **Æolus**, of Zealand;¹

The **Morghensterre** (Morning Star) of Rotterdam;

The **Jagher** (Chaser) a galliot; and

The **Zee-meew** (Sea-gull).²

Neither the tonnage of these vessels, the number of men, nor names of the commanders, are specified in the early accounts: the four first-named were large ships, the other two were small vessels.

...

[The expedition sailed from the Texel on 8 August 1614 and spent the fall and winter on the coast of Brazil. In April 1615, they crossed the Strait of Magellan. Then, they cruised up the west coast of South America. They reached Acapulco in October 1615].

[Notes in margin: 1615, November. Port of Navidad]

The 15th, the anchors were taken up, and the fleet sailed to Port de Navidad, which the journalist reckoned to be three German leagues distant from Port Santiago.³ At Navidad they were able to guard against being surprised, and the fleet watered without molestation; and with the assistance of their prisoners, poultry and fruits were procured.

C. May has given with his journal, plans of the ports Salagua, Santiago, and Navidad, but has not marked in them either depth of water or scale; and the plan of Navidad being separate from the other two, no scale can be formed. The port of Santiago is to the West of Salagua, and is drawn separated from it only by a point of land.⁴

[Spilbergen leaves the coast of America. December 2d.]

On the 20th, the fleet sailed from Port de Navidad, and it was intended to make Cape San Lucas, for the chance of meeting some vessels from Manila. The winds however proved unfavourable to their plan, on which account, after passing Cape Corrientes, it was determined not to expend more time in that pursuit, but to prosecute their voyage to the East Indies; and December the 2d, the course was directed WSW for the **Ladrone Islands**, with a prosperous wind. (In the *Miroir* "*prismes le cours à l'ouest sud ouest, avec assez de prospérité*").

1 Ed. note: The Dutch original edition mentions that this ship was from Rotterdam instead.

2 Ed. note: This last ship had disappeared by the time the fleet arrived at Acapulco, but it was soon replaced by a Spanish prize, so that the fleet again consisted of 6 vessels when it crossed Micronesia.

3 Dampier has given the distance between Navidad and Santiago nearly twice as much as is here mentioned. As Cornelisz May sailed from one port to the other, and drew plans of each, his distance is probably the most correct.

4 Ed. note: Site of Manzanillo today.

[3d. Islands of Sto. Tomas.]

On the 3d, they saw two Islands, much to the surprise of the pilots, who did not expect to find Islands at that distance from the American coast.

[4th. La Annublada.]

The 4th, at day-light, they saw a rock at a great distance, which was at first mistaken for a ship; but on a nearer view they were undeceived and much chagrined at their disappointment. "This rock," the journal says, "is situated in latitude 19°, and is distant above 55 [German] leagues from the main-land."

[6th. Roca Partida of Villalobos.]¹

"The 6th, at noon, the latitude was observed 18°20' N. This same day was discovered in the open sea, another Islands, having five hills, each of which had the appearance of being a separate Island."

...

[1615. December]

From December the 6th to the 1st of January 1616, the fleet steered "constantly towards the W by S and WSW, with the wind favourable, and making good advances." In this passage, however, there were many sick people in the fleet, and several died.

[1616. January. Ladrone Islands]

The courses steered between the 1st and 23d of January are not set down in the *Miroir*. During that period, it is probable they sailed on a parallel. On the 23d in the afternoon, they made the **Ladrone Islands**, near which they stopped two days to traffic with the Islanders for provisions of fruits, fowls, and fish.

The 25th, Sybrand Cornelisz, principal merchant in the **Morghensterre**, being at dinner apparently in good health, was seized with a fainting fit and suddenly expired.

[February. Philippine Islands]

The 26th in the afternoon, they sailed from the Ladrone, and on February the 9th, arrived in sight of the Philippines.

The ships of Spilbergen passed through the Embocadero de San Bernardino, and towards the end of the month anchored before the Bay of Manila, near which it was intended to remain till the middle of April, as rich vessels from China were expected to arrive about that time.

...

[After leaving the Philippines, Speilbergen went to the Moluccas. He arrived at Ternate on 10 March, and sailed on to Java, where he picked up the famous Jacques Le Maire, the discoverer of the strait that bears his name near Cape Horn.]

¹ Ed. note: Burney goes on to discuss the identity of the islands seen by Villalobos and, on the strength of Herrera's account, has identified them as shown in brackets above.

A2. The voyage of Speilbergen, by De Broses

[Translating verbatim from the Journal, says de Broses:]

He [Speilbergen] touched on 14 [rather] 24] January 1616 at the Ladrone Islands, and it is not surprising, says he, that *“this name has been given to the inhabitants, because they practise this trade with the latest subtlety. They are strong and robust, men and women, but are nevertheless agile and skilful. They go about naked, except that they have some straw hats and that the women cover their natural parts with leaves. They have hens in abundance and other fowls, and even more so, fish. They have idols which they worship, but we did not find out the details of their beliefs. We were also witnesses to what we had heard talk about many times, which is that these islanders have no equals in the world in the art of swimming.”*

(Facing page) **Title page of the original Dutch edition of Speilbergen’s own Journal.**

Ⓞost ende West-Indische
S P I E G E L

Der 2. Ieste Navigatien/ghedaen inden Jaeren 1614. 15. 16. 17. ende 18. Daer in
 vertoone woort/in wat gestalt Ioris van Speilbergen dooz de Magellanes de werelt rontom gesept
 heeft/met eenighe Bartalieu so te water als te lant/ende 2 Historien de een van Ⓞost
 ende de ander van West-Indien/ het ghetal der soymen/ soldaten/ scheypen/ ende gheschut.

Met de Australische Navigatien, van Iacob le Maire, die int suyden door een nieuwe Straet ghepasseert is, met veel wonders
 so Landen, Volcken, ende Naticen, haer ontmoet zijn, in 16 copere n platen afgebeelt.



TOT LEYDEN, By Nicolaes van Geelkercken, Anno 1619.

Documents 1616B

The early editions of the original journal of Speilbergen's voyage

Sources: The original manuscript of the journal has not survived; first published as "Oost ende West-Indische SPEILGEL der 2. Ieste Navigatien...", Leiden, Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1619; translated by J.A.J. de Villiers and published by the Hakluyt Society (Series 2, N° 18) in 1906. See bibliography, under 1616.

East and West Indian Mirror

Of the two most recent voyages performed in the years 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617 and 1618, wherein is shown in what manner JORIS VAN SPEILBERGEN circumnavigated the world by way of the [Strait of] Magellanes, with some battles, on sea and land, and two narratives, one of the East, the other of the West Indies, the number of forts, soldiers, ships and cannon...

...

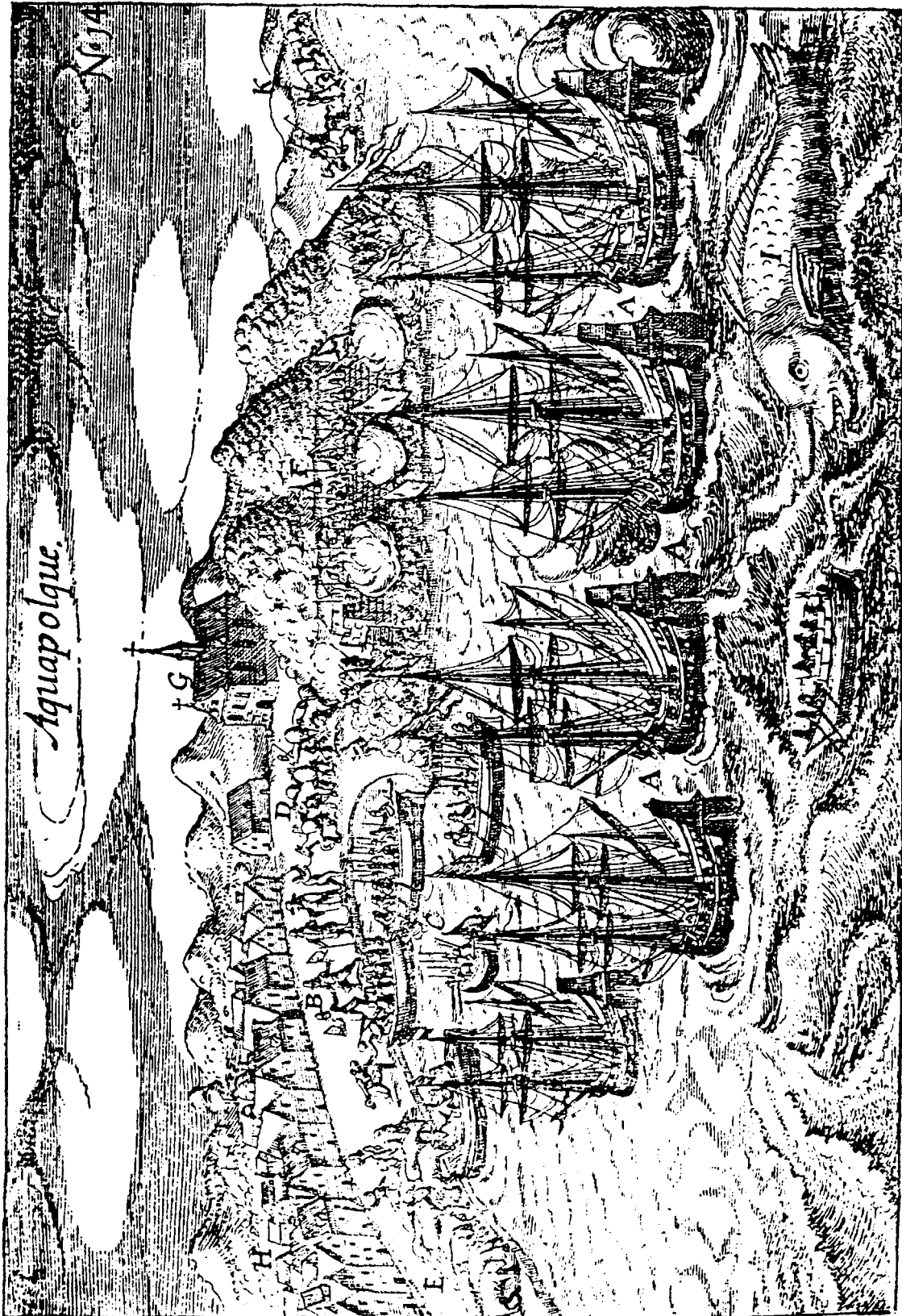
[Approaching Acapulco, October 1615]

The first day of October we tacked all day and night in order to make the land, so that on the approach of day we found ourselves very near the coast.

On the said day, being the 2nd, we saw smoke rising in various places on the shore, wherefore the Admiral sent out a boat with armed men in order to learn fuller tidings.

Our yatch was also sent in advance in order to sound the bottom in all directions, and to look for a proper anchorage; she at length returned, and told us that there was no fit place anywhere, and that she had found no harbour or roadstead.

...



(Facing page) **Plate N° 14 representing Acapulco [in October 1615].** *With an explanation in what manner the Spanish prisoners were ransomed.*

A. Is our fleet, consisting of five ships and a small Spanish vessel, which is lying on guard outside the bay.¹

B. Is the first meeting, each holding a small white flag as a sign of peace.

C. Are our boats, with the Spanish prisoners, who are released and set at liberty.

D. Are a number of asses, bringing our men victuals from the Spaniards.

E. Are a number of sheep, oxen, and other animals being shipped.

F. Is a castle occupied by Spaniards, and well provided with cannon.

G. Is the church or monastery.

H. Is the hamlet or town of Aquapolque.

I. Is a wonderful fish that is caught off the coast there.

K. Are some horsemen we saw with some more victuals that are being brought to us.

This country appeared to be very fine and pleasant, being planted with many kinds of trees and verdure.

On the 3rd we were in latitude 16°20', and on the same day we put forth every endeavor to make the roadstead and to anchor, but in vain, and we continued so to do until the 5th.

...

On the 9th we again proceeded further, always sailing along the shore.

We continued to do so, too, on the 10th, until the evening, when we anchored near a tongue of land behind which lay the town of Aquapolque, having a fine and well-situated harbor.

On the 11th we set sail, making every endeavor to get into the harbor, which, by reason of the great calm, we did not enter until the afternoon, and cast anchor with all our ships close to the castle, from whence about 10 cannon shots were fired at us without damaging us in any way. To stop this, the Admiral sent out a boat with a white flag, in token of peace, and the Spaniards, seeing this, came to meet our boat, not only offering us every friendship, but also promising to give us what they could to help and assist us. In conformity with which there came for the same purpose on board our Admiral's ship two Spaniards—to wit, Pedro Alvares, sergeant-major, and Francisco Menendes, ensign, being well versed in the tongue of the Netherlands, as having travelled and served there many years. These gave our Admiral repeated promises of help and assistance, and after some compliments they returned to the town.

During the night we towed all our ships up and anchored them so close under the castle that we could distinctly see their guns and every detail.

1 Ed. note: One of two frigates belonging to Nicolas Cardona and soon to be captured by the Dutch (see Doc. 1615A).

On the 12th, we conceived the opinion that the Spaniards were intent on some mischief against us, wherefore we placed our ships opposite the castle, getting ready the cannon and all that belongs thereto. But as we had sent out a boat to obtain more certain information, the above-named persons came aboard again, offering to place themselves in our hands as pledges and hostages for the performance of what they had promised us, and after many fine words, it was agreed that all our prisoners should be released and placed in their hands, and that they should deliver us for the same 30 oxens, 50 sheep, and a quantity of fowls, cabbages, oranges, lemons, and the like. As soon as this contract was made, there came on board to visit us many other captains and gentlemen, among them Captain Castillo, who had served in the Netherlands for more than 20 years, all of whom showed us much kindness and courtesy. On the same day we sent many men ashore in order to obtain a supply of both fresh water and wood for the kitchen, and the like.

On the 13th we again obtained a similar supply, and in the evening the Spaniards sent a row-boat to us, with promises that they would send us the promised cattle and fruit the following day.

On the 14th, the inhabitants of the town, after having fired several cannon shots in our honor, brought us the promised oxen, sheep, and fruit, which caused incredible joy and recuperation among our men.

On the 15th, there came aboard our Admiral's ship Don Melchor Hernando, a cousin of the Viceroy of New Spain, being charged to inspect a fleet which was powerful enough to conquer a royal armada such as that of Don Rodrigo; he was received and entertained by our Admiral, who had all our troops drawn up armed and in array in order to display them to him. Meanwhile, our Admiral's son had gone ashore with the Fiscal, and was very honorably received and entertained by the Governor. In the evening each ship fired three cannon shots, besides some charges of musketry.

The next day all our Spanish prisoners¹ were released, for which the inhabitants of the town thanked us very much, promising to do the like in the event of any of our people happening to fall into their hands. During this anchorage we were most diligent in getting in our supply of water, wood, and such like. This re-victualling, too, was most necessary for us, since sickness was daily increasing largely, and specially in the vessel the **Sonne**, in which there were more than 60 sick; wherefore we had even resolved, in the event of the Spaniards not having amicably allowed the provisions to go to us, to obtain the same by force of arms, though such would have been sufficiently difficult for us to do, since they had 17 metal guns in the castle, besides many muskets and other arms and ammunition sent there expressly on our account, they having been informed of our coming already more than 8 months before.

The Governor of this town, named Don Gregorio de Porreo, had under his command for the defence of the castle 400 men, besides many nobles and volunteers, whilst he had previously been used to have no more than 40 men and 3 pieces of ordnance.

1 Ed. note: Captured off the coast of South America.

This town of Aquapolco has no abundance of food supplies, since they have to fetch everything from very far in the interior, and also because all the ships from Manilles take in their cargoes and provisions here; wherefore we were surprised to receive such kindness and courtesy from the Spaniards, contrary to their usual manner and custom, for although we should have attacked them with force of arms, and have managed to overcome them, this would not have availed us aught, since they had means for getting away from the town, and escaping with all they wished into the woods and wildernesses.

On the 17th, we began to make preparations for our voyage.

On the 18th, we sailed out to sea with a favorable wind until the evening, when it grew very calm, continuing so until the 20th and 21st.

From the 21st until the 25th we tacked again and again without making much progress, by reason of the calm still continuing, when in the evening we saw in front of us a ship,¹ which we hoped to be able to overtake that night.

The next day we saw that the said ship lay at anchor close under the shore, and four well-equipped boats were sent out by the Admiral to take it. But as soon as the crew of the ship saw our men approach, they cut away the masts and sprits, and, binding these together, 12 persons made their way ashore on them and escaped. Eleven persons were still left on board the vessel, among these being two monks and a pilot, who had not dared to trust themselves upon the aforesaid masts. On the approach of our boats they fired a few musket shots, but this did not deter our men from attacking them, taking them, and bringing them, ship and all, to our fleet.

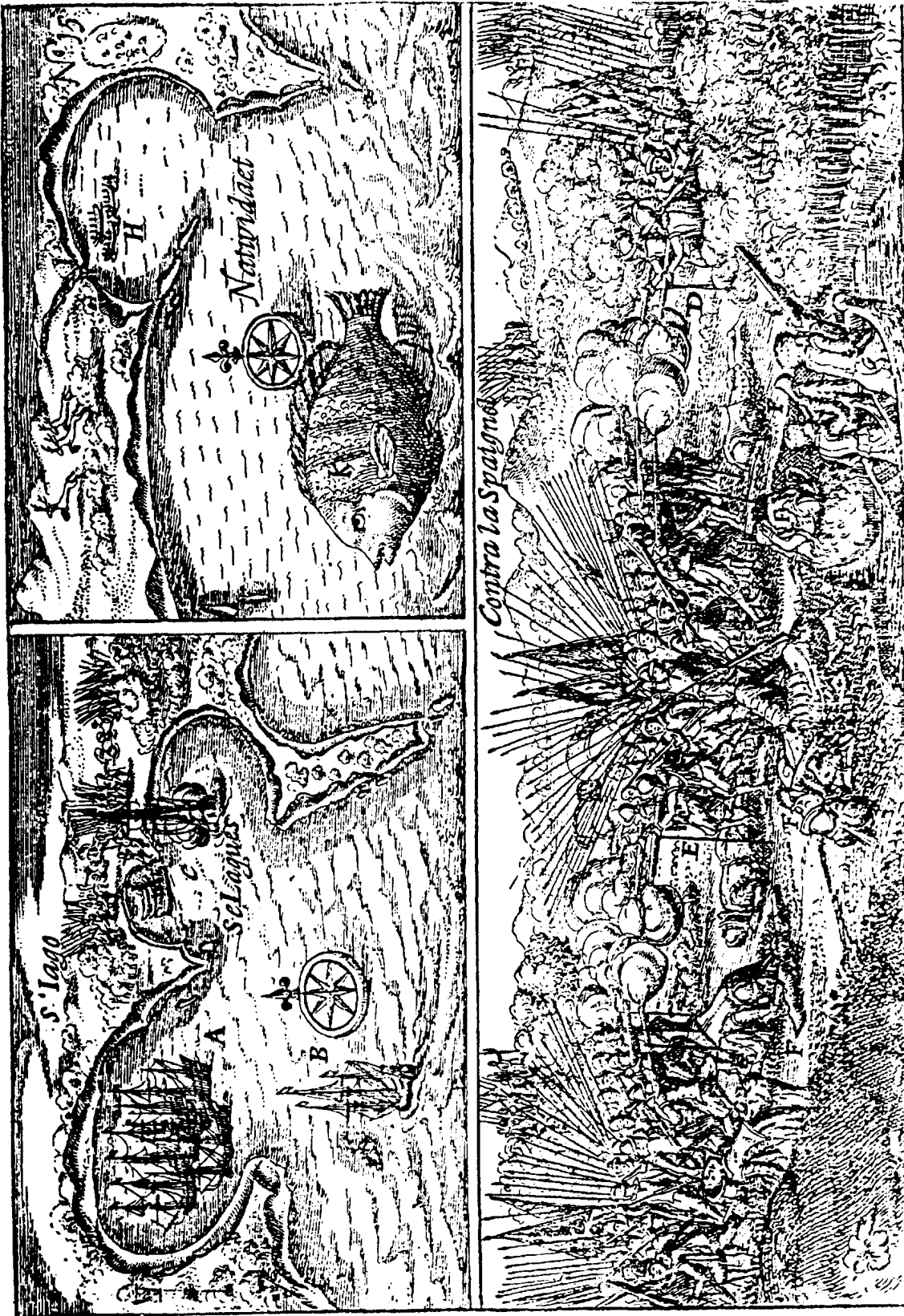
This vessel was laden only with a few pieces of furniture of little importance, and with some provisions, which were dealt out among our ships. She had been out fishing for pearls, but had caught nothing; was well equipped with four metal guns and two small mortars, some hooks and other arms and ammunition, so that she seemed to have been fitted out for war rather than for fishing. Here we were in the latitude of 18° and 10-12 minutes.

On the 27th, Jan Hendricksz., boatswain of the **Maen**, and 22 men, both soldiers and sailors, were placed on the aforesaid vessel to navigate her, and follow the fleet.

November.

On the first day of November mild and perfectly calm weather set in, and continued until the 10th. Towards the evening of the latter day we cast anchor immediately before a seaport named Selagues [Salagua], situated in 19°. Our prisoners informed us that there was a river here full of all kinds of fresh-water fish, besides many lemons and other fruits, and that two miles from thence there was a pasture in which the cattle graze. In order to ascertain this, two boats filled with armed men were sent to the shore, and on arriving there they found the aforesaid river and fruit trees, but also saw on the bank

1 Ed. note: This was one of Nicolás Cardona's frigate.



(Facing page) **Plate N° 15 showing the ports of Santiago, Salagua, and that of Navidad,**¹ *very carefully indicating how our men fought with the Spaniards.*

- A. Is the Bay of S. Iago, where our fleet lay.*
- B. Is the small Spanish vessel lying on guard.*²
- C. Is Selagues Bay, where the **Jagher** lay, with the places where the Spaniards are attacking our men.*
- D. Is how the Spaniards came running out of the wood.*
- E. Is their reception on the other side.*
- F. Are a number of dead left on the spot.*
- G. Are our sailors guarding the boats.*
- H. Is a place or bay a little off, named Natividad.*
- I. Is a very fine river of fresh water.*
- K. Is another sort of fish which is much caught in this country.*

the footprints of many men who went shod; therefore, they durst not go farther, but came back on board. This made us think, by reason of the shoes, that it must be the Spaniards of Aquapolco; because our prisoners assured us that hereabouts there dwelt but two or three Spaniards in all, and that the country was inhabited by Indians. For this reason the Admiral sent one of our prisoners ashore in a boat with a letter, in which he expressed his sole desire amicably to obtain some cattle and fruits for the nourishment of his men; but as there was no-one, the letter was hung upon the branch of a tree on the shore.

On the 11th we proceeded ashore with 200 soldiers, placing some white flags in the bows of our boats as a sign of peace; but the Spaniards on the contrary, standing on the banks, waved a blue banner, and showed by signs that there was nought for us but war. As soon as we had come on shore a great band of Spaniards sprang out from the wood in which they had been concealed, falling with loud cries very suddenly upon our men, who, in the first moment, took fright, and, but for the presence of some of our officers, would have fled; but afterwards, having taken courage, they stoutly charged the foe, so that he shortly after took to flight, our men not pursuing him further through fear of another ambush, but returning to the boats, specially as some had little powder left.

In this encounter there were killed of the enemy one captain and many other Spaniards, there being moreover some wounded, and of our men there were only two killed and six or seven wounded.

-
- 1 The two bays of Santiago and Salagua face the neck of land on which the town of Manzanillo now stands.
 - 2 Ed. note: This was one of Cardona's frigates that the Dutch had just captured off Zacatula. Jan Hendricksz., the former boatswain of the Maen, had been appointed as her new captain.

On the 15th, the wind serving us, we weighed anchor and sailed to the port named Natividaet,¹ which was situated only 3 miles off, and we relied upon getting supplies of fresh water and fruits there without any danger.

As the wind dropped very much we did not enter the aforesaid port until the next day, when we anchored towards the evening in 20 fathoms, and our yacht went to lie a stone's throw off the mouth of the freshwater river, so that we could get in our supply of water sufficiently under her protection.

On the 17th, the Admiral went ashore with many soldiers and sailors, in order to take the superintendence and secure himself the more against an attack from the enemy and as he found the place free on all sides he sent the boats back to fetch all the empty casks, which were at once filled with water.

On the same day, the Admiral sent the youngest of our monks ashore to some Indians' hut, in order to procure some victuals from them by friendly means.

The aforesaid monk stayed with the Indians until the next day, being the 18th, when he returned in the afternoon with two persons laden with fowls and various kinds of fruit and promising to bring us as much again the next day, which he faithfully performed.

He also informed us that at that moment there was not a Spaniard thereabouts, but that the band which had previously attacked us had passed through that place in search of us.

During the going to and fro of our monk we obtained all the desired supplies of water, wood, and other necessaries, so that we began to make preparations for our departure.

During the night of the 20th we set sail and left the harbor for the open sea, pursuing our course until the 24th with a fairly favorable wind.

On that day, being not far from Cape Corentien,² we were in the latitude of 20°.

On the 25th, the Broad Council met, and it was finally decided to shape our course for the Bay of San Lucas.³

On the 26th, we were in latitude 20°26'.

And whereas they of the Council were of opinion that it would delay us too much to await the coming of any ships or advices from the Manilles, it was resolved to sail direct for the **Ladrone Islands**, praying to God to grant us His aid therein.

On December 2nd, we set our course to the west-southwest, making good progress.

On the 3rd, we saw two islands,⁴ which caused the pilots surprise, they finding it strange that there were islands situated out in the open sea so far from the land.

1 Navidad, in lat. 19°.

2 Cape Corrientes.

3 Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of Lower California, but as will appear later, that course was not kept.

4 San Benedicto and Socorro.

On the 4th, at break of day, we saw afar off a rock,¹ which we at first thought to be a ship, to the joy of us all, being of opinion that we were then encountering what we had so long expected, to wit, a vessel from the Manilles, but on coming closer to it we found that we were deceived. This rock was situated in the latitude of 19°, and more than 55 miles out from the mainland, having no other land at all near it.

At noon on the 6th, we were in latitude 18°20'. On the same day we saw another island having five small hills, each of which looked like a small separate island.

[January]

From the 6th [December] until the 1st of January 1616, we proceeded, with a favorable wind, constantly in a west-by-west direction. Meanwhile, complaint was made to the Admiral that the officers on board the foreign vessel had been indulging in wine to excess, and had given the ordinary seamen only water in place thereof; the Council having inquired more narrowly into this, it was found to be true, for they had lavishly used two-thirds of their stock, drinking as much as in 36 days as ought to have served them, according to regulations, for 4 months.

Notwithstanding the good fortune and progress that had marked our voyage, sickness, nevertheless, increased very much in our fleet, so that many began to die, and amongst others the Admiral's chief gunner, named Jan Otten, of Essen, Thomas Jansz., provost, Joris Jansz., of Medenblick, mate, and many others, of whom we shall make no mention here.

Towards evening on the 23rd, we came in sight of the land of **Ladrones**, for which we all thanked God Almighty. This land was very low and flat,² wherefore, since night was approaching, and we feared we might be nearer the land than we indeed thought, we lowered all the sails, drifting all night without making any progress.

On the morning of the 24th, we found ourselves close to the land, and being perceived by the Indians on shore, they came rowing all around our fleet in their little skiffs, without coming quite close to us. The Broad Council therefore having met, it was resolved to make for the shore with the whole fleet, which was immediately done, and as soon as we were on land we traded and bartered with the Indians in all friendship.

At midday on the 25th, our supercargo of the **Morghensterre**, Sybrant Cornelissen, whilst seated at table in good health, was suddenly seized with a fainting fit from which he presently died, to the great astonishment of all who were present.

Our Admiral having been informed of this, he had the Broad Council summoned, when orders were given to weigh anchor in the evening and to keep away from the shore until the next day, which was done. Meanwhile, the Indians kept continually coming and going, bringing us all kinds of fruits and herbs, by which our sick were much refreshed and restored.

On the 26th, we traded all day with the Indians, whereby we obtained a good supply of many fine fruits and other victuals.

1 Roca Partida.

2 Ed. note: This description would fit Rota better than Guam.



(Facing page) **Plate N° 16 showing Speilbergen's fleet at the Ladrões. With its explanation, of ships, people, and their lettering.**

*A. Is our Admiral, the **Son** [Sun].*

*B. Is our Vice-Admiral, the **Maen** [Moon].*

*C. Is the **Morghen-ster** [Morning Star].*

*D. Is the **Æolus**, of Rotterdam.*

*E. Is the **Jagher**. The savages in their canoes, or skiffs, came swarming round these vessels in such quantities as if they were bees.*

F. Is the captured vessel, navigated by our men.¹

G. Are the canoes, which they row; and the things which are attached to the sides are for keeping them balanced.

H. Are their ships, or canoes, in which they sail.

I. Is the way in which the savages, or Ladrões, go about.

On the same day we buried the supercargo, firing many rounds of big guns and muskets, which frightened the Indians so, notwithstanding that they had been previously warned for what reason it would be done, that they dispersed themselves with their skiffs, one here, the other there, and dared not come back. Therefore we hoisted our sails the same day, and shaped our course straight for the Manilles.

But as it was very calm all night we did not make much progress, so that we were not very far from the shore the next day, which being seen by the Indians, they came again in large numbers in their skiffs, following us very far out to sea, and bringing with them all kinds of fruit and other necessaries, until the wind began to rise, and it became impossible for them to follow us further.

On that day there died and was cast into the sea Dirck Voet, ensign on the yacht, born at Herderwijck.

The whole of the following night we proceeded under full sail, so that by the next day we had lost sight of the land.

These islands, the Ladrões, were first discovered in the year 1519 [sic] by Ferdinandes Magellanes, who called them the Velos [sic] on account of the large number of sailing-boats that are to be seen there, very cunningly made.

These Indians have not their equal in the whole Land [i.e. Earth] in the art of swimming, for they get into the sea and dive down to the bottom, which we have seen on many occasions, throwing some pieces of iron into the sea which they fetched from the bottom and brought up.

They are also much addicted to thieving, which was probably experienced by the aforesaid Magellanes, and therefore the name of **Ladrões** was given them.

¹ Ed. note: This was the unnamed frigate which the Dutch had captured from Nicolás Cardona and renamed the **Pearl**, i.e. Perel, or Peerle.

Both men and women are very robust, also most intelligent and clever in all matters; they go about quite naked, except that some wear hats made of straw, and that the women cover their privy parts with some leaves.

These islands are also very abundant in fowls and other poultry, and specially full of fisheries.

With regard to their laws and religion we could learn nothing, but we could only observe that they served idols and worshipped images.

On the 31st, half an hour before daybreak, Job Willemsen, Provost-General of the troops, lying ill in bed, got up secretly and went below to one of the ports, acting as if he wished to do his needs; but before anyone had knowledge thereof he lay in the sea and was drowned, leaving us in ignorance whether it had occurred intentionally or by accident.

[February]

For some consecutive days we sailed with fair progress until daybreak on the 9th of February, when Cape de Spirito Santo came in sight, and sailing past the same we made that day such progress still that we anchored in the evening in the mouth [sic] of the Cape des Manilles,¹ in 13 degrees and 15 minutes, the island of Capul being there according to our computation.

On the 10th, we went ashore, making signs of peace, and on holding converse with the Indians, they told us that the island of Capul was situated still further out...

...

On the 11th we weigned anchor, sailing to the island of Capul, near which we arrived at midday...

...

We remained in the same place until the 19th, and then we weighed anchor, shaping our course northwest by north, and sailing straight into Magellanes [i.e. Manilles] Strait, doing so well with the help of two Indians, who served us as pilots, that in a short time we made the harbor and cape of Manilles.

...

From the 27th to the 28th we were constantly at work tacking to and fro to reach the harbor of Manilles, but we made very little progress, and finally cast anchor in 40 fathoms, about a mile from the harbor, close to a tongue of land which extended as far as the port. We did not remain lying here longer than midnight, for then the Admiral fired a shot as a signal to set sail again, which was done, and we tacked to whole night without getting any further, and similarly the next day; but all the same we did not get in, and in the evening we anchored outside the entrance to the harbor, off the island named Maribela [Mariveles], which has two very high rocks, and behind which the town of Manilles lies.

...

1 Their anchorage was in what is now known as the Embocadero, or S. Bernardino Passage.

March.

...

At midday on the 15th [rather 5th], we saw two sail coming in from sea straight towards us, whereupon our **Jager** and the other small vessel (which we named the **Perel**) were sent to capture the same.

During the night our two boats attacked and captured two sampans which were manned by some Chinese and a Spaniard, whose duty it was to collect the tribute which the surrounding places annually pay the town of Manilles. These two sampans were laden with rice, fowls, other victuals, and some merchandise.

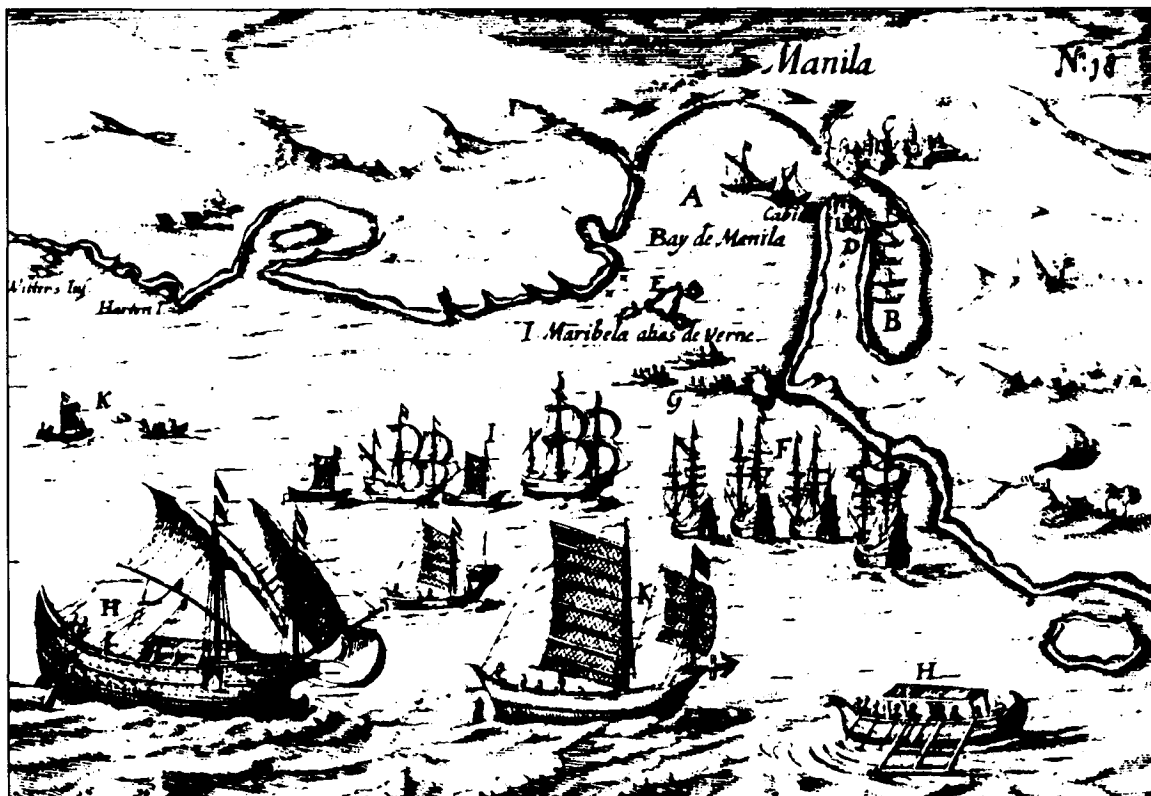
On the 6th the yacht and the Peerle came back, bringing with them three sampans, two of these being laden with deer-skins, tobacco, fowls, and other merchandise of less importance which were shared out among all. From those who were in these sampans we heard all the particulars concerning the Spanish armada fitted out in the Manilles; that it had sailed under the command of Don Juan de Silva to the Molucques, in order to wage war against our countrymen, and that, too, with 10 galleons of wonderful size, 2 yachts, 4 galleys, and 2,000 Spaniards, in addition to the Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, also in great numbers. God grant that their intention may not be realized, and that they be frustrated.

On the 7th, our Admiral sent three Chinese in a sampan to the town of Manilles, with letters to the principal councillors there, offering to exchange some prisoners, Spaniards, Chinese, and Japanese, for any prisoners from our country whom they might have there.

On the 8th ... the Broad Council assembled, and it was resolved that, in the event of the Chinese not returning, we should set sail next day, and go and help our countrymen in the Molucques. The Admiral having learnt that Don Juan de Silva, equipped in the manner related above, had not started upon his voyage to the Molucques until the 4th of February, decided, after mature deliberation by the whole Council, not to lose any time, seeing that the monsoon did not change here till the month of April, which would otherwise have delayed us another six months.

...

On the 10th, having received no tidings of the Chinese, we weighed anchor and set sail, shaping our course direct for the Molucques. On the same day all our Chinese and Japanese prisoners were by order of the Admiral, released and sent ashore...

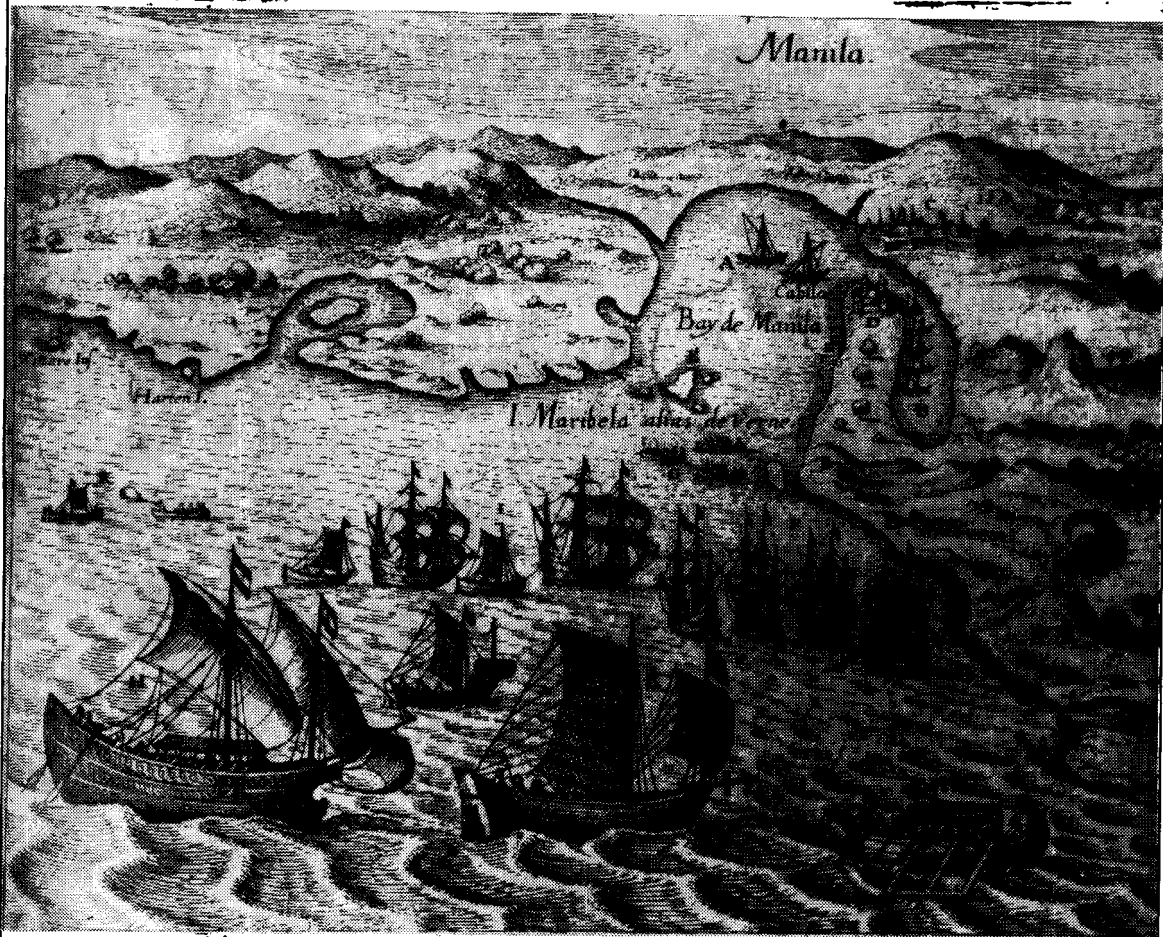


Blockade of Manila Bay by Speilbergen's fleet. Plate taken from the Latin edition of 1619, which is the same as the plate in the French edition of 1621. The plate in De Bry's edition is almost the same (see facing page). The explanations for the letters are as follows:

- "A. Is the Bay of Manilles..
- B. Is the harbor in which many vessels lay.
- C. Is the town of Manilles, very populous.
- D. Is a fort named the Cabitta [i.e. Cavite, actually Fort San Felipe].
- E. Is the island of Maribella [i.e. Mariveles, alias de Verne, in the sketch, now called Corregidor Island].
- F. Is our fleet, consisting of six vessels.
- G. Are our boats, with which we were very diligent to obtain some prisoners [off El Fraile Island].
- H. Are some of their vessels, which they call junks.
- I. Are two of our vessels bringing two of their sampans to our fleet.
- K. Is one of our boats making one of the Indian sampans haul down its sail, and bringing it to the fleet.¹

¹ Ed. note: The bay on the left, with an island in the center, is Subic Bay. The island is now called Grande Island. What are labelled Harten and Wittberts Islands on the extreme left are Silanguin and Los Frailes Islands respectively.

APPENDIX XI. PARTIS AMERICÆ.
 XVI
 PORTVS MANILENSIS ACCV-
 RATA DESCRIPTIO.



PORTVS Manilensis optatam navibus stationem præbens eleganter hic re-
 prætentatus est. Litera A Denotat ipsum portum Manilem. B. Sunt
 plurimæ in portu ipsorum naves. C. Est Ciuitas Manilensis frequens incolis.
 D. Est Munitio ipsorum nomine Cabitta. E. Est insula Mirabella. F. Classis
 Hollandorum sex navibus constans. G. Sunt Lembi Hollandorum ad capi-
 endos homines aliquos emili. H. Sunt naves ipsorum, quas Lunas appellat.
 I. Duæ naves Hollandicæ, quæ captas duas liburnicas ad classem
 adducunt. K. Est Lembus Hollandorum, qui Indi-
 cam liburnicam ad classem adducit.

c

XVII.

Original text in Dutch about Speilbergen's visit to the Ladrões.

From "Historisch journael vande voyagie ghedaen met ses schepen..." in Vol. 2, pp. 56-57 of: Begin ende voortgang vande vereenigde needer landtsche geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie..., 2 vols., 1645.

*Den 23. tegens den avont hebben wy het Lant **Ladrões** in't gesicht gehregen waer door wy eenfamentlijk Godt almachtich danckten. Dit Landt was seer leech ende essen daeromme alsoo den nacht aen quam vreesende naerder't Lant te zijn als wy wel meyn-den hebben alle de zeylen gestreecken drijvende den geheelen nacht sonder eenigen voortganck.*

Den 24. 's morghens vonden wy ons dicht by het Lant't welck de Indianen van't Lant siende quamen met hunne schuytken roeyende rontomme ons Vloote sonder gheheel nae by ons te komen. Daeromme den breedten Haet vergaderende hebben goet gevonden met ge geheele Vloot't lant te kiezen't welcke datelijck geschiede ende soo haest wy aen Lant waren handelden ende trafiqueerden wy met de Indianen in alle vrientschap.

*Den 25. op den middach heest onsen Opper-Koopman vande **Morgen-sterre Sybrant Cornelissen**, aende tafel sittende wel ghesont zijnde seer subijtelijck een swijmelinge gekregen alsoo dat hy stracks daer af gestorven is tot groote verwonderinge van alle die daer by waren.*

't Selve by onsen Admiraal verstaen zijnde heest hy den breedten Haedt doen vergaderen by den welcken geordineert is des avonts ancker te lichten ende ons van Lant af te houden tot des anderen daechs toe her welcke alsoo geschiede. Daer-en-tusschen en deden de Indianen niet als gaen ende komen ons brengende alderley vruchten ende kruyden door de welcke onse siecken seer gelaeft ende verquickt wierden.

Den 26. handelden wy den geheelen dach met de Indianen ver door wy goede provisie deden van veel schoone vruchten ende andere verversinge. Ten selven dage hebben wy den Koopman begraven schietende veele schooten van grof geschat ende Musquetten het welcke de Indianen vertsaechde (niet tegenstaende sy te voorens veradverteert waeren geweest door wat oorsake dat het geschieden soude) dat sy met hunne schuytkens van malkanderen verstroyden d'een hier d'ander daer ende niet weder en dorsten komen: Daeromme hebben wy ten selven dage zeyl gehijscht nemende onsen cours recht na de Manilles. Maer alsoa het den geheelen nacht seer stil was en deden wy niet veel voordeel alsoo dat wy des anderen daechs noch met verre van't lant en waeren het welcke de Indianen siende zijn sy met groote menichte met hunne schuytkens wederom gekomen ons volgende tot seer diep in Zee mede brengende alderley soorten van vruchten ende andere noodicheden tot dat den wint begon op te steecken alsoo dat het hun niet mogelijk was langer te volgen. Op dien dach is ghestorven ende inde Zee gheworpen Dirck Voet Daendrager op de Jacht geboren tot Herderwijck. Den geheelen volgende nacht gingen wy met volle zeylen alsoo dat wy des anderen daecks het Lant uyt't gesicht verloren.

*Dese Eylanden de **Ladrões** zijn eerst gevonden gheweest int jaer 1519. door Ferdinandes Magellanes, die deselve de Velos noemde om de groote menichte schuytkens diemen daer siet met hunne zeylen seer subtylijck gemaect zijnde. Dese Indianen en hebben heurs gelijcken int geheele Landt niet inde konste van swemmen want sy hun*

*inde Zee begeven gaende tot op den grout toe het welcke wy tot verscheyden maelen ghesien hebben inde Zee werpende eenighe stucken Yser dewelcke sy uyt den gront weder op haelden ende boven brachten. Sy zijn mede seer genegen tot dieverije het welcke den voorghenoemden Magellanes wel besocht heest ende hieromme is hun den naem ghegheven van **Ladrones**. Zijn seer robust soo Mannen als Drouwen nochtans seer dispost ende in alle dingen subtiyl sy gaen geheel naeckt uyt genomen dat eenige hoeden dragen van stroy gemaectt ende dat de Drouwen hunne partyen bedecken met eenige bladinge. Dese Eylanden zijn mede seer abundant van hoenderen ende ander gevoghelte ende principalijck vol van visscherijen. Aengaende hunne wetten ende Religie daer as en konden wy niets vernemen maer alleenlijck merckten wy dat sy Af-godendienaers waeren ende de Beelden aenhaden.*

Documents 1616C

What the Spanish said about Speilbergen, and the second Battle of Playa Honda in 1617

C1. Extracts from a narrative of the Portuguese-Spanish expedition against the Dutch, 1615-1616

Sources: Letter of Fr. Valerio de Ledesma, S.J., as reported in Colin's Labor evangélica (Madrid, 1663) pp. 806-810; translated in B&R 17: 272-280.

Letter from Father Valerio de Ledesma, S.J.¹

[Another Jesuit, Fr. Juan de Ribera, had gone to India in November 1614 to arrange for a combined Portuguese-Spanish campaign against the Dutch. On the way back, his ship ran aground near Malacca in August 1615, after a first engagement with the Dutch. The Portuguese galleons were defeated by the Dutch (and native ships from Achen), in November and December 1615, before Governor Silva could arrive with a fleet from Manila at the end of February 1616.]

...
The largest fleet ever seen in these islands or perchance in the Indies was prepared that year of 1615 in the port of Cavite. It seems a miraculous circumstance that so large a number of ships could be gathered together in a land so recently conquered and peopled with Spaniards, and the most remote and distant in all the Spanish monarchy. It was the peculiar offspring of the magnanimous courage, valor, and energy (never sufficiently praised) of Governor Don Juan de Silva. It consisted of 10 galleons, 4 galleys, 1 patache, and other smaller craft:

¹ Ed. note: Provincial of the Jesuits; he was born in Spain in 1556 and died at Manila in 1639.

- the flagship of the galleons, called **La Salvadora**, of 2,000 tons burden;
- the *almiranta*, by name **San Marcos**, of 1,700 tons;
- San Juan Bautista** and the **Espiritu Santo**, each of 1,300 tons;
- San Miguel** and **San Felipe**, each of 800 tons;
- Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** and **Santiago**, each of 700 tons;
- San Andrés**, 500 tons; and
- San Lorenzo** (the smallest one), 400 tons.

The galleys were all under the advocacy and name of the Virgin Mary, our Lady. Those craft were armed and equipped with 5,000 men, of whom 2,000, or a few less, were Spaniards;¹ 300 pieces of artillery—the flagship alone carrying 46 (the smallest of 18-pound, while the majority of them were 22-pounders, and some were 30), and all were of bronze, and it carried 900 men. The *almiranta* had 700 men and 32 guns, and the other vessels in proportion. Of powder, they carried 4,500 arrobas; of biscuits, 5,000; of clean rice, 3,000 fanegas; and so on, in all the other war supplies, ammunition, and food. All this at the king's account, not to mention the private persons who embarked.

...

That noble fleet could not set sail until the last day of that year of 1615... The Governor considered it advisable to lay his course toward Malacca...

It happened that at the same time that Don Juan de Silva was going out by way of Mariveles with his fleet, one of the four governors of the state of Holland [i.e. Speilbergen] was entering by way of Capul with 4 large ships—his flagship being one called **Sun of Holland**—and 2 pataches. Those ships were coming straight to anchor at the same entrance of Mariveles, by which the fleet that we had fitted out had sailed one month previously.

That unlooked-for event caused great confusion in this city of Manila and the port of Cavite. Licentiate Andrés de Alcaraz and the gentlemen of the royal Audiencia were governing. They put aside their togas and girded on their swords. They divided the most dangerous and important posts.

...

The Lord, whose providence is always most notable in the greatest exigencies, was pleased to hear the united voice of this community, and induced our enemy, after they had lain at anchor for a fortnight in the bay in sight of Manila, to hoist their sails; and without doing more than seize one sampan and sent two letters by a prisoner—one to the commander of their nation [i.e. van Caerden] who was a prisoner here, and the other to the royal Audiencia, asking for his ransom. But that could have no effect, for the miserable man had died a short time before in his perfidy, exchanging his temporal for the eternal prison. [After sending these letters] the enemy returned [rather proceeded] to Ternate, ridding this city of its great anxiety.

...

1 Ed. note: Among the non-Spaniards were a company of Japanese volunteers.

While the above was passing in Manila, our fleet reached Malacca, and entered the strait on 25 February... But (O human misery!) fortune changed within a few days, and all those hopes were frustrated; it brought the Governor to his bed with a mortal burning fever, which killed him in 11 days.¹

C2. Letter from (the interim governor) Licentiate Alcaraz to Philip III, dated Manila 10 August 1617

Source: AGI Audiencia de Mexico 96-1-22; translated in B&R 18: 31-56.

Sire:

The enclosed papers were taken from the ships that were meant to go last year to New Spain [but] those ships were despatched to make the voyage [to Spain] by way of India; however, as the Dutch enemy was lying at the entrances of this bay with his 10 warships,² it was not possible for the ships to leave, for it would have been only to have fallen, beyond all doubt, into his hands. In them I informed your Majesty of everything up to their date. In this letter, I shall inform you of what is new. The coming of this enemy caused the anxiety which was the reason—inasmuch as we had heard for a long time that he was coming; and that he would wait to seize the Chinese and Japanese ships, and prevent their entrance into the city with food—that, in order to frustrate those designs, I, with the advice of the Audiencia and the Council of War, resolved to prepare 7 galleons and to equip them as thoroughly as possible, so that they could go out to fight that enemy. When about to set this plan afoot, obstacles began to arise, because there was not a single *real* in the royal treasury, on account of the ships from New Spain that had not [yet] arrived; and because the country was in great need, and had no income except that collected from the licences of the Sangleys. These were collected with great effort and difficulty, but the sum was all spent in a few days in the repair of these galleons. When there was nothing more to use, the ship expected from New Spain arrived.³ It had put in at Japan, and brought more than 800,000 pesos for the royal treasury and for the citizens. It was regarded as a great mercy of God that He should help this afflicted land in such necessity and extremity, and that He should keep this ship from falling into the hands of the enemy. After this the repairs and preparations of this fleet proceeded with great energy, and although innumerable obstacles continued to arise because the wood, rigging, rice, and other things necessary had to be conveyed by long detours, all difficulties were conquered with God's help.

...

1 Ed. note: He died on 19 April 1616. The fleet returned to Manila (without searching for the Dutch fleet) where it arrived at the beginning of June.

2 Ed. note: Speilbergen had come at the beginning of 1616 with 6 ships, but this was another Dutch fleet.

3 Ed. note: This was the **Angel de la Guarda**, Captain Francisco Bravo (see below).

Since he [the enemy] knew that Don Juan de Silva had gone to Singapore with a fleet of 10 galleons, 4 galleys, and 1 patache, he, without knowing of the Governor's death, came to look for him with an equal number of warships.¹ These were chosen from 22 vessels, and equipped with the best artillery and men-of-arms and war in them all; and he dared to come within sight of our walls and very confidently was coming with his great force. Consequently I considered it best to prepare an armed fleet which, being such, might be able to fight with his.

...

[Second Battle of Playa Honda, April 1617]

A fleet of 7 galleons, 1 patache, and 3 galleys was prepared. In order to man these with the rowers that were needed, the citizens, Sangley Christians, and some Indians lent 223 slaves...² It left the port of Cavite in charge of Don Juan Ronquillo del Castillo, on Saturday, 8th day of the month of April 1617, to find the enemy, who was stationed at Playa Honda with 6 vessels. There, in the past year of 1616 [rather 1610], he was defeated by Governor Don Juan de Silva. Three ships of the enemy were 30 leagues in advance, on the lookout for Chinese vessels, while the last of his 10 ships had been sent to Ternate. On Thursday, 13th of the said month, our fleet sighted 4 vessels. They were lying by very carelessly, with 2 Chinese vessels that they had pillaged. Those 2 vessels were carrying about 300,000 pesos' worth of merchandise. One of them the enemy had begun to rob, although only slightly. It was impossible to attack them, because the wind was lacking. Thereupon the enemy very leisurely weighed anchor, but did not leave the Chinese ships until the next day. Then as the two fleets were about to engage, they left their prizes, in order not to be hindered by them. They had already been joined by two other vessels.

Our royal flagship³ had got to windward. Near it, at 8 in the morning, was the galleon **San Juan Bautista** under command of Admiral Pedro de Heredia (but he was not admiral of the fleet). The other galleons were to leeward. As the enemy saw such a good opportunity, he maneuvered his 6 ships, placing them in good order. His flagship passed within musket-shot of one side of the royal flagship and discharged its artillery. Answering them with another, as good and better, many volleys were fired without missing one shot, because the pieces were fired at such a short distance. Another ship passed, with the same good order, giving and taking its heavy volleys. The four other ships of those which I said were there, did the same. It was the greatest gallantry that I ever saw; for our galleon gave all those of the enemy so many volleys that it displayed excellently its great strength—as well as the injury received by the enemy, since he attempted nothing more on that day. On our side 5 men were killed and 8 wounded.

-
- 1 Ed. note: He is referring to the combined Portuguese-Spanish campaign against the Dutch in the Singapore Straits in the spring of 1616 (see above).
 - 2 Ed. note: More slaves and freemen were found to man the galleys, with money contributed by the Chinese, and 1,000 soldiers were similarly recruited, with 6,000 pesos raised from the sale of cargo space on the next Acapulco galleon. Money was borrowed to hire and pay some sailors.
 - 3 Ed. note: The flagship was the galleon **Salvadora**, General Ronquillo.

The following day, Saturday, 15th of the same month of April, the two fleets got ready to fight, and ours got to windward. Orders were given for each galleon to grapple with one of the enemy—flagship with flagship, and the **San Juan Bautista** with the *almiranta* of the enemy; while the galleon **San Lorenzo** and the patache were to aid whichever boat they saw needed help; the galley flagship was to aid the royal flagship, and the other two galleys the galleon nearest them. The enemy was awaiting us in excellent order; and, signalling the other vessels to attack him, our first galleon, named **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**, under Captain Juan Bautista de Molina, grappled; and then the royal flagship with that of the enemy; the galleon **San Juan Bautista** with their *almiranta*; the galleon **San Miguel**, commanded by Rodrigo de Guillestigui, with the ship that fell to its lot; the galleon **San Lorenzo**, under Captain Juan de Acevedo, with another ship. As for the galleon **San Marcos**, under Captain Don Juan de la Vega (one of the best ships in the fleet), and the galleon **San Felipe**, under Captain Sebastian de Madrid, these two did not grapple, although common report says that they could have done so had they made an effort. They fought a very fierce battle.

The galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** defeated its opponent, being aided by the galley under Captain Don Diego de Quiñones; and the enemy having shown a flag of peace, soldiers from our side entered it in token of victory. The royal flagship, after having been grappled for more than two hours—the battle being fought with great gallantry on each side, each firing heavy volleys at the other, and the galley flagship listing—was reported to be leaking badly from the effect of certain volleys which it received at its water line. This forced it to throw off the grappling-irons and go away; while the enemy's ship refused to mind its helm, and, in a little more than half an hour, careened on one side and sank, without any of its cargo being seen. Forty or more men, among them the General, escaped in two boats. With great efforts they reached one of their ships.¹

The galleon **San Miguel**, after having fought with great courage, set fire to its opponent, a vessel of 800 tons, laden with cloth which they had stolen. The fire caught the main-sail, which was so quickly burned that the sail fell, on the yard, into the waist of the ship. The ship continued to burn so fiercely that it could not be quenched. All the men took to the sea, some in boats and other swimming, most of the latter being drowned.

This burning ship drifted to where our galleon **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** was stationed. Near it was the captured galleon, and the burning vessel coming down upon the latter, set fire to it; and this one began to burn so furiously that the soldiers who had entered it escaped with difficulty, while some were burned. And, since our galley was not so near now, all, both Spaniards and Dutch, were drowned or burned.

1 Ed. note: This General was named John Derickson Lamb, and he escaped aboard the "Old Sun" to Cambodia. He later went back to Japan, and arrived back at Hirado on 4 July 1617, according to the Diary of Richard Cocks.

Then the first burning ship passed on. The galleon **San Juan Bautista**, having almost captured the enemy's *almiranta*, the burning vessel bore down upon them both. Throwing off their grappling-irons with considerable difficulty, the fire forced them to ungrapple; and at once they separated, so that the fire might not injure them. Thereupon victory was declared, and the three hostile ships took to flight badly crippled. Their *almiranta* was so damaged that our people thought that it would surely sink. Those three vessels were pursued by the **San Marcos** and **San Felipe**, which were more to windward, and by the rest of the fleet. However, inasmuch as the royal flagship, the **San Juan Bautista**, the **San Miguel**, and the **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** were hardly used and leaking badly, they turned shoreward after midnight.

In the morning the **San Marcos** and the **San Felipe** found themselves alone, and somewhat separated, and found no traces of the enemy. Although they should have kept together, they did not do it, but each vessel acted by itself.

[Loss of the galleon **San Marcos**]

The galleon **San Marcos** went to a place where two ships of the enemy were pillaging two other Chinese ships. When the enemy discovered it, one of his vessels went to reconnoiter it, while the other stayed behind with the vessels that they were pillaging. They commenced to fight and the battle lasted more than three hours, at the end of which the Dutch vessel withdrew and joined the other ship.

Next day—the day of San Marcos [i.e. St. Mark's Day, 25 April]—the Dutch ship that had not fought came; it is understood that it was reinforced with men. Firing a quantity of chain-shot, it did considerable damage to our rigging; and as our main yard had fallen, our ship did not mind its helm well. Consequently, our galleon sustained serious injury at the stern, upon which its commander came to a very imprudent resolution—namely, to go in toward shore and anchor in 12 fathoms of water, and there fight with the enemy. This was so carelessly executed that, upon throwing the anchor, they could not find bottom, whereupon they grounded the galleon in 4 fathoms of water. The entire crew went ashore taking some things with them. None of the enemy disembarked. As the commander thought that the enemy could burn them with his boats, he made another decision as bad as the other, and set fire to his vessel. Thereby was lost the hull of the ship, which was specially good. The artillery and anchors were all taken out and most of them are ashore...

All the rest of the fleet returned to the port of Cavite. The bad treatment received by the galleons from the many volleys, the sailors, soldiers, and artillery aboard them, and the dead and wounded, your Majesty can ascertain, if so pleased, from the charts accompanying this letter.¹

...

¹ Ed. note: Not included in B&R.

The viceroy of New Spain despatched two advice-boats which reached these islands early in February and in March [1617]. They brought your Majesty's papers for Don Juan de Silva, which the royal Audiencia received.

...

By one of the said pataches, I received three decrees from your Majesty. In one of them you were pleased to grant me acceptance of my resignation as auditor of this royal Audiencia, and permission to go to Spain. In another decree your Majesty orders the Governor of these islands to give me accommodations in the vessels about to sail to New Spain, in accordance with the quality of my person, and the offices that I have held... Immediately upon receiving these royal decrees, I could have bid farewell to the Audiencia; but, considering that it was then in the midst of preparing the fleet, and since I had been employed in and had arranged what was advisable to your Majesty's service, I thought that it would be very wrong to retire on such an occasion and flee the danger, and lift my hand from a matter of such a great importance... Licentiate Madrid y Luna is ready to go in one of the trading ships to serve in his position as alcalde of the court of Mexico. Doctor Juan Manuel de la Vega has been sick for 4 months, and small hopes are had of his recovery. Two new auditors are expected (who are known to be in New Spain) on the ships of this year.¹ When they shall have arrived, it will necessarily take some days for them to understand the affairs of government and the form of procedure of the Audiencia. Since I think that I shall serve your Majesty in this, I shall delay here no longer than is absolutely necessary for the Audiencia to fulfil its obligations, and so that your Majesty may be better served.

...

General Francisco Bravo de la Serna, who came aboard the flagship [**Angel de la Guarda**] that put in at Japan, gained the good will of the ruler where he put in, by his diligence, discretion, and sensible proceedings, aided by the munificent presents that he gave to the king. Consequently, the king received him as hospitably as if he were in your Majesty's lands, giving him whatever he needed at moderate prices. When the General wished to leave, the king gave him permission, without his having received any ill treatment. That was considered a good outcome, and was all the more so because, when he reached these islands and learned that the enemy had taken the passage, in order to enter the port of Cavite, he took the flagship to the most hidden place that he could find. Having made port in haste, he unloaded the silver and stored it inland; then, while anchored, he took ashore all the rest of the cargo. That was the compensation of these islands and the fund with which the fleet was prepared; and without it the galleons could not have been equipped. Therein is made evident the good service that Francisco Bravo rendered your Majesty. He also rendered service on this [1617] expedition; for the embarked on the flagship, and took with him 12 men at his own cost. His presence proved of great importance, for he attended to his orders with great energy, exactness, and

¹ Ed. note: This part must have been written before June 1617. Only one ship, the **San Jerónimo**, arrived in June (see below).

labor, while his advice and counsel were among the best that the General had. The latter declared the same to me, and that Bravo should be highly esteemed for the manner in which he distinguished himself in your Majesty's service on this occasion.

...
 The viceroy of New Spain sent a ship¹ from the port of Acapulco, which reached the port of Cavite on 26 June. Aboard it were the Bishop of New Segovia and 28 Augustinian friars; 140 soldiers and 20 convicts; 100 quintals of powder, 100 muskets, and 100 arquebuses. Since the country was at peace, that proved a tolerable reinforcement. No money came for the royal treasury, which does not contain one single peso.

...
 [As for] the galleons in Cavite, they must not be abandoned, and are without masts, for only their futtock-timbers can be of use... And should a case happen like the present, of no ships going to New Spain because they have to return in distress to these islands, [I beg you to order] that the viceroy do not neglect to send the money which is usually asked from him for the payment of the expenses incurred in these islands...

The two auditors who were to come to this Audiencia, remained in Mexico, as there was no accommodation in the ship to enable them to sail.² Their absence causes a conspicuous deficiency; for I am the only judge in the Audiencia, because of the sickness of Doctor Juan Manuel de la Vega is of long duration, and few hopes are sustained of his recovery, according to the physicians' reports. Licentiate Manuel de Madrid y Luna has determined to go to serve in the position of alcalde of the court in Mexico (which your Majesty has bestowed upon him as a reward), notwithstanding that I did not allow him to quit that of auditor of this Audiencia on account of the just reasons for serving there...

Manila, 10 August 1617.

Licentiate Andrés de Alcaraz.

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- 1 Ed. note: Fr. Juan de Medina, in his History (see B&R 24: 91) says the following about the ship that brought the band of 30 (not 28) Augustinians in 1617: "During this time, which was June of the same year, 1617, as the ships which had been despatched the year before had put back in distress, the viceroy of New Spain, in order not to leave the islands without succor, bought a small Peruvian ship called **San Jerónimo**, little but very staunch. Although they had but little comfort, the Bishop, Don Fray Miguel García, embarked with his fine company of religious; and he brought them in safety to the port of Cavite, although they were almost wrecked among the islands, because the *vendavals* had set in early and with violent force."
- 2 Ed. note: It seems that the large contingent of missionaries had taken their cabin.

Document 1617

Jesuit annual report for 1617-1618

Sources: RAH Jesuits Papers, Tome 84, N° 7; transcribed by Navarrete in his Col. doc. (1973), vol. 5, fol. 193 et seq.; translated in B&R 18: 65-92.

Events in the Philippines, from June 1617 to July 1618

Last year I informed you at length of the naval battle, and of the signal victory which our Lord was pleased to give us over the enemy, the Hollanders, who came to these islands with the largest force that has ever been here. They brought 10 galleons well equipped with men, artillery, ammunition, and other implements of war. Of these 10 galleons they lost 3 in the battle—one, the admiral's ship, was sunk, and two were burned. Four of the remaining seven fled to the Moluccas, badly damaged. So many of their men were killed and wounded that, although they had set out with a large number, they arrived with scarcely 100. These were messengers of an event most disastrous for them but fortunate for us. The other ships fled to Japan.¹

...

As I informed you in my report of last year, two other [Dutch] galleons, called **Leon Rojo** [Red Lion] and **Fregelingas** [i.e. Vlissingue, or Flushing], had separated from the rest of the fleet near the coast of Ilocos, a province of the island of Manila, in order to plunder, to more advantage and with less risk, the Chinese who were accustomed to steer for that coast. For this reason, they took no part in the naval battle... When these learned of the destruction of their fleet, they made haste to return to Japan, where they arrived on 17 July 1617... On the day of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, a furious storm overtook them while they were in the port of Cochi [Koshi, near Hirado]. The **Leon Rojo** ran aground and filled with water; the **Fregelingas**, through loss of mainmast and rigging, was badly shattered... With infinite labor and expense they hauled off the **Leon Rojo** and, as best they could, they took it to the port of Firando [Hirado]. They were compelled, however, to give it up and leave it here for lost, because

¹ Ed. note: See The Diary of Richard Cocks, vol. 1, pp. 259-281 for comments on the 1617 campaign by these Dutch and English ships.

the leak was so great that it was impossible to stop it. They took the **Fregelingas** also to Firando, where they quickly repaired it.

...
 Having completed this very successful exploit,¹ on 15 October [1617] they despatched for Holland the **Leon Negro** [Black Lion] with 1,600 boxes of changeable silk... In the ship **Fregelingas** the Dutch general returned to the strongholds of the Moluccas... The other two ships, the **Sol Viego** [Old Sun] and the **Galeaça** [Galeass], warned us that they intended to come to the coast of Manila about April [1618], in order to plunder at once the ships which come to this city at that season. This has really happened, because for almost two months two Dutch ships have been in the place [i.e. Ilocos coast]... Last year, [this city] furnished such a powerful fleet, because it then had galleons with which to defend itself. Now it has none, because 6 galleons were sent to other islands in order that the injuries that they had received in the late battle might be repaired. On 11 October [1617], a furious hurricane overtook the ships and [Note in margin: since they had been pierced by balls in the battle] they parted in the middle and sank in the sea. The 24 pieces of artillery which the galleons carried (4 in each galleon) were lost with the ships. They were, however, neither very large nor of much value. Most of the people escaped by swimming, or upon some rafts; but as many as 400 persons, including Spaniards, Indians, and Chinese, were drowned. And some of those who had escaped from the storm by means of the rafts perished from hunger out at sea, after the storm subsided. In this event the justice of God was evident, because it is said that many had embarked upon these galleons with their concubines, purposely to live with them in the holds of the ships, without fear of either God or man; therefore, our Lord permitted men and galleons to run aground.

[Not only was the city deprived of these six ships, but] it must be added the information received from his Majesty that the fleet of galleons formed in Cadiz to come here, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, had been sent [instead] to Savoy to impede the expedition of Count Mauritius to that dukedom. This city, seeing itself thus deprived of the forces that it had and of those that it expected, resolved at once to build six galleons and some galleys; this they are doing with all speed. But as these ships have not yet been finished (and cannot be very soon) they were worthless to oppose these two Dutch vessels that have been along the coast of Ilocos, a province of the island of Manila, and have plundered at will everything within their reach. According to some, they have despoiled of silks and other merchandise 12 or 13 [Chinese] ships. Thus only the smallest number escaped falling into their hands, and then only by the merest chance. However, on the night of the 18 May, the Dutch ships were in danger of shipwreck. There arose a strong wind, a *vendaval*, which obliged them to take care of their own ships and to release the Chinese vessels that they had with them. Four of these, delighted at this good

1 Ed. note: Having bribed their way at court and gotten permission to keep the silk and other goods looted from 18 Chinese junks that had been on their way to Manila.

opportunity, resolved to flee, and as the winds were favorable, they set out on the return voyage to China.

The Dutch carried on this pillaging with little risk, and without fear, because they had learned, through some prisoners who had escaped, of the loss of our galleons. With these spoils they returned, I think, to Japan, where they will again be received as they were last year. And the worst of it is that they will delight in coming [every year to inflict as much more damage; and therefore the Chinese will not dare to come] to this city with their ships, and trade will cease. Everything will then be lost, because **the prosperity of these islands depends solely upon trade with China**. May God prevent this with his powerful hand.

...

[A Jesuit who had come to Manila from Ternate to get food supplies, Fr. Manuel Ribeiro, met with a tragedy while at Oton or Panay Island on the way back home. The master of the ship, named Juan de Ochoa, led a mutiny and escaped to Japan with the ship.]

The Father started out to beg alms from the inhabitants of the town [of Arevalo]; and in a short time he got together an abundant supply of rice, wine, and meat for one year, for all responded liberally to relieve a necessity that had so moved them to pity. The Father set sail with all this in another ship, and we trust that, with God's help, he is already in the Moluccas. **This is the same ship that had been despatched this year [i.e. 1617] for New Spain as *almiranta***. It left port so heavily laden that it was necessary to put back into harbor to unload part of the merchandise, so as to be able to make the voyage. This done, they set out a second time from the port; but they encountered such violent storms that, after sailing entirely around the island of Manila [counter-clockwise], losing the masts, and imperilling their lives, they returned to Manila on 7 October 1617. Afterward the vessel was used [for Ternate] in the manner indicated above.

...

[Spanish Augustinian monks driven to murders, or, the King's wayward brother does not get away with murders]

I will conclude this account with one of the most singular events that have ever happened in the world. Although it is discreditable to the Order of St. Augustine, it should be related here with all truth, because it is so public and will be so noised about through the world. When Fray Vicente de Sepulveda,¹ first cousin of Father Juan Laurencio, rector of the college of Mexico, finished his term of 3 years as provincial, the fathers of St. Augustine met in chapter in a convent near the city of Manila, to elect a new provincial. They chose Fray Gerónimo de Salas,² not without dissensions and discords between the two parties into which they are divided. This provincial died 20 days after his

1 Ed. note: He arrived in the Philippines in 1606 and was a missionary in the Province of Pampanga. He was elected provincial in 1614.

2 Ed. note: He had arrived in the Philippines in 1595. The Augustinian histories state, falsely, that he was elected provincial unanimously in 1617, and soon died of an acute illness.

election. He died, as some say (and this opinion seems not without foundation, as we shall see further on), from **poison** that they gave him, and consequently his death was very sudden. By the death of this Fray Gerónimo de Salas, Fray Vicente de Sepulveda returned to the office of provincial, as their regulations provide. It seemed to some religious who were not of his party that it was too much for him to govern three more years, so they planned to cut the thread of life for him—by means of poison—since this would not betray them. They gave it to him more than 8 times in his food and drink—in his chocolate, and even in the wine with which he was consecrated. The poison was ground glass, and it resulted in eruptions over his entire body and in illness for several days, but it did not produce death.

When the conspirators saw that their attempts so far had been unsuccessful, four of them planned to kill him with their own hands. The affair was so public that not only was the conspiracy noised about among the friars but also among the laity of Manila. Thus it came to the ears of the provincial himself, who had not lived as prudently as he should have done for the safety of his person. After this, he was very careful about his food and drink; he locked himself in at night, and entrusted the key of the apartment to only a few.

He ordered one, who was the author of the treason (and he was the one who was suspected), that in virtue of his [the provincial's] holy precept, he should not come into the convent of Manila, but that he should prepare to embark for New Spain where they should take the cowl from him. Thereupon the individual, Fray Juan de Ocadiz—who was a native of Madrid, a priest, and one of long service in his Order—formed an agreement with three others, all young men about 20 years of age, who had been ordained to preach. These were Fray Juan de Quintana and Fray Andrés Encinas (both natives of Manila), and Fray Ignacio de Alcaraz, born in New Spain in a place near Acapulco, called I think, Quatulco.¹ Fray Ignacio was companion and secretary to this provincial, and so he had the opportunity of making a key to the apartment, by first making an impression of the key in wax.

On 31 July 1617, the day of our Father Ignatius [de Loyola], at 11 at night, the four opened the door of the provincial's apartment with the key that had been prepared for the purpose. The provincial heard the noise immediately, and suspecting what it might be, rose from the bed, and went shouting to meet them. At this juncture the three evangelists repented of what had been begun, and talked of withdrawing from it. But Fray Juan de Ocadiz, bolder than the rest, since he had already begun the work, told them that if they deserted he would have to stab them. Thereupon all four together attacked the provincial, threw him upon the bed, and held his mouth. The three evangelists held his arms and legs firmly, and Fray Juan de Ocadiz, putting his knees upon his stomach, choked with his hands. While the friar was choking him, the provincial begged for confession. Fray Juan said: "Father, repent of your sins, and in token of this, clasp my hand." The provincial took his hand, and the murderer absolved him, adding: "Trust,

1 Ed. note: Huatulco was relatively far from Acapulco, in Tehuantepec.

Father, in our Lord, who will pardon your sins.” Upon this he seized his throat, and finished choking him. Then with diabolical cruelty, in order to be more certain [that he was dead] they twisted his neck against the bed in such a way that they disjoined the bones, so that the head fell from one side to the other as if he had been a dead fowl. All this tragedy was committed in the dark, so they went for a light, cleansed the provincial’s body of the blood that had gushed from his mouth, changed his bed-linen and garments, and set everything in good order, that it might appear that he had died of some sudden accident. They did not take into consideration the many discolorations upon his body, or the twisted neck, that must soon give testimony of the hideous crime. Fray Andrés Encinas took all the bloody clothing and threw it into the closets. The others closed the door from within, with a cross bar, and jumped through a little window.

Although the provincial had given many loud cries, and other friars lived near the apartment, nothing was heard in the convent—a thing that seems impossible. After the crime was completed the bells rang for matins, for which it was now time. The murderers, or rather patricides, with great craftiness went to prayers. Morning came, and the hour arrived at which the provincial was accustomed to open his apartment; but he did not open it. They waited a little, but he did not come out. They knocked at the door, but he did not respond; they knocked louder, but in vain. The prior and the other friars, who were ignorant of the affair, determined to break down the doors. They did so, entered, and then beheld the crime, and saw that the provincial had been killed with violence. The prior, a certain Fray del Rincón, hastened to the president of the royal Audiencia [i.e. Licentiate Alcaraz] and to Don Gerónimo de Silva, Captain General, in order that they might give him help of which he was destitute because there was such a great tumult in the convent. They soon came with men. First the president ordered that all the friars should go one by one to kiss the hand of the dead man, in order that he might note the countenance of each. Finally, they buried the provincial, and every one can well infer what would be said of the whole Order; for people will forget that in the apostolic college there was a Judas and in Heaven a Lucifer, and yet the other apostles and the angels did not fall on this account.

Reports of the affair were transmitted to the Bishop of Cebu, Don Fray Pedro de Arce, of the Order of St. Augustine, and at that time governor of the archbishopric of Manila. He imprisoned some and tortured others; and in a short time, and with little trouble, the criminals were discovered. He made all the investigations, prepared the case, and handed it over to the *definitorio*, which, as they said, had by jurisdiction in the matter. The *definitorio*, which was composed of nine of the most prominent friars of their Order, advised with the other Orders as to whether, without consulting the Pope, it could condemn the criminals to actual degradation and deliver them over to the secular arm. The Society [of Jesus] avoided, as far as it could, giving its opinion upon an affair that was of such moment, and that must create such a sensation. In the decision of the affair, whether wise or unwise, it was best for us not to interfere. The authors were examined, and upon the advice of wise and learned men, the *definitorio*

resolved to give the sentence. It was read to the criminals from the pulpit of the church of St. Augustine, on 19 September 1617, before all the people who had congregated to witness a spectacle so extraordinary. Immediately they took from them the cowl, and left them with only some short cassocks such as are worn by clergymen. They delivered them to the Bishop, who was already prepared for the degradation. He immediately began to degrade them, and then delivered them over to the secular arm. They were taken to jail by the strong guard of soldiers that had been in the church ever since the criminals had been removed from the prisons to hear the sentence. But it was possible to execute this sentence against three only, because **Fray Andrés Encinas had escaped the night before**, in company of a lay brother who was guarding him. With chains and all, the lay brother removed him from the prison at 12 at night and, placing him upon his back, carried him along an unfinished wall of the convent, with great danger to both of falling and killing themselves. He took from him the chains and, together with another lay brother of their Order, they jumped from the wall and fled in great haste.

On the 22nd of September of the same year 1617, the secular tribunal pronounced the sentence of death upon the three. They were taken from the jail amid a great retinue of religious of all orders, who were assisting, and of soldiers who were guarding the prisoners. At 10 o'clock in the morning, **they were hanged** in the square before the largest assembly of people, I think, I have ever seen in my life. They died with suitable preparation.

I am unwilling to omit the account of a very peculiar circumstance. Twenty years ago, they were hanging in Madrid an Augustinian friar because he wished to make a pastry cook king of Portugal, and to marry him to Doña Ana de Austria, the mother of Fray Juan de Ocadiz.¹ As she was watching the proceeding, suddenly she began to scream and weep. When asked the cause of this she replied that she fancied she saw on the gallows her son, who was an Augustinian friar.

Followed by a large crowd, they took the bodies of these three men who had been hanged, to the convent of St. Augustine for interment, where they will remain with their provincial until God calls them to judgment.

The friars then very diligently searched for the one who had fled, in order to execute upon him the same sentence. At first they did not find him. And afterward, although they might have captured him, they did not, because they did not feel obliged to revive the painful remembrances and cause to all, and specially to his mother and the relatives whom he has here, the grief and distress that the first three deaths occasioned.

Besides these there were found guilty in the affair Fray Joseph de Vides, a native of Mexico, who had been instructor of the novices; and Fray Pedro de Herrera, a native of Medina del Campo, who had professor of theology, and who now was prior of a convent. As there two were not so guilty as the others the friars took from them the cowl, and sentenced them to 6 years at the galleys in the Moluccas, and to suspension

1 Ed. note: It appears that this Doña Austria had been the fourth, and last wife, of King Philip II. Therefore, this Fray Ocadiz was the brother of the ruling king, Philip III.

[from mass] for one additional year, on account of the reverence that is due to such a high and divine mystery. They were handed over to the secular tribunal, and were put upon galleys. But in a few days they escaped, and embarked upon a small ship in company with Fray Encinas and the lay brother who had freed him from prison. All four set out together upon the return to Malacca, in order to go from that place to Goa, Spain, and finally to Rome. Such is the unfortunate event which was reported last year to the Pope, the King, and the whole world alike. This year, report will be made of the justice meted out to the malefactors. And as more than four lies will be written, I have thought it best that your Reverences should know the affair just as it occurred, nothing being added or omitted...¹

[A private ship lost]

To this may be added the fact that the admiral Heredia had made, at his own expense, a beautiful, though not very large, ship with which to serve his Majesty whenever occasion might offer. Just as soon as it was launched upon the sea, it was overtaken by a storm so severe that it foundered and was lost.

[The failed eastward voyage of 1617]

I forgot to say that one of the two ships that were despatched last year [1617] for New Spain but did not arrive there, were separated from the other. It must be known that a certain de Sequeira, a Portuguese of the Order of Christ, went in it as captain. He had come as General of the fleet² which five years ago the King sent by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and he carried a letter from his Majesty to the effect that they should send him back at once by the same route. Instead, they detained him four years in this city, much against his will. At last they sent him as captain of this ship in order that he might go to Spain by way of New Spain. They loaded upon this ship goods of high value, although not a great quantity of them, because the vessel was small. He began his voyage with favorable winds astern, and when he had reached the latitude of more than 30°, he saw that he might turn toward India; but, the breezes beginning to vex the ships, he ordered the return and, upon arriving at these islands, disembarked some Spaniards whom he carried but who did not wish to go with him. He steered for Malacca and India, in order to go, they say, to Spain upon the voyage which his Majesty had ordered. He arrived at Malacca and died, I think, in Cochin. Nothing more is known [about him so far], nor what will be done with the goods that he carried.³

1 Ed. note: Apparently, the Pope thought that the affair should have been concealed from the beginning, by the Augustinian Order in Manila, so as not to create the scandal that it did create.

2 Ed. note: Ruy Gonzales de Sequeira, commander of the fleet of 5 caravels that arrived at Manila in 1612.

3 Ed. note: In spite of what is said here, a third ship made it to Acapulco that year. It was the galleon **Espiritu Santo** that returned in 1618. Hernando de los Rios was aboard and he says in his Brief of 1621 that the crossing took 5 months and a great many people died (See B&R 19:272). There is also a direct reference from one of 21 letters by Father Francisco de Otaço (he was aboard the ship that made it to Acapulco in 1617) in RAH Jesuit Tome 129, n° 153 (new number 9/3702), folios 809-846).

[The Fajardo fleet of 1618]

The ships from New Spain arrived very late, at the beginning of July. It was fortunate that the *vendavals* were very much delayed this season; for, if they had begun when they usually do, it would have been impossible for the ships to reach these islands this year. But God chose to bring to us the Governor who was so much desired. A grand reception, with many costly triumphal arches, was prepared for him in Manila. But he embarked from the port of Cavite in a galley, and entered quietly into the palace through a postern gate nearby, and therefore the whole reception fiesta was a failure. And when they desired him to go out of the city again, in order that he might enter with solemnity, he said that he did not wish them to carry him in procession as if he were a penitent, and so he remained there.

Document 1618A

Letter from Governor Fajardo to the King, dated Cavite 10 August 1618

Sources: AGI Fil. 67-6-7; translated in B&R 18: 116-149.

Letter from Governor Alonso Fajardo de Tenza to King Philip III

Sire:

Having left the port of Acapulco on 2 April [1618] with the two ships,¹ men, and other things, as I wrote your Majesty from there, God was pleased to allow us to anchor in this port of Cavite on the 5th of the past month. One could esteem it a good fortune that, although the season was so advanced, there were as yet no *vendavals* in the channel of these islands; for we had suffered many light winds and even calms, and had waited for a ship that joined us,² in order not to desert it, contrary to the advice of some. Thanks to His Divine Majesty who gave us so prosperous a voyage, not 10 persons died in both ships.

The events of which I found news here are indeed to be deplored. Not only was the small *almiranta* from New Spain wrecked in Japan [in 1616] (news of which was sent in the ship of last year)³ but its flagship was also destroyed, having been burned on this coast with two other vessels, frigates, which were with it; and I learned of the loss of the galleon **San Marcos** and the burning of two other ships which were being built in the shipyards, to which the Mindanao enemy set fire, encouraged thereto by the Dutch. I found also that, of the squadron that was being sent to aid Ternate, one boat was wrecked, while another mutinied—thereby casting shame on the Spanish nation and

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- 1 Ed. note: A ship named **Espiritu Santo**, and a patache, as Governor Fajardo himself would mention in another letter to the King in 1619.
 - 2 Ed. note: Referring to the Japanese ship **Date Maru**, which he had ordered to follow him, and go back to Japan by way of Manila.
 - 3 Ed. note: However, since the 1617 ships did not make it to Acapulco, he repeats the news about the flagship **Angel de la Guarda** and the lost patache.

their loyalty, and even giving occasion for some to make comments and to say that the needs of this place, their lack of confidence in its relief, and the departure for another region, could furnish some reason for a similar act of desperation.

...

After our aforesaid misfortunes, the six galleons that were to be fitted up at the shipyards were, while going there, overtaken by a hurricane, and were all wrecked, together with 700 persons whom, it is said, they were carrying—namely, natives, Sangleys, and Spanish sailors and shipbuilders, and some infantry-men—besides those who escaped, who were very few. Consequently, these islands were left without any naval forces and with few enough on land, by the above-mentioned disaster and the many private persons who died on the expedition to Singapore or Malacca.

The result was very great sorrow to the citizens, because of these troubles, and because General Ruy Gonzales de Sequeira carried an amount of property for them to Portuguese India, where he died; while the enemy, coming unexpectedly, seized another very large quantity of property, which some say was in excess of 300,000 pesos. It is certain that the enemy freighted with riches two vessels, with which they came to this coast, lading them even to their small boats; and the same with some Chinese craft, with what they pillaged from the Sangleys of that kingdom. Thus such a heavy loss was caused to this community, which with two such strokes might fear its total ruin; on that account there has been no allotment of the lading space for New Spain this year, since that of last year, and that trade is the harvest that sustains this country.

...

Will your Majesty please have this matter considered, and have an efficient reinforcement of seamen and soldiers sent—all at once, or as soon as may be possible—so that having their arms in one fleet, aid may be thus given where and how it is considered most advisable to your royal service... If only I could built another fleet like [that of Don Juan de Silva]; but he impoverished the wealth of these loyal vassals of your Majesty, the Spaniards, and of the wretched natives, to such an extent that many are now in the most dire need. Besides, the royal treasury is deep in debt, so that nothing can be extracted from it or from them, which may be worth considering in the present needs. This and the lack of iron and other materials oblige me to reduce the building force for 5 ships that, I found, had been ordered to be built, to three, so that I should not run out of the necessary materials, and all of them be left unfinished. Then, in case that I have enough, those men could also build the other two. Besides, that is also important in order that those ships which are to sail to New Spain in the coming year [1619] may be finished and equipped promptly.¹

...

Because of the short time since I arrived here, and the many occupations that I have had in overcoming the hindrance of despatches, in arrears, and in attending to the preparation of many necessities that demanded it, and to the furnishing of these ships that

1 Ed. note: One of those ships, named the **San Nicolás**, is known to have made the voyage in 1619.

are being despatched now to New Spain—in which there were very many things to do, to which no beginning had been made—I have not been able to ascertain with certainty who is to blame for the wreck of the six galleons, and why they did not sail out to drive from the coast the enemy who were pillaging along it.¹ Consequently, I shall leave that report to your Majesty for another occasion.

...

[Governors as traders]

I have been told that Licentiate Fernando de los Ríos Coronel, who left this country with power to negotiate its affairs² was, among other things, to petition your Majesty that a certain portion of lading space be given and assigned to the Governor of these islands. Although I might be inclined to embarrass myself in this trade, in order to fulfil my obligations to your Majesty's service, I would petition—as I do—that no opportunity or occasion be given, so that such governor may be humiliated and declared to be a merchant. For with a limited permission of lading space that may be given him, one can fear that the governor might stretch out his hand farther, and make that his chief occupation—since even without that permission the governor has sometimes cherished that covetous vice too much; and, by whatever path that vice comes and is allowed scope, it tarnishes all the other good qualities that a governor may have, and almost always hinders their use. But if, notwithstanding, your Majesty think it not a considerable obstacle, let it be conceded to him who shall succeed me, or to such others as you may please to give it. Thereat I will rejoice greatly to have advantages added to this office which will oblige more persons of high standing to covet it, although I would not be satisfied with those whom this opportunity would incite.

...

One of the things that your Majesty needs most in this country is intelligent **clerks** for the efficient administration of the royal revenues. And because it is certain that much would be gained by it, I petition your Majesty to send half a dozen of them, who shall have been reared in a good school.

...

The **shipbuilding** carried on in these islands on your Majesty's account is the total ruin and death of these natives, as all tell me. For, in addition to the damage caused by it in withdrawing them from the cultivation of their lands and fields—whereas the abundance of the foods and fruits of the country is destroyed—many of them die from severe labor and harsh treatment. Joined to this is another evil, namely, that every Indian who takes part in the shipbuilding is aided by all the neighborhood where he lives with a certain number of pesos, on account of the small pay that is given them on behalf of

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- 1 Ed. note: Why he would consider blaming some humans for the result of a hurricane is beyond me. They did not go to fight the Dutch because they were unfinished, just being moved from the Visayas to the docks at Cavite.
 - 2 Ed. note: This was the second time that he was sent as a lobbyist to Madrid. He probably had just come from Manila aboard the *Espiritu Santo* and met Governor Fajardo in Mexico. See his paper on reforms (Doc. 1619B) and his brief that was published in 1621.

your Majesty. Hence many are being harassed and worn out by these methods, and a great expense is being caused to your Majesty's royal treasury. For although the cost of employing the natives seems moderate, their decrease is a very great detriment; while the planking, sheathing, and masts are so poor that they must all be renewed every two years, and sometimes oftener, when the only still useful parts are the futtock-timbers. But all the above can be found and made so much better in Portuguese India that, considering the avoidance of the above wrongs and the bettering and more satisfactory price of the work, I shall try my utmost to avoid building ships here, sending to Cochin to have them built, or to buy them ready built, or sending wherever they may be found better and cheaper in those regions.¹ If, when this should be negotiated, there should be some cloves to send on your Majesty's account, the purchase of vessels, as well as that of slaves for the galleys, would be made very comfortably.

In the construction of ships that private persons are trying to build in these islands, about which the Audiencia is writing to your Majesty, I do not find so great an obstacle; for they take no Indian forcibly from his house and land for this task, and no Indian works at it unless he consents of his own accord to do so. That is done without oppression, and the Indian is wholly paid for his work, without the others having to contribute for it. For the smaller-sized ships some better woods are found, which, because they are small, cannot answer for the necessary uses to which they are put in the larger ships. Since I do not find any noticeable difficulty in this, I would consider it as very advantageous that leave be granted for the building of those ships, and for navigation among the islands and coasts of this archipelago, so long as they do not extend their voyages to New Spain and Peru. From that it will result that the inhabitants will get some profit, and it will not be necessary to hold all the trade with New Spain. It will not be unprofitable for your Majesty's service to keep some ships here, so that, if need should arise, they might be employed and made useful with the seamen by whom they shall have been manned. Since it is necessary that whoever should have a vessel have paid and well-treated sailors, your Majesty would come to have all that at no more expense than that of the time while you would employ them; and these your vassals, the natives of this country, would have more relief from the burden; and surely it is pitiful to see the burdens that they carry, and what they endure.

...

He who goes as commander or chief of the flagship this year is Don Antonio de Leoz, while Captain Juan Baptista de Molina—who has already served in that capacity before, and who has been fort commander at this port—fills the post of admiral. They are men who have rendered much service to your Majesty; and for many years past they have been enrolled as citizens in this country, so that all the inhabitants here have applauded their selection.

...

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1619A for more discussion on this subject matter.

With this letter I send your Majesty the declaration of a notary who was prisoner among the Dutch, and a document written to me by a Father of the Society [of Jesus], which came together the day before yesterday from Ternate; and also two copies of letters from Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, governor of those forts, and from the king of Tidore, which were received a few days before. Will your Majesty have them examined, for they contain the latest news from the Moluccas.¹

The two vessels that are being despatched to New Spain are now able to set sail, and will do so (God willing), when the weather is favorable. They go well equipped for the voyage, and the lading well adjusted—more so that has yet been usual here. They carry excellent crews, artillery, sufficient arms, and good rigging, and a great quantity of that, in order to spare your Majesty the expense that is incurred in New Spain—where each quintal costs, delivered to Acapulco, about 50 pesos; while here it costs only one-tenth as much. As great preparation has been made in the candles for the lanterns, and other things, for the same purpose of lessening the expense.

And, while discussing this matter, I cannot refrain from again petitioning your Majesty, in order to fulfil my obligations and my desire for your royal service, to order that the clerks and the treasury employees that I have requested for this place be sent to me; for they are very necessary in order to aid more efficiently the service of your Majesty, whose Catholic person may our Lord preserve, as is necessary to Christendom.

In this port of Cavite, and bay of Manila, 10 August 1618.

[P.S.] Already on this day (the above date) the ships are to leave this bay, because of the favorable weather that has come. All the pilots are of the opinion that they will not be lost, and that our Lord will guide and convey them with all safety...

Don Alonso Faxardo de Tença

1 Ed. note: The letter from Vergara, dated Tidore, 30 June 1618, is interesting in that he mentions the use of Will Adams' first ship, the **San Buenaventura** then stationed at Ternate and used to carry his letter to Manila. Other ships then assigned to the Moluccas were: the ship **Santa Margarita**, the frigate **San Miguel**, and the ship **San Antonio el Chico**. The latter was also then sent to Manila.

Documents 1618B

Aftermath of the Japanese embassy and Japan's self-imposed seclusion

B1. Discourse of Doctor Don Juan Cevicos (cont'd)

Source: RAH ms. 9/3657 (see Doc. 1609B2).

[Cevicos quotes loosely from the letter written by Fr. Sotelo before his martyrdom at Omura in 1624]

[The **Date Maru** commandeered by Governor Fajardo]

[Fr. Sotelo says] “That in New Spain (that is in the port of Acapulco, says Cevicos) he [Sotelo] found a galleon that Masamune had sent from Japan, in order for Fr. Sotelo and the Japanese to make their voyage from there to Japan. That, on account of the Governor, who was at that time on the way from Spain to the Philippines, was lacking ships to take his soldiers, he asked for this one that had come from Japan and he was given it with much pleasure, that Fr. Sotelo and the Japanese embarked in it to go from the Philippines to Japan, which navigation is short, and that they arrived at the Philippines in the year of 1618.”

...
“That, having arrived at the Philippines in the said year of 1618, and while waiting for suitable weather to make the voyage to Japan, when the opportunity came to embark, they were prevented from doing so by Dutch pirates who had enclosed the port with their galleons and were infesting the Philippine Islands. So, neither this year nor the following one of 1619 was he able to make the voyage.”¹

“That, even in the year of 1620 when he wished to make the voyage to Japan, letters arrived from Macao from Father Diego Valente of the Society of Jesus addressed to the Governor and the Archbishop of Manila, in which he advised them that he was already consecrated Bishop of Japan, and that he was asking them with much insistence,

1 Ed. note: Since Governor Fajardo bought the **Date Maru**, and the Japanese ambassador with his retinue travelled independently home aboard a Japanese trading ship, which he did in 1619 (see Doc. 1620A). However, Hasekura may not have reached Sendai until 1620.

not to allow Fr. Sotelo to go to Japan... and [he says] thus that year too, neither I nor my lay companion sailed for Japan; I was detained.”

“That, since he was not allowed to make the voyage, he despatched some religious of his Order to Japan, and he sent word to Masamune to procure his passage to Japan, and that, after his companion had related how benignly and magnificently they had been received by his Holiness, and by his Majesty, and the honors and favors that had been done to them, he rejoiced very much, and received the religious with great happiness, giving them lodging at his Court, and taking care of their upkeep, in view of their need to hide and conceal themselves as a result of the edict that the Emperor had made against Christians, and mainly against the religious. In spite of it, however, the religious as well as the Christians lived in his kingdom quietly and peacefully. And that, the following year [1621], he sent two soldiers to Manila, so that they would bring Fr. Sotelo to Japan. They, in accordance with their instruction and with great diligence, prepared a ship and supplies to take him to Japan. However, when I was making haste to embark, I was detained, made prisoner, and prevented from doing so.”

“That the soldiers, seeing what was going on, returned to Japan. And that, after he saw that it was not possible for him to embark for that Kingdom, he departed from there, taking the opportunity of accompanying the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, who was on his way from Manila to the Province of Cagayan, where his bishopric was located, with whose favor he built a frigate in the Province of Pangasinan (which is along the way between Manila and Cagayan) in order to make his voyage to Japan, taking along as a company a Japanese religious, his companion, and four other Japanese priests. This came to the knowledge of the Governor of the Philippines, because those [i.e. the Jesuits] who wished to prevent the voyage had let him know, so that, when he was to make sail, the Governor issued orders, threatening the sailors who might go aboard it with the penalty of death, and having them all brought back to Manila; hence, his voyage was frustrated [in 1621].”

“That, in view of his voyage having been frustrated, he was forced to follow the lord Bishop as far as Nueva Segovia, in the said Province of Cagayan, where he has his see. He begged assistance from him, showing him the letters he was carrying to Japan, as Legate from the Holy See. He granted it to him, publishing a censure against those who would prevent his voyage. However, the lord Bishop, fearing that the Governor of the Philippines would take this badly, arranged it in such a way that Father Sotelo, and his Japanese religious companion, embarked in civilian clothes aboard a ship of Chinese gentiles that was about to leave for Japan [in 1622], under the pretence that they were both servants of the said lord Bishop.”

...

[The junk reached Nagasaki. Sotelo was captured by the local *daimyo* and later, when the *shogun* heard about it, he was transferred to a jail in Omura, in 1623. On page 10 of Cevicos' printed pamphlet, it is said that Sotelo learned through letters that Felipe Hasekura, the Japanese Ambassador, had died within one year of his return to Japan, ca. 1620(?). Sotelo himself suffered martyrdom at Omura, on 25 August 1624].

B2. Extract from the Jesuit Papers

Sources: RAH Jesuit Papers Tomes 112 & 114 (ref. Schütter, p. 43); the new number for Tome 112 is RAH ms. 9/3685.

Report from Japan for the period 1618-1629.

[Tome 112, fol. 215v, copy on fol. 232]¹

While the lucky martyrs were surviving as usual throughout [ca. 1619], there were two (Christians) who kneeled before Baal and backed down miserably for fear of tortures. The same thing happened to a Japanese layman who had been in Spain and Rome (he became an apostate). This man used to say that when he was in Madrid, he learned that certain religious were persuading the King to conquer Japan, but our [Jesuit] Fathers convinced him otherwise. He adds that, even though it is true that our religion is the true one, it is too bad that our intention is by this means to amass the things [necessary] to conquer Japan. With this and other lies this apostate has done a very great harm to Christianity.

The Governors or Lords of Japan are so convinced of this that they said that one of the main reasons to keep the [Protestant] Dutch in Japan is for their greater security and so that they would give them advice. They [the Dutch] have even put this in practice [by telling them] that they should conquer the Philippines in order not to have the Spanish so near them.

On the other hand, it is said that it is planned in Japan to pick up from those kingdoms all the Europeans, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, and English, and if this is carried out, it will not be possible for any of our Fathers to stay there, given that they now pass unnoticed among the Europeans, dressed either as Spaniards or Portuguese; this they would no longer be able to do if they are [all] thrown out of Japan.

...

[This tome contains other documents of interest about Japan, e.g.

Fol. 266-266v: Transcript of a letter from Fr. Gerónimo de Angeles of the Society of Jesus, about a voyage that he made in Japan from the Kingdom of Masamune on the eastern seaboard, as far as Yezo [Hokkaido]. Dated Maçumay [i.e. Matsumae in Hokkaido], year of 1618].²

1 Ed. note: The text appears to have been copied from the 1618-19 annual Jesuit letter, which also appears on folios 228-236 of the same Tome 112 (dated Manila, 14 June 1620). See Doc. 1620B.

2 Ed. note: See also Doc. 1621A.

Document 1619A

Philippine shipbuilding in 1619

Source: AGI 67-6-38; translated in B&R 18: 169-188.

Relation by Captain Sebastian de Pineda, on matters relating to the Philippine Islands—both the building of galleons, pataches, and galleys, and other means of defence; and various things regarding the preservation and safety of the said islands.¹

Sire:

[Philippine woods]

In those islands is found a wood called *maria*² which is used to make all the futtock-timbers of all the galleons, galleys, and pataches; and all the knees and compass-timbers, of all sizes required. There is much of this timber from which to select, although, because of the ships built by Don Juan de Silva, the supply of it is now obtained from a distance. That wood is used only for this purpose, for the tree is short and not straight. Capstans of one piece, gears, and some stringer-plates [*trancaniles*]³ for the curved parts

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- 1 From internal evidence it is apparent that this relation is written from New Spain, a thing which the reader must constantly keep in mind; also that it was written in 1619—probably in January or February, as it was considered by the Council in May of that year.
 - 2 Delgado (*Historia*, pp. 418-419) and Blanco (*Flora*, pp. 428-429) describe a tree called *dangcalan*, or *palo maria* (*calophyllum inophyllum*—Linn.), which is probably the tree referred to in the text... The wood is light, exceedingly tough, and reddish in color... It is known by a number of different [native] names... Ed. note: In English, its name is the Alexandrian laurel, or sweet-scented calophyllum.
 - 3 Ed. note: O'Scanlan's *Diccionario marítimo español* gives the word "waterways" as a translation of "trancaniles".

of the prows of vessels and the snatch-cleats for the wales, are also made from that wood. That said wood is very durable, and is of such quality that once a nail is hammered into it, it is impossible to withdraw it without breaking it; and when a nail is hammered into that wood it down not hole or chip. If a ball be fired into it of the size of 8 pounds or less, it does not pierce the wood; and if the ball is large, the wood is not splintered. On the contrary, the hole is stopped up at its entrance and egress with the chips forced out by the ball in its passage. That wood is very light, and has a very poor grain for working.

There is another wood called *arquijo*,¹ which is very strong and heavy. It is a certain very tall and very straight tree, like the pine. From it are made the keels, beams, false keels, wales, mast heads [*calçetes*], and pumps, of whatever size required; for that tree, as above stated, grows very tall and straight. Gun-stocks, gun-carriages, and wheels for the artillery are also made from that wood.

There is another wood called *laguan*.² From it is made all the planking and sheathing with which the galleons and galleys are planked. From those trees are made the masts, topmasts, and yards of the galleons and galleys. The said tree grows very straight and thick, so that the flagship galleon has its mainmast from one, that is 72 cubits long and 15 palms in circumference, all in one piece.

The sheathing and planking hewn from the above-named trees for the sheathing of the ships is 1 palm thick and 3 to 4 wide, and the shortest is 12 fathoms long. These planks last a long time under water, as the ship-worms do not hole them; but above water they warp and rot, so that they do not last more than two years—specially on the decks, if they are not caulked during the winter. The greatest danger is that, on account of the haste used in their construction, time is not allowed to cut the wood at the conjunction [of the moon], and to leave it during a year to season, as is required; for if that is done, it lasts much longer. For of all the vessels built during the term of Don Juan de Silva [1609-1616], the galley which was longest in building did not take 6 months; and all the timber for them was hewn and put in place when green, for the vessels were being built while the wood was being cut.

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- 1 Perhaps the *guijo* (also spelled *guiso* or *guisoc*; *Dipterocarpus guiso*—Blanco), a wood of red color, which is strong, durable, tough, and elastic... Blanco says that this tree is much esteemed for carriage wheels, and is also used for topmasts and keels. The Indians call it *guiso*, but the Spaniards have corruptly called it *guijo*.
 - 2 Probably the *lauan* (also called *lauaan* and *sándana*; *Dipterocarpus thurifera*—Linn.), a reddish white or ashy wood with brown spots, used chiefly in the construction of canoes... Blanco says that this tree yields a fragrant, hard, white resin, which is used instead of incense in the churches...

There is another wood from which is made planking for the galleys, which is called *banaba*.¹ It is a certain short tree, about 4 fathoms in height. The galleys are sheathed with it, for the ship-worms bores into it but little. The planks are 1-1/2 palms wide. There are but few of these trees, and consequently they are used only for the above purpose.

There is another wood called *maria de Monteguas*,² which differs from the first wood of that name. From it are made timbers [*latas*]³ for the decks of the galleys, as well as oars for the said galleys. The latter are also made from another wood called *guijo*, but these are much heavier than those made from the wood *maria*, and last a long time.

There is another wood called *dongon*,⁴ which is very strong, and of a yellowish color. From it are made stringer-plates, chocks of the bowsprit, coamings of the hatchways, strakes and stanchions for the decks.

If all these woods are cut at the conjunction and decrease of the moon, the ship will last much longer; for if they are cut and not seasoned, one must tear up the decks every two years and put down new ones, for they are rotten. Likewise the planks along the sides must be changed, with the exception of the futtock-timbers and top-timbers made of the wood *maria*; for that wood, although cut and not seasoned, never rots, because it is always durable, in one way, without rotting.

There are many other kinds of woods which are also used for the above purposes.⁵

The **shipyards** of the galleons built during Don Juan de Silva's term were 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, and 80 leagues from the city of Manila, in different places: namely, on the island of Marinduque, where the galleon **San Juan Bautista** was built, which is 40 leagues from Manila; in the province of Camarines at Dalupaes were built the **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** and the **Angel de la Guarda**, 50 leagues from Manila; in the province of Ybalon at Bagatan were built the **San Felipe** and **Santiago**, 80 leagues from Manila; in Mindoro was built the galleon **San Juan Bautista**, 50 leagues from Manila; in Marinduque was built the *almiranta* **San Marcos**, 40 leagues from Manila; in Masbate was built the royal flagship **Salvador**,⁶ 70 leagues from Manila; in Cavite were built the **Espiritu Santo** and the **San Miguel**, 2 leagues from Manila, in the port where the fleets anchor; in the port of Cavite, 6 galleys; in the city of Manila, 2.

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- 1 The banabá (*Lagerstroemia speciosa*—Pers.; *Munchausia speciosa*; *Lagerstroemia flos reginæ*—Retz.) grows to a height of 30 to 50 feet, and varies in color from reddish white to dull red. Its flowers are red and very beautiful, and blooms in March...
 - 2 Perhaps a colloquial name given by the Spaniards, or a corruption of the native name.
 - 3 Ed. note: More properly beams, or main-beams.
 - 4 Also called the *dúngol* and *dungon* (*Sterculia cimbriiformis*—D.C.). It is pale reddish in color and is used for roof-timbers and the keels of vessels. It is strong but does not resist the seaworms.
 - 5 Notably the *molave* (*Vitex geniculata*—Blanco), for futtock-timbers and stem-crooks for framework; etc.
 - 6 Ed. note: Rather "(La) Salvadora"; she was of 2,000-ton burden. The San Marcos was of 1,700 tons; the San Juan Bautista, 1,300 tons; Guadalupe, 1,200 tons (see B&R 17:273).

Those who cut these woods and build these ships and galleys are Indian natives of the said islands. They are carpenters, who are called *cagallanes* or *pandais* in their language.¹ Those Indians who are no more than woodcutters, and serve only as hewers and planers of wood, are paid each 7 or 8 reals a month, and are given daily rations of 1/2 celemin of rice. Those of better trades than the latter generally earn 10 to 12 reals a month. Those who are masters—the ones who lay out, prepare, round; and make the masts, yards, and topmasts are each paid 3 or 4 pesos of 8 reals a month, and double rations.

When a fleet was being prepared in Cavite there were generally 1,400 of these carpenters there. Just now there are very few, for when the Mindanao enemies burned one galleon and two pataches in the past year 1617, which were being built in the shipyard of Pantao, 60 leagues from the city of Manila, they captured more than 400 of the workmen, and killed more than 200 others; while many have died through the severe work in the building. And because they have been paid for 5 years nothing except a little aid, many have fled from the land; and so few remain that when the last ships sailed from the city and port of Manila last year, 1618, there were not 200 of those Indians in Cavite.

The **iron** used in the construction of these ships and galleys is brought from China and Japan to the city of Manila. Don Juan de Silva sent patterns of all the nails, and excellently-made ones were brought, and cost your Majesty but 8 reals per arroba. Iron is brought in the rough and is wrought in Cavite, and costs your Majesty but 24 reals per quintal of 5 arrobas. There all the nails and bolts are wrought, as well as *estoperoles*,² tacks [*tachuelas*], and everything else needed. The native Indians who act as smiths are paid 12 reals per month, and the Sanglely Chinese smiths 28 reals per month, and their ration of rice, which is equivalent to 1/2 of a Spanish celemin. Each of these Chinese works 1 arroba of rough iron into nails daily, and is paid only the said 28 reals per month. That does not amount to 1 real per day, and they work from midnight³ until sunset, which is their workday.

The nails and iron shipped to the said islands from New Spain cost your Majesty, delivered in the city of Manila, more than 20 reals of 8 [reals per peso] per quintal, while there they are made, as above stated. But notwithstanding the above, I assert that it is necessary to ship annually from New Spain to the said islands 200 quintals of rough and sheet and rod iron for some necessary articles, such as borers for the artillery cast in Manila, and rudder-pintles and rudder-gudgeons for the ships and galleys; for the iron of Bizcaya is more ductile than that of those regions [i.e. China and Japan] because it [i.e. the latter] is as strong as steel. The other above-mentioned iron things that are sent from New Spain to the said islands are unnecessary, for their cost per quintal, when delivered in Manila, will buy 4 quintals in the said islands. The said 200 quintals could

1 Ed. note: More correctly, “panday” means blacksmith in Filipino.

2 Short, round-headed tarpaulin nails.

3 Ed. note: This must have been daybreak, not midnight.

be shipped on your Majesty's account from Seville where it costs 3 or 4 ducats per quintal, and be carried by the flagships and *almirantas*, thus it would not be necessary to buy it in Veracruz, at 19 ducats per quintal.

It would be of the highest importance to cover the ships with **lead** at Manila, which would obviate careening them every year. Don Juan de Silva neglected to do that, because he was always in haste to resist and attack the enemy. Lead shipped from New Spain to the said islands: more [than that amount] is shipped, but, it is brought from China and Japan at cheaper rates. It can be worked in Cavite in order to lead the ships, and in that way your Majesty will save many ducats every year.

The **rigging** in the said Philippine Islands is of two kinds: one, which was formerly used, is made from the palm called *gamu*,¹ today used only to make cables, stays, and shrouds; the other is called *abaca*, which is a kind of hemp, which is sowed and reaped like a plant in Peru and north of Peru called *bihau*. Abaca is much stronger than hemp and is used white and untarred. This abaca costs 24 reals per quintal, and is made into rigging in Cavite by the Indian natives, in the sizes and diameter required. These Indian rope-makers are drafted for public works from neighboring villages, and your Majesty pays them 8 reals per month and a ration of 1/2 celemin of rice daily. A task is assigned to them, for they work from midnight [sic] and until the close of the next day.

The total cost per quintal of this native rigging is about 50 reals. That shipped from New Spain, which is bought in Veracruz and delivered in the port of Acapulco, costs your Majesty 200 reals per quintal. It generally reaches the said Philippine Islands rotten, and is of no use. If your Majesty will order the ships to sail from Manila furnished [with rigging] for the return voyage, that would, in the first year, put a stop to shipping any [rigging to Manila].

The **canvas** from which the sails are made in the said islands is excellent, and much better than what is shipped from Spain, because it is made from cotton.² They are certain cloths which are called *mantas* from the province of Ilocos, for the natives of that province manufacture nothing else, and pay your Majesty their tribute in them. They are strips 1/3 yard in width, and as thick as canvas. They are doubled, and quilted with thread of the same cotton. They last much longer than those of Spain. One yard of this cloth costs less than half a real. The thread of the same cotton with which they are sewed costs 20 reals per arroba. The cloth brought from New Spain costs your Majesty, when set down in the city of Manila, 6 reals per yard. Also the thread shipped from New Spain to sew the sails costs, set down there, 6 reals per pound. The thread made of hemp when used with cotton canvas is of no use, and does not endure transportation well. The ships from Manila to New Spain carry sails for the return voyage and nevertheless have to make others in the port of Acapulco.

1 Apparently another name for the palm-tree called by the Tagals *cauong* (*Arenga saccharifera*—Labill.; *Caryota onuta*—Blanco), also known as *negro cabo* ("black head"). The leaf yields fibers that are long, black, and very strong; the cordage made from them is very durable, resisting even salt water.

2 Ed. note: Instead of flax.

It is also the custom to ship **pikes** with their iron heads from New Spain to the said Philippine Islands. Delivered in the city of Manila, they cost your Majesty more than 32 reals a piece; but, with 32 reals, they can make 40 pikes in the city of Manila. It is a weapon that is worthless in those islands, and it is not used in them. And even if they were used, there are shafts in the forests of those islands, and the native Indian smiths can make the heads.

A number of **pipe staves and iron hoops** are also shipped from New Spain to the said Philippine Islands. Delivered in the city of Manila they cost your Majesty a considerable sum of ducats. That expense can be avoided; for, when those staves arrive there, they are full of holes and rotten, and quite useless. The hoops alone serve in Manila to make nails and bolts from them, which thus come to cost 50 ducats per quintal. They can be made there for 33 reals. It is sufficient to carry those pipes that hold the water and wine in the ships.

For the ships' supply of water, they generally make vats when the ships leave there [i.e. Manila], each of which carries 30 pipes of water. Further, there are many earthen jars, which are brought from China and Japan. Consequently, one can make the above articles there, and more cheaply, for much less money than what is paid here.

Flour is also shipped in pipes from New Spain to the said Philippine Islands, which they say is for making hosts. That is unnecessary, for the said islands have an abundance of flour, which is shipped from Japan and China so cheaply that it costs 16 reals per quintal in the city of Manila. That shipped from New Spain costs your Majesty, delivered in the said city of Manila, more than 80 reals per quintal.

From New Spain to the said Philippine Islands are also transported in the [ships], **beans, chick-peas and lentils**, which are for the provision of hospitals, fleets, and convents. It serves no other purpose than to arrive at Manila rotten; and if any arrives in good condition, it does not seem so. For the provision of the fleets, a grain is grown in that land which resembles beans, and is very cheap. Consequently it is unnecessary for the ships to carry more than what they need for their voyage when they leave Acapulco.

A quantity of *gerguetas*¹ are also shipped from New Spain to the said Philippine Islands. They are said to be for the use of the soldiers, but that is unnecessary, for that land has other kinds of cloth—both those that are produced there, and others that come from China—which are better and cheaper. If your Majesty will order that to be stopped, it will be of much importance to your royal treasury, and will increase it by many ducats; while it will benefit greatly the soldiers who serve your Majesty in those islands, for, when this cloth is delivered there, they are obliged to take it.

In the former year of 1616, seven ships² were stationed at the city of Manila and the port of Cavite, one of which came built from India, and was bought in Pina-can for the service of your Majesty. The other six were built in the time of Don Juan de

1 Rather *jerguetas*, a coarse frieze or other coarse cloth.

2 Ed. note: See the list below.

Silva, and Don Juan Ronquillo took them all when he sailed in pursuit of the enemy at Playa Honda [in 1610]. These said ships were in the greatest need of being repaired—one because it was very badly used up in the fight, and another because its decks had not been changed for two years; while most of them were holed along the sides by sea-worms and leaked badly, and all their masts, yards, and topmasts were rotten. Consequently, Don Gerónimo de Silva, captain-general of those islands, was preparing to send them to be repaired (except three) to the island of Marinduque, 40 leagues from Manila, in order to avoid the expense of hauling the wood, while awaiting the arrival of the ships from New Spain in which Don Alonso Fajardo came last year (1618), in order to repair the said ships with that money [brought by those ships]. He also intended to hold them in readiness, in order to comply with your Majesty's orders, sent by an advice-boat, to keep them so prepared that they might join the fleet that was about to sail with reinforcements by way of the Cape of Good Hope, to make the journey to the Molucca Islands and drive the enemy from them.

It was necessary to equip two of the said ships so that they could come to New Spain last year, 1618, with the usual merchandise. Consequently only 5 were left—or rather 6, counting that in which Don Alonso Fajardo arrived.¹ Since the said Don Alonso Fajardo has reached Manila and finds himself with only 6 ships, it becomes necessary to build some more; for, if the fleet from Spain has not sailed and the enemy learn that Manila has but 6 ships, they will go to the mouth of the port and repeat their performance of last year, unless they go to the Mouth [of the San Bernardino Strait] to await the ships from New Spain with the reinforcements, for, in order that the loss of Manila and the Moluccas may be completed, nothing else is wanting.

As above stated, it will be necessary for Governor Don Alonso Fajardo to devise immediate means for building ships and to repair the six at Manila. **I regard the present building of ships in that country as impossible.** For with the former ships and fleets, and with the depredations and deaths caused by the enemy in those districts the natives are quite exhausted; for, as I said above, in the former year of 1617 the Mindanao enemy captured 400 native carpenters and killed more than 200 others. The year before that, 1616, in the expedition made by Don Juan de Silva to the strait of Singapore, where he died, it was found from lists that more than 700 Indians, of those taken as common seamen (of whom more than 200 were carpenters), died on that expedition. Before that, in the year 1614, the said Mindanao enemy captured in the islands of Pintados 900-odd Indians, of whom but few have been ransomed. In the shipbuilding and in the hauling of wood many have died. Consequently, on account of all combined, there is a lack of natives for the above works. Therefore your Majesty must order the said Don Alonso Fajardo, governor and captain-general of the said islands, that in case ships are to be built, it should not be in the islands—on the one hand, on account of the short time that those woods last, and on the other because of the lack in that land

1 Ed. note: The galleon named the *Espiritu Santo*.

of natives (occurring through the above-mentioned causes, and because these natives in the islands are serving in the fleets as common seamen and carpenters).

In order that those islands might have and keep ships that last 30 years and cost the same as in Manila, or less, your Majesty must order the governor to order them built in India, in Cochin; for they can be built there very strong, and at less cost if the said governor sends men for it from Manila—both masters and other persons, who know the art of having them built. When built, they can bring a cargo of military supplies, lumber, and slaves from Cochin to Manila for the galleys of Manila, for the said slaves are valued at very little in Cochin. As common seamen the men used in navigating in those regions will serve, namely, the Lascars; and a ship of 600 tons does not carry 16 Spanish sailors, but negroes and Lascars (who are a Moslem race), with whom navigation is performed throughout those islands and kingdoms.

Those islands have so few natives, that if your Majesty does not expressly order no vessels to be constructed in them, not any of their people will be left, for as a result of the events that have happened in those islands for the last 8 years, both murders and captivities, many of those who have been left, who are constantly coming to New Spain, every year as common seamen in the vessels that regularly sail, remain in New Spain. In the galleon **Espiritu Santo** which came last year, 1618, were 75 native Indians as common seamen, but not more than 5 of the entire number returned in the said ship. If your Majesty does not have this corrected, the same thing will occur every year, and should your Majesty not correct it, the following things will happen. The first is the great offence committed against our Lord, for many (indeed most) of those native Indians of the Philippine Islands who come as common seamen are married in those said islands; and, inasmuch as they are unknown in New Spain, they remarry here. Another wrong follows which is very much to the disservice of your Majesty and your royal treasury, which is caused by the said Indian natives of the Philippine Islands who come as common seamen and remain in New Spain; and if it is not checked in time, it will cause considerable injury to these kingdoms. This consists of the fact that there are in New Spain so many of those Indians who come from the Philippine Islands who have engaged in making palm wine along the other seacoast, that of the South Sea, and which they make with stills, as in the Philippines, that it will in time become a part reason for the natives of New Spain, who now use the wine that comes from Spain, to drink none except what the Filipinos make. For since the natives of New Spain are a race inclined to drink and intoxication, and the wine made by the Filipinos is distilled and as strong as brandy, they crave it rather than the wine from Spain. Consequently, it will happen that the trading fleets [from Spain] will bring less wine every year, and what is brought will be more valuable every year. So great is the traffic in this [palm wine] at present on the coast of Navidad, among the Apusabalcos, and throughout Colima, that they load beasts of burden with this wine in the same way as in Spain. By postponing the speedy remedy that this demands, the same thing might also happen to the vineyards of Peru. It can be averted, provided all the Indian natives of the said Philippine Islands are shipped and returned to them, that the palm groves and vessels with which that wine is

made be burned, the palm-trees felled, and severe penalties imposed on whomever remains or returns to make that wine.

Incited by their greed in that traffic, all the Indians who have charge of making that wine go to the port of Acapulco when the ships reach there from Manila, and lead away with them all the Indians who come as common seamen. For that reason, and the others above mentioned, scarcely any of them return to the said Philippine Islands. From that it also results that your Majesty loses the royal revenues derived from those islands, inasmuch as all those Indians are taxpayers there, and when absent pay nothing...

A report on the measurements of the ships in the Philippine Islands in the former year 1617 is as follows.

The royal flagship called **Salvador[a]** measures 60 cubits along the keel, 12 in floor, 82 from stem to stern [i.e. length over all], depth of hold 19, maximum breadth 26, sternpost transom 12; lower deck 15 cubits, upper deck 19, with the space between of 4 cubits.

The galleon **Espiritu Santo** (the one in which Don Alonso Fajardo came [to Manila] last year 1618) measures 50 cubits along the keel, 10 in floor, 70 length over all, 17 depth of hold, 23 maximum breadth, 10 sternpost transom; lower deck 13-1/2 cubits, and upper deck 17.

The galleon **San Felipe**,¹ 50 cubits along the keel, 10 in floor, 70 length over all, 15 depth of hold, 22-1/2 maximum breadth; lower deck 11-1/2 cubits, upper deck 15, and sternpost transom 11 cubits.

The galleon **Santiago** has the same measurements of keel, floor, over all, depth of hold, maximum breadth, and sternpost transom, and the same space between decks.²

The galleon **San Juan Bautista** has the same measurements as the San Felipe and Santiago.

The galleon **San Miguel**, 49 cubits keel, 10 in floor, 68 over all, 18 depth of hold, 23 maximum breadth, 11 sternpost transom; the lower deck 14 cubits, upper deck 18.

[The ship] **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**, 46 cubits keel, 9 in floor, 64 over all, 13 depth of hold, 21 maximum breadth; lower deck 9-1/2 cubits, upper deck 13, sternpost transom 10 cubits.

The ship **San Laurencio** [San Lorenzo], which was built in India 13 years ago [i.e. in 1596], measures keel 46 cubits, over all 60, 12 cubits depth of hold, 19 maximum breadth; and it has 3 decks, quarter-deck, and fore-castle.

[Endorsed: "Captain Sebastian de Pineda. To Don Alonso Fajardo, a duplicate of the same remaining here. The Council, 26 May 1619."]³

1 Ed. note: Obviously not the same as the one wrecked in Japan in 1596.

2 Ed. note: A ship by that name was wrecked at Capul Island in 1608. If it is the same ship, it must have been salvaged and repaired; otherwise, it is a new one with the same name.

3 Ed. note: In 1618, there were other ships in the Moluccas: the **Santa Margarita**, the small **San Antonio** (nicknamed "El Chico"), and the former Japanese ship **San Buenaventura**. Besides, Governor Fajardo had just bought the **Date Maru** from the Japanese upon arriving at Manila.

Document 1619B

A paper on needed reforms, by Hernando de los Ríos Coronel

Source: AGI 67-6-27 (printed brief, with ms. additions), translated in B&R 18: 289-342.

Sire:

Fernando de los Ríos Coronel, procurator-general of the Philippine Islands and of all their estates, declares that, inasmuch as all that community insisted that he come to inform your Majesty of the distressed condition which it has reached, and of what was advisable both for the service of your Majesty and that community's conservation and advancement, he has come, for that reason, at the risk of his life, after suffering such great hardships, to serve your Majesty and those islands, for both of which services he has made this brief of the most necessary matters that demand reform.¹

...

He petitions your Majesty to examine this brief with great consideration, for in [heeding] it consists the welfare and conservation of the whole kingdom; for that country, being so far away, has no other remedy for its protection except your royal decrees. The first ten articles of the brief were approved by your royal Audiencia, so that you may have no doubt about them. He did not inform the Audiencia of the others for just considerations, as was advisable—the city having given him instructions for most of them, which are those that he presents. In the authority that he has presented to your royal Council, the great trust reposed in his person has been evident; for he has served your Majesty and that community for more than 30 years, with so great a desire of acting rightly as is well known, and has never tried to further his own interests, as all [are wont to] do.

¹ Ed. note: This former militaryman turned priest, had already gone to Spain in 1605 to lobby for the citizens of the Philippines. He arrived back at Manila in 1611 and acquainted himself with the new conditions. He left again in 1617. Back at Madrid, he authored this paper, which he soon formalized into a larger brief, also printed at Madrid, in 1621. Both are written in the third person, for formality sake.

1. He declares that having obtained two decrees from your Majesty some years ago (while acting in this capital as procurator-general of the kingdom); with regard to the **trading ships**, ordering that your governor and captain-general despatch them some time in the month of June, as the greater part of their success in the voyage consists in that, and as that country has no other fruits and harvests except that commerce, for its conservation and increase, and also for the increase of your royal treasury: not only have they not kept the said decrees but have even done the very opposite. Thence have followed very many great wrongs and annoyances; and that community is greatly exhausted for that reason, and your royal treasury deeply in debt. [This affects the community] not only in material possessions, but also in the loss of your vassals, many citizens and sailors having perished for that reason...

He petitions your Majesty to order that this command be observed inviolate. The most effective expedient would appear to be to place the governors under a heavy penalty, which they would incur whenever they did not observe it, and that it be made an important clause in their *residencias*.

2. *Item*: That your Majesty issued a decree in the year 1605, granting favor to the citizens of that community, and ordering your governors that the posts in the **trading ships** be given to the deserving citizens for their profit, and that many be rewarded with this. Inasmuch as this is very advantageous to your Majesty's service and to the profit of trade, and inasmuch as the ex-governor always gave them to his relatives, and thus enriched them greatly, and the latter became very arrogant; and since, as this was the affair of the governor, no-one dared to bring suit against them; and since this is greatly to the harm of the royal treasury, because **they lade quantities of merchandise without registering it**, and commit many illegal acts, and will continue always to commit them, for no-one dares to speak plainly.

He petitions your Majesty to order the observance of the said decree by ordering the officials of your royal treasury, that should the governor appoint to such offices other persons than those whom your Majesty has ordered, no account be made of it in the royal books, that no salary be granted them, and that those appointed to these offices have their *residencias* taken at the end of the voyage; and that, until these shall be taken, they cannot be appointed to other posts.

3. *Item*: That your Majesty has granted to the citizens the tonnage of the said **trading ships**, and that your governors allot these, to each one according to his rank and wealth. The citizens have been greatly injured in this, as happened **in the year 1613 when the governor despatched two small ships**, and did not give the citizens one single ton; and under pretext of granting gratuities to retired officers, the citizens were obliged to buy space for their freight from those officers, at exorbitant prices. Further, he apportioned a considerable number of tons to charitable institutions, so that they may sell the space and use, and the price obtained for it; and thus these tons are given to the great injury of the common welfare. The further disadvantage follows from this (besides defrauding the citizens of the reward given them by your Majesty) that the tons are sold to whomever will pay most for them; and they are bought for this reason by

merchants who have companies in Mexico. Consequently, it is quite common for such men to own a great part of the said merchandise of the ships, and thus the citizens are deprived of the profits with which your Majesty has rewarded them.

He petitions your Majesty to order that these not be distributed at will, but that the orders given in this regard by your royal decrees be obeyed, and that the violation of your royal will in this be made a clause of the *residencia*, with the penalty that may be assigned to it.

4. *Item:* That your Majesty has ordered that **four vessels be built for the trade**, of 200 tons' burden; and that two of them make voyages each year, while the other two remain in port getting ready for the next year.

He petitions your Majesty that they not be employed in other matters by your governors, unless it be an urgent necessity, as happened last year, when they went out to drive off the Dutch enemy who had besieged us. In such case the citizens themselves shall go out in them to defend the city, since the profit of the citizens is so necessary in order that that community may be settled, and have the sinews with which to defend and preserve itself. They shall not be sent to the Moluccas or any other district, since thus your Majesty is no less defrauded of your royal duties.

...

7. *Item:* Inasmuch as the **ships built in the Philippines** cause your Majesty great expense, and have ruined and exhausted the natives; and inasmuch as your Majesty owes them a great sum of money from the time of Don Juan de Silva, for their personal services and things that he took by force from them: it is very advisable, not only for your royal service, but also for your royal conscience, to relieve them from so great oppression.

He petitions your Majesty to order your governors that they be prohibited from doing this, and that they sent to India to have the said ships built; for, besides their incomparable greater cheapness there, one built there lasts as long as ten built in the Philippines, because the woods in India are incorruptible. In this your Majesty will save a great sum of ducats, and the natives will be relieved of so much hardship.

For that a decree from your royal Council of Portugal is needed, and it should be charged upon the governor of the Philippines to do this with the mildness and prudence advisable. If it is desired it can be easily effected, and it is of great importance...

8. *Item:* He petitions your Majesty to do him the favor to order the viceroy **not to allow a ship to go from New Spain to Japan** (which is a most serious evil), and to order that gate to be closed; and, inasmuch as the Japanese do not know how to navigate without a Spanish pilot and sailors, to have an edict published forbidding such persons under severe penalties (which he [i.e. Ríos] does not declare, because he is a priest) from sailing in such ships to New Spain. For that, in another guise, means to teach a barbarous nation how to navigate, and is rash, and opens the gate to many evils, for which afterward there will be no remedy. It will even be advisable to order Father Fray Luis Sotelo not to go [back] to Japan, for he was the one who began this, and it may be feared that he will further it.

...

20. *Item:* In regard to the **trading ships** between the Philippines and New Spain and the numerous things worthy of reform (which is advisable both for the royal treasury of your Majesty and for the community, and for the avoidance of many deaths of the seamen), that which it is advisable straitly to charge and order your governor is the following:

That the accommodations given the commander be moderated, conforming to the capacity of the ships. We have seen them during those years laden by the commanders with a third of the cargo, because they are relatives of the governor, under pretext of having a dispensation of taking the space of 50 tons.

20 [sic]. *Item:* That the said commanders, admirals, and masters, give the *residencia* for their posts before being appointed to others, which your Majesty has ordered by a decree of the year 1604.

Item: That the masters in the port of Acapulco, in addition to the duties that are paid to your Majesty, charge excessive prices for the guards of the boxes, barrels, and other articles of merchandise, without anything being done them; and these fees were not formerly charged, because their office is given to them for that purpose, and that duty [of guarding freight] is annexed to it.

He petitions your Majesty to order the royal Audiencia of Manila, or the governor, to set the price that they can charge; and, if they exceed that price, those aggrieved can make claim in the *residencia*.

21. *Item:* That your Majesty be pleased to order your governor to be careful in the muster-roll of **seamen and common sailors** made out by the royal official, that all such be efficient; for it happens that a ship may take 60 sailors, 30 of whom are men who have been named as sailors without any knowledge of their duties, but only by favor. Then in times of need there are not any to work, and the few who do understand it cannot attend to the work, which should be divided among so many. Consequently there is signal danger, because the voyage is too long and difficult.

22. *Item:* That it be ordered that the **common sailors** who serve in the said ships, who are always Indian natives, be all men of that coast, who are instructed how to navigate; and that they be made to wear clothes, with which to shelter themselves from the cold; for, because they do not, most of them die in high latitudes, of which he [the writer] is a witness. Inasmuch as the factor enrolls other Indians who live in the interior, and who do not know the art of sailing, and as they are a wretched people, they are embarked without clothes to protect them against the cold, so that when each new dawn comes there are three or four dead men (a matter that is breaking his heart); besides, they are treated inhumanly and are not given the necessaries of life, but are killed with hunger and thirst. If he were to tell in detail the evil that is done to them, it would fill many pages.

He petitions your Majesty to charge your governor straitly to remedy this.

Item: That inasmuch as the **kitchens** where the food is cooked are not located in the first part of the forecastle, as is seen in [ships on] these seas, but in the waist; and

inasmuch as at the first storm the sea carries them away, after which each one cooks his food in his messroom where he can make a fire (and it is a miracle from God that the ships are not burned).

He petitions your Majesty to order your governor [i.e. Fajardo] to remedy that, since he is so excellent a sailor. The reason for that abuse is that the officers appropriate the largest storerooms of the ships.

23. *Item:* That **slave women** not be conveyed in the ships, by which many acts of-fensive to God may be avoided. Although that is prohibited by your royal decree, and it is also entrusted to the archbishop to place upon them the penalty of excommuni-cation and to punish them, this evil has not been checked; and many sailors—and even others, who should furnish a good example—take slave women and keep them as con-cubines. He knew a certain prominent officer who carried with him 15 of these women; and some were delivered of children by him, while others were pregnant, which made a great scandal.

24. *Item:* That no sailor, and no passenger unless he be a person of rank, be allowed to take more than one **male slave**; for they load the ships with slaves who eat the pro-visions, and steal whatever they lay hands on, besides the risk that is run of a plague being started by them. He also petitions your Majesty that the 50 pesos paid as duty on each slave be moderated, and that these imposts be paid according to the tariff in Spain; and that these duties be paid in the port of Acapulco—where by selling the slaves, their owners may have the wherewithal to pay the imposts; for it is a great inconvenience to pay them in Manila. For that reason, great deceits are practiced on the royal treasury now; for they take the slaves without being registered, because of the high amount of the duties, and are allowed to take them off at the port [of Acapulco] for 20 pesos. If the said duties were moderated, and paid in the port, no-one would take them without registering them, specially since the said slaves serve and aid the sailors in their necessities, and your Majesty gives them no allowance of either food or water. Conse-quently in no part of the Indies is so large a duty paid.

25. *Item:* Inasmuch as the good treatment of the **sailors** is so important, in order that they may be inclined to go there, since there is such a great need of them, he peti-tions your Majesty to order that good treatment be shown them, and they be given leave to take away their boxes in which they carry their clothing and certain small wares for free, without having to open them. For in this matter the guards practice many extor-tions on them, and take away their little possessions, and harass them so that many re-fuse to return, and many acts of oppression are practiced.

26. *Item:* Inasmuch as the officers of the vessels, such as commander, master, boat-swain, etc., lade a quantity of merchandise beyond the share given them, and overload the ships by occupying the place of the ship's stores in the storerooms and magazines; and inasmuch as this cannot be checked, as has been seen: there is no other remedy un-less your Majesty order the clerk of the register not to receive on the register more than only the allotment of shares that your governor makes; for he proportions the cargo which the vessel can carry, in accordance with its need, and anything more only over-

loads the ship. But if these goods were not admitted to register, the officers would not dare to lade them, because of the great risk of their being seized as smuggled goods. Consequently great losses would be avoided by proceeding in the above manner.

...

34. *Item:* That the **trading ships** that navigate to New Spain have sometimes not been despatched, for personal purposes of the former governors, which is to the great injury of your royal treasury and of the citizens, since those ships are the sinews of that community. He petitions your Majesty to order your governor to prevent such a thing, so that, unless compelled by a very great necessity, the annual despatch be not neglected.

...

38. *Item:* That about 2,000 **Japanese** generally reside in that city; and that, as trading ships come annually, many Japanese remain there. But they are not only of no use to the community, but a signal danger, since they have three or four times placed the city in danger of being ruined. In this last encounter with the Dutch, Japanese went to them who gave them information; and on the day of the battle a company of them who fled from Manila went to help the enemy. He petitions your Majesty to show that kingdom the favor to order straitly that no Japanese remain there; but that those who go there every year must return to their own country.¹

...

39. *Item:* Inasmuch as the Indian natives have been so ruined by the past **shipbuilding**, and your Majesty is indebted to them, for personal services and things taken from them by Don Juan de Silva for your royal service, more than one million [pesos]; he petitions your Majesty to order your governors that now and henceforth they shall endeavor most carefully to avoid, as far as possible, harassing the Indians; and that they shall also avoid the building of galleons, since, as stated in another brief, these can be brought from India at a much less cost to your Majesty; and that an effort be made to remunerate the natives for a part of the debt due them.

1 Ed. note: In a postscript note, Ríos amplifies this recommendation thus: "It is fully advisable that no Japanese be [allowed in the city], which is a great cause of trouble. For they are, on the one hand, a warlike race, and easily come to blows with the Spaniards, for they will not suffer ill-treatment. Consequently they have sometimes risen against us, and have seized arms. This has occurred because some soldiers have desired to harm or injure them, whereupon they, to revenge themselves, seize certain cutlasses that they carry, and begin to assemble together. They may place us in exceeding great danger. On the other hand, if we are careless in permitting them, many Japanese will come. We are in great danger, besides, lest some take to the highways, for among those who come from those kingdoms of Japan are many who have fled for crimes, and who have no right to return to their country. [Ed. note: Either for having been expelled for being Christians, or being disgraced fighters, or *ronin*, having been on the losing side in a battle]. Likewise it is advisable to restrict their coming in order to preserve the friendship of the emperor; since, if we do not retain them in that kingdom, there will be no occasion for any event of treachery that should force us to break friendship with him. I petition your Highness to order this straitly, and that the said judge also have it in charge.

40. *Item*: He petitions your Majesty to command that a copy of the commercial decrees be given him, that he obtained formerly when he was in this court in this same office; for the last governor took possession of the decrees when the packet in which they were sent to the city fell into his hands, and refused to give them up, but kept them,

Additional notes by Ríos.

[A vision of Midway Island]

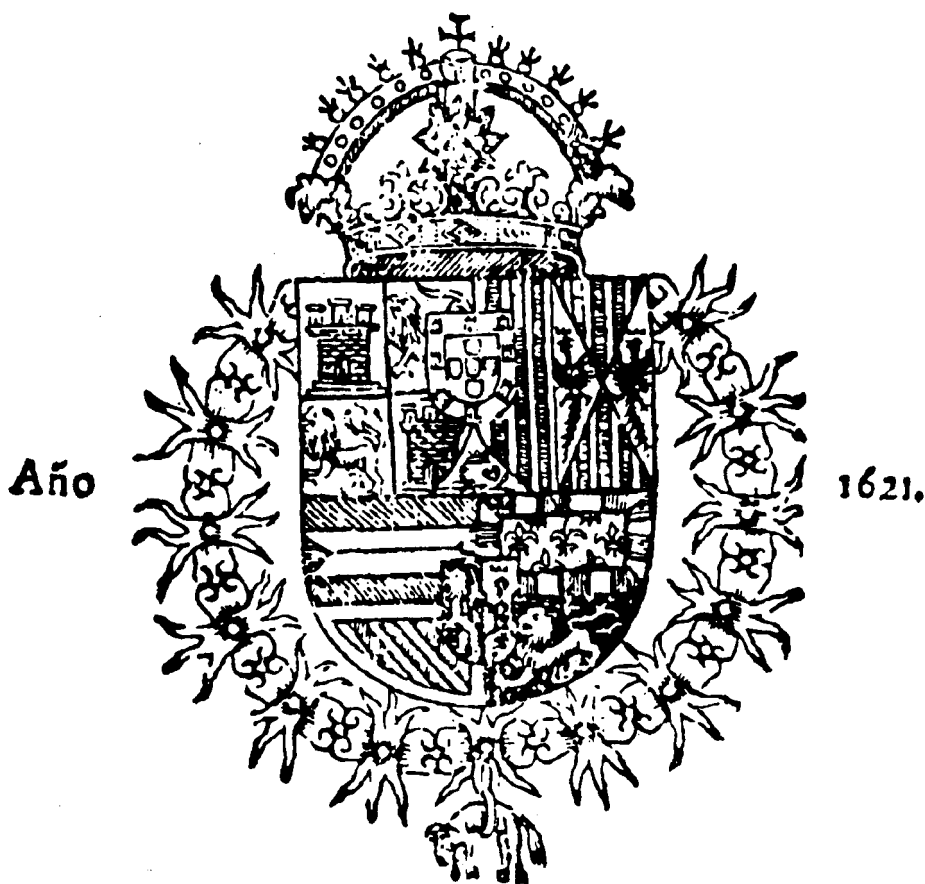
Inasmuch as that [eastward] voyage is so long, and no fresh provisions can be obtained on the way, very many fall sick. For a remedy to that, God has placed, midway in the sea and on the voyage, an island that serves as an inn in the middle of their way, just as the Portuguese in their voyage have one at the island of St. Helena, where they get fresh food. That island, which I call **Rica de Plata**, is large, and over 100 leagues in circumference [on the chart]. Although some ships sight it in passing, inasmuch as its ports are unknown, no-one dares to get fresh food there. It is thought to be uninhabited, but some signs of habitation have been seen. It is very necessary that a small vessel sail from Manila to explore it, and that it look there for a good port, so that the ships can get water and wood, and reprovision. The exploration of it may be of the highest importance. It is necessary also because near that region the ships generally lose their rigging in storms, and they can be refitted and repaired there, and can continue their voyage without having to put back to Manila. I advised your Highness of that some years ago, as it is so important; for that voyage I believe that a decree was sent to the governor in a former year to explore it; but that must be ordered again. A man of experience should be sent, so that he may display the prudence and make the exploration requisite, in accordance with the art and science of hydrography; and likewise so that he may live in Manila and examine the pilots of that line, and make faithful and accurate sea-charts. For that purpose, I shall give him considerable enlightenment by giving him the documents on the demarcations, and the information that I possess, on which I have labored much in order to serve your Highness. Nowhere does your Highness need a cosmographer so much as in that land, for many things that arise and may arise.

Editorial comments.

In 1621, Ríos published a revised Brief in which the above themes were further developed and form the core of the book. To this were added a summary of Philippine history, up to 1617, when the author left Manila. The third part, in five chapters, is related to the ecclesiastical matters in the Philippines, and contains some remarks on Moluccan affairs. For those interested, copies of this Brief can be found in BNM, BNP, BM and LC. An English translation of most of it is in B&R 19: 183-297.

(Overleaf) **Title page of Hernando de los Ríos' Brief of 1621.**

MEMORIAL
Y RELACION
PARA SV Magestad, DEL
PROCVRADOR GENERAL DE LAS
Filipinas, de lo que conuene remediar, y de
la riqueza que ay en ellas, y en las
Islas del Maluco.



EN MADRID
Por la viuda de Fernando Correa.

Document 1619C

Jesuit annual report for 1618-1619

Sources: RAH Jesuit Tome 84, n° 8 (badly dilapidated) & Tome 112, n° 55 (new n° 9/3685); translated in B&R 18: 204-234.

Relation of events from July 1618 to July 1619, dated Manila 12 July 1619

These Philippine Islands are surrounded by so many and various neighboring countries that they are like the center of a very beautiful circumference composed of cities, kingdoms and provinces... All that is written here is taken from relations and letters which our Fathers have sent from various places, and from what I have seen this year in this country.

...
[The author goes on to relate the state of affairs in India, China, Cochinchina, Japan, Mindanao, Moluccas, as well as those of Manila proper. A few excerpts follow.]

Of Great China.

In China, within recent years, a very severe persecution of Christians broke out; and on account of the enmity of a mandarin, who was the cause of this storm, four Fathers were ejected from the residences of Sanguin and Paquin...¹

They write that they found, in one of the many provinces of that extensive realm, a people who worship the holy cross, and who are called Christians, although they are so only in name, for they are in truth heathen.² They also found a synagogue of more than 12,000 Jews who live under the law of Moses.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Nanking and Peking. One of those Jesuits was Fr. Pantoja who had founded the Peking mission with Father Mateo Ricci. He died soon after he arrived at Macao, in January 1618. In August 1618, the Manchus began their drive to expel the Mings from China, which they completed many years later.
 - 2 Ed. note: They were the remnants of early Nestorian Christians. Traces of the Jewish religion were also found in China. Both had been cut off from their roots from over 1,000 years.

...

Of Japan.

In treating of the affairs in Japan one would wish to begin with the coming of Fray Luis Sotelo, who, as soon as he arrived here [in 1618], began to attempt so many things that he succeeded with none. He said to the Bishop of Cebu (who is governor of this archbishopric)¹ that he had secured bulls from his Holiness authorizing him to be bishop of half of Japan, but as they remained in the Council they were worthless. They even say (about which I am not certain) that he attempted to consecrate himself here, but he did not succeed. Then he planned to establish a seminary of Japanese [in Manila], and had many of them ordained, with what right or authority we do not know. Over this matter there was much contention. He had a church built for this seminary, and also took possession of various places, particularly in a suburb of this city. One day, he quietly took possession of a house, placed a bell upon it, and said mass. Soon the Governor and the Bishop came and asked him what he might be doing. He responded that a smith puts his forge wherever he can in order to work at his trade, and that he was doing likewise. They drove him away from there, and now he is in one of his [i.e. Franciscan] convents.

...

This year in Japan a great number of supernatural occurrences have been noted, particularly in the city of Yendo [i.e. Edo], which is the court of the emperor. First, in the river at Yendo they saw some very beautiful ships sailing against the current, a thing never seen there before, for the river is small, and navigable only by very small boats. Second, in the courtyard of the palace, one day there was seen an animal larger than an ox and smaller than an elephant, whose species none could tell, as they had never seen such an animal before. They tried to kill it with arquebuses and arrows, but it disappeared. Third, in a hall of the same palace a large greyhound was found howling pitifully. This the Japanese took for a bad sign. They asked who had brought such a dog there, but no-one could find out, because the guards had been at the door all the time. They tried to catch the animal and put it out, but it became invisible to them. Fourth, in the quarter where the *daimyos* live while at court, there was heard a great clatter of arms, just as if a very bloody civil war were going on. They called to arms in the city, and every one responded. They went to the quarter in question, but found everything perfectly quiet. Fifth, on the top of a hill nearby the city they discovered some flags in the trees. They went to see what they were, but found nothing. Finally, when the emperor was about to go to Meaco, a **comet** like a handled *catana*, with a very beautiful

1 Ed. note: Fr. Pedro Arce, O.S.A.

cross in its head, appeared above his fortress at Yendo. This caused him so much fear and consternation that he gave up his journey entirely.¹ Many of these things will not be readily believed. Some of them I did not see, but credible persons from where they occurred report them as well authenticated.

The persecution of Christians in Japan is more bloody than it has ever been before, and has become as bad as could be imagined. It will suffice to say that in the city of Nangasaqui 30 bars of silver, each one containing about 4 ducats, are publicly offered to whomever may discover a religious... During the last year, more than 50 Japanese have nobly given their lives to the service of Jesus Christ... These Fathers, like good pilots, have not been dismayed by this very great tempest. On the contrary, there have been 32 members [of the Society] distributed throughout Japan² holding fast to the helm of this little craft...

Some religious (although only a few) from the orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine, are also working laudably in the vineyard of the Lord.

...

Last year I wrote how one of the ships which were despatched from this city to aid the Moluccas resorted to treason, and took possession of everything. Thenceforth, as is well known, it went from one country to another and from one place to another. Finally, it sailed, almost shipwrecked, to an island of Japan. When the Portuguese commandant³ learned of this, he sent to the ruler of the island to demand those robbers who had mutinied on one of the king's ships. The ruler sent to the commandant, proposing to hang them; but some religious forbade it, whereupon he sent them prisoners to Macao, where, they say, the mutineers were punished.

...

Of the Philippine Islands.

On 11 November 1618 [Gregorian calendar], at 3 a.m., a **comet** was seen from this city of Manila. It had a tail, was silver-colored, with a slighty ashen tinge, and had an extraordinary form. At first it was like a trumpet, and then lide a *catana* (which is a weapon peculiar to Japan, resembling a cutlass), with the edge toward the southwest; and at the end it appeared palm-shaped. The declination of the southwestern end was 20° south. At first its length was equal to the whole of the sign of Libra, with which it rose. Eight days afterward, the declination of the southwestern end was 24° 30' south, and the lower point, or end of the tail, 8° from the star called Spica Virginis... On 24 November, another tailed comet appeared, even more beautiful and resplendent than

1 Ed. note: At least this event that impressed the shogun Iemitsu had a natural origin. Richard Cocks in his diary reported that a first comet became visible to the naked eye on the night of 2-3 November and lasted until 21 November 1618 [Old Style dates]. It was brightest on 9 November. A second comet lasted from 19 November to 23 December. Both of these were also observed at Manila (see below).

2 Ed. note: See the map by Fr. Cardím in Doc. 1609A.

3 Ed. note: The Captain Major of the yearly galleon from Macao.

the first. At its head was a burning star. It appeared in the east. It had a declination of 8° and it pointed southwestward to the sign of Scorpio, which is the sign of Manila. These two comets lasted some 3 months. They write from Japan, the Moluccas, and India that they were seen in those places.

...

[The Dutch threat of 1618-19]

The Hollanders came to these islands with their fleet of 5 galleons to plunder the Chinese ships, as they have done in former years. The fleet entered the bay of Manila on 12 October 1618, and afterward continued coming and going. It went back and forth on these seas just as if it were at home. But its appearance caused so little disturbance that everything remained as quiet as before, which illustrates the force of habit; for being accustomed to seeing the fleet every year has brought it to pass that its advent now causes no uneasiness. Nevertheless, sentinels were placed on all the coasts, and the country was very well prepared.¹ Thus there was nothing to fear; besides, the enemy does not wish to have us at to close range. **On our side, only 3 galleons and 4 gal-leys were ready for use in the port of Cavite**, because not more than two years ago two of our finest galleons went to the bottom in this sea in a furious storm. What caused more anxiety was the shipyard² where other galleons were being built. It was feared lest the enemy should go there to burn them. To prevent this, a little fort was constructed, and a large force of good infantry and heavy artillery was placed to guard the construction. Therefore they said that there was no need to fear anything, or to doubt that if the enemy should come to the shipyard he would fail in his design to burn the ships. He did not attempt it, perhaps because he knew of the thorough preparations that had been taken.

Early in November, when the enemy was in the mouth of the bay, a Japanese ship came. When it reached Ilocos, a port of the island of Manila, it learned that the enemy was in the passage through which it must go to reach this city. But as it carried a *chapa*, or licence, from the Japanese emperor it feared nothing. For the Hollanders respect the emperor's licence insofar as it concerns them, and they give free passage in every part of these seas to all Japanese ships bearing it. So the ship continued on its way here till it met the Hollander, with whom it remained two or three days. The Hollander inquired if it carried munitions, which would be contrary to his wish. Although in fact the ship had on board a large quantity of munitions underneath a great number of sacks of flour, the question was answered in the negative. Thereupon the general allowed it to pass, and gave it an arrogant message for the governor. In this he said that his Lordship might well be preparing his fleet little by little, which he [the Dutch general] would await a long time; that he just now had learned that galleons were being built in the shipyards, but that the governor should not be disturbed; that, indeed, if it were necessary, he

1 Ed. note: I have myself seen the ruins of a few watch-towers built along the coast of Ilocos during that period.

2 Ed. note: Located near Arevalo, Panay Island, as will be mentioned below.

would go with his men to aid in finishing and launching them, just for the opportunity of fighting them; that this was what he most desired, as he had strong hopes of victory, which would be glorious in proportion to his Lordship's nobility; and that he therefore would welcome the governor's coming. This message the Hollanders sent with the Japanese ship.

Later on, another Japanese ship came along; and, as it carried a *chapa*, it was able to enter. Then a Spanish ship, which, likewise came from Japan, arrived; but, as it carried no licence, it came by a different route to avoid falling into the enemy's hands, and took shelter in another port of the islands before coming to the city. A Portuguese ship coming from Macao did the same, and thus the enemy captured nothing.

...
In the shipyard feverish efforts were made to finish at least one vessel in time for service this year. Nearly 3,000 men—Spaniards, Indians, Chinese, and others—were employed in this construction. From this may be gathered what our missions must have suffered in the Pintados [i.e. Visayas] Islands, in the midst of which the ship was being built, since almost all the Indians who worked there were from our parishes. So large was the equipment, and so great was the zeal shown in the work that, early in March [1619] a very beautiful galleon¹ was finished, which would mount 40 guns. Then the difficulty arose, where they could enter to join the other galleons and galleys in the port of Cavite, for the enemy remained stubbornly in the mouth of the bay. But as soon as he drew aside a little, notice was quickly given in order that they might bring in the galleon, and it entered on 25 April, with 4 galleys which had gone out to accompany it in.

On another occasion, two other [Dutch and/or English] ships came to the enemy with provisions from the kingdom of Japan. They also carried a goodly number of Japanese, who left their country secretly. They say that if they [the Japanese authorities?] had known about it they would have killed these men, because they came to attack us in company with the Hollanders. These now found themselves with 7 warships, or rather with 6, since they left one outside in order to plunder any ship that might come along. They entered this bay with great ostentation and pomp on the 1st of March, the second day of the Easter festival. The Governor ordered that the galleys and the three galleons which were there (the fourth, the one from the shipyard, had not yet arrived) should with many pennants and streamers draw a little apart from the fort of Cavite. When the Hollanders turned about to go out he noticed that our fleet was at hand, with all this bravery. Then he also displayed many pennants, and came again, signalling that he wished to fight, and then slowly departed. He went toward the coast of Ilocos, the place to which they come to attack the ships on their way from China. Now the galleon from the shipyard entered the bay, and the preparations of the entire fleet was completed. It consisted of 4 galleys very well manned, and 4 very handsome galleons. The

1 Ed. note: By other evidence, her name was **San Nicolás**.

flagship mounted more than 40 guns, the *almiranta* more than 30, the third galleon an equal number, and the fourth as many as 20.¹ In addition to these there were 2 pataches, each with as many as a dozen small pieces.

While our fleet, thus prepared, was daily in readiness to set sail, the Governor sent out in two directions to reconnoiter the enemy. The news brought back by the speed was that the Hollanders had reached a village of Indians on the coast of Ilocos. They entered the church and committed a thousand sacrileges, particularly that of cutting off the nose of a figure of Christ. They found a large quantity of wine, delivered themselves up to it, and became veritable wine-sacks. They say that if 20 soldiers had been there at the time, they might have played grand havoc with the enemy. The Hollanders finally set fire to the place and withdrew to their ships. Only one remained on shore to sleep off his intoxication. When he awakened and saw that the ships had already set sail, he cast himself into the water—of which he had need, in order to water the great quantity of wine he had cast into his stomach. He saw that the ships were far away, and in order not to drown he was forced to return to land. Here the Indians caught him and took him to Manila. The Dutch ships put to sea and never again appeared.

...

It may be considered as certain that the enemy lost a large vessel with people and cargo in a severe storm. The foundation for this opinion is the fact that some days ago a mass of wreckage, such as main top-sails, rigging, masts, etc., was found in the place where the Hollanders had been.

A ship came from China and reported that one day, after having left that country, it encountered four ships which pursued it; and that early in the evening one of them was gaining on it. The Chinese captain, who knew of some shoals nearby, steered toward them, in order to go around them. The Hollanders, thinking that the captain was trying to escape to leeward, also steered in that direction, and at nightfall ran aground on the shoals. The Chinese heard many guns fired; but, without seeing or knowing more, came to the Philippines and gave the news.

Dated at Manila, 12 July 1619.

1 Ed. not: Their names are not given, but either the third or fourth galleon was the ex-Japanese ship **Date Maru**.

Document 1619D

Letter from Governor Fajardo to the King, dated Manila 10 August 1619

Sources: AGI 67-6-7; translated in B&R 18: 247-279.

Letter from Governor Alonso Fajardo de Tenza to Philip III

Sire:

In the vessels that I despatched from this bay to New Spain last year on 10 August, I informed your Majesty of my voyage and arrival, and of the condition in which I found this country. By way of Portuguese India I did the same thing in December of the said year, adding then what was new.

What news I can now give is that, thanks be to God, the said ships reached here on the return voyage on the 3rd of this month, after a long trip of 3-1/2 months—and on the outward voyage, the smaller ship spent less than 4 months, and the larger 7 days more. They have been among the most fortunate ships seen here. Glory be to His Divine Majesty for everything.

Those ships have brought two companies with 124 volunteer soldiers together with 34 sentenced by justice to serve in these districts, 32 convicts for the galleys, 378,586 pesos of 8 reals, in reals and in bars of silver, also arms, military stores, and other necessary supplies for the use of these strongholds and warehouses. Although the troops and money do not equal what was asked from here—nor what is extremely necessary, because of the very stringent need here of both men and money—according to what I have heard of the difficulty in collecting this aid, and the labor that it cost the viceroy of those provinces to expedite and send it, he is greatly to be praised for it. I am under obligations to him; but I find myself also obliged to entreat your Majesty to have him urged in vigorous terms, saying that you consider yourself served thereby, and to order him to continue it, doing the utmost possible in the reinforcements asked from here. He should also be asked to furnish those reinforcements in the same manner, in those years when ships do not reach Acapulco from these islands because of having to put back

into port in distress, or from any other forced cause that prevents their voyage; for it is certain that even if no ship arrive there, the despatch [from Acapulco] should not be discontinued, because of its vast importance for the welfare of this community, and in order to bring provisions and reinforcements, as is usual and necessary.

...

[The coming of the Dutch-English fleet in 1618]

They had only five ships with high freeboard, to which were added two others, also large ones, a part of four vessels that we heard were to come from Japan—according to what was learned from that kingdom through the Fathers of the Society, and by way of Ternate, and from some prisoners captured along this coast, not far from here.

...

The workmen on two ships, the construction of which had been ordered, had to be urged to greater haste and all that was necessary supplied, so that either one or both of them could be finished in time to serve on the occasion then presented; and a ship of moderate size, which was the only one found in this bay when I entered it, had to be repaired. The latter was so old that it was necessary almost to rebuild it.¹ Also I did the same with a small patache and the galleon in which I came, [i.e. the **Espiritu Santo**] and the Japanese vessel [i.e. **Date Maru**] which also came with me from New Spain. It needed not a little repair, and gave me a great deal of trouble with its owners, so that they should lend it. But finally they lent it, and now I have had it bought at a very cheap price. With it, and one of the new ones which were finished in time (which is the one now about to sail to New Spain),² and those above-mentioned, and another new patache which I had finished from the bottom up—altogether they comprised 2 large vessels, 2 moderately-sized vessels, 2 pataches, and 4 galleys. They were repaired, and manned in great part with borrowed slaves and Dutch prisoners (for the Dutch inflict upon the Spaniards the worst of treatment).

[He recounts how the Dutch fleet came into Manila Bay for the last of 8 times, then went off for another year.]

I also sent an order and money to Macao to buy a ship of more than medium size, which was there and belonged to the commandant of that city. According to the letters in which I have been answered, the ship can arrive here soon. With it, those that I have here, the other new one (which is now finished), and a *horca* sent me by the Viceroy of India, I shall have 7 ships, including large- and medium-size ones, besides the large one and one patache which are about to sail to New Spain, which can direct a good artillery fire.

...

I also sent money [to India, in December 1618] and an order that, if any good or suitable ship be found, it be bought; or that they should contract to have one or two built wherever most convenient—or in Cochin, because the wood is harder than that of this

1 Ed. note: This was perhaps the old **San Juan Bautista**.

2 Ed. note: This new galleon was named **San Nicolás**.

island... Captain Gregorio de Vidaña ... returned with the said *horca* which the Viceroy gave him.

...
 The sending by your Majesty of the fleet that you have offered to these islands becomes unavoidable.¹ You should see that the infantry contingent be in excess of 2,000 men; that the contingent of sailors and artillerymen reach 900—embarking them in such vessels as can come with comfort. It should be noted that ships for these regions and for the journey from Spain must not be less than 500 tons, nor much greater than 600. Vessels of this capacity, if new and strong, will be of very great service both for war and for trade and commerce with New Spain; and each one will be assigned to the use most fitting to it, in accordance with its build. And if they carry efficient troops and artillery, a quantity of anchors and cables, capable commanders and sailors, and an order that the money for their sustenance be provided, they will be very welcome, whatever may be their fashion and build, as the restoration of this country will be certain. This is the only remedy hoped for.

...
 I have been unable to make any investigation in the [1617] loss of the six galleons that had occurred when I reached this country, of which I immediately informed your Majesty. For, as Don Gerónimo de Silva would have to be blamed for it, as the one who was Captain General on sea and land, and in the event of his acquittal, the blame must fall upon another, or he would remain guilty; and inasmuch as he is protected by the judge conservator with bulls from his Order (that of St. John), to which likewise is joined the assertion that an order from your Majesty is necessary to make that investigation: for that reason, I have been unable to investigate fully and specifically, but I shall fulfil whatever your Majesty shall command, on the arrival of those orders. If now I should try to make any investigation I could not do so, as I have heard so much different talk about it. In my opinion such and greater disasters may happen, without any blame resting on those who give the orders, or on those who execute them. Many such disasters have been seen to occur, thus in the sea, when it is excited by any violent storm—and more, since it is among islands, where there is no place for the ships to run free.²

[He mentions the names of the two new auditors who arrived in 1618: Licentiate Gerónimo de Legaspi y Echevarria, and Doctor Alvaro de Mesa y Lugo, and the one who arrived in 1619: Antonio Rodriguez de Villegas. The fiscal was then Licentiate Juan de Alvarado Bracamonte, a man of “rectitude and integrity, the qualities most to be esteemed in the ministers of the Indies.”]

...

1 Ed. note: After many delays, this fleet was finally despatched in December 1619. A storm forced it back into Cadiz. The whole squadron went out again and was driven upon the Spanish coast on 3 January 1620.

2 Ed. note: Finally, the good governor has come to his senses.

[Japanese affairs]

It has been the custom to send presents and gifts at your Majesty's cost from this place to the king of Japan and to certain private persons, great vassals and lords of the ports of that kingdom, every year when a ship was sent to that country for the necessary commerce, and the provisions which it sends to this country—inasmuch as it is the fashion not to deliver an embassy or message without taking a present. For some few years back we have neglected to send any. Some religious persons, zealous for the service of God our Lord, and for the conversion of that nation and the salvation of its souls, and likewise for the welfare of these islands, desiring to have them as our best friends in all this archipelago, have considered the decrease of the commerce, and attributed it to a disrespect for their friendship; and that consequently they were bound by treaty to prefer now that of the Dutch—whom they loved not a little, because they gave and continue to give them rich presents from what they plunder, since these do not cost them much.

Having considered this matter and that there are certain conveniences in having friendly relations with that country, which has and gives to this country many necessary and useful things, and where our ships which ply between here and New Spain are liable to turn back in distress on both the outgoing and return voyages when obliged by contrary weather as has been already seen and experienced—and on such occasions it has been important not to have them as enemies, for then the Japanese have given the crews of our ships a good supply of necessities, and have shown them a positive proof of good treatment in not seizing the so great profits and wealth carried on the said ships; likewise having considered the friendship that they have established with the Dutch, and the persecution there inflicted on Christians and their ministers, the Spanish priests who preach the holy gospel: I have esteemed it advisable to give a report of the matter to your Majesty, so that you may have it examined and considered, together with the written reports of certain religious, experienced in those regions, as well as that of the fiscal of the Audiencia, who also, I am told, discusses it. Will you order the procedure most advisable for your royal service.¹

...

I shall close at this point, acknowledging the receipt of only one letter that has come to me from your Majesty in these vessels that have just arrived. It is dated El Pardo, 20 November 1617. Consequently, with what I have written, I have nothing more to reply to it than that I shall do all in my power, as I ought and as I am obliged to do in fulfilment of its commands, and in all that concerns your Majesty's service.

May God preserve the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty, as is needed by Christendom.

Manila, 10 August 1619.

Don Alonso Faxardo de Tença.

1 Ed. note: Unfortunately, he fails to mention the fate of the Japanese ambassador who crossed the Pacific at the same time as he did.

Document 1620A

Letter from the King to Governor Fajardo, dated Madrid 13 December 1620

Sources: AHN Cedulaario Indico, tome 38, folio 101, n° 80; translated in B&R 19: 173-182.

Letter from the King in answer to the Governor's letter of 1619

The King: To Don Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my royal Audiencia residing there.

The letter which you wrote me on the 10 August of the past year has been received and examined in my royal Council of the Indies; and the resolutions adopted in regard to the matters discussed therein will be explained to you in this.

...

Your inform us that the king of Japan and several private persons—great vassals, and lords of ports of that kingdom—have usually had presents and valuable articles sent to them from your city at my expense, every year when a ship went to that country; and for several years this has not been done, and various religious persons have considered the matter, and say that those Japanese have observed this, and attributed it as a lack of esteem for their friendship; and this has aroused them to resentment, and to prefer the friendship of the Dutch, on account of the many presents which they give to the Japanese from the spoils they have taken. You say that since there are some advantages in retaining friendly intercourse with that country, and for other reasons, you give me an account of this that I may order what is most fitting for my service. This consists in the measures suggested by your own prudence, with the information that you have of the present state of affairs, and the ordinary relations with Japan; and to whom, how, when, and in what quantity it is best to make these gifts, in such manner that they shall only serve to win back their friendship, and not appear a regular and settled thing, in the manner of an acknowledgment [i.e. tribute]—for that, in the course of time, might be troublesome in other matters. Accordingly, examining into this in conformity with

your obligation for the benefit of my royal estate, you will do in this matter what, considering the time and occasion, you shall judge suitable for the interests of our religion, which is introduced into Japan, and for peaceful intercourse and friendship, and the greatest benefit to the trade and commerce of those islands.

...

There are none of your letters [of 1619] which have not been answered, and the same may be said of those from the Audiencia, the officials of my royal estate, and other officers.

Madrid, 13 December 1620.

I the King.

By command of the King, our Lord: Pedro de Ledesma.

Document 1620B

Jesuit annual report for 1619-1620

Sources: RAH Jesuit Tome 112 (new n° 9/3685), n° 153; translated in B&R 19: 42-70.

Relation of events from July 1619 to July 1620

In the same style and order in which I last year reported the various events in the Philippine Islands, and in neighboring kingdoms and provinces upon which the welfare of the Philippines depends, I will now write what has happened this year. There have not been so many and various warlike occurrences as in former years, for it has been somewhat more peaceuf here. I will relate briefly what has happened as occasion may require.

Of the Kingdom of Japan.

I will begin my account of the affairs of this kingdom with the cruel and bloody persecution against Christianity which is now at such a height, and in which they put so many to death for the faith that, to me, it seems a picture of what happened in the primitive church during the early persecutions by the [Roman] emperors. What I have said may be realized from part of a letter dated in Nangasaqui 14 October 1619, from Father Mateo de Curos, provincial of Japan, to Father Valerio de Ledesma, provincial of these islands.¹

...

Although so many in Japan have thus become blessed martyrs, two persons bent the knee to Baal and miserably recanted for fear of torture. A Japanese religious who was in Rome and Spain, and who is now an apostate, did the same thing. He often says that when he was in Madrid he knew that certain religious were persuading the king to conquer Japan, but that our Fathers dissuaded him from this. He adds that, although it is a fact that religion is our primary motive for entering Japan, yet it is our intention through religion to prepare matters for conquering the country. With this and other

¹ Ed. note: The news is also taken from another letter from the same Father Curos, dated 10 November. They provide a proof that the Japanese embassy had returned to Japan in 1619.

lies this apostate has done great harm to Christianity. The governors and principal men of Japan are so thoroughly convinced of our evil intentions that they say that one of the principal reasons for keeping the Dutch in Japan is for their own greater security and to annoy us. They even have begun to discuss the possibility of conquering the Philippines, in order not to have the Spaniards so near. On the other hand, it is said that in Japan they are thinking of driving out all Europeans from that kingdom—Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese and English. If this is done it will not be possible for any of our Fathers to remain there. At present they escape notice among other Europeans by wearing European dress—I mean that of Spaniards and Portuguese; but if the Europeans are driven from Japan this will no longer be possible.

Passing from spiritual affairs to those temporal affairs of Japan that concern these islands, let me say that on 12 July 1619, there arrived at Firando, a port of Japan designated for the trade of the Dutch, four of their ships, which, as I informed you last year, have been off the coast of Manila. When our fleet prepared to sally out, the Dutch ships withdrew in good order, carrying with them a great many sick, besides the large number who had died from disease and from an infection which they say was given them in Vigan, a village on the coast of Manila. Since this is not known here, it must be their own imagination. Many of their people were drowned, also. In one ship which sank suddenly many people were drowned, among them a large number of Japanese, who were brought from Japan in the service of the Hollanders. These ships plundered nothing but three Chinese vessels of little value, which were coming to this city.

[The Dutch capture the San Buenaventura]

This year Don Luis de Bracamonte was sent from this city of Manila as governor of the military posts in the Moluccas. He took with him two galleys and 4 or 5 pataches, loaded with a great quantity of supplies and more than 200 infantry-men. When the galleys and the pataches had entered our fortress of Ternate, one of them, called the **San Buenaventura**, remained behind as rearguard. A Dutch ship well supplied with artillery attacked it, and in sight of our own fortress overpowered it. Our galleys then sailed out and attacked the Dutch ship; but the wind arose, and thus the enemy had an opportunity to take shelter under their fortress at Malayo. This victory was felt by us, because the enemy took from the patache a quantity of money, 3,000 fanegas of rice, and other provisions and munitions belonging to his Majesty. The worst of all is that they took over 100 men—Spaniards and Indians—and the capture cost them nothing. May God remedy this by giving us some great victory by means of which the loss may be repaired.

Of these Philippine Islands.

...
This year there was completed in these islands one of the strongest and most remarkable galleons ever built here. It was at once equipped, along with another very large galleon, two [smaller] ones, and a patache. In March 1620, this fleet set out for the port

where they are accustomed to go to watch for the Chinese ships that bring merchandise to this city. They went to protect the Chinese; for, although it was not known that there were Hollanders there, it was thought best to take timely precaution, lest they come to commit robberies, as they have done in previous years. The galleon which went as *almiranta* sprang such a leak that it was forced to return to port, but when it had arrived there the rest of the fleet continued their journey. They were in this place [where they meet the Chinese] until the beginning of May, when they returned to Cavite. Don Luis Fajardo, brother of the governor, went as general of the fleet, and, as he was very young,¹ other captains, brave and experienced in war, were assigned to him as companions and counselors.

The number of ships which have come this year to these islands from all parts of the world with rich merchandise has been great. Some four or five have come from Japan, although some of them were lost on the coast of Manila with all their large cargoes. Some of the Japanese in them were drowned, but others escaped to land. From Macao ten Portuguese ships have come with much valuable merchandise.

Last year the Governor of the Philippines sent to Macao to buy a very handsome galleon which was there. Those who went for the purpose bought it, loaded it with merchandise, and left Macao for the Philippines on 2 July 1619. They encountered such violent storms that at the end of two months, after having been in great danger of shipwreck, they returned to Macao without masts, and with a large part of their merchandise so wet and rotted that it was worthless—damages frequently sustained under such circumstances. They once more equipped themselves, and this year left Macao in the month of May. They had a very difficult voyage, but at the end of more than 20 days they succeeded in making port in Cavite, on 7 June, the first day of Pentecost. The galleon is a very fine one, and it will be very useful when occasion arises. It brought much very rich and valuable merchandise.

From Great China also have come many ships with silks and other merchandise. All these goods have been necessary, and indeed they have not even sufficed to supply the lack of merchandise which, because of the wars of the past years, has been very extreme in this city of Manila. There have been, moreover, some losses. If the wars with the rebellious Dutch should entirely cease, the wealth and grandeur of these islands would be remarkable. Indeed, in spite of these wars and the losses that have been sustained, Manila is a very grand city; and there are few cities in Europe that surpass it in trade and traffic, for almost the whole world comes to these islands.

Since writing this, I have learned that a large junk (a certain kind of ship) set out from Japan with a large quantity of provisions and munitions of war, and with 500 infantry, whom the Hollanders were bringing to supply and reinforce their strongholds in the Moluccas. But God was pleased that they should run aground on the coast of Japan, where everything was lost, and nearly all the people were drowned. A galleon likewise set out from Japan with a Dutch patache to come to these coasts, to steal

1 Ed. note: He was only 15 years old, as the Audiencia remarked in a complaint to the King in 1620.

whatever they could, as they have done in years past. But God frustrated their attempts by running the galleon aground on Hermosa [i.e. Taiwan] Island, which is between Japan and this country. It is said that all those on board were drowned. Although this is not known surely, it is a fact that many were lost.

May God confound their arrogance, in order that this land may raise its head; and that the faith of Christ may be spread throughout many provinces and kingdoms into which the holy Gospel would enter were it not hindered by these heretics, who have hitherto been such a stumbling-block and so great an obstacle in these parts.

It has occurred to me to write this to your Reverences as a consolation to many people who wish to know about affairs here. May God keep all your Reverences, to whose holy sacrifices and prayers I earnestly commend myself.

Manila, 14 June 1620.

Document 1620C

Letter from Governor Fajardo to the King, dated Manila 15 August 1620

Sources: AGI 67-6-7; translated in B&R 19: 90-172.

Letter from Governor Fajardo to Philip III

Sire:

1st. **[The returning ships of 1620]** While anxious, as may be understood, over the delay of the ships from New Spain, and the anticipated rise of the *vendavals* with the so great fury with which they began this year; and fearing on that account some disaster, or their making port in distress in Japan, where also there is cause for fear; and while considering the hardship that might result to this country from any one of those things: we had news that three ships of the Dutch rebels were awaiting our ships between the channel of San Bernardino and the Cape of Espiritu Santo, where the latter had to come... I had the galleys and light craft manned, so that they might go out immediately with what advices and orders seemed advisable. While preparing the ships, which were almost ready to go out, for whatever might arise, and in the midst of that anxiety, God was pleased to do us the favor of freeing us from it by the news that I received of our ships.

That news, thanks to His Divine Majesty, was most favorable, when one considers what might have come. The news was that the **flagship**—a large galleon, and, as its actions showed, not a very good sailer—happened to encounter, without its consort (which was a patache), the three Dutch ships. These approached the galleon, and ordered it to strike its sails for Mauritius [of Nassau]. Captain and Sergeant Major Don Fernando de Ayala, warder of the port at the point of Cavite (whom I had sent out in order that he might return as commander of the said ships because the person who went as commander from here was to remain in New Spain, namely, Don Luis Fernandez de Cordova, a relative of the viceroy of that province) answered them, as a valiant gentleman and soldier, with his artillery and firearms. He continued fighting and defending himself all that day and part of the night, until under cover of its darkness and a heavy fog that settled down, pursuing their voyage, the Spaniards left the enemy with

the intention of running upon the coast of an island of the strait, called Ibabao. Our Lord guided them to a port, where a ship was never known to have entered. There they anchored, and fearing that the wind with which they entered might shift to that which generally prevails in that season and with greater fury, they determined to run the said ship into the mud, and to cut away the mainmast, in order to render them less liable to drag, and to leave the port again and encounter the enemy. Accordingly, all possible haste was displayed in disembarking the men, and the silver and reals of your Majesty and of private persons, and the most valuable goods; but scarcely was that done when the storm, coming down upon the ship, drove it upon some rocks. There it foundered and sank, although in a place so shallow that but little of the ship's cargo was lost. For they continued to take out and use many things, except the articles of luxury. Although no use could be made of the ship's hull, as it was entirely ruined, the resultant loss is almost nothing, and inconsiderable when one thinks what it might have been, and what this event has gained in advantage and reputation for these islands, and for your Majesty's arms herein. For, although your Majesty, thanks to God, has had excellent successes in the islands, still it has all been by superiority of ships and men; and there is nothing, according to common opinion, so fortunate as this event, considering what the enemy will have lost in all the aforesaid respects among all the nations with whom they have relations—specially with that of the Japanese, who place their honor and ground for self-praise in war. It would appear that they will not be well esteemed there, nor even pleasantly received by their creditors—with whom, as we understand here, they were indebted for about 300,000 ducats for their preparations and the relief of their forts, having assigned to the creditors their pay from a good prize that they were to make, which must have been this galleon.

Then, in order that everything might turn out well, our Lord guided the **patache**—which was coming as *almiranta*—without its meeting an enemy. However, from the severity of the weather, the same thing happened to them as to the flagship; but they lost no cargo, for that vessel was so small that I bought it for not more than 1,000 pesos.

Although some thing that those ships did not have a more satisfactory voyage because they left Acapulco on 4 April, in my opinion that could not have been avoided; for they reached that port late because their voyage thither was long and troublesome. Notwithstanding that they had been despatched they would have found, when they arrived, *vendavals* already in these islands, as these commenced so early, as I have said. Although the viceroy wrote requesting greater haste in those despatches, yet because they are sent late from there, they also arrive late here, even if no such events happen as the above. It is almost impossible for the ships to leave here early, if the arrival of those from New Spain is delayed, unless no opportunity be given the inhabitants to receive their share of money and letters, which is a thing that they would feel keenly.

2d. I am also writing to the viceroy not to waste time and money in making unnecessary repairs on the ships, and those for which their captains and commanders do not ask; for that is of use only for those who have slaves who act as caulkers and as other

kinds of mechanics, in which they sometimes gain more in such works than they are worth.

In the same way [I have requested] that he shall not furnish rigging and other supplies unless they are requested; for I am sending the vessels from here already provided, for both outgoing and returning, with everything (even the candles), in the endeavor to avoid the expense caused to your Majesty in the past with such outlays as have been made, and with the things brought here. This can be very well avoided, because there have been certain articles that can be obtained here for one-tenth as much as they cost in New Spain, both rigging and other things that are not needed; while ammunition and arms are so extremely necessary. Of these, on the occasion that I have mentioned, there was known to be a very great lack.

...

3d. And inasmuch as I am not confident that the viceroy will be willing to admit that the appointments of offices and officials of these ships from these islands do not concern him, when those who are appointed complete the exercise of their duties on their arrival at New Spain—as, for instance, Don Francisco [Bravo] de la Serna, who is going this year as commander; and Don Luis Fernandez de Cordova, who was commander last year, as they commenced to exercise those offices from the time of their departure from those provinces and are returning in those functions through courtesy, and for just considerations—the viceroy undertakes to appoint men to those places, refusing to understand as he ought what your Majesty has ruled and ordered in this matter. On the contrary, in order to establish himself in this pretension, he has suppressed the appointments that I sent last year. Indeed, although he deprived Don Fernando de Ayala of his appointment, he did not make another appointment, but said that he was satisfied for that time with that act of jurisdiction.

...

According to the news received here of what has come in the said ships, the aid in silver [bars] and reals that has come on your Majesty's account amounts to 352,000 pesos; while the supplies that I asked both this year and last come to less than one-third of the amount that was generally brought in several former years—for I am very careful not to exceed what is actually necessary and unavoidable, in order to save the so excessive expenses which were generally incurred in this; since other expenses are not wanting that render that saving very necessary.

The infantry does not amount to 200 men, in three companies. If these men were that number, and Spaniards, it would not be so bad; but, although I have not seen them because they have not yet arrived here, I am told that they are, as at other times, for the most part boys, mestizos, and mulattoes, with some [Mexican] Indians. There is no little cause for regret in the great sums that reinforcements of such men waste for, and cost, your Majesty. I cannot see what betterment there will be until your Majesty shall provide it, since I do not think that more can be done in New Spain, although the viceroy must be endeavoring to do so, as he is ordered.

4th. I wrote to the viceroy last year that if, in any year in the future—through any misfortune, or for any other cause or obstacle that might prevent it—no ships from this country should reach those provinces, he should try to send what aid he could, as is usually requested, specially that of money; so that in case of such a lack, the need should not increase, or the danger caused when ships of this commerce do not sail. According to his reply, it seems that the viceroy does not dare assure it, because he doubts whether he can find ships in the ports of that country for that purpose.

[The Governor goes on to suggest that the Manila ships should visit Panama, instead of Acapulco. However, in a marginal note, the Council rejected this idea.]

...

10th. I have had no other advices of anything new, or of matters of greater importance, in those forts [of the Moluccas] than the above-mentioned entrance of the reinforcements. From the people sent overthere, and from those who wrote me from Japan, I have learned that the reinforcement was very timely; for the Dutch had crews of Japanese, whom they hired with the intention, as was understood, of attempting with them some deed of arms in that place, or something else that would have meant evil to our forces and fortifications.

I was also advised from Japan that a squadron of Dutch ships was to sail thence to run along these coasts, in order to hinder the commerce of the Chinese ships, awaiting and robbing them on their way. In order to obviate this mischief, I prepared two strong ships, one patache, and two galleys, with which to make the said coast safe. I gave warning to China; and thus, in consequence, many ships and merchants of China, thanks to God, have arrived in safety. That squadron is in charge of Admiral Juan Baptista de Molina, a man who has served many years, and who has served here with special courage and good fortune. And since every one in this country considers that he is the one who deserves most, and in order to avoid the punctilios of those who hesitated in embarking and in taking charge of those vessels—desiring perhaps, under pretext of this to remain ashore—I gave out that the squadron was to be in charge of Don Luis Fajardo, my brother. Thereupon all followed him, and he obeyed the orders of the said admiral, Juan Baptista de Molina, like the meanest soldiers of those who embarked with him. The enemy must have heard of it, or they must have had more important business to look after, for they did not approach these coasts. On the contrary, it has been learned that they lost one of their large vessels¹ (the best that had ever sailed), at the head of the island of Hermosa; and that, for the last two years, they have obtained

1 Ed. note: The Governor's report about the Dutch fleet of 1620 is not accurate. Richard Cocks in his diary says that a combined Dutch and English fleet left Hirado on 3 January 1620. Only one English ship, the **Unicorn**, was cast away on the China coast, but that had nothing to do with the fleet of 9 ships, which returned from Manila on 29 June. They had captured 5 Chinese junks in all. The names of most of those ships are given as: the Bantam, Moon, Bull, Palsgrave, Elizabeth, Hoop, Swan, and Trouw [i.e. Glad Tidings, or Fidelity]. This last ship was shipwrecked at the Sangi Islands (north of Celebes) in 1625.

nothing from this coast beyond the destruction of what had been made for equipment of our vessels, and the loss of the ships that have been wrecked.

...
11th. That ship that I bought at Macao has come, with some freight charges and duties on goods that it carried. That goes a good way toward aiding the cost of its purchase and the expense [of maintaining it]. The price was 11,000 pesos, with sails, rigging, seven anchors, and four good cables. I am satisfied with it; and it appears at least to be made of better of better woods than those here. It was made in India, and its burden is more than 600 tons of the Northern Sea.¹ Contract and agreement have been made to build another ship in Satsuma, a province of Japan near here. I am assured that it can be built there very well, and it will be strong and of good timber, and very well-proportioned and suitable as is needed for this line and trade with New Spain.²

...
43d. A ship just now in from Malacca brings as news that the Dutch and English were already allied; but when the relief that we are awaiting arrives, I hope, with Divine favor, for better results.

May our Lord give them to us, as He is able; and may He preserve the royal Catholic person of your Majesty, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 15 August 1620.

[P.S.] While about to send these despatches, so that they might cross over to Mindoro—where the ships generally stop in order to lighten and get sailors for their voyage—I am told that the ships had not even been able to double the island of Fortún, because of the violent headwinds...

I trust, God helping, that the weather will moderate, for the sake of all.

Don Alonso Fajardo de Tença.

1 Ed. note: That is, of the Atlantic, which was equivalent to about 400 tons in the Pacific. This ship was perhaps the **San Andrés**, the ship that made the 1620 voyage.

2 Ed. note: The intent was perhaps to contact Will Adams and have him build another ship, but, unknown to the Governor, Adams had died 3 months before. Nothing more is heard about this plan to build a ship in Japan.

Document 1620D

Eyewitness account of the 1620 voyage by Fr. Alonso Roman, S.J.

Sources: RAH Jesuit Tome 112 (new number 9/3685), last document; transcribed by Ventura del Arco, Ayer ms. 1300, vol. I, pp. 487-496 in Chicago's Newberry Library.

Relation of what happened to two ships that left New Spain for the Philippines this year of 1620

...

[Folio 271v]

On 4 April, the two ships left Acapulco, a port of New Spain, and after 15 days of navigation they found that they had sailed very little, because the *almiranta* was slow and heavy, and the flagship had to wait for it. Therefore, the flagship, fearing that the [contrary] winds might come before getting to the Philippines, it was decided to run and to let the *almiranta* come alone. [Nothing more has been heard from it since; either it has gone back to Acapulco or it has arrived in distress in Japan, but it has not arrived here, and there is no news about it.]¹ Hence, the former pursued its voyage.

On Thursday of the octave of Corpus Christi, 25 June, our flagship came into sight of the Philippines and, at daybreak, sighted the three Dutch ships that were waiting for it. Our ship, thinking that it was a Philippine fleet, went toward them [because General Fernando de Ayala had been told here that they would be waiting for him with our fleet when he returned, in the neighborhood where he met with the enemy].²

At 9 a.m., they were so close that it could talk to the enemy, which said very clearly in Spanish: “Que esperas, hombre? Quieres que te eche a fondo? Amayna por Mauricio. Date a buena guerra.” [What are you waiting for, man? Do you want me to send you to the bottom? Lower your sails in the name of Mauritius. Give yourself up as a fair prize.]

1 Ed. note: It is mentioned again in the postscript. This last sentence appears only in the Ventura del Arco copy, and has been suppressed in the Seville copy.

2 Ed. note: Again, this sentence appears only in the Ventura del Arco copy.

Our people, who had suddenly recognized that they were enemies, answered with a 20-pounder loaded with a ball. Everyone got ready for war with the intention to fight until death, rather than give up the ship. There was no lack of people to advise the General to jettison the silver, but, as the very valiant and great captain that he really is, to whom after God is due this good outcome, he did not wish to do so. Rather, he wished to continue fighting, and he said that this would be the greater damage he could do to the enemy. The problem was that our ship carried only 6 cannon, even though [fol. 272]

they were good ones brought from here [i.e. Manila], but two of the enemy ships had 30 guns each and the small one 14.

The soldiers, although they carried arquebuses and muskets, had only 16 powder horns between them; the powder was so little that there was only for about 60 shots from the guns. What inspired them enough was that our ship was so strong that their shots did not go through and our people were piercing their galleons, as if they were paper. The Dutch flagship and *almiranta* got our ship in between them, and the other was behind. They were shooting at it all day with the large battery of guns they were carrying. Ours kept defending itself, moving ever closer to the coast as best it could, whenever the weather closed in. The night arrived, but the battle did not cease. Rather, the Dutch *almiranta*, which was a pretty galleon, very light and well equipped with guns, was always next to our ship, pounding it. Ours was defending itself and, at about 3 a.m., ours gave it such a good shot that it made it retreat, not to say flee. It went off and, with voice horns, spoke with its flagship.

At daybreak, the General decided to run the ship aground, and to save the silver and the people as best as possible, because if the enemy assaulted him at sea one more day, it could be feared that he would unrig the ship and [make it] give up by force of guns (it was never the intention of the enemy to grapple). In fact, our ship was making for the land and it was placing itself in unknown waters when, little by little, it was realized that it had entered a very narrow strait between two islets and found a port. Once there, it put out the anchors. Then came a furious wind which meanwhile must have blown off the enemy to parts unknown, because it was never seen again and it is thought that it was very well broken up.

At noon of this day, which was Friday 26 June, there came a furious storm which, if it made the enemy sick to their stomachs, still it did not do any good to our ship that was in port either, because it caused all the mooring cables to break, leaving it with only one anchor and it forced [us] to cut down the masts. Some Indians came from ashore and they pulled the ship further in between two rocks to a place where it is very muddy, and there the ship stayed.

Later on there arrived two Fathers of our Society from among the four who reside [fol. 272v]

at the nearest town called Borongan (the whole of that island [of Samar] and other ones in its vicinity are assigned to the Society). It was then planned to take the silver ashore. This was done, and it was placed inside our house under guards. They

despatched to Manila one of the Fathers in our band to give advice of the happy outcome. He arrived with the news at this city on 19 July. There was great joy and rejoicing, the more so that the suffering had been acute, and the risk that everyone had been in.

Benedictus Deo, que dedit nobis victoriam per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.
[Thanks be to God, who has given us victory through Jesus Christ our Lord.]
Manila, 22 July 1620.¹

[P.S.] After this paper had been written, on 22 July, news arrived that our *almiranta* had met with a stiff wind on the same coast, next to the residence of the Society, called Palapag. It was in danger of being pushed onto some reefs, where the people and what was aboard would have perished, but finally it ran partially aground and what was aboard was saved. It sighted the Dutch enemy that was coming from the battle with our flagship; it was sailing toward Japan, but it appears that the enemy did not see our *almiranta*. It seems miraculous how these two ships have escaped.

[P.S.S.] Pass on this relation to friends, and give my regards to Father Pangua.
[Signed:] Alonso Roman, S.J.

1 Ed. note: From the date, it can be inferred that he, the writer, had been despatched to Manila ahead of his companions.

Document 1621A

Jesuit annual report for 1620-1621

Sources: RAH Jesuit Tome 87, N° 48 (as reported in B&R 20: 306) but Tome 84, N° 10 (as reported in B&R 53: 287); translated in B&R 20: 25-39.

Notes: The 1620-21 events have also been transcribed by Navarrete, in his Col. doc. (1973), Vol. 6, fol. 51 et sequitur. Also in the Library of the Royal Palace at Madrid, there is a relation by him dated Manila, January 1621 (B&R 53: 286); however, since the document itself is undated, the above date must have been taken from the first line of the report.

News from the Philippines for this year, 1621, by Fr. Alonso Roman, S.J., dated July(?) 1621

By letters which we have received from Japan this January 1621, we heard how bitterly the persecution of God's religion is carried on in Boxu [i.e. Oshu], the country of Masamune, who has been accustomed to send embassies to Spain in past years. The spread of the holy Gospel and uninterrupted preaching went on until the return of the ambassador [i.e. Hasekura]. Hitherto Masamune had dissimulated for reasons of state, hoping that he would be allowed to send one ship from his kingdoms to New Spain, where he had large interests. Seeing that this would not be conceded, he commenced to persecute Christians openly and secretly.

On 20 September 1620, he ordered prohibitions and edicts to be issued in various places, in which it was ordered that no-one should receive the religion of God; and that all those who had adopted it should abandon it, under penalty of being deprived of the property and incomes which the chiefs of equal rank hold from the *tono*, while in the case of the common people, the plebeians, they should be put to death. He also commanded that any person having any knowledge of any Christian should denounce him; and that all preachers of the holy Gospel should leave his kingdom and state. In case that they would not abandon the religion which they preached, the officials of Masamune commenced to execute their orders. Many were therefore banished and dispossessed of their property, others abandoned their faith, and to six fell the best lot of all in giving up their lives, being beheaded for this reason.

In the city of Nangasaqui, as all its people are Christians, the persecution is directed not so much against the Christians, for that would utterly destroy the place, as against those who conceal the religious who are under penalty of death.

...

On 26 July [1620], there arrived at the port of Firando two Dutch [ships] with some of their men wounded and their masts pierced by shots; they had fought in the Philippines with the ships that had come from New Spain, and had sunk [sic] one of them. The truth of the affair was afterward found out...

...

In the beginning of February of this year, 1621, 9 hostile ships arrived in the bay of Manila, 5 Dutch and 4 English,¹ who seized the passage by which enter the ships of all these islands from Japan, China, Macao, Moluccas, and India. The commander of this fleet was an Englishman, according to the agreement between them.

...

[Camouflaged ship pass undetected]

At this same time the king's ship arrived which had carried to Macao artillery for the defence of that city, and it brought back a cargo of silks. Being informed that the enemy was lying off the entrance to the port of Manila, they rowed over to an island near here, and collected a quantity of green boughs and trees, putting bunches of palm-leaves on the tops of the trees, so that they seemed to be coconut palms, of which there is a great abundance on that island. The stratagem worked, because the ships went about from one tack to the other without being seen by the Dutch. In the same way, another Portuguese galliot, also from Macao, escaped, although it cut down its masts. The Dutch, having seen that they were likely to get little booty on this coast, made sail for that of Macao, to lie in wait, as we understood, for ships from India.

[The outgoing ships of 1620]

Last year two ships sailed from these islands for New Spain. The *almiranta*, while sailing out of a strait where these islands come to an end, encountered [in the North Pacific] 7 hurricanes, so furious that it seemed as if the sea would swallow it up; and those who were aboard gave themselves up a thousand times for lost. They tried to make port in Japan, but it was impossible; and they finally arrived at Manila, rounding Cape of Bojeador.² The men arrived in very bad condition, and many of them blinded with the salt water which had dashed into their eyes. Three days before these tempests commenced they sighted the flagship, but they never saw her again.³ We do not know what became of her, whether she was lost or arrived safely in New Spain.

1 Ed. note: Richard Cocks in his diary mentioned the fleet that went for a second voyage to Manila on 23 November 1621 was composed of the following 8 ships: 4 Dutch (Bantam, Trouw, Harlem, Hoop) and 4 English (Moon, Palsgrave, Elizabeth, Bull).

2 Ed. note: That is, after they had gone around Luzon Island counter-clockwise.

3 Ed. note: I think that her name was the **San Andrés**, a ship built in India and recently bought from Macao. She made it to Acapulco.

[The tragic love affair of the Governor's wife]

At 9 o'clock in the evening of the 11th of May, there was an occurrence in this city as pitiable as it was unfortunate, the cause of it being a man who had been expelled from our Society. After having been a member of it for 7 years, he left the Society, and was married 3 times, although he was not yet 30 years old. Our Lord often brought him back, warned by bitter experience of troubles and remorse of conscience; so that for a long time he did not dare to go to sleep without first confessing himself, specially on the long trip from New Spain to these islands, where he was wrecked on a ship which was on its way with silver and other wealth belonging to these islands. The vessel escaped miraculously, with sails torn by shots from three Dutch vessels, which they took for one of their own. They ran aground, but all the silver was saved. Among others, Juan de Mesa (the name of the outcast of whom I have just spoken) removed all the silver and goods, to the value of 30,000 pesos or more, belonging to people in Mexico. It had been entrusted to him, and he kept it, as was done by all, in a house and church of one of our residences, situated where the ship happened to halt.¹

While he was there he proceeded as if he were a religious, both in example and in frequenting the sacrament, until he came to this city of Manila where, with certain curious articles, he obtained entrance to and communication with the wife of the Governor of these islands, Doña Catalina Zambrano, who had little care for what her position and her dignity demanded. Their sin began on Holy Thursday, with so little secrecy and so bad an example that the affair was beginning to leak out. So badly did it appear that certain persons came to one of our Fathers, advising him to warn Juan de Mesa that they would kill him. The Father did, but Mesa took no notice of it.

The Governor, meanwhile, was informed of his wife's evil conduct; and, wishing to detect them, he pretended to go down to the harbor and fort of Cavite, situated two leagues from here. He had been wont to do this on other occasions, because the enemy with 9 ships was within sight of the fort. He retraced his steps, leaving his entire retinue about a league from here. He entered the city with the intention of accomplishing the deed (which he did later) in his own house; but before entering it he was informed by a page that his wife had gone, disguised as a man, to the house of Juan de Mesa, where she had often gone in the same dress.

After receiving this information, he sought his retinue, taking counsel with his servant and three captains, whom he placed in four streets in order to let no-one pass. The Governor alone arrived at the house at the very moment that his wife entered, and was going upstairs with Juan de Mesa, and behind them a very noted pilot, on account of whom the ship that I mentioned above was celebrated. The Governor attacked him [the pilot] and pierced him with a mortal thrust. With that he rushed out of the house, calling for confession; but, those who guarded the street, not giving him time for that, put him to death. Immediately Mesa went up the stairs, and safely reached a large room where two candles were burning on a buffet. If these had been extinguished, he might

1 Ed. note: Fr. Roman had been aboard the same ship as this renegade (See Doc. 1620D).

have escaped. He drew his sword and defended himself for some time. As the Governor perceived that he was clad in armor, he aimed at Mesa's face and pierced him through the neck, so that he fell down stairs, where he who guarded the door tried to finish him; but as Mesa was well armed he could not do so readily until he wounded him in the face. During all this time Mesa was not heard to ask for confession or even say "Jesus", or any other word, except: "Whoever you are, do not kill me; consider the honor of your lady." While this was going on in the street, the Governor found his wife in hiding. After wounding her three times, she asked for confession; and he, as a knight and a Christian, went out to look for a confessor, and brought one. He resigned her to the priest, urging her to confess herself well and truly, which she did for some time, until the confessor absolved her. With three or four more wounds, and the words with which he aided her to die, he finished with her.

The three dead bodies remained there until 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning before anyone dared to remove them. The Master-of-camp, Don Gerónimo de Silva, who had been governor of the Moluccas and was a knight of St. John, had the body of the Governor's wife removed to his house, to wrap it in a shroud; and that night she received solemn burial by the Recollects of St. Augustine. The two bodies of Juan de Mesa and the pilot remained in the street all day, while a multitude of people, of the various nations who are in this city, collected to gaze at them, manifesting awe at seeing a spectacle so new to them, and one never seen before in these regions. At night, some members of La Misericordia carried them away, without clergy, lights, or funeral ceremony. They carried the two bodies together on some litters, and buried them both in the same grave.

This was the disastrous end of a poor young fellow, upon whom our Lord lavished many and most gracious gifts, although he knew not how to profit by them, but offended Him who had granted them. Those who will feel it most are the owners of the property [confided to him] for God knows when they will collect it, because it has been confiscated.

Will your Reverence communicate this to Brother Juan de Alcazar.
Alonso Roman.¹

1 Ed. note: According to a separate report of the affair, the full name of the ex-Jesuit was Juan de Mesa Suero, and he had been expelled from the Jesuit house at Coimbra, Portugal. The royal Audiencia took charge of the case. They found almost 200 notes from the Governor's wife among Juan de Mesa's belongings, and in hers a great number from him. A report was sent to his Majesty, but the Governor continued to exercise his functions for many years as if nothing had happened.

Document 1621B

Letter from Governor Fajardo to the King, dated Manila 31 July 1621

Sources: AGI 67-6-7; translated in B&R 20: 44-75.

Letter from Governor Fajardo to Philip III

Sire:

Although at present, up to the 19th of June, the ship **San Andrés**, the flagship, has not returned from New Spain, even at this late date, which is the one that I despatched last year to that province, and I have no letters from your Majesty to answer, I am making a beginning of this one in order to gain time in the despatching of those ships, so that it may be somewhat earlier than usual in past years—although at present, having the war on our hands which we have, and as the ships from China are later than is usual, and there will be more difficulty and labor in the despatch.

According to the despatch which the said ship carried, measures were to be taken to secure its preparation and departure from Acapulco for this country without waiting into the month of April, or without delaying more than 2 or 3 days in that month; and it was not to depart later...¹

In command of these [1621] ships is placed Don Fernando Centeño Maldonado, who has served in the position of commander of the galleys both there and here, and has served many years in these islands (most of the time in the Moluccas); his services are of high repute, as are his merits and good qualities. I am sure that your Majesty has been informed of them, on account of the favors which he has received from your royal hand; and in the same way I am certain that you know of the good qualities of Captain Francisco de Salazar, who is filling the office of admiral on the said ships.

2
...

-
- 1 Ed. note: The Governor had also given sealed orders for the return route, to be opened only upon nearing the coast of the Philippines, indicating to which secret port to go.
 - 2 Ed. note: The Governor complaints of having so few soldiers to fight the Dutch-English fleet.

The reason for there being so few troops is, that after the year 1616, when a ship called the **Angel de la Guarda** came, in the following year, 1617, there came no reinforcements of infantry, but only a patache called the **San Gerónimo** with the archbishop Don Fray Miguel García and a number of friars; and in that year there died in the engagement which Don Juan de Ronquillo had with the enemy, and were drowned in the six galleons, more Spaniards than I brought in 1618. Since my arrival I have sent almost 400 soldiers to Ternate, and this number has not come in the two reinforcements from New Spain which arrived in the past years of 1619 and 1620.

...

The enemy... thus far, thanks be to God, has taken nothing more than 5 Sangley ships from that country. One of these disappeared with the guard which he had placed on it, and they have not been able to find it again, and another of them was burned, so that he has not taken more than 3, and 2 of them of almost no value, and the other not very valuable; for the rich ones remain in China, and those that dared to come kept to the course which I marked out for them, and have arrived safely, making ports in this island.

...

[Legazpi's grandson]

The income which your Majesty orders me to give to Don Miguel de Legaspi, grandson of the former Miguel López de Legaspi, I have now given him, assigning him an *encomienda* with what appeared to be a sufficient number of Indians.

...

With this I will end this letter, leaving it in this state until it is time to seal it, in case anything should occur to be added.

[P.S.] When I had written this, and the despatch of these vessels was so far along that they would, with the help of God, pursue their way when moon and weather should favor the voyage, His Divine Majesty (to whom be thanks) was pleased to rejoice and encourage this land by bringing safely to a port of this country, near the point of Bolinao, in this neighborhood,¹ the flagship **San Andrés** which was expected from New Spain. Although thus far we do not know how much money comes in her on your Majesty's account for the maintenance of affairs here, with it in this country, however little it may be, things will go much better than without it, and with the anxiety over its delay.

The reinforcement of soldiers is so scant that, even if all went to Ternate, there would not be many; for the enlistments of those who came in two companies do not amount to 110, besides 70 convicts who come for service, and I know not how many galley slaves... With this, and the knowledge of the misfortune and loss of the fleet which was coming to help us, we have already ceased to consider what we may have to bear. But nevertheless, with the help of God, I hope that the enemy, when they come here as they have hitherto done, may lose more than they gain.

1 Ed. note: North of Manila and west of Lingayen Gulf.

...
The letters of your Majesty have not [yet] arrived, but we are waiting for them and hope that in time they will come, and that these ships will not lose the favorable weather necessary for their voyage, on account of the great importance of securing it. If they should come with the promptness with which I charged the person whom I sent for them, I shall answer them in the most important matters. If not, I shall do so as soon as possible, as befits the importance of what is contained in them, and the service of your Majesty.

...
May God protect the Catholic person of your Majesty in accordance with the needs of Christendom.

Manila, 31 July 1621.

Don Alonso Fajardo de Tença.¹

1 Ed. note: It is strange that the Governor does not mention the arrival of the first nuns in 1621. There were 8 of them, Sisters of St. Clare. They must have been impressed by the sight of the Ladrone Indians, and vice versa (see B&R 22:107).

Document 1621C

Letter from Gerónimo de Silva to the King, dated Manila 1 August 1621

Sources: AGI 67-6-20; translated in B&R 20: 106-114.

Letter to Philip III

Sire:

A detailed relation of the condition and affairs of these islands having been sent to your Majesty in the vessels despatched to New Spain in August of last year [1620], God was pleased that, after some months of navigation, the *almiranta* should put back in distress on 13 November, mastless and the bad weather that it met on the high seas. That was a most severe loss for this city, since the chief sinew of its support at present is nothing but the trade of those two ships; for as the times go, there is now no other recourse. It is considered as certain that the flagship [**San Andrés**] made the voyage, although there is no more certainty than trust that God has taken it to safety; for since it was already so late, and the monsoon of the *vendavals* had set in, it has not as yet returned from New Spain, nor has any other advice come. That is no little cause for anxiety to this wretched city, in addition to the ravages of enemies and other disasters that ordinarily afflict it. May God in His mercy ordain what is most advisable for His holy service.

Governor Don Alonso Fajardo, having despatched the vessels of Castilla¹, began to undertake the aid for Ternate; he attempted to send it earlier than formerly, in order to guard against the enemy, who continually await the ship at the entrance of those forts.

...

When I was about to seal this packet, news reached this city of the happy arrival at these islands of the ship **San Andrés**, which was expected from New Spain. That news has caused a quite universal happiness to this wretched community. The ship has

1 Ed. note: Sic. The ships were waiting in Mindoro for a last-minute packet of letters, including this one.

anchored in the province of Ilocos, 80 leagues from here, as the weather does not permit it to come to this port. Your Majesty's letters have not reached this port, and, as the vessels which are being despatched are on the point of sailing, it will not be possible to answer them, as the Governor will more fully inform your Majesty—whose Catholic and royal person may our Lord preserve for many years, as is necessary to Christendom, etc.

Manila, 1 August 1621.

Your Majesty's humble servant,

Don Hieronymo de Silva

Document 1621D

Letter from Governor Fajardo to the King, dated Manila 10 December 1621

Sources: AGI 67-6-7; translated in B&R 20: 127-155.

Letter from Fajardo to Philip III

Sire:

In the ships which left here this year for New Spain I gave your Majesty a long account of everything which, up to that time, could be related, or which occurred to me, with duplicates of different letters, therefore the most that I have to add today is the reception of your Majesty's letter and your royal decrees.

...

As to what your Majesty wrote to the Marquis of Guadalcázar, former viceroy of New Spain, regarding [the statement] that on the ship **San Nicolás** 330 persons died on account of its late departure from these islands [in 1619], all that I can say is that, since a person of his position and character undertook to write it, he should certainly have first informed himself thoroughly in the matter. Although I was present at the despatching of this ship and went out with it well outside of Cavite, it did not appear to me that, in regard to the people who were going, the ship was carrying half [its usual load]; for at most there are accustomed to go with the officers usually 70 seamen and gunners, more or less, according to the tonnage of the ships, although the number mentioned is for a ship of very large tonnage. With these there usually go as many Indians from this country, as common seamen, and some slaves that the said officers and the passengers are allowed to take with them for their service, paying the duties which are usually paid to your Majesty. The passengers are usually kept down to as small a number as possible; and if so many died as is affirmed in the supposed relation, they were not Spaniards, because of these not many died. They must have been negroes and slaves, who were hidden after embarkation by those who took them aboard, with an eye to the great gain which there usually is in this, by saving the cost and the duties that they owe, when the royal officials at Acapulco are friends of theirs, or those who thus convey slaves are of the household of the viceroy.

...

The brief of the pilot Gaspar Conquero, which treats of the exploration of the island of Oro, which is here called **Rica de Oro**, has been examined; and as soon as he makes this port, or there is any other person suitable for conducting this exploration, and to be given the island as an *encomienda*, I shall do so as your Majesty orders.

...

In accordance with the contents of another decree of 25 August of the past year 1620, it appears that your Majesty has been informed that the reason why the ships [of 1619] left these islands for New Spain later than in past years was because the president and auditors were interested, as principal shippers therein. The truth is, that their not leaving earlier was due to the coming of the enemy with large fleets to these coasts, and to the fact that the ships which bring the merchandise for these shipments were late or did not come for fear of the enemy (as I have already written to you more at length and in detail), and likewise on account of negotiations and agreements between the auditors and the present president. I will swear to it that the report which has been made to your Majesty on this point is untrue, because I was not brought up in the households or under the instruction of merchants, but in the good way of military exercises, as were my ancestors. It must be evident to your Majesty, as the property that I possess could well attest, that it would be very well for me if it were increased by the amounts that are lacking and pledged.

...

On the occasion of the unfortunate event which happened to me on the night of the 12th of May past¹—and it was such an important and serious an affair, as your Majesty already knows, or will learn by the judicial record and papers regarding the matter, which I despatched by way of New Spain and am now despatching via India—they made (although I am their president) no more demonstration against the agents, go-betweens, and apologists who were guilty in this affair than if it had concerned the most wretched and degraded of the Chinamen who go about here. As it was my own case, and as I was satisfied in regard to the principal matter that concerned me (thanks be to God), I did not wish to exercise my authority in the case; but it may be seen to what lengths the blindness of their desires and passions leads them.

...

[Wreck of the 1621 galleon]

As for the stuffs and merchandise which remained to be got out of the ship called **Nuestra Señora de la Vida**, which was wrecked, a great deal more of its cargo has been unloaded than what I informed your Majesty of in the last despatch which I sent by way of New Spain.² All the artillery that was in it was likewise taken out; and I have

1 Alluding to the death, by Fajardo's own hand, of his unfaithful wife and her lover.

2 Ed. note: It appears that, after this galleon was wrecked on Mindoro Island soon after its departure, a patache was sent to Acapulco, but it was destined to turn back.

ordered it to be conveyed to a shipyard in this island, where two ships are being built, which were already necessary to supply the place of old ones.

...

Likewise a large part of the Japanese have been expelled, so that for a long time there have not been so few of them here as now.

...

In the same way we are steadily engaged in repairing and equipping the ships, not only the flagship and the *almiranta*, but the ship which this year came from New Spain [i.e. the San Andrés], and another small ship and three galleys. I do not know whether they can be manned, but everything is being prepared for any emergency that may arise. What we cannot make is money and Spaniards, the lack of the latter being the most serious; and I have many times represented to your Majesty that the aid from New Spain has come in scanty measure, as if from one who was not obliged to give an account of this matter.

...

May God our Lord, for whom it is done, grant us this and all other things, and protect the Catholic person of your Majesty, according to the needs of Christendom.

Manila, 10 December 1621.

...

Don Alonso Fajardo de Tença

Document 1621E

Letter from Licentiate Mesa to the King, dated Manila, end of 1621

Source: AGI 67-6-20; translated in B&R 20: 159-214.

Letter from Alvaro Mesa y Lugo to Philip III

Sire:

1
...

[Of the three ships sent to Acapulco in 1621, only one made it]

Although the flagship of the two ships that were going to New Spain was wrecked, still in the advice-ship that he [i.e. the Governor] despatched later the Governor sent a huge quantity of goods. He sent in the *almiranta* which got away safely and took the lead, a person to look after and care for everything, namely, Don Fernando Falcon, whom he made captain of infantry, and to whom he gave great profits for that purpose. It is said that he had orders to look after everything, and to ship as much as possible to Spain; as also, because he must fear that it will be possible, on account of his great offences, for your Majesty to be informed of the great wealth that he has sent and his conscience will accuse him. Will your Majesty order those goods to be sequestered—as is said here, all that [he has], without taking account of the 130 or so boxes which, as is notorious in this city, he lost in the flagship.

This is added new to the letter that I sent in the ships of New Spain, of which this letter is a copy, and which I am sending by way of India.

1 Ed. note: This letter is undated but was sent from the convent of St. Dominic where the author had sought refuge after escaping from house arrest. It is mostly a copy of the original sent earlier in 1621 aboard the ship that was wrecked. The extract below is part of the new postscript.

Will your Majesty provide, etc.
Licentiate Don Alvaro Messa y Lugo¹

¹ Ed. note: He wrote another letter on 14 August 1622, saying that he had been released after having spent 15 months in jail and in retreat. He adds that the Governor had received bad news about the treasure he had sent care of Fernando Falcon. The small casket containing gold bars, jewels and pearls had been confiscated as contraband goods by the officials at Acapulco (who did not know who the real owner was) and that Falcon had fled to Peru with the rest.

Documents 1622

A chartered Peruvian ship sent from Acapulco in 1622

1. Events of 1622, from Fr. Díaz' History

Source: Fr. Casimiro Díaz (ed.), Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas (1890), based on the notes left by Fr. Gaspar de San Nicolás, pp. 131 et sequitur.

Part 2, Book 1, Chap. 15: Events of 1622, and of the mission of religious who came from Spain that year, and of other events.

...

The ship from New Spain arrived and aboard it was a boat-load of religious under the charge of the Father Commissioner Fray Alonso del Rincón. They arrived at the port of Casiguran de Valer,¹ since they had found an order of the Governor to that effect, to escape the traps set by the Dutch enemy. They went ashore after having suffered many hardships during the navigation, because the ship in which they came, which was from Peru, was very bad, old, and they had come with little comfort as there came three missions, ours [i.e. Augustinian], that of the Fathers of St. Francis, and that of the Society of Jesus. They had also suffered from an infectious epidemic that killed many of those of the other two missions and some laymen...

2. Events of 1622, from Fr. Medina's History

Source: Fr. Juan de Medina, Historia de la Orden de S. Agustín..., Manila, 1893; translated in B&R 24: 119-121/

Chapter XXXVIII.—Of the election of our Father Fray Juan Enríquez.

...

1 Ed. note: Not in Baler Bay, but in Sorsogon Bay, position 13° N & 124° E.

During these years, the Dutch enemy did not discontinue coming to the coasts of Manila, where they robbed the Chinese [ships] and did all the harm possible. They tried to capture the ships carrying aid [from New Spain], so that without war they were growing rich, and disabling the people of Manila. In this emergency the pilots carried sealed orders, which they were to open on the return voyage and learn the port where they had to go, thus defeating the designs of the Dutch enemy, and freeing themselves from the secret spies who were in Manila—who, as it was said, were not lacking. Consequently, in many years no company [of religious] entered Manila directly, so that whatever missionaries the ships carried were scattered, and, not reaching Manila, no benefit was derived from them.

Father Fray Alonso del Rincón was coming from Spain with a fine company of religious. He reached the port of Acapulco, where that year [1622] the flagship from these islands did not arrive, [but] after leaving Manila and rounding the shoals, it had been wrecked near Verde Island [Mindoro], for the tides drove it upon some reefs. The *almiranta* passed on, and immediately another despatch followed it which the Governor made, when advised of the event. In the latter the pilot and commander was the overseer Gaspar Nuñez. This boat sailed on 16 September, and our Lord was pleased to let it arrive [at Acapulco], but both vessels were very small.

The Governor of Ternate, Pedro de Heredia, was coming [in 1622]. At last, as vessel happened to arrive from Peru, and was immediately laden. Our religious embarked in it, as also did the Fathers of the Society.¹ Although the other two small boats had sailed a fortnight before, this vessel overtook them, and all entered the port of Casiguran, opposite [the island of] Manila, about the same time. This small boat bore religious of our father St. Francis, and all the vessels suffered from a plague that almost was the end of them. All the Franciscans died, although only one of ours died, Father Fray Nicolás Goyas, a Biscayan by birth, of the province of Castile...

The rest recovered and reached the said port on 25 June, of the year 1622.

1 Ed. note: Fr. Medina gives a list of 20 Augustinians accompanying Fr. Rincón; 3 of them had died before reaching Acapulco.

Document 1623

The first Austrian visitor—Fernberger's account of the Ladrones

Sources: Diary of a voyage around the world, by Cristoph Carl Fernberger, kept in the archives of the Counts of Harrach in Vienna (Codex N° 473); published in the original German as: Karl R. Wernhart (ed.), Christoph Carl Fernberger, Der erste österreichische Weltreisende (1621-1628), Wien, 1972.

Note: Also published as an article in English in JPH, vol. 7, as follows. Reproduced with the kind permission of the editor of JPH.

A pre-missionary manuscript record of the Chamorro, Micronesia, by Karl R. Wernhart

Introduction.

The [ancient] Chamorro culture of the Marianas in Micronesia disappeared long ago and as the historical sources are rare and unproductive we know comparatively little about it. We derive our knowledge only from the fragmentary reports of voyages of former centuries.

...

From the period before 1668 there are only a few accounts of the Chamorro, so that any surviving documentary material becomes important evidence in evaluating the accounts of the missionaries. In the private archives of the Counts of Harrach in Vienna there is a diary (*post eventum*) of an Austrian nobleman, Christoph Carl Fernberger, who visited the Marianas in 1623 in the course of his navigation of the world. Although Fernberger's account is very brief and somewhat incomplete, it provides some interesting details of Chamorro life in the period in which first contact between Europeans and natives took place. At that time stereotype patterns came into being on both sides

which had disastrous consequences for the Chamorro. Those who opposed the process of assimilation and acculturation were exterminated and the few who survived were forced into mixing with Spaniards and specially with Tagalogs, brought by them from the Philippines to the Marianas.¹

Unfortunately we do not know much about the personality of Christoph Carl Fernberger von Egenberg. He belonged to a noble family of "Upper Austria". His father was Carl Ludwig Fernberger von Egenberg; his mother was Johanna Geyerin Edle von Österburg. His parents' marriage took place on 4 December 1594 at Ybbs on the Danube. Christoph Carl was probably born between 1596 and 1600. It seems that he got a good education and was greatly interested in the new knowledge of his time, specially in geography as well as language studies. At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War he became a captain in the imperial Spanish army. He fought in the war of independence in the Netherlands and was captured near Rosenthal. After his release, Fernberger went from Rotterdam to Amsterdam. This was the seat of the Netherlands East India and West India Companies, which had factories in the Indies and ships sailing there.

Searching for a chance to return to Austria, Fernberger found a captain who hired him as a kitchen helper on a ship bound for Africa. However, the ship was wrecked in the Cape Verde Islands at the end of January 1622 and the crew was picked up by a Dutch ship bound for the Indies via South America. The ship passed through the Strait of Magellan between 18 September and 2 October; touched at Quintero [sic], Guayaquil and Panama; and crossed the Pacific from the southern tip of the California peninsula. **On 30 March 1623 the ship reached the Marianas**, and from there she went on to Ternate via the Cape of Espiritu Santo in the Philippines. She arrived in Batavia on the island of Java on 25 July of the same year.

Having quit the service of the Netherlands India Company in 1624, Fernberger became a merchant in the Malayan archipelago, specially in Celebes and Banda; then he went as far as Formosa and from there to Chuanchow in China. He made the acquaintance of the Portuguese Emmanuel Rodrigo and accompanied him to Siam. He took part in a campaign of the Queen of Patani against the King of Siam and his strategic and military knowledge secured the victory for the queen. Having returned to Batavia via Japan and Amboina, he set out for home on 18 August 1625. On 1 September he came to India (Gujarat) and when he continued his voyage was shipwrecked again near Ormuz. Saved by Arabs he was sold to an Armenian merchant whom he accompanied on his travels to Persia (Ispahan). After he had purchased his liberty he again returned to Batavia via Macao and set out for home for the second time in 1627. With the fleet of the retiring Governor of Batavia, de Carpentier, he came to the southern tip of Africa and after rounding the Cape of Good Hope landed at Table Bay. From here they sailed along the west coast of Africa northward; on 11 June 1628 they came to the

1 Ed. note: The Jesuits brought Filipino missionary workers from many regions of the Philippines, not just Tagalogs. Most of them seem to have been from the Pampanga Province of Luzon; the same can be said about the soldiers accompanying them.

Channel and stopped at Dover. Finally the fleet and with it Fernberger arrived at Amsterdam on 26 July 1628. From there he travelled to Vienna via Hamburg and Prague, completing his journey round the world.

On his long voyage Fernberger made notes on tablets and sheets of paper about his adventures. After his return to Vienna he turned them into a continuous diary. On the last page of the diary his brother, Christoph Adam Fernberger ... added that this was the "Raisbuch" [Diary] of Christoph Carl Fernberger, who had personally undertaken this voyage. The Vienna manuscript has 271 continuously-numbered pages and two unnumbered preceding pages. It measures 15 by 20 cm. In the University of Salzburg there is a copy of the Vienna original, but it has gaps in the contents as well as omissions in the text. The style of handwriting is of the baroque period. The Vienna manuscript is the oldest Austrian handwritten diary of a voyage round the world. It contains geographical, cartographical, historical and ethnographical information on Indonesia, America and finally the Chamorro people of the Marianas.

Fernberger's account of the Marianas

The German text.¹

Den. 30 Marti haben wir die inssel Delo Latrones gesehen, welches von ferne ein ser schöne inssel ist, und ligt auf 13 graden, und 18 minuden, und alss wir davor unsser anker lissen fallen, so sein alssobalt in die 60 kleiner schifflein bey unsser schiff komen; disse schifflein sein ober 2 schuch nit breit und 8 schuh lang und auf iedem 5 oder 6 persohnen gesessen, und als sie bey den schiff komen, so ruefen sie hiero hiero, das ist eisser; wir winkhen ihnen sie solten herauf komen, so sein alssobalt in die 30 komen; die andern wolten auch kombn aber wir liessen nit mehr auss forcht dass sie unss möch-ten schiff ablaufen; disse leit sein ganz schwarz und wolgestalt von angesicht, von persohn win wenig lenger und ganz nackhent; alss sie ein lediges eisser ersehen, so namen sie es und sprangen ins wasser; ihre frauen etliche die kamen auch mit ans schiff, nahmen ihre kinder so knäblein sein mit; ob sie zwar schwarz sein sie doch wol gebilt, aber sehr geil den sie wissen uns dass wir solten unzucht mit ihnen dreiben, wie es auch von etlichen beschehen, aber es hat ihnen übel bekommen, dass sie es mit den todt bezahlen muessten; ihren knäblein thun sie allen nögl durchs haubt von ihrer mänligkeit und krümben dieselben umb, dass sie es nit herauskrigen; und wan sie die muetter vor vogt-bar² erkundt, so thuet sie ihnes herauss, sonst sagen sie wurden sich in ihren jungen jahren verderben; ich hab durch einen von unssern volkh lassen fragen, diessen so wol spanisch kundt, sie solten mir sagen was sie glaubten; so sagten sie an den gressten fisch imb wasser, den wer derselbige ihr freundt nicht, so muessten sie alle erdrinkhen, destwegen opfern sie ihn zwen man und zwo frauen mit vier kindern welche weren in

1 The German text is from the original version of the 17th century ms., pp. 69-72. See Wernhart, op. cit., 82-84.

2 "Fruchtbar" in the Salzburg manuscript.

stuckh gehackht, und mit grosser selenitet ins wasser geworfen, so bleibt er ihr freundt; ich liess auch fragen ob einer mer als ein frau hat, sagten sie, das die macht bey den frauen sey sovil männer zu nemen als sie wolt und die kinder gehören den frauen, diweil sie es auferziehen, so mögen sie mit ihnen leben wie sie wollen.

Sie brachten uns cocosnuss und penanes, welches ein sehr süsse frucht, auch gaben sie unss etlich wenig gesalzene und von der sonnen gedruckhnete fisch, wier entgegen gaben ihnen alte nögl, und waren damit zufriden; wir liessen ihnen andeuten unsser ammiral sagt sie solten heimbfahren, und wen sie geschlafen, so solten sie wider kornen; jeder gieng in sein schifflein doch muesst er ein wenig eistter haben, all wer es nur ein nagel.

Den 1. April giengen wir ser frue zu segel; als sie unss sahen wökh gan, folgten sie unss ein weil nach, aber wegen des gueten fortgangs kunden sie unss nit erlangen.

Translation of the above.

On 30 March [1623] we saw the island called Delo Latrones [sic], which seen from afar, is a very beautiful island and is situated at a latitude of 13 degrees and 18 minutes;¹ as soon as we had dropped anchor there came about 60 small boats to our ship; these boats are not broader than two feet and not longer than eight feet and in each of them there were five or six persons; and when they came to the ship they called "hiero hiero", which means iron; we signalled them to come on board ship and soon there were about 30 who came; the others also wished to come but we did not allow that because we feared that they would overrun the ship; these people are completely black and of a fine shape, a little bit bigger than we are and completely naked; the moment they saw a bit of loose iron, they took it and jumped into the water; some of their wives came with them to the ship and had their male children with them; although they are black they are well-shaped but very wanton because they showed us that we should do prostitution with them, which some of us actually did, but they had to suffer for it and to pay with their deaths;² they put nails through the heads of their boys' penis and bend them; only when the mother finds them procreative she removes it because, they say, otherwise they would get spoiled in early years;³ one who could speak Spanish⁴ was asked

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- 1 Ed. note: This corresponds to the island of Guam. Wernhart thinks that the ship probably anchored on its east coast, but no prudent captain of a sailing ship would do that, when the prevailing winds are easterlies.
 - 2 Ed. note: Unexplained statement. They were probably lured ashore by the women and killed by the men, some thing that also happened to other Dutchmen 2 years later (see next documents).
 - 3 Ed. note: This is the only reference I know of to the effect that such a custom was practiced in Micronesia. This custom is called *palang* with reference to the Philippines and other parts of greater Malaysia. I personally think that, upon organizing his diary years after his return to Austria, Fernberger forgot that he had first met with this custom in the Philippines, and not in Guam.
 - 4 Ed. note: Here again, it is highly unlikely that any Chamorro could have spoken Spanish in 1623, but in the Philippines many natives already did. Hence, the following sacrificial practice can be taken with a grain of salt.

by one of our crew what belief they had; they said they believed in the greatest fish in the water because if it would not be their friend they would all be drowned; therefore, they sacrifice to the fish in the form of two men and two women with four children; these are chopped into pieces and thrown into the water, so the animal remains their friend; I also asked if one man has more than one wife; they said that it was the power of the women to have as many men as they like and the children belong to the women, because they are brought up by them and they may live together as they like.

They brought us coconuts and bananas, which is a very sweet fruit; they also gave us several salted and sun-dried fish, we in return gave them old nails and they were satisfied with them; we showed them that our admiral said that they should go home and after they had slept they should come again tomorrow; everyone went into his boat, but first he had to have a little bit of iron even if it were no more than a nail.

On 1 April we weighed anchor very early in the morning; when they saw us sailing away, they followed us for a while but because of our good start they could not reach us.

Documents 1625A

The Nassau Fleet, according to various English collections of voyages

Sources (See bibliography for general reference on the collections of voyages): 1) Anon. A True Relation of the Fleete which went under the Admirall Jaquis Le Hermite through the Straights of Magelane towards the Coasts of Peru, and the Towne of Lima in the West-Indies [sic], London, Mercurius Britannicus, 1625 (33 pages only); I have found this book in the rare book division of the Lenox Library, NYPL, under #KC1625; 2) Kerr's Collection, Vol. X, Part II, Book IV, Chap. VII, which is based on the next two; 3) Harris' Collection, Vol. I, pp. 66 et seq.; 4) Callander's Collection, Vol. II, pp. 286 et seq., itself based mostly on De Brosse's Collection; 5) Captain Burney, vol. 3, chap. 1, pp. 33-35.

A1. The first printed news of the Nassau Fleet

A True Relation of the successe of the Fleet which went under the Admirall Jaquis Le Hermite...¹

[Unfortunately, since this book was printed in 1625, the fleet had only reached Peru by that time. So, nothing is said about Micronesia. The book mentions that the original fleet consisted of 11 ships, 7 of which were newly-built. As for Admiral L'Hermite, by the time he reached Lima, he had "his leggs very thicke being swolne". He soon died and the vice-admiral "John Hugen", i.e. Schapenham, took over as admiral.² Also, in Lima, the Spanish captured at least 4 Dutchmen and some Frenchmen from the Dutch ships and tortured them to get information before releasing them.]

1 Ed. note: The title inside the book is slightly different from the one on the cover.

2 The new vice-admiral was the former rear-admiral, Verschoor.

A2. Extract from Kerr's edition

Voyage of the Nassau Fleet round the world, in 1623-1626, under the command of Jaques Le Hermite.

Introduction. The government of the United Netherlands, considering it proper to distress their arch enemy the king of Spain by every means in their power, determined upon sending a powerful squadron into the South Sea, to capture the ships of his subjects, to plunder the coasts of his dominions, and to demolish his fortifications. Accordingly, in autumn 1622, a final resolution for this purpose was entered into the States General, with the concurrence of their stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Orange, who even advanced a considerable sum of money towards it from his own funds; and a fleet of no less than eleven ships of war, besides smaller vessels, were ordered to be fitted out for the expedition, by the several admiralties of the Union and the East India Company. This fleet was in condition for putting to sea in spring 1623, when the command was intrusted to Jaques Le Hermite, an able and accomplished seaman of great experience, who had been long in the service of the East India Company, and was now appointed admiral of the fleet; Hugo Schapenham being vice-admiral. The ships fitted out on this occasion by the admiralty of Amsterdam were:

1. The **Amsterdam** of 800 tons, admiral, carrying 20 brass cannon and 22 iron, with 237 men, commanded by Leenders Jacobson Stolk, as captain, Peter Wely being supercargo, Engelbert Schutte commander of the soldiers on board, Frederick van Reneygom fiscal or judge-advocate, John van Walbeck, engineer, and Justin van Vogelair, engineer extraordinary.¹

2. The **Delft** of 800 tons, vice-admiral, having 20 brass and 20 iron cannon, with 242 men, commanded by captain Cornelius de Witte.²

3. The **Eagle** of 400 tons, captain Meydert Egbertson, of 12 brass and 16 iron cannon, with 144 men.³

4. A yacht called the **Greyhound** [actually Winthont] of 60 tons, captain Solomon Willelmson, carrying 4 brass cannon and 20 men.⁴

1 Ed. note: More or less the same order as aboard Spanish ships, except that the supercargo would have been called factor or steward, the commander of soldiers would have been called constable (or simply by his army rank), the fiscal called inspector, and the engineer (including the supernumerary) called master gunner. Of course, the admiral ship (i.e. the flagship) was called the captain ship (*capitana*) by the Spanish, and the vice-admiral ship was called the admiral ship or *almiranta*, the admiral being called general, and the vice-admiral simply admiral.

2 Ed. note: Delft is the name of a Dutch city, famous for its porcelain goods.

3 Ed. note: Eagle is the English translation of its Dutch name, which was possibly Adler.

4 Ed. note: This yacht was purposely burned off Acapulco and therefore was not present at Guam.

The admiralty of Zealand fitted out only one ship for this expedition:

5. The **Orange** of 700 tons, captain Laurence John Quiryneen, and carrying likewise the rear-admiral, John William Verschoor. Her complement of men was 216.¹

The admiralty of the Maes furnished the following ships:

6. The **Holland** of 600 tons and 182 men, carrying 10 pieces of brass and 20 of iron ordnance. In this ship was Cornelius Jacobson, who was counsellor to admiral Le Hermitte, but the ship was immediately commanded by captain Adrian Troll.

7. The **Maurice** [actually Mauritius] of 360 tons and 169 men, having 12 brass and 20 iron cannon, commanded by captain James Adrianson.

8. The **Hope** [actually Hoop] of 260 tons and 80 men, with 14 iron cannon, captain Peter Hermanson Slobbe.

The admiralty of North Holland also provided the following ships:

9. The **Concord** [actually Eendracht] of 600 tons and 170 men, with 18 brass and 14 iron cannon, captain John Ysbrandtz.

10. The **King David** of 360 tons and 79 men, with 16 pieces of brass cannon, captain John Thomason.

11. The **Griffin** of 320 tons, and 78 men, with 14 iron cannon, captain Peter Cornelison Hurdloop.

The whole of this fleet of eleven sail, carrying 294 pieces of cannon, had 1,687 men, of whom 600 were regular soldiers, divided into five companies of 120 men in each. The East India Company contributed largely to the expense, but does not appear to have equipped any ships on this occasion.²

...

[Guam episode]

On the 23d [January 1625] the scurvy had made much progress, that there were hardly men enough to work the ships.

In the evening of the 25th, there were off the coast of **Guam**, one of the Ladrone or Mariane islands, the inhabitants coming two leagues out to sea to meet them, with all sorts of refreshments, which they exchanged for old iron, and next morning 150 canoes came off with fruits and garden stuffs.

On the 27th a good watering-place was found, where fifty soldiers were landed to protect the seamen.

1 Her number of guns is not mentioned, but she could hardly have less than 36 from her size.

2 Ed. note: The story of the navigation from Holland to California will be summarized later. Suffice to say for now that, before getting to Guam, the fleet sighted an island labelled *Galperico* on their chart; it was Gaspar Rico, or **Taongi** Island. There were other small vessels in the fleet, for instance, the yacht *Violence* which was also burned near Acapulco. Another yacht, the *Jager* [Hunter] did cross the Pacific.

In the beginning of February, the natives brought them considerable quantities of rice, giving 70 or 80 pounds weight in exchange for an old hatchet.

On the 5th, by a general muster, 1260 men were found to remain in the fleet, including 32 Spanish and Negro prisoners, so that they had lost 409 since leaving Holland.

The island of Guam, Guaham, or Guaci [sic], one of the group named by the Spaniards *Islas de las Velas, Ladrones, or Mariane* Islands, is in lat. 13°40' N.¹ The soil is tolerably fertile, producing vast quantities of cocoas, and the natives grow rice in several places. The Dutch procured here about 2,000 fowls,² but the natives would not part with their cattle for any price.³ The people of this island are larger than other Indians, strong and well-proportioned, and are mostly painted red,⁴ the men going entirely naked, and the women having a leaf to cover their nakedness. Their arms are *assagaies*,⁵ or javelins, and slings, both of which they use with great dexterity. Their canoes are very convenient, and go before the wind at a great rate; neither are these islanders afraid of putting to sea even in a storm; as, in case of their vessels being overset, they turn them up again immediately, and bale out the water. They were also very expert in cheating; for when the Dutch came to examine the bags of rice they had bought so cheap, they found the insides full of stones and dirt; besides which, they stole every thing they could lay hold of. Such persons also as land on this island out to be very cautious, as the Dutch had several of their people slain here, through their own folly.

1 Ed. note: Since the fleet was stationed before Cetti Bay, at lat. 13°19' N., the author's position (while anchored) was estimated 21 minutes too high, unless he gives a position for the northern end of the island.

2 Ed. note: Misprint for 200 (see the other accounts).

3 Ed. note: Apparently, the Dutch did not find the cause; there were no quadrupeds on the island.

4 Ed. note: Slight misrepresentation by Kerr. The natives were tawny in color, not painted or tattooed.

5 Ed. note: This is not a Chamorro word, but a variation of an Old French word *sagaie*, itself derived from Arabic *az-zaghaya*.

[Ulithi sighted]

Proceeding on their voyage, they saw an island on the 14th of February, in the latitude of 10°30' N which they took to be the island of *Saavedra*.¹

[Discovery of Yap]

Next day, about 9 in the morning, they saw another island, not laid down in the charts, in lat. 9°45'N² the natives of which came out to them in canoes with fruits and other refreshments, but as the ships were sailing at a great rate, they were not able to get on board. The people seemed much like those of Guam, and the island seemed very populous and highly cultivated.³

It was now resolved to continue their course to the island of Gilolo, and thence to Ternate. The 2d March, they had sight of the high mountain of Gammanacor[a], on the coast of Moco [rather Moro], at the [north-]west end of the great island of Haremanera [Halmahera] or Gilolo, on the west side of which the Molucca islands are situated. They arrived at Malaya [rather Malayo], the principal place in Ternate, on the 4th in the evening. The 5th, or, according to the computation of the inhabitants, the 6th,⁴ Jacob Le Fevre, [Dutch] governor of the Moluccas, came to visit the admiral, from Taluco, where he then resided. The fleet proceeded on the 4th of April to Amboina, and on the 28th sailed for Batavia, where they arrived on the 29th of August. here the fleet was separated, part being sent on an expedition against [Portuguese] Malacca, and others to other places, so that here the voyage of the Nassau fleet may be said to end, without having completed the circumnavigation, at least in an unbroken series.⁵

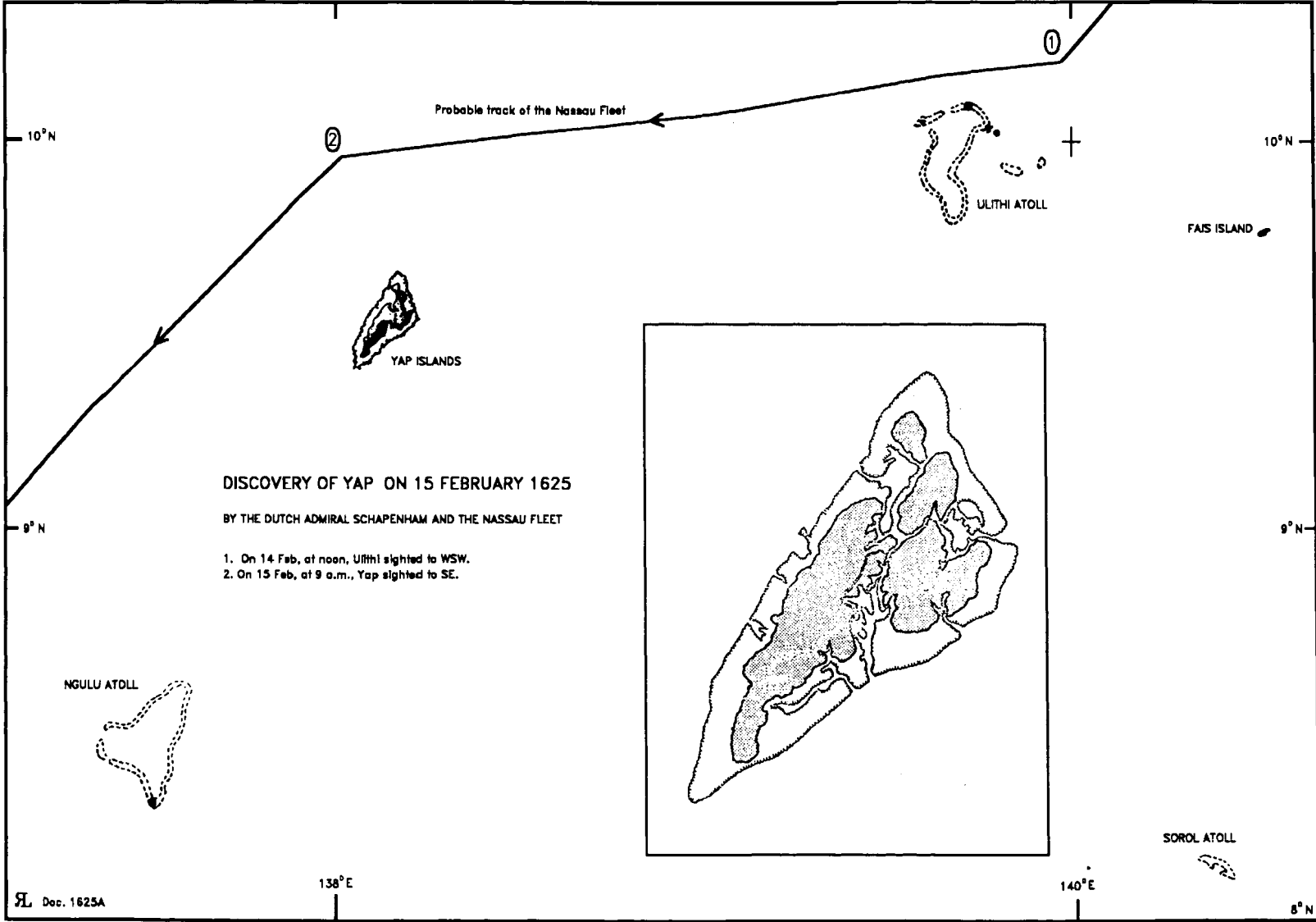
1 Ed. note: In Kerr's time (1814), an island with this name still appeared on the charts in a position he gives as 10°50' N and long. 133°50' E of Greenwich. The latitude given in the text is 25 minutes too high, but that may have been the latitude of the ship itself. As for the longitude on Kerr's English chart, it was understated by at least 1° for Guam, and we now find that Saavedra was laid down 6° west of the true position of Ulithi.

2 Ed. note: We can expect the pilot to have been more careful in estimating the latitude of this newly-found island, which he must have derived from his noon sighting three hours later. Still we find that he was quite accurate, being only 5 minutes north of the actual latitude of the northern tip of Yap. The island does in fact lie between 9°45' and 9°40' N.

3 Ed. note: De Broses (vol. 3, p. 450) adds that the natives has long black hair and some curious ornaments around their bodies, no doubt a reference to the traditional Yapese loin-cloths.

4 Ed. note: Remember that the International Date Line did not yet exist, but the Moluccas followed the Portuguese, i.e. European, dates.

5 Ed. note: De Broses adds that Schapenham decided to return to Europe with the rest of his fleet but died four days out of Batavia, before the ships had come out of the Sunda Strait. His ships nevertheless reached the Texel on 9 July 1626. As for Adolph Decker, the author followed by De Bry in the Latin edition of the Voyage, he stayed behind in Batavia for two more years.



A3. Extract from Callander's edition

[Departure from Acapulco]

On November 1st [1624], the ships sailed out of port, and the fortress discharged several pieces of cannon, but without doing them any hurt. In the evening, a great detachment was sent, under the command of the Vice-admiral, to anchor twenty leagues to the west of Acapulco, in order to look out for the [Manila] galleon, to give her chase; and if they could not come up with her, to force her into the fleet.

On the 2d, the Admiral, and the **Orange**, remaining still before the port, the rest of the ships spread along the coast, that they might be sure of meeting with the vessel they expected.

On the 3d and 4th, the shallops belonging to the Admiral, and to the Orange, went to take in water at Puerto del Marques, which is a league and a half from Acapulco.¹

On the 7th, Captain de Witte being at the watering-place with his shallop, the enemy attacked his men from an ambuscade; the Dutch immediately fled to their vessel, and reimbarqued; a soldier reached the shore just as the boat had put off; but Captain de Witte ordered them to row back, going himself on shore to save the poor man, which cost him a wound in the side, of which, however, he happily recovered.

On September [rather November] 21st, the Vice-admiral's squadron appeared in sight; and, on the 22d, they sent a yacht to acquaint the Admiral, that six of their soldiers having deserted, they had seen six hundred Spaniards the next day, advancing towards the shore, who, they conceived, had a design to surprize their men at the watering-place; but, by good luck they were all embarked.

From the 24th to the 28th, the fleet continued cruising to the westward, in hopes of finding the Islands called Ladrillos,² which, in a Spanish Journal,³ were said to lie forty leagues to the west of Acapulco; and that they might there meet with water, fish, and potatoes, in abundance. The Dutch, however, sailed twice that space without being able to find them, which, whether it was owing to any mistake in the Spanish charts, or to the ignorance of the Dutch pilots, is uncertain.

On the 29th, they burned their two yachts, the **Greyhound** and the **Violence**, because they could hardly swim any longer; and so resolved to proceed with all the diligence imaginable to the East Indies.

On January 15th, 1625, they saw some very low land towards the west, over which the sea broke with great fury, which they took to be the coast of the Island of Galperico [Taongi].

On the 23d, the scurvy had prevailed to such a degree, that they had scarce men enough in health to work the ships.

1 Ed. note: Actually it is on the eastern lip of Acapulco Bay (See modern map in Doc. 1615A).

2 Ed. note: Literally, the Brick-makers, probably a site with clay deposits where bricks were being made.

3 Ed. note: There were Spanish pilots on board some of the ships, some volunteers, others prisoners.

[Guam episode]

In the evening of the 25th, they were on the coast of the Island of **Guan**, one of the *Ladrones*, the inhabitants of which came two leagues to meet them, with all sorts of refreshments the Island afforded, which they exchanged for old iron. The next morning there came off 150 canoes, with fruits and garden-stuff. On the 27th, the Vice-admiral, with half the soldiers, attempted to land on a small island, about three leagues to the south of the road, but found it impracticable.¹ In the mean time, the Rear-admiral had coasted the bay, and found a very good watering-place. On the 28th, they landed fifty soldiers to protect the seamen, while they were filling water; and the next day it was found necessary to strengthen that detachment, which had been insulted by the natives. In the beginning of the month of February, they brought considerable quantities of rice on board, and sold seventy or eighty pounds weight for an old hatchet. On the 5th, the Admiral directed a general review, when, including Spanish and Negro prisoners, of which there were thirty-two, they found 1,260 on board, by which it appeared they had lost 409 since they left Holland.

The Island of Guan, which is one of those styled by the Spaniards, *Islas de las Velas*, or *Ladrones*, lies in 13 degrees, 40 minutes, north latitude. The soil is tolerably fertile; they sow rice in several places, and have prodigious quantities of cocoas. The inhabitants sold the Dutch 200 fowls, but they would not let them have any cattle, though they offered them any satisfaction. The people are of a larger size than other Indians, and very strong and well proportioned; they are, generally speaking, painted [sic] red. The men go stark naked, but the women have the leaf of a tree to cover their privities. The arms they use are assagies [sic], or wooden javelins, and slings, which they use with great dexterity. Their canoes are very convenient, and go at a great rate before the wind. Neither are they afraid to put to sea in stormy weather, but, in case they are overset, turn up their vessels again, and empty the water in an instant. The Dutch experienced their dexterity in another profession, viz, that of cheating; for, when they came to examine those balls of rice, which they thought they had bought so cheap, they found inside of them stones and dirt. Besides, they stole every thing that they could lay their hands on. Such as land in this island, ought to be extremely cautious how they ramble; for the Dutch, while they remained here, lost several of their people, through their own folly in this respect.

[Ulithi sighted]

On February 14th, they saw an Island, in 10 degrees, 30 minutes, which they took to be that of Saavedra, which if it was, then it is wrong laid down in the charts.

[Discovery of Yap]

On the 15th, about nine in the morning, they saw another island not laid down in the charts, the people of which endeavored to come out to them in canoes with fruits

1 Ed. note: Cocos Island, south of the open roads centered on Umatac.

and refreshments. They were much of the same size with the inhabitants of the Ladrões, but, the ship[s] sailing at a great rate, they were not able to get on board. This island appeared to be very populous, and extremely well cultivated, lying in the latitude of nine degrees, forty-five minutes.

The 23d, it was resolved in council, that they should continue their course south south-west to the height of three degrees, in order to arrive at Gilolo, and from thence to continue their voyage to Ternate. The same day, at noon, they had an observation, by which they perceived, that the currents carried them violently to the north, for the northern trade-wind began then to blow, the effects of which they felt very sensibly.

On March 2d, they had sight of the high mountain of Gammanacor, which is on the coast of Moco [Moro], at the [north-]west end of Haremanera, or the great island of Gilolo, on the west side of which lie the islands of the Moluccas.

A4. Extract from Captain Burney's edition

The Nassau Fleet.

December 15th [1624], the latitude was 15°15' N.¹

The Nassau Fleet was 57 days from the coast of New Spain to making the Ladrone Islands. In the course of this passage, on January the 15th (1625) they saw land before them to the West, extremely low; and surrounded with reefs over which the surf broke so high that it was judged dangerous to approach with the fleet. This land the Hollanders judged to be the Islands of **Gaspar Rico**. It is however more probable that they fell in with the island or islands and shoals of **San Bartolomé**.² No latitude is given in the Journal for a month before making them; and in ten days afterwards, the fleet came in sight of **Guahan**, one of the Ladrões. It is to be supposed that in all the latter part of the passage from New Spain, they sailed in or near the parallel of Guahan. In the title page to the German translation, is a planisphere Map of the World, whereon the track is described; the Map is indeed on a very small scale, and was evidently designed chiefly for decoration; but as far as it may be taken for authority, it shews that the fleet sailed in the parallel of Guahan a considerable time before making the island, and consequently that their track was much nearer to the San Bartolomé than to the Gaspar Rico islands.

[Guam episode]

In the evening of January the 25th, they had sight of Guahan, and the next morning, above 150 canoes came to them from the shore, to traffic with cocoa-nuts and yams. These were welcome visitors; for the scurvy had broke out and got to such a height in the fleet, that in some of the ships there was scarcely strength enough left to manage the sails. In the afternoon the fleet anchored on the West side of Guahan, in depths

1 Ed. note: This effectively rules out Wake Island as the island they sighted north of the Marshalls.

2 Ed. note: Both of these names correspond to the same island, Taongi.

from 10 to 30 fathoms, sandy bottom, at the distance of a cannon shot and a half from the shore.

On a review which the Admiral made here of the fleet, the number of men mustered amounted to 1,260, in which number were included 32 prisoners, part Spaniards, part Indians.

At Guahan, the fleet watered, and in exchange for iron, procured rice, fowls, coconuts, yams, potatoes, and bananas. Cocoa-nuts were here in inexhaustible quantities; rice was cultivated in many places, and the natives sold it by weight, in bales of between 70 and 80 lbs. each; but not one bale was found which had not been increased in weight by the addition of sand and stones. The people of Guahan were stouter than the people of Ternate. It was not found safe for the Hollanders to ramble about the island singly or unprovided with arms. The canoes of the Ladroners were remarked for being well made and well adapted for sailing near the wind.

[Ulithi sighted]

February the 11th, the fleet sailed from Guahan for the Moluccas.

The course steered by the compass on leaving Guahan is not stated. On the 14th, at noon, according to the Journal, they were in latitude 10°30' N, at which time an island was seen to the WSW, about eight German miles distant, which they supposed to be one of the Isles of Saavedra.

[Discovery of Yap]

The next morning (the 15th) at 9 o'clock, they saw another island to the SE, which was high land like Guahan. Its latitude was estimated to be 9°45' N. The NE and NW points were four German miles distant one from the other; and from what was seen, the island was judged to be of the like extent in breadth. From the NE point, a great reef stretches about two German miles into the sea.¹

This island was inhabited, and appeared well cultivated and populous. Some canoes put off from the shore, and paddled towards the fleet, but the breeze was fresh, and the ships sailed too fast for them to come up. The people in the canoes had long black hair, and in size and appearance resembled the Ladrone islanders. The fleet continued its route for the Moluccas with the wind from the NE, going cautiously and under small sail by night.

The 23d at noon, by the latitude observed [what that was the Journal does not specify] it was found that currents had set strong towards the North, although the Northern monsoon was then blowing. It was therefore determined by the council, that the course should be SSW to latitude 3° N; that they would then steer to make the land of Gilolo, and afterwards for the Moluccas.

1 *Journal van de Nassausche Vloot*, p. 93. Ed. comment: There may have been a misprint in the original journal to the effect that NW point should have read SW point, hence the length of the island, as seen from a ship NW of the island.

The 25th at noon, the latitude was 6°20' N.

The 26th, continuing the course SSW, the latitude was 4° N; and on the 27th, they were in 2°45' N.

The 28th, they made the land of Morotai, bearing West, distant six German miles.

The Journal gives no other particulars of the navigation from Guahan to Morotai than what are recited above. They are of consequence only as they help to indicate the situations of the islands discovered on the 14th and 15th of February. It is evident the course of the fleet from Guahan until the 23d, was more westerly than SSW. Assuming a SW course to the 14th, and the rate of sailing to have been uniform, will give the longitude of the two islands about 3-1/2 degrees West from the anchorage at Guahan; and their relative positions nearly North and South of each other.¹

March the 2d, the fleet came in sight of the mountain of Gammacanor, on the Island Bachian [sic], and on the 4th, anchored at Ternate.

Here the voyage of the Nassau Fleet may be considered to have terminated...

1 Ed. note: The difference in longitude between Guam and Ulithi is more like 5°, and the relative positions of Ulithi and Yap is more nearly East and West of each other.

Document 1625B

The Journal of the Nassau Fleet, by Schapenham and others

*Sources: "Journael van de Nassausche Vloot, ofte beschrijvingh van de voyagie om den ganstsch en aerd-kloot met elf schepen: onder't beleydt van den Admirael Jaques l'Heremite, ende Vice-Admirael Gheen Huygen Schapenham, in de jaren 1623, 1624, 1625 en 1626," in **Begin ende voortgang vande verenigde neederlandsche geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie...** (1645); vol. 3 (XIX), pp. 55-57.*

Nassausche Voyagie (cont'd)

1624. November.

*Den 30. heest hem de Heer Admirael met de principael Officieren van de Vlote op 't Schip **Hollandia** vervoeght, om in 't executeren vande vier ter doot verwesene Soldaten present te zijn, maer alsoo alle de Krijghs-Officieren voor dese gevangens seer instantelick by de Heer Admirael intercedeerden, soo heest de Heer Admirael geconsenteert, dat sy met haer vieren briefkens soudentrecken, en dat de drie van haer vieren soudent gepardonneert worden. Het ongheluck is Frans Fout van Hildersom te beurt gevallen, die datelijck aen de Nock van derhæ is opgehangen.*

Op de middagh de hooghte 17. graden ende 50. minuten: de wint W.N.W. ende tegen de nacht N.N.W. met redelijcke koelte.

December.

Den 1. ende 2. December was de windt N.N.W. ende N. de cours was Z.W.

Den 3. kregen wy de generale N.O. ende O.N.O. windt, waer mede wy de cours om de West stelden.

Den 14.'s avondts op de hooghte van 15. graden, ende 15. minuten, hadden wy een groote Travade uyt den Noord-Oosten.

*Den 16. heest de Heer Admirael het Jacht de **Jager** laten voor seylen, om de Schepen by nacht met een schoot te waerschouwen, indien hy eenigh Landt ghewaer wert.*

*Den 23. is op 't Schip **Mauritius** overleden Adriaen Verplancken, Commijs op't selve Schip.*

1615. Januarius.

Den 1. Januarii is aen yeder back een kanne Spaensche Wijn tot een Nieuwe-Jaer vereert.

Den 8. heest de Heer Admirael belast, overmits de Scheurbuyt seer toe nam, waer aen daeghlijcks veel volcks van de Vlote stierf, dat men in het over-boordt setten van de dooden niet en soude schieten: want het schieten, 't welck meenigmael op een dagh in diversche Schepen gheschiede, grooten schrick onder het volck causeerde. Men heest oock aen yeder man een pimpelken Brandewijn daeghs begonnen uyt te deelen.

*Den 11. is Pieter Claesz Slacht, Commijs op 't Schip de **Eendracht** overleden.*

Sien Lant.

Den 15. 's Morgens sagen wy landt West van ons: 't was laegh lant, daer het vreeselijck barnde, soo dat wy groot geluck hadden, dat wy by nacht hier op niet en vervielen, om dat de geheele Vlote groot perijckel saude ghelopen hebben. Wy gisten dit Lant Islas de Galperico te zijn.

*Den 23. op dese tijt taste de scheurbuyt ons volck soo geweldigh aen, datter daeghlijcks vele storven, eenige Schepen waren soo machteloos, dat sy naeu gesont volck hadden, om de Schepen te voeren. Van daegh is Cornelis Jansen, Commijs op 't Schip de **David**, ghestorven.*

Sien de Ladrones Eylanden.

*Den 25. op de middagh saghen wy't Eylandt **Guagan** [sic], een van de Eylanden van de Ladrones, daer wy op den avont by quamen. Het was redelijck hoogh essen Landt, ende de Ladronesen quamen de Vlote meer als twee mijlen, met twintigh Canoes van lant te gemoet, verruynde voor out yser, Cocos, Bananas, ende Patattas. Wy hebben den gantschen nacht met groote stormen by ghehouden, om op morgen met den dage de Keede te soecken.*

*Den 26. 's morgens quamen de Ladronesen met 150. Canoes aen de Schepen, verruynde Cocos, ende Amjamas, soo dat ons Schip alleen ruynde ontrent 700. Cocos. Op den avondt zijn wy aen de West-zijde van't Eylandt Guagan op 10. vademen zandtgrondt, een Gotelingh-schoot van de wal ten ancker ghekomen. 't Schip de **Hope** raeckte gront af, ende soo hy maer 8. of 10. ghesonde mannen op hadde, heest hem de Heer Admirael hulpe toe ghesonden, die hem des nachts op Keede brachten.*

Den 27. is de Vice-Admirael met de helst van de Soldaten na het kleyne Eylandt gevaren, dat ontrent drie mijlen by Zuyden de Keede gheleghen was, om te sien, ost aldaer eenige ververschinge ten dienste van de Vlote te bekomen waer, dan alsoo het daer geweldigh barnde, ende men lichtelijck door de verborgen klippen een Chaloupe soude verlooren hebben, ende de Ladrones op de Vice-Admirael versochten, dat hy met sijn volck van lant soude willen blijven, also sy alles in overvloet aen de Schepen souden

brengen, is hy weder na de Keede gekeert. De Schout by nacht heest met de resterende Soldaten de Baey besacht, daer hy een water-plaetse vant, daer het water licht om halen was. Wy ruylden desen dagh eenige hoenderen, en meer als 7000 Cocos.

Den 28, werden 50. Soldaten tot bewaringhe van de groote chaloupe, die aen Landt soude vertimmert worden, ende tot bevrydinghe van de water-haelders, aen landt gheleyt. Desen avont is Capiteyn Omarus Everwijn, van een hart-vangh subytelijck gestorven.

Den 29. waren wy ghenootsaecht meer Soldaten, ende twee Metale Draecrkens aen lant te brenghen, om dat de Landronesen [sic] met Assagayen ghewapent, in groote menigte aen de water-plaetse quamen.

Februarius.

Den 1, 2, 3, ende 4. Februarius brachten de Ladronezen veel Kijs aen de Schepen, die wy van haer ruylden, een Bael van tseventigh, ende tachtentigh pondt voor een verroeste bijl, ost hack-mes, die gantsch bedorven was, ende nieuwers toe diende.

Den 5. is een generale Monsteringe door de Vlote gheschiet, ende werden noch bevonden 1260. koppen, daer onder begrepen zijn 32. soo gevangen Spangiaerts, als Negros.

Den 8. is tot Capiteyn ghestelt, in plaetse van Capiteyn Everwijn, die overleden is, Hendrick Rose, Lieutenant van Capiteyn Schutte. In wiens plaetse tot Lieutenant is ghestelt Barent Schutte, Vaendrigh van de selve Compagnie, ende tot Vaendrigh van die Compagnie is gestelt Otto van Vollenhove, Appointee.

Den 9. heest de Heer Admirael aen Landt een Predicatie laten doen.

Beschrijvinge van Guagan.

Den 11. 's morghens zijn wy van 't Eylandt Guagan t'seyl gegaen. Het Eylandt Guagan is een van de Eylanden, die men noemt Islas de las Velas, ofte van de Ladronezen, ende leyt op de Noorder-breete van derthien en twee dertendeel graden, maer de Keede, daer wy met de Vlote op 10, 20. en 30. vademmen zant-gront ontrent anderhalf Cartouwschoot van de wal gheset lagen, heest de hooghte van derthien en een half graden. De Keede leyt aen de West-zyde van 't Eylandt, ende kan so wel van by Noorden, als van by Zuyden het Eylant beseylt worden. Het Lant is tamelijck hoogh, vruchtbaer, ende op veel plaetsen met rijs besaeyt, als blijktt uyt de quantiteyt die wy geruylt hebben. Cocos-baomen zijnder sonder getal, so oock op het Eylant dat aen de Zuydt-oost hoeck leyd, en Palmijten heest men over al weel, dan het schijnt dat dese by de Inwoonders in waerden ghehouden worden. Anjamas vallen hier sonder getal, die wy in groote menigte van haer geruylt hebben. Wy hebben in de tijdt, dat wy hier gelegen hebben, ontrent 200. Hoenderen geruylt, dan gheen beesten konnen bekomen, wat moeyte wy daer oock toe gedaen hebben. De Ladronezen zijn van leden tresselijck geproportioneert, ende van stature grooter als de Tarnatanen, ende andere Indische Natien: Sy zijn reosachtigh van couleur, ende gaen heel naeck, maer de Vrouwen bedecken haer schamelheydt met een blad. Haer wapenen zijn Assagayen, ende slingers, daer mede sy den

ander Oorlogh aen doen, meesterlijck daer met omgaende. Haer Canoes zijn aerdigh gemaect, ende kunnen seer scherp by de windt seylen, sy hebben maer eene vleugel, waer mede sy de Canoe in 't seylen kunnen in 't gewichte houden, staende verder, ofte nader de Canoe, na dat de wint sterck koelt. Met dese Canoes dorven sy wel twee of drie mylen in Zee gaen, al is 't dat de Zee grof gaet, om dat sy haer Canoes, als sy om vallen, lichtelijck kunnen droogh maecken. Sy schijnen met den eersten oprecht in 't handelen te zijn, maer daer nae siet men, dat de naem van Ladrones haer niet te vergeefs gegeven is, want sy de Balen Kijs, die wy van haer kochten, ten dele met zant, ende steen vulden, ende rechten meer andere die veryen aen. Die hier aen lant willen gaen, moeten haer wel versekeren, ende van wapenen voorsien, ende in 't alderminste op de Ladronesen niet vertrouwen, want alle die ter syden aegaen, staen in perijckel van gemassaereert te worden, gelijk eenige van ons volck wedervaren is.

[Ulithi sighted]

Den 14. op de middagh de hooghte 10. graden en half, ende sagen doen een Eylant W.Z.W. van ons 8 mylen: wy gisten dit lant het Eylandt Sahavedra te zijn, hoe-wel het met de Caerte op 't nauste niet en accordeerde.

[Discovery of Yap]

Den 15 saghen wy met Z.O. Son een ander Eylant, 't welck wy een nieu Eylant achten te wesen, om dat het niet in de Kaerte en stont. Het was redelijck hoogh lant, even gelijk Guagan, de N.O. ende N.W. hoeck, leggende ontrent 4 mylen van den anderen, en het is tamelijck breed, soo wy sien konden: aen de N.O. hoeck streckt hem een groot rif af, wel twee mylen in Zee. Daer quamen diversche Praeuwen van landt, naer ons toe, daer in eenige persoonen saten, van gedaente, ende poscruer als de Ladronesen, met langh swart hayr, en eenighe verciercelen om haer lijf behangen, dan so wy voort seylden, konden sy niet aen boort komen. Dit lant was bewoont, ende wel gebout, soo veel men sien konde, ende leyt op de hooghte van 9 en drie vierendeel graden.

Den 16, 17, 18. ende 19. continueerde de door-gaende N.O. wint.

Den 20. hadden wy stormachtigh weder, uyt de Ostelijcker handt, met geweldigen regen. Wy hebben het des nachts met schover-seylom de West laten voort staen, om niet te vervallen in de Bocht by Noorden Caep de Viscajo, dat de Oost-hoeck is aen't landt van Magindanao, het Zuydelijckst groot Eylant van de Philipinas.

Den 21. continueerde het stormachtigh weder. Wy lieten het des nachts met het hoost om de Noordt met kleyn seyl dryven, om niet op een lager wal te vervallen.

Den 22 konden wy noch geen land sien, hoe-wel de meeste bestecken de geseyde Caep al ghepasseert waren

Den 23.'s Morgens is by den Heer Admirael, ende den Kaet de bestecken van de Stier-lieden gesien, ende haer advijs gehoort zijnde, geresolveert, dat men Zuyd-zuyd-west soud aengaen, tot op de hooghte van drie graden, ende als dan 't landt van Gilo-lo aendoen, om van daer een vaste cours na Ternate te stellen. Op den middagh bevonden by 't peylen van de hooght, dat de stroom ons geweldigh om de Noord had geset, hoe-wel de Noordelijcke Mousson doorwaeyde.

Den 24 op middernacht vonden ons op 4 graden 50 minuten.

Den 25 wesende met N.O. windt Z.Z.W. ghestevent, of so men meende geseylt 12 mylen. Vonden op den middagh de hooght 6 graden 20 minuten. Bevindende dat wy in een half etmael, in't Noorder Mousson Z.Z.W. stevenende, een halve graed om de Noord geset waren.



The Nassau Fleet before Acapulco in October 1624. *Admiral John Hugo Schapenham and his fleet of a dozen vessels checked into Acapulco to see if he could get supplies in exchange for Spanish prisoners, but he was rebuffed. The fleet got some water from Puerto Marquez on the right before going out to look for the Manila galleon. (From De Bry's Collection of voyages: America, part 13, 1634)*

Document 1625C

The Nassau Fleet—Logbook kept by Adolph Decker

Source: Theodor de Bry (ed.), America, Part XIII, 1634 edition, pp. 116-118.

The original Latin edition of the logbook

Decimæ tertiæ partis Americæ. Sectio X. de navigatione Jacobi Heremitæ.

1624. October.

Die 30. & 31. tota classis in portu Acapulco substitit, quia propter malaciam progredino poterat.

Ncuember.

*Calend. Nouembr. omnes naues summo silentio ex portu soluerunt, in quas castellum sed(?) tormentorum ictus vibrauit, qui fuerunt irriti. Sub vesperam subpræfectus cum nauibus **Amstelrodamo, Concordia, Aquila, Dauide, Grypho**,¹ duabus liberanicis & lembo Aquilæ ab archithalasso discessit, & 18. aut 20. milliaribus ab Acapulco versus Occasum cursum tenuit, vt naues præsidiarias, quæ nostra opinione illic ipsi oc-*

1 Ed. note: The ships named Amsterdam, Eendracht, Adler, (King) David, Griffin, and 2 yachts..

(Facing page) **Sketch of the Nassau Fleet spread out west of Acapulco.** *The dozen or so ships under the command of Admiral Schapenham divided themselves to lie in wait for the expected Manila galleon, in November 1624. (From De Bry, same illustration in the German and Latin editions)*



cursuræ erant, inuaderet & comprehenderet, at eas persequendo archithalassi manibus obiiceret. Archithalassus autem cum reliquis nauibus portum Acapulco rursus subiit.

*Die 2. naues **Mauritius, Hollandia, Spes, Canis venaticus & Nassouius**¹ Acapulco egressæ sunt, & sesquimilliaris circiter spatio se mutuò segregarunt: itam(?) Orientalis nauis, quæ fuit Spes, ex agmine subpræfecti, sesquimilliarum supra Acapulcum, & Occidentalis nauis, nempe Mauritius, in conspectu Orientalis substiterit: archithalassus autem cum nauibus, **Delphica & Arausione**² in portu Acapulco mansit.*

Aquam afferunt ex portu del Marques.

Die 3. & 4. lembi nauis Delphicæ & Arausionis ex portu del Marques, sesquimilliarum circiter ab Acapulco, aquam attulerunt. Archithalassus nouem milites in summitatem insulæ misit..(?) dies & noctes naues præsidarias Hispanorum obseruarent, & viderent, quid nostris nauibus accidit(?).

Die 5. nauta ex naui Arausione ad hostem transnatauit.

Die 7. centurio Witte dentro lembis ad aquam petendam exiuit: sed cum hostis, qui illic in insidiis erat, impetum in nostros(?) cisset illi ad lembos suos fugerunt, amissis quatuor viris, qui submersi, & scloppetorum icti(?) transfixi perierunt. Cum autem vnus ex nostris in littore relictus fuisset, centurio Witte, vt reduceret, recta in hostem contendit, & virum illum in suum lembum recepit. Centurio interea scloppetum in latus ictus fuit, ex quo vulnere postea conualuit.

Die 8. archithalassus ex portu Acapulco vela fecit.

Die 15. subpræfectus, cum sui agminis nauem in excubiis collocasset, cum liburnica seu Cane venatico ad archithalassum venit. Narrabat ille, se 16. aut 18. milliaribus ab Acapulco, versus Occidentem, commodum aquandi locum inuenisse, ex quo naues sibi de aqua prospicerent: sed naues, propter fluctuum repercussum eò difficulter posse appellere. Hoc die quinque milliaribus versus Occidentem ab Acapulco aberamus: & archithalassus naues transmissas monere curauit, vt se sequerentur.

Die 16. & 17. ventus spirabat ab Occidente: ob eam caussam nos parum progrediebamur.

Die 18. quatuor classarii, qui cum lembo nauis Hollandiæ ad hostem transfugere constituerant, à consilio bellico ad patibulum condemnati fuerunt.

Die 21. Occidentales naues ex agmine subpræfecti conspeximus. Hisce diebus septendecim milliaribus ab Acapulco aberamus: & sex dierum spatio vndecim milliaribus versus Occidentem emensi eramus. Noctu procella ab Occidente cum magna pluuia insurrexit.

Dia 22 omnes istas naues velificantes vidimus, quæ propter totius diei malaciam ad nos venire non potuerunt. Ex liburnica, quæ antecessit, intelleximus, sex classarios ad

1 Ed. note: The ships Mauritius, Holland, Hoop, Winhont (i.e. Greyhound; hunting dog, in Latin), and the Nassau.

2 The ships Delft and Orange. From this, it appears that Schapenham had made the Delft his flagship, that is, he had not moved to the Eendracht upon becoming admiral.

hostem tranfugisse, & naues Amstelrodamum atque Concordiam sibi de aqua prospexisse: Hispanos autem, altero post suum discessum die, vsque ad 600. in ora maritima conuenisse, qui proculdubio nostros aquam petentes oppressissent, si eò reuersi fuissent.

Die 23. ventus spirabat à Septentrione.

Die 24. vehemens ventus ab Occidente exstitit: sub vesperam maior lembus subpræfecti cuersus fuit, quem propter grauem tempestatem rursus erigere non potuimus. Sic ille cum machinis æneis, quibus instructus erat, mari cessit.

Diebus 25, 26. 27. & 28. versus Occidentem iuxta littus vela fecimus, & quærebamus insulas de Ladrillos, quæ 40. milliariibus Hispanicis ab Acapulco versus Occidentem distant: vbi, secundum Hispanorum ephemerides, aquæ, piscium & patattarum magna copia esse debebat. Cum verò vltra 45. milliaria ad lictus nauigassemus, & nullum indicium illarum insularum appareret, arbitrabamur, nos in quærendis illis insulis operam perdere.

Die 29. liburnicas, quæ deinceps classi inutiles futuræ erant, combussimus. Tunc quoque; senem nauclerum, Diego Sanchios, qui nobis fidelem operam in itinere nauauerat, & duos transfugas, vt fortunam tentarent, cum nauicula ad littus relegauimus. Sub meridiem habebamus altitudinem 17. grad. 50. minut. Hic nos ad transitum in Orientalem Indiam comparauimus. Ventus fatis vehementer flabat ab Occasu solstitiali.

Iter in Indiam Orientalem instituitur.

Die 30 archithalassus cum præcipuis Officialibus classis in nauem Hollandiam se contulit, vt executioni quatuor classiariorum capitis damnatorum interesset. Cum autem omnes præfecti militiæ instanter pro illis intercederent, archithalassus assensit, vt quatuor illi sortem ducerent, & tribus vitæ gratia fieret, vnus suspenderetur. Infortunium obuinit Francisco Foutio Hildersomensi, cui fauces protinus elisæ fuerunt.

December.

Die 1. & 2. December. ventus spirabat ab Occasu solstitiali & à Septentrione: nos iter versus Occasum brumalem instituimus.

Die 3. ventus continuò flabat ab Ortu solstitiali: nos cursum ad Occidentem direximus.

Die 15. vesperi altitudo erat 15. grad. & 15. minut. tunc magna tempestat ab Ortu solstitiali incubuit.

Die 16. archithalassus nauiculam, quæ Venator appellabatur,¹ præmisit, vt ictu tormenti naues moneret, si fortè terram conspicerem.

Die 23. in naui Mauritio mortuus est Adrianus Verplancken, Commissarius illius nauis.

1 Ed. note: That is, the Hunter; Jager in Dutch.

1625. Ianuarius.

Calendis Ianuarii singulis sextarius vini Hispanici in felix noui anni auxpicium donatus fuit.

Die 8. cum scarbotus denuò in classe inualesceret, quo multi quotidie extinguebantur, archithalassus mandauit, ne quando cadauera defunctorum in mare abiicerentur, classiarii scloppera disploderent, quoniam istud multis terrorem incuteret, siquidem quotidie in diuersis nauibus huiusmodi displosio fiebat: Hoc etiam die caliculus vini caustici singulis distribui cæpit.

Die 11. Petrus Nicolaus, commissarius in naui Concordia, è viuis excessit.

Terra Orientalis Indiæ apparet.

*Die 15. manè terram versus Occasum conspeximus. Nos insulam de **Galperico** esse iudicauimus. Terra erat admodum humilis, & fluctus ad eam horrendum in modum allidebant. Qua propter benè cecidit, quòd noctu huc non sumus delati: alioquin tota classis in magnum periculum incidisset.*

Die 23. scarbotus in nostra classe ita sæuiebat, vt quotidie multi morentur: quædam naues tam inualidæ erant vt vix tot sani superessent, qui naues regere ac gubernare possent. Hoc die obiit Cornelius, Commissarius in naue Delphica.

Insula Latronum.

*Die 25. sub meridiem conspeximus insulam **Guaganam**, quæ vna est ex insulis Latronum, ad quam sub vesperam preuenimus. Terra erat edito loco sita, & incolæ illarum insularum cum 20. ex suis nauigiolis ad classem veniebant, cum quibus ferrum vetustum, gossipium, bananas & pattatas permutauimus. Tota nocte grauibus procellis iactati fuimus, & postero die manè stationem quæsiuimus.*

Die 26. manè Latrones cum 150. nauigiolis ad nos venerunt, quibus gossipium & amiamas vendidimus, pro quibus 700. cocos accepimus. Sub vesperam ad latus Occidentale insulæ Guagan, in fundo arenoso, decem vlnas profundo, parui tormenti iactu à littore anchoras fiximus Nautis, Spes, longius inde recessit: quæ cum tantum 8. aut decem integræ valetudinis homines haberet, archithalassus quosdam ei submisit, qui eam noctu ad stationem perduxerunt.

Die 27. subpræfectus cum dimidia parte classiariorum ad minorem insulam vectus est, quæ tribus milliariibus versus Austrum à statione aberat, vt videret, an ibi aliquid pro classe reficienda inueniri posset. Sed quia fundus illic erat asper, & sub scopulis latentibus facilè lembus amitti poterat, omnesque Latrones archithalassum rogarent, ne ad littus admoueret, promittentes, se omnia affatim in naues allatueros, archithalassus ad stationem rediit. Prætor nocturnus cum classiariis sinum lustrauerat, vbi aquam inuenit, quæ facilè aueni poterat. Hoc die per negotiationem aliquot gallinas, & plures quam 7000. cocos nacti sumus.

Die 28. ad custodiendum maiorem lembum, qui in littore fabricari debebat, & tutelam aquariorum, quinquaginta classiarii in terram expositi fuerunt. Hac vespera Omarus Eberwinus subitò mortuus est.

Die 29. coacti fuimus plures classarios & duo ænea tormenta in littore collocare, qui Latrones, iaculis armati, magno numero ad oram maritimam confluebant.

Februarius.

Die 1. 2. 3. & 4. Februar. Latrones multum orizæ ad naues attulerunt, quam permutatione abipsis accepimus. Fascem 70. aut. 80. librarum nobis pro ferruginosa securi, quæ prorsus corru pra & nullius vsus erat, dederunt.

Die 5. recensio omnium, qui in classe supererant facta est, & reperti 1260. viri: quo in numero comprehensi sunt, 32. captiui, partim Hispani, partim Indi.¹

Die 8. loco Ebervvini defuncti centurio creatus est Henricus Rosa, subcenturio Schutteni. Ei successit Bernhardus Schuttenus, signifer illius cohortis: huic suffectus est Otto à Vollenhoue, reformatus.

Descriptio insula Latronum.

Die 9. archithalassus concionem in littore habendam curauit.

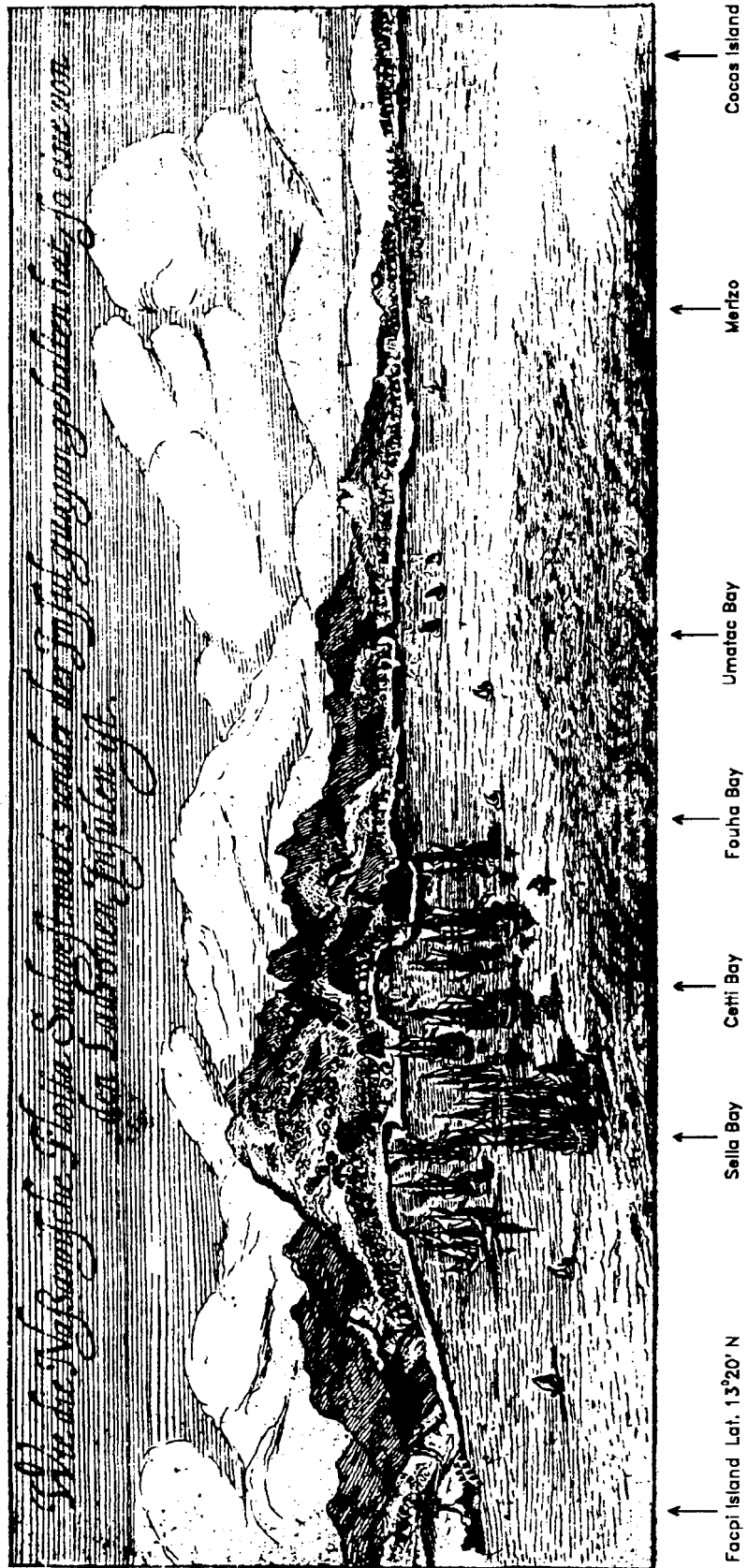
Die 11. manè, relicta insulâ Guaganâ, vela fecimus. Insula Guagana vna est ex illis, quæ vulgo insulæ de las Velas aut Latronum appellantur. Iacet in latitudine Aquilonari 13. grad. cum duabus tertiis: sed statio, in qua classis, fundo arenoso, & 10. 20. ac 30. vlnas profundo, anchoras fixerat, vno & dimidio jactu tormenti à littore, habet altitudinem 13. grad. cum semisse. Statio illa est ad latus Occidentale insulæ, ad quam tam ab Aquilone, quam ab Austro perueniri potest.

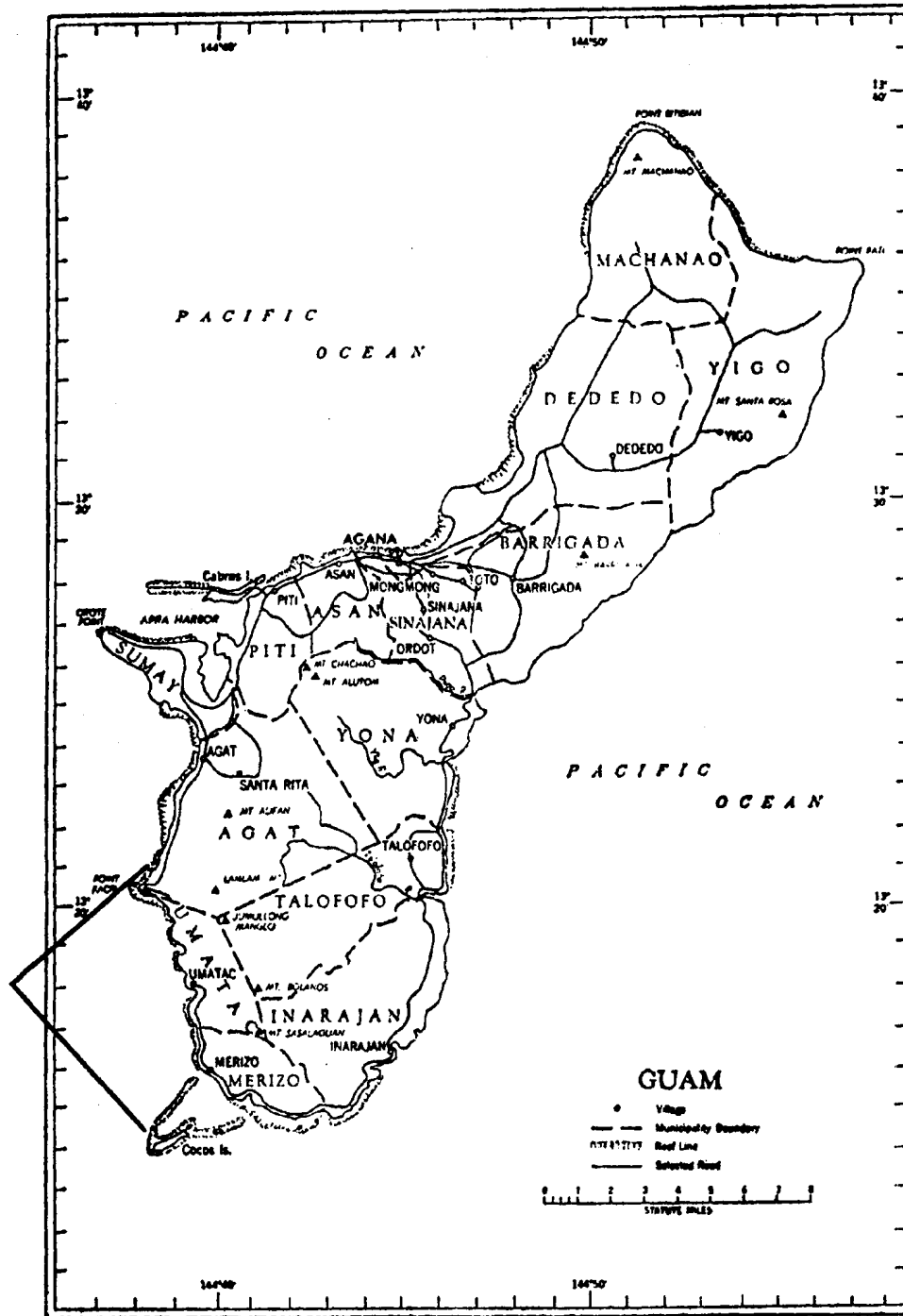
Insula est vtcunque alta, fertilis, & multis in locis orizæ ferax, prout apparet ex copia, quam ab illis accepimus. Gossipium & cocos innumeros profert, qui etiam in ea insulæ parte, quæ ad Ortum brumalem sita est, crescunt. Palmæ vbique sunt quamplurimæ, quas incolæ videntur in pretio habere. Annanarum hic ingens est multitudo, quas magno numero ab ipsis accepimus. Ab eo tempore, quo hic fuimus, 200. gallinas rapuimus: nam nullum animal hic nancisci poteramus, quidquid etiam studii ac laboris impenderemus.

Ingenium Latronum.

Latrone sunt corporibus optima proportione compositis, statura maiores quàm Tarnatani & alij Indi. Colore sunt rubiginoso, & prorsus nudi incesunt, nisi quòd fæminæ pudenda folio tegunt. Arma ipsorum sunt jacula aut fundæ, quibus industriè in bello vtuntur. Nauigia ipsorum, quæ Canoes vocant, sunt affabrè facta, & iis, captato vento, velociter velificântur. Vnam illa alam habent, qua in velificando æquilibrium servant, modò in prora, modò in puppi stantes, prout flat ventus. His nauigiis ad tria milliaria in mare excurrunt, quæ si euertantur, facilè ab ipsis attolluntur. Initio videbantur sincerè agere in negotiando: sed postea apparuit, illos nomen latronum non sine caussa gerere. Nam fasces orizæ, quos ab ipsis emimus, dimidia ex parte arena & lapidibus im-

1 Ed. note: This word confirms the fact that some of the prisoners aboard the Dutch ships were not Negroes, but American Indians.





Area of Guam seen from the anchorage of the Nassau Fleet.

(Facing page) The Nassau Fleet anchored off the southwest coast of Guagan [sic], one of the Ladrone Islands. (From De Bry's Latin edition)

pleuerant, alia que præterea furta committebant. Qui in littus exscendunt, eos sibi cauere, & armis instructos esse oportet, neque Latronibus vlllo modo fidere. Nam qui vltorius progrediuntur, in periculo vitæ versantur, quod quidam ex nostris, qui ab ipsis obruncati fuerunt, experti sunt.

[Ulithi sighted]

Die 14. sub meridiem, habebamus altitudinem 10. grad. 30. minut. & vidimus insulam Sahavedram: quod tamen cum tabulis chorographicis non prorsus conueniebat.

[Discovery of Yap]

Die 15. versus ortum brumalem, aliam insulam conspeximus, quam rebamur esse nouam insulam, qui in tabulis Chorographicis non extabat. Littus est altum, Guagano simile, quod quatuor milliaribus ab hac insula distat. Ea vtcunque lata est, quantum ex aspectu iudicare poteramus. Hic aliquot nauigia vidimus, quæ ad nos tendebant: in iis sedebant homines, gestibus & forma corporis Latronibus similes, crine oblongo & atro, cum quibusdam ornamentis circum corpus appensis. Sed cum vela daremus, nos assequi non potuerunt. Insula hæc habitata erat, & benè culta, quantum videre poteramus. Sita est sub altitudine 9. grad. & trium quadrantum.

Diebus 16. 17. 18. & 19. ventus ab Ortu solstitiali perdurabat.

Die 20. procella ab Oriente nos excepit, cum vehementi pluvia. Noctu velo medio versus Occidentem progressi sumus, ne in angulum Aquilonarem promontorii de Viscajo laberemur: quæ pars est Orientalis terræ Mindanao, seu magnæ insulæ Australis inter Philippinas.

Die 21. tempestas procellosa continuabat. Nos minori velo circum apicem Aquilonarem vehebamur, ne in vada & arenas laberemur.

Die 22. nullum adhuc littus videre poteramus.

Die 23. manè archithalassus, habito consilio, & auditis nauclerorum sententiis decreuit, cursum ad occasum brumalem esse continuandum, vsque ad altitudinem 3. grad. postea regionem Gilolo quærendam, inde celeri cursu ad Ternaten nauigandum. Sub meridiem comperimus, fluxum maris nos vehementer ad Septentrionem impulsisse, quamuis Aquilo flaret.

Die 24. media nocte inuenimus altitudinem 4. grad. 50. minut.

Die 25. vento ab Ortu solstitiali flante ad Occasum brumalem acti fuimus, & 12. miliaria confecimus. Sub meridiem habuimus altitudinem 6. grad. 20. minut. vnde animadvertimus, nos dimidio die dimidium gradum versus Septentrionem progressos esse.

Die 26. meridie altitudo erat 4 grad.

Die 27. ub meridiem altitudinem habuimus 2. grad. 45. minut. Nos in cursu ad Occasum brumalem perreximus. Ventus spirabat ab Oriente.

Die 28. terram¹ conspeximus versus Occidentem, sex milliaribus à nobis dissitam. Fluxus maris nos vehementer eò impellebat.

1 Ed. note: This land was the NW tip of Halmehera or Gilolo.

Document 1625D

Letter from Governor Silva to the King, dated Manila 4 August 1625

Sources: AGI 67-6-7; translated in B&R 22: 62-78.

Letter from interim Governor Fernando de Silva to Philip IV

Sire:

[The westbound voyage of 2 Spanish ships in 1625]

I advised your Majesty that I left Capulco [sic] on 6 April. That is one of the latest dates on which the ships have set sail, and we were fearful lest we would not make the coasts of these islands, as the weather was contrary—although one can reach them in a voyage of three months, which is the usual duration. When we started, the wind was so light that my fear increased because we did not sail 100 leagues in 13 days. During that time I found that my *almiranta* was sailing very slowly, so that I was obliged to resolve, in order not to risk everything, to leave it behind, with a good supply of food for a longer voyage. Considering how easily the *almiranta* could be wrecked, and that the [Dutch] enemy would be waiting in the [San Bernardino] Strait for a prize of such a great profit; and that if once they sighted the *almiranta*, escape was impossible, while I could not be of any aid, as I was quite without resources: I thought it advisable for your Majesty's service to take out all your silver and that of private persons [from it], trusting that I would not have the enemy any more to windward as had been the case while I was coming. This seems to have been the proper course, for I made the port of Cavite on 8 July. I arrived at such an opportune season that I believe the islands were never in such a great need of a new government and such aid.

...

The Dutch enemy came to this coast with a fleet of 3 large vessels and 2 small ones, while your Majesty had at the port of Cavite 2 galleons of very heavy burden,¹ 3 of 500

¹ Ed. note: Later, their names are mentioned as the **San Ildefonso** and the **San Raimundo**.

or 600 tons of the northern sea, 1 patache of more than 250 tons, and 2 galleys, together with many good soldiers and sailors and a goodly abundance of heavy artillery.

...

[The eastbound ships of 1625]

I also changed the appointments to the posts that I found filled for the ships which I am despatching now to New Spain, as those appointments were not made to suitable persons. Such were holding them with their [i.e. the auditors'] followers by illegal means and had no services or qualifications, although there are persons of excellent abilities, as are those who now hold them.

The ships are the best and most suitable that have sailed hence for a number of years past, and are of 500 or 600 tons burden apiece. They are well equipped with artillery and other necessities. They are heavily laden, for, although the enemy was along the coasts in smaller craft than in other years, this year the Chinese came and have brought the Portuguese from Macao. Regarding the danger that might be feared on the coast of New Spain from a Dutch fleet which we heard would pass through the Strait of Magellan, I left the viceroy warned so that, when those ships can reach that coast, he will have a sentinel and lookout at the island of Cedros, in front of the gulf of California—where they are ordered to reconnoiter the enemy's condition, and where the foe never expect them—and with a port to windward of the Cape of Corrientes, which is the place where they may be awaited; with that I trust, God helping, that they will be safe.

Eleven of the 14 Dutch ships [of the Nassau Fleet] that passed [the Strait] this year went to Capulco; they were those which the pirate took from Holland. Seven of them were large ships, and 4 small; three of them were captured in Peru. The reached Ternate with all [sic] of them, and 800 men aboard.¹ Accordingly I believe that they will come here in a few months; and as this state and its conservation depends on maritime forces (as does that of all the islands of the world); and as the building of three ships of the size of these two (which, as it could not be avoided, are going to New Spain) resulted, I hope from the willingness with which the Fathers of the Society offer to make two ships for me in the province of Leyte (where they have their missions), and the Franciscans another in those of Camarines, that they will be provided for me. The condition of the royal treasury and your Majesty's heavy expenses on the point of Cavite require that very urgently.

...

Your Majesty orders me to give you information as to how General Rodrigo de Guillestegui, who is commander of the ships that sail to New Spain this year, may be granted reward. According to his good service here and his great capability, the future succession [to the command of this fort], or that to the post of Master-of-camp, will be very well entrusted to him.

¹ Ed. note: We know from previous documents that they had over 1,200 men, but the number of their ships was about 10-12 ships. If any Dutch ships were captured in Peru, they must have been small ones.

...

The *almiranta* arrived on 29 July, and its being able to get here seems miraculous, as this is the season when there are no *vendavals*.

...

May God preserve your Majesty.

Manila, 4 August 1625.

Fernando de Silva.¹

¹ Ed. note: He had lived in the Philippines before, leaving them in 1621. He was apparently not related to Captain Fernando de Silva who was killed during a voyage to Siam during this period.

Document 1626

Letter from Governor Silva to the King, dated Manila 30 July 1626

Sources: AGI 67-6-7; translated in B&R 22: 93-103.

Letter from interim Governor Fernando de Silva to Philip IV

Sire:

Last year I advised you Majesty of the state in which I found these [Philippine] islands; and now I could tell you that they have not been in better condition for 30 years past. I kiss your Majesty's hand for the great favor which you do me in sending as my successor Don Juan Niño de Tavora, a person who, I am confident, will carry out whatever is ordered there for the service of your Majesty; for my part I shall aid him as much as I can, without heeding trifles.

As the despatch of last year was made early, the ships arrived at New Spain in less than six months, and returned to this city on 28 June, the day on which the [new] Governor took possession of these offices.

...

Of the ships which I informed you were being built, one is in Cavite, and the other, it is supposed, can be completed by Christmas, each of them of 1,000 tons of the North Sea. Two galleys are likewise being finished, which makes a sufficient fleet for anything which may happen here. By the way, I inform your Majesty that finding no remedy for the thefts of rigging, on account of the many foreign ships that arrive here, I have had a black thread put in the rigging belonging to your Majesty, so that it can be recognized and this loss will be obviated.

...

The ship which I had despatched to Japan for military supplies arrived at Nangasiqui, where they took precautionary measures until the emperor was informed. This resulted in their being notified a few days later that they must return without trading at all, and make it known that no ship should go from these islands under pain of death,

on account of the religious which they conveyed from here; accordingly, it is impossible to enter that country alive.¹ The ship returned, and this year, goes as the admiral's ship to New Spain, of which the new governor will inform you.

...

May our Lord protect your royal person according to the needs of Christendom.

Manila, 30 July 1626.

Don Fernando de Silva.

1 Ed. note: The Jesuit relation of 1626 states that “the persecution of the missionaries in Japan has daily been assuming greater fury, and the doors are daily being shut more closely on the religious. It has been ordered under penalty of death, and of being burned with their merchandise and ships, that no ship sail from Manila to Japan. Accordingly, one ship which sailed last year and which they had not notified of the edict, they notified and ordered to return immediately to Manila, without allowing anyone to disembark, or to buy or sell anything—keeping them, on the contrary, shut up on the ship and guarded. The Japanese made a law that no Japanese could leave or enter the kingdom unless he first forswore our holy faith.”

Document 1628A

Jesuit annual report for 1627-1628

Sources: Original in AGI; Ventura del Arco mss. in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago (vol. i, pp. 523-545), and possibly in RAH Jesuit papers also; translated in B&R 22: 181-212. Another version is in RAH; translated in B&R 22: 212-216.

Relation of 1627-28

Copy of a relation written by a Father of this residence of Manila on the condition of these Philippine Islands, and other surrounding kingdoms and provinces, from the month of July 1627, until that of 1628.

In the port of Cavite, which lies 3 leagues from and opposite the city of Manila, four very fine galleons were being equipped, that in size and strength could compare with the best in the world. For the flagship was the **Concepción**; for *almiranta*, the **Santa Teresa**; while the other two were called **San Ildefonso** and the [Nuestra Señora de] **Peña de Francia**. Besides these there was another smaller ship called the **Rosario**, and two other pataches and two galleys. The work was progressing rapidly; for as soon as the merchant ships that sail to New Spain were despatched [in 1627], our people had to begin their voyage to the island of Hermosa near China, in order to dislodge the Dutch who were fortifying themselves there.¹

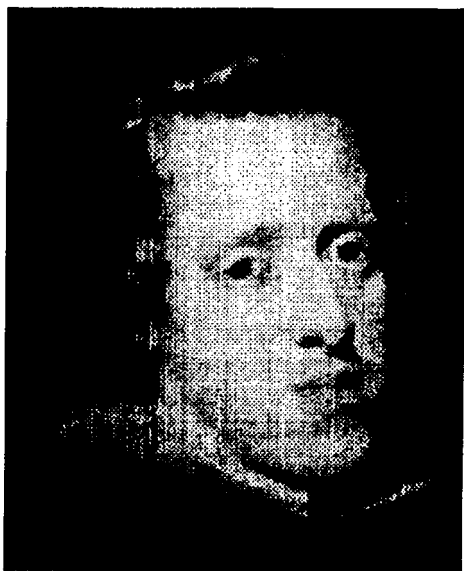
...

¹ Ed. note: The Dutch built Fort Zelandia on the western side of Formosa, whereas the Spanish went to build one on an islet in a bay at the northern end, near Keelung today. When the expedition to Formosa left Cavite, the flagship began to leak badly and was left behind. The San Ildefonso became the flagship. The fleet was overtaken by a storm and the Rosario was sent ahead. The others turned back to Cavite in September 1627, but the Rosario made it and came back in February 1628. In another expedition to Macao, the galleons were diverted to the coast of Siam, and returned to Manila after an 8-month voyage full of adventure and hardships.

[Micronesian drift voyage? Unknown visitors to Cebu]

A large hostile *caracoa* was discovered on the coast of the city of Cebu. The Spaniards went out to it and, having overtaken it, its people instead of surrendering and delivering up themselves, received our men with a volley of stones which they cast from certain slings, and showers of spears. When our men saw that the enemy would not easily come to terms, they attacked and killed them. Only six of them were left alive, who with the prize and boat were taken to the said city of Cebu, where the attempt was made to ascertain their purpose and from what land they came. But it was impossible to ascertain anything, for they understood none of the languages spoken here, although there are so many. They were thought to be people who had been blown from some island. They were naked, and had no firearms, nor even weapons of iron. Their ship had no nails, and a chisel that was found was made of bone [sic]. They ate lice with a good grace—by that propensity, being people of good taste. Some thought them to be from an island more distant than Borney; for the inhabitants of that island eat lice, and the fat ones with special liking.

...

**Portrait of King Philip IV by Rubens.**

In 1992, this painting which was hanging in the Kunsthau Museum in Zurich was destroyed by fire. It was a criminal act on the part of some vandal who wished to protest environmental pollution. The painting had been valued at \$1.9 million.

Rubens lived from 1577 to 1640. In 1628, he went to Spain and painted many works for the royal family. As for Philip IV, he was King of Spain from 1621 until his death in 1665.

Document 1628B

Report of appointments made by Governor Tavora, dated Cavite 2 August 1628

Sources: AGI 67-6-7; translated in B&R 22: 217-245.

1628 ships and their captains

Sire:

...

I have appointed General Don Andrés Pérez Franco as warden of Fort San Felipe at the port of Cavite, and military commander there and chief justice...

...

General Don Juan de Alcarazo I have appointed chief commander of the two galleons **San Ildefonso** and **Nuestra Señora de Peña de Francia**, which I sent as a fleet against the Dutch enemy who was at the port of Macao awaiting the ships of the Portuguese, which were going back from here with the produce from the merchandise which they brought...

...

Captain and Sergeant-Major Don Pedro Muñoz de Mendiola, who serves in this royal camp of Manila, I have appointed commander of the galleon **Nuestra Señora de Peña de Francia**, one of those which was sent in charge of the said Don Juan de Alcarazo, to the said port of the city of Macao, and other places, against the said Dutch enemy.

...

Captain Don Fernando Becerra I have appointed commander of the ship **Santísima Trinidad** which I sent with reinforcements and supplies to join the two armed galleons which General Don Juan de Alcarazo took in his charge...

...

Lieutenant Don Pedro de Axcueta Menchaca I have appointed royal Lieutenant of the ships which are despatched this present year to New Spain, as he has the requisite

qualifications and ability. He has served in military service in this camp in the capacity of soldier, and in that of lieutenant. He is the son of Master-of-camp Cristobal de Axcueta Menchaca, who died in these islands in the service of your Majesty. He has 800 pesos per year of salary. I sent him his commission on the 4th of July of the year 1628.

...

Admiral Don Diego de Axcueta Menchaca, who was appointed admiral of the ships which go to New Spain this year, I have promoted to the office of commander of them on account of Sergeant-Major Don Gonzalo Ronquillo (who was appointed to this office) remain in these islands. I have made the appointment because the said Don Diego de Axcueta has the requisite qualifications and ability. He has served your Majesty in military service in these islands for 19 years past, having been a soldier, lieutenant, and several times a captain of infantry, and one of the guard of Governor Don Juan de Silva. He was present at the battle with the Dutch enemy under the said governor in the year 1610, at Playa Honda... and afterward in the year 1616 at the said Playa Honda... He is the son of Master-of-camp Cristobal de Axcueta Menchaca, who died in these islands in the service of your Majesty... He has a yearly salary of 3,000 Castilian ducats, which is the same as has been enjoyed by the commanders of similar vessels. I sent him the commission on 24 July 1628.

Captain Don Fernando Galindo I have appointed admiral of the ships which will go this present year to New Spain, as he has the requisite qualifications and ability, and has served your Majesty in military service for 22 years past in the galleys of Italy and other parts of Europe, and in these islands... He has a yearly salary of 2,000 Castilian ducats. I sent him the commission on 28 July 1628.

Concerning the other appointments that may be made, I will send a report during the coming year, in the same manner as your Majesty orders me.

May our Lord protect you many years, with the addition of greater kingdoms and dominions, according to the needs of Christendom.

At the port of Cavite, 2nd day of the month of August of the year 1628.

[P.S.] In the ships which have just arrived from New Spain at these islands there came a royal decree by which your Majesty was pleased to confirm and approve the grant which Governor Don Alonso Fajardo made in these islands, while he was governor, to Don Luis Fajardo, his brother...

Ditto.

Sire, the humble vassal of your Majesty.

Don Juan Niño de Tavora.¹

1 Ed. note: In another despatch dated 2 days later he notes that "those ships spent just 4 months in a voyage that can be and usually is made in less than 3, and after suffering numberless storms and maladies—with the evident risk of leaving these islands without aid, because they had not left New Spain a fortnight earlier."

Document 1629A

Letter from Governor Tavora to the King, dated Cavite 1 August 1629

Sources: AGI 67-6-8; translated in B&R 23: 47-62.

Letter from Governor Juan Niño de Tavora to Philip IV

Government matters

1. Slowness of the ships which come from New Spain.

Sire:

In a separate letter sent with this same despatch, I write to your Majesty of the matters pertaining to war, revenue, the ecclesiastical estate, and the religious orders, that have arisen in the course of the year.

In the present letter, I shall briefly mention some general points of the government, for which I take pen in hand today, 19 July, before the arrival at this port of Cavite of the ships from New Spain, or news that they have entered the islands. Consequently we (I and all this city) are as anxious as can be imagined, as it is now so late and the *vendavals* have already set in with some vehemence. May God, in His mercy, have pity on us; and will your Majesty be pleased to urge the viceroy of New Spain, by ordering him to have the aid for these islands leave Acapulco at least by the middle of March. By that the voyage will be made certain; but if it is delayed until the last of the same month or the 1st of April, as has been done these last years, these islands are in evident danger of remaining without aid, and that would mean their total ruin.¹

¹ Ed. note: The ships of 1628 were the **San Luis**, commanded by Don Juan de Quiñones, in whose ship was the Governor's wife, Doña Magdalena de Oñate, and **San Raimundo**, commanded by Don Diego Muñoz, according to Fr. Medina's History (see B&R 24: 147).

2. Despatch of the ships leaving here this year.

I am despatching these ships before the arrival of the others, to the very great inconvenience of the entire country. But the trouble would be greater if the ships¹ sailed out of season, and after the subsidence of the *vendavals*, which is their proper monsoon. May God bear them with safety. They are the two best ships which have sailed from this place. The flagship was finished recently, and the *almiranta* is the same as new, because of the thorough overhauling that was given it on this beach.

3. Their small cargo, and the lack of trade in this year.

Their cargo is small, because ships from China and Macao have not entered Manila this year, and those which were laden in the island of Hermosa have not returned. The reason why the Chinese did not come is the multitude of pirates of their own nation who have overrun their coasts; while it is understood that the reason why the ships have not returned from the island of Hermosa on time is because the *vendavals* must have set in earlier than usual. Accordingly, for both reasons the ships take less merchandise than they could, and what they take is at advanced prices. Everything has been incredibly dear in Manila this year; and we could not live here if we did not have the hope of better conditions and an abundance of all things.

...

8. The fresh supply of saltpeter which was brought from India by the efforts of Don Felipe Mascarenhas, captain of Cochin.

Four galliots have come from India with flour and a certain quantity of saltpeter, of which we were in great need. The captain of Cochin, Don Felipe de Mascarenhas, is the one who has solicited it; and he aids me very punctually with what I ask from him. I am trying to have some ships built there for the New Spain line. I request your Majesty to thank him, and to encourage him to pay careful attention to the quick building of the new ships; for this would effect much, and relieve the [Philippine] islands of one of the greatest burdens that they endure, namely, the ship-yards and shipbuilding.

9. Embassy sent to the king of Camboja; the building of ships; and the trade that has been established with him.

For the same purpose I despatched an embassy this year to the kingdom of Camboja, in order to ascertain whether it has suitable timber. I have heard that those who went there have been well received by the king, and that he is answering me by another embassy composed of his vassals. They say that he has never done so with anyone else, and that the building of a ship was already being begun. I am momentarily expecting a patache which was bought there, in which the ambassadors are coming.

...

1 Ed. note: They were the **San Juan**, and the **San Luis** which turned back (see Doc. 1629B).

10. Embassy and trade with the king of Cochinchina.

I also sent a message to the king of Cochinchina, with letters and presents, in order to establish a factory in his kingdom, both for the building of ships and for the exporting of iron and other metals—which can be imported from there at much less cost than what is now incurred here in the islands. I have already received a reply from the king, which contains many expressions of desire that what I am trying to do will be effected; and I am in hopes of accomplishing it this year.

...

[12.] Despatch sent to Japan in regard to the burning of the junk, of which advice was sent last year; and the controversy regarding this which the city of Macao has maintained with me.

Like efforts have been made to restore the trade with Japan, which was formerly of great importance to these islands. I sent a despatch to the governor of Nangasaqui, sending him 42 Japanese whom General Don Juan de Alcarazo brought to me from a junk of that nation—which, as I advised you last year, he burned at the bar of the river of Siam. I offered them friendship and trade, giving them to understand that the burning was done without my orders; and that, if they would have trade and commerce with these islands as before, I would give satisfaction for the damage in the said burning. This despatch did not reach Nangasaqui in the time that I supposed, nor as yet have we heard from it. The news of the said burning having reached that same city at the time when the Portuguese were there with the galliots that make that voyage, trading with their merchandise, the Japanese attempted to attack them, and to force them to pay the value of the merchandise and the junk which were burned; and it is feared that thereupon they would lay an embargo on the three galliots. However, as yet we do not know with certainty or assurance, except that a suit was pending in the court of the king of Japan, the Portuguese claiming that they could not in justice be forced to repay the damage which the Spanish had done. Thereupon the city of Macao earnestly begged me to make satisfaction, and send the value of the cargo burned and lost in the said junk, in order to silence the Japanese. Being desirous of gratifying the people of Macao, and settling the matter, I called an assembly of theologians and jurists, in which I broached the subject. All agreed that so long as the Japanese persevered in locking the door to commerce with these islands, contrary to justice and reason, there should be no talk of giving satisfaction for the damage inflicted, until advice could be given to your Majesty—even though it should follow from this, by a casualty not intended, that the Portuguese with whom the said Japanese trade should have to pay for the loss.

...

[14.] Erection of the bridge; and how the hospital has been given the revenue [formerly] produced by the ferry boat.

The bridge which I began in this city (as I have advised you during the last few years) is now in such a condition that we can cross by it. It will be finished in a couple of months without having cost the citizens or your Majesty a single maravedi. The Sangleys¹ have built it from their common fund, with which they have been freed from the amount that the ferry-boat cost them. The latter belonged to the hospital of the same Sangleys, which is in charge of the Dominican Fathers; and it netted them at least 2,000 pesos annually.

...

16. Arrival of the aid and ships from New Spain.

Just as I reached this point in my letter, and when about to seal it, I received news that **the two ships which sailed for New Spain last year for the subsidy have returned with it**; and that they have made port in different parts of these islands, because the weather did not allow them to reach this port of Cavite. They left New Spain late, and the *vendavals* set in early. Hence the voyage has been one of the hardships, and it was a great mercy of God that they were able to make the islands, although not little is the discomfort and not few the additional expenses that have been incurred because of their inability to make this port. What I grieve over most is to see the inadequacy of the aid, which does not reach 250,000 pesos, while I informed the viceroy that we needed 400,000, as I wrote last year. Consequently, I again petition your Majesty in the same terms as in that letter, to be pleased to endow these islands with the said sum, so that it may not be at the will of the viceroys of New Spain to discontinue sending it. This is the chief point, and on it is based all the government of these islands, so that we may be able to give a good account of them to your Majesty.

...

May God preserve the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty with the increase of kingdoms and states that is necessary to Christendom.

Cavite, 1 August, 1629.

Sire, your Majesty's humble vassal,

Don Juan Niño de Tavora.

¹ Ed. note: The origin of this word is said to have been derived from the Chinese word for "merchant", in the Fukienese dialect. It became the common word for any Chinaman living in the Philippines.

Document 1629B

1629 events from Fr. Medina's History

Sources: Fray Juan de Medina, O.S.A., Historia de la Orden de S. Agustín de estas islas Filipinas, Manila, 1893 [but written in 1631]; translated in B&R 24: 160-168.

Chapter XLII

Of the election of our Father Fray Juan de Henao.

...
 Father Fray Hernando de Cabrera, an admirable minister of the Tagalogs, of whom we have already spoken, asked for leave to go to Spain. Together with the Father Master, Fray Pedro García, he took passage on the flagship **San Juan**, a new ship whose first voyage this was. Aboard it was Don Fernando de Silva, who had governed these islands, four procurators for the city of Manila, who were being sent to look after the property of the citizens, on account of unfair dealings by those of New Spain in the returns made for it [i.e. for goods exported from Manila]. Further, two Fathers and a Brother named Fray Juan de Peña took passage with them. Two of our religious embarked aboard the *almiranta*—Father Fray Lorenzo [sic] de Figueroa as procurator of the creole Fathers, and a Brother named Fray Francisco de San Nicolás.

They left the port of Cavite on 4 August. They experienced considerable suffering, for the *vendavals* were blowing vigorously, and those winds make it difficult to get out of the bay. At last it was God's good pleasure to give them weather which enabled them to make their voyage. In this line, on the return voyage to Mexico, the ships do not sail in company, but each one takes the direction which is most expedient for it, relying on God, who will aid them.

[The *almiranta* turns back]

The storms were frightful. The *almiranta* suffered the most terrible voyage that ever ship has suffered. For after a few blasts they had to cut down the mast, and, when they reached 36°, they lost their rudder. In such plight they agreed to return, suffering destructive hurricanes, so that, had not the ship been so staunch, it would have been swallowed up in the sea a thousand times. Finally God was pleased to have it return, as if by a miracle; and as such was it considered by all the inhabitants of Manila.

The other vessel, being a new and larger ship, on perceiving the storm, went to a lower latitude. It continued to plow the sea, to the great discomfort of all, for it was six months on the voyage. The Father Master, Fray Pedro, died on that voyage, with such an excellent example that there was no-one aboard the ship who was not edified. Father Cabrera also died with great piety, and like a devoted religious, as he was. The Brother lived. Even the chaplain aboard the ship died. In all, the dead numbered 95 persons, who could have peopled a world. Those who arrived were in such condition that it was necessary to let them regain their strength in the port of Valdebanderas. The procurators on both sides had this lot, which was plainly that which occurred to all. But against the will of God there is no-one who can go; what is important is, that His will be always done.

...

[The ships of 1630]

In the present year [1630] the vessel **San Juan** returned, the ill fortune of which was feared, because the *almiranta* had put back to port. It gave report of its voyage, whereupon the Order voted what was important.¹

They appointed a procurator who went to Spain. This was the Father Reader, Fray Pedro de la Peña,² who was prior of Macabebe in Pampanga. He took passage on the flagship **San Luis**. In the *almiranta* embarked another father, from Valencia, named Father Fray Vicente Lidón. These vessels left the port of Cavite on 4 August. They put back to the same port to lighten, and set sail again as heavily laden as before. They experienced no better voyage than the last ones had; for, besides putting back, they did not lack misfortunes. The flagship cut down its mast on the high sea, and was all but lost. The other vessel also suffered greatly, and between them both they threw overboard more than 140 [dead] people, while the others were about to die of hunger, for the voyage lasted 7-1/2 months.

[The ships of 1631]

New Spain no longer expected them, and therefore despatched two small vessels from Perú, in which came the visitor of the islands, Don Francisco de Rojas. Both vessels suffered greatly. They lost their rudders, and their arrival was a miracle. It is quite apparent that the Lord is very merciful toward the islands. We surmise that these vessels arrived, one in July and the other in August of 1631. The worst thing resulting to the Order in what happened to the vessels was, that no-one would take passage on the ships, so that the province came to a condition of the utmost peril. For, if procurators are lacking in Spain, there is no hope of getting religious; and the religious who are here now are dying daily. For never have I seen a triennium when there were not more than 20 deaths [reported], and sometimes even 30; while few are invested with the habit. Thus, perforce, the province is always in need of men.

1 Doubtless masses for the deaths of Father Pedro García and Father Cabrera.

2 He died the following year, aboard ship.

Nevertheless, I, who had always been desirous of going to Spain, at last obtained my wish this year of 1631, under the greatest strife and opposition that can be told; but I will not speak of them, as they are personal, although a not small history might be made of them. Finally, I embarked in the flagship (where I went as vicar), in which no other priest embarked. The ship was a new one, and had been built in Cavite, during the residence of Governor Don Juan Niño de Tavora, who named it **La Magdalena** for his wife.

It was always said that the ship had no strength and ought not to make the voyage. The people said this among themselves; but, when they spoke of it to the Governor, they praised it, and said that it was the best vessel in the world, for the contrary grieved him greatly. It was laden, and then its weakness was evident, so that they had to change their tune to that very governor. It was said that it would be made alright by putting in some stiffening—namely, three planks on each side, very thick and heavy—whereby it seemed that the vessel would be strengthened. Accordingly, the people embarked, a thing that ought not to have been done.

On Thursday, at dawn, we were about to set sail; and when they weighed the anchor that held the ship, it listed to starboard so rapidly that, had not the point of the largest yard caught on the shore, the ship would doubtless have keeled over. To see how many men perish there and so much property lost, was a day of judgment—an event such as no-one remembers to have heard told before. The artillery was fired at intervals from the fort of Cavite, whereat the Governor and many vessels came up. I was the first to escape from the ship, but as by a miracle; for I jumped into the water from the lantern, clothed as I was with my black habit. By God's help I was enabled to reach a small boat, in which I escaped, as above described. May the Lord's will be fulfilled. With this I have been in danger of death 7 times from the water while in the islands, whence the Lord by His mercy has miraculously drawn and freed me...¹

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Medina was able to make the voyage 3 years later, but he died at sea in 1635.

Document 1630

Royal decree of 1630 on shipbuilding

Sources: AGI 105-2-1; translated in B&R 24: 184-185.

Royal decree to regulate shipbuilding

The King.

To Don Juan Niño de Tavora, my Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, and President of the Audiencia therein, or the person or persons in whose charge their government may be.

It has been learned by my royal Council of the Indies that the warships which are built in those islands are so large that they can be used only to fight in a stationary position in any battle; and that they cannot avail for navigation, to make or leave port when desired, to sail to windward, to pursue, or for any other purpose; and that there are not sailors or soldiers or artillerymen in sufficient numbers with whom to man them, as the smallest ship is of 1,000 tons' burden. In order to equip them many war supplies are needed, also huge cables and heavy anchors, of which there is a great scarcity in that country. We have been informed that, now and henceforth, it would be advisable that no ships of burden greater than 500 or 600 tons be built which will be suitable for the commerce and trade with New Spain, and for the war fleet. And inasmuch as it is advisable that the best plan be adopted in this matter, you shall assemble the persons of that city most experienced in shipbuilding and in navigation, and in accordance with their opinion you shall proceed in building the ships. You shall endeavor to consider in their construction what regards both strength and capacity, and the other matters above mentioned.

You shall advise me of what resolution you shall adopt.

Given at Madrid, 14 December 1630.

I, the King.

Countersigned by Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, and signed by the members of the Council.

[Endorsement: “To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him to assemble the persons of that city most experienced in shipbuilding and navigation, and in accordance with their opinion to regulate the building of ships.”]¹

1 Ed. note: It would have been ironic if this decree had been received in Manila in 1631, at the time of the sinking of the **Magdalena** while still in port, but it was not one of the three royal decrees that the Governor received that year (see B&R 24:188).

Documents 1632A

Two documents about the Jesuit missionary band of 1632

A1. Letter from Fr. Balthasar Bernal to Fr. Bartolomé de Arjona

Source: RAH Jesuit tome 114 (new number 9/3687), folio 695.

My dear brother Bartolomé de Arjona,
Pax Christi, etc.

Not being content with having written a letter besides this one, which I sent from Mexico, I have seen myself obliged to write a second time, as I wish to give a report to my Brother Bartolomé about our second voyage from New Spain to this province of the Philippines.¹

We embarked at Acapulco, which is the port from which we left, on Sunday before Ash Wednesday, and then on Monday 23 February [1632] we set sail with a fair wind at the joy of everyone.

[Visit to the Ladrones]

At the end of 67 days, which was the last day of April, at daybreak we found ourselves with an island which is, and with others there called the Ladrones. So, we got there and, even at night the land [had not] been sighted. The *almiranta* fired a piece of artillery (as it is customary for the fleets to have the first ship that sees land fire a gun). The said noise that such a machine made brought some small boats full of those inhabitants of that land, filled with coconuts, potatoes, fish, rice and chickens in exchange for pieces of iron, from the hoops of kegs or barrels. For a piece of one-quarter [palm?] in length they were giving us a couple of chickens, they thinking that they were fooling us, [but] they were those who were being fooled, given the large quantity they would give in exchange for a trifle of iron. Among them, iron has a very great value. If a piece of

1 Ed. note: The first voyage having been the Atlantic voyage.

iron hoop was thrown from the ship into the water, they would throw themselves in after it and take it out.

They go around naked, without any law or *[word undecipherable]* in everything, in eating and drinking, in living and dying. There was then with us a Christian who spent three years there; he would relate to us other things that they are accustomed to do.

At the end of 11 days¹ we saw land belonging to the Philippines with the joy that one may think, but our Lord afflicted us with the death of Fr. Mateo de Aguilar who was Procurator of Carmona when he left to come to the Philippines, something which broke the heart of us all who had found him to be an agreeable person, peaceful and anxious to give pleasure to all. Finally, the next day, there came out to us a Father of our Society who resides in that neighborhood, with a very abundant refreshment consisting of some calves, many fruits and 300 chickens. As we kept going, many others came out afterward with a very great charity.

Finally, we came to an anchor in Cavite, which is the port, on 26 May 1632, where we were received with a very great welcome. After two days, we went on to Manila where we were also received with a charity such that is customary with the Society and what more can I say? Many of our brethren came out to the beach to receive us, then all the students of a very illustrious college that is in front of us.

Afterwards, the Father Provincial and the Father Rector and the others had a very solemn ringing of the bells, as we entered the church. We heard a *Te Deum laudamus* sung by what seemed more like angels than men.

After a space of more than one month spent here, in which many things worth narrating happened but which I omit so as not to be too lengthy or tiring, I do not say more except that our Lord should preserve my Brother Arjona and make him charitable enough to send me a long answer to let me know the news about our colleagues from the novitiate, Oriñ (?), Arres (?) and where and who else was *[word illegible]*, and what has been done to Fr. Pedro de Fonseca, Fr. Prepocito (?), Fr. Ministro de la Profe[sión] (?), Fr. Sacos (?), Fr. Sanlucar to whom you'll send on my behalf some very long messages [to the effect] that I'll be missing them all.

Good luck to you my brother, whom may our Lord preserve with an increase in [the state of] grace, the same as I wish for myself.

The servant of my brother in Christ,
Balthasar Bernal, S.J.

1 Ed. note: On 15 May, says Fr. Murillo de Velarde in his History (see below).

A2. Father Murillo de Velarde's version of events

Sources: Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde's Historia de la provincia de Philipinas (Manila, 1749), folio 60; translated in B&R 44: 54-57.

But soon God consoled this province, the mission arriving at Cavite on 26 May 1632. On 18 June 1631, they sailed from Cadiz, and on the last day of August arrived at Veracruz. They left Acapulco on 23 February 1632, and on 15 May sighted the first land of these islands.

...

They went to Acapulco a month before embarking, by the special providence of God; for there were many diseases at that port, so that they were able to assist the dying. Thirty religious of St. Dominic were there, waiting to come over to these islands; all of them were sick, and five died; and, in order to prevent more deaths, they decided to remove from their house in which they were, on account of its bad condition, to carry them in sedan-chairs; and although many laymen charitably offered their services for this act of piety, Ours did not permit them to do it, but took upon themselves the care of conveying the sick, their charity making this burden very light.

In the ship **San Luis** they continued their ministries, preaching, and hearing the confessions of most of the people on the ship—in which the functions of Holy Week were performed, as well as was possible there.

Twenty-one Jesuits left Cadiz, and all arrived at Manila except Father Mateo de Aguilar, who died near these islands on 12 May 1632; he was 33 years old, and had been in the Society 16 years—most of which time he spent in Carmona, in the province of Andalusia, where he was an instructor in grammar, minister, and procurator in that college... The rest who are known¹ to have come in that year with Father Francisco de Encinas, procurator, and Brother Pedro Martinez are: Fathers Hernando Pérez (the superior), Rafael de Bonafe, Luis de Aguayo, Magino Sola, and Francisco Pérez; and Brothers Ignacio Alcina, José Pimentel, Miguel Ponce, Andrés de Ledesma, Antonio de Abarca, Onofre Esbri, Cristobal de Lara, Amador Navarro, Bartolomé Sanchez; also Brother Juan Gazera, a coadjutor, and Diego Blanco and Pedro García, candidates [for the priesthood].

¹ Ed. note: It seems incredible but it is true that Fr. Bernal who wrote the letter above is not mentioned in this list.

Documents 1632B

Letters from Governor Tavora to the King, dated Manila 8 July 1632

Sources: AGI 67-6-8; translated in B&R 24: 197-224.

B1. Letter to Philip IV on government affairs

Sire:

I sent a despatch by way of India in the month of November of the past year of 1631, because the flagship [Santa María Magdalena] which sailed for New Spain sank here in port, and the *almiranta* [Santa Margarita] put back. A copy of the despatch which they carried goes in the first mail, with this, and I refer to it. Accordingly I shall now begin to give an account to your Majesty of what has happened since then.

The ships which had remained in New Spain last year, reached here during the last part of May after a favorable voyage.¹ Therefore I trust that they will depart earlier than in previous years, and that the voyages may become regular.

The ships brought as a subsidy 234,000 pesos for the royal treasury. Last year, we receive 200,000. The viceroy writes that he can do no more. The visitor here will not, I believe, consider it little, since he does not have it in his charge. Certain it is that the last 6 remittances which the viceroy has made to these islands have all been smaller than those made by the other viceroys. I confess that the times have become hard; but one can but ill sustain a number of men, or take care of the expenses of war, on less than what their pay and salaries amount to. The accounts for the five years which were asked are enclosed, and have been made out with all clearness. For the last three, it will be seen how much smaller have been the receipts and expenses than those of my predecessors.

Neither have the men come who are needed; for the past year came 80-odd soldiers, and this year 90. That is but a scant number for the many men who die here, for our forces are steadily diminishing. I can do no more, for money has not been coined here,

¹ Ed. note: These were the **San Luis** and one other, unnamed, ship.

nor do the people multiply. I ask, Sire, for what is needed to fulfil my obligations. The viceroy does not send the orders which are given him from there; they can not be so illiberal. As this is a case of need, I give notice of it, in order that blame may not be cast on me at any time.

...

I humbly kiss your Majesty's hand for the honor and reward which you have conferred upon me in having an answer written to me with such a great promptness to the despatches of the years 1628 and 1629. In what you charge me, namely, that I preserve friendship with **Japan**, I have had very great care; for, after the events of the year 1627, I have managed to give that king to understand the irregularity of the case,¹ and your Majesty's desire for friendship with his kingdoms. My efforts have already succeeded so well that this matter is already settled with the inhabitants of Macao, and the embargo has been removed from their ships. Having invited the same Japanese to come to trade with this city of Manila, two ships came last year, as I wrote in the last despatches. The answers which we gave to their proposals and letters seemed somewhat satisfactory to them; for this year they have again sent two ships, with letters from the Governor of Nagansaqui. In these he tells me that the trade is open as before, and that ships may go there from here, and that others will come here from there. That nation is very cautious, and there is little confidence to be put in them. If a person should come here whom they wished to go there to trade, I would not dare for the present to permit it, until matters are on a more firm basis; for it is certain that their hearts are not quiet, nor will they easily become so. They take vengeance at a fitting time. May they bring us bread and ammunition, as they are doing. I gave them good treatment here, so that it is now procured that the gains which they make on their merchandise and the lapse of time will accommodate all things. Their king died, leaving his son as heir. There are fears of war, that Christianity may not be so persecuted. I do not think that it would be a bad thing to have a bit of a revolution because of their contempt and selfishness.

In these [Japanese] ships were sent 130 poor lepers exiled to these islands, whom the heathen had tried to make renegades to the faith of Christ (as many others have become); but their entreaties had no effect on these people. I called a council of state to determine whether those lepers should be received, and in what manner they should be received. It was not because I hesitated to receive them; for, even though they might fasten the disease on me, I would not dare to leave an apparent Christian in the sight of so many opposed to the faith, and in the face of the persecution which had been raging in that kingdom. It was determined that they should be received immediately, and taken straight to the church; and that they should be welcomed, entertained, and supported with the alms which this community desired to apportion. A beginning has been made in collecting alms, and a room has been arranged in the hospitals of the natives where they are to be put.

1 Apparently a reference to the capture and burning of the Japanese junk in Siam.

Your Majesty gives that hospital a yearly alms of 500 pesos and a quantity of fowls and rice, with which aid it has now so increased the number of sick [who are cared for]. For a work so pious, and so worthy that your Majesty accept it as your own, I do not doubt that you will have its alms increased somewhat, in case that the fervor that is now beginning in the charity of the inhabitants should become somewhat cooled.

I am awaiting a ship from **Camboja** which has been built there on your Majesty's account. I am informed that it is already about to be launched in the sea. If it arrives before the sailing of this despatch, I shall advise you.

...

Trade with the kingdom of **Cochinchina** is of no importance to us... Shipbuilding cannot be effected in the said kingdom, as I wrote you in the year of 1630. May God have allowed you to have received the letters.

...

A ship has arrived from **Macao**, and several from **China**. With the goods which they brought, those from the ship that put back, what came late from Macao last year, and others which were recovered from the ship that sank, this community has enough to make a shipment.

...

The construction of galleys [rather galleons] in Cavite has been changed; for one unfavorable result changes the opinions of men which are of but little stability. Certain workmen declared that the woods of which the ship **Santa María Magdalena** was made (which was the one which sank last year) were heavy; and that for that reason it had become worthless—and not because its sides were defective. That was a lie, for having drawn it ashore, as I wrote, laden (which was a heroic task, and which could only have been done where there was so much apparatus for it) the ship was then repaired with a lining of knees. It has been tested in this bay, and it is very staunch, and carries all the sail that can be spread. Hence it was a lie to cast the blame on the lumber; but, as the common people and the friars (who desire that there should be a shipyard near here) urged it earnestly on account of this rumor, it was necessary to order that a shipyard be sought in another place. Consequently, the master-workmen have been sent to the San Bernardino Strait to build a ship for the coming year; for **those ships which came from Acapulco this year are not to return there**. They have well earned their cost. I sent the measures for a galleon, of the burden that we need here, to Cochin, and I trust that some agreement which will prove very advantageous to these islands will be made; for scarcely is there anything that will be more important than to suspend shipbuilding here for some time.

I am glad of the decree for Don Felipe Mascarenhas, and that the Council of Portugal has ordered that thanks be extended to him because he assisted these islands with ammunition and the other things which were asked form him.

[Lack of ship register]

The galleons have been repaired this year, and were completely overhauled so that they will last another four years. That is the best that can be done, because of the poor quality of the woods.

In the year of 1628, the ships left here without register. I have had no answer from your Majesty to the causes which, as I wrote to you, existed for that. I have heard that some reports have been made in that royal Council against me, in regard to it, by persons who did not understand or know the matter thoroughly. They used up much time in writing treatises to your Majesty; and lest, perchance, I did not give entire satisfaction by what I lately wrote, the acts and messages which were despatched in regard to the matter are herewith enclosed, in order that the reason which caused the ships to go without register may be seen. The good which the officers of the ships carried were in their own boxes, and not in a collection of boxes or bales, for they were not allowed to embark them in that way. If any official embarked anything, it was secretly. The penalty which was imposed (which will be seen by the records) could have been executed in New Spain.

...

May God preserve the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty, as Christendom needs.

Manila, 8 July 1632.

Sire, your Majesty's humble vassal,
Don Juan Niño de Tavora.

B2. Letter to Philip IV on military affairs

Sire:

I am duly grateful that your Majesty ordered the letters which I wrote from here in the years 1628 and 1629 to be examined in that your Council of War of the Indies.

...

I wrote about affairs pertaining to **Japan** last year, by way of India. In this despatch I enclose a copy of it in the first mail. May God bear it in safety; for, judging by what the fleets of the Northern Sea [i.e. Atlantic] encounter, we are always in fear. This year those of Japan have come with their ships; and the Governor of Nangasaqui says in answer to my letters that the trade may be considered as open, and that the ships from both sides may go and come, and that they will be well received. In regard to the *chapa* [passport] of the emperor, which is the licence that they usually give for trade with their kingdoms, he says that he will arrange that. They sent 130 lepers in these ships, who were exiled for the faith. We believe, through the assurance that we have of the bad disposition of that race, that this action has been a sort of vengeance or contempt; but it is quite certain that, although they may have done it for that purpose, it has resulted very well for us; for we have exercised an act of charity, which I hope, God helping, will confound them. For we received the lepers with great pomp and display of charity; and this city, aided by the religious orders, is striving to collect liberal alms for them.

Those ships have brought a quantity of bronze for the founding of artillery, besides an abundance of flour. Since they are doing this, and we are not for the present going there in safety, the matter is to be considered as more evil-intentioned than they may regard it. I shall endeavor, as heretofore, to promote peace and cordial intercourse, and that they may obtain all satisfaction for the affair in Siam. If they come to ask for it rightly, satisfaction will be given them, and the guilt of the commander who had charge of the galleons will be settled.

...

New Spain aids me with very little money; for this year not more than 234,000 pesos have come for the expenses of the treasury, and during all the past years aid came in almost the same way.

...

I am advised from **Camboja** that a galleon which I am having built there at your Majesty's account has been already launched. No-one thought that this would be accomplished; but it has been God's will that the difficulties should be conquered at last, and that this shipbuilding should be established in a place where this ship has been built at much less cost, and from more durable woods, than [it could have been] in these islands. As this one has been built, so can many others be constructed; and these provinces can be relieved from the great burden of their shipyards. I also have under discussion another negotiation with the city of Cochin in regard to this same matter; and, if it succeeds, it will be of great service to your Majesty.

...

May God preserve the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty, as is necessary to Christendom.

Manila, 8 July 1632.

Sire, your Majesty's humble vassal,

Don Juan Niño de Tavora.

Document 1633

Letter from Governor Salamanca to the King, dated Manila 14 August 1633

Sources: AGI 67-6-8; translated in B&R 24: 285-290.

Letter from interim Governor Juan Cerezo de Salamanca to Philip IV

Government affairs

Sire:

I have informed your Majesty from Mexico that, in accordance with the regulations in regard to the vacancies in this government of the Philippines, the viceroy of New Spain entrusted me *ad interim* with it because of the death of Don Juan Niño de Tavora, the regularly-appointed incumbent. **I left Acapulco on 5 April, and entered these islands with the flagship and *almiranta* on 8 July, after a prosperous voyage,** although the great calms of this year have obliged the ships to make port in the island of Mindoro, at a distance of 25 leagues from this city, where they are awaiting suitable weather to enable them to get to this city of Cavite. Accordingly, I came in an oared vessel to take possession of this government, on the 2nd of the present month.

...

This government and the preservation of its provinces consist in that the commerce of Great China and Japan be current, and specially that of Japan. In truth this is more considerable, both as it is a powerful neighbor, and because they are wont to bring from that kingdom many products which are needed—namely, iron, copper, lead, saltpeter, flour, salt pork, vegetables, drugs, and silver—and which it costs your Majesty considerably to have to supply from New Spain.

Our **relations with Japan** are broken up, because the Dutch with their accustomed scheming, so much so that the king has been irritated on account of the religious who have preached the holy gospel from these provinces, and fearful of new conquest, they have converted into hate the old-time friendship. The Japanese employ extraordinary harshness toward the Catholics. Although your Majesty has ordered my predecessors

in so prudent and Christian a manner, by your royal decrees, not to allow the religious to go to Japan until the times change, they have been unable to prevent it; for the religious have imprudently embarked in secret, thereby causing more trouble than good. They have thus left a deficiency in the missions of these provinces, where they have sufficient in which to busy themselves, since whole nations are heathens. The measure that I believe to be practical is for your Majesty to command the provincials of the Orders not to allow any religious to go to Japan for the present; for they only serve to irritate one who, if placated, will some day, when undeceived in regard to the Dutch malice, grant the liberty which he now denies. Now and henceforth I shall endeavor to give Japan to understand your Majesty's desire of good friendship and relationship. In accordance with this I shall attempt the same with the provincials, and have them concern themselves in converting the Japanese and Sangleys who live among us, until your Majesty be pleased to order otherwise.

The trade with Great China has also declined, because the Portuguese of Macao have become masters of it, as they are so near...

...

The governors whom your Majesty shall provide for these islands should be as experienced in nautical matters as in those of the land; and should at the same time understand judicial and legislative matters.

...

The advice-ships from New Spain were wrecked [!] this year. The ships sailing hence have put back to port, and their despatches have not arrived...

...

Because of my having taken possession of this government so late, although your Majesty had ordered that the ships that sail annually to New Spain should depart on the 1st of June, I have found, on the 2nd of August, their despatch so delayed that it has been impossible to make it before now, although I have not endeavored to accomplish any other thing since my arrival. I desire to have your Majesty informed that this despatch is not chargeable to me.

May God preserve your Majesty, etc.

Manila, 14 August 1633.

Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca.

Documents 1634

Letters from Governor Salamanca to the King, dated Manila 10 August 1634

Sources: AGI 68-6-8; translated in B&R 24: 301-337.

1. Letter to Philip IV on revenue affairs

Sire:

I informed your Majesty by way of India, on 22 October of last year, of the treasury matters...

...

Whenever ships or fleets have been despatched, some advance pay has been given to the regular sailors and soldiers.

...

After many discussions, the citizens [of Manila] had resolved not to lade any goods at present for New Spain. I gave a copy of all this to the fiscal and the royal officials. I resolved [not] to despatch the ships without cargoes, and even to take the boxes and bales from where they should be found and actually put them on board the ships; but the auditors and officials believed that it would be contrary to law to force the citizens. Therefore, I determined to call a meeting of the Audiencia, archbishop, fiscal, and royal officials, in order to determine what ought to be done in this matter. All were of the opinion that the ships should be laded, even though we should postpone the fulfilment of what your Majesty lately ordered,¹ for the damage that would ensue from the ships going empty would be beyond comparison far greater than the gain of the 2%; and that the appeal interposed by the citizens ought to be granted, as it was apparent that the report which the visitor had made was different from what had actually and truly taken place. In accordance with this, the city has given bonds for all the sum to which this duty can amount, now and henceforth, until your Majesty be pleased to provide what

1 Ed. note: Referring to a royal decree ordering the increase in duty from 3% to 5% on goods exported to New Spain.

is most advisable. In order that this may be apparent from the investigations, I enclose herewith a testimony of the acts.

...

I received some decrees in these last ships, which were sent in the year 1632, and others of the year 1633, concerning the treasury, which are being obeyed and will be carried out as is therein contained. When these ships set sail—and that has not been done before as the decrees were received late, and by way of India—I shall give an account of the condition of these matters.

The viceroy of New Spain has sent me 4 companies as a reinforcement, and this camp has 6 others. I have reorganized 5, so that there are now 6 companies in this city, each with more than 100 soldiers, which is the least number that a company generally has.

...

In the ships of last year, and by way of India, I informed your Majesty how expedient it was to charge 5% duty on the silver and *reals* that are sent annually from New Spain, as no remedy has been found whereby that commerce can be adjusted to the permission of only 500,000 pesos, which your Majesty has conceded to these islands.

...

May our Lord preserve the royal person of your Majesty and make you prosper, as we your vassals desire and need.

Manila, 10 August 1634.

Don Juan Cerezo Salamanca.

2. Letter to Philip IV on government affairs

Sire:

...

The jurisdiction of this Audiencia is set at rest from the ecclesiastical forces and the litigations of these inhabitants who, as is seen from the table which I am sending under separate cover, amount in all to 151 married men, 81 single men, 45 widows, and 160 children, besides 50 other men who live in other places. All the rest are paid sailors and soldiers, with whom the Audiencia has nothing to do; and from that one can infer how few affairs of justice arise...

Your Majesty permits only 4,000 Sangleys in these islands, but a greater number has been tolerated because of the advantage of the licences that they pay, and in order not to disturb the trade with China...

In the month of September of the past year, 5 Sangley ships were wrecked on this coast of the province of Ilocos, with a great amount of silver...¹

...
Your Majesty orders me by another decree of the same date [i.e. 26 August 1633]² to see that the ships which are despatched from all these islands to New Spain leave every year from this port in the beginning of June. That is advisable, but it is impossible to establish it this year; for never have these ships left without having to wait for the arrival of the others [from New Spain], in order that [the citizens] answer their agents in regard to their [commercial] relations, and because no other opportunity for this arises during the year. Consequently, although the ships have been, as far as I am concerned, prepared in time with all that is necessary, the inhabitants have not begun to lade them until they have seen those which arrived safely on 20 July. Since that, the fulfilment of this royal decree touching the 2% has been discussed, as appears more in detail from the sworn statement of the acts, which I enclose. From now on, I have commenced to order that the ships in the coming year are to set sail without those which are now departing; and that the royal decree of your Majesty must be inviolably kept and observed; but even with this warning in advance the early despatch has many inconveniences.³

...
As for the kingdoms of **Japan**, I am informed that the persecution of Christians was greater than ever last year, and that more than 20 religious from all the Orders were

1 Ed. note: The Audiencia sent a treasure salver, who brought back little more than 3,000 pesos.

2 Ed. note: This decree was published as Law XXXI in the *Recopilación de leyes de Indias*, lib. ix, tit. xxxv: "It was ordered that the ships that go from New Spain to the Philippines must sail from the port of Acapulco by the end of March, without extending even a day into April. And inasmuch as we are informed that that is inconvenient, we order that the ships be prepared with all that is necessary by December, so that at the end of that month they may leave the said port of Acapulco, so that they may be able to arrive at the said islands, at the latest, some time in March. It is our will that this be executed inviolably, and it will be made a charge of omission in the *residencia* of the viceroys of New Spain; and, if they do not do so, we shall consider ourselves disserved." Note that a complementary law (Law XXXII) reads: "The ships which are to be despatched and to sail from the Philippines for New Spain shall depart in the month of June; for there is great danger of their having to put back or of being wrecked if they sail later...."

3 Ed. note: The King reiterated his wish in an order given to Governor Corcuera, dated Madrid 6 November 1636: "I have determined that the ships which are despatched to New Spain shall sail without fail every year in the early part of June. Don Juan Cerezo tells me that it could not be established in the year of 1634. I charge you straitly to attend to the execution and fulfilment of this, with the earnestness that I expect from your zeal."

martyred, and that even those most carefully concealed were betrayed by their confidants for the reward of 1,000 taels which was promised by edict for each religious.¹

...

By virtue of your Majesty's decree in which you are pleased to grant authority to those governors to take the *residencia* [management audit] of their predecessors, because of the inconvenience experienced in their going away without giving it, the decree was presented to me on behalf of Governor Don Juan Niño de Tavora, deceased. By virtue of it I have taken his *residencia*, and send the same to your Majesty. I have not discovered that there is any charge to make against him, as he has lived honorably, and in the praiseworthy manner that his obligations demanded.

...

The wheat used by the inhabitants comes from China, because these islands do not grow it. Consequently, the common sustenance is rice.

...

The viceroy of New Spain has sent abundant reinforcements this year, with 300,000 pesos in money and the materials for the clothing of the soldiers (the best that have ever seen come here); this has been of great relief for the present needs.

...

May God preserve the royal person of your Majesty, as is needful to us your vassals.
Manila, 10 August 1634.
Don Juan Cerezo Salamanca.

3. Letter to Philip IV on military affairs

Sire:

On 22 October [1633], I informed your Majesty of military affairs. Now I shall do the same in detail...

...

Last year the Audiencia wrote that one galleon and one galley had been finished. It is a fact that more than 30,000 pesos have been spent in their construction, having been commenced in the time of Don Juan Niño de Tavora.

There is nothing of so great importance in this government as that the port of Cavite be well provided with the necessary naval supplies; and that this matter be charged to a competent and very intelligent person; for the other offices are bestowed as favors, but for this one we are looking for a person whom we can ask to accept it. According-

1 Ed. note: In a 1634 letter found in RAH Jesuit tome 146, n° 13, the story is told of the shogun being sick with leprosy and having summoned Catholic priests out of their jail to ask for a miracle cure for himself. A miracle did not happen; so, this edict may have been the result.

ly, we have found him, in the person of him who is commander of the fort there and shore-master, namely, Captain Juan de Olaz. He has so borne himself that the port has never for many years been found so well supplied and more faithfully administered—which is quite different from the utterly destitute condition in which I found it.

...

May our Lord preserve the royal person, etc.

Manila, 10 August 1634.

Don Juan Cerezo Salamanca.¹

1 Ed. note: A note in margin said that this letter was accompanied by the plans of the old and new city of Manila, but they are not now found in the same file. As for Captain de Olaz, the King, in his answer dated Madrid 11 October 1636, ordered Governor Corcuera to “give him many thanks on my behalf and let care be taken, regarding his person, that favors be bestowed on him when occasion offers.” (B&R 27:43).

Documents 1635

Arrival of Governor Corcuera in 1635

A note from the Augustinian History

Sources: Fr. Casimiro Díaz' second part of the Augustinian History entitled: Conquistas (see Bibliography, 1602-1694), pp. 323-343; translated in B&R 25:152-159.

Chapter XV ... Arrival of the governor, Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, and the religious who came in his company.

...
Two galleons arrived at Cavite on St. John's Day [24 June 1635], which were returning from New Spain with the reinforcements for these islands. The flagship of those vessels was called **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción**, and the *almiranta* **San Luis**. They brought the new governor and a company of religious of our order, and also some of St. Dominic, among them Father Fray Diego Collado. On 27 July Father Fray Diego de Ordáx entered the convent of Manila with his mission band, which was composed of 25 religious who have been very useful to this province.

That same year came also Governor Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, knight of the Order of Alcantara, and member of the Council of War in the states of Flanders, where he had served many years with great credit, being one of the most renowned captains at the siege of Breda. He had afterward been Master-of-camp of the port of Callao in Peru, and Captain-General of the cavalry of that kingdom, and lastly Governor of Panama. He brought a great reinforcement of soldiers, many of them from Peru, as he made his voyage to Acapulco from that kingdom. He was a gentleman of great valor, and one prone to undertake rash enterprises. However, he did not have much good fortune in the outcome of these, either in war or in politics, for all had a disastrous end. The reason of this is hidden, with the Divine plans; but, as the reader will see in the events that I shall soon write, it will appear that the beginnings of his government, fatal for these islands, could not have less unfortunate progress, the effects lasting until the

present time.¹ Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera took possession of this government on 25 June of the above year.

A note from the Dominican History

Part 2, Book 1 of Fr. Baltasar de Santa Cruz' History of the province of Santissimo Rosario, pp. 1-23; translated in B&R 35:26.

Chapter 1. Of the condition of the province in the year 1637, which is the first year of its History.

...
... On St. John's Day [1635] arrived two ships from New Spain, the **Concepción**, and **San Luis** with the subsidy. In them came to govern these islands, Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, knight of the Order of Alcantara; the new governor brought much aid, and many soldiers from Peru; for he had made his voyage by way of those kingdoms. A band of 22 religious came to our province, under the vicarship of Father Fray Diego Collado.

1 Ed. note: Written in the 1730s.

Documents 1636A

More briefs to the King, by Grau y Monfalcon, ca. 1636

A1. The services of Filipino soldiers recognized 30 years before such troops were sent to Guam

Sources: AGI 67-6-41; translated in B&R 25: 148-150.

Sire:

Don Juan Grau y Monfalcon, procurator-general of the Philippine Islands, desirous of your Majesty's service and the welfare and conservation of those islands, and that the Indians who are under your Majesty's protection and pay you homage be preserved therein, represents that the Indian natives of the provinces of Pampanga, Camarines, and Tagalogs have served and are serving your Majesty with great love and fidelity, since the time of the conquest of those islands. Not one of those Indians has ever been found in rebellion, or has wrought any treachery, or deserted to the enemy.

Those Indians, mingled with Spaniards, serve as soldiers in war, and have performed and are daily performing valiant exploits at the side of the Spanish. They were at the taking of Ternate; and, whenever occasion offers, they with other companies come to guard the city of Manila. They also serve as rowers and pioneers in expeditions by the fleets. On all occasions that offer, they serve your Majesty with their persons and possessions. The natives of the province of Tagales do the same. They, together with those of the province of Camarines, serve both in war and in the building of galleons and galleys with great friendship and goodwill.

In order that those Indians, specially the Pampangos and Tagales, may be encouraged to continue your Majesty's royal service, he represents that it would be very advisable for your Majesty to be pleased to command that letters be sent to them, expressing your great appreciation of their conduct; as well as to the Governor of Manila, ordering him to observe and cause to be observed *in toto* the decrees that were ordered to be despatched in their favor by their Majesties King Philip II and Philip III. If it should be deemed advisable, since they are serving in the military and are such valiant soldiers, in order to encourage them for the future, [it would be desirable to] honor

them with military offices¹ and charges; for, if the natives of the said provinces see that your Majesty is mindful of them, and honors them through your royal decrees, they will be encouraged to continue your royal service with greater fervor.

In case that it should appear expedient to despatch the said decrees, they could be sent to the alcaldes-mayor of the said three provinces of Pampanga, Tagales, and Camarines, and they should be ordered to assemble the leading Indians of those provinces, and have your Majesty's royal decrees read to them. Besides the many advantages that may accrue from your Majesty honoring the natives of these three provinces, may follow another very great one—namely, that the other Indians of the other provinces, who do not serve with so much friendship and promptness as they (on the contrary, many of them rebel daily and go over to the enemy), on seeing that your Majesty honors them by your royal decrees, and that the governors appoint them to offices and duties, will be encouraged to serve and to merit a like reward from your Majesty.

All the above he represents, so that your Majesty may take what measures may be deemed most fitting for your royal service.

[Endorsement:] “Don Juan Grau, procurator-general of the Philippine Islands. 13 June 1636. Have the Governor notified to be very careful for the Indians of these three provinces; and to encourage them greatly. Order him to summon their leaders so that they may always continue in his Majesty's service. Have a relation made to the effect that we have heard that they serve well, and of their fidelity. This being so, let him execute the aforesaid; and let nothing which is here proposed be said that may annoy the [Spanish] military officers.”

A2. Brief from Juan Grau y Monfalcon to the King, dated Madrid 6 September 1635

Sources: BNM ms. entitled: Tomo de papeles varios, impresos y mss. relativos a Indias, i.e. Ms. 8990—Aa.—47; translated in B&R 25: 48-70.

The galleon trade—Type of goods shipped on the Manila galleons.

Sire:

Don Juan Grau y Monfalcon, procurator-general for the distinguished and loyal city of Manila, the metropolis and capital of the Philippine Islands, declares that the preservation and protection of these islands are of the utmost consideration and importance, and deserve the most careful attention, on account of the great advantages and profits which they afford—to say nothing of the principal consideration, namely, the service of God, and the propagation of religion and the Catholic faith. In the aforesaid city and in the other islands that faith is established, and will steadily become stronger, increasing and spreading not only among those but other and neighboring

1 Ed. note: From the list of the men who took part in the expedition to Mindanao, it is clear that a few Filipino had already attained the rank of Lieutenant.

islands. This is specially true in Great China and Japan, which from continual intercourse and friendly relations with the Philippine Islands may—if the Christian faith is preserved and permanently maintained in the latter, and as deeply rooted and as pure and constant as at present—look, in the said matter of religion, for felicitous and great results.

The same applies to what concerns the service of your Majesty, and the profitable and advantageous increase of the royal estate, since even the profits which your Majesty at present enjoys and possesses in the said city and the other islands are many, and of great importance. For in one village alone, which they call Parián, an arquebus-shot from the said city,¹ more than 20,000 Chinese Indians called Sangleys, and in the other islands over 10,000 more, have all come from Great China and Japan for their own private affairs and interests. It is they who build up and maintain the greater part of the traffic and commerce of the islands.

From that result the trade with New Spain, and the ships which sail thither annually, laden with many different kinds of merchandise (carried [to Manila] and bartered by the said Sangleys)—such as gold (wrought, and in sheets); diamonds, rubies, and other gems, besides a great quantity of pearls; many silk textiles of all colors—taffetas, damasks, satins, silk grograms, and velvets—and raw silk; a quantity of white and black cotton cloth; amber, civet, musk, and storax. Thence arises annually great gain to the royal treasury, on account of the many considerable duties which are paid and collected—both when the ships leave the said city of Manila, and their islands and ports, and in that of Acapulco; and later, when they enter New Spain and the city of Mexico. There, when the ships leave for the said Philippines, the duties are doubled, as well as in the said port of Acapulco, by those duties anew incurred and paid, the [trade of the] said Sangleys being a great part in this revenue.

...

... Many incomparable wrongs would follow if the said city [of Manila], the capital of the others, were to become depopulated, ruined, or destroyed. It is very near to that, because of the great and continual misfortunes and disasters which the inhabitants of it have suffered and are suffering, caused by fires that have destroyed almost the entire city and the property of the said inhabitants, and the shipwreck and loss of many different vessels, which have been miserably wrecked during the usual voyage from the said city to New Spain, with the destruction of the goods and wealth of the said inhabitants which are carried in the ships. The effects from so many and such large losses last and will last always; for those losses have ruined and impoverished the inhabitants to a degree very different from what one can imagine and explain.²

...

-
- 1 Ed. note: That 17th-century Chinatown was located in and around the area where the Manila Post Office was built in the 20th century.
 - 2 Ed. note: The author makes a case for the elimination of the additional 2% duty that the King had wanted to impose on top of the regular 3%. One of his arguments is that “the trade would be reduced to those who are richest and those with the most capital, who are not many.”

The eight reason, a very urgent and cogent one, is that since the year 1607, when the said commerce was in a much better condition, and the said Dutch had not begun to make their raids, or all the great damages that they have inflicted on the said islands and those nearby, and on the said Sangleys and Chinese—nevertheless, the said governors, Don Rodrigo de Vivero, Don Juan de Silva, and Don Juan Niño de Tavora (who succeeded him), seeing the difficulties involved in the said imposition, did not consider it advisable, nor did they dare, to put it into force. Much less could it be done today, after the lapse of almost 30 years, at a time when the inhabitants are suffering from such a great distress and necessity, caused by the many losses, as above stated, of many ships—some of which have sunk, while others have of necessity sought port on the coasts of Japan and other districts where such great riches were lost without its being possible to secure them, or for anything to be saved; and by the fires which they have suffered, on one occasion the greater part of the city, as well as the possessions of the inhabitants being burned. A few years ago [i.e. 1621] our flagship **Nuestra Señora de la Vida** was wrecked on Verde Island¹ while en route to New Spain, with the possessions and capital of the aforesaid citizens. In the former year of 1631, the ship **Santa María Magdalena** went to the bottom in the port of Cavite with all the goods and cloth aboard it. Although the cargo was taken out, it was after it had been in the water more than 1-1/2 months. Consequently, the damage to the owners was great and notable; and on that account all the capital was ruined, the trade limited, and the goods destroyed—so much so that if the said 2% be put in force, it will have the above defects, and the said trade will be ruined.

...

By that [concession] the inhabitants will receive a special favor, as is hoped from the greatness of your Majesty.

Madrid, 6 September 1635.

1 Ed. note: An island in the Mindoro Strait.

A3. Informational Brief of 1637

Informational brief to the king our sovereign, in his royal and supreme Council of the Indies, on behalf of the distinguished and loyal city of Manila, capital of the Philippine Islands, in regard to the claims of that city and of those islands and their inhabitants, and the commerce with New Spain: by Don Juan Grau y Monfalcon, their procurator-general at this court. Madrid, in the royal printing office, 1637.¹

Sire:

Don Juan Grau y Monfalcon, procurator-general of the distinguished and ever loyal city of Manila, capital of the Philippine Islands, makes, by authority of that city, the following declaration.

...

Number 73. Beginning of the commerce of the islands.

The commerce of these islands began with their second discovery and the first settlement, which was in the year 1565. However, it was at first scanty and of little weight, until during the government of Guido de Lavezaris, in the year 1576, the trade of China was introduced, and with it considerable profits, which extended it freely to New Spain, Guatemala, Tierra Firme [i.e. the Mainland of S. America], and Peru, by a royal decree of 14 April 1579. As it continued to increase, it was believed necessary to restrict it; and accordingly, by a decree of 11 November 1587, it was ordered that Chinese cloth brought from the Philippines should not pass from New Spain to Peru or to Tierra Firme. That decree was later confirmed by others of 13 February and 13 June 1599. And in order that what was prohibited in one way might not be obtained in another, decrees were despatched on 6 February and 18 December 1591, ordering the total cessation of commerce between the islands and Peru. That was later extended to Tierra Firme and Guatemala, by decrees of 12 January 1593 and 5 July 1595, forbidding the trade of China and its merchandise to all the Indies, except to New Spain, which was left open to the Philippines.

...

1 Ed. note: For bibliographical details, see Bibliography at the end of this volume. See also Appendix B for the portion dealing with the history of shipwrecks. This document is an expanded version of his brief of 1635.

Number 76. Declaration of what is or is not included in the 500,000 pesos allowed.

Inasmuch as there were certain doubts in regard to the sum of the 500,000 pesos of the returns [on investments], it was declared by royal decree of 19 August 1606 that it should include the legacies, bequests, moneys for charities, payments for service, wrought silver, and whatever else might be shipped, except by those who bound themselves to reside for 8 years in the Philippines. Such might carry their possessions in money, in addition to the general permission, as was declared by a decree of 20 November 1608; and the seamen of that trade route might take their wages in silver, registered, also in addition to the amount allotted.

...

Number 95. Trade of the islands necessary in New Spain, because of their goods.

In regard to the first part, which pertains to the merchandise, the trade of the Philippines is so necessary today in New Spain that the latter country finds it as difficult as do the islands to get along without that trade; and its lack cannot be supplied with merchandise from these kingdoms [i.e. Spain and Portugal].

The wares taken to Acapulco are plain and figured velvets, satins, and damasks; grograms, taffetas, and picotes; headdresses and stockings; silk, loose and twisted, in skeins, that reeled on spindles, and woven; thread; *tramas*,¹ plushes, and other silk stuffs and textiles. Of cotton, there are *sinavafas*,² fine glazed buckrams [*bocacies*], glazed linen [*olandilla*], fine muslins [*canequies*], and *semianas*; and of cotton and silk, beds, curtains, coverlets, quilts, and other pieces. [They also carry] civet, musk, and amber; gold and pearls; crockery-ware, cabinets, and articles made of wood, and other things; and the products of the islands themselves, of which mention has been made.³ But the bulk of the commerce is reduced to the silk and cotton textiles; for there is little else that is rare or elegant, or that has much export [value].

From the skeined silk, and the silk thread, and *trama* are manufactured in New Spain velvets, veils, headdresses, passementeries, and many taffetas, which were taken to Peru when there were ships that went to Callao, and to other parts of the Indies—where the black, brown, and silver-colored goods that are sent from Seville do not arrive in good shape, because the sea rots them.

...

1 A kind of weaving silk.

2 Material of the natural color, i.e. unbleached.

3 Ed. note: The Filipino-made products are listed in article 15. Some of these were: rice, palm oil, palm wine, salt, wax, tablecloths, Ilocano blankets, 18-carat gold, and nutmeg, not to mention all kinds of perishable food items.

Number 98. The damage caused by the silver that is sent to the islands is not at the charge of their inhabitants.

Fourth, in regard to the second point, which concerns the silver that is carried from New Spain, it is not denied that it may be damaging and prejudicial to bleed that kingdom on that side; but it is denied that the excess in this is that which is alleged...

If more silver than what their inhabitants carry goes in the Philippine ships, as that which exceeds [the permission of 500,000 pesos], it belongs to the exporters of Mexico. Such money is sent for investment, and to be returned on the first voyage, and those who have it in charge try to buy on their arrival; and to shorten the time of their return, they will force prices in that place so high that what is bought from the Chinese for 100 will immediately advance to 200... Consequently, the whole profit is made by the inhabitants of Mexico; and, as they have more money, and are not burdened with the obligations of the islands—their expeditions, wars, and reinforcements—their profits, although smaller, are larger for their commerce than for that of the citizens of Manila; the latter lose, not only in the purchase, for the Mexicans increase the prices of the merchandise, but afterward in the sale which they make in New Spain. There they are compelled to sell more cheaply, in order to return immediately, or to take silver at high interest—which is not done by the inhabitants of Mexico, for they remain in their houses and sell as they choose, for they sell slowly, and by that means make up the excess of the price in Manila. The citizens of the latter place cannot enjoy that advantage, and hence return ruined, or with such little profits from such long voyages that, at the end, they scarcely realize the principal with which they commenced. Besides, as the greater part of their possessions are those on which the duties are paid, as they come registered, while the others are concealed and unregistered, by that fact also their costs [borne by the Manila residents] increase and their profits are diminished.

...

Number 100. Summary of what is alleged in this brief.

Therefore, they once more represent to your Majesty what is contained in greater detail in this brief.

...

Therefore, the procurator-general of the islands, reducing all their affairs to this brief, petitions your Majesty to grant them favor in the affairs and points which he will request in a separate brief.

Don Juan Grau y Monfalcon.

Document 1636B

Jesuit annual report for 1635-1636

Sources: RAH Jesuit tome 119, n° 16; translated in B&R 26: 31-59.

Relation of events in the city of Manila from the year 1635 until the month of June 1636

On the 23rd of June 1635, the ships from Castile [sic] arrived at the port of Cavite, in which came Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, knight of the Habit of Alcantara, as governor and captain-general for his Majesty. On the 24th of the said month and year, on St. John's Day, about 4 p.m., he entered Manila to take possession of the government, first taking the customary oath, on entering through the gate of the Bagun-gaiabar,¹ which is one of the chief gates of this city...

[Governor Corcuera's nephews]

A few days after his arrival he reviewed all of the Spanish infantry in the camp (together with the rest that he brought in his company), where he made sweeping changes, leaving the four captains in the camp. He named as sergeant-major of the regiment Don Pedro de Corcuera, his nephew; and to the man who had held that office he gave the governorship of Hermosa Island. He likewise appointed, as captain and governor of his company, Lieutenant Don Juan Francisco de Corcuera, his nephew. He immediately decided that the ships (which were ready to make the voyage) should not go to Castile [sic], saying that it was not expedient for them to go; and thus it came about, for no-one dared to oppose him.

...

A ship has come from Macao and brought news that there had been a great persecution in the kingdom of **Japan** and the martyrdom of many Catholic religious. It is also said that Father Cristobal Ferreira, the provincial at that time for the Society of Jesus in that kingdom, has apostatized; and that he not only had recanted, but had married a heathen woman, and that the wife of the said Portuguese father had given birth to a child. Moreover, he had betrayed [to the authorities] the few other religious who

1 Apparently referring to the gate (now Puerta Real) at the southern end of the city...

had remained there. Such things as these, and worse, persons who abandon our holy faith usually do. The emperor of Japan has ordered that no friar or other religious should enter [that country], and has promised great rewards to those who should learn of their entrance into his kingdom, and inform him thereof; and he threatens severe punishment to those who do not do so.

Documents 1636C

Letters from Governor Corcuera to the King, dated June & July 1636

C1. Letter about commerce, dated Manila 30 June 1636

Sources: AGI 67-6-8; there are many letters bearing the same date, but this one deals with commerce; translated in B&R 26: 136-138.

[Summary in the margin:] “In addition to the permission given for the embarkation of cloth and silver, he asks that permission be given for 250,000 pesos more; for, if they are prevented from sending more than the amount conceded, the royal treasury is defrauded out of a great sum, through the smuggling that takes place.”

Sire:

Your Majesty's orders are not obeyed strictly in the Indies, either for want of honest officials, or because your vassals would be ruined if your orders were executed strictly and to the letter. One of the most essential ordinances is that of the permission that your Majesty has been pleased to give to your vassals of these Philippine Islands for [exporting] 250,000 pesos in cloth, and the provision that the proceeds therefrom shall not amount to more than 500,000 pesos of silver.¹ It neither has been nor is observed; for, if the officials were strict in not allowing more to be exported than your Majesty's ordinance states, then the merchants would do it privately, and as they would be no remedy for it. The same takes place at the return of the [investment in] silver; and after that the truth could not be ascertained.

This trouble can be obviated if your Majesty would be pleased to grant the vassals of these islands the favor to permit them to [send exports] of 250,000 pesos more. For, as the people are increasing in number, and are becoming richer, they cannot be maintained, because of the very heavy expenses that vanity causes, unless they can export a

1 Ed. note: In theory, this should have limited the net profits to 100%.

greater quantity of merchandise than your Majesty has permitted them to. By that means they cheat your royal duties, and also by not paying the freight charges in your galleons, although those payments are the backbone of your Majesty's treasury. By those funds the said islands are sustained, as are also the soldiers and sailors, and the galleons and other ordinary expenses—a great sum.

I petition your Majesty to be pleased to have this matter examined in your royal Council; and to order me to execute what is most fitting for your service, as far as may be possible. But since I am but one man in this region, I have no-one to aid me, and I shall not be able to carry out my wishes. Another means occurs to me, namely, for your Majesty to be pleased to grant tacit permission to your governor that, for all the goods exported over and above the amount permitted, he may strike a bargain with the said inhabitants, and oblige them to pay here all the duties and freight charges that they would pay if such cloth were registered. This measure has one great drawback—namely, whether your Majesty can find vassals who will serve you as governors, whose consciences are so well regulated that they will serve you as is just.

Therefore, Sire, I think it better, in order to obviate so great a loss as your Majesty suffers in your royal treasury, for you to be pleased to grant permission for the 250,000 pesos, whether to ecclesiastics or to laymen; and to order, under severe penalties of life or of loss of office in your royal service, that it be executed or observed inviolate. Account must also be rendered to your Majesty in this matter, in which there is so much corruption in all the Indies and in these islands—with flagrant violation of law, since it has obliged me to go in person to perform the duty of a royal official by lading the vessels myself, and not permitting any consignment outside the register. The governors cannot always do that personally, because of the many occupations and responsibilities imposed by government. In consequence, they are forced to entrust it to your Majesty's vassals, on whom the same penalties are laid and executed as are laid by your Majesty on your said governors. I discharge my conscience, and am awaiting the resolution that your Majesty may be pleased to take in this matter.

May our Lord preserve your Catholic person in its greatness, as is necessary to Christendom.

Manila, last day of June 1636.

Sire, your Majesty's vassal kisses your feet.

Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera.

[Endorsement:] "Let there be no innovation. 17 June 1638."

C2. Letter from Governor Corcuera on general matters, dated Manila 30 June 1636

Sources: AGI 67-6-8; translated in B&R 27: 21-35.

Sire:

Your Majesty was pleased to present for archbishop of this city Don Fray Hernando Guerrero, formerly bishop of New Segovia. I avow to your Majesty, in all truth,

that, [even] if I did not feel under obligation to you an account of what is going on in these your islands, which are in my charge, I would not dare to inform any other person than my natural lord of the archbishop's harsh, unbending, and irritable disposition. By the galleons which arrived last year came his bulls, which, with the decrees of your Majesty, he presented in the royal Audiencia. He was admitted to his church... A fuller account of this will be given to your Majesty by the [Jesuit] Fathers Diego de Bobadilla and Simon Costa, who are persons of great truthfulness, and have much authority in their order; they are going, as its agents, to Rome. From this your Majesty may be assured that they will give you truthful information about whatever you may be pleased to know regarding these islands. I entreat your Majesty, with all respect, that you will be pleased to command that their affairs shall be promptly and favorably despatched; for this religious order merits such favor for the services that they render to your Majesty. They provide chaplains for your galleons that sail to Ternate, on which service no-one likes to go, on account of the danger. The said Fathers are also rendering the same service in the galleons which go to Castile [sic]; they receive 12 pesos a month as pay, which has been assigned to them on account of the convenience of this service to your Majesty—although the said Fathers would serve without pay, most willingly, in order to show better the affection with which they always engage in your Majesty's service.

...

May our Lord guard the Catholic person of your Majesty, as Christendom has need.
Manila, on the last day of June in the year 1636.
Sire, your Majesty's vassal kisses your feet.
Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera.

C3. Letter from Governor Corcuera, dated Cavite 11 July 1636

Sources: AGI 67-6-8; translated in B&R 26: 269-290.

Sire:

[Two galleons sent from Manila in July (?) 1636]

1. I am at this port of Cavite, lading the two galleons belonging to your Majesty that carry the merchandise which you have been pleased to grant and permit to the citizens for their navigation and trade with New Spain. These two ships will carry this year a greater registered cargo than formerly the 10 galleons of the past 5 years carried. The usual amount registered was from 300 or 400 to 500 chests of silks, stuffs, and cloths [*lienzos*] (which here they call *manteria*); but now I have laden the flagship,¹ and the

1 Ed. note: This smaller 100-ton ship, named the **San Juan Bautista**, is known to have completed the voyage.

registration exceeds 1,000 chests, while the *almiranta*, which has a larger hold, will probably carry 1,200 chests.¹ The royal duties which belong to your Majesty will amount to 3%; the freight charges and further duties at the port of Acapulco will come to 600,000 or 700,000 pesos. Accordingly, if your Majesty's viceroy will send me even the proceeds of the said royal dues alone, I shall be able, in the four years' [service] that I have offered your Majesty, to relieve this your royal treasury of more than 300,000 pesos of debts, and to maintain these islands with what can be obtained from them—a thing your Majesty has so desired, and which you have so often charged so many governors to do. If God grants me life, that I may employ it wholly in the service of your Majesty, and in efforts to increase your royal estate, I will not content myself with that, but more and more will send you all the **cloves** from the Moluccas which can be procured in trade at your forts in Ternate.

...

I have also decided to purchase all the **wax** that comes from the *encomiendas* of your Majesty's vassals, and place it with that which comes from your royal *encomiendas*, to be sent on your Majesty's account to New Spain, so that the proceeds of the wax may be sent to your Majesty with that from the cloves.²

[Two small ships arrive from Acapulco on 6 July 1636]

2. I was occupied in this service on the morning of St. Peter's Day [6 July], being engaged in celebrating a feast to the blessed sacrament and giving thanks to God for the favor that He has shown to your Majesty in bringing to this port, at the same time and hour, your two galleons which I sent with the relief to Ternate—of which affair I will give account to your Majesty in another letter. There were two other ships, small ones, which the viceroy, the Marquis of Cadereita, sent to these islands with the usual aid, because last year, he had not sent galleons which could carry it.³ In other letters, I have told your Majesty of his reasons of convenience. By these ships I received the decrees which your Majesty has been pleased to command me to issue. ...

5. In another decree from Madrid, dated Madrid 4 May of last year, your Majesty commands, that in order to prevent the frauds which hitherto have been committed on the ships which sail with merchandise to New Spain, I shall, since this port [of Cavite] is so near [to Manila], sometimes go to examine and direct the lading, or entrust this duty to some careful person. Before the said decree arrived, I came (as I have informed your Majesty in another letter) to the said port to serve as a royal official; and I have already laden the flagship—which is an undertaking of so much importance that the governor who does not attend to it in person, but entrusts it to someone else whom he

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- 1 Ed. note: A rare case, in which the *almiranta* is larger than the *capitana* or flagship.
 - 2 Ed. note: The above details are reproduced here because of their connection with the cargo that was aboard the galleon **Concepción** two years later when she was wrecked in Saipan.
 - 3 Ed. note: Meaning purposely made obscure to hide the fact that the writer did not despatch the regular ships to Acapulco in 1635. Hence he implies that he did so by order of the viceroy.

supposes to be trustworthy, does not comply with the dictates of his conscience or with the obligations of his office.

...

10. In another decree, dated Madrid 30 December 1635, your Majesty commands that these ships shall sail from here so that they will reach Acapulco on December 1st. Your Majesty gave me the same orders last year by another decree that they should leave this port, without fail, by June 1st. Having called a council of all the pilots, both chiefs and subordinates, they affirm and assert that the said ships cannot leave until the 12th or 15th of July, because the *vendavals*—the winds with which they must sail—do not begin until that time, nor are they strong until the early days of August; and the ships waste the said 15 days in sailing the 80 leagues which they have to make among the islands to reach the mouth of San Bernardino Strait. For at times when they have sailed earlier they have been detained, before they could leave the channel, one or two months, in which time they have consumed a large part of the supplies for the voyage; and as a result, many of the men have died, from the hardships of the voyage or from want of food. For all these and many other reasons, I entreat that your Majesty will be pleased to believe that I shall not waste time in these despatches, as best suits the service of your Majesty and the benefit of your vassals.

I have spared the viceroys of Mexico from sending flour, oil, fodder, and a thousand other things for the equipment of the soldiers, of which there is no lack there—as how I am informing the viceroy, the Marquis of Cadereita, in the memoranda which I am sending him. By this your Majesty has been saved a great part of your revenue, as well as by the galleons not being repaired in Acapulco; for the viceroy did nothing more to them after the necessary repairs from the caulkers and carpenters who went on the ship. In a little more than a month, they could be again sent to sea; and they did not spend, at most, more than five months in going from here, three in returning, and one in port.

[Marginal note:] “Tell him that those ships are to depart at the time which shall seem most seasonable, since the orders do not intend that they shall set out with evident loss and risk at the time which has been fixed. While matters remain as they are, therefore, he shall make such arrangements as are most expedient.”

...

18. Don Pedro de Quiroga y Moya, whom your Majesty has been pleased to send to Mexico to take the *residencia* of the Marquis of Cerralvo, sends me a certified copy of a section of the instructions which your Majesty gave him, in which your Majesty has commanded me, by one of your royal decrees that, in order to stop the illegal transportation to New Spain of more merchandise than is permitted to the citizens, the ships shall be built thus: the *almiranta*, of 400 tons' burden; and the flagship, of 500 to 600 tons' burden. These decrees, Sire, have not come to my hands thus far, further than a copy which the said royal visitor sends me, issued in the term of Don Juan Niño de Tavora. This shall be very punctually obeyed in the future construction of the ships; but it is necessary to make the present voyage with the galleons that are already built.

I must remind your Majesty that the islands are at the end of their resources, as far as the Indians in them are concerned; for it is they who bring the timber from the forests for the said shipbuilding. I have thought of an expedient for this, in order not to complete the destruction of the Indians; it is, to ask the viceroys of your Majesty in New Spain and Peru to send vessels here. Every two years, let the viceroy of Peru send to New Spain a ship with the permission which your Majesty has given, one of those which the viceroy the Count of Chinchon caused to be built in the time when I served your Majesty there; they were of 300 to 400 tons' burden, and carried 12, 14, or 16 pieces of artillery. The cost of these will be paid here, on the account of this royal treasury. With this, and with rebuilding the galleons that are here, and repairing them every year, may be remedied the loss in the shipyards, and the destruction and ruin of the Indians. It is no light burden to maintain the laborers who cut the timber for the repairs every year.

Will your Majesty be pleased to command the said viceroys to do what I have proposed; and thus in the course of time the ships will come to be of the burden and lading that your Majesty requires. Meanwhile, until the matter is arranged, the galleons will go from here to New Spain every two years, each with two registers—one for the previous sailing, and one for the present year—as they go now. In the year when they go, they will bring back the half of the silver from the proceeds [of the sale of the merchandise]; and in the following year, when they do not have to go, the rest of the money will be brought in the ship which will be sent from Peru. I hope that your Majesty will approve this, and give such commands as are most expedient for your royal service, in order that these vassals who are so poor may be encouraged, and the merchandise that they export may bring in good returns when nothing goes unregistered, and that the Indians may be saved from ruin.

[Marginal note:] “Let there be no innovation in this matter which he proposes, and follow the orders which have been issued in regard to the building of ships; and tell him that, as he has been commanded, he shall make no innovations without first consulting the government in regard to the matter, so that orders may be given him to be put into execution.”

May our Lord guard the Catholic person of your Majesty, as Christendom has need.
At Cavite, 11 July 1636.

Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera.

Document 1637A

Jesuit annual report for 1636-1637

Sources: RAH Jesuit tome 84, n° 26; published by Vicente Barrantes, in his Guerras piráticas de Filipinas contra Mindanaos y Joloanos (Manila, 1878), pp. 289-303; translated in B&R 27: 306-329.

Events in the Philippines, 1636-1637, by Fr. Juan Lopez

Pax Christi, etc.

[To] Father Diego de Bobadilla:

I shall give your Reverence an account in this letter, although very briefly, of what happened in these islands after your Reverence left them;¹ for many are writing long relations of special matters.

...

Moluccas.—The relief ships for Ternate sailed in January of this year. Their commander is Jerónimo Enriquez Sotelo, who sailed in the galleon **San Luis**. As admiral goes, in the **San Ambrosio**, Don Pedro de Almonte, who came from Acapulco as captain the year before. Don Alonso de Alcoçer was commander of the patache which came from Acapulco as *almiranta*; and Rafael Ome was commander of a galley which had just been finished on the stocks, named **San Francisco Xavier**. Father Marcelo Mastri said mass in it and blessed it, on the day of its launching. A number of large *cham-pans*[sampan] went also. The Dutch were awaiting them with two galleons, but, seeing our fleet, they retired under shelter of their fort at Malayo.

...²

Japan.—Since ships have come neither from that kingdom nor from Macao, we have not had any letters giving a detailed report of events, but we have learned from Chinese ships that the Portuguese of Macao went to the fairs in that country, and made great profits. It is also said that the emperor has ordered the Dutch that they shall not

1 Ed. note: Fr. Bobadilla had gone to Europe to get more missionaries.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Lopez goes on to relate the Mindanao and Jolo campaign by Governor Corcuera, about whose victories he says, among other things, that “the booty found there was immense.”

be permitted at any time or place to harm the ships of Macao that sail to Japan. A renegade mestizo priest—of a Portuguese father and a Japanese mother—gave as his opinion that, in order to extinguish more completely the Christianity of that kingdom, they should exile all those who had any blood of the Portuguese or Spaniards. That was done, and they were delivered to those from Macao, so that these people might be taken to their city, and there be kept until further orders. They ordered that renegade also to go to Macao, since he was concerned by this. He begged them to send him to Jacatra [Jakarta] with the Dutch, and his request was granted. It has also been said that a cousin of the king [i.e. Iemitsu], who is lord of five kingdoms, is making war on him, and that many Japanese are following him.

...

This is what has occurred to me to write your Reverence. I shall be careful to do the same, God helping, every year, provided that your Reverence writes me of occurrences there.

May our Lord preserve your Reverence, and give you a prosperous voyage, etc.

Cavite, 23 July 1637.

Juan Lopez.¹

¹ Fr. Juan Lopez was born in Moratalla, Spain, in 1584. He entered the Jesuit order at the age of 15. In 1606, he departed for the Philippines, where he held numerous positions of trust in his order. For a time, he went to Rome as procurator of the Philippines. He died at Manila in 1659.

Document 1637B

Bañuelos y Carrillo's relation of 1638

*Sources: Original pamphlet printed at Mexico in 1638 (no longer extant); translated into French and published by Thévenot in *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (Paris, 1696), tome i, part ii; translated into English in *B&R* 29: 66-85.*

*Note: Bañuelos went to Manila as captain of the *San Juan Bautista* in 1637 and he returned immediately with another patache.*

Relation of the Philippine Islands, by Admiral Don Jerónimo de Bañuelos y Carrillo

...
The chief cause for the ruin of these islands is the great trade that the Sangleys carry on.¹ The king has permitted the inhabitants of the Manilas to export a portion of their capital to New Spain in the merchandise of that country. The Spanish inhabitants daily lend their names to those Sangleys and to the Portuguese of Macao, so that they may enjoy the freedom of that commerce. These people do not attempt to hide the fact that they are acting as agents for the inhabitants of Mexico; and these last years they sent such a quantity of merchandise to Peru and to New Spain that no sale could be found for it. That is a hindrance to the voyages of the trading fleet. The king of China could build a palace with the **silver bars from Peru** which have been carried to his country because of that traffic, **without their having been registered**, and without the king of Spain having been paid his duties, as has been well shown by [the visitor] Don Pedro de Quiroga y Moya. That silver was sent on the account of influential persons, who do not reside at the Manilas. The two vessels [of 1636] which left in his time paid more duties to the king than all the other ships put together which had made that voyage before; that clearly shows the neglect of the other officials commissioned by his Majesty to receive the duties. They have attempted to conceal the truth, by saying that those ships were richer than the others because Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera had

1 Ed. note: There were about 20,000 Sangley or Chinese merchants then living in the Parian, or Chinatown, outside the walls of Manila.

written, in the preceding year [1635], that he would not send the vessels that year; and that he had even detained and caused the unloading of those that had been on the point of sailing on the voyage to Acapulco. I do not know his reason for doing so, but I know well that he wrote that resolution [upon arriving] at the mouth of the Manila Strait—that is to say, 80 leagues from the city—and that without having consulted the inhabitants of the Manilas. Those of the country are agreed that the postponement has been their ruin; for they all know that they cannot maintain themselves against the Dutch or against the Moros except by means of the regular succor that is sent from New Spain.¹

The Marquis of Cadereita came at that time [1635] to act as viceroy of New Spain. He sent [in 1636] a large reinforcement to the islands very opportunely, under command of General Don Andrés Cottigillo [sic].² The latter brought news that Don Pedro de Quiroga had arrived at Mexico to inform against the officials of his Majesty, and that he would go to Acapulco [at the beginning of 1637] to inspect the ships and regulate the Chinese commerce. The inhabitants of the Manilas and the factors of the Portuguese tried to get back their merchandise that they had already laded on the vessels, being fearful of that news and that name of visitor. But, having finally recovered courage, they laded **the two vessels [in 1636]** that the governor had had detained the preceding year, which **were worth about 5 millions in gold**. Nevertheless, those of the country affirmed [to me in 1637] that they were not so richly laden as those which had sailed before, for one of the chief merchants³ has not put a single box aboard.

...

It will not be more difficult for me to demonstrate the other damages that we suffer in that commerce. The inhabitants of the Manilas have nothing on those vessels; their cargoes belong entirely to the Chinese, to the Portuguese of Macao, or to the Mexican merchants. If the king does not put a stop to it, the Chinese will absorb all the riches of Peru, and the subjects of the king in those islands will be forced to abandon them. I will go on to represent to your Excellency the other disorders in the government of those islands, as far as I have been able to learn them in the short time that I have spent there.

...

Among all those 150 families who are settled at Manila, there are not two who are very rich. My plan would be to allow those inhabitants to export Chinese merchandise to the value of 250,000 escudos [rather pesos], the greater part of which should be raw silk and cotton bolls, so that they could be manufactured in this country [i.e. New Spain]. For there is less [chance for] trickery in that sort of merchandise than in the stuffs manufactured in China, which ought never to be allowed to be taken to Manila.

-
- 1 Ed. note: In an 18th-century treatise on commerce, it is said that “in 1637 and for some years later, the subsidy sent to the islands amounted to more than 325,000 pesos in money, and enough goods to make up the [permitted limit of] 500,000 pesos.” (B&R 44:297).
 - 2 Ed. note: Bañuelos is possibly in error here, as the two ships of 1636 are said to have come under the command of P. Almonte and A. Alcoçer (see Doc. 1637A). However, Cottigillo was probably a Mexican, like Bañuelos, who returned immediately to Acapulco.
 - 3 Note in margin: “Bartolomé Tenorio.”

The permission of trade to that sum would also be proportioned to the ability of the Manila merchants; and they would get more than 500,000 escudos [sic] in return for it, for the profits of that trade are exorbitant. **Today even, when there is so much of this merchandise, 400% is gained on the poorest quality exported.** By that means Spaniards [in New Spain] could be employed in manufacturing that silk, the textiles would be better, and they would secure innumerable other advantages. Accordingly, the inhabitants of the Manilas would not charge themselves with the commissions of Mexico, and they would get all the profit derived from those islands, which is now quite universally in the hands of foreigners.

...

I will state here that the inhabitants of the Manilas should be allowed to export as many shiploads as possible of the products of their country—such as wax, gold, perfumes, ivory, and *lampotes*.¹ ... The silver taken to the Manilas would not be exported thence [to China]. I may be told that the king of China does not use that silver to make war on us; but even if it is used only to swell his treasury, it is as lost to us as if it were at the bottom of the sea. Your Excellency should consider that **1-1/2 millions in gold are sent annually to China.**

...

[Last news from Japan]

If the inhabitants of the Manilas had trade with Japan, they would derive great profit from it, but a secret judgment of God has broken the relations that we had with those islanders, and has given them into the hands of the [Dutch] heretics, after having permitted them to destroy our churches there, and their having put to fire and sword all the Spaniards or Japanese Christians there. Hence, we do not believe that a single religious is now left in all the country; and the people are compelled, under pain of death, to come to denounce those whom they know to be Christians. Our religious go there no longer, for it means a certain death to them to go to Japan. The following is the manner in which that persecution was reported.²

...

[The westbound ships of 1637]

In the year 1637, when I was about to set out [from Acapulco] as admiral of the vessels that were to take the reinforcement, I went to the port of Acapulco. There I found the vessel **San Juan Bautista**, which had arrived that year [i.e. earlier in 1637] from those islands, and which had lost its mast on the way. I endeavored to get Don Pedro

1 Ed. note: Ordinary cotton cloth.

2 Ed. note: He goes on to narrate the story of Will Adams and Sebastian Vizcaino, but his information is not first-hand. In a marginal note, however, he says the following about the island of **Rica de Oro**: “Ricca douro is an island which was discovered by a vessel from Macao [Da Gama?]. They landed there in order to repair their portable kitchen firebox, and a week later they perceived that the sand from there had been converted into plates of gold. I suffered a violent tempest in the latitude of that island, as the charts show it; and there are few vessels that sail in that latitude without having trouble.”

de Quiroga to advise the Marquis of Cadereita of the poor condition of the masts and other rigging of the vessel. He refused to permit it, and compelled me to embark, telling me that if we failed to embark by the first day of the month of April, we would run the risk of losing our voyage. While at sea, I asked the boatswain's mate for an inventory of the sails and rigging. I found that there were no spare sails, but one single cable, and one other old cable, which was used to make fast the pieces of artillery that were rolling about the ship. Ordering him to bring me also the inventory of what there was when they left the islands, I found that it had been equipped with three spare sails, five cables, and a quantity of rigging. He answered me that the sea had carried away the sails and that the ship had lost its cables as they left San Bernardino. Without pressing him further, he confessed to me that he had used the money that had been given him for that purpose in buying merchandise, in order to discharge a debt of 3,000 escudos [rather pesos] that he had paid for his post of boatswain, but that he had not found his account in that merchandise. I endeavored to punish him. He appealed to the commander-in-chief, and the latter ordered me not to prosecute him until I should have arrived at the Manilas. At the Manilas, he was excused, because they said that he had paid 3,000 escudos [sic], although he had made the king lose more than 60,000.

Those who furnish the provisions for the crew put in food of poor quality. The pilots cram their room at the stern with merchandise, thus endangering the vessel. Had I encountered a capful of wind during that [westbound] voyage, I could scarcely have finished it. I had to take a capstan at Mariveles to lift my anchor, and to make the port of Cavite, which is three leagues from that place. Thus for the 20,000 escudos that is drawn from the sale of those offices, 30,000 are lost, and the fleet is in danger of being lost—which means, of losing those islands. It is not sufficient to give the offices to sailors who deserve them; it is not at all necessary to compel them to perform the functions of soldiers when they have the inclination for it, or to punish them when they gamble, as is done.

...

[The eastbound ship of 1637]

In the year 1637, when I arrived at the islands, there were no vessels ready for New Spain. They were obliged to send a small vessel of 100 tons to advise the Marquis of Cadereita of their wretched condition, and to entreat him to send the usual reinforcement—notwithstanding the prohibition of the commerce with Peru, and their knowledge that there were no vessels at Acapulco. That showed how important it is to be continually building vessels for the Philippines, and for the governor to be a seaman rather than a soldier [i.e. a veteran] of the Low Countries... It is also important that those sent by the viceroy be men of merit and service, and that they be well treated in the islands.

The observation of all the above points will be of use to us in keeping off the Dutch, who are the most terrible enemy that we have; and who will become absolute masters of the Manilas if they can attain their ends. Spain, by observing those things, will triumph over her enemies. For my part, I will fulfill my duty as a subject by doing my

utmost for the service of my lord, and for the welfare of my country; and at the same time I shall discharge my obligation toward your Excellency of serving you.

Appendix A

List of ships through Micronesia for the period 1596-1637

SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque, 1993.

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
596 a	San Pedro	L. de Ulloa	Spanish	*Tello, *Carletti, Ribadeneira.	B&R 10:262. Gov. Tello aboard.
596 b	San Pablo	?	"	" " " " "	
597	San Pablo	L. de Ulloa	Spanish	*Tello, Ribadeneira.	B&R 10:262. AGI 67-6-6.
598	(2 ships)	?	Spanish	*Tellez de Almazan.	AGI 67-6-6. B&R 53:269.
599 a	Santa Margarita	J. P. de Losada	Spanish	Chirino, Colin.	B&R 10:163. Capt. Martínez, says Morga.
599 b	San Jerónimo	F. de Castro	"	" "	
599 c	N. S. de los Remedios	?	"	" " Alias La Contadora?	
500 a 2	Hoop [Hope]	Huydecoper	Dutch	*Adams, Purchas, Hakluyt.	Mahu Expedition. Shipwrecked in Japan.
500 b 2	Liefde [Charity]	J. Quaeckerneck	"	" " " "	" " " "
500 c	(2 unnamed ships)	?	Spanish	*Anon.	See Doc. 1601B.
500 d 9	Mauritius	O. van Noort	Dutch	*van Noort, Morga, de Bry.	First Dutch circumnavigation.
500 e 9	Eendracht [Concord]	L. Biesman	"	" " " "	Captured at Manila and renamed.
501 3	Santa Margarita	J. Martínez Guillesteguí	Spanish	*Anon., Pobre, Castro, Morga, Colin.	Shipwrecked at Rota. B&R 27:190.
501 4	Santo Tomás (+ 1 patache)	A. de Ribera M. & Olea	Spanish	Morga, Colin, Chirino.	Shipwrecked in Philippines. B&R 27:191.
502 a 4	Santa Potenciana (+ 1 patache)	A. de Rivera Maldonado	Spanish	*Pobre, *Acuña, *Colmenero, Morga +	Gov. Acuña aboard. 25 rescued at Rota.
502 b 4	N. S. de los Remedios	?	"	+ Aduarte, Castro, Díaz, Concepción.	B&R 12:49, 54; 31: 165, 169.
502 c 4	N. S. de la Antigua	?	"	" " " " "	From Peru. " " " "
502 d 4	San Alfonso	?	"	" " " " "	" " " " "
502 e 10	Jesús María	P. Flores	Spanish	*Pobre, Morga.	B&R 27:192. Rescued Fr. Pobre at Rota.
503 a	N. S. del Rosario	D. de Zamudio	Spanish	*Pobre, *Alcaraz, Aduarte, Morga.	AGI Fil. 19, Doc. 147. Pobre ch. 74.
503 b	San Antonio	?	"	" " " "	" " " " " "
504 a	Espiritu Santo	?	Spanish	Pobre, Martínez de Zúñiga, Colin.	
504 b	Jesús María	L. de Ulloa (?)	"	" " " " "	

SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque, 1993.

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1605	a (3 ships + 1 patache)	J. de Esquivel et al.	Spanish	Acuña, Colin, Martínez de Zuñiga.	B&R 14:54, 64; 16: 49, 286.
1605	b Jesús María	?	"	Acuña.	Wrecked in Mindanao in Jan. 1606.
1606	San Pedro y San Pablo	F. de Quirós	Spanish	*Quirós, *Leza, *Munilla, Figueroa.	Discovered Butaritari I.
1606	a Espiritu Santo	?	Spanish	San Nicolás, Concepción.	B&R 17:117; 21:122-7, 266-8.
1606	b (1 patache)	?	"	*Aduarte.	B&R 14: 332.
1607	(2 pataches)	R. de Mendoza	Spanish	Aduarte.	B&R 14:332.
1608	San Francisco	Suarez de Cevallos.	Spanish	*Vivero, *Cevicos, Aduarte, Colin.	Gov. Vivero aboard. MN 477. RAH 9/3657.
1609	(unnamed ship)	Ezquerro? Juan Tello?	Spanish	Martínez de Zuñiga, Aduarte, Grau.	Gov. Silva aboard.
1610	San Buenaventura	R. de Vivero	Span. & Jap.	*Vivero. Eastward passage.	1st Japanese ship to cross the Pacific.
1610	a San Andrés	?	Spanish	*Medina, *Arce, Silva.	B&R 17:132, 148; 23: 138; 24:53, 58.
1610	b San Francisco [Peruvian]	?	"	" " "	
1611	San Francisco [Peruvian]	S. Vizcaíno	Spanish	*Vizcaíno. Condemned Japan 1613.	Took 23 of 30 Japanese back to Japan.
1611	a 5 Santísima Trinidad	F. de Silva	Spanish	*Ríos Coronel, Concepción, Vizcaíno.	MN 142. BN 3176. B&R Bibl 279.
1611	b 5 San Buenaventura	J. de Balmaceda	"	" " " " " "	Purchased from Japanese.
1613-14	Date Maru	L. Sotelo & Hasekura R.	Japanese	*Vizcaíno, *Cardona, Lera, Murakami.	2nd Japanese ship to cross the Pacific.
1615	Date Maru	?	Japanese	Pagés.	Westward passage back to Japan.
1616	Angel de la Guarda + 1 patache	F. Bravo de la Serna	Spanish	Alcaraz, Ríos Coronel, Cocks.	To Japan. B&R 18:32, 51; 20:48.
1616	a 1 Sun	Joris van Speilbergen	Dutch	*Speilbergen, de Bry.	
1616	b 1 Moon	?	"	" " "	
1616	c 1 Morning Star	?	"	" " "	+ 1 captured Spanish ship.
1616	d 1 Aeolus	?	"	" " "	
1616	e 1 Jagher	?	"	" " "	
1616-17	Date Maru	Shogen M.	Japanese	*Fr. San Francisco, Pagés.	Came back to recover Japanese embassy.

SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque, 1993.

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1617 a	(2 pataches)	?	Spanish	Alcaraz.	B&R 18: 43.
1617 b	San Jerónimo	?	Spanish	Alcaraz, Fajardo.	Peruvian ship. B&R 18:53; 20:48; 24:91.
1618 a	Espiritu Santo + 1 patache	?, ?	Spanish	*Fajardo, *Sotelo, Martínez de Zúñiga.	Fajardo aboard. B&R 18:92,116, 187, 250.
1618 b	Date Maru	Shogen M. & Hasekura R.	Japanese	" " " , Pagés.	Shogen Mukai was from the Shogun's court.
1619	(2 unnamed ships)	?	Spanish	Fajardo, Martínez de Zúñiga.	B&R 18: 133,247; 20: 128.
1620 6	San Nicolás + 1 patache	F. de Ayala + ?	Spanish	*Roman, Fajardo, Martínez de Zúñiga.	Both wrecked Samar. B&R 18:252;19:90-3.
1621	San Andrés	F. Bravo de la Serna	Spanish	Fajardo.	B&R 20:34,44,114.
1622	(3 ships)	Nuñez, Salazar, Muñoz	Spanish	Fajardo, Medina, Díaz.	B&R 20:45; 24:120.
1623 3	(unnamed ship)	?	Dutch	*Fernberger.	JPH 7.
1624	(unnamed ship)	?	Spanish	Medina.	B&R 24:128. Augustinians aboard.
1625	(unnamed ships)	?	Spanish	*Silva, *Cartagena, Martínez de Zúñiga.	Silva aboard. B&R 22:62. RAH Jes. 108.
1625 2	Delft + Eendracht + 9 others	H. Schapenham et al.	Dutch	*Decker, de Bry. L'Hermite expedition.	Discovery of Yap. The Nassau Fleet.
1626	(2 ships)	R. de Guillestegui (?)	Spanish	Martínez de Zúñiga, Díaz.	Gov. Tavora aboard. B&R 22:76,93.
1628 a	San Luís	J. Quiñones	Spanish	Tavora, Medina, Martínez de Zúñiga,Díaz.	B&R 22:242, 277; 24:146-7.
1628 b	San Raimundo	D. Muñoz	"	" " " " " "	" " "
1629	San Ignacio + 1 other ship	P. de Axcueta Menchaca	Spanish	Tavora, Colin.	B&R 22:239; 23:60-1.
1630	San Juan	?	Spanish	Medina.	B&R 23:47; 24:160-1, 165.
1631	(2 pataches)	?	Spanish	Medina, Martínez de Zúñiga.	B&R 22:235; 24:166.
1632	San Luis + 1 other patache	?	Spanish	*Bernalto, Tavora, Murillo V., Martínez.	B&R 24:166, 197, 274; 44:55-56.
1633	(2 ships)	?	Spanish	*Salamanca.	Gov. Salamanca aboard. B&R 24:285.
1634	(unnamed ships)	?	Spanish	Salamanca.	B&R 24:210, 289, 290, 325.
1635 a	N. S. de la Concepción	A. Cottiglio	Spanish	Bañuelos, Díaz, Santa Cruz, Concepción.	Corcuera aboard. B&R 25:158; 35:26.
1635 b	San Luís	Pacheco(?)	"	" " " " " "	" " " "

SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque, 1993.

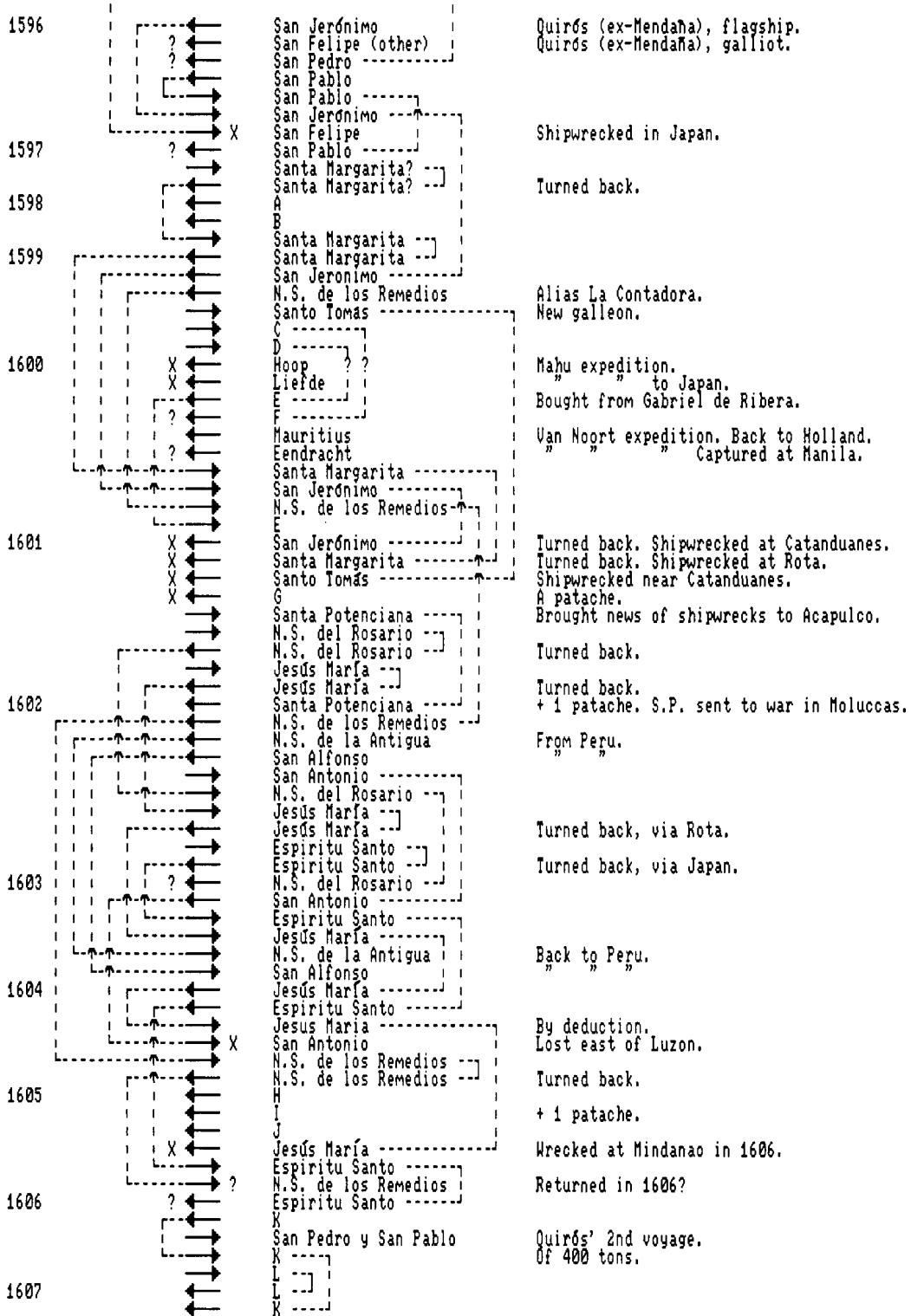
YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1636	San Ambrosio + 1 patache	P. Almonte & A. Alcoçer	Spanish	Bañuelos, Corcuera, López.	B&R 26:270, 27:313; 29:72.
1637	San Juan Bautista + 1 patache	J. de Bañuelos y Carrillo	Spanish	*Bañuelos.	B&R 29:83, 44:297.
1638	a N. S. de la Concepción	J.F.H. de Corcuera	Spanish	Corcuera, López, Díaz.	Eastbound. Concepción wrecked at Saipan.
1638	b San Ambrosio	J. de Bañuelos	"	" " "	" AGI 21-12-66. B&R 29:168;35:44.

VOLUME 3 APPENDIX A

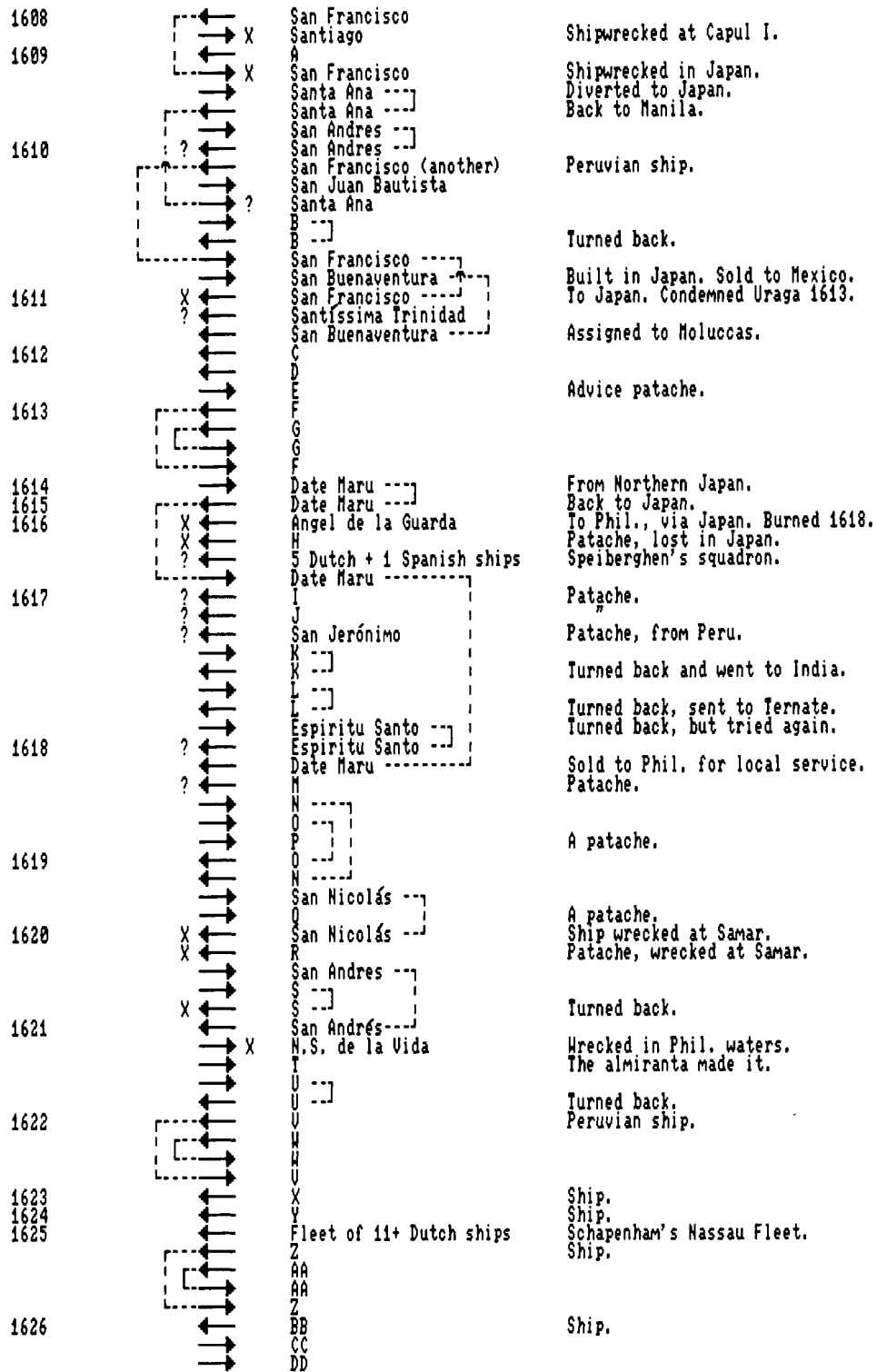
FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1596-1637

by Rodrigue Lévesque

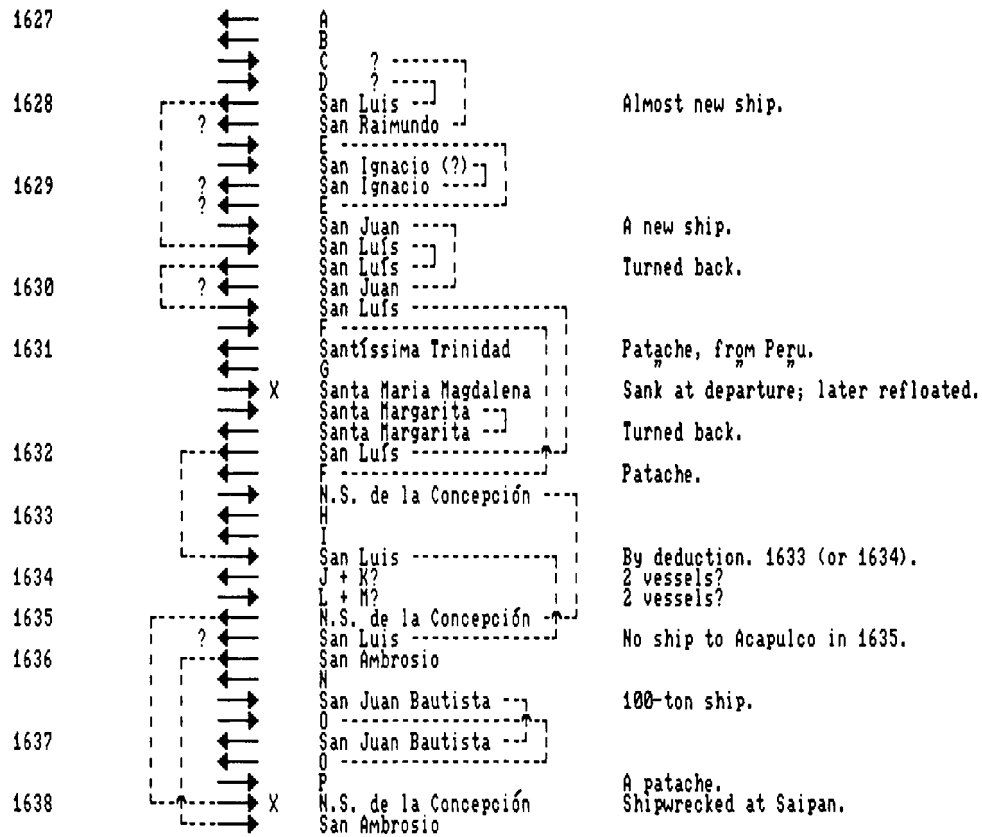
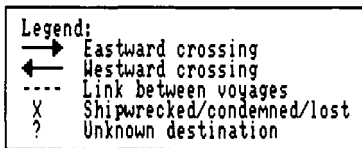
Legend:
 → Eastward crossing
 ← Westward crossing
 - - - Link between voyages
 X Shipwrecked/condemned/lost
 ? Unknown destination



VOLUME 3 APPENDIX A
 FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1596-1637
 by Rodrigue Lévesque



VOLUME 3 APPENDIX A
 FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1596-1637
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Appendix B

Shipwrecks and other disasters for the period 1576-1635, by Juan Grau y Monfalcón

Sources: Juan Grau y Monfalcón, Memorial informatorio al Rey, Madrid, 1637; copy of this book in RAH; ms. copy in BNM #8990, Aa-47, fol. 273-350; translation in B&R 27: 53 et sequitur.¹

Grau y Monfalcón's Informational Brief of 1637

...

Number 93. Misfortunes, losses, and damages that have been suffered by the city of Manila and its inhabitants.

The Spanish government was established in the distinguished and very loyal city of Manila, as capital of all the islands of those seas, in the year 1572.

In the year 1575, the pirate Limahong, a Chinese, attacked it with a fleet of 70 large warships. Finding it in such an incipient condition, and poorly fortified, he entered and sacked it. The Spaniards defended it rather by valor than by number, in a small fort that they had built.

In the year 1578, while Guido de Lavezaris was governor, the ship **San Juanillo** sailed for New Spain, in command of Captain de Ribera, in which it was thought to recover the loss inflicted by the pirate; but the loss became greater, for that ship was lost, and it was never known how or where.

In the year 1580, Captain Juan Ronquillo del Castillo sailed for New Spain in a ship² that carried no small cargo. After having sailed for many days, and having found himself in the neighborhood of New Guinea, he put back in distress in a very bad

1 Ed. note: Grau y Monfalcón was procurator-general, i.e. lobbyist, at the court for the city of Manila.

2 Ed. note: From what follows, we can deduce that this ship was the Nuestra Señora de la Cinta, and the year was 1581.

condition. In this it is to be noted that among the losses which Manila feels keenly, is that the ships of their commerce have to put back in distress; for in that year besides failing to obtain the profits of what they invest, and the investment of what is sent in return, they lose most of the principal, which they export, not only in averages, but in the costs and expenses.

In the year 1581, Governor Juan Ronquillo de Peñalosa imposed a duty of 2% on the merchandise exported to New Spain, and 3% on that carried by the Chinese to Manila. Although he was censured for having imposed those duties without having any order for it, they remained. That year a fleet sailed from Manila, in command of Don Juan Ronquillo [del Castillo], to succor the Moluccas and protect the Portuguese who were in possession of those islands; but after the cost, expense, and expedition, in which many of the inhabitants took part, it had no effect.¹

In the year 1583, on 27 February, while the funeral honors of the governor were in progress, fire caught in the church of St. Augustine and as the buildings of that time were of wood, all of the city was burned and made desolate, and not a thing was saved, not even the fort, in which almost all the possessions of the citizens were lost, while some people met death. That was one of the greatest losses that that city has suffered. That year, construction was begun again; and, in order to avoid a similar damage, it was determined that all the houses should be built of stone. That caused the inhabitants the expense that one may understand, and the city became one of the most beautiful that can be seen.

In the year 1584, Captain Pedro Sarmiento went to the Moluccas with reinforcements, with another fleet, which had the same expense and effect as the first.

In the year 1585, another fleet sailed in command of Captain Juan de Moron, from which, as from the others, Manila derived nothing else than having incurred the expense. That year, an insurrection that the natives of the country were attempting was discovered. It was quieted with some damage, although less than it might have been.

In the year 1587, the Englishman Tomas Candi[sh] besieged New Spain and pillaged and burned the ship **Santa Ana** which was en route to Acapulco very richly laden.

In the year 1588, the same pirate tried to burn a ship in the shipyard of the islands of Pintados [Visayas]. He was resisted by Manuel Lorenzo de Lemos, who was in charge of its building. Some men were killed in this affair and all the men of the islands were placed under arms.

In the year 1590, the royal Audiencia of Manila was suppressed. It had been established in the year 1584 [sic] and its suppression must also be reckoned among the hardships of that city, because of those which it suffered until the year 1597, when the Audiencia was re-established.

In the year 1591, the commerce of Japan—which was of great advantage, because of the provision of food which was taken thence to Manila—began to be disturbed. That was occasioned by the barbarian emperor [sic] Taycosama [i.e. Hideyoshi] trying

1 Ed. note: As a reminder, Portugal had become a dependency of Spain in 1580.

to make the governor of the Philippines pay him vassalage and tribute. That peril lasted as long as the life of the emperor [i.e. 1598]. The islands suffered from it, not only because of the lack of those friendly relations, but because it was necessary to place themselves in a state of defence against the tyrant, who was threatening them with his fleets.

In the year 1593, the two ships **San Felipe** and **San Francisco** sailed for Acapulco. They put back in distress, one at Manila, and the other at the island of Zebre [Verde], very much crippled and wrecked. That year was even more unfortunate, for Governor Gómez Pérez Das Mariñas sailing for the conquest of Ternate with 900 Spaniards and more than 200 boats (reckoning galliots, galleys, frigates, virreys, and other craft), and arriving at the island of Caça, the Chinese who were taken as rowers in the main galley mutinied, and killed the governor and 40 Spaniards who were with him. Thereupon, the expedition ceased, and the expenses incurred by the citizens for it, as most of them had embarked in it, were lost.

In the year 1596, the galleon **San Felipe**, one of the trading ships, under the command of Don Matías de Landecho, made port in distress at Japan, where it was wrecked. Those pagans seized the goods aboard the ship, and martyred some of the Spaniards, together with the religious and natives. The Church has placed the latter on the list of the holy martyrs.

In the year 1598, Don Luis [Pérez] Das Mariñas left for the expedition to Camboja with two ships and one galliot, and 200 Spaniards. After many misfortunes he put in at China, where his vessels were wrecked and beached, some of the men being saved.

In the year 1600, two ships under the command of Juan Martínez de Guillestiguí sailed for Acapulco. Both put back and were lost, the ship **Santa Margarita** at the islands of the Ladrones. The natives entered it in the island of Zarpana [Rota], as it was almost destitute of men, and pillaged all its cargo; and the men who were saved remained there some years. The ship **San Jerónimo** put in at the island of Catanduanes, where it was wrecked although the men escaped.

That year the Englishman [rather Dutchman] Oliver de Noort came in sight of Manila with war vessels, in order to await those ships which were expected from New Spain. Therefore it was judged advisable to drive him away. Doctor Antonio de Morga, auditor and lieutenant-general of Governor Don Francisco Tello, sailed to attack him. He took one moderate-sized ship, another of less size, one patache, and one galliot, with 100 Spaniards in each boat. He attacked the pirate, and the flagship, having been conquered, was set afire. Thereupon that of Spain cast off its grappling-irons, but was so hardly used that it immediately sank. Some of the men escaped in the small boat, and Doctor Morga reached an island by swimming; while the ship was lost, with the rest of the soldiers. The other ship conquered the English [sic] *almiranta*, and took it to Manila. It was an important capture, but very costly.

In the year 1601, the galleon **Santo Tomás** en route from New Spain, under the command of Licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera Maldonado (who had been appointed to the post of auditor), having been blown by a storm to the Mouth of Capul and the bay of Catamban, was driven ashore and was wrecked. However, the men and most of

the cargo were saved. The latter was taken to Manila overland and by sea, a distance of 80 leagues.

In the year 1602, Captain Juan Xuarez Gallinato went out in a fleet to attack the Mindanaos, who were infesting the coast of Manila. Although he inflicted some punishment upon them, the cost was greater than the remedy. That year the ship **Espiritu Santo**, en route to Acapulco, after it had cast out all its cargo because of the gales that it encountered, put in at Japan, where it was in danger of receiving the same treatment as had been given to the ship **San Felipe**. It was saved from that by the watchfulness of Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, its commander. The ship **Jesús María**, with a like loss, put in at the islands of the Ladrones; and, at the end of five months of navigation, both ships returned to Manila, almost without crew and without cargo.

In the year 1603, on the eve of St. Philip and St. James, some houses caught fire; and although many of the buildings were now of stone, the fire leaped to others which were built of wood, and so many were burned that the loss was estimated at more than one million.

That year was one of misfortunes for Manila. The Mindanaos sailed out on a marauding expedition, and went in sight of Manila, pillaging and burning some villages, and taking some Spaniards captive. It was necessary to send a fleet against them, under command of Gaspar Pérez, who made them retire. That year, on the 4th of October, occurred the dangerous uprising of 20,000 Chinese who lived in the environs of Manila. Although they were conquered and punished after two months of war, it was at a great loss to the country and to the Spaniards. In the first onset 150 of the best Spaniards were killed, almost all citizens, although there were not more than 700 citizens. The island was desolated and destroyed for more than 20 leagues around the city, which was in danger of being lost. The inhabitants who were left had to sally out, and, pursuing the enemy, finally conquered and made an end of them.

That year [rather 1604], of the two ships that sailed according to the permission, the flagship **Nuestra Señora de los Remedios**, after having cast out a great part of its cargo, and having lost its masts, put in at Manila; while the **San Antonio**, most richly laden, and with many people who, in order to escape the hardships of that city, were going to New Spain, suffered a greater hardship—for it was swallowed up by the sea, and no-one heard what became of it.

In the year 1604 was despatched the general decree granting the permission to the islands, which restricted the commerce with New Spain, as has been declared.

In the year 1606, Governor Don Pedro de Acuña made the expedition to the Moluccas which, although it had a good outcome, was very costly for the citizens of Manila, most of whom took part in it. He took 5 galleons, 4 galleys with poop lanterns, 3 galliots, 4 sampans, 3 *fustas*, 2 launches, 2 brigantines, 1 flat-bottomed boat, and 13 frigates with high freeboard. He had 1,300 Spaniards serving for pay, besides the volunteers and inhabitants, who were numerous. All incurred the expense that can be imagined in the expedition, without deriving other advantage than their service as loyal vassals. That year, while the governor was in the Molucca expedition with all the force

of the islands, the Japanese revolted in Manila, and the country arose in arms and was in great danger; but, after they had done some damage and caused much, they were subdued.

In the year 1608, two ships sailed for Acapulco, under the command of Juan Tello de Aguirre, and the flagship [**Santiago**] was wrecked in the Mouth of Capul, 100 leagues from Manila.

In the year 1609, three ships sailed under the command of Juan Ezquerra. The flagship **San Francisco** was wrecked in Japan, and the ship **Santa Ana**, which went to New Spain the following year [1610] put in at the same island.

In the year 1610, of the two ships that sailed in accordance with the permission, the *almiranta* returned to put in at the Philippines. That year Governor Don Juan de Silva sailed with 3 ships and 3 galleys to attack 4 Dutch ships and 1 patache which had been before Manila for six months, pillaging all the vessels that entered and left, and holding the city almost besieged. He found only three of the ships, burned one, and captured the two others with a loss of many men; for those expeditions, although their outcome is favorable, are always a source of loss to the inhabitants, because of the many who are killed, and because of the expenses incurred in them.

In the year 1611, the governor built another fleet, with which he entered the Moluccas—but without accomplishing more than the cost, which was heavy; and little was the reputation with which he returned.

In the following year 1612, there was nothing with which to make the despatch of the ships to New Spain, because of the losses and expeditions above mentioned, and an advice patache alone was sent.

In the year 1614, two or three ships from Holland burned and sacked the town of Arevalo [in Panay] with the whole vicinity.

In the year 1616, Governor Don Juan de Silva made the disastrous expedition to Malacca with all the force of the islands, of which mention has been made. He died there, and lost on that occasion all the sum that had been spent, which was so vast that it is affirmed that a million was left owing to Spaniards and Indians. To the extortions that were practiced for this, some attribute the ill success of the expedition. That year, while Don Juan de Silva was away with the fleet, the Mindanaos came with 60 *caracoas* and burned a ship and two pataches which were being built in the province of Camarines, and pillaged the land, seizing and capturing many people.

That year the trading ships, under the command of Don Francisco de la Serna, put back.¹ Fearful of the enemy, one discharged its cargo 20 leagues from Manila, and carried the goods overland. The other went to the island of Cibuyan [sic].

¹ Ed. note: Rather, the ship Angel de la Guarda [The Guardian Angel] and a patache came from Acapulco and had to divert to Japan where the patache was supposedly lost.

In the year 1617 occurred the battle of Playa Honda which was fought by the commander Don Juan Ronquillo with 7 ships and 3 galleys pitted against 6 of the Dutch. He sank the flagship, and one other ship, and another was burned. Of the Spanish ships, the galleon San Marcos was run aground and wrecked, as above stated.¹ That year two ships sailed for New Spain, under the command of Juan Pardo de Losada, and both of them put back.

In the year 1618, advice was received in Spain of the straitened condition in which the islands were, through so many disasters, losses, and foes; and it was determined to send them a goodly reinforcement by way of the East Indies. The commander, Don Lorenzo de Zuaçola, was given 1,700 soldiers with 6 large ships and 2 pataches, manned by 732 seamen and 30 religious. The fleet left Cádiz, and after sailing twelve days was, on 26 December 1609 [sic], struck by such a fierce a gale that the flagship and *almiranta*, besides three other large ships, were lost. The ship which was left, with the two battered pataches, returned to Spain. Thus deprived of the greatest reinforcement that had ever been sent to the islands, and when there was most need of it, the islands were greatly afflicted by that loss; but it was supplied by the valor of their inhabitants, who maintained themselves with their usual reputation at the risk of their lives, at the cost of their possessions, and in spite of their enemies.

In the year 1620, of the two ships that sailed under the command of Don Fernando Centeño, the flagship was lost, 30 leagues from Manila, through the fault of the pilot, whom they hanged there, while the *almiranta* put back to Manila.

In the year 1625, Governor Don Gerónimo de Silva made an expedition, taking for it 5 galleons (two of which were of 1,400 tons), 1 patache, and 2 galleys. There were 2,269 soldiers, 152 pieces of artillery, and 5 sampans, with food and ammunition in as great abundance as if they had sailed from Seville to Lisbon.

In the year 1631, the ship **Santa María Magdalena**, while already laden with its cargo in the port of Cavite, and about to sail, went to the bottom—drowning 14 persons and losing all the cargo aboard it, as it remained a fortnight under the water. The ship **Santa Margarita**, which was left by itself, sailed out, but put back with the losses of other times.

In the year 1634, the trade of the Philippines with Japan was suppressed by the efforts of the Dutch. That was a great loss, and it is not known [ca. in 1636] if it has been revived.

In the year 1635, as the city of Manila was so ruined and poor, it had no wealth with which to lade the ships of their permission, and hence the ships did not sail to New Spain.

These are the chief instances of which our knowledge can make relation, and in which Manila and the islands have suffered misfortunes; and those disasters have been so

1 Note in margin: "In number 31." Ed. note: It is said there that this galleon, having become separated from the fleet, the captain lost his courage when he came upon two Dutch galleons and caused the loss in question.

many that of all the 65 years since its foundation only 15 have been free from loss and disaster; and some of those disasters are so great that the prosperity of other years was unable to make up for them. From all of them can easily be inferred the proof of the two propositions, namely, the services of their citizens, and the small profits in their commerce, if, as the former are qualified by valor, the latter are proportioned to the losses, risks, and hardships that they endure in order to maintain it.

Appendix C

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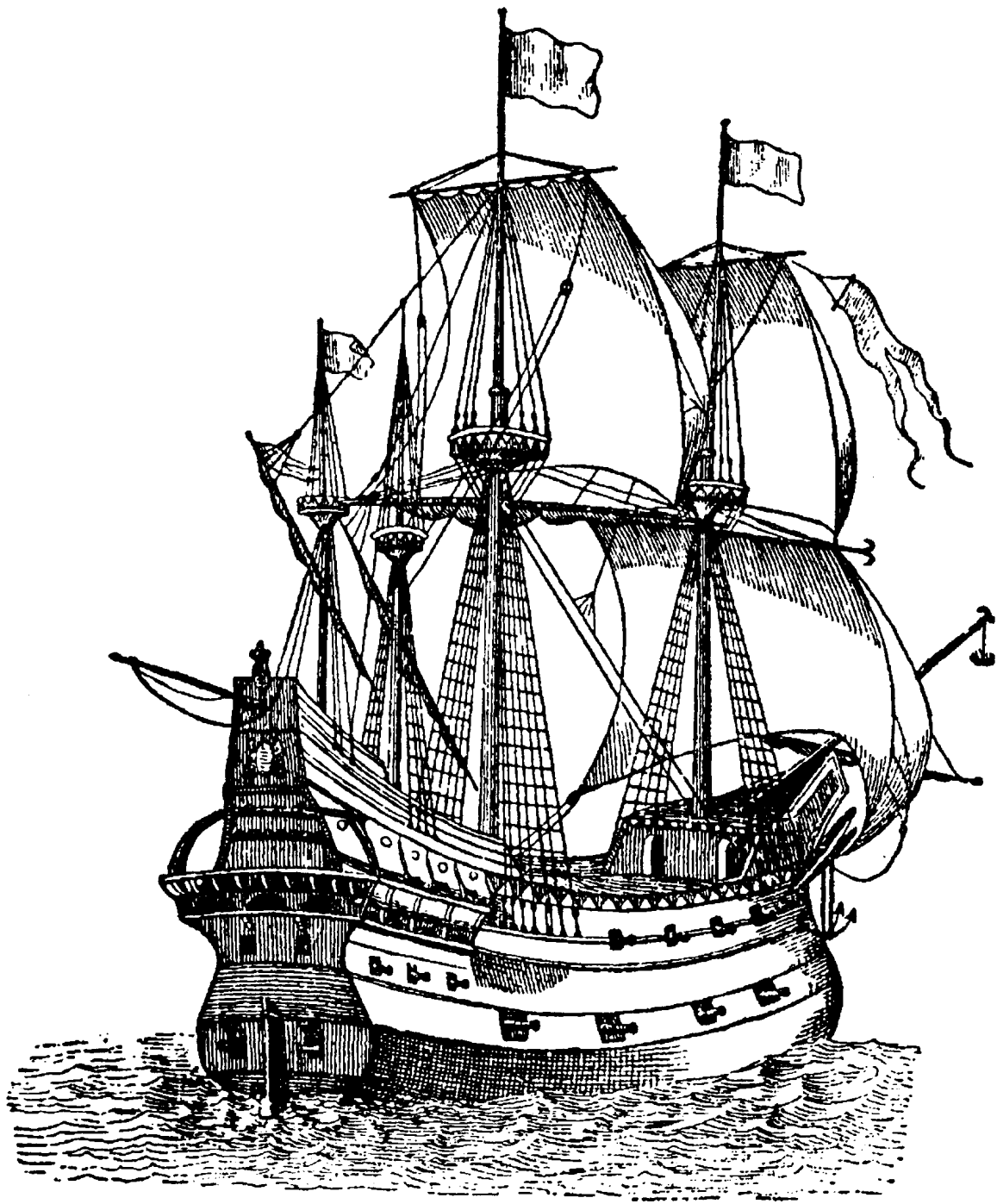
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