

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 48
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME
1521-1990

INCLUDING AN
HISTORICAL ATLAS
OF MICRONESIA

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VOLUME 48

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HISTORICAL ATLAS
OF MICRONESIA

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by

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—v. 30. Kubary's works, 1880-1884.

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—v. 33. Japanese traders, 1890-1897.

—v. 34. Gilbert Island Mission, 1888-1938.

—v. 35. Dictionaries of languages, 1828-1919.

—v. 36. Caroline Is., F. W. Christian, 1896-1898.

—v. 37. U.S. and Germany take over, 1898-1901.

—v. 38. Earthquake, typhoon and telegraph, 1901-05.

—v. 39. South-Sea Expedition—Part 1, 1905-1909.

—v. 40. South-Sea Expedition—Part 2, 1909-1910.

—v. 41. Japanese occupation, 1910-1914.

—v. 42. Japanese period begins, 1914-1920.

—v. 43. Japanese mandate, part 1, 1920-1925.

—v. 44. Japanese mandate, part 2, 1925-1934.

—v. 45. Japanese mandate, part 3, 1934-1940.

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Contents of Supplementary Volume 48

Doc.	Page
S1	9
S1521K	39
S1521L	49
S1565Q	52
S1565R	75
S1565S	88
S1565T	102
	144
S1566B	152
S1568I	163
S1576C	195
S1599B	198
S1601D	201
S1602D	207
S1607A	209
S1608A	213
S1610D	215
S1611A3	218
S1611C	220
S1616D	224
S1619E	235
S1648C	237
S1658A	254
S1662B2	258
S1662C	262
S1663F	266
S1663G	269
S1669K	273
S1672O	275
S1674M	278
S1676F	288
S1677K	297

S1677L	Jesuit superiors given permission to to appoint military commanders	305
S1678C	Fr. Nicols de Prado tried to join the Mariana Mission in 1678	307
S1683Q	Fr. Solorzano's description of the Mariana Islands	310
S1684Q	Two more officers for the Marianas in 1684	346
S1696S	Salaries for the Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Marianas	348
S1696T	Appointment of José Madraz as the new Governor of the Marianas	351
S1696U	Condition of the Marianas in 1696—6,562 inhabitants, etc.	353
S1701H	Letter from Fr. Francisco de Borja to Fr. Marco, re: Esplana's estate	357
S1704H	Letter from Fr. Cundari to Fr. Francisco María Picolo in New Spain	359
S1705O	Letter from José Quiroga to Fr. Marco, re: Esplana's estate	362
S1706C	Salaries of Governors (cont'd)	364
S1708K	Fr. Serrano learns about Carolinians having drifted to Samar in 1708	366
S1712K	List of drugs requested by Manila in 1712	370
S1734J	New regulations for the Manila galleon trade	393
S1746F	Viceroy of New Spain, 1746-1755	409
S1755D	Biographical sketch of Captain Pedro Cosío	417
S1758G	Gov. Arandia's comment about the Santísima Trinidad's design	418
S1759E	Appointment of Lieutenant Soroa (cont'd)	420
S1762C	How the stage was set for the loss of the patache Filipino	422
S1808C	The Santa Gertrudis and the Santa Rosa , via Guam in 1808	434
S1808D	Subsidies for the Marianas, for 1808	436
S1821K	The launch that formerly belonged to the ship Santiago	440
S1826I	English whalers committed acts of vandalism at Tinian in 1826	442
S1845C	Gov. Santa María—First conference on development of Marianas	443
S1846W	The Ebonites and shipwrecks	451
S1847T	The barque Samos of Sallem visited Ponape in 1847	453
S1880G	Eduard Hemsheim aboard the ship Pacific , Captain Nowlan	457
S1946D	Marshall Islands Chronology, 1944-1978	459
S1970A	Saipan then and now, by Bruce Bahrenburg	471
S1970B	Tourist guide to Micronesia in 1970	482
S1970C	Field trip to the Palau District, by Raymond J. Boucher	508
S1970D	A new voyage to Micronesia, by Kenneth Brower	522
S1972A	Pagan Island, by Manuel Sablan	527
S1973A	Liebenzell mission report on the loss of M/V Chen at Puluwat	532
S1975C	Chowanoc cruises through the islands	533
S1975D	Nauru, the smallest, richest republic in the world, by W. McQuade	539
S1981A	Northern Northern Marianas, by Peter Van Name Esser	548
S1981B	Bishop Felixberto Flores welcomes Pope John Paul II in Guam	553
S1983A	Visiting Saipan in 1983	557
S1983B	A visit to Tinian in 1983	562
S1990A	The battle for Enenkio [Wake], by David North	566

APPENDICES

Documents out of sequence

Doc.

S1542H	Villalobos Expedition	573
S1611D	Albornoz, Frontier Governor of the Marianas	576

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF MICRONESIA

1. Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco Coello's Atlas de España y sus Posesiones de Ultramar—Posesiones de Oceania—Islas Marianas, Palaos y Carolinas (Madrid, 1852) 585
2. Edwin H. Bryan's Guide to Place Names in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Honolulu, 1971) 601

List of illustrations

	Page
Sketch maps of some Marshallese islands discovered by Legazpi	94-95
Sketch of the island of Guam and a flying proa, 1565	97
Sketch map of the Philippine Islands first settled by Legazpi	99
Sketch maps of Mejit and Ailuk on the day of their discovery	174, 178
Sketch maps of Jemo and Wothe	176, 179
Sketch map of Ujelang	177, 179
Spanish tracks through the Marshall Islands, 1521-1568	194
Replica of the Japanese ship Date Maru of 1613, vs original Spanish drawing	225
Portraits of the six Viceroys of New Spain between 1746 and 1755	410-415
Diagram showing the actual results of the 1755-56 voyage, by Captain Cosío	416
Portrait of Abbé Raynal, author of a book on European settlements, etc.	433
"Baker" Atomic Test at Bikini Atoll, July 1946	460
Bikinians leaving their atoll in 1946 prior to "Operations Crossroads"	462
Nuclear cloud from one of the many tests in the Pacific	465
Bikini in 1946: a self-sufficient people prior to the relocation by US Navy	466
Atomic tests "Cactus" and "Lacrosse" carved huge craters on Enewetak	468
Enewetak people on Ujelang Atoll, after their relocation in 1947	469
Map of Saipan at the end of the war in July 1944	475
Map of downtown Majuro in 1970	487-488
Map of North Ponape in 1970	492-493
Map of the Truk Lagoon in 1970	496-497
Map of Yap Island and Colonia	500-503
Map of Koror, Palau, in 1970	505-506
Map and photos of Pagan Island in 1972	528-530
Photo of M/V Chen upon departure from Hong Kong	532
Photos aboard the Chowanoc	534-538
Photos taken in the northern Marianas in 1981	549-552
Bishop Flores welcoming the Pope to Guam in 1981	553-554
Bishop Flores, circa 2000	555
Mt. Carmel Church, Chalan Kanoa, Saipan in 1983	557
Photos of Tinian in 1983	563-565

Document S1

Ancient rock paintings in Palau

Source: John De Young (ed.), Orachi's Drawings TPI Micronesian Research Working Papers, No. 1, Saipan, 1964.

Note: For an article on similar rock paintings in Guam, see Doc. 1936II in HM45. Saipan had also some cave paintings, according to Laura Thomson who gave one sketch of them, but they have been obliterated during World War II.

MICRONESIAN RESEARCH WORKING PAPERS Number 1

Orackl's Drawings

Text

Robert K McKnight

Painting
ReproductionsNorman Caton
Gordon Danniells
John K Omelau
Adalbert Obak

PRINTING AND PUBLICATION DIVISION, SAIPAN, MARIANA ISLANDS

REPRINT - 1970

Orachi's Drawings Palauan Rock Paintings

Orachi, as a cultural hero or demigod, occurs in many settings in Palau. He is the central figure in narratives concerning many villages; he is seen as the patron of carpentry and associated arts; he is a god-giver of success and wealth; he is a god with special significance for the fisherman; and, in some images, he was a prophet foretelling the introduction of new ways and things such as writing.

The pandanus, as a symbol of Orachi, was once used to commune with him and to gain his special favor. The fruit of the plant was held between the worshiper's palms as he prayed for success in some particular venture. The base of the pandanus shoot was used by fishermen as a lure when trawling for fish. In some respects these manifestations of Orachi take on meaning in his legend which follows.

As with most folklore there are several ways to tell the Orachi story and incidents in the epic appear almost endless. In one telling Orachi originates, not as a snake's son, but as an individual in Angaur, who (some would say) drifted to Palau from the Philippines. Another narrator takes Orachi, in the form of a mangrove crab, to Mekepang. On being caught Orachi gains release by promising to provide his captor with a true crab daily at a designated location. Then, perhaps in commemoration, Orachi made markings on the mangrove crab that remind Palauans of his red drawings. Thus the markings on the back of the mangrove crab are known as ursel Orachi, "Orachi's drawings," just as are the actual red clay drawings on the rock island cliffs.

The term ursel Orachi pertains additionally to drawings on the border (seches) of the gable of the Palauan house (blai) and council or men's club house (bai). Palauans call these drawings, which occur as borders to the gables of community houses, ursel Orachi (Orachi's drawings), the same term that is applied to the rock paintings. Ancient craftsmen are said to have frequented the rock island paintings for inspirations such as illustrated here, but there is no immediate correspondence between paintings commonly found on community houses and those occurring as rock paintings. Figure 1 apparently represents a flying bird. Figure 2 is deleerrok, a bird that gave birth to Palauan money.



FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2

The Story of Orachl

(The narrative selected for presentation here is, perhaps, one of the more classic versions. The primary source was Ruloked, who died in 1962 after a long life as a remarkably resourceful and highly respected Palauan folk historian and teller of legends.)

One evening as the tide receded two men of Ngurang in northern Palau were fishing with butterfly-type two-handed nets. They fished without success but each repeatedly found pandanus seeds entangled in their nets. After sometime one of them, in exasperation, left the seeds alone and on his next try filled the nets with fish. His companion by the same device experienced similar success. With a few scoops they both had more fish than they could easily carry home. Recognizing the value of the seeds, the men hid them by the path as they returned to Ngurang.

Another day, when the two again went fishing they sought the seeds but discovered that they had sprouted into pandanus bushes. Around the roots of the pandanus was a snake which bit the hand of the fisherman who tried to find the remains of the magic. Frightened and angry, the two men used counter magic to drive the snake away.

The snake wiggled off to a place called Utaor on the path between the villages of Ngkeklau and Ngerechelong. There it climbed a tree to rest and neighboring villagers soon discovered the presence of the snake. One day a man called Remesechau, a hero with a dugong bracelet, passed through Ngerechelong toward Ngkeklau and the villagers warned him to avoid Utaor where the snake rested. Remesechau, however, proudly did not heed the warning and the snake inhaled and ingested him. When the people of the region learned of Remesechau's fate, they employed magic and once again the snake was driven away.

From Utaor the snake went to Meteulechol in Cholei and selected a large tree near the village dock as its new home. A fisherman kept his canoe under this tree but each morning as he prepared to launch his craft he found it splattered with a white substance. This he carefully cleaned off before he launched. His luck was consistently bad in fishing.

One morning he was late and in his hurry he carried his canoe into the water without washing off the white stuff. On this occasion he soon filled his canoe

with fish. The next day in his canoe he discovered a dugong bracelet, the one belonging to the dead hero Remesechau, and he realized that the snake of Utaor was in the tree above.

The Cholei villagers were, of course, concerned and discussed at length the problem of getting rid of the snake. In the meantime, the snake had given birth to a boy in human form. During the day, when the children of Cholei would swim at the dock, this child would appear among them; at night the child would disappear. The child's name was Orachl.

One day a child of the village asked Orachl to spend the night at his home and Orachl obtained the permission of his mother to do so.

That evening the villagers gathered at the home where Orachl was visiting and devised a plan to get rid of the snake. The next morning Orachl warned his mother and the two prepared to flee.

Orachl made a traveling bag from betel nut spathe in which his mother coiled and hid. In two days the son had carried his mother to Maker in Aimeliik which is south on the large island of Babelthaup. Here an elder told Orachl that he might join a male village club then preparing to depart for Angaur, the southernmost island in Palau. Orachl joined the party and they launched for Angaur in a long rowing canoe (*kabekl*).

After two days at Angaur, the party started back to Aimeliik. However, while crossing the deep channel between Angaur and Peleliu Orachl heard the sound of pounding on a shoal beneath the ocean. Wishing to investigate, Orachl asked his mother to hold the boat by anchoring it with her snake body tied to a rock on the ocean floor. With the canoe stopped, Orachl jumped over to investigate.

On the ocean floor Orachl found some men shaping stones to be used as the foundation for a *bai*. As they chipped, their work would become covered with dust and, frequently, they would be obliged to blow the stone clean. However, whenever they did so the dust would fly up and get in their eyes. Before they could return to chipping, therefore, they had to wash out their eyes in a *tradacna* shell basin of water.

After watching awhile Orachl told the men that he would show them how to do their work without getting dust in their eyes if they would show him how to construct a *bai*. This they agreed to do. So Orachl chipped for a while and, when he blew the dust from his work, he closed his eyes. In appreciation for learning this simple trick, the men taught Orachl the complete skills involved in the construction of a *bai*.

Orachl hurriedly returned to the canoe to find his mother nearly dead from exertion. While she anchored the canoe the men had continued rowing. Quickly Orachl replaced her in the betel nut spathe. Then only did he find he had forgotten to bring with him from the ocean floor two essential tools: the *eseosuo*, a quill made from coconut spathe, and *chass*, an ink made from charcoal (or from the pigment of a squid). He could not return since his mother was dying, so he requested the errand of a passing squid. The squid swam swiftly to the worksite and got the tools, but when he surfaced the canoe was gone. (Thus it is that the squid carries about with him a stiff quill and black ink.)

The kabekl eventually arrived at Aimeliik and Orachl carried his mother to Ngatpang. From there, at her request, he carried her toward the east coast of Babelthaup where she wished to be buried.

The snake died on a mountain near Melekeiok and Orachl held her burial ceremony to which were invited all the animals of the land and air. The first to begin mourning was the frog (deched). Thus every evening the first animal to cry is the frog, for that is when mourning begins. The last to continue mourning was the bird tutau which still may be heard to cry in the early morning. The mountain where the ceremony took place is called Ngerebadlmangel, 'Rocks where they Mourned.' After the burial a quiet period, known as taod, was declared and was enforced by two birds called terrid and sngorch. Even today, if one makes too much noise, these birds will scream in anger. The taod for Orachl's mother still continues.

Later Orachl moved his mother's body to a beautiful place near the east coast which came to be known as Rois re Bersoech, 'Snake Mountain.' Still later, when he found lodging in Ngerubesang hamlet near Melekeiok, Orachl buried his mother near there. There is now a clan at Ngerubesang by the name of Blai ra Bersoech, 'House of the Snake.'

From Ngerubesang, Orachl went north to Ngeburch hamlet near Blisang and there he built the first bai. When he had it completed, villages all over the islands sent delegations to see it and to try to purchase it.

The first delegation came from Ngerulang in Melekeiok but the elders gulped their taro meal rudely in huge chunks in a manner called melok. Orachl refused them and designated the men as Ngaramelok which is the name of the elder men's club in Ngerulang.

The second delegation came from a club called Ngaraillaod, meaning 'they caress with the hands.' Orachl watched them fondle the bai and declined their offer since, as he observed, the men were entirely too 'illaod.'

A third group arrived and at once proceeded mentally to divide the bai into portions each of which would be purchased by one of the clans represented. This practice is called merous and, when Orachl observed them, he called the men Ngaramerous, declining their offer.

A fourth delegation arrived and, upon observing the bai and its paintings, they became sexually aroused. This was observed by Orachl to whom the paintings on the bai had deep cultural significance. He refused their offer, giving the group the name Ngaratebechel, the name of a mangrove tree which becomes very hard when dried out.

The fifth group came from Aimeliik led by the village chief, Secharmidal. These men assembled in the bai, seating themselves properly as a village council, and offered Orachl a generous payment for the building. Orachl, well pleased with their deportment and their offer, said that they should receive the bai. Orachl renamed their chief Runguulbai, and gave the female title Dir-rarunguulbai to their chieftess. In Aimeliik, aside from the dominant village of Ngerekeai, there are four hamlets which Orachl designated as eual-bai, the four bai. The bai was then disassembled and carried to Aimeliik.

Soon after Orachl left Ngeburch and went to Aimeliik. There he gained a canoe and made his way across the lagoon toward the limestone islands which extend from the southern end of Babelthaupt to within a short distance of Peleliu some thirty-five miles away. With him he carried red-ocher coloring pigments of the sort used to paint canoes or to decorate the body.

As he canoed from island to island he stopped and painted figures or inscriptions on the overhanging roofs of ledges on the cliffs.

Orachl's final drawing was executed at Ulong, about half way from Koror to Peleliu.

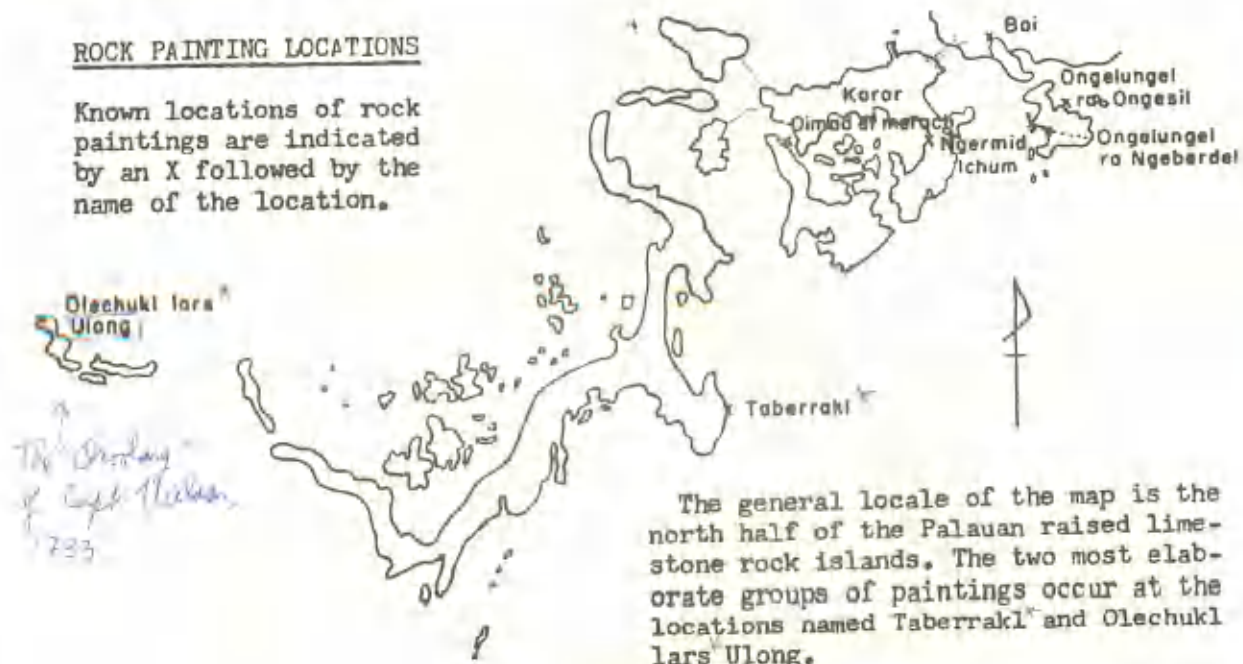
Returning from Ulong island, Orachl's feet began to turn to stone. The effect gradually spread until he arrived at a place off Ngatpang where he became completely petrified. Hence, there is a mushroom shaped stone on the tidal flat off Ngatpang that goes by the name Orachl el Bad (the Orachl Stone).

Description of Sites

Over a two-year period several leads were followed by the author in an informal search for rock paintings among the Palauan raised limestone islands. Six locations were finally confirmed and reproductions were made of the paintings. On the map which follows, seven locations are named. One, called Boi, is a natural white stain on the side of a rock cliff resembling a man with a pigeon sitting on a stick over his shoulder. Each of the other locations is the site of one or more red-ocher paintings. These will be briefly described in the following pages.

ROCK PAINTING LOCATIONS

Known locations of rock paintings are indicated by an X followed by the name of the location.



Ongelungel ra Ongesil (see plate 1): This is the remains of what would appear to have been an elaborate single painting. Paint daubs cover an area of sheer rock cliff some ten feet wide and fifteen feet high. There is no ledge on the cliff at this site, suggesting that some sort of ladder or rope drop may have been used by the artist. The reproduction shows the only portion of the red daubings that can be clearly copied: a hand with some kind of projection above it. Reproduction was made from a boat about ten feet below the bottom of the painting.



PLATE 1



PLATE 2

Ongelungel ra Ngeberdel (see plates 2 and 3): Two paintings and some daubings make up this site. The paintings are situated on surfaces associated with an irregular ledge in the rock cliff. In this case one can climb up to the paintings without great difficulty and the reproductions were traced on thin paper. The 'bugs' (plate 3) are on a rounded surface and cannot easily be distinguished from sea level. The location of the paintings, near a site from which Yapese stone money was mined, and the possible identification of the canoe as Yapese in style, led to speculation that the artist(s) were from Yap. However, Palauan

folk-historians report that the near-by location was 'mined' for Yapese money by Palauans from Aimeliik. According to this version the men from Yap were asked to perform other kinds of work during their sojourn in Palau, such as fitting stones for walls and docks. Paintings at other locations do not seem to support the notion of a Yapese artist. In fact, despite the stated association between the rock paintings and the painted decorations found on ancient homes and club houses, the rock paintings do not resemble clearly recent painting styles in Palau or Yap.



PLATE 3



PLATE 4

Ngeremid Ichum (see plates 4 and 5): These two paintings remain as very faint images on a rock face near Mechang dock on Ngeremid. The figure with bird-like feet (plate 4) is an interpretation of the red patches that appear on the rock; detail and perhaps some whole pieces of the original appear to be missing.

The mask-like figure (plate 5) is quite clear in the region of the face, but fades discouragingly where there would appear to be some kind of distinguishing hairdo or headpiece. The enlarged head and general grotesqueness of the figure would seem to have parallels in some aspects of Melanesian art.



PLATE 5

Oimad er Merach: Across the inner-lagoon from Madalaih Boat Dock on the right margin of a rock face is a small group of rock paintings involving curvilinear figures and one mass of red paint resembling the head and body of a deer-like animal (plate 6). The four-sided figures are gracefully and carefully executed. One similar figure appearing at Olechukl lars Ulong is more accessible and is reproduced in plate 19.



PLATE 6

Taberraki: In terms of a straight numerical count, this site contains the most 'paintings' of the six sites found in Palau. However, red palm prints predominate and in some instances obscure details of other paintings. Over twenty palm prints may be counted on the cliffs overhanging two wide rock ledges where the paintings occur.

The cliff, which rises over a small beach, is indented about thirty feet above sea level by two ledges which are separated in the middle by the sheer cliff wall. The ledges are connected behind the face of the cliff by a small natural cave-tunnel. Access to the ledges is from the south edge over typical rugged rock island terrain. The cliff drops sheer at this end and it was necessary to pound iron stakes in the rock and to use ropes for support to traverse about ten feet of the sheer cliff face. Once past this sheer portion of the cliff, one finds a small ledge which opens to the back into a many chambered and rather attractive cave. Access to the first or south ledge is through this cave. The south ledge is about forty feet long and ten feet wide in the middle. At the north end of the ledge is another short cave through which one gains access to the northern ledge. Apparently at one time the ledges were continuous tunnels connecting the two remaining caves. The northern ledge is about fifty feet in length, narrowing from about eight feet at the south end to a tapered step at the north end.



At about the mid-point of the north ledge was found a round bowl-like depression in the ledge floor. Reminded of a similar depression associated with the paintings at Olechukl lars Ulong, the bowl was emptied of limestone debris but at a depth of about six inches the 'bottom' turned out to be loose rock leading apparently to a natural fault in the ledge floor.

The rock paintings occur in profusion over the wall and ceiling of the ledge, none were found inside of caves. Fading and weathering have taken toll of considerable portions of the paintings. Apparently the red ocher and oils used in the paints are reconstituted by limestone fossilization, and the red coating is particularly subject to flaking. Additionally, the painted wall is pocked with bullet holes, either from World War II or from hunters shooting at pigeon on the ledge.

The ledge wall is sufficiently smooth in some places so that transparent plastic could be held over the paintings and precise tracings made. This was done for the figures in plates 10 and 13. The remaining figures were reproduced by free drawing.

Plate 7 is a somewhat condensed portion of the paintings appearing on the northern ledge of the cliff. The hooded figure, resembling the fully masked figures that play a part in Melanesian ceremonials, is about three and one-half feet in height. Some Palauans are reminded by this figure of a story about a peeping-tom who covered himself with leaves and drifted in the water past where women would bathe.

The stick figures such as those in plates 7 and 8 appear only in the Taberrakl group. Most lines on these figures are made with one 'brush' stroke, contrasting with similar figures at Olechukl lars Ulong (plate 17) that are more full featured and 'painted in.'

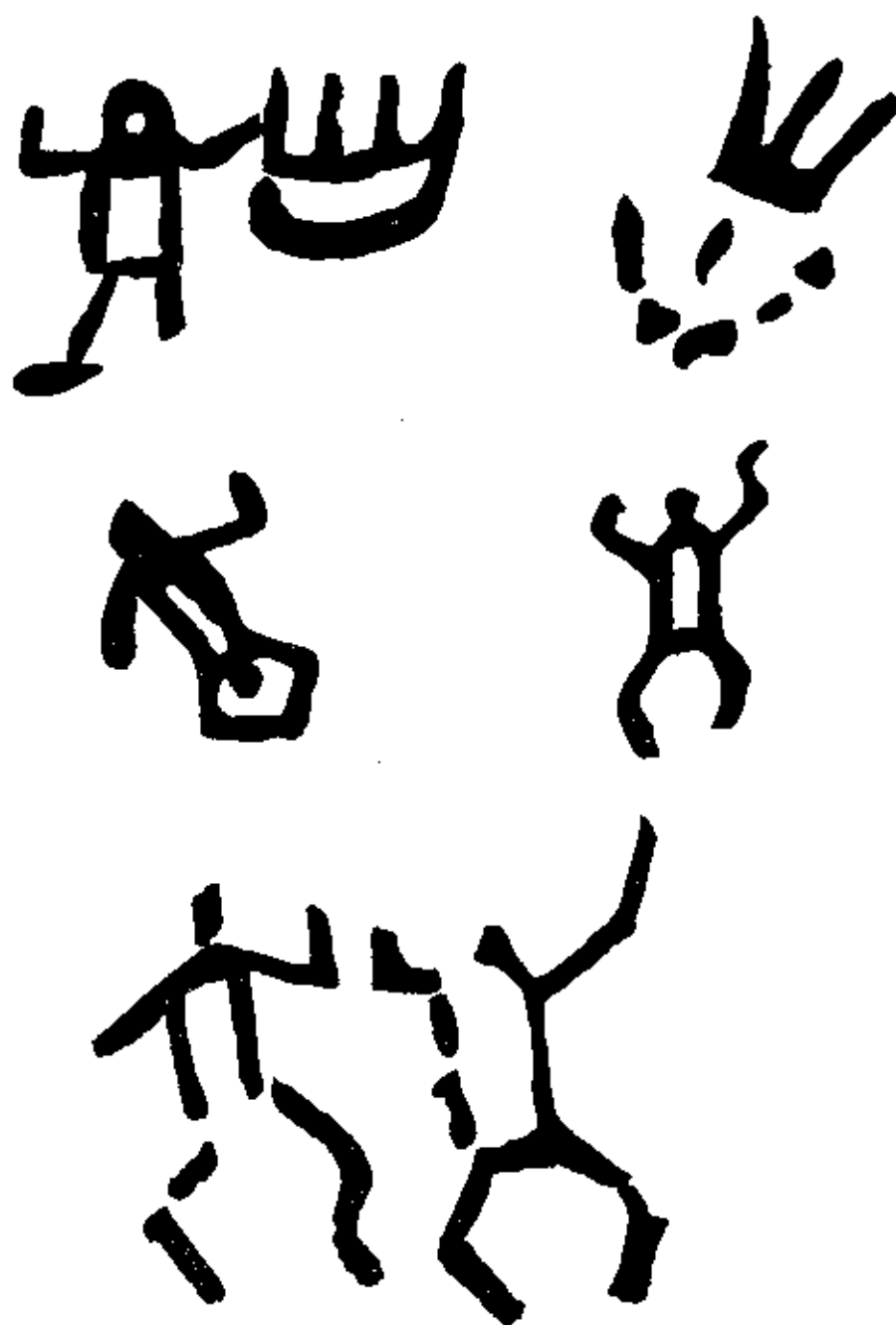


PLATE BA

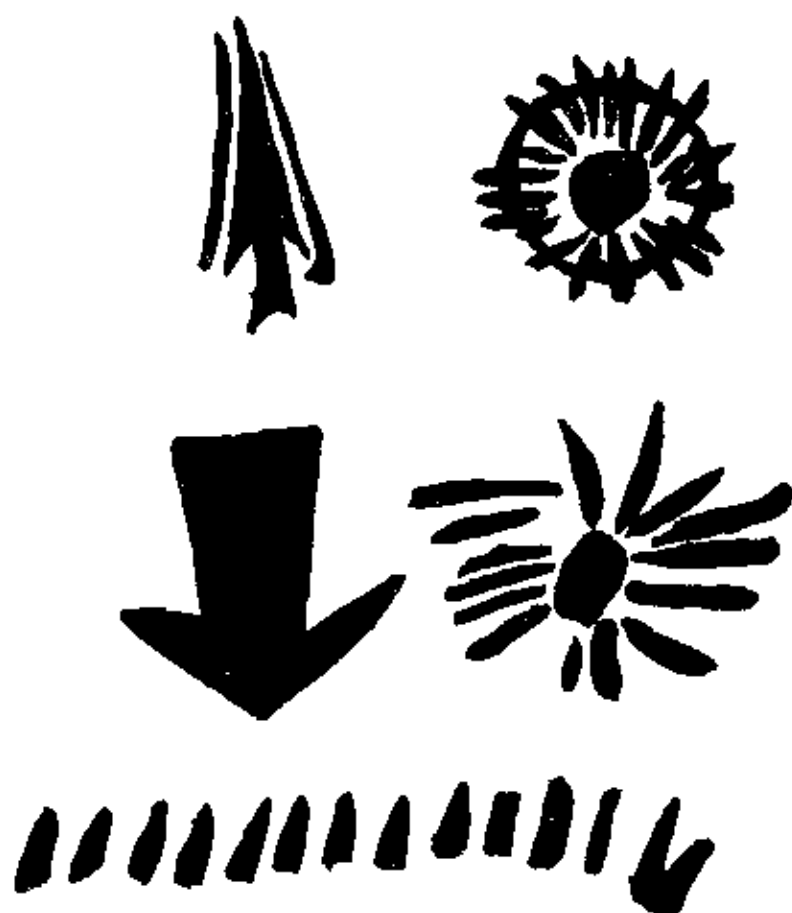


PLATE 8B

Plate 8 is a collection of individual figures from the Taberraki site. All are oriented as they appear on the cliff. The round images with radiating lines *seem to be* representations of the sun. The series of lines at the bottom of the plate are finger marks.



PLATE 9

Plate 9, from the southern extremity of the north ledge, is one of two images of canoes among the Palauan rock paintings. While much of the painting is missing, either through erosion or rifle fire, the canoe is clearly different in style from that pictured at Ongelungel ra Ngeberdel (plate 2). The hand print in the lower portion of the plate suggests the approximate scale.



PLATE 10

Plate 10 is similar in general configuration and painting style to two similar 'shields' appearing at Olechukl Iars Ulong (see plate 15). Though portions of the painting are missing, especially parts of the frame, there is sufficient continuity of line to permit this seemingly complete reproduction. In the original, by virtue of painting strokes, the appearance of leaves on a stalk is much more evident. The painting is twenty-one inches in height.



Plate 11 is a small group appearing on the north ledge. The central feature would appear to be a highly stylized face or mask, with one eye missing. In the original, perhaps more so than here, the figures atop the 'mask' appear to be chickens facing each other in a fighting posture--a configuration not out of touch with southeast Asia and also occurring on the corner posts of many Palauan bai. The 'spider' reminds Palauans of a legend concerning a mating between a woman and a spider in which, for the first time in human birth, the child was delivered according to instructions from the spider without cutting open and killing the mother. From top to bottom the group is five and one-half feet.

Plate 12 reminds Palauans of several legends in which the central figure is born from an egg or 'egg of the sun.' Perhaps the best known is the son of Machas ra Bkau (later known as Milad) who, as a young adult, accompanied a group of young men to the god-inhabited village of Ngeraod and asked for women companions. The insult led to a series of events culminating in a great flood with Milad as the sole survivor. The associated figures on the plate are average size hand prints.

Plate 13 is one of the finest, in terms of preservation, at Taberrakl. Reproduction was accomplished by tracing through clear plastic. The figure is three and one-half feet in height. Some Palauan sources guess that this figure might be Mdechiibelau, a diety important to several villages (especially Airai, Ngatpang, Ngechesar, Ulimang, Chelap, Mengellakl, and Melekei) in Babelthaup. This guess stems from the fact that Mdechiibelau is described as having unusually large genitals.



PLATE 12



PLATE 15

Olechukl lars Ulong: Located on the ocean side of Ulong Island, this group of paintings is surprisingly well preserved and fully as impressive as Taberrakl, without the clutter of hand prints. Access to the site is via a rather long and complicated path from the south beach on the main island (visitors attempting this route should be accompanied by a guide) or via a vertical climb up the rock island slope about fifty yards south of the cliff on which the paintings occur. At the south side, from which both routes approach the site, the ledge is first found as a narrow step, about two feet wide and fifty feet above sea level. The step widens out into a ledge which at its widest point is about twelve feet. The paintings cover the back wall on the ledge. Unlike Taberrakl where the back wall curves out over the ledge forming a distinct roof, the back wall at Ulong slopes gradually upward, something like the inside of a tent. Paintings occur up the walls of this 'tent' to an apparent height of over thirty feet.

Beyond the painted area the ledge again narrows to about two feet and one may proceed to the opening of an elaborate cave complex. The cave consists of three decks. The open bottom deck is more like a rock-shelter. An inclined tunnel leads to the middle deck which is a small room with a hole through the cliff wall admitting some light. Another winding tunnel leads up to the third deck. The third deck opens into a large room, about thirty by twenty feet of relatively flat floor surface, which is completely dark.

On the floor of the third deck, covered by bat guano, was found a round bowl-like depression. Scraping away the loose guano to a depth of about eight inches, the bottom of the 'bowl' was found to be lined with bright red earth. Since red earth is not natural to the limestone rock island soils, it may be assumed that the earth was brought to the cave from one or another red-ocher source on Koror or Babelthaup island.

The depression in the floor of the cave would appear to have been the mixing bowl for the red-ocher paints used in coloring the images outside.

The paintings at Ulong are so numerous and distinctive that one observer was led to make the statement that Ulong is the 'dictionary' for the other cave painting sites. Unfortunately for this point of view, the paintings at Ulong do not repeat the themes found at other locations and, in some respects, are quite different. The main difference is in the quality of workmanship. While many of the paintings at Taberrakl are accomplished with crude brush-like strokes, most of those at Ulong are neatly finished in appearance. The emphasis at Taberrakl is on stick figures and line drawings, while at Ulong the emphasis is on full figures with a stencil-like quality.

Plate 14 is a group of paintings extending over about five by twelve feet of the wall of the ledge. All of the reproductions at Ulong were made by free drawing and were checked against color slide projections.



PLATE 14.



PLATE 15

Plate 15 shows 'shields' that are somewhat similar in style but not content to the one at Taberraki (plate 11).

Plate 16 depicts the only series of images giving the appearance of continuity in symbolic content. Each is about ten inches in height.

PLATE 16



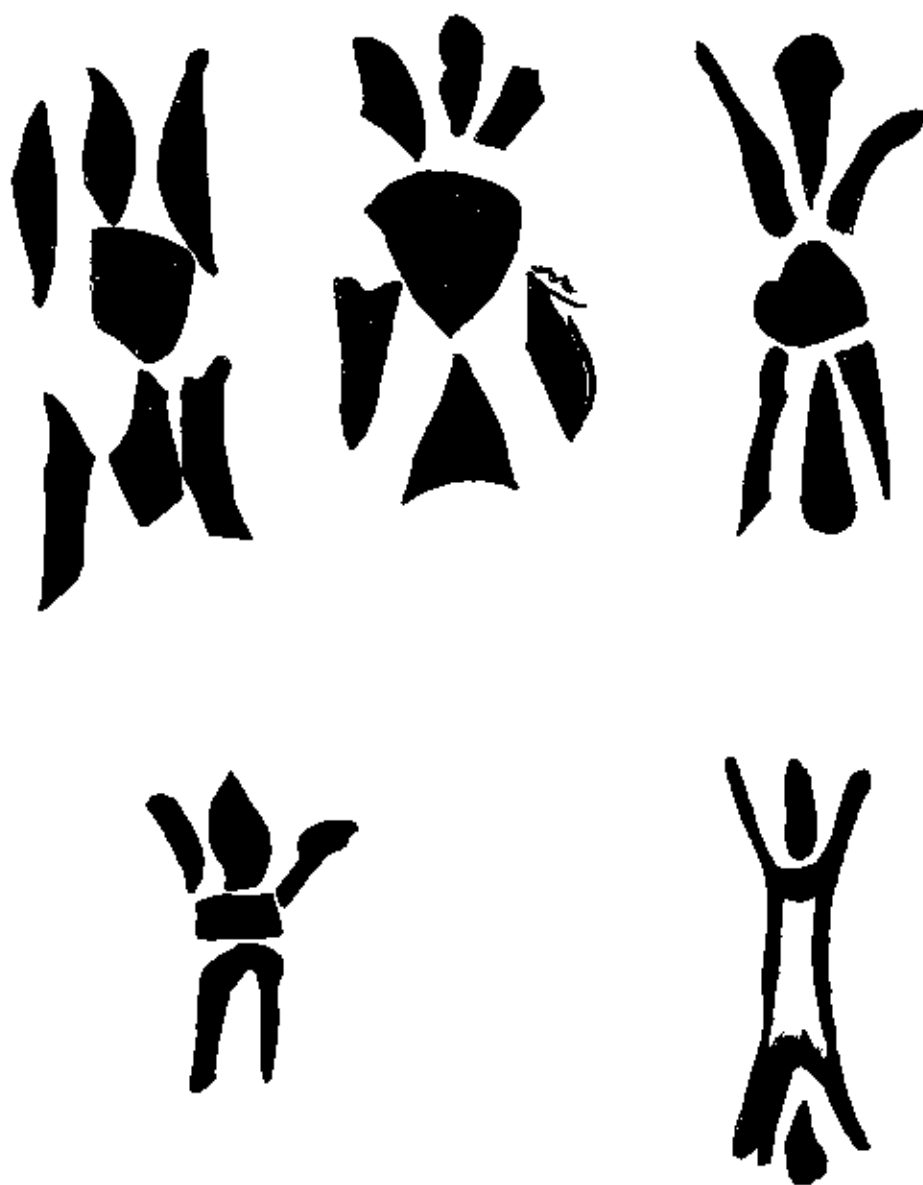


PLATE 17

Plate 17 is a selection of independent figures from various parts of the wall, each appearing to represent a bodied animal of some sort.



PLATE 18.

Plate 18 shows in more detail two isolated examples of the curvilinear patterns occurring at Ulong. Some are more random in appearance than these and have led to conjecture that they are 'maps' of the surrounding rock islands.

PLATE 19

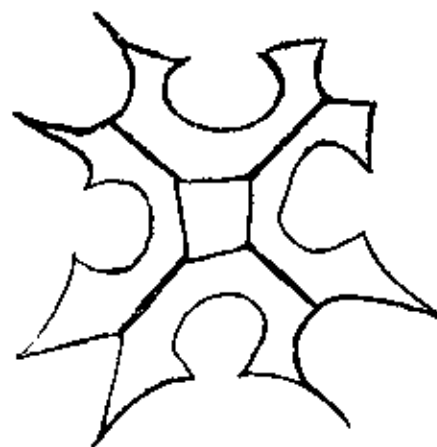


Plate 19 is an unusual drawing for Ulong in that each line is finely drawn.



PLATE 20

Plate 20 presents some of the remaining figures of particular interest at Ulong. The two that are sectioned off in the lower left seem to form a couplet on the wall, the remainder are isolated figures.

* * * * *

A Note on Origins: Hisakatsu Hijikata, in a paper titled 'Traditional Relics and the Like Seen Among the Palauans'² ascribes the rock paintings to 'Rock Painting Tribes' and suggests that the paintings were the work of peoples occupying the several deserted village sites scattered throughout the rock islands. He notes, however, that considerable research on these sites, of which there would appear to be about seven, is necessary before any conclusion can be reached.

Palauan folk history would suggest that some of the rock island village sites were inhabited until a little less than 400 years ago. One such site, at Ulong island and thus close to a major rock painting site, was not inhabited in 1783 when Captain Wilson, of the East India Company ship *Antelope*, wrecked nearby. Curiously, Wilson and his men spent nearly four months at Ulong but no mention is made of the paintings in the book 'An Account of the Pelew Islands,' by George Keate,³ which describes the wreck and aftermath.

Mr. Hijikata notes that Palauans assign the paintings to the god Orachl and states that this god, who lived in the rock islands, tried to teach the islanders but could not gain their obedience and left in disappointment. He does not relate the Orachl legend but notes rather that 'the islanders do not have any story or legend covering these paintings.' Mr. Hijikata appears to have discussed the paintings with one of the individuals in Palau who assigns a more or less 'historical' origin to Orachl and the paintings. As noted in the opening paragraphs of this paper, some sources describe Orachl as having appeared in Angaur, perhaps from the Philippines.

To the writer the paintings are more 'Melanesian' than 'Palauan,' with interesting art parallels as widely separated as the Sepik River and the Solomon Islands. However, the paintings may represent an art style that was characteristic of Palau for a certain period and the ancestry of many Palauan clans in the Philippines and Melanesia (especially near the eastern side of the Celebes Sea) would suggest the chronic input of Melanesian influence.

One further suggestion may be relevant. Villages, parts of villages, or particular clans in many scattered parts of Palau trace their origin back to the rock island villages. It would almost appear that for incoming groups in Palau the first residence made available to them was in the rugged rock islands. This may have been one area in which they could obtain land. Later, as they gained connections and (occasionally) military might, they migrated to or conquered other locations more suitable for habitation. One or another of these incoming groups, resident temporarily in the rock islands, may have created the rock island paintings.

References:

1. The border designs from Palauan houses are reproduced from Mikronesia Minzoku Shi (A Record of the Micronesian Folk) by Seiyu Matsuoka (Iwanami Shoten Keigyo publisher) p. 537 and 543.
2. Hisataku Hijikata's article occurs in Taiheiyo En: Minzoku to Bunka (The Pacific Area: Folk and Culture) Vol. 1, compiled by the Taiheiyo Kyokai (Kawade Shobo publisher), pp. 713-714.
3. George Keate, An Account of the Pelew Islands, Situated in the Western Part of the Pacific Ocean, G. Nicol, Longon, 1789.

Document S1521K

**Magellan's voyage—Primary account
attributed to Andrés de San Martín**

Source: Ms. in BN Madrid; published by Antonio Blásquez y Delgado Aguilera (ed.). Tres relaciones... [Three Accounts...], one of which is entitled "Descripción de los reinos, costas, puertos y islas que hay desde el Cabo de Buena Esperanza hasta los Lequios..." [Description of the kingdoms, coasts, ports and islands that lie between the Cape of Good Hope and the Lequios...].

Preliminary notes.

The Description is said to be "by Ginés de Mafra" in the first edition by Blásquez, published at Madrid by the National Library Museum in 1920, but "by Fernando de Magallanes" in the second edition published by the Royal Geographic Society of Madrid in 1921. I personally think that the authorship of this document should be attributed to the cosmographer Andrés de San Martín instead.

A partial translation of this Description has been made by Martin J. Noone, S.S.C. in Volume 43 of the series on Philippine history published by the Historical Conservation Society at Manila in 1986. Incidentally, the mention of the Lequios, i.e. Ryukyu or Okinawa, Islands in the title is a proof that this title was re-written after 1542, the year in which the first Portuguese visited them aboard a Chinese junk.¹

Among the three accounts published by Blásquez in 1920 is one properly called Mafra's book thus: "*Libro que trata del descubrimiento y principio del estrecho que se llama de Magallanes por Ginés de Mafra que se halló en todo y lo vió por vista de ojos.*"² Some Spanish scholars³ are indeed of the opinion that Mafra wrote the Description, but after he had returned to the Philippines as a pilot with the Villalobos ex-

1 See HM, pp. 591-592.

2 Which means: "Book dealing with the discovery and first use of the strait called Magellan Strait, by Ginés de Mafra who was present at everything and was an eyewitness to it all."

3 For instance, José Ibáñez, in Teixeira (ed.), see below.

pedition. Thus Mafra had had a chance to visit Guam for a fourth time and had learned much during the intervening 21 years since his first visit.¹

The discovery of Guam²

On 7 March 1521³ the lookout on the mainmast began shouting "Land! land!" and, as the word spread among the ships, the men went so wild with joy that it seemed as if those who took the news calmly were the wildest ones, as anyone who has ever experienced a moment of emotion will understand. The lookout soon proclaimed that he could see a sail. So, for being the herald of this two-fold good news he was rewarded with a piece of jewelry worth 10 ducats.

... Drawing near the shore, the ships anchored. The people ashore, who all this time had stood watching, now began to come out in great numbers with their small boats to gaze at the ships. They soon ventured on board completely unawed.

... So many of them crowded on deck, specially on the flagship, that some of our men urged the captain to order them off. The captain either gave the order, or someone jumped to the conclusion that he had done so. Anyhow, the flagship's boatswain hit a native for some slight misdemeanor and the native hit him back immediately. The offended boatswain pulled out his sword and wounded the native on the shoulder. Thereupon the entire crowd jumped overboard in panic and, scrambling on to their canoes, began hurling bamboo(!) spears at the ship. Those on board replied with crossbows. However, the natives were so numerous that some sailors were wounded.

... A curious thing happened during this skirmish. While some natives were busy fighting with our men, others would leave the shore with canoes loaded with food and, paddling past their neighbors, gave the food to our men; then, they joined their neighbors in fighting us. When Magellan noticed how the number bringing food was increasing, he ordered the men on the ships not to fire at them. Consequently, the hostile natives also stopped, so that eventually all of them turned once more to selling us food as they had begun in the first place—coconuts and fish in abundance in exchange for a few glass beads from Spain.

1 By now he was a seasoned seaman of 52 or 53 years of age.

2 This translation is by Noone.

3 All other primary sources say that the date was 6 March. Only a cosmographer or astronomer would have realized that a new day had to start somewhere in mid-Pacific. See below for more discussion on this point.

Study of the authorship of the above text.

Was it the sailor Ginés de Mafra?

Mafra, N° 14 on my list of Magellan's crews, was from Jerez de la Frontera, although he lived at Palos at the time he was recruited by Magellan's agents. He was one of those who accompanied Captain Gomez Espinosa in his failed attempt to return to America from the Moluccas in 1522. Also he was with Espinosa and Hans the gunner when all three arrived at Lisbon in 1526 and were arrested by the coast guard, only to be thrown into the Limonero [Lemon Orchard] Jail. Hans died while in captivity there, but Espinosa and Mafra were eventually released.

Now, some months later, Captain Espinosa and two sailors, Pancaldo and Mafra, were formally interviewed by Spanish authorities. All three men were asked the same set of questions. As can be expected, the depositions of Pancaldo and Mafra added nothing new.¹ The interviewer considered Mafra the least important man and interviewed him last. Mafra was probably illiterate as he was the only one who could not tell his exact age.² However, these men had visited the Marianas **three times** already and could certainly have recalled something important about those islands, if only they had been questioned about them.

Mafra was to visit Guam a fourth time, in 1542, with the Villalobos expedition. In the intervening 21 years, he had progressed slowly to boatswain's mate, boatswain and perhaps even to master of a small ship, because he was then given the combined post of master and pilot of the ship **San Juan** (de Letrán).³

Going back to the year 1527, Mafra himself made two apparently-contradictory statements. First, he said that the Portuguese at Tidore had "taken the letters, almanachs, astrolabes, quadrants, and the **logbooks**." A short while later, he declared that "Captain [Espinosa] was released from the Lisbon jail 27 days before him, and that they did not want to let him [Mafra] go because they found a few books in a chest, saying that he was a pilot; they were the logbooks and two other books that had been kept by [the cosmographer] Andrés de San Martín, the pilot with a royal commission. They kept him in Lisbon, and afterwards let him go but they did not want to give [back] the books nor the other written material they had taken from him."

From the above statements, we may deduce that the chest may not even have been his. The declaration, written by a notary, says "a chest", not "his chest". I presume that Espinosa had entrusted that chest (and the papers) to him when he was taken out of their cell for interrogation, and early release, as it turned out. Espinosa could even have been the smart one who told his jailers that he was not the owner of the papers, leading them to believe that Mafra was a pilot. Be that as it may, Espinosa was taken to the Portuguese court, then sitting at Évora, but he managed to fool the guards and escaped

1 See the footnote in HM 1:319.

2 He said: "33 or 34 years old", according to the notes made from the files by Martín Fernández de Navarrete in his *Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5, p. 370.

3 See my HM 1:571, 576.

to the Spanish consulate where he was given a fast horse to flee to Spain. The consul must have applied to have Mafra sprung from jail soon after that. As we are told, the authorities confiscated Espinosa's chest and papers. Incidentally, at least some of these papers were later recovered for the Spanish archives at Seville by the Spanish themselves when they took over political control of Portugal in 1580.

There remains the important question: if António Brito had in fact confiscated the logbooks, books and other papers, as well as the instruments, at Tidore, how come Espinosa still had most, if not all, of them with him when he reached Lisbon? After all, Espinosa had declared that the Portuguese had confiscated all the papers of the ship *Trinidad*... I had therefore assumed, on the strength of Mafra's declaration, that those documents had been returned to Espinosa when he and his men were released from the Ternate jail and taken to India, etc. However, as we will see later, the historian João de Barros is adamant when he says that Duarte de Resende, factor at Tidore, had kept the papers and brought them to Lisbon himself and handed them over to him [Barros] who consulted them and used them to write his *History of the Indies*.

Authenticity of the present document.

I personally believe that there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this particular account, one of three published by Blásquez in 1920. It appears to be a true eyewitness account. However, it was not necessarily dictated by Mafra; those who think so would probably assume that it was dictated long after, during the 15-year period when he was back in Spain, but I do not think so, because the details are too vivid, specially the date given for the arrival at Guam. The document is a primary source, according to my definition.¹

Now, I would refer to Spanish historical literature for learned opinions on the three accounts published by Blásquez. I have read somewhere that authorship could tentatively be ascribed to many possible authors. One, two, or all three of these accounts may have been due to Magellan himself, or Captain Espinosa, or Andrés de San Martín, or Duarte Barbosa, or Leo Pancaldo, or even Ginés de Marra for the reasons given above. The same for Magellan, as his name, like that of Mafra, was probably added by Portuguese officials when handling the papers, something like "papers taken from Ginés de Mafra regarding the voyage made by Fernão de Magalhães." As for Pancaldo, he is generally assigned the authorship of another account (Doc. 1521D). The same for Espinosa, who may have been the original author of Doc. 1521E. As for Duarte de Barbosa, I forget the possible arguments against him.² As for Resende, Barros tells us that he was only a translator of the said documents; more on this point later.

My personal conclusion and working hypothesis as to the authorship of the document contained in this chapter is therefore, as follows: Firstly, at least two of the three accounts published by Blásquez in 1920 were in fact written by the cosmographer An-

1 See HM I:22.

2 A further search in the Spanish literature would be required to clarify this smaller point.

drés de San Martín. Secondly, they were included in the papers taken from Ginés de Mafra at the Lisbon jail. To repeat, the papers are as authentic as can be, but the authorship is in dispute. To attribute them to Mafra would be a mistake.

A very useful reference containing recent scholarship from the Iberian Peninsula on "Magellan's voyage and the question of the Moluccas" is a large volume containing the papers presented at the Second Lusitano-Spanish Conference of Valladolid in 1973, edited by Avelino Teixeira da Mota and published in Lisbon in 1975.¹

Portuguese and Spanish historians think that João de Barros did indeed use the papers that had been seized from the ship *Trinidad*. Here in brief what they say about the matter. "It is a unanimous opinion that Andrés de San Martín was in charge of calculating geographical longitudes."² Also, "it is a general belief that the chronicler Juan de Barros had the opportunity to hold the books of San Martín in his own hands..." Where the Iberian scholars and I differ (for the moment, at least) is the manner in which such books came into the hands of Barros the chronicler. He himself thought that they had been seized in the Moluccas (and not returned to Espinosa, as I explained earlier). So, Barros said something which most Iberian scholars have taken at face value ever since. The passage in question is as follows: "*E assi houve outros pepéis e livros que Duarte de Resende, feitor de Maluco, recolheu do astrólogo Andrés de San Martín... Porque, como era latino e homem estudioso das cousas do mar e geografia, entendeu logo nelas; e vindo a este reino, houvemos d'ele alguns, principalmente um livro que éle, Andrés de San Martín, escreveu de sua mão, em o qual está o descurso do caminho que fêz e de todas suas alturas, observações que tomou. E porque acerca desta matéria algumas pessoas tem escrito cousas de que não tiveram boa informação, e outros maleciosamente dizem muitas falsidades, o que aqui dissemos ser lido do mesmo seu livro, por ser parte sem suspeita polo que toca à nossa.*"³

Translation of this quotation: "So it is that I got other papers and books that Duarte de Resende, factor in the Moluccas, had obtained from the astrologer Andrés de San Martín."⁴ It is my opinion that Resende must have copied and/or translated these papers while Espinosa and his men were for many months kept in the prison of the fort of Ternate. Since he knew languages and was somewhat of an expert in nautical and geographical matters, he therefore understood them. When he came to this kingdom [Portugal], we [Barros] got some of them from him, specially one book that he, Andrés

1 See HM 1:669.

2 See Teixeira, op. cit., p. 156. Note that longitudes are mentioned, not just latitudes.

3 Barros, *Décadas de Asia*, década III, lib. V, cap. X, Lisbon, ed. 1946 (but originally published in 1552), t. III, p. 297. See HM 1:675.

4 Indirectly, since San Martín had died in the great massacre of Cebu.

de San Martín, wrote with his own hand.¹ in which appears the discourse of the route followed and of all its latitudes, observations and conjunctions that he took. Because some persons have written about this matter some things about which they did not have good information, and others maliciously say many untruths, that is why we will quote from his very own book, as it is beyond suspicion as far as we are concerned."

The genius of the true author of the present document, Andrés de San Martín.

For a start, only a learned astrologer (as cosmographers were then called) like San Martín could have recorded the arrival date at Rota/Guam as being March 7th (instead of March 6th) when the International Date Line did not yet exist. San Martín must certainly have realized that he had already traversed the 180° meridian from Seville, his datum line, and therefore, had invented the Date Line centuries before the need for one was recognized. The proof of the extreme ability of this early cosmographer follows. We can only deplore the fact that he was killed in the Philippines and never got the credit he so richly deserved.

Before we consider the longitudes calculated by San Martín, let us state that the almanach he used was that by Monte Regio, as we learn from other primary sources. Also, Spanish historians state that "Antonio de Herrera [another early chronicler] enjoyed the privilege of consulting the books of Andrés de San Martín."² Note the word "books", plural. They were more than one manuscript by San Martín among Espinosa's papers. Let us remember that, whether they were divided up at Ternate, the originals and the copies all reached officialdom in Portugal.

A careful analysis of the ship positions recorded by San Martín in South America and in the Philippines reveals that he was in fact able to figure out exact **longitudes** by

1 The book in question could still have been but a copy, in Spanish, but how could Barros have recognized San Martín's handwriting? So, what was taken from Mafra in Lisbon could have been the original. In any case, all the papers, including the letters that Magellan had exchanged with his friend Fernão Serrão, all ended up in Portugal, where they were preserved intact for at least half a century. What follows makes it clear that some of Barros' contemporaries, circa 1550, doubted that he had had access to the authentic journals and papers.

2 Texeira, op. cit., p. 157.

astronomical observations, and he accomplished this feat some three centuries before other minor geniuses were able to repeat his exploit.¹

One example of San Martín's skill was his determination of the longitude of Port San Julián in what is today Argentina. He calculated it to be 61° west of Seville, whereas modern pilotage books place it at exactly 67°37' W. of Greenwich. Therefore, the "error" (if we can call it that) made by San Martín in 1520 was only 37 minutes of arc, as there is a difference of exactly 6° between Greenwich and Seville. This accuracy has remained unparalleled until very recent times when satellite communications and computerized inertial systems have made it possible to get more accurate results. By the way, San Martín also determined the latitude of Port San Julián to be 49°18' S. and the magnetic variation (which he was also tracking) as being 8°25' Easterly in that year (1520).²

The last longitude measured by San Martín (also reported by Alvo) was at the island of Suluan at the first landfall in the Philippines. This island is south of the southern tip of Samar Island and east of Homonhon Island. When Magellan got his sick people ashore and killed a sow which he had brought from Guam in order to give them a good meal, San Martín had ample opportunity to take his instruments ashore there also. Colonel Laguarda Trias³ has aptly demonstrated that the error in longitude was a remarkable 2°. By the way, this island was clearly recorded by Alvo as being 189° W. of the demarcation line, proof positive that Magellan and all his pilots knew that they had crossed the anti-meridian and that the archipelago in sight of them (and baptized by them the St. Lazarus Archipelago) was indeed Portuguese territory. The Spanish knew it and the Portuguese soon learned of it. Neither San Martín nor Alvo made any attempts to falsify their observations. Only the diplomatic Pigafetta later adjusted the set of positions that he had copied from the pilots to please the Spanish court, it appears. In doing so, he unconsciously retarded the progress of nautical and geographic sciences.

The fact that Magellan failed in his objective to prove that the Moluccas belonged to Spain was enough, in the opinion of some Spanish historians, to make him despondent and to act in an erratic manner as a leader of the expedition, disregarding the ad-

1 It may be assumed that he had a novel way of telling the correct time of day from astronomical observations, because he certainly had no access to accurate time-measuring devices, only hour-glasses). See the same conclusion reached by Colonel Rolando Laguarda Trias in Texeira, *op. cit.* p. 174. Remember that the discussions that took place at the Conference of Badajoz in 1524 prove that the theoretical methods for determining longitudes at sea were then already known to Iberian cosmographers (see HM 1:377-9).

2 The other example of another longitude calculated in South America, and recorded in Alvo's logbook, was for the Cape of the Virgins at the eastern entrance to the Strait of Magellan. It is given as 51°43' W. of the Canary Islands. If we assume (quite safely) that the reference was the peak of Teide on the island of Tenerife, the error was only 13 minutes of arc from its true longitude of 68°21' W. of Greenwich.

3 See Texeira, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.

vice of his officers and setting out with only two small boats and some 30 men to face thousands of Filipino natives at the Battle of Mactan. Perhaps, he had a death wish, or else, he too had become as crazy as his former partner, Ruy Faleiro, they say.

We know little about the life of Andrés de San Martín before he was chosen as a last-minute replacement for Ruy Faleiro whose behavior proved to all, including Magellan, that he had become mentally sick while the ships were being outfitted at Seville. In 1516, San Martín had almost been promoted to the post of Chief Pilot of the House of Trade, an important post charged with the responsibility for the testing and accreditation of all the royal pilots to be used on ships employed in the spice trade and exploration work.¹ The post had become vacant, following the death of the incumbent, Díaz de Solís. Andrés de San Martín was the prime contender for the job, but the King, in a letter dated Brussels 18 September 1516, delegated the task of appointing a successor to Bishop Fonseca, the President of the Council of the Indies. He, in turn, promptly appointed one of his current favorites, none other than the famous Italian pilot, Sebastian Cabot.² The fact that San Martín was clearly eligible for the post, however, is sufficient proof of his worthiness, even if we did not know about his feats at measuring longitudes during Magellan's voyage.

Where did San Martín learn the secret of measuring longitudes so accurately?

Part of the answer to this question was similarly realized by Iberian scholars only recently. I will give a brief summary here because it has never, to my knowledge, been previously mentioned in an English publication.³ It may turn out that Ruy Faleiro, who turned crazy under stress when the departure date approached, may have been the true genius behind San Martín. To convince Magellan, the Spanish court, and other pilots of his ability, Faleiro had already authored a scientific paper detailing three methods for measuring longitudes, which he called "east-west altitudes". Just before Magellan's departure, Faleiro gave Magellan a copy of this book and, no doubt, also gave a lecture to the pilots, including the astronomer San Martín, who had just been appointed as pilot of the ship *San Antonio*.⁴ San Martín had Faleiro's book with him when he stepped ashore at Port San Julián to make observations, according to Herrera.

1 For further information on this matter, see, among others, Puente y Olea's book entitled: *Los trabajos geográficos de la Casa de Contratación*.

2 Among other references, see José T. Medina's book: *El veneciano Sebastián Caboto al servicio de España* (Santiago de Chile, 1908).

3 For a full discussion, see Teixeira, *op. cit.*, pp. 3117 et seq.

4 San Martín appears as N° 66 on my list of Magellan's crews. Luckily for us, he was later transferred to the *Trinidad*. He made it as far as Cebu, where he died on 1 May 1521, and not with Magellan at the Battle of Mactan, as Barros mistakenly states. Incidentally, the records show that San Martín was paid exactly the same salary as the other royal pilots, no more no less.

The recent paper discovery by Spanish scholars has to do with the authorship of the treatise on astronomy that Carlos Amoretti found with Pigafetta's papers in Italian archives over a century ago and published in an appendix to his Italian version of Pigafetta's journal, the famous Ambrosian manuscript upon which most stories about Magellan's voyage in English have been based. It turns out that this treatise is none other than Ruy Faleiro's treatise translated into Italian. Amoretti himself had suspected that the source of this information may have been Faleiro. Denucé said as much in his version published in 1923.¹

Meanwhile, Martín Fernandez de Navarrete had, as far back as 1793, transcribed a file found in the AGI archives of Seville that dealt with navigation problems and the difficulty of measuring longitudes at sea. He himself wrote a history of navigation, partly based on his findings in AGI. The document we are concerned with here was unsigned and undated and did not attract the attention of that fine historian. It turns out that the document in question had been taken out of the files dealing with the Magellan expedition and placed, at about 1600, with other files dealing with a royal contest to find out the best means of measuring longitudes at sea. The document ended up with papers regarding the invention of a so-called fixed compass by Luís de Fonseca. The first page of our document, in Spanish of course, bears the same title as the appendix in the Pigafetta account published by Amoretti, and reads as follows: "*Capítulo primero que [h]abla del altura del este-(h) oeste* [Chapter I concerning east-west altitudes].² Pigafetta's translation of this document is the same text, except that he did not translate a few paragraphs (called chapters by Faleiro) at the end of the treatise, probably because they deal with Ptolemy's geography of Asia and were obviously outdated in the eyes of Pigafetta or considered irrelevant since the ship **Concepción** did not go by Asia but crossed the Indian Ocean at low latitudes, by way of Amsterdam Island (which they discovered). It is possible that the copy of Faleiro's treatise in AGI was Magellan's copy that had remained aboard the flagship and that Pigafetta copied during the long Indian Ocean crossing; however, this is a pure conjecture on my part, albeit an attractive one. Faleiro's treatise was in fact published in Spain in the *Revista de Marina*³ but, unfortunately, the authorship was not assigned to Ruy Faleiro. The confusion came, not only from the fact that the document itself is unsigned and undated (the cover probably having been ripped off to conceal its importance from the Portuguese), but also the other documents in the Fonseca contest files were overpowering to the researcher. The contest was won by this Luís de Fonseca Coutinho who was a Portuguese and had only one worthy rival for the prize in the person of the Spanish cosmographer Arias de Loyola. This contest occurred in the first decade of the 17th century.

1 See page 273 of Jean Denucé, *Pigafetta Relation du premier voyage autour du monde par Magellan* (Anvers & Paris, 1923).

2 The original of Ruy Faleiro's treatise is still located at AGI in Section 1 of Patronato legajo 262, ramo 3 (10 folios).

3 Madrid, vol. 32, 1893, pp. 379-394.

I have found another interesting connection between the Faleiro treatise and the Philippino-Micronesian history. In 1610, the Council of the Indies commissioned a former resident of the Philippines and its lobbyist at court, the Licentiate Fernando de los Rios Coronel, to test the secret [sic] method for determining longitude invented by Fonseca, that of the so-called fixed compass which supposedly consisted in observing the variations of the magnetic compass. De los Rios was then about to make his last round-trip to Manila and he readily accepted to make measurements while crossing the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. One of his observations was made off the southern tip of Sarigan Island in the northern Marianas.¹ Needless to say, this method, which is the same as the third method of Faleiro, was useless. It was based on the assumption that magnetic variation was a constant phenomenon. San Martín must have come to the same conclusion much earlier, but this was never learned in Europe, of course, except by a few pilots at the House of Trade who may have been briefed by Alvo; as for Elcano, if he knew about the secret methods, he was much too busy with business at court. Espinosa, however, knew about them for sure² and acted as a consultant at the Conference of Badajoz. The genius of San Martín lies in the fact that he put to excellent use the other two methods, which were based entirely on planetary observations, i.e. the conjunctions of the Sun, Moon, and the stars. By the way, Ruy Faleiro's younger brother, Francisco, who had come from Portugal with him and Magellan, must have been well briefed by Alvo, if not Elcano, because he later produced excellent tables of declinations and his own treatise on navigation.³ However, other cosmographers, Spanish ones, muddled the waters so well that the treatises on navigation that were published for public consumption, until 1645 at least, make no mention of the two useful methods in Ruy Faleiro's book.⁴ By 1650, the genius of Andrés de San Martín, the real author of the *Descripción de los reinos* was all but forgotten.

1 See Doc. 1611A in HM3.

2 He had used them to good advantage in 1522 when he tried to go to Panama by way of the Marianas, which he managed to find in the midst of the vast ocean...

3 Francisco Faleiro. *Tratado del Esphera y del arte de marear*. In Vol. 4 of Bensaúde's Collection (Munich, 1915). The original ms. was then in the Royal Library at Munich.

4 Even Pedro de Medina's *Arte de navegar*, first published in 1645, makes the ridiculous statement that there is no such thing as variation of the compass.

Document S1521L

A secondary account of Magellan's visit to Guam

A collection of stories by Gomez Fernandez Catoira

Source: BL ms. 9944, fol. 8-8v.

Notes: The manuscript is contemporary, and written in old-style Spanish script. This author's informant was aboard the flagship.

Original text in Spanish.

Capítulo 10 que trata de lo que subcedió a Magallanes despues de pasado el Estrecho.—

... yendo navegando esta harmada en un día que fueron del siete de março que fueron del año de 1521. Uno que estava [en] la gabia se llamaba Analsario(?) dijo agrandes voces **tierra tierra**[.] con esta subita palabra todos se alegraron tan aquel que menos señales de alegría mostraba se tenía por mas loco como lo sintiria bien quien tal estado se abiera(?) el de mesmo ver la tierra dijo ver una bela[.] por estas dos nuevas que dio se le dieron a tres zocas(?) de oro[.] valdrian hasta ciento ducados[.] La harmada llevo a surgir cerca una ysla de las que paresia aunque heran tres alli zerca[.] El harmada ancio[.] lo qual veia por los de la tierra[.] vino mucha gente en navios de que nos a verlos que heran nuestras naos[.] admirados de ber las y sin ningun rrezelo se entraron dentro y fueron tantos los yndios que entraron la capitana pie al monte que algunos dijeron al capitan los mandase hechar fuera. El qual dicho mando a algunos o algunos les parecio fuera bien lo mandara y el contramaestre de la capitana sobre poca cosa dio una bofetada a uno de aquellos yndios y el yndio le rrespondio con otra. El contramaestre tre ynjurado con un machete que laapta(?) traya le dio una cuchillada [en] una espalda[.] en esa aquella compania de barbaros se hecharon viendo al agua, y despues que se acogieron a sus naviachuelos comenzaron con unas baras desta palo(?) o tu cosan(?) o tenían a pelear[.] de la nao les tiraban algunas saetas mas heran tantos los yndios que no abia [...] hirieron algunos de los de las naos a que se obro una cosa digna de notarse y fue que estandoce las yndias pelean le con los nuestros[.] venian tres de tierra con comida y pasaban por los navichuelos de sus naturales ya daban la comida al los nuestros y acabada de dar armaban sus harmas y peleaban con los nuestros y dando a sus naturales[.] Magallanes viendo que la cantidad de la gente de la tierra a el

da mando que de la nao no les tirasen y con esto los yndios dejaron y se aplaco la pelca y tornaron a vender como de antes de lo que ay en aquellas yslas que son cocos y pescados en abundancia lo qual se compraba por algunas quantas de vidrio que de Castilla llevaban. En estas yslas no vieron senal de horof.] estando en ellas sures [subieron?] los de la tierra por descuido de los nuestros les gustaron un batel e por el a les pusieron nombre a estas yslas las yslas de los ladrones[.] estan desde 21 grados asta 14 norte sur mas estas son siete yslas segun despues se vieron[.] aqui estubo el harmada dos dias y luego partio la buelta del poniente.

Capitulo 11 que trata de lo que mas subcedio a Magellanes partido de las yslas de los ladrones.

Partio Magallanes de estas yslas que pusieron nombre de Ladrones y navegando de poniente[.] a cabo de diez dias llevo a unas yslas [que] se veian de buen parescer aunque despoblada la qual esta 12 grados de la vanda del norte...

Translation.

Chapter 10 which deals with what happened to Magellan beyond the Strait.—

... while this fleet was sailing, one day, which was the seventh day in March of the year 1521, a man who was in the tops, named Analsario(?)¹ shouted very loudly **Land! Land!** Upon hearing this sudden word, everyone rejoiced. Even the man who showed the least amount of excitement would have been considered crazy in any other circumstance. The same man who descried the land also said he could see a sail. For these two news that he gave, he was given three gold things(?), worth as much as 100 ducats.

The fleet came to an anchor near an island, one of three islands that were in sight, close together. The fleet anchored, and this was seen by the local people. Many people came aboard ships to see what were our own ships. They were astonished upon seeing them, but without any fear they came up on deck. So many Indians came on board the flagship that some men told the captain that he should order them to throw them out. This said, he gave an order, [saying] that it seemed like a good idea to expel some and the boatswain of the flagship, with little justification, gave a slap to one of those Indians, but the Indian responded in kind. After this insult, the boatswain took out the sword that he carried and gave him a blow with it on the shoulder. At this, that whole company of barbarians threw themselves into the water, and after they had reached their canoes, they began to throw wooden stick or other things they had as weapons. From the ship they shot a few darts at them but there were so many Indians that they managed to wound a few of those aboard the ship.

¹ Ed. note: Try as I may, I could not transcribe this word otherwise. Perhaps the man's first name was Anastasio, but there was no-one by that name aboard Magellan's ships (see HM1:168-181); hence, he could have been one of the many men named Antonio on board.

One thing worth mentioning was that some Indian women fought with our men; three of them came from ashore with food and they went past the canoes of their own natives in order to give the food to our men, but this done, they picked up their weapons and fought with our men, remaining with their natives. Upon seeing that number of the local people, Magellan gave an order for the men of the ship to stop shooting at them, and then the Indians left and the battle abated. They came back to barter, as before, with the products of those islands, that is coconuts and fish in abundance, in exchange for a few glass beads that had been brought from Spain.

In this island they saw no sign of gold. While they were at those islands, the local people robbed a ship's boat, on account of carelessness on the part of our men, and that is why they gave the name of Islands of Thieves. They are situated between 21 degrees and 14 degrees from north to south, but there are seven island, according to what they saw afterwards.¹ The fleet remained here two days and then it made its way westward.

Chapter 11 which deals with what happened to Magellan after he had left the Islands of the Thieves.

Magellan left these islands that he named the Islands of Thieves and sailed westward. At the end of ten days he arrived at some island(s) that looked fine, although inhabited; it is situated in 12 degrees of latitude north.

...

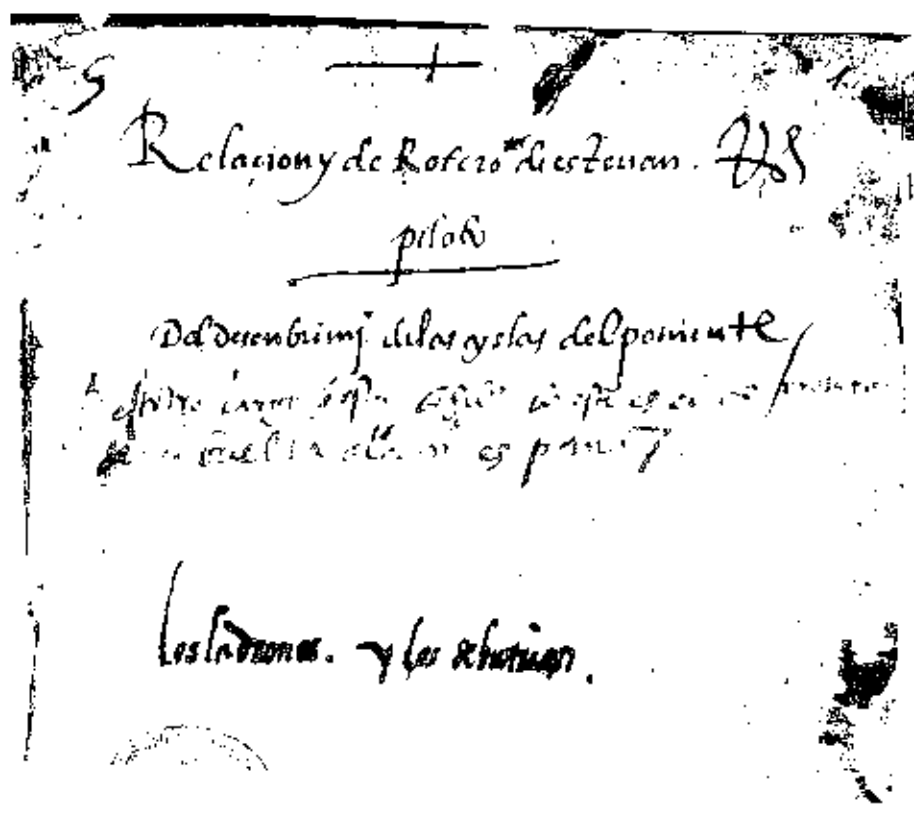
¹ Ed. note: Magellan could not then have known the extent of the Marianas. But the informant could have been there again in 1522 with Captain Espinosa.

Document S1565Q

**Legazpi expedition—Original text of the
logbook of Esteban Rodriiguez**

Source: See Doc. 1565Q in HM 2.

[Attached]



Relacion y de suerto de suenan Rodriguez Pilot mayor natu
 de la villa de Huelva en los Reynos de castilla de la de leon y de galicia,
 en su naao y aconcompi del viaje y jornada de las yslas philipi-
 nas en la mar del poniente en cuya armada y descubrimiento fu
 por general el muy Ill^{mo} señor miguel lopo de legazpi, por mariscal
 de la Ma^{da} Real del Rey don Phelippe mio señor

I Salimos del puerto de la ciudad de naos y Vngalongo
 y unpatux y un barco cubierto, en naos capitana de mi apor
 nombre San pedro, de porte de quinientos toneladas por mas o
 menos, piloto mayor de suenan Rodriguez V^{do} de Huelva y
 por su Acompañado P^{ro}curador plin franco, por mas de un
 de y barra V^{do} de siluao, contra maestre fran de rodrigo

II La Naos almiranta nua nombre San pablo seria de por-
 te de quatrocientas toneladas por piloto de naos m^o j^o Juan
 y de m^o de rodrigo y m^o Juan maria q^o m^o p^o Juan

III El paleonete seria de Portea de conladao llamaua de San
 Joan piloto de la ysla, m^o Julian phelipe V^{do} de rodrigo con
 tra m^o maestre Rodriguez V^{do} de Huelva

IV El Patux de llamaua San luis de Portea de conladao
 das piloto lopo m^o de rodrigo y m^o m^o de rodrigo
 contra maestre morato

V En el Barco y un quatro Hombrer y lleuaua lo acon-
 do medra V^{do} de la Vezcau

VI En to de esta Armada y uando se entio Solia de por
 mas o mas y mas la gente de la mar quedaria en gente
 y anguenta, y ra gouernador y capitán general el muy
 Ill^{mo} señor miguel lopo de legazpi, mariscal



Campos mateos del Sauz y capitandey nfanteria mñ de
 goyti, capitán de artilleria Joan maldonado, alférez ma
 yor andrés de y barra, Sargento mayor luie de la haya

- 22 Largamos el trinquete en el puerto de la naviidad mateos
 quatro oras antes del dia a veinte y no de nouiembre de
 mill y quē yssentey quatro, andubimos a quella mania
 7 na todo el dia siete leguas, gouernamos al sudueste,
hiximos el camino del oc. sudueste por causa de los co
ruentres que corren al Veste de luego de costa /
- 1 Miércoles a veinte y dos del dicho Andubimos Tabueta
 20 del sudueste veynte leguas
- 1 Jueves veinte y tres dias del dicho andubimos Tabu
 36 cita del sudueste treinta y seis leguas tomeal sol en
Diez e siete grados
- 1 Viernes a veinte y quatro del dicho andubimos a l Su
 24 quēte Veinte y quatro leguas
- 1 Sábado veinte y cinco del dicho Andubimos la misma
 21 derrota veinte y vn leguas, tomeal sol en quin
ze grados y vn quarto
- 1 Domingo veinte y seis del dicho Andubimos desde el sab
 25 do en la tarde que se mudio la derrota hasta el domingo
en la noche veinte y cinco leguas al Suoste quarta
del sudueste
- 1 Lunes a veinte y siete del dicho Andubimos veinte y
 28 ocho leguas por la misma derrota del Veste quarta
del sudueste
- 1 Martes a veinte y ocho del dicho Andubimos treinta
 33 y tres leguas por la misma derrota



- 1 // **Miércoles** a veinte y más del dicho anduvimos quinze leguas
 15 la buelta del sudueste
- 2 **Jueves** A treinta del dicho anduvimos treinta y cinco
 35 leguas la via del hueste quarta del sudueste a me
 aldesto en taze granos
- 2 **Buenos** Primeros de diciembre Anduvimos treinta leguas
 y mas a nco, al hueste quarta del sudueste. coledin
 de aparto del armada. el patax Sanlucuo. mandaua
 35 al señor general. don chu y r delante la capitana y
 por la proa to das las noches, esta noche vno vn aguace
 rillo, amaynamos las velas mayores, el patax
 yua delante quando vino la mañana no le vimos
 tubimos a guel dia entendido qba delante cargae
 velas no lo podimos ver
- 2 **Sábado** A dos del dicho Anduvimos treinta y cinco le
 35 guas la misma derrota
- 1 **Domingo** A dos del dicho Anduvimos treinta y tres
 33 leguas la misma derrota
- 2 **Lunes** a quatro del dicho anduvimos Veinte y ocho
 28 leguas la misma derrota, tomas el sol en / orze
 ora dos y vn quarto
- 2 **Martes** a nco del dicho anduvimos treinta y cinco
 35 leguas ala misma derrota del / oeste quarta del
 sudueste
- 1 **Miércoles** A tres de dho. anduvimos Veinte nueve
 29 leguas ala misma derrota tomas el sol en diez granos
 y tres quartos
- 2 **Jueves** a siete del dicho Anduvimos Wuney y gto
 24 le guas para la misma derrota
- 27 9





- a Buernes ocho del dicho Andubimos Veinte leguas
 20 x Sábado a nueve del dicho andubimos por la mañana
 20 derrota veinte leguas, tome el sol en diez grados
 21 Domingo a diez del dicho andubimos veinte y ocho leguas
 28 al oeste tome el sol en nueve grados y tres cuartos
 x Lunes a once del dicho andubimos treinta y tres a la
 33 misma derrota
 x Martes a doce del dicho andubimos treinta leguas a la
 30 misma derrota tome el sol en nueve grados y tres
 cuartos, aquí nos separa se nos fijaron las aguijas
 Al Norte
 x Miércoles a trece del dicho andubimos diez y ocho le
 18 guas por la misma derrota, tome el sol en nueve gra
 dos y tres cuartos
 x Jueves a catorce del dicho andubimos quince leguas al
 15 Oeste
 x Viernes a quince del dicho Andubimos ocho ^{leguas}
 2 al Oeste quarta del sudueste
 x Sábado a diez y seis del dicho andubimos Veinte y ³
 20 por la misma derrota, tome el sol en nueve
 grados y medio
 x Domingo a diez y siete del dicho andubimos Veinte y
 21 Una legua a la misma derrota
 x Lunes a diez y ocho del dicho Andubimos Veinte y
 24 quatro leguas a la misma derrota
 x Martes a diez y nueve del dicho andubimos treinta y
 35 cinco leguas, a la misma derrota
 x Miércoles a veinte del dicho andubimos treinta y cuatro leguas a la
 34 misma derrota. tome el sol en nueve grados y un qu



4.

1 Jueves A veinte y no del dicho andubimos treinta y seis le-
36 guas to me el sol en nueue grados y vn quarto.

1 Viernes a veinte y dos del dicho andubimos treinta y cinco
35 leguas ala misma derrota, tome el sol en nueue grados
y vn quarto.

1 Sabado a veinte y tres del dicho andubimos treinta y cinco
35 leguas ala misma derrota, tome el sol en nueue
grados y vn quarto.

1 Domingo A veinte y quatro del dicho Andubimos treinta y
33 tres leguas al Veste tome el sol en nueue grados y
vn quarto, aqui nos nauicoteo e la guarnadi de quarto.

1 Lunes a veinte y cinco del dicho andubimos treinta leguas
30 ala misma derrota, tome el sol en nueue y vntecio.

1 Martes a veinte y seis del dicho, andubimos treinta
34 y quatro leguas al Veste quarta del sudueste, tome
el sol en nueue grados y vn quarto.

1 Miercoles A veinte y siete del dicho andubimos treinta
34 y quatro leguas al Veste quarta del sudueste tome
el sol en nueue grados y vn quarto.

1 Jueves a veinte y ocho del dicho andubimos treinta
30 leguas ala misma derrota, tome el sol en nueue gra-
dos y vn quarto.

1 Viernes A veinte y nueue del dicho andubimos veinte y
25 cinco leguas ala misma derrota, tome el sol en nueue
grados y vn quarto.

1 Sabado a treinta del dicho Andubimos veinte y an-
25 co leguas al Veste quarta del norueste, tome el
sol en nueue grados y vn quarto largos.

1 Domingo a treinta y uno del dicho andubimos treinta





33 Y tres leguas Al Oeste quarta del noroeste tome
el sol en diez grados

1 Lunes a primero de febrero andubimos treinta leguas ala
30 misma dextera, tome el sol en diez grados y un tercio y aquí
nos nos dete a la izquierda casi una quarta

1 Martes A dos de febrero Andubimos treinta y cinco le
35 guas ala misma dextera

1 Miércoles a tres del dicho andubimos treinta y ocho legu
38 as ala misma dextera

1 Jueves a quatro del dho andubimos treinta leguas al
30 oeste quarta del sudueste, tome el sol en diez grados
y dos tercios

1 Viernes a cinco del dicho andubimos treinta y cinco leguas
35 ala misma dextera

1 Sábado a seis del dicho Andubimos quince leguas ala
15 misma dextera, tome el sol en diez grados y un tercio

1 Domingo A siete del dicho Andubimos quince leguas
15 ala misma dextera y tome el sol en diez grados y un tercio

1 Lunes A ocho del dicho andubimos treinta leguas
30 al Oeste quarta del sudueste hasta medio día

des de medio día hasta la noche andubimos ocho leguas

8 La buelta del Sur por que de la almirante de ordena la
de aver visto tierra por aquella parte y preso fuy's

de aquella buelta hasta el Sol puesto, como vimos

tierra por el namos al Oeste quarta de noroeste toda
la noche, y a la mañana subio un hombre alto y
y vido tierra la buelta del noroeste y metimos del O.



Y fuymos hasta tomarla por la parte del Sur. tomamos la mar a mediodía y auicndo andado a nahe
 15. atiao hasta esta ora quinze leguas la forma de
 co taysia
 manera

Va figurada
 no es su
 lago medio
 que paísa
 de un caso



es de la
 que aqui
 conese
 y es que
 que puse
 la mar

A otro

tienede Soxe hasta tres o quatro leguas, auicn la
 Oibera como veinte casas y al paracez por via auicn
 toda la ysla como que yndios son gente barba da y por
 eso el señor genl le puso nombre la ysla de los barbu
 dos, su trato es poquero, matan mucho pecado no
 tienen armas, quisimos surgir y no hallamos fondo
 con que bescas estando el Saupres (tierra y mientas
 los bariles fueron a tierra a uer la calidad y la caña
 della, ardebinos de un bordo y de otro hasta la noche
 traxeron mu fhas cocas y pecado y apimrriethen
 partimos tomos el sal en tierra en dos grados

Miércoles a diez del dho alio ocho del dia dimos an
 vnayola pequeña que de los barbuados a esta ay quinze
 leguas en derrota al oeste quarta del noroeste tome
 el sol en ella en dos grados la ysla es de la forma

que aqui parece
 co taysia ma
 no es su yti
 diez leguas
 me a la lura



pintada
 y es que
 ne de lura
 y de anho
 da que buda



M. P. FILIPINAS. 1821

quebrada que viniendo de Alcazar paxo de Jeruſalẽ
y las es toda vna, aunque arabs ven al mar
corre: poruete susiete, desta grande a la pequena
abra como vna legua y de la pequena a esta otra dos
cota en cotadas de arrafes, quisimos surgir, y no halla
mos fondo y vimos quexeran des pobladas vaxas y
llenas de arboleda, tomel sol en diez prados si quisimos
ma dextota al sol puesto quexuamos q̄tro leguas
de la ysla

1 Sabado trece del dicho Andubimos vinteyanco leguas
al vete quarta del sudueste tomcel sol en diez
prados

2 Acatorce del dicho andubimos quarentayquattro leguas
alamirma dextota y al sol puesto vimos vna ysla queta
41 vimos della como quattro leguas y esta noche hicimos a
Reyno de vn bordo y de otro con las dos vexas mayseeñ as
ta la mañana que fuymos en demanda della la qual
era en esta forma



Llegamos
a quince
días con
leguas por

esta vete. eran vaxas y llenas de arboleda
y a orno muchos arrafes no quisimos surgir ma
piedel arrafes hallamos fondo para donde despo
bladas, tomel sol sobre escas y ndiez prados escasos,
fuymos adelante siguiendo ma dextota al vete quar
ta de sudueste

40 Martes Adu quito del dicho Andubimos quarenta
leguas alamirma dextota tomcel sol en nueue prados
y neo quattos

64



- 1 Miércoles a diez y siete del dicho andubimos Veintey
 25 enoleguas a la misma derrota
 2 Jueves a diez y ocho del dicho andubimos Veintey siete leguas
 26 al Veste, haziamos el camino de la quarta del novete
 tomamos el sol en diez y siete grados
 2 Viernes a diez y nueve del dicho andubimos Veintey enole
 25 guas al Veste haziendo el camino de la quarta del novete
 tomamos el sol en once y siete grados
 2 Sabado a veinte del dicho andubimos Veintey deisoleguas
 26 a la misma derrota
 2 Lunes a Veintey dos del dicho auy. andado Veintey leguas
 20 Llegamos tarde a la mañana y a la quedi en de los la dirona de
 dieron nos a las siete y siete y a las dos leguas al mar y
 nos haziendo señas q arribamos a supicillo y otros
 acuyos. Llegamos a las cuatro. a la ysla de la parte del
 Este, adonde vimos gran poblacion junta a la mar y no
 haziamos surgidero para surgir arribamos a la parte del
 Veste y otro dia por la mañana a las diez y siete y tres del
 dicho surgimos de la Banda del Veste a las diez y siete y tres
 del Este. Surgidero limpio y a las diez y siete y tres y a las diez y siete y tres
 la enma que aqui
 tiene de la parte del
 surgidero es una
 chao poblacion
 de la costa, corse
 del Veste no nos
 descubrió una ysla pequeña. de la parte del sur va
 Un Taxo de madera ha talayia grande, aynella



Se muestra
 Veste buo
 agua y mu
 kluango
 palaparte
 de los sus



- muchas gente bien despuerta, desnudos, las mugeres Japón,
 que venguenas con vnq[ue]ho[ra]s de yeruas, sus armas son
 Vates y b[er]d[er]das conpuntas, agudas y profauan vna lloie
 la b[er]d[er]das e p[er]d[er]das las quales trayan vna c[er]tilla
 de palma, que le seruia de escudo contra y doree de confia
 das tienen muy mucho Arz[er] n[er]mes bat[er]das platanos
 canias dulces y otras frutas y muchos cocos y poco de
 salian Arrogatar con nos otros alamos en vn[er] p[er]as
 siete y ocho yndios en cada vno, de la vela y e[er]tem[er]son
 tan ligero q[ue] no avra galeas. Los acancien de otros p[er]as
 tienen cantidad de surogates a trueque de clavos.
 y poseen trayan quanto temian, co[n]tribuir[er] en esta y la
 haciendo aguada y demandando refresco, on[er]edias, home
 cesolencia en trece grados y vnt[er]o, de aquila limosil
 Aguir m[er]o viaje sabido a tres de febrero
- 1 y l[er]d[er]da sabido tres de febrero an dubim[er] diez leguas
 10 al Norte
- 2 Domingo quatro dias del dicho an dubim[er] veinte y cinco
 15 leguas por la misma d[er]rota
- 3 Lunes cinco dias del dicho An dubim[er] por la misma d[er]rota
 25 veinte y cinco leguas, homecesolencia en trece grados y medio
- 4 Martes seis dias del dicho an dubim[er] veinte y ocho leguas
 28 a la misma d[er]rota
- 5 Miércoles siete dias del dicho An dubim[er] traynez y a no[n]e
 35 guas a la misma d[er]rota homecesolencia en trece grados y medio
- 6 Jueves ocho dias del dicho an dubim[er] treinta leguas a la misma
 30 d[er]rota, homecesolencia en trece grados y vnt[er]o cat[er]cia de febrero
 31 al Norte, quarta del sudueste, clapeja nordeste a la quarta
 33

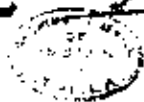




- Buinas Anusue del dicho andubimos Veintey por haley
 28 al bote quare a del suducate
 * Sabado dia del dicho andubimos Veintey y acolegu a
 35 al amisma dezoza y meel sol a trece grados
 * Domingo a once del dicho, andubimos Veintey legos
 30 a la misma dezoza, y meel sol en doce grados y tres cuartos
 * Lunes a diez del dicho, andubimos quince legos al bote
 15 y meel sol en doce grados y medio de la po
 15 * Martes a once del dicho andubimos quince legos al bote
 15 * Miércoles a once del dicho andubimos quince legos al bote
 15 * Los quatro de la tarde llegamos a un ay a gran de
 muchas Serranias. tem a un ay a poca que no fuera
 de la grande dos legos al reparo de tays la bucinas
 entrara y la yola grande, ay otros y o letas mas cerca
 a un ay a y a media de la yola y la una de arca de
 la gente vna y otros dos vapas de fondo a siete y a
 vna y a media de la brigada de arca de la gente
 aqui Reyna. la yola grande de tays la en quatro
 furtos. la vna parte de la tierra que se de uita de moun
 al norte quarta del noreste y la otra al sur quarta del
 sudueste, y o dia miercoles fue el batel de la capitana
 y o de la almiranta y o de la patax amada Veintey
 dados a la yola grande a dos y a vna y a media bucinas
 puerto y poblaron, se llamaron Vnas casillas a la mar
 de pobladas, y saldrian para de angieria y a los A
 nos otros y remian en arcos y vnos panes todo
 de cuerpo trayan pintado de negro con fuego trayan
 paucos y vnos lanillas segun a en la en el dicho



abría de la vna ala / ozzados leuados, cota otra ala
 buelta del suorte desbiada como tres leguas, de esta
 guisa correfi nanordoste y susueste el desembocade
 ro de caia, leste, Veste es de fondo de diez a quin e oia
 cas puidracn cabos y manchas de arena, diamos ca
 fínas e laro. y este fondo nos tuuaxia, tres leguas
 prolongando la ysla grande de seorria la costa leste
 Veste Anda ríenos camino de otho leguas, y buigi
 mos a vna baya buen fndo y abrio para la vna
 os, Sa reeta baya vna y sleta fúneven tierra entre
 tierra y ella, es baxo, y mas abaxo Sa dreoteu
 de agua salada y subiendo pora, arriba la balla
 ran dulce, por la Dileta de sot cabito tienen pobla
 con los yndios. de aqui fuymos vn batel y vna fra
 gata a descubrir la costa con quarenta hombres, a re
 dubimos la buelta del veste quatro leguas, de uno
 de los qualos ay dos ancones y acabo vnaguenta
 guera y de aca correlaosta nonordoste susueste
 camino de esta costa. en quatro leguas de baxo tres fúne
 nes los dos estan juntos y el vno vn poco desbiado, el otro
 de los dos es muy alto y por baxo quebrado (párate q)
 Seotata yendo el otro que sta desbiado es quier y de
 donde fúne de monte en montaña y la tierra que
 de Pajar quae quieranao que ay m de veinte oracio
 de fúne. fuera de los farallones vnaseguaiota vna
 y sleta pequena baxa de mora de los farallones albuu
 suduete, que denpa sarentallan y los farallones





Después de estar andado las quatro leguas Arribadme
 dimos en una Baya grande de fondo quatro brazas
 y áncas, surgimos con el barco y batel. Una braca jun-
 to aun pueblo que está junto a la mar y por río por la
 mar lexos, no podimos saltar enue vimos muchos
 yndios. Púerades la mar andubimos una legua más
 abaxo, conio se la costa noueste susueste. todo baxio
 dimos. Una y siete pequeña. poente la qual y la tierra
 no pudimos pasar con los batels. No deamos el por-
 de fuera y dimos. Una bayagrande de fondo quito
 brazas, era la mar sigue la costa dos leguas de noue
 uoste susueste, allí hallamos una cascada armada
 sobre una laguna de agua dulce alta de la agua. Te-
 nian balsas para el seruij. fuymos a ellas y nde po-
 dimos entrar, cotrauan yndios en ellas, amagamos los
 con los Arribos y luego se retiraron en sus balsas
 y vimos de por, traaxeronnos batatas platanos
 porojugimos por luenjo de la costa q se corre nortebur
 quarta del noueste susueste, andubimos otra legua
 de costa q se corria noueste susueste, en otra legua
 hallamos dos rios de agua dulce q corrian a la mar
 por el oriente dentro los batels, en los quales pa-
 recieron muchos ynfios. Tienen el Rio arriba
 sus poblaciones sacamos a la boca del uno Señalen-
 do los vimos de por. Vimos sobre de treinta
 yndios con sus familias. pabesco y dagas, vimos



Amirad con ellos Pedimos los algunos Puercos Anas
 y Itatanos. que se lo pagariamos dixeron. Por la mañana
 na los traen, aguardamos A otro dia y como no vi
 mieron fuymos a quella dia dos leguas adelante conuase
 la costa nordeste descubriamos. Un ancon de una
 yndio de agua vino a nos otros Un parao grande q
 uaya como quarenta yndios pidieron amistad y quel
 capitán fuese a abrazarse con ellos el qual quisoy con
 sus soldados y los yndios dixeron que auia de yr solo
 y como el capitán no quisiese yr solo fuese el parao tras de la
 punta. Secho a tierra algunos yndios. En lo de un solo
 quacu. Vimeon. por el monte escondidos a donde se tauie
 Confuso la nalla de cania y la punta vista de un
 algo de unido. Vimeon del capitán que Andaua deo r
 mado y rizaron le dos de los, la una lado para la vada
 de que murio, acudimos a quella parte y metieron de los
 yndios. Por el monte huyendo. Imácamon oy y alimos
 fura. y vimos como el Parao estaba. Reo yendo los q
 yndios seguim solo. Arimoy vela y como son tan ligeros
 metiose por un modo a que se nos. Nos nos retrospargim
 la yua adelante para la costa que se caen o nordeste de
 descubriamos tres leguas y otro dia andubimos ocho y de alli
 y uala costa no nos desceando descubriamos. Medio de tres
 los tres leguas. Hallamos una Baya grande y abierta como
 tres leguas. A la punta de la vaya aca barata de norte
 cota toda poblada y en medio della Baye un dos comben
 imos a ngoto, para nauis Pequeños y canoa tonos
 Los uimos a los naos, cotubimos en todo cotonade





días y llegados que fue mas determinamos de traser los
 naos a la Baya que tengodueno Surgimos amianasi
 dentro de la Baya junto a la poblaçion y vinieron y
 días de paz a las naos Dieron coric i rogati que tra yamos
 y flegimos Amistades. Dixeran quenos traxian mu
 chos puerros y quese lo pagariamos No cumplieron con
 nos otros visto quino cumplan ni quier andar cosa
 ninguna por rogati mienre, dete minawonde tomavies
 y sacaron entrua y tomaron toda de treinta puerros
 traseron a la naos quatro Principales y pagos se lo que
 se como los Principales Nos enseñaron donde se ca
 maçua a la yoy sandoya determinaron de yr a ma
 çua, quibrua maçua de otta codota y flatus
 laçua Coruadi de otta punta al lado Norte co
 maçua una y flatus Pequeña de otta laçua Sechada de
 norte el sur, La du diay flatus como esta que a otta m
 lo alto es monte y. lo vaxo es tabanay, norte halla
 de la Parte del Norte Puerto de la parte del sur lo tiene
 de veynte de naos visto quatro pueblen surge, no aya
 ayue, m yndios Vayense como quatro casas y ayo
 surgimos en ella vimos la bucha del sur una y flatus
 grande y alta, otra al sudueste mas Pequeña y ayo
 visto lo toçua de la bucha de norte de sur los quatro yndios
 canela que leuauamos que tra botuan que en la y flatus
 Zindanco y la di. sur que tra donde auia a la canela
 Determinamos de yr a la y flatus los yndios nos Rogaron
 no los lleuamos a laçua que los otros lo de antuanlas

[illegible]

(Next page:) **First page of another copy of the logbook by Pilot Rodriguez of the Legazpi Expedition.**

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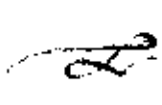
Document S1565R

**Legazpi expedition—Original text of the
logbook of Pierre Plun, the French pilot**

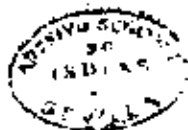
Source: See Doc. 1565R in HM 2.

[Attached]

24.

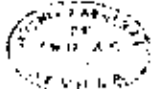
De Retorno de pie Res. y Lun. Piloto Frances 

Del descubrimiento de las yslas de la ynf.



De Rotero. de pueras plur. piloto. Frances

- II** **P**uerto Piloto. Frances. Lunes. A veinte dias de Mésedung
biembre de mill e quinientos. E se yna equatro años. tome el
sol en el puerto de la nobredad. En diez. y nueve grados e un quarto
quadrante al noroeste. Sol quanta. y media de ora. E se yna
a la quarta sol. Sudueste. halla mill e quinientos y cinquenta
gras. de la linea diámetro. la qual quita en las canas de diez
degras al voste. de la isla. del bierno.
- II** **M**lancia. Si pueras veinte e brodenobredad. Salim. Sol equatro
canas de la linea diámetro. Sol poniente. por la parte de noroeste
parte de noroeste en pueras. general pueras de la pueras al sudueste. tui mos
calmas. Aquella. en las canas veinte e brodenobredad. tome el sol
- II** **Z**uena. Viente e brodenobredad. tome el sol en diez e se yna
y tres quanta. en el mar. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras amebredad
Se yna yna a la pueras al sudueste. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras
Viente e brodenobredad. Sol poniente. yna de se yna.
- II** **A**l pueras. Viente e brodenobredad. tome el sol en diez e se yna
y tres quanta. en el mar. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras amebredad
Se yna yna a la pueras al sudueste. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras
Viente e brodenobredad. Sol poniente. yna de se yna.
- II** **S**abado. Viente e brodenobredad. tome el sol en diez e se yna
y tres quanta. en el mar. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras amebredad
Se yna yna a la pueras al sudueste. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras
Viente e brodenobredad. Sol poniente. yna de se yna.
- II** **D**omingo. A los veinte e se yna de Mésedung. tome el sol en diez e se yna
y tres quanta. en el mar. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras amebredad
Se yna yna a la pueras al sudueste. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras
Viente e brodenobredad. Sol poniente. yna de se yna.
- II** **L**unes. A veinte e se yna de Mésedung. tome el sol en diez e se yna
y tres quanta. en el mar. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras amebredad
Se yna yna a la pueras al sudueste. En diez e se yna dias hasta el pueras
Viente e brodenobredad. Sol poniente. yna de se yna.



- vi** **Martes** A veinte y cinco de noviembre tome el sol En diez y seis grados y dos tercios. corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. treinta y quatro leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste fue el viento. Sueste y sur sueste. Vimos espada gran multitud de pararas. con si el tu diegemos cerca de tierra por como vimos una y como el meridiano una quarta de la cuarta de la cuarta del su dueste.
- vi** **Miércoles** A veinte y seis de noviembre tome el sol En diez y seis grados y dos tercios. corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. veinte y quatro leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste fue el viento este.
- vi** **Jueves** A treinta y uno de noviembre tome el sol En diez y seis grados y dos tercios. corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. treinta y dos leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste. quedome. El meridiano. Una quarta de la cuarta de la cuarta del su dueste.
- vi** **Vienes** primer dia. de mes de diciembre. tome el sol por los muchos. A quince y corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. treinta y cuatro leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste por como. Estano de. el pato de san lucas por fater. del piloto al que le avia avisado el moro bernado. quien de capitan de junto al capitan de vapor capitan del agua larga. de zellano.
- vi** **Sabado** A dos de diciembre. tome el sol por los muchos. A quince y corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. treinta y cuatro leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste. Estano de. de fater. fue el viento nordeste quarta del este.
- vi** **Domingo** tres de diciembre. tome el sol por los muchos. A quince y corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. treinta y cuatro leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste fue el viento este.
- vi** **Lunes** A quatro de diciembre. tome el sol En diez y seis grados y dos tercios. quedome. el meridiano. al sur de la altura hallome no ventaneros. de longitud. de la linea como trat de la parte del este y otros tantos de la parte del sueste corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. treinta y cuatro leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste. Respondome este es bien. la altura con la altura. fue el viento este.
- vi** **Martes** A cinco de diciembre. tome el sol por los muchos. A quince y corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. diez y cuatro leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste fue el viento este.
- vi** **Miércoles** A seis de diciembre. tome el sol En diez y seis grados y dos tercios. corrimos En veinte y quatro horas. diez y cuatro leguas al sueste quarta del su dueste.

- quarta. del sudueste. fue el viento este quarta. del nordeste.
- II** Jueves. A siete de diciembre. no tiene el sol por ser la noche. no se computa este día. En veinte y cuatro horas. quarenta y cinco leguas. a questo quinta. del sudueste. fue el viento con este de
- II** Viernes. A ocho de diciembre. tomo el sol en diez horas. y una hora. quedando el meridiano una quarta de hora de sol. de la quarta de este co Rimos. En veinte y cuatro horas. quarenta y cinco leguas. a questo quarta. del sudueste. fue el viento con este de
- II** Sábado. A nueve de diciembre. tomo el sol en nueve horas. y tres quartos. co Rimos. En veinte y cuatro horas. treinta y seis leguas. a questo quinta. del sudueste. fue el viento con este de
- II** Domingo. A diez de diciembre. tomo el sol en nueve horas. y tres quartos. quedando el meridiano quarta y media de sol. de la quarta de este co Rimos. En veinte y cuatro horas. treinta y seis leguas. a questo fue el viento con este de
- II** Lunes. A once de diciembre. tomo el sol en nueve horas. y tres quartos. co Rimos. En veinte y cuatro horas. quarenta y cinco leguas. a questo con su día. de cumbre la isla de porcelabimof. llama. fue el viento este quarta. del sueste.
- II** Martes. A doce de diciembre. no tiene el sol por ser el tiempo cubierto. co Rimos. En veinte y cuatro horas. quarenta y cinco leguas. a questo fue el viento este quarta. del nordeste. con Rimos.
- II** Miércoles. A trece de diciembre. tomo el sol en nueve horas. y tres quartos. co Rimos. En diez y ocho horas. de los leguas. a questo pastarosa. las seis horas de la mañana. En diez y ocho horas. de la tarde. a esta fue el viento norte nordeste. a esto fue el viento de la tarde. a esta tomo el viento nordeste.
- II** Jueves. A catorce de diciembre. tomo el sol en nueve horas. y tres quartos. quedando el meridiano de la quarta de hora. de sol. co Rimos. de la quarta de este co Rimos. En veinte y cuatro horas. quarenta y cinco leguas. a questo fue el viento con este de
- II** Viernes. A quinze de diciembre. No tiene el sol por ser el tiempo cubierto. co Rimos. En veinte y cuatro horas. de los leguas. a questo fue el viento este quarta. del nordeste. con calmas.



- 11 **Sábado.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 12 **Domingo.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 13 **Lunes.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 14 **Martes.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 15 **Miércoles.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 16 **Jueves.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 17 **Viernes.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 18 **Sábado.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 19 **Domingo.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de
- 20 **Lunes.** A diez. Es el día de la semana. tome El sol en nueve gra-
 dos y tres cuartos. corrimos En veinte Equatro. Ocas. Trece leguas
 al sueste. no oeste. Fue la luna llena con calmas. El viento fue de
 to de la parte de

See also: the CUPED: ATTENTION COGNITION; the LINDOR: PREFERENCES; 3, p. 15, 1000.

[illegible][illegible]

27 *Vicinas de San Juan. Notemo el sal por ser el que
cubierta suzima. Probuente quatro oras. Nainto Cistola
pues el fuma. quaysa del Sudugbo. fue el viento lazo.*

[illegible]

17. Domingo. Asiete de Enero tomo. El sal En diez granos y unque-
to de Aceite. cañinas. Embriaga Equales deos. Diaz. Es de lo leguas
alquiste quasta del. Suavista. que el vientre el este. con salma

10
 Lunas. Del v. athenio. co. p. mo. En los co. de a. de. b. de.
 y de la pura. al v. de. las de la pura. por la manana. Del p. mo.
 del to. en p. mo. de la pura. En p. mo. qu. de. v. de. t. de. p. mo. al m.
 su. de. co. mo. de. t. de. de. al su. de. p. mo. de. p. mo. de. p. mo. de.
 t. de. de. qu. de. p. mo. de. v. de. En las de la pura. de la manana.
 co. mo. de. qu. de. p. mo. de. al m. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de.
 co. mo. de. p. mo. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de.
 el b. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de.
 p. mo. al su. de. qu. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de. de.

[illegible]

29

*e In questo fumato di acqua d'aragosta. Vela. Velas segaria. e Rimp. En-
do moio. o si alquias. el quito. no meple fue. lo bento de qunta. B
sol nordeste*

[illegible][illegible]

Suo. A Vostro. Do. g. h. a. g. a. d. l. a. s. a. n. i. c. a. d. i. a. n. i. m. a. t. i. o. n. i. s.
 d. n. e. s. u. a. d. o. n. a. a. l. m. a. n. i. s. t. a. S. i. c. o. l. a. g. u. a. c. o. l. l. m. s. l. i. b. e. n. t. e. l. t. r. a. d. i. c. t. o.
 d. i. c. i. o. s. i. c. o. l. a. g. u. a. a. l. e. n. d. a. q. u. a. l. i. t. a. t. e. S. u. s. t. e. n. t. e. p. u. s. i. m. o. l. a. p. i. s. a. a. l. m. o.
 n. i. s. t. a. p. e. c. u. t. o. m. a. r. l. a. t. r. i. a. v. i. a. l. a. s. s. o. i. s. s. o. l. a. t. o. r. e. s. u. m. o. s. c. o. n. e. l. l. a. c. o. n. i.
 m. o. S. u. o. t. r. a. m. p. o. n. e. s. t. a. A. n. d. u. l. i. m. o. s. t. u. a. l. a. n. t. e. s. a. n. d. o. b. e. r. r. o. s. a. l. a.
 t. r. a. p. o. l. l. a. p. o. s. t. o. s. u. i. s. t. e. S. u. s. t. e. n. t. e. S. u. o.

[illegible]

11. Salvo a tresañebroz a las su del amañano no gaim. Salvo
pauz no amito co Rimo. Sierejeimo aliepte. Entoia o las daria
delapre soloz mequero alepte fue obiendo calma / nuite noiepa
noiepa.

2. Domingo. Aquatro de Nubres. tome el sol entre las 9. y 10. y interio-
racion. En azules y azules leguas al fuyte fallamos cocciones a 15
nozque. 7 el viento fue leste por az.



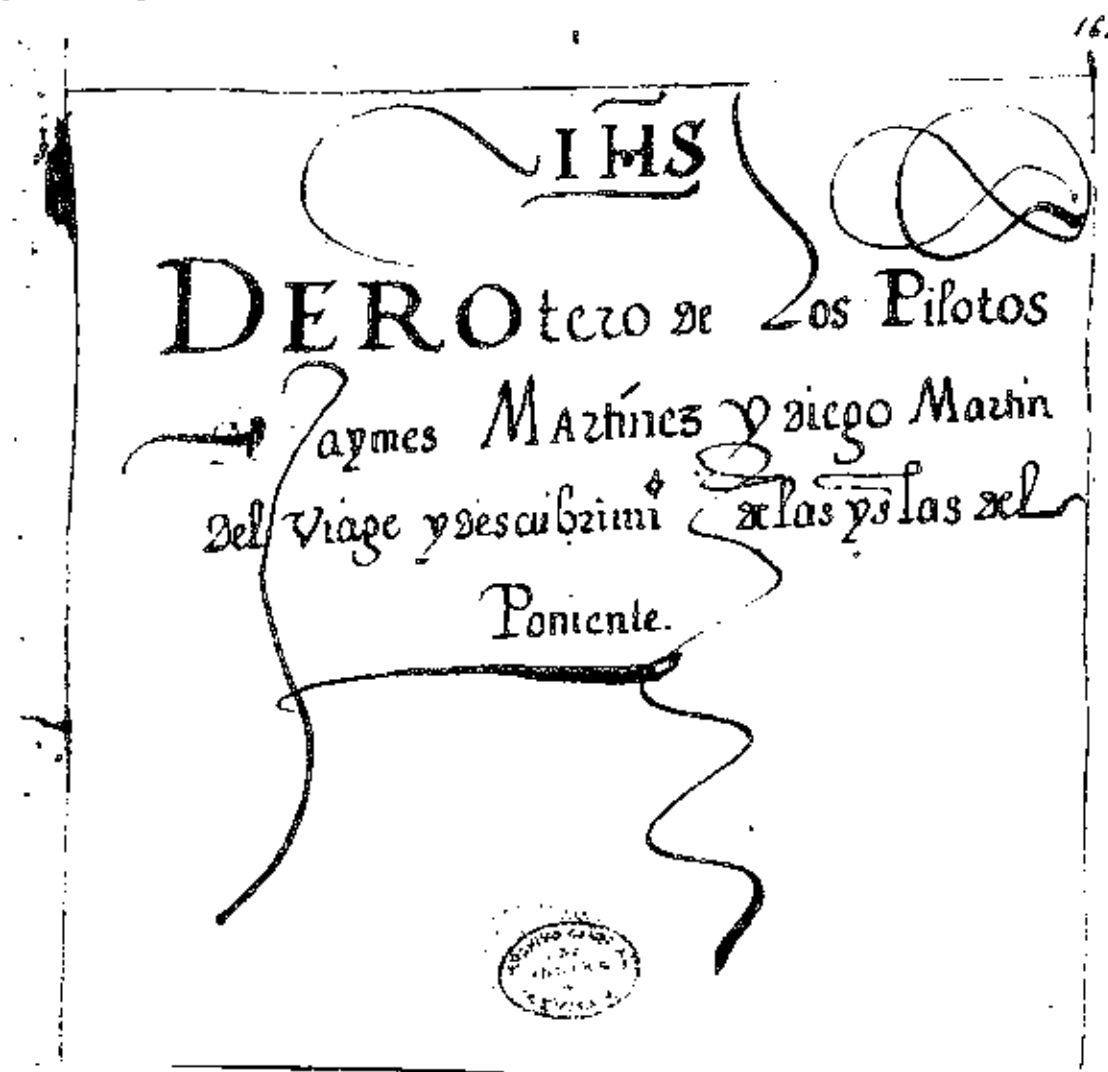
- II** Lunes. A cinco de Hebreo. tome el sol. En tres grados. y medio co-
 23 rrimos. En veinte y quatro oras veinte y tres leguas. al quenta y quatro
 viene el nordeste.
- III** Martes. A seis de Hebreo. tome el sol. En tres grados. y tres quintos
 27 corrimos. En veinte y quatro oras veinte y siete leguas. al quenta y
 siete.
- IV** Miércoles. A los siete de Hebreo. tome el sol. En tres grados. y medio
 30 corrimos. En veinte y quatro oras treinta leguas. al quenta y cuatro
 viene el nordeste.
- V** Jueves. A los diez de Hebreo. tome el sol. En tres grados y veinte
 39 y tres quintos. En veinte y quatro oras treinta y cinco leguas. al quenta y
 siete viene el nordeste.
- VI** Viernes. A los once de Hebreo. tome el sol. En tres grados. y veinte
 43 corrimos. En veinte y quatro oras treinta y ocho leguas. al quenta y
 tres.
- VII** Sábado. A los doce de Hebreo. tome el sol. En tres grados y diez
 35 corrimos. En veinte y quatro oras treinta y nueve leguas. al quenta y
 tres viene el nordeste.
- VIII** Domingo. A los trece de Hebreo. tome el sol. En tres grados y diez
 27 corrimos. En veinte y quatro oras treinta y nueve leguas. al quenta y
 tres viene el nordeste.
- IX** Lunes. A los catorce de Hebreo. tome el sol. En tres grados y un quinto
 25 corrimos. En veinte y quatro oras treinta y nueve leguas. al quenta y
 tres viene el nordeste.
- X** Martes. A los quince de Hebreo. a las once oras. Dela mañana vi
 27 mado. Delipinas. tome el sol. A media hora En tres grados y un
 quinto. En veintecorrimos. En veinte y quatro oras. veinte y siete leguas.
 al quenta y cuatro del sudueste. y a las once. En tarde. cinco fondo en
 treinta. y en la mañana En la tarde. a las once. En la mañana. al quenta y
 tres.
- XI** Miércoles. A los dieciséis de Hebreo. a las once oras. Dela mañana
 30 vado. Delipinas. tome el sol. A media hora En tres grados y un
 quinto. En veintecorrimos. En veinte y quatro oras. veinte y siete leguas.
 al quenta y cuatro del sudueste. y a las once. En tarde. cinco fondo en
 treinta. y en la mañana En la tarde. a las once. En la mañana. al quenta y
 tres.
- XII** Jueves. A los diecisiete de Hebreo. a las once oras. Dela mañana
 30 vado. Delipinas. tome el sol. A media hora En tres grados y un
 quinto. En veintecorrimos. En veinte y quatro oras. veinte y siete leguas.
 al quenta y cuatro del sudueste. y a las once. En tarde. cinco fondo en
 treinta. y en la mañana En la tarde. a las once. En la mañana. al quenta y
 tres.

Document S1565S

**Legazpi expedition—Original logbook by Pilots
Martinez and Martín**

Source: See Doc. 1565S in HM 2.

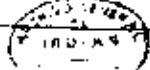
[Attached]





EN EL AÑO del nacimiento de nro Salvador Jhu Xpo^o M. D. LXIIII. En el mes de noviembre Veynte dias enados, Lunes casi a la media noche, Se partieron del Puerto de la Nauicada costa de la Nueva España en la mar que dicen del Sur dos naos gruesas y dos Patageres de las quales vapor general El H^{te} Senor Miguel Lopez de Legazpi para con la buena ventura y encomenda de las yslas del Poniente llamadas las Philipinas, llamadas asi por se aue descubiertas en tiempo de nro yaustissimo Rey de las Españas Don Philippe de Austria Segundo de este nombre.

Es el Puerto de la Nauicada en altura y apartami de la linea Equinal Etial Para la parte Septentrional de diez y nueve grados y medio Como Separado del Puerto la ysa armada gouerno al suueste y se aruano del altura del Puerto a altura de quinze grados LAS Agulas al navegar es supadmirar de Azeros por el antiguo Vso de norte sur tomando la mitad de la quarta al nordeste suueste y en el Puerto de la Nauicada Jaymes Martinez fortuna y Diego Martin Pilotos compañeros de la nao almiranta llamada San Pablo estanda en el dho Puerto quando las guardas yuan en la linea del sudueste Marcamos nras agulas Segun el Vso de marineros Para conocer la variacion y apartamiento que la flor de lis y nras Agulas hazia al verdadero Polo y Hallamos variar nouete leando media quarta q temiendo por pecto si la supadmirar de Azeros fuere de norte sur, la flor de lis mostraua en el dho Puerto el Verdadero Polo. y asi considerada la dha Variacion del aguja en media quarta, el camino al sudueste por do las naos gouernaron no fue el verdadero camino antes fue entre el suueste este y la quarta al sur, por lo puesto no yxa vso de media quarta hizimos una figura geometrica Por la qual vimos tener leguas de camino cada grado Veynte y dos y medio, con apartami de la linea norte sur, en camino de leste y oeste, catorze leguas y un quinto, y asi por las dhas naos por quatro grados y medio qnauidecan nouentaytas



			11
15		tiempo de naufragar en las naos Por lo qual Arbitrario se dieron leguas de camino quarenta y cinco	
40		Jueves treynta de nouiembre no se tomo altura diuion se leguas de camino a: bitarias quarenta	
40		Viernes Prim de diziembre no se tomo altura diuion se leguas de camino a: bitarias quarenta	
40		Sabado 2os de diziembre no se tomo altura del sol diuion se leguas de camino a: bitarias quarenta	
40		El lunes del sabado las guardas on la linea del nordeste y acasi el dia Domingo por comas no agula y vinimos asi na norueste	
45		Domingo tres de diziembre no se tomo el altura del sol diuion se leguas de camino quarenta y cinco	
25		Lunes quatro de diziembre se tomo el altura del sol on onze grados y medio y segund el curso de la uia por el arbitrio se dieron leguas de camino veinte y cinco y como las diuas Passaron de fudo toman altura Eno subieron altura a Altura en el medio furel camino a: bitarias	
30		Martes cinco de dizi no se tomo altura diuion se leguas de camino a: bitarias treynta	
40		Miercoles 6 de dizi se tomo el altura on diez grados y medio y por qno susendio altura a altura diuion se leguas de camino a: bitarias quarenta	
45		Jueves siete de dizi se tomo el altura on diez grados q computado el morio grado por la setima quenta son quarenta y cinco leguas asi	
20		Viernes ocho de dizi no se tomo altura diuion se leguas a: bitarias veinte	
25		Sabado nueve de dizi no se tomo altura diuion se leguas de camino a: bitarias veinte y cinco	
20		Domingo diez de dizi se tomo el altura on diez grados y un quarto y Por no du baxar altura a altura y nio se altura diuion se leguas de camino a: bitarias veinte leguas	
35		Lunes onze de diziembre no se tomo el altura diuion se leguas de camino a: bitarias treynta y cinco	
450			



35	Martes diez y diez Se tomó el altura en diez grados y un quarto dieron se leguas de camino arbitrarias treinta y cinco deca el marte cinco de diez y diez hañen el día auido tanto resaca que q son se mostraron de corrientes q an Puerto admiraan siense en golfo de tanto surar —
15	Miércoles trece de diez y diez Se tomó el altura en diez grados y Por vez así calma el tpo de las Veynte y quatro oras puesto a el altura suceder a altura se diere leguas arbitrarias de camino quiere —
15	Este día miércoles antes q amaneciese las guardas en la Potenza de la línea de los rios se marco una aguja con la estrella del norte y la flor de la mano Señalar a la estrella por el sin ninguna variación —
20	Jueves catorce de diez y diez y viernes 15 y sabado 16 y Domingo diez y diez fueron días de calma y según juicio arbitrario dieron en estos días leguas de camino Veynte y en estos días no se tomó altura —
35	Lunes diez y diez de diez y diez Se tomó el altura en nueve grados y medio dieron de leguas de camino arbitrarias treinta y cinco —
45	Martes diez y diez de diez y diez Se tomó el altura en nueve grados y Por sube de altura a altura por el camino de la setima quarta son quarenta y cinco leguas con —
45	Miércoles a Veynte y diez Se tomó el altura en ocho grados y tres quartos y puesto que sube de altura a altura un quarto de grado que por la setima quarta son Veynte y dos leguas y media casi el juicio arbitrario por el curso el nauio dio leguas de camino quarenta y cinco —
40	Jueves Veynte y uno de diez y diez Se tomó el altura en nueve grados. dieron se leguas de camino quarenta con Putando el camino
35	Por la

19.

3

Por la setima quarta tomando de la ste. quarte —

45 Viernes veynte y dos de diciembre setimo el altura en nueue grados y
un tomo q segun la setima quarta son treinta leguas y el arbitrio
de quarenta y cinco leguas por el vello q quisio —

40 Sabado veynte y tres de diciembre setimo el altura en nueue grados y
un de leguas y camino arbitrio y no segun computacion quarenta leguas
por el despoite antes dho —

40 Domingo veynte y quatro de dizi setimo el altura el sol en nueue grados
y un tomo de leguas y camino quarenta —

40 Lunes por la mañana antes del dia q fueron veynte y cinco de dizi dia de la
natiuidad de nro. Redemptor marcamos una aguja en la p. d. m. a la que
dize en la linea el nordeste y vimos pasar la flecha de la n. d. e. de steano.
mas de media quarta / este dia nos tomo el sol por ynte p. u. a. con dize de
40 leguas y camino arbitrio quarenta —

40 Martes veynte y seis de dizi setimo el altura en nueue grados y un tomo
dize de leguas y camino arbitrio quarenta —

40 Miércoles veynte y siete de dizi no setimo el altura en nueue grados y camino
arbitrio quarenta —

40 Jueves veynte y ocho de dizi setimo el altura en nueue grados y camino
arbitrio quarenta —

26 Viernes veynte y nueve de dizi no setimo el altura y por q la noche cae no se
uio en las naos mas q las velas de las tringetas dize de leguas y camino 26

26 Sabado treinta de dizi setimo el altura en nueue grados y la noche antes no se
uio en las naos mas q las velas de las tringetas dize de leguas y camino veynte y siete

40 Domingo treinta y una de diciembre no setimo el altura dize de leguas y camino
arbitrio quarenta —

40 Lunes Primer de enero de 1565 setimo el altura en diez grados
y un tomo dize de leguas y camino quarenta computando por el leste

40 quarte tomo de la quarta de noueste, Suebia —

31 Martes dos de enero setimo el altura en diez grados y un tomo dize
de leguas y camino treinta y cinco hazien el camino de leste, quarte

31 tomando de la quarta de noueste, Suebia —

Miércoles tres de enero setimo el sol en diez grados y un tomo dize de leguas y camino

452

19 v°

40 Diez onse leguas de camina quazenta tomando de la setima quarta
leste de questo. quarta de la nueueste surde —

30 Juella quarta de Enero se tomo el altura en diez grados y cinco setimas
dize on se leguas de camina treynta por el leste, questo. tomando de la
setima quarta de la nueueste surde —

35 Vienes cinco de Enero se tomo el altura diez onse leguas de camina
treynta y cinco de arbitrio —

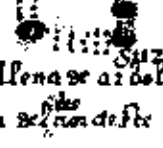
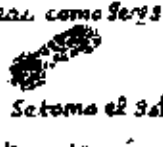
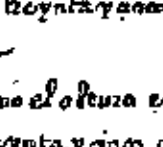
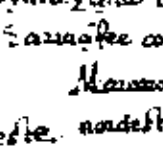
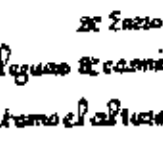
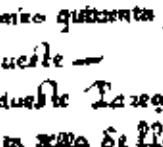
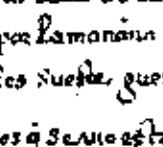
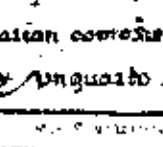
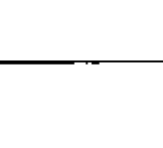
40 Sabado deys de Enero se tomo el altura en diez grados y cinco setimas
dize on se leguas de camina arbitriadas treynta —

25 Domingo siete de Enero se tomo el altura en diez grados y un quarto
que a vacarse de la altura pasado casi tres quintos de grado que
computados con la setima quarta leste, questo. quarta de nordeste.
Sudueste son con quinienta y quatro leguas y por el poco viento de las
veynete y quatro oras el Juyza dio arbitriadas veynete y cinco leguas de
camina con dexando pudo hazei de el camina de lano tomando de
las deys quarta de nordeste, que sudueste —

22 Lunes ocho de Enero se tomo el altura en diez grados dize on se leguas
de camina veynete y dos y no computados por la setima quarta leste, questo
quarta de nordeste, sudueste —

15 Martes nueve de Enero se vio tierra y se fue en semana de la equinoccia
Surgu de atana con lano q no se Puto Surgu, tomo se el altura por la
Parte del Sur en diez grados, hasta hazei esta tierra de de el dia, antes
se dize on leguas de camina arbitriadas quinze —

La tierra en altura se diez grados Puesta como de nordeste sur toman
como dos leguas y el leste questo, y como de mena, es a setenta
de la figura  en esta y la el maestro de campo matias el
sanz y el capitán martin de gortí con los vateles sal
taron en celo y la hize on poblada de personas gente bien su parte
y no se haze on trece de lano de arma —

Miércoles diez de Enero Pasa antes del medio día servio otra
 tierra de gente y solita. Ena a las en el alrura de diez grados
 Semelante a esta figura  Abua de la yslita
 Primera a esta como  quinz leguas en
 camino a este guete  este.
 En este propina en camino  a mado este sur este
 servio otra yslita redonda llena de arboleda. Salio della una rras
 tanga de aragiles. La buelta del nordeste como tres leguas ystancia
 apartada de los aragiles a diez como tres y siete leguas es la yslita
 esta figura — 
 Jueves once de Enero Setimo el sol en nueue grados y doblamos
 ganacion de leguas y camino treynta y cinco por el este guete, quanto
 del nordeste sudante asi — 
 Viernes diez de Enero Setimo el altura en nueue grados y doblamos
 diez y siete leguas y camino treynta y cinco y media se ha en esta
 altura una via de yslitas. Ena a las como la figura a delante la
 mostrara —  Maraton de nias aguilas en la podria
 el alinea del  este. nordeste nordeste una quarta
 Sabado once de Enero Setimo el altura en nueue
 grados y doblamos diez y siete leguas y camino arbitrarias quarenta — 
 Domingo catorce de Enero Setimo el altura en nueue grados y quatro
 quintos diez y siete leguas y camino quarenta por el este, guete, tomando
 algo de la quarta, nordeste sueste — 
 Este mismo dia el sol al sudueste Taragó tiran la buelta del sueste
 y haziendo la ancha la buelta alla de llegera y no se pudo
 ir a mas de hasta q otiudia por la manana se sacaron de la guaa ysta
 esta como esta figura con elos sueste, guete, nordeste — 
 Lunes quinze de Enero sea pues q servio esta via hasta
 la ora de tomar el sol Se ganaron como siete leguas tomo
 del altura en nueue grados y una quarta



- 45 Martes diez y seis de Enero Setemo el Sol en nueve grados y vntro
dieron de leguas de camino quarenta y cinco —
- 37 Miercoles diez y siete de Enero Setemo el altura en nueve grados y tres
quartos dieron de leguas de camino treynta y cinco por el leste quiste
tomando de la quarta al norueste sueste —
- Este mismo dia miercoles el Señor general mando venir al capitano
los capitanes y pilotos de los ymas nados y con acuerdo y paz por
todos fue acordado las naos mudasen de rota para se subiesen en altura
y estando el Sol al sudueste semuto la senota gobernando las naos
al nordeste para y ensemenda de altura de diez grados —
- Jueves diez y ocho de Enero no se tomo el altura —
- Viernes diez y nueve de Enero Setemo el altura en diez grados y tres
quartos q son como dos grados y m por el norueste camino de las quatro quartas
hazien leguas de camino como sesenta y una y ános de mas q se de camino
de un norte sur a otro en camino al leste quiste quedan leguas quarenta
y tres y tres quartos —
- 12 1/2 Sábado veinte de Enero Setemo el altura en diez grados y tres quartos
que por las quatro quartas son leguas de camino diez y ocho largas que
dando leguas de 22º camino de vn norte sur a otro en camino al leste quiste
como diez leguas y vntro de largo —
- 35 Domingo veinte y vno de Enero Setemo el altura al Sol en diez grados
y tres quartos el qual fue camino al leste quiste de la altura pasado
adtrouiendo de leguas de camino treynta y cinco por el acabitio este
Domingo en la noche las naos no llegaron mas velas alor cinquete —
- 20 Lunes veinte y dos de Enero Setemo el altura en diez grados y dos
tercias dieron de leguas de camino veinte leguas —
- Este mismo dia se vio trin de mar a nos al norueste y la
naos hizieron la buelta ala trin y el martes veinte y tres
de Enero se surgi en otra en cabta de norueste sueste quarta
al norte sur la Pumaosta q se vio estava buelta de

V San en esta ysla de las Ladradas. Maravillosa Aguja en la punta
 de la ysla de la linea del noreste y cinco y medio de altura de la ysla de la
 Seipia de la ysla de la linea del noreste.

20 Domingo quatro de febrero setemo el sol ondoze grados ganansse leguas de
 camino veynle.

45 Lunes cinco de febrero setemo el altura ondoze grados y m de la compa
 tacion de la ysla de la linea del noreste, guade quatro y medio de la ysla de la
 con la ysla de la linea del noreste y guade.

47 Martes seis de febrero setemo el sol por yna posicion de la ysla de
 leguas de camino quarenta y cinco.

49 Miércoles siete de febrero setemo el sol ondoze grados de la ysla de
 leguas de camino quarenta.

40 Jueves ocho de febrero setemo el altura ondoze grados de la ysla de
 leguas de camino quarenta.

40 Viernes nueve de febrero setemo el altura de la ysla de la ysla de la
 camino quarenta.

40 Sabado diez de febrero setemo el sol ondoze grados y dos quintos de la ysla de
 leguas de camino quarenta.

46 Domingo onze de febrero setemo el sol ondoze grados y dos quintos de la ysla de
 de la ysla de la linea del noreste y seys.

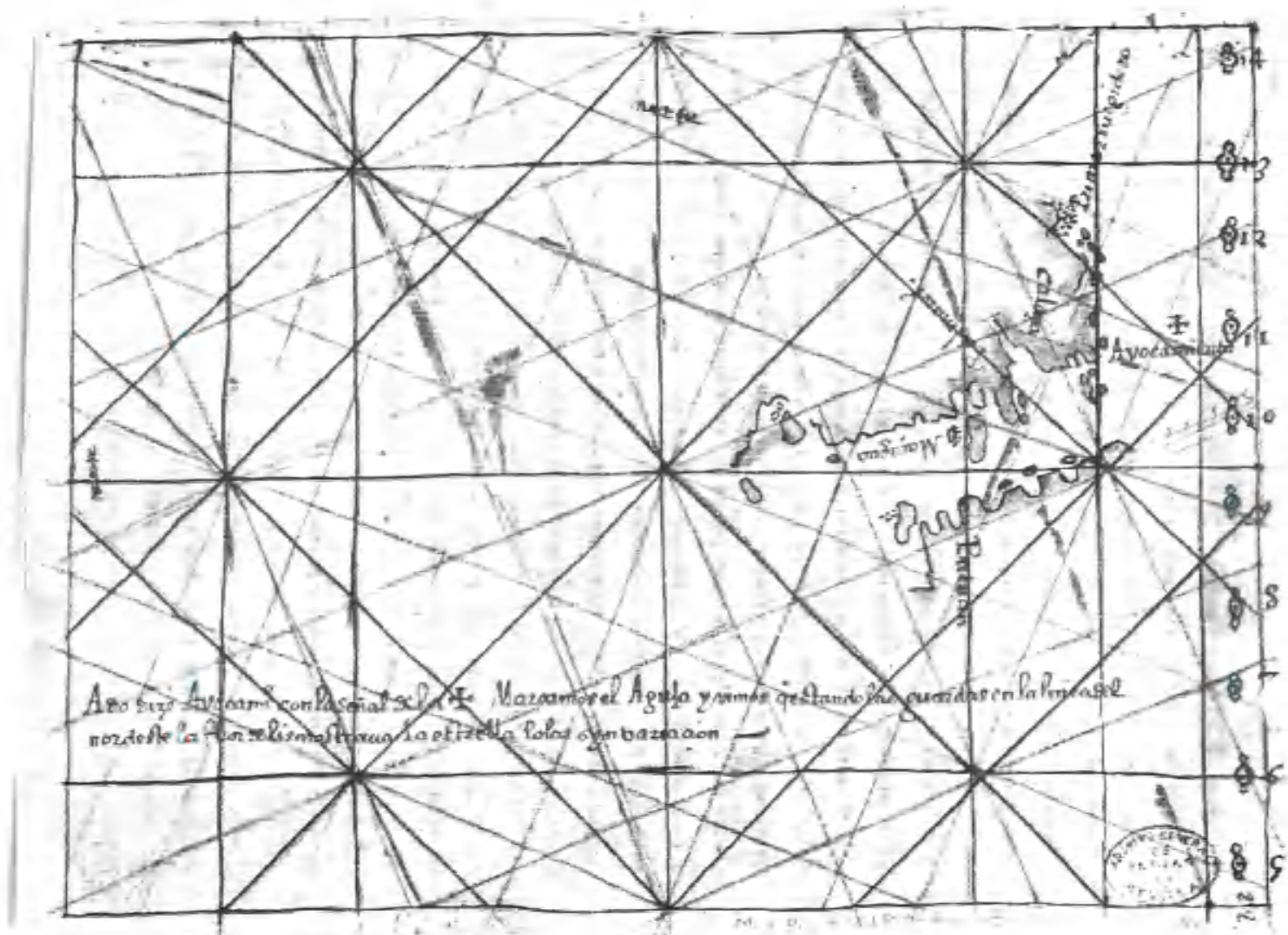
20 Lunes doce de febrero setemo el altura ondoze grados de la ysla de la
 con calma de la ysla de la linea del noreste y seys.

Martes treze de febrero vimos tierra de los diez grados
 la qual fue de la ysla de la linea del noreste. Surgio de aquel dia al

De pario de una ysla en quarenta y tres, la qual tierra ysla de
 la qual los dos Pilotos J. ymes Martinez foron de la ysla de la linea del noreste.

20 Dito de la ysla de la linea del noreste y seys. Lo dio a
 de la ysla de la linea del noreste y seys. Lo dio a
 de la ysla de la linea del noreste y seys.





Jaymes Martínez factor E Diego Martín Pilotos compañeros de lo
 nas almirante y o sea almirante y maestro de campo Mathéo el Sr. de
 Vilasamos en sus yoncas con galeas q en la navegación de de el Puerto
 la nauidad hasta esta tierra y las Philipinas Enas pro curado de el arto
 se legua a lo mas almirante lo mas justo y o sea quedos no serios a
 bado de entender y por q en el visado de el navegacion Enos termino el ayuso
 anos Posible en el marco de mas Agulas y en la navegacion Enos visto
 la flor de lis de mas agulas mostrar dos veces el verdadero polo en la posima
 de las guadas de la vista menor en la linea al nordeste suavete y por lo
 esto termino mostrar la flor de lis de las agulas en la posima de la estrella
 Polar el verdadero polo lo Enos visto de la guada de semilla navegando
 hacia el Poniente tres veces la distancia en el norte sur que pasa por la
 yola de flores y del auero en las yslas de los agules que son el de 2^{da}
 de y de Portugal y la segunda en la mar que es el sur a la parte del
 norte sur del Puerto de la nauidad Tan hacia el poniente Enamos termino
 Segunda las naos y o sea navegacion de trescientas y tantas leguas y la tercera
 vez en estas yslas Philipinas por lo que va de buen juicio con zando
 las tres veces a lo fijo la flor de lis de las agulas la tal de mostracion de
 conose a lo mostrar quanta vez la tal flor de lis de la agula en la posima ya
 de el lugar del polo y viendo asi quatro veces lo qual tenemos entendido de 2^{da}
 asi y que lo hallariamos Verdadero Si circundamos el universo de Levante
 en fionte y por ser quatro veces los tales efectos que la figura artificial
 del agula de la nauga en lo celestial muestra se ve claro de ser semejante en
 noventa y tres los tales efectos y que entre la Magistral de los Reyes
 de España y de 2^{da} de Portugal el universo es dividido y partido por
 y iguales partes dando a cada uno por la Equinotial ciento y noventa y tres
 de la mitad de los treientos y sesenta que el universo tiene En las de y
 de España comienza Suposicion el meridiano de la ysla de flores y a cada una

En tantas leguas al Poniente del qual numero las dhas Pilatos noten
mos entera notia aunque muchas veces Enosoplo rexió quola linea
de la demarcacion pasa por la tierra del labrador y el reyno mariano de
Un lolo a otro. y el Rey de Portugal comienza con su posesion en el
meridiano para la parte oriental por la qual quenta clarom se conose que
Pues el meridiano de ysla de floris ala linea de la demarcacion es quatrocientas
leguas Asi el meridiano de las yslas Philipinas segun esta señalado
en esta nia de laa para la via por Poniente la Magistral de los Reyes
de España Esdon ochatenta tres en la qual entre la Juan mayor y la
Samoa y probinca de Malaca con las de mas tierras de un lolo a otro
Porque si lo entendemos endios y más congeñas lo llamamos de
nros nombres y deito delamano de mi sayma martinéz Por lo qual
de laa nombramos de fozas y ordena lunos nuevos dias de mas de abril
de mas y quientos y seenta faneas en el Puerto de las Philipinas
Puerto en el top de quatro grador y tres quales de la Equenotial Para el norte

Document S1565T

Legazpi expedition—Logbook of Rodrigo de Espinosa

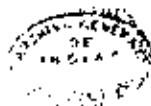
Sources: AGI Patronato 23-16, pp. 49-71; with copy in Navy HQ; transcribed by Muñoz on 8 or 9 February 1794; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 10, folios 128+

Facsimile of the original text

[Attached]

21.
+
Derrotero del piloto R.^o Espinosa,

Del descubrimiento de los yslas de
poniente



114 Relación hecha por el despierto piloto de parate non
 ura sanja de la armada y de abrimiento de las yslas del po-
 niente de que fue por general el muy Ill^{mo} señor Miguel
 Lopez de Legaspi
 115 Començó el sol en el punto de la manada en diez y nueve
 grados y vnte y tambien mar que en este dho puerto la
 aguja fualte que noventa y una media que se la en
 que si los azeros se subieran de norte sur y sta en fiza
 al norte por que los azeros del aguja y sta en entre
 el norte y la quarda del norte de este y todo aquesto/
 que estava apartada del azeros del norte para la quarda
 la hera lo que menoro estava en barcos el muy Ill^{mo}
 señor Miguel Lopez de Legaspi gouernador y capitán
 general de las yslas del poniente por su muy acaez y siete
 dias del mes de nouiembre de mill y quatro y sesenta y quatro
 años lunes siguiente despues de media noche veynte
 y uno del dho mes se hizo la caprtaria ala bela y los de
 mas nauos con el viento en el terral otro dia mier-
 coles no s dio el viento en la beisa asi fiamos corrien-
 do por el su dueste hasta el sauro que fue a veynte y
 cinco dias del dho mes y este dia como entre trece y qua-
 tro de la tarde fue el maestro de campo y los capitanes
 y pilotos ala caprtaria por mandado del señor gouernador
 y allí fueron de porre que gouernador la fazi naa al
 oeste quarta del su dueste y que las quinadas que se
 dizen fuesen sobre el oeste por que se fizesen el camino
 derecho de la quarta del su dueste para y fidesmora infuancia
 de las filipinas por que asi lo tenia su señoria por ystra
 con esta ora me halla del puerto de la nauada ciento
 y diez y seis leguas y tambien desta ora se gouernó al
 116 oeste quarta del su dueste y por bien me halla con
 forme al punto que tenia que estava en al fura de artoze
 grados y medio por que vadia artoze auia tomado o/
 el entrela en quortze grados y por de la ora que sumado

22.

- y dos tercios largos y hecho desingladura por mofartasia tre
 ynta y quatro leguas / otro dia martes. tome el sol
 34 en diez grados menos y nese mo a causa que nos dio el
 viento en el sudueste y por eso mal replicamos y nese mo
 en altura y este dia medizo el piloto mayor que gouer
 nase mo al hueste que fue a diez de diciembre y hecho
 35 desingladura al nauio treynta y cinco leguas / otro dia
 buedice que se contaron quinze del dho mes de diciembre
 tome el sol en diez grados y de alli mando que gouer
 nase mo al hueste quatro del sudueste hasta po
 namos en altura de nueue grados y un tercio y de alli
 mando la capitana gouernar al hueste porque se ha
 claua. este oeste de la altura de la ysla de los Reyes
 maer tome el sol auernte del dhomes de diciembre
 en nueue grados y un tercio. mas tome el sol a veynte y
 dos del dho mes en nueue grados y un quarto este dia
 hable a la capitana y me preguntó el piloto mayor si
 auia tomado el sol y oledize que en nueue grados y
 un quarto y le pregunté si el lo auia tomado y me conto
 que en nueue y un quinto y esto deste tiempo arriba
 dho beruinos se contaron quinientos sobre el sudueste
 y este dia mando gouernar al hueste y este mismo dia
 en la noche tome el artella en nueue grados y un qua
 to y asi bue corriendo estos ocho dias hechando singla
 duras de treynta treynta y quatro treynta y cinco
 treynta y seis treynta y ocho leguas y sauado a veynte
 y tres deste dhomes de diciembre en la noche hallé
 36 questaua a del puerto de la nauada ochocientas y ^{alred} noventa y no leguas y por el altura que boy que es ^{98 1/2}
 nueue grados y un quarto a beynte y quatro de este
 dho mes que fue domingo antes que fuese de dia
 tome el sol en nueue grados y un quarto largos
 en este mismo dia tome el sol en nueue grados y
 un tercio y este dia en la noche tome el artella del
 norte en nueue grados y un tercio y este dia se he desin
 gladura al nauio treynta leguas ya veynte y cinco



dias de este dho mes que fue pasada de nauidad ante
 del dia tome el cruzero en nueue grados y vn tercio y
 de ha al nauio treynta y cinco leguas y otros dia si
 guiente. heche de singladura treynta y cinco leguas
 y otros dia siguiente. heche de singladura treynta
 y seis leguas asi bemmos corriendo por el furete
 tres o quatro dias sin poder tomar el sol y me
 chando estas singladuras por mi fantasia bien
 me abeynte y ocho del mes de diciembre ante
 del dia tome el estrella del norte en nueue grados
 y medio y este mismo dia heche de singladura al
 nauio treynta y cinco leguas otro dia siguiente
 tome el sol en nueue grados y un tercio heche de singla
 dura treynta y dos leguas y otros dia siguiente
 tome el sol en nueue grados y un tercio que mul
 tiplicamos en altura causa que las agujas no
 son de trauari. porquay la mar que estando la
 guazas en el braco del norte y bide que no se
 daua la quesa y este dia heche de singladura al na
 uio treynta leguas otro dia siguiente que fue
 por tres de diciembre heche de singladura treyn
 ta y cinco leguas este dia me hallé del puerto de la
 1160 nauidad mill y ciento y sesenta leguas el primer
 dia del año de mill y quinientos y sesenta y cinco tome el
 sol endiez grados y un ochauo y también tome el
 estrella del norte en lo mismo y este dia heche de
 singladura al nauio treynta y cinco leguas otro
 dia siguiente tome el sol endiez grados y un sesmo
 heche de singladura treynta leguas otro dia si
 guiente tome el sol endiez grados y un sesmo
 y heche de singladura treynta leguas otro dia
 siguiente tome el sol endiez grados y un ses
 mo y heche de singladura treynta y dos leguas.

Aquatro de henico tome la cetralla del norte endiez
 grados y tres quartos colasoo y tambien tome el
 cruzero en lo mismo cete dia ameyuacia tome el
 sol endiez grados y dos tercios y heche de uingladura
 y veinte y quatro leguas cete dia mismo mediano
 el piloto mayor que gouernase al hueste quarta
 del suduete hasta poner nos en la linea de diez
 grados por que esta en tantos ysla de mata lotes y
 pante en tome el cetralla del norte endiez grados
 y dos tercios otro dia siguiente heche de uingladura
 y veinte y siete leguas dia de pasara de los ruyes
 heche de uingladura al nauio y veinte y cinco leguas
 otro dia siguiente tome el sol endiez grados y m
 y heche de uingladura y veinte y siete leguas otro dia si
 guiente hasta las ochos del dia heche de uingladura
 deatorz e leguas y aquella ora ameyuacia al hueste
 y tiro una pieca por que le parecia la buelta del
 sur a uer bisto tierra y asi fuimos corriendo la
 capitana y los demas nauios la buelta del sur has
 ta las seys osiete de la tarde que podian andar los
 nauios como diez leguas asta misma ora a rrebol la
 capitana la buelta del hueste quarta del noruete
 y queramos de continuo para la media partra eote
 me como dia tome el cetralla del norte endiez gra
 dos e e caso cete dia me hallé del puerto de la nau
 377 das mill y trezientas y setenta y siete leguas o q
 das siguientes martes nueve de henico como q
 sale del sol tiro una pieca la capitana sena la
 ber tierra la qual bimos y hecha una ysla pequena
 y baya parec como tenet legua y media de norte
 sur y alo que parecia de la parte del norte salia
 una rreberanga como un quarto de legua ala mar
 fuimos con ella por la parte del sur hera tan an
 tilazo el fozzo que al pie del mismo a rra dife



hera muy honorable. vimos yndios que andaban en bal
 sas. luego descubrimos Vna ñ de yndios a Vn que d
 pocas casas fuimos hasta dar casi con la prga
 arzeife y dexamos caer el ancla en unto y quaren
 ta y cinco brazas de fondo biniéron la capitana
 y almirante y no pudieron suagir tome el sol
 amedio dia en diez grados a esta ora fue el capi
 tan entuzayado qualo yndios de esta ysla hizan
 despuentes y de barua larga. que las mugeres
 por contento heran hermasas. los beertidos que
 traian heza de Vnapalma muy polida y que
 de aquella hazian petates de que anaxi ando
 tisoc la ysla. hera biuosa de muchos cocos y
 otros generos de frutos de que se sustentaban
 abia gallinas de castilla hizan lo yndios pesca
 dores. tenian barcos pulidos hian sus anzuelos
 de caraca de cocos y de conchas. de ostias hian
 cordeles de beertido de los cocos hian biencolcha
 dos aizen que la yslilla por tener como dozien
 X tas personas entre honbres y mugeres. esta ysla
 esta en altura de diez. grados. hallene a esta
 ora del puerto de la mardad muy trayen las
 1396 y no uentays eie. leguae esta misma noche no
 hizimos ata bela labuelta del huer te por la
 capitana y almirante por tener el batel por
 meter y estarido el capitán sentido. ala popa del
 nauio dixo tierra parecia ser Vna ysla grande
 y cumplida trase Vnapica y tomaron setas de bela
 de galia las seras. desta tierra parecia ser Vna
 ysla toza de alta mar y haze muchos yslas
 de norte su y. flegando caella cetosa Vnapo
 la parte del su. Basel huer Vnapice que ter
 na de cumplido tres leguas alle haze Vnapysla
 pequena dela qual sale otro arzeife labuelta

- abrió desta ysla hasta la que bimos primero seson
 68. tay ocho leguas y todas estas yslas y bayos y ischa
 ze buena guazola se becan del este. huerde también
 como el sol quando pasaua. por ellas en diez gra
 22 dos menos. Un ochauo cote dia heche de angladura
 Veynte y dos leguas otro dia sauado heche del dho
 32 mico fome el cote de antes que fuesse dia en
 diez grados co cosas cote dia heche de angladura
 al nauio treynta y dos leguas. Domingo cote
 de heche en la noche se de cubreio una tierra ba
 38 da que demorada la buelta del sudiente y cote
 dia heche al nauio treynta y seis leguas y la
 capitana amirio la buelta del suhete por an
 42 tez de una buelta y de otra fueria otro dia que fue
 lunes por he que tierra fiera y lunes por que
 que amanecio bimos que fueran unos cayos que
 48 tauan ala una punta por la otra fuerde no fue
 te. heche su cote cote ocaico se hazian siete
 en que el de la parte del cote suerte fiera y limay
 de todos ellos y cote ocaico hechauan unos atri
 54 cifea la buelta del nor noriente segua y media
 al mar banaralos lamar abn que por en una
 60 se de cubrian algunas pitoras. todos cote o
 caico son llenos de carbón y tienen de umplida
 como quatro leguas y de cote yslas yslas
 66 dhas se corren heche. huerde abra del primero
 cayo que bi hacia cote poste roo setenta y qua
 74 tro leguas en cote como el sol en diez grados
 co el so de la parte del suerte noriente y cote o
 caico y de de que quedamos los cayos hacia cote
 noche heche de angladura diez y siete leguas
 80 otro dia martes diez y siete de lomea heche
 de angladura al nauio treynta y seis leguas.

tierra alta y de alla y ba baxando la tierra que pa
 rezca de alta mar como una gallera y hacia pa
 ra el norte y ba la tierra baxa y ena la guina
 parte alta y llegamos a la tierra del morio
 que parecia de alta mar salia del. La buelta
 del sur una falda de tierra baxa y poblada de
 cumplidos de vna uenta de legua. y luego señala
 una ysla la buelta del sud uiente como una
 legua de la tierra que sale del morio y de la ysla
 de la tierra que sale del morio ba una uenta fe
 que lo baxa toda la mar que hecia por encima
 unas piedras a una que pequenas y es una ysla
 a lo que puede alcançar de bista como uente
 leguas pequenas de estas grax nos salieron
 de la mar de leguas como quarenta y cinco de
 no al alabado que parecian: baxos latinos en
 cada una berian a su y a ocho onbres y al que
 nas de la re adore y otras a adore y treze y mas
 y cada uno nos dezian que fuéramos a su xur
 as upi por que toda esta gente esta poblada
 orilla de la mar y estadia en la noche arribamos
 por parte del sud uiente de esta ysla pequena aca
 usa que no hallamos su gido de espate de
 media noche entre la c. l. e y la equitax de la
 mañana su gido la capitan y el galeon san fel
 jal mianita su gido de dia en una baya fele
 se hacia de tras desta ysla. arribados ha y de
 ta una ysla a una punta que sale como tres
 leguas. se oia nor nor uiente susucote y en la
 punta que esta en la parte del norte nor uiente
 salia una ysla como un quarto de legua que
 hecia toda de piedra y de la a la uenta hecia todo
 una uenta que hecia unas piedras grandes

Por ende yeste propozia que fue marte al salir
 de la boca de la Santa la capitana y los demas nau
 de biniaron a bordo de los nauos como porientos y
 cinquenta paraa a rto mas que mudo a rto
 y de traian muerdos cocos pletanos a rto e pesa
 y de las faldas que aia on la dha ysla y de la gente
 del amara en rescatar con naipue y por el toa
 uan lo que traian y a guara solo a rto se ponian. Un
 corbel al perico y en el ponian panos de to rto y
 lores y como los yndios lo brian trace a los solo a rto
 daban lo que traian por ello y mas de enert a dha
 ysla que bide a un marino que tomo un cor del
 y en el sacio un cuerno de baca y como lo bieron
 los yndios lo bieron por el seys asiete cocos y quan
 do los yndios lo bieron en las manos no brian
 sino maza lle y de los a todos muy grande rta
 y otros tres brian con capotes biesos que hazi
 an como los bende y con esto tres brian no lo que
 traian y daban los yndios en que no que traian
 sino el a rto de uchillos y estos yndios son tan gran
 des bellacos y de ber gonzados que en los csto
 que traian de a rto traian de bato a rto y a rto
 caaa de cocos y en a rto un poco de carne por que
 pareciese que bria lleno son tan des bagon
 cados que nos con bida a rto con sus muger de y
 nos las traian a bido en las canoas y nos de rto
 silas que ziamos y a rto y a rto de a rto muy
 gran rta y son tan grandes la rto que no
 nos de rto boy de ningenae en las anaa
 que por co rto de los clauos nos las llevian
 todas y muerdos de los clauos nos las llevian
 an de bagona rto y se brian a los blesos
 del timon csto loigo por que en el gator que



[illegible]

Por en una de la tierra y abnozeada a poroma
 Reyna. en esta parte es la zona de las reias. solo
 dhase mas beneito y la una de las cabecera
 entera y por quenda de las el sol tenia una casa
 que la cubia de la para penta y las tablas de
 cada una de las dos con unos cordeles y en lugar
 de la tenian en la otra una barba que pa-
 ra se cal con aquel to tenian puerro por la
 costura y tenia de cumplida ceta de la canoa
 un quenta y dos pite y de punta al nueve palmo
 y abia del medio de la naue palmo y medio
 y las barbas que se alian para tener el contrapeso
 tenian de cumplida diez y siete pite de cada uno de los
 para fueras y el palo que tenia por contrapeso
 tenia treinta y tres pite de cumplida y de cada
 uno palmo y el arbol tres palmo y medio
 En respondiendo en una de las palas que salian
 para tener el contrapeso hacia una de las
 una barba que podian pelar en ella como tre-
 ynta o treynta y cinco hombres consue honrar
 y sus barbas en esta y la no tenian ningun genero
 de maza, a lo que se dice por que alis el co-
 por ser que quier que labrauan aquella cano-
 a y el los traen. alla que se de pite y de
 concha de astria y en ello dejen labrar la cano-
 noas y por esto no querian tomar lo que pri-
 mero tomaban sino dauca y cuchillas toman el
 sol en esta y la dos o tres heces entre quatro
 y una az to y el padre prior fe quando de vi-
 dante la teia la declinacion del sol fha al meri-
 diano de mexico por la qual tome el sol entre
 quatro y dos quintos en este puerto a la y la
 de pite que esta al noventa antes que lleguen

della haze otra baya y inquietan bien puede surgir
 y tomar a guisa de la yslita de pteora la bodega
 del norte haze una baya grande y señalala como
 sea yslita. Venas de arboles y la goberna
 la vuelta del noriente un morro que parece
 al cabo de san biento y por encima del haze
 una tierra llana todas estas bayas a ruda
 shas con brisa son buen surgido y que el bien
 lo que en esta tierra mai rima en tramos en
 esta ysla abiente y se de harto y salimos en
 demanda de la felipinas a tres de febrero
 de mill y quatro y sesenta y cinco gobernando laquel
 ta del hocote como quatro leguas al mar este
 morro que parece el cabo de san biento separ
 te en una como yslita y asi fuimos prosiguiendo
 en un dia se yeste dia tres del nombre heche de
 angladura al nauio ocholleguas otro dia siqui
 heche de angladura por mi fante la beynte y
 quatro leguas otro dia siquiente que fue lunes
 tome el sol entre trece grados y un tercio largo he
 che de angladura al nauio beynte leguas otro dia
 siquiente tome el oticilla del norte entre trece
 y quatro y medio escasos y heche de angladura al
 nauio veynte y ocho leguas otro dia fuimos go
 vernando al hocote quarta al suduente otro
 dia siquiente que fue mierco lo tome el sol en
 trece grados y un tercio largo y heche de angla
 dura al nauio treynta leguas otro dia le he
 che de angladura a treynta leguas otro dia siquiente
 heche de angladura al nauio treynta leguas
 otro dia siquiente que fue sabado heche de
 angladura al nauio treynta y quatro leguas
 otro dia siquiente que fue domingo ante de



dia tome el cotrellá del norte 2 a tres grados de casoo
 tambien tome el ceuzero en la misma tambien
 este propio dia tome el sol en la 3a y 4a menor
 1/2 a 1/3 y heche de anglosura al nauio de yon
 y de a tres leguas de yon heche de hebreo tome el
 cotrellá del norte en dos grados y de a tres casoo
 casoo y este dia tome el sol en dos grados y tres
 quintos heche este dia de anglosura al nauio
 de yon y de a tres leguas de yon heche de hebreo
 heche las nubes de dia de hebreo anglosura quin
 3 e leguas de yon aza bueco de yon por pro como
 2 a tres leguas. Luego a mira la capitanía de buel
 ta del se de yon. Este propio dia tome el sol
 en nueve grados. En las señas de esta tierra
 son como quatro o cinco leguas a la mar y parece
 me que esta tierra es de las baras amoneras de
 cayos y la que esta a la parte del sudiente es la
 mas pequeña y la del noriente es la mayor al
 parecer en el cayo del noriente heche una man
 cha blanca, que blanguca de altitud como tres
 o quatro leguas y entre este cayo y el de la parte
 del suente esta otro casi tan grande como el que
 es al noriente y este y el de la parte de la
 cayos son rasas con la mar y llenas de yerba de
 yon y por una de las yslas de yon heche una tierra
 de la queba la buelta del noriente toda esta
 tierra es llena de quebradas y tambien ha de
 tierra alta la buelta del suente con una mi
 mena llena de quebradas y poblada y de mucha
 arboleda. Heche otros mas que esta seña la en
 medio de las yslas de yon heche una yslita de
 pequenitos y de la parte del noriente de yon se
 heche que tiene la mancha blanca heche como
 otros quatro de la queba la buelta del noriente

haze otra yslita. Amaneca decaio a Vnquerotangun
 de como el de la mancha blanca. y esta yslita labuel
 ta del norueste ha Vn arceife que zeta Vna pie
 dra grande que salen como Vna legua a la mar
 y ha la buelta del norueste como tres leguas
 y ante mas quemeno por que esta es la que
 y opodia ber y esta yslita que parece con de alta
 mar ha Vn arceife que los cerca todos y esta yslita
 y la que esta a la parte del norueste de ella ay muy
 buena entrada y honda y dentro haze Vna ba
 hia grande de muy buena y en profundo a parte
 comedero a parte lama de traes de la yslita de la
 mancha blanca puede surgir por que ay estubo
 surta la hormaza. en terna y cinco brazas
 y si te llegas a la yslita puede surgir en beynte
 brazas y en quinze que todo el fondo de abaco
 es comedero y esta yslita labuelta del fueste
 Vna legua esta la tierra firme y puede surgir cer
 ca de la tierra firme que a fondo de diez y quin
 ze brazas y esta lama entra esta ba hia pue
 de surgir por que el fondo es limpio y a cerca de la
 tierra firme la cerca Vn arceife en toda esta ba hia
 no tiene de que guarra zeta sino de lo que brece
 por el ojo y no e holuice de llevar continuo la
 sonda en lamano y entrando entre esta yslita
 de la mancha blanca y la que esta a la banda del
 norueste beras labuelta del fueste haze en la
 tierra firme Vna mesadetiara firme alta y
 por en una llana de esta ba hia a la yslita de traes
 que se dice de los lazones halle que por mis in
 glazuras hecharas por mi fantasia a bla



px

filipina

21024. dozentas y sesenta y ocho leguas y desta bahia
 leguas. al puerto de la navedad con forme a mis angles
 * duzas hechas por mi fantasia y algunas de
 las por quadras auzados mili y beyntes y
 quatro leguas y ton burtome y solaneta
 bahia en doze grados y por la declinacion fha
 al meridiano de mēdo en doze grados y vn sesmo
 aqui estubo el armada. nueve dias y biniéron
 muchos paraos de los principales desta bahia
 que son los siguientes. dumaña señor de pan
 gutan ma lito señor de sabacon lin baga. señor
 de gamai maga bilenst señor de abulo saluca
 de la gustan. otro señor calaion sinetos. señores
 biniéron otros de la redonda desta ysla en que
 algunos dellos traian algunas otras cosas de oro
 y otros algunos argollas de oro en el pezueco y
 en los brazos otros yndios cenian dagas traían
 unas lancas pequeñas a manera de espadas con
 unas haldas grandes de amplexos de palmo y my
 unos paños de amplexos de una braca y de anchos
 de espaldas todos estos yndios andavan vesti
 dos y fizean muy labrados des de la cabeza hasta
 los pies. y una de las yslas filipinas ay en esta
 ysla muchos puercoos azules son muy buenos
 de azules. desta bahia se hizo el armada a la
 vela la vuelta de susa este para bajar la ysla por
 la parte del sur y ten aviso que la vuelta del su
 este por la parte del sur como das leguas haze
 el remate desta yslas del qual remate
 ala tierra firme ay legua y media de la punta
 de esta yslas poco mas de media legua la
 vuelta de la tierra firme haze un estrecho

41.

que el rebienta la mar en el y de pie amari le bñia por
 en una entrecotazzei fe y las yslas y paso de
 mada noticiones de que guardarte sino de lo que
 buerda por el ojo asi ba toda la tierra alta la buel
 ta del suete. luego haze una punta delgada que
 dela tierra doblada de la bahia hacia la punta
 que es la labucta del suete abra como diez le
 guas al remate de esta tierra alta se señala un
 span redondo y luego al parecer para la buelta
 del suete señala una bahia de manera de hoz
 de una y de allí ba la tierra baxa la buelta del suete
 y quanto mas ba al suete se baxa y ganando ba
 tierra por una ba toda plana al remate de esta
 tierra que es a como tres leguas señala como una
 mesa y luego ba señalando un pari y haze una tierra
 amañera de galera a un que a la parte del suete
 se haze una alia y luego señala una que baxa y
 luego un pari amañera de ysla de un pie de una
 legua y luego señala una tierra rasa con lama
 ba buelta del suete de un pie de una legua y lue
 go señala una mesa como una legua para por venir a
 y al remate della señala una que baxa y pequeña
 y luego señala un morio pequeño oyendo de llegando
 al se señala un penicu como de la cueca pequeño
 de la parte del suete ba la tierra luego obda como
 una legua y luego ba otra mesa como la de a toa
 y luego otra tierra baxa como media legua y luego
 ba alçando la tierra la buelta del suete como
 dos leguas en que es el remate de la tierra y allí
 señala una como ysla y en algunas tierras baxas
 que estan entre otras mesas o otras dias para cosa
 que pasa lama de una parte a otra y es toda una



tierra y de esta punta donde se le llama la tierra
 hasta la bahía donde salimos sea que no nos
 de susucote y abra hasta la punta del remate
 de la tierra como haynte ligua sobre esta punta
 donde el cruzero chonza. grados largos y maeter
 mas porauido que como a trece leguas de esta pun-
 ta abra hacia la buelta del suauote. haze una
 isla pequeña a unque de la parte del este esta faja
 al mar y por encima haze una mogota en que
 señala hacia oas de la parte del este de esta
 y la señala un pan y la resonancia del estano tras
 mas mas pequeñas y luego la buelta del oeste
 haze una isla como a dos leguas que al parecer
 esta de noroeste sueste y señala a osueltas en ella
 en que la parte del noroeste de ella haze la masa al-
 ta y la de la parte del sueste es la mas pequeña y
 en medio haze una quebrada esta es sierra
 quebrada es tozollano y de la parte del noroeste
 de ella esta faja al mar termina esta isla de
 cumplida y parecer quatro leguas y de la ban-
 da del oeste de esta isla te haze una isla peque-
 ña redonda. llana con la mar tiene en medio de
 ella un pan a manera de una teta que sobrepuja
 por en cima a toda la tierra ten abiso que sea
 la tierra. este hueco concuerda y las que estan
 de otro lado de esta isla y el remate de la tierra
 se fitiere el día como haze una terna por la par-
 te del sueste de esta isla que esta de noroeste
 sueste alta y mogotada y maeter nae por abiso
 si quisierdes y una a guaque. entre otros y
 la de la bahía y el remate de la tierra. que
 ta en foz de grados largos por que y terna

pariente de tanaya. Dize de mugunio este. Ser
 tiene el pueblo de la parte del cote de esta en serada
 don de esta tierra. El arma de la buelta del hocote
 dicen los yndios que como trece o quatro leguas
 esta el pil de tanaya y de esta en serada don
 de esta el arma de la buelta de la buelta de el
 cote y luego como una legua haze Vn morro
 y luego buelue la tierra. la buelta del no nueue
 como tres leguas y luego buelue la costa otra
 dos otras leguas la buelta del no nueue. te
 a don se refata a esta costa de este hueste be
 ras. Vn farallon en el mar la buelta del
 no nueue que te parezca como Vn nauio alabla
 y luego beza mas en tierra Vna yslita peque
 na y toda la para a la recorta. y toda otra
 sea de la tierra a algunas palmas en ella y lue
 go beza de la parte del hocote de la Vn far
 alon chugaita a manera de Vn tinaja no tie
 ne o de que quarete sino de lo que buer por
 el oja a que dentro de esta yslita de la par
 te del hocote haze Vna enserada y dicen los
 yndios que quarete a Vna que dicen que de
 esta agua de esta yslita a la buelta de la buel
 ta del suuete haze Vna tierra a la ma
 nera de ysla que es de Vn trepa a otra como
 cinco leguas y en medio de estas cinco leguas
 beza Vna yslita de piedra que es a la pa
 ra con la mar a la recorta toda fonda de
 y de esta tierra que es a la parte de la buelta
 de alle beza otra tierra que es al su
 quere al suuete a que haze Vna ense
 nada y encota bimoc muncha. gente

45.

y toda tierra llana y semanchos palmaros y tan
 bien esta el pñ que se dice abuyo tiene un río de
 agua dulce que pueden entrar los batellos dentro
 de la cuenta enriada a el fondo limpio y se
 ha ena y puede surgir en doze y en quize brazas
 a quize tubimos con el batel del capitana y la
 fragata y benia el capitán martin degoyte
 por mandado del señor gouernador para que
 biesemos toda aquella costa aqui bino el señor
 de abuyo y se angró con el capitán min degoyte
 en señal de amistad la qual ellos guardan
 muy poco porque de mas de ser amigos bixaron
 otro dia de mas de legua y media y hixeron un
 moco del dño min degoyte y bolutiendo el capi
 tán y gente que lleuaua algo y no lo no dguar
 daron y como fuyeron bo lutiendo año canino
 la tierra que sale al sur quarta al sudiente
 de alliberar otra tierra que tisale la buelta
 de la buelta como seis leguas y a que haze otra
 enriada y haze dos y siete y de otra dos y se
 tas baluqo la costa la buelta del sur y por
 en cima de otra dos y siete se señala un morro
 al to que en el señala deo caueca por en ci
 ma de este morro haze una perra alta en que
 haze una alcá de tierra llana a la parte de
 la mar toda poblada de mancha gente y
 semontexa esta costa nortesur tena de um
 plida como ocho leguas y en medio de la haze
 una enriada y en esta enriada esta un pñ
 que se dice es balian y el señor malitio y su hijo
 camutuan en esta enriada ay un río que
 por donde puede pasarse para y amacá guapo



El qual esale mianchia coniente de la ensenada de la
 en diez grados y poca de latitud y ha al meridiano
 de diez como el sol en diez grados y un quinto
 y la buelta de la de una ysla grande que es la
 de este pñ de cabalian seys leguas y a la parte
 de esta noroeste susidote y tiene en medio
 de esta ysla de cabalian y la ysla que esta a la par-
 te de la de una ysla pequeña esta ysla que
 esta a la parte de la de cabalian me parece
 que es la que esta por en una de las yslas que estan
 a la boca del pasaje para venir a maca guano
 tienen necesidad si no si surgen en aquella
 una que esta por la ysla que tiene por señas
 las dos de la de aquella ensenada para venir
 a cabalian gobernar al su suceso dos o tres
 leguas por dar requar a una pequeña que esta
 en noroeste de la ensenada que tiene tres
 brazas de agua en una de las y llingo goberna-
 ras al su suceso hasta dar en la buelta que es
 corre de noroeste y si quisierdes hazer roche en
 esta ensenada esta en la posta de noroeste por
 que las que vienen son grande y el sur que o
 nae muy bueno a que de este pñ de cabalian
 que es la ensenada que esta en noroeste de este
 y la llamada quatro o cinco dias de este pñ de ca-
 balian la buelta del su suceso baxa una ysla
 que se llama panal que es trece o a de pane
 de cabalian haze un pasaje para yr a maca guano
 y el señor de esta pñ de cabalian se llama pa-
 banqui de este pñ de cabalian se llama la
 mala bela la buelta de la que hasta dar en la

Ysla de panal y en la parte del sur de esta ysla de panal
tercera la costa la buelta del noroeste y allí haze
una ensenada por la qual se haze el estrecho que
la entrecambia y panal de esta punta de panal
que se remata al sur hacia la tierra de la parte del
norte que es la costa en nor noroeste sus dueños
buelue otra vez la buelta del sur quarta al sur
dueños de esta punta de panal hacia la buelta
del suroeste una tierra alta y en medio della
una quebrada la buelta del sur haze la tierra
alta y a mogotroa abra desta punta de panal
esta tierra alta a lo que allí me parece lo poco
mas de diez e syys leguas de esta punta de panal
hacia la buelta del sur su dueños una ysla alta
que haze dos sierraz y en una dellas uno mo-
cho de esta ysla se llama camiquini abra desta
ysla de panal a la ysla de ca. Inguini amparca
cerca de diez e syys leguas y mas de esta punta de pa-
nal hacia una ysla la buelta de donde pegue
una quarta de mas a la quarta de norte del
del umplido de una legua de esta ysla de la parte
del norte es mas alta que de la parte del sur abra
de esta ysla a la punta de panal cinco leguas en
esta ysla puede surgir de la parte del norte
y del sur de esta ysla son doscientos arena de choa
de diez brazas de esta ysla de mas a qua fue el
armada de camiquini de la parte del norte della
tiene una ysla pequeña llamada carbola que
puede pasar un año entre la ysla alta y la ysla de
camiquini que tercia de la ysla a la ysla le da como
tres cuartas de legua entre esta ysla surgio el
armada de la parte del norte della y a donde
estaba surta el armada el fondo es una arena
negra puede surgir e nooze y a diez brazas

Y si reliquias alatiara hallaras en el fondo al
 la una y pueras a quidome estau a sucia la har.
 Unada a 202 de marzo tome el sol en esta ysla
 de camiquin de la parte del norte en nueve grados
 y una y minutos y por la declinacion hecha al me
 cido año de 1582 en nueve grados y un quarto
 entre este dixo y la ysla de camiquin pues en
 esta nauica surto que todo hondoable y
 notiene de que quazarte sino de lo que bidee
 tozaga ysla. tiene murichos rios de agua
 vala de la siadernacagua abra como treze
 ocatorze leguas de esta ysla de camiquin
 a oatorze dias del mes de marzo se hizo
 el armada. ala vela paray a bictuan que
 por la notia que el eruanos nos demoraua al
 cotesuete y asi fuimos la buelta del norte
 quarta el norueste y oatorze Unadche con
 las belas maiores y oatorze quando amara
 cio quince del presente bimos por la proa una
 ysla que iba al horre de ma eagua y bimos mur
 chas cauanas lo qual bisto el señor goberna
 dor mando que fuésemos a suaga alla cyerto
 gurgimos de la parte del sur de la enochio
 bideas y el fondo co una arena negra y con
 de a duamos sur toa. nos salia la tierra
 de la ysla al este quarta al surte y la otra pa
 ra que ota a la parte del surte me demo
 rava al hucete surte quarta al noricote
 esta ysla toda ella se corre a leste surte terra
 de camplora comodiez leguas tiene murichas
 cauanas de otra parte del sur por de la laa
 mada surta nos demora la ysla de camiqu
 in a leste de agua. si de otra ysla que me demora

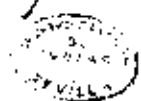
Al suducote questa al huerda yotea el horte su
 suducote yotea al suducote quatta al horte suducote
 lab de triuan ayna desta yotea ysla donde esta
 mos suducote sellama bohol cerca dea qui dea en
 quex enelia ynplicia sellama boquin y al horte
 de deaqui donde esta mos como quatta legua
 dicen estar otropia que sellama bohol yta el
 nombre de la propia ysla y tambien tome el
 sol aqui donde esta y suducote boquin aduz y
 seys de marea en nueue grados y beynteys de
 murtas y por la declinacion hecha al meri
 dian de mediano tome el sol en nueue grados y tres
 quartas y mas que con forma de el al horte que
 tome en la ysla de camquin y en el de bohol
 donde esta surta la armada a y de aqui alays
 la de camquin de la legua lince diez e nueve
 dias del mes de mayo separa el señor gene
 ral para el pu que esta a la parte del horte que
 se dice bohol que es a quatro leguas de xpo al
 galcon monbrado san juan de galdia por capitan
 de la ysla para que fuese adre a la costa
 de bagunadina y fuese al pu de butan an donde
 dicen auz contratacion de unos cruna y oro
 y ban en el ahogaleon los ofuiales del mayore
 y estar para sumas y bexia traza y contratacion
 de ella hizeme ala vela coteada alas honze de
 la noche con el buerto teate nor de te con ynten
 con de de xax la costa a la ysla de maza
 qua y punta de panal para dea de y conuenio
 de la costa hasta butan y punta de cabid si fue
 se necesario porque as me fue mandado y como
 fue labiatta de la mar al suducote seys ampollas
 queriendo biaz otia biaz la biaz de la del nor de
 de me largo el buerto al este suducote



Por lo qual me fue forçado seguir aquella buelta
 porque de la costa de donde sale la hora del corte nubl
 te y binando la buelta de la tierra por el
 camino ya si me con vino y la buelta del heste
 guo te por que por allí tomara la via de ca
 m quim por la parte del heste y sacado que fue
 alla mitad de la obra hize un tonta de las co
 rrientes que yban la buelta de su suerte
 que apenda tome la via de cam quim de la
 parte del heste. Dnyx algunas vezes alla
 te quara al suroeste de la ora que parti
 hasta llegar a cotay la tarde hasta el mex
 colico de manapa. yalli me andube en calma
 hasta las fionze del dia que suxi aguardan
 do el viento en la brisa para abajar de cam quim
 por la parte del sur que ay y no saje de la
 para la via de seguridad de los leguas fue
 me la vela. a las dos de la tarde de te pro
 pio dia con el viento en el norte y ando de
 como trece leguas me calmo el viento entre
 cetay la y ba quando a no saji por causa de
 la gran corriente que yba la buelta del heste
 te aguantando la marea. para pasar el corte
 chio de te me como dia a media noche me fue
 a la vela con el viento en el noroeste y fu la
 buelta del corte suroeste como una loita y luego
 caimo el viento y asi corube en calma has
 ta si fues a las diez quando medio el viento
 en el suroeste fui gobernanoo la buelta
 del noreste quarta al suroeste y en ceto sera
 media dia quando cetua en medio de la
 de oy la y tome el sol a veynte y dos de marzo
 por la declinacion de castilla en orio quato

46.

Y tres quartos la inclinacion ~~de~~ al meridiano de
 mede en ocho grados y cinquenta y tres minutos.
 Y nesto nos sube el viento en el nor noroeste e y fue
 mos la buelta del cote las señas que tiene este
 paso se es que la ysla de camquin de la parte del
 sueste haze un morro mas pequeño que nin-
 guno de los que señala xisla. Una y al de
 ficiencia esta la mar de cumplida de un seso mo
 de la que de tierra doblada. y llova de morre
 hanti a la lengua del agua y de ci aparte notie
 ne cauarra de la ysla de camquin a no questa
 ala buelta del sueste de esta ysla de camquin
 mñ son estas las señas un pan como de ca
 azondo que cae sobre la mar questa a no ruer
 e sueste con el morro y a no de camquin y esto
 do llenos de arboles a esta la mar y de ella da una
 alba de tierra la buelta del este quanto mas
 da la tierra al gordo en este cote de no notine
 de que quazda de sino de lo que buelta por el
 o de este pan como de cauarra acubada de esta
 una engendra a la buelta del sueste como con
 o seys leguas y luego buelta la costa que haze
 una punta hacia la buelta del norte del cote
 o quatro leguas de tierra doblada y luego como
 este una honsenada la buelta del cote
 sueste de cumplida de otras cinco o seys le-
 guas posamos de esta punta questa a este es
 el ac de ensenada de como las leguas de la
 banda del norte de la yno de go uernar de a este
 nor de este por que el viento fiero sueste que
 salia de este engendra y no ybamos llegan-
 do a la tierra questa ala parte del cote de
 panal y esto sea alav. honsenada de la ysta
 ramos de la punta del panal. como de



Lequae a esta otra marque la tierra de la parte
 de canal y nos demoraba el norte y tan bien mar-
 que la ysla de macagua que nos demoraba
 entre el norte y la quarta del noroeste tan
 bien marque la ysla de amquim que me de-
 moraba al este de la tierra mas alta della
 y tambien marque a quel par de aguas arriba
 donde queda al desembocamiento de esta ysla de cam-
 quim y bagundanao que a quel par me demora-
 ba. al este su este y a esta ora que salia entre
 once y doce medio el viento en el norte y fui
 gobernando al su suroeste para yr a la ensenada
 que esta de la parte del este porque por la ma-
 riana aya visto como esta en senada y fui
 asurgir sauido viento y quatro de marzo
 quatro oras ante de la yaceta ora que
 surgimos bize y nacanoa con la claridad de
 la luna y este me amodia ya que a la zorra
 di vieron como seys o ocho canoaes que nos di-
 xeron sea este el rio de butuan y entre ellas
 buian dos canoaes de moros que dixeron
 sea deluzon que es de butney seys o siete jorna-
 das para la parte del norte estos moros be-
 nian con mercaderia a neecataz a butuan
 y estos moros entraron luego en el navio y pre-
 guntaron que de adonde hecamos y dixi mos
 que del rey de castilla y que nro rey hera amigo
 del rey de butuan y luego el capitán llamo la
 lengua que traianmos de la nuaracepana que
 entendia muy bien la lengua macaya por-
 que el armada no traia otra lengua. si esta
 no y asi no entendiamos a los naturales y
 como se buieron digo sino hera por señas

47.

a alguna cosa. y estos moros entendian muy bien
 la lengua malaya. y la de los naturales y como
 esto vieron estos moros en los nauios preguntaron
 que que traian para vender por que en
 butuan tenian ellos mucho oro y mucha gra
 que vender lo qual bisto por los oficiales del rey
 sacaron escudo y paños de todas colores y quenta
 de las margaritas y de otro genero de deficientes
 y sacaron los. En talagon de castones a trueque
 de oro y los oficiales se con certaron con ellos
 que por peso de seis castones. dauan otros seis
 de oro y los auan de dar de refayaron otros cinco
 por mas en los castones que salia por peso de vn
 caston de oro seis de plata. y asi se les cataron
 como mill por de oro y quatro castones se tra de oro
 quatro mill tambien se les cataron bino abo
 de del nauio. En hermano del rey y le dixo el
 capitan que entrase dentro abax el nauio y las
 mercadurias que traian de castilla y el respon
 do que no queria y asi le dixo el capitan con la
 lengua que traian a vn moro que le dicesse
 al hermano del rey que ellos fieran del rey
 de castilla y bien a tener paz con el rey. ^{no}
 y que no bienamos a enoja les en ninguna cosa
 y en esto se hizo vn presente que fue vna ropeta
 de terciopelo verde y dos baras de tafetan y
 margaritas y vn bonete colorado y setenta
 con vn moro y el hermano del rey como que
 ria el capitan yn biaz al rey vn presente
 y dixo el moro en nombre del hermano del rey
 que le dexaria tres o quatro moros y otros
 tres o quatro prenupcias de la tierra mendo
 a mi el dhopileto el capitan que fuese a aluar



El presente al rey y olettecopendi que si hacia lo
 que mandaua. El presente que le lleue fue vn
 capote de grana. y uarnado con texido de lo azul
 y vn sonbrero de terciopelo con su coron de oro
 y vn cople tres o quatro bazas de fa-fetan
 y entte en vn canoa con el h^{no} del rey con el
 moro naquatato y con el naquatato que tra
 y a mo del auia a espada fuimos al pñ
 nonbrado butuan. a nobiaz con el rey y llega
 do que fuimos alla fuimos a casa del rey
 y lo primero que nos suzeron en la casa del rey
 fue que nos sentase mos y luego salieron siete
 o ocho mugeres y hermosas y cotodigo porque
 cierto heran hermasas. b^{ce} b^{ce} a algunas de
 aseda de la yndia y sale primero las mugeres
 dizen ser vsanca de la tierra preguntando el moro
 que como se llamaua. el rey y la reyna dixo
 llamarse el rey sumanpaon y la reyna bu
 cagnin y su hijo lean y su hermano del rey figo
 an. y salio el rey y se sento y asi dixe al naqua
 tato que dixe al rey que yo hera piloto de
 aquel nauio y que benia por mandado del capi
 tan a tielle a aquel presente y el lorenzo dio
 y se lo batio luego y le dixe como benia al capi
 tan por mandado del Rey de castilla para
 que saca oficiales traesen mercaderia para
 vender a los naturales que si el hera contento
 que se vendiese a quella tropa asar bas a los
 el dixo que si y que vnos de los yndios tenian
 y m uncho oro y otros poco y que comprarian
 cada vno como pudiese y preguntaua si be
 niamos mas nauios y o le dixe que no po
 que nos al corotasen y me dixo que entrase

48.

moos dentro en el Tlio dixele que asisaxia subu
 agua ala entrada. y aspiduendo me del quando
 me benia melleuo el moro a de su nauio. El
 qua. hera Vnpaño grande y tenia treyntete
 yerbos malos mas trame. En otro de bronca
 y dixome si tratamos munchos me las rre
 pondile quasi dixome que tenia tres quin
 tales de oro que ellos los reecatarián con ne
 alce. y si queramos cera dixele quasi dixome
 a de muncha en aquella tierra preguntale
 si berlian de la china dixome que to sing que
 los chinos beruan asu tierra con porcellanas
 fierros de lanca e pagase caia d'oro y lo traian
 a bordo de asotas y las y por ello lo dauan
 oro el qual ellos lleuarian asu tierra y era
 y asoto benian y con esto me diue al nauio
 y viniendo en el camino. Los otros para grande
 que taua cargado ni mas ni menos como el
 otro con otro caso de bronca dixome que te
 nia de baxo otros tres o quatro y munchos oro
 y asi me vine y me bolueo a preguntar al moro
 si comprauamos cera dixele quasi y que la tra
 xese al nauio y otro dia traxeron muy gran
 cantidad en panes y se conpacto con los oficia
 les que Vn pan que pesaua. dos arrobas y diez
 y se le libras por precio de catorze tostónes
 y m y se compro cantidad de ello. E ya que se los
 auian pagado se partio Vn pan por medio y
 dentro se halló. lleno de tierra y partiendo se
 todos los panes se halló lo mismo los moros
 se alborotaron dixoles el capitan que si
 quaxoasen y que boluiesen lo otro con el



y ellos tomaban suelta hizo se así los moros se
 escauian deste engano diciendo que así lo auian
 ellos recuado de los de la tierra los de la tierra que
 tauan en el nauio que los moros lo auian fho y así
 se fueron al pñ y boluieron otro dia con canoa e
 cargada de diez e cinco panes y nos dizean loo par
 tise mos por medio y partiendo los cet auia al
 go mejor que la que auian traido el dia pasado
 y adizose que se partiesen por los cantos y
 se hallaron vnos pedacitos de palo de mangle que
 copesado como plomo y los moros boluieron a
 dezir que los de butuan lo auian fho y quitandose
 le los palos se les compro gran cantidad de cera
 y compraron muchamida si la quisieran a true
 que de rro pay de rro as mas hellos no querian otra
 cosa sino reales benian muchos natizales
 a comprar quantas marqartas y traian oro
 para comprarlo los moros les yban a llamar
 q no comprasen ninguna cosa por oro y así se fue
 ron traian mucha por se lana no querian
 por ellas sino tostones entendimos en esto
 ser auisados por los moros por que los naturales
 quando el primer dia llegamos no querian
 tostones y de puer biuieron a pedirlos tan
 bien en otras canoas benian yndios y yndias
 con arroz cocos camarones cañas dulces
 y de lo que auia en la tierra de comer toco poca
 cosa lo qual se compraua a trueque de quin
 tizillas cascavetes y algunos de ellos traian
 porcelana y la dauian a trueque de quantas
 res catose aqui vnpoco de canela preguntaron
 al hno del rey de donde se traia dixd que de vn

Pueblo que se llama cayayán y el señor goñit
 señalaban esta certepa de la parte del fuerde
 aquí se recebatara cantidad de oro y plata y por el
 lán a sino fuera por los moros que lo estorua uan
 a los naturales y aun ponian que nos des en casa
 sino a trueque de reales en lo qual entendimos
 que sentirán gran ganancia al hermano del
 Rey quando yba en la canoa con el lebi. Vnada
 ga con los caudo y punto de oro que ampara de
 obalia el oro de la mas de trezientos ps de bue
 na moneda, mientras estos moros sintieron
 de reales. Venian muy amenudo al nauio el rey
 binosos bezes y ninguna dellas quiso entrar
 dentro de ziamos al moro que dixese al rey
 que entrase aue las mercaderias que tratamos
 de castilla y antes que el moro hablase al rey
 zreo ponía el mesmo moro que el zrey no querria
 entrar y por esto entendimos que la amistad
 que pretendia el moro hera por rapia de los
 reales que tratamos y vna vez que vino el
 Rey sin el moro traia la canoa en qua venia
 todos los yndios armados ninas. rumeros
 otra canoa que venia con el de para abet de dar
 vn puercos y vn cantaro de vino y vn poco de arroz
 lo hecho en otra canoa por que el nose osale a
 llegar al bordo sino dixio que aquello hera para
 el capitan y por esto entendimos que los moros
 nos ponian mal con el y heran tan grande bella
 cos que ynponian a los naturales que demanda
 sen vn real por vna gallina y antes no querrian
 sino que tres reales. Dixe al capitan tomase
 vn moro de aquellos por que nos seria gran bien



por a toda la armada porque entendian muy
 bien la lengua maey y la de la tierra y respon-
 dia que si flavia metieron se por medio los o-
 y y fraile que traíamos en el navio diziendo q
 si lo hazed mos seria al borotar la flava por
 lo qual se dexo de hazer y de terminamos debol-
 uer alays la de bohol que heza donde estua
 nro gouernador y dille quenta de todo lo que pa-
 saba. este rey de butuan tenia en su p^a como
 como ochenta o cien casas por que esto heza lo
 que podia auer y tan bien auia algunas casas
 por el arcabuco y el rio arriba y a lo que b^a me
 parecia que tenia de quatrocientos o quinientos hon-
 bres tan bien me dixeran que en la sierra que
 heza a quatro o cinco jornadas de su p^a abia
 mill honbres y que allisacauan el oro tambien
 serrecoto y ngato de algalia por quatro o cin-
 co sartas de margaritas de la boca de
 el rio hasta el pueblo abia como vnsesmo de
 legua puen y batelas hasta las casas en
 dos ay una braca de fondo y por el rio arri-
 ba y en la boca ay maey en cabos ay alguna
 cosa menos y de esta manera se puede con
 batelas hasta las casas y alusote que de
 continuo tomes a mano y izquierda por el rio
 arriba hasta dar en las casas por que este
 rio de dentro de la boca haze dos o tres bra-
 cas y el de mano y izquierda es el que ba al p^a
 tan bien tome el sol ala boca de este rio diez
 tres treinta de marzo por la declinacion fha
 al meridiano de cuilla en ocho grados y un
 tercio por la declinacion fha al meridiano
 de mexico en ocho grados y en las señas que

ay sobre cote I lio debutan de la parte de este
 Vna tierra alta y haze Vna silla baxa en lo mas
 alto della y luego señalala en lo mas alto della
 2.ª en la buelta del norte Vna cordillera en la tie-
 rra alta y doblada queba hacia la punta de pa-
 nal de este río debutan a la punta de panal
 3.ª en el norte sac. quarta al noroeste de sueste
 y por entre la quarta y el norte notoco ningu-
 na de las cordilleras sino boy entre la punta de
 pane y la cordillera queba de este río debutan
 hasta cotar siete fuecote con la punta de panal
 las señas que estan de la parte de este río Vna
 punta baxa que es al la buelta del hocoteno
 fuecote que es la tierra baxa esta en medio
 de las dos bayas y mas ternas por auiso que
 tesalora Vna ysla que esta en el nonbre cam-
 quini esta tierra es alta y tiene mucha pora
 una de la punta baxa que esta entre las dos ba-
 fias las señas que haze es de estas y en m-
 Vna mesa y por cada baxa de los dos panes de la
 Vna habia de tierra baxa esta ysla de este río
 debutan de memoria al noroeste mas ten por
 auiso que de esta ysla de camquini de la parte
 del sur haze Vn pasaje de dos leguas hasta la
 ysla de segundaria y luego de Vna tierra ala
 parte del sur como cuatro o cinco leguas y
 quanto mas ba a la parte del sur ba de cuatro
 la tierra estas quatro o cinco leguas y luego
 haze Vna quebrada señalando de la parte del
 sur Vna tierra alta mogotada tomar de
 por señas estando ala Oboca del río la buel-
 ta del susueste y beras Vna tierra baxa que
 ba la tierra de este ala boca de este I lio tern



De plasmar quatro cosas de aqui y dentro de la boca tiene
dos brazos y media porque y o donde t o da la boca el
rio y mas trauido quicada dos dias torquale
dado de la car e fancha. porque ala boca de la rio
ce la ma pucce sur que denochie y tres brazos
y en algunas partes. encoz y quince notet e con
todate ta oca de aqui y parte sino de lo que
bica de cal o f y notet el u de de la u a la sona
en la mano saluao postreco de marzo a la noche
nos hizimos ala bella de la tior de butuan
para y x adonoi cotua nio qoluxnador y de
camino bor adonoi nos recordon los morbay el
fino el rey que aulla cania y de aille y no de
de la u a nio qoluxnador otodia siguiente
que fue Domingo a primero de abril quando a
mancoio estauamos en medio de la bafu
de butuan y tambien tomoposria que en fi de
la enserada cota y nparot tierra alta y del
gale vna falsa labuella del cote de tierra baya
y robiada y auisore questaros surto ala oca
del rio tes al oca cote pan al sur quartal
guarrote y esto digo por que de la parte del cote
de cote pan seruald tambien vna tierra o aca
mola que cota sobre el rio por esto trauso
que hae de surgir sobre la parte de la cote de
ta tiora esto digo por que sobre cota baya
de butuan nobera e auisore ningun rino
fueren quince o contribuiso surto de la oca vna
baya de la parte del hore y en la oca cota baya
y on bide otra cauaa ningun rino esto
cauaba ha todacota en la mano co llenadema
te y la baya que oia de la parte del hore
de la baya de butuan est en bien llenadema
monte por que y no bide cauaa ningun rino y la
parte de tierra baya y robiada que cota en la

Estas dos bahías están bien llenas de monte y es de
 bice en esta tierra y este propio día que fue domi-
 go en la tarde tenía asales y el pasaje por el río
 fluyó la ricamiquiri y la ysla de bagundanao ya
 corta o aminoró que la tierra que está al este con
 la ysla de paraby la tierra que mesaba de este pa-
 saje de bagundanao más al este y corren por
 este su sueste de una punta a otra y en medio
 de los dos puntos están los dos bahías arriba
 y ha en la tierra por un lado que en la otra par-
 te de aquí que está al este pasaje se llama una tierra
 como una legua y a la vuelta de una punta que
 se llama al su este se llama la costa la bueña
 del sur y más tierra por un lado que está a punta
 que se llama al su este se llama una tierra la bueña
 del su este y al este al este y al este y al este
 de la bueña tierra se ha de ir a la costa y la ysla
 de otra tierra de la misma punta arriba se ha
 que está con esta misma a punta por este su sueste
 la ysla de tierra y la que mesaba la bueña del su
 este y al este no puede ser si se va a una que han
 tra en la tierra que está en el pasaje arriba se ha
 la ysla y en esta no me da término por que esta
 sea de este pasaje de este a este y al este y al
 punta que está en la tierra y al este y al este
 de la bueña del su este como a una legua y al
 una tierra que se llama como a una legua y al
 de la tierra la bueña del su este y la ysla la bueña
 de este y de la mitad de esta tierra para la ysla
 de la tierra y más mancha de cañana y de la
 bueña del su este y esta llena de monte hasta
 la lengua del agua y más tierra por un lado que
 está de esta tierra de este su sueste hasta la
 galera puede ser en este y en la tierra de la



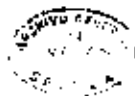
15

Y en paz se co como yo y en parte la mi ma
 He nae por auiso que vna legua antes que llegue
 a la galera esta vna baja que es pequeña y esta
 de la boca de la tierra vna legua y ma to
 me por seña en el camino que beza al este que a
 ta el nordeste vna tierra alta que haze en ella
 vna quebrada ma en esta baja y la tierra
 puede pasar que toa muy honrrable y de pla
 ma baria la mar toa esta baja y beza
 mar le de cubre la cabeza en esta baja y la
 tierra que seña la como galera esta vna ense
 ñada que en esta buelta del suduente
 a vna que poco y esta en esta beca la tierra
 dentro la buelta del suente vna tierra alta
 y desmontada que se buena junta con la tierra
 que seña la como galera y la que ma me
 buena me memoria la buelta del suduente
 y esta en esta parte vna al a parte del nor
 te de la que puede entrar vna bota por la boca
 del adonde esta a surto en esta en esta 55
 56 fondo la ma en quince y beyrre beca y
 ta es muy cerca de esta y a que en esta la ystra
 de muy cerca por vna tierra que me salia
 al suduente y ma que desta en esta la tierra
 que en el pasa le me salia al suduente y me mo
 ra a al suente aqui digo que beza toda la tra
 ra de vna que de la parte se por una dda de esta
 galera ba la costa la buelta del su como un
 legua toa la costa de norte su 55 llendo
 finch de cauanal y de mancho 6.2210
 a que dal y bimo en esta la costa mancho 6
 57 fincho nanea no salio por en esta cota
 costa para tomar nota de adonde esta la
 canella y por esto de termino el capitan de

34. 21.

boluense a avisar al gouernador de todo lo que pa
sava

Y mueltole a quatro de abril del sho año llegamos
a donde está el gouernador que es en la ysla de
bohól donde bexo nos aguardar y allí halla
mos que está a pretando la nao capitana para
ynbiarla a la nueva españa las sonas que tome
En este puerto bexa vnaysla pequeña llenade
arboleda que demora al suducete quarta al sur
estaysla citara de este puerto tres leguas mas
bexa otra ysla que le demora al suducete yuar
ta al sur mas bexa de este puerto vnaysla que
le demora al fuste quarta al suducete bien
se ajuntan cerca de la ysla de bohól que es entre
ella y estaysla de bohól ay vn pasaje encima de esta
ysla que le demora al fuste quarta al suducete
de bexa vnaysla grande y de tierra muy alta y
al parecer esta de norte sur y la tierra mas al
ta della al remate sale al sur en estaysla dicen
que ay negros tome el sol nueue de abril en nueue
grados ym largos por la declinacion sea al meri
diano de medio en nueue grados y ooctecio
largos en este puerto donde haile al gouernador
estando acorrecando la capitana para ynbiarla
a la nueva españa



Document S1565T2

Legazpi expedition—Logbook of Rodrigo de Espinosa

Sources: AGI Patronato 23-16, pp. 49-71, etc. See original facsimile, Doc. S1565T.

Partial transcription of the Spanish text

Derotero del piloto R^o despinosa, Del descubrimiento de las yslas del Poniente.

Relaçion hecha por R^o despinosa piloto de patax nonbrado San Juan de la armada y descubrimiento de las yslas del poniente de que fue por general el muy Ill^o señor Miguel Lopez de Legaspi.—

Tome el sol en el puerto de la Navidad en diez, y nueve grados y un tercio y tan bien marque en este dho puerto la Aguja y halle que Noroeste estava media quarta,¹ en que si los azeros se subieran de Norte Sur estava fija el Norte, porque los azeros del Aguja estaban entre el Norte, y la quarta del Norte-Deste, y todo aquesto apartada de la Rosa del Norte para la quarta era lo que me nortestaba. Embarcose el muy Ylt^o Señor Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas del Poniente a 12 prather 21] días del mes de Noviembre de 1565 [rather 1564] años. Lunes siguiente despues de media noche 21 del dicho mes se hizo la capitana a la vela, y los demas Navios con el viento en el Terral. Otro dia Miercoles nos dio el viento en la brisa, asi fuimos corriendo por el sssudueste hasta el Sabado que fue a 25 dias del dicho mes y este dia como entre tres y quatro dd la tarde fue el Maestre de Campo, y los Capitanes y los Pilotos a la Capitana por mandado del Señor Governador, y alli fueron de parescer que governase la armada al Oeste, quarta del Sudueste, y que las guiñadas que se diesen fuese sobre el Oeste, porque se hiciese el camino derecho de la quarta del Sudueste para ir en demanda de las Filipinas, porque asi lo tenia Su Señoria por instruccion: a esta hora me halle del Puerto de la Navidad 116 leguas, y tambien a esta hora se governó al Oeste quarta del Sudueste, y tambien me hallé conforme al punto que tenia questaba en altura de 14 grados y medio, porque un dia antes habia tomado el estrella en 15 gra-

1 Ed. note: From here onwards, I will be following the transcription made by Navarrete which has a more regular penmanship, fewer abbreviations, etc. but sometimes includes errors in dates.

dos, y desde la hora que mudó de ruta hasta la noche andaria el Navio como seis leguas, y así fue corriendo por este rumbo arriba dicho trece días sin tomar el Sol y fue echando singladuras por mi fantasía, unas de à 20 leguas y otras de 133? 24 y otras de 26 y de à 30 à 35 y algunas de 38. Así tomé estos trece días à causa de que penjabá mucho el Navio y aguazeros que traíamos no podimos tomar el Sol: Pasados estos trece días que fue viernes 8 de Diciembre tomé el Sol en 10 grados y medio, y también tomé el Estrella aquesta noche en 10 grados y medio, y hallé que à este propio día conforme à los rumbos que habia venido gobernando, y hallé por mis singladuras que habia hecho por mi fantasía que habia andado desde el día que fue de parecer que la Nao Capitana gobernase al Hueste quarta al Sudueste 336 leguas, y aquesta día me enmiende por esquadria y hallé que por el camino de la quarta que habia andado 316 leguas. Luego otro día siguiente me fueron 9 días del mes de Diciembre tomé el Sol en 10 grados largos y andado el Navio por esquadria 40 leguas y también tome este propio día en la noche el Estrella del Norte en 10 grados. Luego el Domingo à 10 días del mes de Diciembre mudó derrota la Capitana y mandó que governaremos al Hueste y que guinasemos sobre el Norueste, y también tomé este dicho día el Sol en 9 grados y 2 quartos, y hallé que conforme lo que habia disminuido en la altura que havia andado el Navio 30 leguas, mas esto día eche de singladura al Navio 32 leguas. Otro día Martes que se contaron 12 días del mes de diciembre tomé el Sol en 9 grados y dos tercios largos, y ocho de singladura por mi fantasía 34 leguas. Otro día Miercoles tomé el Sol en 10 grados menos un sexmo à causa que nos dió el viento en el sudueste, y por eso multiplicamos un sexmo en altura, y este día me dijo el Piloto mayor que governasemos al Hueste que fue el 13 de Diciembre y eché de singladura al Navio 35 leguas. Otro día Viernes que se contaron 13 del dicho mes de Diciembre tomé el Sol en 10 grados, y de allí mandó que governasemos al Hueste quarta del Sudueste hasta ponernos en altura de 9 grados y un tercio, y de allí mandó la Capitana gobernar al Oeste porque se hallaba Lewste Oeste de la altura de la Ysla de los Reyes, mas tomé el Sol à 20 de dicho mes de Diciembre en 9 grados y un tercio, mas tomé el Sol à 22 del dicho mes en 9 grados y un cuarto. Este día hablé à la Capitana, y me preguntó el Piloto mayor si habia tomado el Sol. Yo le dixé que en 9 grados, y sin cuarto, y le pregunté si el habia tomado, y me dijo que en 9 y un quinto, y en todo este tiempo arriba dicho venimos de camino guiñando sobre el Sudueste, y este día mandó gobernar al Oeste: y este mismo día en la noche tomó la Estrella en 9 grados y un cuarto, y así vine corriendo estos ocho días echando singladuras de à 30, 34, 35, 36, y Sabado à 23 deste dicho mes de Diciembre en la noche hallé que estaba del Puerto de la Navidad 805 leguas, y por el altra que voy que es 9 grados y un cuarto à este día del 24 deste dicho mes que fue Domingo, antes que fuese de día tomé el Luzero [sic] en 9 grados y un cuarto largos. En este mismo día tomé el Sol en 9 grados y un tercio, y este día en la noche tomé el Estrella del Norte en 9 grados y un tercio, y este día eché de singladura al Navio 30 leguas, y à 25 días deste dicho mes que fue Pasqua de Navidad antes del día tomé el cruzero [sic] en 9 grados y un tercio, y eche al Navio 35 leguas: y otro día siguiente eche de singladura 36 leguas: así venimos corriendo por el Hueste tres o quatro días sin poder tomar el Sol, y vine echando

estas singladuras por mi fantasia Viernes à 28 del mes de Diciembre antes del dia tomé el Estrella del Norte en 9 grados y medio, y este mismo dia eché de singladura al Navio 35 leguas. Otro dia siguiente tomé el Sol en 9 grados medio, y esto que multiplicamos en altura causa que las Agujas nos nortestaban, por que yo la marqué, estando las guardas en el brazo del Norte, vice que nortestaba el Aguja. Este dia eche de singladura al Navio 30 leguas. Otro dia siguiente que fué primero de Diciembre [rather Enero] eche de singladura 35 leguas. Otro dia siguiente eche al Navio 35 leguas. Otro dia siguiente tomé el Sol en 10 grados y un sesmo: Eche de singladura 30 leguas. Otro dia siguiente tomé el Sol en 10 grados y un sesmo, y eche de singladura 30 leguas,. Otro dia siguiente tomé el Sol en 10 grados y un sesmo, y eche de singladura 32 leguas. A 4 de Enero tomé el Estrella del Norte en 10 grados y tres cuartos escasos y tambien tomé el cruzero en lo mismo: este dia à medio dia tomé el Sol en 10 grados y dos tercios, y eche de singladura 35 leguas. Otro dia mismo me dijo el Piloto mayor que governase al Hueste quarta del Sudueste hasta ponernos en altura de 10 grados porque esta en tanto la Ysla de Matalotes, y este dia tomé el Estrella del Norte en 10 grados y dos tercios: Otro dia siguiente eche de singladura 27 leguas. Dia de Cagua [sic] de los Reyes eche de singladura al Navio 25 leguas. Otro dia siguiente tomé el Sol en 10 grados y medio y eche de singladura 20 leguas. Otro dia siguiente hasta las 9 del dia eche de singladura catorce leguas, y aquella hora amaynó la Almiranta, y tiró una pieza porque le pareció la vuelta del Sur haber visto tierra, y así fuimos corriendo la Capítana y las demas Navios la vuelta del Sur hasta las 6 ó 7 de la tarde que podian andar los Navios como 10 leguas hasta misma hora arrivo la Capítana la buelta del Hueste quarta del Norueste y guiñando de camino para la media jornada. Este mesmo dia [i.e. 8 January] tome el Estrella del Norte en 10 grados escasos. Este dia me halle del puerto de la Navidad mill y trezientas y setenta y siete leguas[.]

[Discovery of Mejit]

Otro dia siguiente martes nueve de henero como al salir del sol tiro una picça la capitana senal de ver tierra la qual bimos y hera una ysla pequeña y baxa[.] pareçíome tener legua y media de norte sur y a lo que parecia de la parte del norte salia una restringa [sic] como un quarto de legua a la mar[.] fuimos con ella por la parte del sur[.] hera tan acantilado el fondo que al pie del mesmo arraçife hera muy hondablo[.] bimos yndios que andaban en balsas[.] luego descubrimos un pueblo de yndios aunque de pocas casas[.] fuimos hasta dar casi con la proa al arrecife y dexamos caer el ancla en ciento y quarenta y cinco braças de fondo[.] binieron la capetana y almiranta y no pudieron surgir[.] tome el sol a medio dia en diez grados[.] a esta ora fue el capitan en tierra y dixo que los yndios de esta ysla heran despuestos y de barva larga, que las mugeres por extremo heran hermosas[.] los beestidos que traian hera[n] de una palma muy polida y que de aquella hazian petates de que andavan bestidos[.] la ysla hera bivosa de muchos [sic] cocos y de otros generos de frutas de que se sustentavan[.] abia gallinas de

1 Ed. note: I go back to deciphering from the original text, work i did earlier.

Castilla[.] heran los yndios pescadores[.] tenían barcos pulidos[.] hazian sus anzuelos de caxcara de cocos y de conchas de ostias hazian cordeles del beestido de los cocos[.] heran bien colchados[.] dizen que la yslilla podria tener como dozientas personas entre hombres y mugeres[.] esta ysla esta en altura de diez grados[.] hallemme a esta ora del puerto de la Navidad mill y trezientas y noventa y seis leguas[.] esta mesma noche nos hizimos a la bela la buelta del hueste por la capitana y almiranta por tener el batel por meter[.]

[Discovery of Ailuk]

Y estando el capitan sentado a la popa del navio dixo tierra[.] parecia ser una ysla grande y cumplida[.] tirose una pieça y tomaronse las belas de gavia[.] las senas de esta tierra[.] parece ser una ysla toda de alta mar y haze munchas yslas de norte sur y llegando a ella[.] es toda una[.] por la parte del sur[.] ba del heste un arrefife que terna [=tendria] de cumplido tres leguas[.] alli haze una ysla pequena de la qual sale otro arrefife la buelta del norueste como a dos leguas haze otra yslita y de alli sale otra vez el arrefife la buelta del nordeste hasta juntarse con la tierra de norte sur y terna este arrefife como siete leguas en rredondo[.] la tierra de norte sur terna como ocho o nueve leguas en rredondo[.] tambien te abiso [que] este arrefife lo baña la mar por encima[.] y tan bien tome el sol por junto a ella en diez grados por la parte del sur y nos [rather no] fuimos en ella por que [no] tenia surgidero[.] abra de esta ysla a los Barbudos quinze leguas[.]

[Discovery of Jemo]

De la qual saliendo la buelta del oeste sudueste bimos una ysla pequena a manera de caio mas cierta que ninguna de las yslas atras dhas[.] llena de arboleda. y la buelta del heste le salia una rrestringa de cumplida de una legua que rrebienta la mar en el y esta rrestringa es muy angosta[.] abra de este caio al de atras dho ocho leguas. tanpoco hallamos surgidero[.] Heche [sic] de singladura al navio beynte y cinco leguas y otro dia siguiente que fue Jueves a honze del dho mes heche de singladura al navio veynte y ocho leguas.

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

Otro dia biernes a doze del dho mes cerca de medio dia se descubrio una ysla por la proa questava de norueste sudueste [sic] y de alta mar hazia honze cayos[.] el qual [que] estava a la parte del norueste parecia mayor que todos[.] y de la parte del sueste habia otros dos, algo maiores que los otros[.] de unos a otros yba un arraçife y en algunas partes senalava como unas montañas de arena que blanqueava de alta mar[.] estos caios ternian como cinco leguas de norueste sueste y ternian de nordeste sudueste como una legua[.] todos estos cayos heran llenos de arboleda y de la parte del nordeste son hondables hasta llegar con la proa en tierra[.] abria desta ysla hasta la que bimos primero sesenta y ocho leguas y todas estas yslas y cayos[.] si se haze buena guardia se beran del este oeste[.] tambien tome el sol quando pasava por ellas en diez grados menos un ochavo[.] este dia heche de singladura veynte y dos leguas[.]

Otro día sabado treze del dho mes tome el cruzero antes que fuese de día en diez grados escasos[.] este día eche de singladura al navio treynta y dos leguas.

[Re-discovery of Ujelang]

Domingo catorze de henero en la noche se descubrio una tierra baxa que demorava la buelta del sudueste y este día heche al navio treynta y seis leguas y la capitana amuro la buelta del suhete por andar de una buelta y de otra hasta otro día que fue lunes por ver que tierra hera y lunes despues que amanecio bimos que heran unos cayos questavan a la una punta por la otra hueste norueste-leste sueste[.] estos caios se hazian siete en que el de la parte del este sueste hera el mayor de todos ellos y estos caios hechavan unos arrefes la buelta del nor norueste legua y media a la mar[.] banavalos la mar aunque por encima se descubrian algunas piedras[.] todos estos caios son llenos de arboleda[.] ternian de cumplida como quatro leguas[.] todas estas yslas atras dhas se corren leste-hueste[.] abra del primero cayo que bi hasta este postrero setenta y quatro leguas[.] en este día tome el sol en diez grados escasos de la parte del hueste norueste de estos caios y desde que dexamos los caios hasta esta noche[.] heche de singladura diez y siete leguas...

Partial translation of the above passages

Sailing directions by the pilot Rodrigo de Espinosa. Regarding the expedition to the Islands of the West.

Narrative made by Rodrigo de Espinosa, pilot of the patache named San Juan belonging to the fleet and the expedition to the Islands of the West whose General was the Most Illustrious Miguel Lopez de Legazpi.—

I took the sun's elevation in the port of Navidad in 19° and $1/3$ and I also verified the compass in said port; I found that it had an easterly variation of $1/8$ of a degree...

...
On this same day [i.e. 8 January], I took a sighting of the North Star and found almost 10° . On this day I found myself from the port of Navidad a distance of 1,377 leagues.

[Discovery of Mejit]

The next day, Tuesday 9 January, at about daybreak, the flagship fired one gun as a signal of land, which we saw. It was a small, low-lying island. It seemed to me to be one and a half leagues from north to south, and it appeared that a reef barrier came out of its northern part for about $1/4$ league at sea. We went close to its southern part. The bottom was so steep that at the foot of the reef itself it was very deep. We saw Indians who were aboard rafts. Later, we discovered a town of Indians although with few houses. We went ahead until we had almost touched the reef with the bow and we let go the anchor in 145 fathoms. The flagship and the *almiranta* came forward but they could not moor. I took the sun at noon in 1° . At this time the captain went ashore and reported that the Indians of this island were [well-] disposed and wore long beard, that the women were extremely beautiful. The clothes they wore were from a palm, very smooth, and that they made mats out of it, and they used them as clothes. The island was full with many coconut trees and other kinds of fruits which were their food. There were chickens like those of Spain. The Indian men were fishermen. Their boats were smooth. They made their fish-hooks out of coconut shells and oyster shells. They made [fishing] lines out of the coconut coir, and they were well spun. They say that the small island could hold about 200 persons, both men and women. This island is situated in 10° of latitude. At this time I found myself at 1,396 leagues from the port of Navidad. This same night we sailed off toward the west to rejoin the flagship and *almiranta*, dragging the launch astern.

[Discovery of Ailuk]

The captain happened to be seated at the poop of the ship when he shouted: Land. It seemed to be a big, and long island. A gun was fired and the topsails were furled. The signs of this land are as follows: it appears to be an island completely in the high seas and with many islets from north to south but, upon coming nearer, it is all one stretch. On its south side, a reef runs westward for about 3 leagues, where there is a small islet,

from which comes out another reef running toward the NE until it joins the north-south stretch. The length of this reef would be about 7 leagues approximately. The north-south stretch would be from 8 to 9 leagues approximately. I also warn you that this reef is bathed by the sea at high tide. I also took the sun when I was close to the south side in 10° , and we did not land there because it has [no] anchorage. From the Islands of Barbudos [i.e. Mejit], the distance would be about 15 leagues.

[Discovery of Jemo]

From here we headed WSW and we sighted a small island that looked like a key [i.e. reef islet], more so than any of the other islands we had previously seen, full of trees. A reef barrier came out of it and ran eastward for one league; the sea broke over this very narrow barrier. The distance from this key to the previous island would be about 8 leagues. We did not find any anchorage either. As my daily run, I figured out an estimate of 25 leagues. The next day, Thursday the 11th of the said month, I made a run of 28 leagues.

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

The next day, Friday 12th of said month, at about noon, an island was discovered ahead which was laid out NW—SE and in the high seas. It consisted of 11 keys. That on the NW [rather NE] corner seemed to be the largest one.¹ There were two others in the SW [rather SE] corner that were somewhat bigger than the rest. Between all of them runs a reef and on some parts could be seen sand dunes that were so bright when seen from the high seas. These keys were spread over about 5 leagues from NW to SE, and the spread from NE to SW was about 1 league. All of these keys are full of trees and those on the NE side have deep grounds off them, so much so that the bow of a ship can approach them. The distance from this island to the one we first sighted would be about 68 leagues. All of these islands and keys, if one were to keep a good watch, would be sighted [along a line running] from east to west. I took the sun's elevation in 10° less $1/8$. On this day, I made a run of 22 leagues.

The next day, Saturday 13th of said month, I took sightings of the Southern Cross before daybreak and got almost 10° . On this day, I estimated that the ship made 32 leagues.

[Re-discovery of Ujelang]

At night, on Sunday 11 January, low-lying land was discovered toward the SW, and on this day, my daily run was 36 leagues. The flagship veered to SE in order to tack back and forth until the next day which was Monday, to see which land it was. Then on Monday at daybreak, we saw that they were some keys from one end to the other along a line running WNW—ESE. I counted 7 such keys, with the one in the ESE cor-

¹ The islet named Wotho proper in the NE corner of the atoll is the largest.

ner being the largest of them all.¹ These keys had reef extensions toward the NNW for about a league and a half. The sea washed over them, although we could see a few rock islets. All of these keys are full of trees. The overall length is about 4 leagues. All of these islands mentioned previously run [along a line running] east to west; from the first key that I saw until this latest one, there would be a distance of 74 leagues. On this day I took the sun in 10° almost, at the WNW corner of these keys, and since we left the keys until tonight, I covered 17 leagues...

: True. Ujelang proper is the largest islet of this atoll.

[illegible]

Document S1568I

The discovery of the northern Marshall Islands by the Spanish, between 1526 and 1568

by Rodrigue Lévesque

Abstract.

The Marshall Islands got their name from the British sea-captain who re-discovered them in June 1788. However, various Spanish expeditions had already discovered them more than two and a half centuries earlier.

This paper will present the historical facts of these earlier discoveries from Spanish documents, show the result of a study of ship tracks, and identify the islands that were thus discovered. In a sense, this will be a summary of some documents from Volumes 1 and 2 of my series of books on the "History of Micronesia," and a re-write of Sections 4 to 10 of the well-known book on the "Discovery of the Pacific Islands" by Andrew Sharp.

To summarize, the northern Marshall Islands discovered by the Spanish are: 1) Taongi, by the Loaysa expedition in 1526; 2) Ujelang and Eniwetok, by Saavedra in 1529; 3) Wotje, Likiep, and Wotho, by Villalobos in 1542-43; 4) Mejit, Ailuk, and Jemo, by Legazpi in 1565; 5) Kwajalein and Lib were discovered by Arellano, also in 1565; 6) there are a number of possibilities along the track of the rescue ship of 1566, but the most likely route was via Erikub and Kwajalein; and 7) Namu, discovered by the first Mendaña expedition in 1568.

Introduction.

Two British sea-captains, Thomas Gilbert and John Marshall, sighted most of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands when going from the newly-created colony of New South Wales to Canton in June 1788. They were sailing together with their ships, the **Charlotte** and the **Scarborough**. When the news of their discoveries was published,¹ the English-speaking world took it to be the first instance of European discovery of these

1 Gilbert, Thomas, *Voyage from New South Wales to Canton, in the Year 1788, with Views of the Islands Discovered* (London, 1789).

islands. Although the earlier discoveries made by the Spanish later became known, the details of their involvement have remained confused in English books until recent times. The reference book on the "Discovery of the Pacific Islands" by Andrew Sharp¹ was a good attempt at rectifying the record. However, only a proper study of Spanish historical documents (which I did) would clear up any remaining confusion.

The Loaysa expedition, 1526

Gilbert and Marshall had been travelling from south to north in 1788; the Spanish came from the east in most instances. Magellan was the first to cross the Pacific with three ships in 1521, but his track skirted the northern edge of the Marshalls and he did not sight any of the islands. He was then cruising westward at 12° lat. N. and unwittingly sailed through the gap south of Bikar Atoll.²

Juan Sebastián de Elcano, the man who took Magellan's ship **Victoria** back to Spain, also took part in the next expedition that left La Coruña, Spain, in 1525. He was aboard the flagship, the **Santa María de la Victoria**, but not in command until her general died, east of the Line Islands in the Pacific. But he soon died also, and Toribio Alonso de Salazar took over command. There are various accounts of the Loaysa expedition, but the most valuable ones on the discovery of Taongi Atoll on 21 August 1526 are: 1) a logbook written by a Basque pilot, Martín de Uriarte; and 2) a report by Captain Andrés de Urdaneta, who was to figure prominently in this period of early discoveries.³

Uriarte says:

"Tuesday 21st of the said month,⁴ I took the sun in 13°35'. We ran W 18 leagues. Today, Tuesday, after noon we discovered land to the north and then we changed course towards it. We came to within 3 leagues of it, and it was already late afternoon so that we did not dare go closer. We then stood off all night, and after the second night watch, we veered toward land looking for the island."

"Wednesday at 11 in the morning we came within one league of it and we took soundings but did not find bottom. Today Wednesday at noon, I took the sun, being next to the south point of the island, in 14°02'.⁵

1 Sharp, A., *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (Oxford University Press, 1960, rev. 1969).

2 See my HM1:237-239, i.e. Lévesque, R., *History of Micronesia*, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.

3 See map of San Bartolomé or Taongi in HM1:436.

4 Nowadays, since the invention of the International Date Line, we would add one day to this date. However, the Spanish never made this correction during the whole time that the Pacific was a Spanish lake.

5 The exact latitude, for a point 3 miles south of the south point, is 14°30' N. This is an error of less than half a degree, an excellent result for the times.

"On the southern side of this island, it has a point in the east that is connected to another in the west along a line that runs ENE—WSW for about 10 leagues. From this WSW point, it runs to another point in the NW along a line bearing NW1/4N for about 9 leagues."¹

"Inside this island on the west side, there was a very big lagoon whose water looked very green. On the east side of this lagoon, there were big trees. Here we beat all day and night without being able to reach it because the current had carried us downwind from it. Thus we agreed to go in search of the Islands of the Ladrões and the Moluccas. We named the said island **San Bartolomé** because his feast-day was celebrated 2 or 3 days earlier [sic]."²

Urdaneta wrote two notes about Taongi, at different times. The first mention is very short:

"While we were thus on our course, we discovered an island in 14° N. We named it **San Bartolomé**. The said island seemed big, but we were unable to stop at it, and we continued our course for the Moluccas."³

His second account was written much later and is obviously plagiarized from Uriarte's logbook:

"Tuesday the 21st of the said month of August, we found ourselves in 13°35' N. At the hour of Vespers we discovered land toward the north. We then lowered sails in order to go there and we got to within three leagues from it but, because it was late, we did not dare go nearer. Then we tacked off and after the second night watch we tacked back in search of the island but the strong current that existed at day-break carried us towards a point that juts out westward."

"At about 10 a.m. we arrived at [a point] less than one league from the land. We threw in the lead but did not find bottom. At this point, or cape, the [sun's] elevation was taken next to the southern part of the island in 14°. From this point of land in the southern part of the island, there is another point in the east which lies along a line running ENE—WSW with respect to the western one, something like 10 leagues. From the WSW, it runs to another point which is in the NW along a line bearing NW1/4N for something like 9 leagues. Inside this island on the western side, there was a big lagoon whose water looked very green. On the east side of this lagoon, there were tall trees. Here we sailed that day and the following night and we simply could not reach it because the current and the wind had pushed us to leeward of it and thus we agreed to go in search of the Ladrone Islands. We named this island **San Bartolomé**. There were at this island an abundance of fish, bonitos and many booby birds."⁴

The Saavedra expedition, 1527-29

The following year, 1527, the first expedition originating from New Spain, instead of Spain itself, passed by the northern edge of the Marshalls without seeing anything, except birds, in their vicinity. At least the flagship **Florida**, commanded by Captain Alvaro de Saavedra, did not see any island. The two other ships disappeared shortly

1 That is NW by N. Navarrete, in his Collection of documents, has given this bearing as "a line running NW5°N-SE5°S," which is the same thing.

2 HM1:437. In fact, the feast-day of St. Bartholomew was to be celebrated 2 days later, 24 August.

3 HM1:456.

4 HM1:463.

before the fleet reached the Marshalls and may have met with some unfortunate accident in that archipelago, or beyond.

During the second attempt to return to New Spain in 1529, the ship Florida came unexpectedly across two island groups in the Marshalls, which Sharp and myself identify with Ujelang and Eniwetok. At the time, Saavedra was making a north-east traverse of the Pacific. The best account is by Saavedra himself:

"I left Tidore on Monday night of the 3rd of May of the year 1529..."

"Tuesday 14 September, we made 30 leagues toward the NE. On this day, we came to an island which is 6° on the north side of the line; it appeared that the ship had drifted in longitude of 100 leagues towards the east, because this island is at 700 leagues from the Moluccas [along a line] bearing E and slightly NE."¹

"Wednesday 15 September, we were becalmed near this island."

"Thursday 16 September, we were also becalmed and hardly moved."

"Friday 17 September, we made 12 leagues toward the NE1/4E with the wind SW; the island still bore W 12 leagues."

"Saturday 18 September, we made headway towards the N, to NNE, and to SE, resulting in a run of 18 leagues NE."

"Sunday, which was figured out as the 19th September, we ran 13 leagues with showers towards the NE; the wind was ESE."

"Monday 20 September, we ran 20 leagues NE1/4E with the wind SW."

"Tuesday 21 September, we ran 10 leagues toward the WNW with the wind SSE; we were becalmed near 3 low islets."

"Wednesday 22 September, we were becalmed. We were in 9°30' N of the line."²

"Thursday 23 September, we made 12 leagues to the N with calm weather."

"Friday 24 September, we headed ENE and E for 18 leagues with the wind N and NNW, with showers."

"Saturday 25 September, we made 12 leagues ENE, E, and then SE; that resulted in a run to SSE. We remained the whole night with sails lowered, amid showers."

"Sunday 26 September, we were becalmed; we hardly moved."

"Monday 27 September, we headed N1/4NE, also ENE, and NE1/4N, for a run to NE 13 leagues."

"Wednesday 29 September, St. Michael's Day, we were becalmed and made no headway."

"Thursday 30 September, we got varying winds and calm, and made little headway on this day, and came up to 3 low islets that are in 11°30' on the north side of the line, and I anchored at them."³

So ends the logbook kept by Saavedra. He had been sick and needed a rest and some fresh food. He spent 8 days ashore, probably on the islet called Eniwetok (N° 36 on the map), then was on his way again, but he died soon after leaving the area and was buried at sea.

1 Sharp has identified this island as Pohnpei, but the matter is debatable. Could also be Ngatik, or Moki; (see Nápoles' account below).

2 This is the latitude of Ujelang.

3 HMI: 503-505. For a map of Eniwetok, see HMI: 506.

There is a second account of this second attempt to return to New Spain. It is by a sailor named Vicente de Nápoles, whose narrative is not considered as reliable as that of Saavedra himself, because it has internal evidence of having been re-written, and perhaps heavily edited years after the voyage had ended. He wrote what follows:

"From there [i.e. the Pohapei area] we ran NE and made 80 leagues and found other low islands.¹ We anchored at one of them."

First description of the Marshallese.

"When we were anchored, we raised a flag and, when we saw people, we waved the flag. Six or seven proas came to our ship and they anchored at the bow of our ship. The captain went to the bow and threw a coat and a comb overboard, which they took. To recover that, they came alongside and they all came aboard. There were as many as 20 men, and among them one woman, believed to be a witch. It seemed as if they had brought her to tell them which type of people we were, from what could be judged from the Indian woman going to every one of us and probing us with her hands. The captain treated all of them well, and he let them have some of the things we had aboard. We made friends with them, so much so that a Spaniard dared to go with them ashore, and so he did. When he stepped ashore, the chiefs of the land then came to speak with the Spaniard, and they took him along to their houses which are big and covered with palm. These people are white and have the arms and body tattooed. The women are pretty, with black hair and large eyes. They go around with the whole body covered with some palms, very fine and delicate, and they go barefoot. They have for weapons some fire-hardened sticks, and for food coconuts and fish. This island [i.e. islet] would be about 1 league. There the captain and all the people landed, and men and women came out to greet them with drums and songs. The captain sat down in a hut with the chief who, among other things that he was asking the captain, asked what was a musket that he saw. By signs, he was asking that it be explained to him; he said to shoot it. In order to please him, the captain ordered it to be fired. Their fright was so great that all hell broke loose and they all fell upon the ground, stunned. The chief was trembling and all the people began to flee out of the huts and through the palm groves in front of them, but the chief and some others stayed put, although well shaken up. He and all the people having gone out of there, as many as 1,000 souls in all, boarded their proas and went to an island 3 leagues from there.² As for us, we stayed put, without doing them any harm."

"Because the captain was indisposed, we remained 8 days at the said island, during which time the Indians returned and helped us take on 18 butts of water. They gave us 2,000 coconuts, and they were doing everything we asked them to do. These islands are at 11 degrees north of the equator."

1 Nápoles does not mention their having passed first by other low islands (Ujelang) in 9°, those mentioned in Saavedra's log.

2 Probably the islet now called Parry Island.

"From there we departed with a ENE wind towards the N and we ran until we reached 26° and here our captain died..."

There is a third, albeit secondary, account of this 8-day encounter between the Spanish and the Marshallese which I cannot omit, because it is so quaint. When the **Florida** was again forced back to the Moluccas, the Spanish survivors gave themselves up to the Portuguese. The Treatise published in Portuguese by António Galvão in 1563 was translated into old English by none other than Richard Hakluyt in 1601,¹ as follows:

"A little beyond this island [Pohnpei area], in 10 or 12 degrees, they found many small low islands full of palme trees and grasse,² which they called Los Jardines,³ and they came to an anker in the midst of them, where they taried certaine daies. The people seemed [from their carriage and complexion] to descend from them of China, but by reason of their long continuance there they become so brutish, that they have neither law [nor religion] nor yet give themselves to any honest labour.⁴ They weare white clothing, which they make of grasse.⁵ They stand in marvailous feare of fire, because they neuer saw any.⁶ They eate cocos in steade of bread, breaking them before they be ripe, and putting them vnder the sand, and then after certaine daies they take them out and lay them in the sunne, and then they will open. They eate fish [raw], which they take in a kinde of boate called a parao, which they make of pine wood, which is driuen thither at certaine times of the yeere, they know not how, nor from whence.⁷ The tooles wherewith they make their boates are of shels of cockles, or oysters."

"Saavedra perceiuing that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made saile towards the firm lande..."⁸

That same year 1529, back in Europe, the power politics of the time forced Emperor Charles V to sell his rights to the Moluccas to King John III of Portugal for 350,000 ducats. The next expedition sent from America was to have the Philippines, then simply called the Isles of the West, as a destination for the establishment of a colony.

1 Galvão, A., "Tratado dos descubrimentos," translated by Hakluyt as "The Discoveries of the World from Their First Originall Unto the Years of Our Lord 1555... by Antonio Galvano."

2 Not grass, but bushes, or greenery in general.

3 The word used by Galvão was *Bom Jardim*. The name of Los Jardines, which must have been seen on a map of the Pacific by Hakluyt ca. 1600, was the later name applied by Villalobos to Wotho (see below).

4 A more exact translation should have been: "nor do they bring up any living thing."

5 Their mat skirts, made of woven pandanus fibers, were pale yellow when newly made.

6 A confusion brought about by the original text, which should have said firearms, instead of just fire.

7 The flotsam pine logs came from the west coast of North America.

8 HMI-522-523.

The Villalobos expedition, 1542-43

It was left to Captain Ruy Lopez de Villalobos to be the next European to discover three more northern Marshall Islands at the end of 1542. As the track of his voyage shows, his ships came upon **Wotje**, which was baptized **Los Reyes** [i.e. the Kings], on Christmas Day 1542. The next day, Villalobos sighted **Likiep**, which he called **Los Corales**, which means, of course, the Coral Islands.¹ Finally, more than one week later, on 8 January 1643, the ships came close to **Wothe**, which was called **Los Jardines**, i.e. the Gardens. We will now look at the details of these discoveries, as reported in the source documents.

All logbooks of this voyage were lost, but I have published four primary-source narratives: 1) a letter by Garcia de Escalante Alvarado to the Viceroy of New Spain; 2) a letter by Father Jerónimo de Santiesteban (an Augustinian) to the same Viceroy; 3) a narrative of the voyage by Juan Gaytan; and 4) a 'new' account of the voyage by Fray Rodrigo Aganduru Moriz, who made a composite report, out of notes left by the four Augustinian friars with the expedition. It is this 'new' account (which I have translated into English) that is by far the most extensive and reliable.

Discovery of Wotje.

Escalante does not specifically mention this first island, other than saying that:

"After 62 days of sailing [from Mexico], during some of which we wallowed in bad weather, we found an archipelago of low islands, all of them with trees, and with much difficulty, because they are very deep-ish [meaning not fathomable] so that [even] at a distance of one arquebus shot [from shore] bottom was not found near them..."²

Father Santiesteban only says:

"The islands we arrived at on Christmas Day are low-lying. They have a deep bottom near the shore."³

Juan Gaytan, who was a seaman aboard one of the ships, left an account that was first published in Italian in a collection of voyages by Ramusio.⁴ Gaytan says:

"We sailed on this sea for about 30 days, mostly W and WSW. At the end of this time, when, according to my estimate, we had sailed about 900 leagues, we discovered a number of islands ... to which we gave the name of **Los Reyes**, which are inhabited by miserable and naked men, who have no other clothing except a piece of stuff, that is the kind of trousers with which they cover their private parts. On these

1 I had thought at first that the word "Corales" should have been written "Corrales", with 2 "l", to mean the Enclosures, or fenced-in area, a good description of an atoll. However, a secondary account by Fr. Gaspar de San Augustin, states that "the Coral Islands were so named because they had to remove a very fine branch of coral stuck to a fluke of the anchor, as they anchored at one of them (HMI:579-580).

2 HMI:585.

3 In other words, they are "steep-to." HMI:596.

4 Ramusio, G. B., *Delle Navigationi et viaggi* (Venice, 1550).

islands we found coral off the coast and on land fowls of the same kind as in Spain, and fruits of the cocoa-palm and of the bread-fruit tree. But we saw neither gold nor silver, nor anything else of value."¹

Fr. Aganduru, in his Augustinian story, has published the following composite account by eyewitnesses:

"For some days the fleet had been sailing along 9 degrees (on the right course, as it were) and finally, on Christmas Day they discovered the last islands of Los Reyes that are in 9 degrees North latitude. They are low-lying and small, and did not show signs that they could have water, so the fleet passed them by..."²

Discovery of Likiep.³

Escalante continues:

"We took port at one of them. They are inhabited by poor people, with little polish [meaning somewhat savage] and, at the time we anchored at one—which was baptized Santiesteban [i.e. San Estevan or St. Stephen] because we touched at it on his day [i.e. 26 December]—its people were leaving by the other end, fleeing. Only 23 women were left whom we found hidden in the thickest part of the island, whom we rounded up as I have said. We gave them a few trade goods and we treated them all very well. Having taken on water, the fleet left this archipelago, which we named "El Coral" on account of the specimens that were seen there."⁴

Fr. Santiesteban continues:

"The next day [after Christmas Day], they landed at a small island whose people fled to another, those who could board their canoes. Women and children were left hidden; they were well treated. The people are white, naked. The women wear some fine mats, less than a square yard, with which they cover the most indecent part. There was an old woman who, when she saw a painted chocolate cup, showed that she had seen one of those before⁵ but the others did not pay any more attention to that than to the other things they saw. At this island were found chickens, coconut palms, and a tree that bore fruits that looked like pineapples⁶ which, although they were big, they had very little that could be eaten. There were other trees that had the leaf like a fig tree and they are tall;⁷ they were then without any fruits, but at another place we found some with fruits. The fruit is as big as the pineapples of that land [i.e. New Spain] and smaller; it is good food whether cooked or raw. It appears that there would not be much fish there. It was thought that they would be the [same group of islands as the] Islands of Los Reyes.⁸ We stayed here until the day of Los Reyes [i.e. the feast-day of the Three Kings, 6 January 1543].—"⁹

As for Gaytan, what he says about Likiep was:

1 HM1:608.

2 HM1:616. The center of Wotje is situated at 9°27' lat. N.

3 For a map of Likiep, with caption, see HM 1:584.

4 That is, the coral specimens raised by the anchor (HM1:585).

5 Remember the woman who came aboard Saavedra's ship Florida at Eniwetok in 1529 and behaved like a witch. Would she have moved to Likiep?

6 A reference to the screw-pine, or pandanus, tree.

7 A reference to the breadfruit tree.

8 The Spanish thought correctly that there was a larger archipelago around them.

9 HM1:596.

"From here [i.e. Wolje] we sailed 18 to 20 leagues and found islands, to which we gave the name of Coral Islands; they are situated on 9 or 10 degrees, more or less, also North latitude; and here we took in water and wood and found people of the same kind as on Los Reyes."¹

Fray Aganduru has the longest narrative, including the mention of the act of taking possession of the Marshalls on 1 January 1543:

"On 26 December in the morning, it [i.e. the fleet] discovered 12 islands together and many of them linked at low tide by land so that we could call these linked islands, one island with many bushes, but with deep valleys that the sea bathes. The fleet tacked back and forth to see if water and some anchorage could be found; the people were suffering because for many days now the water ration had been less than one pint, even for someone sailing and under so much heat as there was there was along 9 degrees or so, whereby, although it was Christmas, it was like a summer heat wave in Spain, they did not have enough even to moisten their lips with..."

"Let us return to the fleet which now came to an anchor next to one of the islands. The flagship anchored first and sent the boat ashore with 30 armed men to look for water and learn what land it was. It returned soon with the news that there were many palm trees, that they had seen some houses and the people had abandoned them and fled aboard some canoes to other islands. The next day [i.e. 27 December 1542], Captain Bernardo de la Torre went ashore to take on water and behind him the General. They saw many proas, in which the Indians were fleeing with their households and families, and he was sorry to see that; he ordered that all the people should come ashore and take refreshments. However, before all those things [took place], he issued a proclamation forbidding anyone to cut palm trees. The whole heart of those over one fathom [tall] is a delicious food, tasting like the artichoke and even better but not so healthy. In order to enjoy these palmettos (as we have given them such a name overhere) one must cut the palm tree to get at the *palmito* [heart of palm] so that the palm tree is no longer useful. Therefore, because the property of the Indians [only] consists of palm trees and because the soldiers like *palmitos*, the General proclaimed that, on the pain of death, no-one was to cut any palm tree."

"The ships took on water here, but much work was involved as it comes from wells. On this occasion, a crossbow-man had gone into a bush to kill some hen from the many that were there in a wild state and able to fly not a short distance, when he saw an Indian woman. They surrounded the thicket and proceeded to beat the bush as for a general hunt and they came up with 18 Indian women. They were spoken to by signs, as no-one could understand their language, but they did not respond except by crying and shouting, pulling out their hair, abusing their faces and chests. The General gave them some clothes, pieces of textile, glass beads and a few curiosities from Europe and with them they lost the fear they had. After this, he let them go and they went away very contented. They were well-proportioned people and pretty, but badly-clothed and ill-mannered."

"At this island, General Ruy Lopez de Villalobos fell suddenly so sick that he was on the point of dying. For this reason, they were detained a few days until he improved. A few soldiers took this opportunity of the sickness of the General, about 13 or 14 of them, and one night they went to a palm grove at a point of the island and they knocked down 3 or 4 palm trees and took the *palmitos*. The General, who was somewhat better, heard about it and received such grief that as a result he became worse. Later he sent an express order to Captain Bernardo de la Torre for him to execute the proclamation upon the

¹ HMI:608.

transgressors and then to garrot them. The captain then had the more guilty ones caught and, the investigation completed, ordered them to go to confession. On the other hand, he begged Father Prior Santiesteban to go and placate the General. Having pressured him a lot about this matter, the most that he got out of him was that the execution should be suspended until they had come to another land; so, they were placed in irons and were handed over to their respective captains so that the latter would forever hold them to account for this."

"Possession of these islands was taken, with much solemnity, for our King and Lord Charles V, Emperor of Germany and forever-august Cesar.¹ Because some good [pieces of] coral had been found, they were named Coral Islands. This act took place on the first day of January 1543. The island where they had anchored, they named San Esteban, because they had anchored there on his feast-day. These islands are situated north[west]—southeast with respect to Los Reyes, and there are 24 leagues between them."²

Discovery of Wotho.³

Escalante writes:

"On the feast-day of the [Three] Kings of the following year [i.e. on 6 January 1543], after having sailed 35 leagues, we passed by 10 other islands that looked like the others and, on account of the greenness shown by their trees, were named Los Jardines; the latitude of the ones and the others is from 9 to 10 degrees."⁴

Fr. Santiesteban made no mention of Wotho. As for Gaytan, he said:

"After we had left this place [i.e. Likiep], we sailed WSW about 50 leagues and found other islands, to which, as they seemed green and beautiful, we gave the name of Los Jardines. They lie about the same latitude as the said Coral Islands, and we saw palms and other trees, but we did not cast anchor."⁵

Fray Aganduru writes:

"That night they headed west and all day Sunday until Monday [8 January] in the morning when they discovered other islands, small but very full of palm trees and well shaded. These islands are at a latitude of 10 degrees, although they were heading due west, on account of the eastward variation of the needle, they had risen by one degree. They are located at 50 leagues from the Coral Islands E—W with them."⁶

The Legazpi expedition, 1565

Introductory note. All of the previous voyages had been unable to find the return route to New Spain. Andrés de Urdaneta, now an Augustinian priest, who was persuaded to join this new expedition led by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, was the man who first figured out that the current and wind patterns in the North Pacific ought to be of

1 Charles I of Spain was also Charles V of Austria (as the Spanish say). He was, that is, Holy Roman Emperor.

2 Likiep is indeed NW of Wotje, but less than 20 leagues from it. HM1: 616-618.

3 For a map of Wotho, see HM1:586.

4 HM1:585.

5 HM1:608.

6 HM1:620. Wotho is indeed exactly 10° N and exactly 50 leagues (3° in longitude) from Likiep.

the same clockwise pattern as those in the North Atlantic. The trick, therefore, was to sail to high latitudes to catch the westerlies that would bring the ships back to America. The right season to perform this feat was to be discovered by experience.

Urdaneta was not, in fact, the first man to cross the Pacific from west to east. It was Captain Alonso Arellano who actually did it first aboard the small boat **San Lucas**; he had purposely separated from the fleet soon after leaving the American coast. However, the Spanish have properly credited Urdaneta as the navigator who made the first official eastward crossing of the Pacific.

There are at least 5 original logbooks and journals of this voyage that have been preserved. They are: 1) the logbook of Pilot Major Estevan Rodriguez; 2) the logbook of the French pilot, Pierre Plin; 3) the logbook kept by two Spanish pilots, Jaime Martinez and Diego Martin; 4) the logbook of Rodrigo de Espinosa; and 5) an anonymous narrative which I have attributed to Fray Martin Rada. All of them mention and describe the passage of the ships by the following islands: Mejit, Ailuk, Jemo, Wotho, and Ujelang.¹

Logbook of Estevan Rodriguez.

[Discovery of Mejit]

"Tuesday, 9th of said month [January 1565], we arrived at an island, after having covered last night and this morning 20 leagues.² We discovered this island on Tuesday, as I have just said, during the latter part of the morning from the topmast of the flagship, as there was always a lookout there day and night. We came up to it, as I have just said, at noon."

"It was a small island. It was about 2-1/2 to 3 leagues in circumference and was split in the middle [by a space] where one could wade across; at high tide, it was cut in half, but at low tide the passage is dry. Both halves were full of trees, so that from afar it looked green and low-lying; from a distance, it looked completely covered with trees."

"We followed its north shore—the island extends north-south—but could not find a place to anchor. We went to its western side up close but could not find bottom where to throw in the anchor. [In so doing], we came so close to the shore that a man could have jumped from the bowsprit of the flagship. As the wind blew towards the shore and the current was also pushing us, we came that close. We let go the anchor in 80 fathoms. The bottom was so steep that with two cable [lengths] out, when the anchor took hold we were pulled back out. The brig came up with its bow ashore, let go the anchor it had and let out half a cable; the poop of the ship was in 140 fathoms. Since neither the flagship nor the *almiranta* could moor, because it is not possible at this island, Captain Martin de Goiti and the Master-of-Camp with up to 30 soldiers went ashore where they saw a few houses and people walking on the beach. When those who went ashore landed, the people fled from the houses and went into the bush. They found an old Indian man, and an old Indian woman, and they told them by sign language not to be afraid, that they were friends, not to flee. Then, two or three Indian men and women approached them and they were with them for a while. They gave them some knives, beads, and some trade goods they had taken along. The

1 For a map of the northern part of the Marshall Islands, see HM2:78.

2 A cautionary note: There exist other versions of this narrative, with different values for distances.

people there appreciated them very much. They went to the houses which were of average size, made of wood, and covered with palm leaves; these houses were well made."

"The island was full of coconut trees along the sea-shore. On this western shore, there were many palm groves, and inside the houses there was a large quantity of grilled fish, tied in bundles, which made us believe that they traded this fish with other islands. There were about 100 Indians at this island, comely people with beards; for this reason, we named this island **Los Barbudos** [the Bearded Ones]. It is in 10° and 1/4."

"These people went about dressed with palm [mats]; they weave them as finely as canvas, and they used them for garments. They covered their sex parts, nothing else; the rest was bare. The women covered themselves with cloaks made with such mats from below the breast downward. They had good faces, they are brown people, almost mulatto in appearance. The women had their little gardens, where they had a few root plants which they used to make some good bread, because I tried it.¹ The men did not seem to do anything but go out in their canoes and fish with some lines so well made of palm [fibers] that they looked like made with linen twine. Their hooks were made of fish bones and coconut [shell]. I myself saw some fish-hooks made in two parts tied one with the other, very delicate but good enough to catch much fish with. The fish we saw thereabout was mostly *albacore* and *dorado*.²"

"We did not see these Indians with weapons of any kind, not even in their houses. Our men were on the island until late that day, while the galleons were tacking offshore, then the men came aboard, bringing many coconuts and a lot of fish on board the galleons. Then, as the boats came back, we set sail. That night we sailed with [only] the foresails, heading W."



Mejit and Ailuk. From folio 5 of the ms. North is shown here at the top.

1 He is probably referring to taro.

2 Two members of the tuna family.

[Discovery of Ailuk]

"Wednesday, on the morning of the 10th, an island was seen from the topmast dead ahead. We came up to it at noon. There would be something like 15 leagues between it and the above-mentioned island. This island is laid out north-south, would have from 9 to 10 leagues in east-west [width].¹ We passed within half a league of its southern point. It is all very deep, and steep. It has many reefs, at the foot of which it is so deep that we could not cast anchor. Running east to west, there are two islets, one of which is 2 leagues from the big one [i.e. Ailuk proper] and between them runs a reef. From it to the second islet, something like 3 leagues, there is another reef, so that something like an enclosure runs between all three of them; inside it everything is *placer* [sand bank]. By following the reefs, one could walk from one islet to the other, and from it to yet another, etc."

"These islets were uninhabited. We saw neither people nor villages in them. They lie low, close to sea level. From afar, only the trees can be seen. We did not find any bottom for anchoring. We named this island **Placeres** [i.e. sand banks] and the other **San Pablo**.² Here I took the sun in 10 degrees."³

"To be still around here at night, we would be in a fix, although we kept a good lookout, on account of their being so low-lying, with reefs at the foot of which the bottom is so deep."

[Discovery of Jemo]

"From here we headed W by S and, after sunset, we came to another island, after having covered 8 leagues from the previous one. We got there after sunset and wished to anchor but could not find a way to do so, on account of it being so deep. The island was so small that we think it was uninhabited. It is an island that would be about 2 leagues in extent, is very low and apt to be covered with water. There was a reef coming out of it one league to the SW.⁴ The whole island was full of birds and for this reason we named it **Pajaros** [i.e. Bird] Island."

"From here, after sunset, we proceeded on our course, heading W by S. Here I took the [North] Star in just under 10°.⁵

"Thursday, 11th of the said month. We made 20 leagues on the same heading."

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

"Friday, 12th of the month. We made 30 leagues before noon, when we came upon a low island, all broken up into what appeared from the high sea to be many islets, but upon coming close to them, they are all linked as one land [i.e. atoll]. This island is 8 leagues [in extent]. Next to this one, there are 2 or 3 small islets that form something like a triangle with the bigger one, inside of which it is just one shoal or

- 1 The distance from Mejit is 50 minutes of arch; so, about 15 leagues is alright, but the width of Ailuk is only about 3 leagues.
- 2 Placeres corresponds to Ailuk proper, and San Pablo to another islet, Agulue.
- 3 The ships were then in 10°10' off the south point of Ailuk.
- 4 This must be a transcription error for SE. However, the reef actually extends due east of Jemo. The pilot lost his bearings in the dark.
- 5 His true position must have been higher, because they sailed past Likiep during the night without seeing it.



Jemo and Wotho. (*From folio 6 of the ms.*)

bank. From one to the other, and from the latter to yet the other, it is all reefs. They are all enclosed by reefs, and the bottom is so deep next to them that we could not anchor. They are likely to be flooded by the sea and not habitable. They are just under 10°. We named them **Los Corrales** [The Enclosures].¹ We took our departure from here today and by sunset had covered 4 leagues.”

“Saturday, 13th of the month, we made 25 leagues to the W. I took the sun in 10°.

[Re-discovery of Ujclang]

“Sunday, 14th of the month, we made 40 leagues. At sunset, we saw an island ahead. We were about 6 leagues from it. We hove to during that night in order to go to it in the morning. The 40 leagues mentioned above were due west.”

“Monday, 15th of the month, we sailed toward the above-mentioned island and went to anchor at it, but we could not find bottom to anchor upon. The island is very small and low. On the eastern part [of the atoll], there were next to it another 3 or 4 islets, all full of reefs on the northern part, which came out over 1 league. All of those islands would cover a span of 8 leagues. It is not possible to pass between the ones nor the others. They are rather low-lying and full of trees. They are lined up east-west. They are in almost 10°. On this same day, we continued on our way for 8 leagues.”²

1 Not to be confused with the similar name of “Corales” that Villalobos gave to Likiep. Villalobos had given the name of “Los Jardines” to Wotho. The next account, by the French pilot, gives the name “Las Hermanas” [Sisters] to Wotho.

2 HM2:83-90.



Ujelang. (From folio 6 of the ms.)

Logbook of Picirro Plin.

His logbook is also being preserved in the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville. The passages referring to the Marshall Islands read as follows:

"Tuesday, 9th of January. We saw land at 6 a.m. At noon, we were next to it. I took the sun at noon in $10^{\circ}9'$ according to the almanach from Mexico, and according to that from Spain in 10° . During the other 18 hours we covered 23 leagues on a W by N heading. My meridian was 3 quarters of an hour of sun equivalent to one point SW."

"The Governor [Legazpi] ordered that the island [i.e. Mejit] be named the Island of **Los Barbudos** because the Indians are bearded. The island is about 4 leagues in circumference. We found the settlement on the western side. We tacked back and forth in order to come to an anchor. We let go the anchor with two lengths of cable but we were unable to hold because the bottom was very deep and the ground bad. The frigate went in. Ashore they found Indians who had as food supplies chickens, fish, yams, coconuts, bread whose nature could not be determined."

"We tacked back and forth until 10 p.m. We found the current running NW and SW. We were waiting for the frigate. Once it returned, we proceeded due west with only the foresail, the wind being NE."

"Wednesday, 10th of January. At 7 a.m., we saw an island made up of many islets. At noon, we were next to it. It is 10 leagues in length N—S, 4 leagues E—W, 3 leagues SE—NW, and 5 leagues NE—SW. The islands are made like enclosures. We did not see any population nor found a place where to drop the anchor, although we came with the bowsprit over the land."

"The Governor ordered that it [i.e. Ailuk] be named the Islands of **San Pedro** and **San Pablo**. I took the sun off the south part of the island in 10° and $1/4$, according to the almanach from Mexico, and according to that from Spain 10° and 17 minutes. My meridian was $3/4$ of an hour of sun which are equivalent to one point SW. In 24 hours, we covered 20 leagues due west. Having passed the island, we headed W by S."

"At 6 p.m., we were next to a small island [i.e. Jemo] which the Governor ordered should be named the Island of **Los Pajaros** because there were many [birds]. It has a reef extending for 2 leagues to ENE. There are 9 leagues from the Island of San Pedro and San Pablo to the Island of Pajaros. The wind was NE..."

"Friday, 12th of January. I took the sun in just over 10° . At 4 p.m., we coasted from one end to another an island [Wotho] made up of islets. Its southern part looks like an enclosure. Its circumference is

12 leagues. In 28 hours, we covered 44 leagues due west. The Governor ordered the island to be called **Las Hermanas** [The Sisters]. The wind was ENE..."

"Sunday, 14th of January. I took the sun in 10°7'... At 6 p.m., we saw an island [i.e. Ujelang] which bore SSW. In 6 hours, we [had] covered 10 leagues. We lowered the topsails and the whole night we luffed with the lower sails in order to reconnoiter it in the morning. The wind was ENE."

"Monday, 15th of January. We tacked back and forth on the north side of the island. We tried hard to let go the anchor but we could not do so, at the point of the island. It is a bank shaped like a box. On the same northern side [of] the point [sic], the point of the bank runs E—W for 6 leagues. It is very dangerous on top of the bank itself for the whole of these 6 leagues. There are 6 islets bearing NW—SE. This is uninhabited land. Within the hour, we steered due west."¹

Logbook of Martinez and Martin.

At the time I published my Vol. 2, I did not have at hand the text of this logbook. Here is the translation of the passages relevant to the Marshall Islands.

"Tuesday 9th of January, land [i.e. Mejit] was seen and we went toward it and, in wishing to anchor, it is so steep that we could not anchor. The elevation was taken on its south side at 10° and the estimated distance covered since yesterday was 15 leagues."

Mejit. (*From folio 19v of the ms.*)



"The said land is in 10° of latitude. It extends north-south about 2 leagues, and east-west a little less than half a league. It resembles this figure. At this island, Master- of-camp Mathco del Sanz and Captain Martin de Goyti went ashore with the launches and found it inhabited by fishermen, well-disposed people, and no trace of weapons was found among them."

"On Wednesday 10 January, a little before noon was sighted another horseshoe of these islets [i.e. Ailuk], which were in the latitude of 10°, similar to the figure. There would be between the first islet and this one about 15 leagues in E—W distance."

"Another round islet was sighted [i.e. Jemo] which was full of trees. A coral reef came out from it toward the ENE for about 3 leagues. It would be separated from the previous coral islands by about 6 to 7 leagues. The islet is as shown in this figure."

"On Thursday, 11th of the month of January, the sun was taken in 9° and 2/3, and on this daily run we made 35 leagues in an E—W direction, but almost 15 minutes toward NE—SW."

1 HM2:107-108.

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Ailuk, Jemo, Wotho and Ujelang. (From folio 20
of the ms.)

"On Friday, 12th of January, the sun was taken in 9° and $2/3$ and 35 leagues were covered. On this day was discovered in this latitude a land [i.e. Wothe] made up of reef islets like the figure below will show. Our compass needles were checked and the variation was found $1/4$ degree northeasterly."

"On Saturday, 12th of January, the sun was taken in 9° and $2/3$. The estimated run was 40 [leagues]."

"On Sunday, 14th of January, the sun was taken in 9° and $4/5$, and the run was estimated at 40, heading along an E-W line, but somewhat 15 minutes toward a NE-SW line."

"On this same day, when the sun was SW, land [i.e. Ujelang] was seen to the SE. The ships tacked toward it. Darkness came and it could not be reconnoitered until the next day in the morning. It was reconnoitered and it looks like this figure, almost ESE-WNW."

"On Monday, 15th of January, after this land was seen until the sun was taken, about 7 leagues would have been covered. The sun's elevation was taken in 9° and $1/4$."¹

Logbook of Espinosa.

This manuscript was similarly not available to me when I published my Volume 2. I have since gotten a copy from Seville. What Rodrigo de Espinosa says about the Marshalls can be translated as follows:

"On this same day [i.e. 8 January], I took a sighting of the North Star and found almost 10° . On this day I found myself from the port of Navidad a distance of 1,377 leagues."

[Discovery of Mejit]

"The next day, Tuesday 9 January, at about daybreak, the flagship fired one gun as a signal of land, which we saw. It was a small, low-lying island. It seemed to me to be one and a half leagues from north to south, and it appeared that a reef barrier came out of its northern part for about $1/4$ league at sea. We went close to its southern part. The bottom was so steep that at the foot of the reef itself it was very deep. We saw Indians who were aboard rafts. Later, we discovered a village of Indians although with few houses. We went ahead until we had almost touched the reef with the bow and we let go the anchor in 145 fathoms. The flagship and the *almiranta* came forward but they could not moor. I took the sun at noon in 10° . At this time the captain went ashore and reported that the Indians of this island were [well] disposed and wore long beard, that the women were extremely beautiful. The clothes they wore were from a palm, very smooth, and that they made mats out of it, and they used them as clothes. The island was full of coconut trees and other kinds of fruits which were their food. There were chickens like those of Spain. The Indian men were fishermen. Their boats were smooth. They made their fish-hooks out of coconut shells and oyster shells. They made [fishing] lines out of the coconut coir, and they were well spun. They say that the small island could hold about 200 persons, both men and women. This island is situated in 10° of latitude. At this time I found myself at 1,396 leagues from the port of Navidad. This same night we sailed off toward the west to rejoin the flagship and *almiranta*, dragging the launch astern."

[Discovery of Ailuk]

"The captain happened to be seated at the poop of the ship when he shouted: "Land ho!" It seemed to be a big, and long island. A gun was fired and the topsails were furled. The signs of this land are as

¹ AGI Patronato 23-16 (1), folios 19v-20.

follows: it appears to be an island completely in the high seas and with many islets from north to south but, upon coming nearer, it is all one stretch. On its south side, a reef runs westward for about 3 leagues, where there is a small islet, from which comes out another reef running toward the NE until it joins the north-south stretch. The length of this reef would be about 7 leagues approximately. The north-south stretch would be from 8 to 9 leagues approximately. I also warn you that this reef is bathed by the sea at high tide. I also took the sun when I was close to the south side in 10° , and we did not land there because it has [no] anchorage. From the Islands of Barbados [i.e. Mejit], the distance would be about 15 leagues."

[Discovery of Jemo]

"From here we headed WSW and we sighted a small island that looked like a key [i.e. reef islet], more so than any of the other islands we had previously seen, full of trees. A reef barrier came out of it and ran eastward for one league; the sea broke over this very narrow barrier. The distance from this key to the previous island would be about 8 leagues. We did not find any anchorage either. As my daily run, I figured out an estimate of 25 leagues. The next day, Thursday the 11th of the said month, I made a run of 28 leagues."

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

"The next day, Friday 12th of said month, at about noon, an island was discovered ahead which was laid out NW - SE and in the high seas. It consisted of 11 keys. That on the NW [rather NE] corner seemed to be the largest one.¹ There were two others in the SW [rather SE] corner that were somewhat bigger than the rest. Between all of them runs a reef and on some parts could be seen sand dunes that were so bright when seen from the high seas. These keys were spread over about 5 leagues from NW to SE, and the spread from NE to SW was about 1 league. All of these keys are full of trees and those on the NE side have deep bottom off them, so much so that the bow of a ship can approach them. The distance from this island to the one we first sighted would be about 68 leagues. All of these islands and keys, if one were to keep a good watch, would be sighted [along a line running] from east to west. I took the sun's elevation in 10° less $1/8$. On this day, I made a run of 22 leagues."

"The next day, Saturday 13th of said month, I took sightings of the Southern Cross before daybreak and got almost 10° . On this day, I estimated that the ship made 32 leagues."

[Re-discovery of Ujelang]

"At night, on Sunday 11 January, low-lying land was discovered toward the SW, and on this day, my daily run was 36 leagues. The flagship veered to SE in order to tack back and forth until the next day which was Monday, to see which land it was. Then on Monday at daybreak, we saw that they were some keys from one end to the other along a line running WNW—ESE. I counted 7 such keys, with the one in the ESE corner being the largest of them all.² These keys had reef extensions toward the NNW for about a league and a half. The sea washed over them, although we could see a few rock islets. All of these keys are full of trees. The overall length is about 4 leagues. All of these islands mentioned previously run

1 The islet named Wotho proper in the NE corner of the atoll is the largest.

2 True. Ujelang proper is the largest islet of this atoll.

[along a line running] east to west; from the first key that I saw until this latest one, there would be a distance of 74 leagues. On this day I took the sun in 10° almost, at the WNW corner of these keys, and since we left the keys until tonight, I covered 17 leagues..."¹

The narrative of Fray Martin Rada, 1565

I think that Fray Rada made this composite report, using his own notes as well as those made by his companions, Fray Urdaneta and Fray Aguirre, as all three Augustinians were travelling together aboard the flagship **San Pedro**.

[Discovery of Mejit]

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

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

"The General having sent Captain Martin de Gaiti forward with the boat, he stepped ashore, got near the settlement as he could not find an anchorage and to see if he could find the Indians. As the General could not find an anchorage for the galleons, he begged Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta to go ashore to see if he could communicate with the Indians. He went out in the boat, along with the General's grandson, Felipe de Salcedo, so that they would, in the name of His Majesty, take possession of the island. As the Master-of-Camp and Captain Juan de la Isla² were coming from the other ship in their boats toward the flagship to find out what to do, and they saw that the flagship's boat was going ashore, they intercepted it and, without coming to the flagship, went off with Father Fray Andrés."

"The galleons got busy recovering the anchors they had cast. These having been recovered, seeing that the current was carrying them away from the island and off to sea, the General ordered to raise the sails and to tack offshore while waiting for the boats that were ashore, which was done. At sunset, the General ordered a gun to be fired to tell those ashore to return to the ships. They made haste, although it took time before they came back because the boat in which Captain Martin de Gaiti had gone out had been left high and dry at low tide. They labored in dragging it into the water. After darkness fell, the General ordered that three lamps be lit aboard the flagship so that the boats would not lose sight of it.

1 AGI Patronato 23-16(1), pp. 53-55.

2 In charge of the patache **San Juan**.

and would make their way to it. The patache **San Juan** went to it instead, so that the patache with the boats came back to the galleons at 10 p.m., at which time the fleet set sail and proceeded on its course."

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

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

[Discovery of Ailuk]

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

[Discovery of Jemo]

"That same day, Wednesday 10 January, in the afternoon we saw another small island, round and full of trees. The sun had set by the time we got to it. It was uninhabited and had in it a great quantity of birds, on account of which we named it the Island of **Los Pájaros** [Bird Island]. This island has a reef barrier extending more than 2 leagues toward the NE. This island would be separated from the Banks by about 8 or 9 leagues. Without stopping here, we continued our voyage."

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

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

[Re-discovery of Ujelang]

"We continued our route until the following Sunday which was the 14th of January. In the afternoon of this day, we saw land bearing SW. As we approached, it was evening and we were unable to touch at it. We tacked back and forth all night until the following Monday at daybreak. The land turned out to be a few islets with low and dangerous reefs, uninhabited and without anything good. We were unable to anchor either, although we tried to, by getting as close as possible to the land. Seeing that a landing could not be effected, the General ordered a resumption of our voyage due west."¹

The voyage of the renegade Captain Arellano, 1565

Captain Alonso Arellano in the patache **San Lucas** travelled on his own and reached the Marshalls one or two days ahead of the competition. His own account reads as follows:

"We ran in search of the Islands of **Los Reyes** as we had been instructed to do, and we went down to a latitude of 9 degrees on which it is located, but we did not see it, although there were signs of land in the presence of birds. The pilot decided that we had left the islands behind and ordered to change the heading to W1/4NW [i.e. W by N] to go in search of the **Matalotes** and **Arrecifes** as we had been ordered to do."²

[Likiep revisited]

"Then, when we were still far from the [assumed position of] **Matalotes**, on the eve of the feast-day of the **Three Kings**, that is, on the 5th of January at midnight we discovered an island. When we saw it, we were almost on top of it and the breakers broke over us. The pilot shouted the order to tack, and thanks to Our Lady, the man at the helm threw the rudder to port, as a strong breeze was blowing from astern, and we ended up veering to starboard; had we done otherwise, we would have been lost then and there. So we tacked and pulled on the bowlines and came out with the side almost brushing against the rocks, everyone praying aloud to Our Lady of Consolation and Guadalupe. She did indeed save us, because to windward of the bow there were breakers that could not possibly be avoided. When the pilot realized that we could not escape them, he ordered to flat-in the foresail so as to run aground at a place where he thought the sea was not breaking as much. When he tried to make his way to the bow, a wave broke over the deck and threw him overboard where he saw some rocks so near that he thought that the ship was on the beam, but Our Lady of Guadalupe and Consolation delivered him from that danger and pulled out our ship from where it was.³ The land was so low that it could hardly be seen, even when close to it. So, that night we pulled back out to sea until the next day."

"Then in the morning of the **Three Kings**, we approached it in order to anchor and stop at it for 10 days, as we had been ordered to do, and we saw that there were 36 islets laid out in the shape of a triangle, most of them lying NW—SE, with the other side lying NE—SW, the whole of it enclosed by a reef. Next to the reef, it is vertical and there is no bottom; we could not even find bottom at any depth, although we got so close to them that a man could almost have jumped to the top of the reef. We made a circuit

1 HM2:152-154.

2 These were the Carolinian Islands of Fais and Ulithi visited earlier by Saavedra.

3 It is obvious that the pilot had been wearing a safety line around his waist.

around them and could not find a pass on the north side, the reason being that the same condition that has existed for 40 leagues before we got there prevailed, that is, the currents were running northward, because to the south there is the land of New Guinea and, as can be seen on a map, these islets are located directly north of it, so that the currents are fast along them. As we had a fresh breeze, we could not break the current."

"They are all at sea level and full of trees and palm trees, flush with the sea. The place is uninhabited. On this day the pilot took the sun in 10° and $1/4$, which is the latitude of the said islands."

[Discovery of Kwajalein]

[Fig. 15: Map of Kwajalein (from HM2:187)]

"We continued and the next day, which was Sunday, 7th of the said month, we discovered other islands, with a reef like the others. We approached them and cast anchor at one of them upon the point of a reef that came out of the island in question. While we were anchored and were about to launch the boat, the grapnel fell off the reef so that we were unable to find bottom. While we were busy raising our cable and grapnel, we saw a sail that was crossing from another island to the one where we were. We set our sails to approach the land and see what ship it was. Once near it, we saw that it was a very small canoe. It carried a lateen sail and it ran steady with it; I doubt that there is a ship at sea that can overtake it. It passed us on the windward side and went inland [sic] over a reef. So, we came up ourselves to the reef and cast anchor on top of the reef in 2 fathoms."

"We signalled to them to come alongside and they came. As they came close to the ship, we saw there were two men and a boy aboard it. So, we called them many times and they came alongside. They were making signs for us to throw overboard a halberd which I carried aboard the ship, that they would [then] come aboard. We gave them some of the things we carried which were hawks' bells, and a knife, and to the boy one shirt. They in turn gave us coconuts, fish and the water they had on board. We asked them from where they came, since the islands appeared to us to be uninhabited because they were so small. They answered that they came from the west and, by signs, said that they had their houses in that island.¹ Later on, we ordered the boat over the side and the pilot and I, along with 8 men, all of them with their weapons. They led us with their canoe and one of our men was aboard their canoe. The island was so near the reef and the sea broke over it so much that we almost had our boat swamped. Finally, we arrived ashore after passing over the reef, by following the path taken by the canoe. Thus, we came to where they had their houses, which were on the seashore, where they had their wives and two children. There were no other Indian [men] in these islands except these two who were fishermen who had come from outside to fish at those islands."

"There were many coconut trees near the houses which were made of palm. They are a poor people with nothing to eat other than what they fish, and some coconuts. They go around naked in the flesh, and the women with a palm mat in front. They invited us to sit under some coconut trees. One of them took the Indian women and the boys away with him and went to hide them in the bush. They gave us some of the coconuts that were there."

¹ My guess is that they had come from another atoll, not necessarily west of Kwajalein, and they were camped on Ebadon Island, in the western corner of Kwajalein.

"Since it appeared to the pilot that the wind was rising too much, the ship not being anchored at a good place, we agreed to return aboard and so we did, given that there was no-one else there.¹ We arrived after darkness, all wet as a result of our efforts on account of the strong [contrary] wind. We stayed anchored there that night with the intention of leaving some markers, as ordered by the Instruction, taking on water and wood. However, when daylight came the wind was so strong that it blew with gale force and the sea was so [agitated] that we could not stay on top of our mooring. So, we went out to inspect the cable and found it nicked in many places. Seeing that there was no other cable as good as this one, as it was new and it was the first time we had thrown it overboard, in view of this, it seemed to the pilot that it was not right to [risk] losing the mooring cable with the grapnel which was the salvation of the boat, and that we were in a place where we were running much risk, and we would be in danger when trying to place the required markers. So, we weighed our anchor in order to set sail and we found the grapnel with its flukes straightened out."²

"It seemed to the pilot that these islands had not been seen by any of the previous fleets. There is about 30 leagues between these islets and the previous ones. They are at a latitude of 9°. They were baptized the Islands of **Los Dos Vecinos** [The Two Residents], because there were no other people [there]."

[Discovery of Lib]

"From here we made our way on Monday which was calculated to be the 8th of January, and on the same day we saw a small island which was populated with Indians in quantity. As we came near it, they all came to the beach, men and women, and we approached enough to anchor. We threw a cable overboard and they threw themselves into the water, swimming, and they seized it. As for us, we did not find bottom, because next to the island it was so vertical that there was no bottom. So, they hauled the cable to bring us ashore, as we were asking them to do by sign language. They had second thoughts and let go the cable and so, we were left with the sails down thinking they would [pull us in]. Meanwhile, many Indians came alongside after swimming over and they all climbed aboard. They brought along many coconuts in a canoe; we gave them a few things in return. They marvelled at our ship, at us, and at our weapons."

"They are well-proportioned people, with tall bodies, bearded; their beard reaches their waist. They let their hair grow long like women, well combed and tied above with a knot. They are greedy people, great villains, and devilish people, because they cannot be otherwise, living as they are in an island separated from the continent by over a thousand leagues. The island in which they live is about two cross-bow shots [in size], and at sea level.³ There is no bottom at all. It is full of palm trees, coconut trees, and under their houses and at their doorsteps there are beached canoes. They appeared to be rebellious people, as they showed by their manner, and they are people whom one could trust very little."

"There is no stronger fortress in the world than this islet, because there is no place where one can anchor, and I doubt if even a galley could get in. To someone who sees it from outside, it looks as if it is

1 The total number of people on board the 4-ton San Lucas was 20 men and boys.

2 It was probably jammed between two coral rocks when they pulled on it, using the capstan to force it up. A grapnel is a rather small anchor, which was probably made of soft iron.

3 Lib Island is about one mile long and only 0.36 square mile in area.

something that floats on top of the water, because it is so small and so low that only the palm trees could be seen. I believe that if it were not as high as it is, the sea would wash right over it during a storm. They are savages and I understand that they eat human flesh.¹ They are warlike people, according to what we saw, because they were always on their guard; they must be at war with other islands. They all paint themselves with vermilion. Their weapons are sticks with tips made of fish bones, and clubs. They are good shots with their slings, with a very steady hand. They are great swimmers and sailors. The island was given the name of Islands of **Los Nadadores** [Swimmers Island], because they came aboard by swimming when we were over one league from the island. They are so greedy that we thought we would never be able to get rid of them, on account of the greed we excited in those who came aboard. They would make the best possible rowers for a galley, according to the tall and well-built bodies they had. This islet is in 8° and 1/2."

"We took our departure from here the next day, heading west in search of the Philippine Islands..."²

The Sanchez Pericón expedition, 1566

The expedition that went to the Philippines to relieve the young colony at Cebu was a disaster from beginning to end. One of the most bloody mutinies in the annals of Pacific history took place aboard the lone ship, the **San Jerónimo**. Finally, the leader of the mutiny and his adherents were marooned at Eniwetok in the Marshalls. They were never heard from again.

No logbook survived the troubles aboard, although the story of it could fill a book, such as an historical novel which I hope to write one day. The only contemporary narrative of the voyage and mutiny, of which I have published the first English translation, was written by a foot soldier, Juan Martinez, who had known Legazpi in Mexico City beforehand. What he says about the Marshall Islands, which they discovered after Captain Sanchez Pericón had been killed, is what follows:³

"On Saturday, 29 June, the feast-day of St. Peter and St. Paul, at nightfall we saw the so-desired mother Earth, although we could more properly call her stepmother, on account of the little refreshment that it gave us. It was a useless land and for that reason we did not stop ashore, given that it was inappropriate and also because we understood that more islands lay ahead,⁴ and we still had 8 or 10 butts filled with the prettiest water from Acapulco that were left. This low land consisted of up to 17 small islets, the biggest of them had hardly half a league in circumference and some of them were not wider than one crossbow shot. They were laid out one after the other in the manner of an extended rosary because from one islet to another islet there were reefs which were uncovered at low tide, and a man could have

1 Arellano used the word "Caribe" which was then synonymous with "cannibal." However, he saw no evidence of such cannibalism.

2 HM2:184-190.

3 For the Pericón expedition, see HM2:284.

4 They had with them Lope Martín as pilot and leader of the mutiny, the man who had been with Arellano the year before.

walked from one to the next. Even to step ashore there was no place; there could not have been water either, given that they were uninhabited, although they were fertile with trees."

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

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

"On Wednesday next [i.e. 3 July], we arrived at another range of similar islands and we arrived at the last one of them where we anchored at about 10 in the morning. On the beach we saw up to 10 Indians who lived there with their families, well-proportioned, bearded, nude except for their members [covered] by some pieces of mats which they make very fine in that land in such a manner that they can be used to replace linen. They wear their hair long, have their bodies covered with fine tattooed figures. Their houses look like those of New Spain and are good. They do not have any weapons nor any tool whatever except made of bones and shells. They are very tame people and they would submit easily to anything. At once, a small canoe with two Indians came alongside. One of them was their chief, according to what was later learned from himself because we took him along with us, and his companion was a subject.¹ They arrived somewhat bewildered because of the fear they had but, with the efforts made to persuade them by giving them a few things of little value, they came up and returned ashore with the presents. Many were permitted to go ashore with the boat and, going to their houses, they saw the women who then had their natures covered. They are well turned out, although brown, and gracious, and they did not show any fear. They were well received by all of them, with dances and drum music. In the meantime, while they were there, up to five bulks of water were taken with the help of the natives; they could not do more because of the distance. They also brought back some coconuts, bananas, yams that are their food, because they do not have any plantations. As for the chief, the pilot took him along, saying that he had to bring him to His Majesty, as he intended to do in all parts. And, in order to have something useful at the same time, they brought fish-hooks made with transparent shells like pearls,² very pretty, and others made of different shapes, [but] without other unclean things whose nature and purpose we did not know."³

"After having taken in the boat very quickly as it was not a safe port, at nightfall we set sail to continue our voyage and to go up to 13° of latitude in which the Island of Ladrones called Guan where Your Lordship [i.e. Legazpi] was with his fleet. We steered NW but, as our Lord saw the wickedness of some and also heard the prayers of the others, the latter's prayers must have met with His divine esteem, spe-

1 There is a 50-50 chance that this island was Kwajalein. Therefore, this islet and the two men in question may even have been the same as the year before, when Captain Arellano and Pilot Martin were there.

2 Called mother-of-pearl in English.

3 Preserved food and drink of bad taste and smell, as the next expedition was to find on Namu two years later.

cially those of Your Lordship who is so Christian and devout. Therefore, by giving strength to the currents He let us gain over 40 minutes because, after we had run well near 100 leagues, He placed us inside a bay within an archipelago. This, I will say, caused much confusion to the blind evil-doers who thought they could persevere in their evil deeds. To the contrary, it caused much clarity and remedy to those who were outside of their attempts and a consolation for this camp."

"It happened on Saturday, 6 July, in early evening, when sleep had convinced us already, running carefree. All of a sudden a sailor shouted: "Land! Land!" Looking at it, one had to fear the risk because at that point and instant and such a short leeway we saw ourselves surrounded by islands on all sides and so close that they caused a great disturbance among the sailors, and even more so among the soldiers. Things were not very clear, so much so that the helm's man asked if he was to run the ship aground but the pilot objected to it, and above all Lara who was brave and assailed the helm's man with rude words and took the tiller away from him. With all this very serious tribulation, God was served to place us through a pass that would not have more than a stone's throw [in width] between one island and another inside and we anchored in a very pretty bay, big and clean, surrounded by many small islands and reefs of the above type which is in 10 [or 12] degrees less 1/3."¹

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

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

"Thus, the nearest islet of all was one that we had very close at hand. When we approached it later, [we noticed that] it was almost half a league in circumference. It was flat, fertile and very pretty. There were four houses but there were no people there because the Indians lived on other islands and they kept this place for a garden and for recreation where they come at times on account of the palm trees that were there and the fisheries. As soon as the daylight came, we stepped ashore on it and we satisfied our thirst without a cup from a well that was there and from coconuts and palmettos out of which, although there were at least 150 palm trees there, we left none during the time we were there because, beyond the fact that we paid little attention to their usefulness for the public good, they appeased our hunger somewhat..."

"We remained here for 10 days, not just tame for being disarmed men but also grieved because they [i.e. the mutineers] had taken our chests and bundles out of the ship and taken them ashore... During that time, many deep secrets passed between the evil-doing men, to which we were not a party..."

1 The original ms. must be checked, to ascertain which number, as this is important to the identification of Ujelang versus Eniwetok, as the island where the final scene of the mutiny was played out.

"At this time, we saw coming directly at us three proas with their sails, although they knew we were there because they saw the ship nearby. In spite of that they kept coming straight toward us because their intention was none other, unless we prevented them from doing so, because as I have said they are tame people. Furthermore, they had seen us, according to our Indian who told us then that they came to get him and that they came from his island. One of the three [proas] came forward leaving the two others behind, a board which it appeared were women and children, and the former came forward to anchor at one point of the island where the Sergeant was lying in ambush in a small bush, waiting for them with a few soldiers and when he was about to disembark, the pilot, moved by pure keenness, began to go toward them with the boat from the ship. They set sail as soon as they saw this and went out to sea. Although we ashore went after them along the shoal, no more luck was had than with those in the boat because, although they went after them, it was futile because they go fast and against the wind. They carry square mat sails, not lateen ones, on the mast [which is placed] on the inside of the poop, not like ours.¹ As well, they carry on the body of the proa a cube, similar to a chicken coop placed crosswise that must serve them as a sort of cart to carry their food and clothes, which is light. They come with a counterweight as in the Ladrões and in these [Philippine] Islands; I will elaborate later."²

"About what happened, the pilot was much perturbed and swearing and using profane words about his having to seize them and bring them where we were, that they had to serve us by fishing for us while we were there, that he was going to jab them with his horns. So, the next day he carried it out, guiding the boat toward the place where they had gone, about 5 leagues away but he did not get much out of it because they fled from him. They found their hamlet in one of the islets where they had a proa almost finished, one that could have carried 30 men, upon which they first looked with evil design but later out of extreme necessity."

...
[The interesting details of the doings of the mutineers and how the loyalists finally retook control of the ship must be omitted here. Suffice to say that the writer was very luckily allowed by the mutineers to go back to the ship as their messenger just before it sailed off.]

...
"With all this, we did not get to the ship until noon... Later on, after eating, Santiago and other persons went out [with the boat] to look for a pass to get out to a place where they suspected and understood that there was one; they found a very wide and very good one through which we later went out... Saturday [20 July] we went ashore with the boat to bring not only all the soldiers but as many clothes as we could..."

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

"All in all they are 27, among whom were many ship's boys and seamen who were forced to stay behind because they had been tied up and we left with a serious doubt as to their peace and safety because

1 This is the opinion of a soldier, and the only early mention of a square sail on Marshallese canoes.

2 Unfortunately, he did not.

during the last boatload that went to the islet for the clothes, they said that they had seen them all on the beach dressed in white clothes and with a flag raised, the meaning of which was not clear except that some interpreted it to mean that they might have killed the pilot [i.e. Martín], thinking that the boat would return and the rest of the culprits might get clemency. However, because we left, we will never know until God decides."¹

The track of the **San Jerónimo** through the Marshall Islands is a matter of some speculation (because of the loss of the logbooks and the lack of proper positions), but I have made the first study of the possibilities, summarized as follows:

If Eniwetok was Atoll n° 4, then the most likely route was via Erikub, Kwajalein, and Wotho, but if Ujelang was n° 4, then, unlike Sharp, I would opt for a track via Aur, Namu, and Kwajalein.²

The first Mendaña expedition, 1568

As an epilogue to this story of the discoveries made by the Spanish in the northern Marshalls, we could not find a better account than the chance discovery of Namu by the two ships of the first Mendaña expedition returning to America from the Solomon Islands.

There exist at least five primary-source accounts of this voyage, so that the details leave no doubt as to their discovery of Namu. The major narrative, by Mendaña himself, says:

"After we had crossed the equinoctial line, and, upon reaching 8-1/2 degrees of north latitude, we discovered some shoals and small islands, which numbered more than 15 or 16. All these islets, some of which are a little more than a league in circumference, are surrounded by a reef. Pedro de Ortega and Don Hernando Enriquez landed upon them.³ Some of these islands are inhabited and, though there were houses and fire in the place where they landed, they saw no inhabitants for they had fled. Among the reefs and islands we saw three sails, like those of a raft, and I suspected that the Indians of that island had put out to sea. Leaving these islands, which to our knowledge had not been seen by any of the fleets which had been to the Philippines, we gave them the name of **San Mateo Shoals**.⁴

The Chief pilot, Hernando Gallego, wrote:

"On the 17th of said month, with the wind NE, we went to the N, until we were in 8° N of the equinoctial; and, being in this latitude of 8° we came upon the shoals and Islands of San Bartolomé⁵ the ESE corner of which is in 8° and the other extremity at the NW in 8-2/3°. We came upon these islands two

1 The marooned men were never heard from again. They may have escaped aboard the Marshallese canoe, perhaps ending up at Pohnpei... HM2:302-320.

2 I have discussed this matter fully in Volume 2 of my History of Micronesia.

3 They were coming from the south and landed on Namu Island proper, at the NW corner of the atoll, at 8°12' lat. N.

4 HM2:415-416.

5 He knew that Taongi was much further north, but here he applies this name to the whole archipelago, instead of the name Barbados, as the Spanish from Mexico called the group.

hours before dawn. They run NW—SE, in length about 15 leagues; and they have two lines of reefs, which appear like channels on either hand. There would be about half a league between one and the other. At the end of one or the other on the NW are two little islands.¹ They are along a line ESE, a league apart. There is a great depth of water; on the west side we could not find any bottom to anchor at this island. We launched the boat to go for water. In this island there are many houses and people. Between the islands, of which there were more than twenty, [we saw] a boat or canoe under sail."

"When they landed they found nothing but one Spanish cock, which they brought over. The people left their houses and fled. We found a chisel made of a nail, by which it appeared that ships had passed that way.² They did not find any water, but they found some coconut palms gouged through, which showed how they got their water, and some pieces of *cayro*.³"

"We beat to windward for three hours and I could not find bottom to anchor, there being about 1,000 fathoms. These Indians drink *chicha*⁴ from a kind of pineapple [i.e. pandanus], and for this reason there are swarms of flies. The boat having returned with the men, we resumed our voyage."⁵

Next comes the narrative of Gomez Hernandez Catoira, who was purser or steward, as well as royal accountant aboard the flagship. He says:

"We reached 8-1/2 degrees north latitude, and at daybreak, before sunrise, the Chief Pilot sighted land, and when it grew light we saw that it was some shoals, which surrounded some very small islands."

"The Chief Pilot said that these were the shoals of San Bartolomé for which they had been on the lookout for some days; and he had told them the latitude in which they were. But before reaching these, being near the Line, we had seen signs of inhabited land, such as palm mats, leaves and burnt sticks. We inferred that there is much land below the Line. We also met with heavy showers before reaching the said shoals. And the General ordered the pilot to approach them, to see whether we could anchor in the lee side of the island, and whether there was any water, and, if so, to provide ourselves with it; and he took it badly, saying that it was an uninhabited land, and that we should pass on. In the midst of these discussions we discovered two other islands to leeward of the reef. We kept at a distance from them, and from reefs which run parallel, almost [touching] each other."

"We approached them and saw some huts from the ships. We launched the boat, and Don Hernando [Henriquez], with some soldiers and sailors, got in and went ashore, and the Master-of-Camp [Ortega] went in the boat of the *almiranta*."

"Upon reaching the land they all saw that there was no water, which was what we wanted most. They found no man nor woman, for they had all fled. They found some of the natives' food, which was very different from that of the [Solomon] Islands, and of a bad taste and smell. And they found fermenting under the ground, a kind of beverage like *chicha*, and the people also had coconuts and made oil of them. And, seeing that there was no water, nor anything which was of use to us, they returned to the ships, and brought a piece of iron lashed to a stick, the size of a small nail, which was a sign that Spaniards had

1 Namu proper, where they landed, and Mattamett.

2 Most probably the San Jerónimo two years earlier.

3 Meaning coir, i.e. rope made from coconut husk fiber.

4 A Peruvian word for a drink made of purple corn, used here loosely.

5 HM2:422-423.

been there. They also found a large shed, old and not well roofed. It was suspected that some ship of the Philippines had visited or been lost there."

"We endeavored to anchor near the islands, but, when very near land, we found 20 fathoms and let go the anchor, and immediately it dragged and dropped in more than 100 fathoms. And such was the fury of the current that in a short time it carried us out of the lee of the islands and shoals, and it had such a force that, although there was no wind or sea, but only the current, the hook of the anchor was twisted, though it was a large one."

"Then, seeing that for lack of a harbor we could not stop, we put out to sea, and took in the boats, and sailed with the bow to the N and NNE and NNW, according as the winds served us..."¹

Incidentally, they missed all the other northern islands, but went on to a chance discovery of Wake Island in 20° lat. N.

Conclusion

A Spanish army Captain by the name of Diego de Artieda, who went to the Philippines in 1567 and returned all the way to Spain, wrote a report for the King in 1570, in which he summarized the knowledge the Spanish had accumulated up to that time about the Islands of the Bearded Men, or **Barbudos**, as the Spanish called the whole Marshall archipelago:

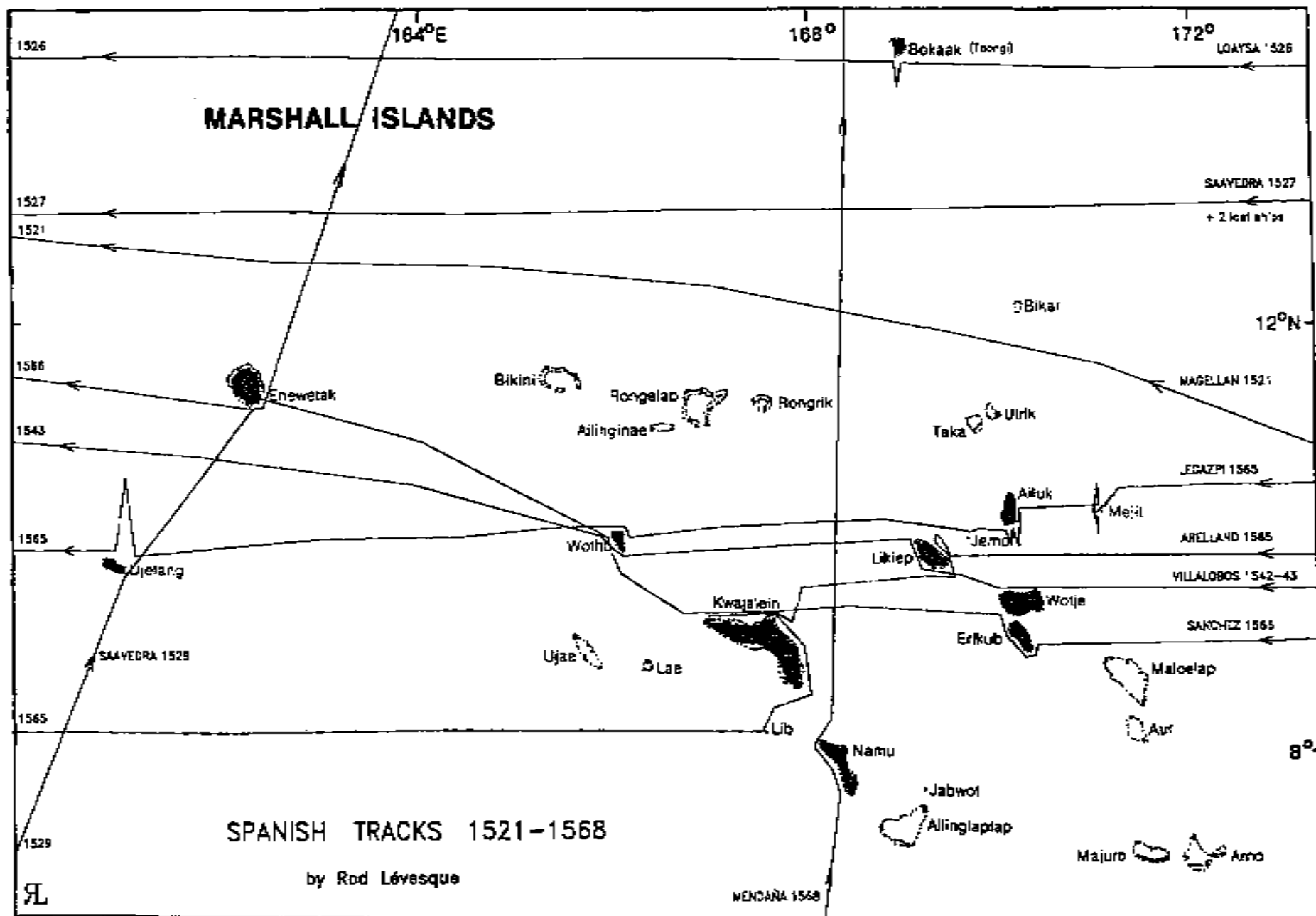
"Along a NE—SW line from the Port of Navidad, in about 10° of north latitude, and at a distance of 1,120 leagues, were found some islands lying E—W. The inhabitants were dressed in a sort of cloth made of thin palm-bark. The men wore long beards, and for that reason the islands received the name of Barbudos. No weapons were found among them, from which we can infer that they are a peaceful people, and that they had never come into conflict with other men. They live on coconuts, roots, and fish. It was learned that they kept some Spanish fowls. These islands may be about 175 leagues from New Guinea."²

During the 42-year Spanish period of discovery, from 1526 to 1568, the colonization of the Islands of the West, as the Philippines were first called, was finally accomplished and the all-important return route to America discovered. However, the Spanish were soon to find out that a track along the 13° parallel was clear of dangers, and they came to forget about the very existence of the Marshall Islands until three centuries later, when their claim was effectively challenged by Germany, the first European power to establish a protectorate over this archipelago.³

1 HM2:425-426.

2 HM2:378.

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Document S1576C

The wreck of the *Espirito Santo* at Catanduanes Island

Sources: AGI old number 1-1-2/24; published in the *Colección General de Documentos relativos a las Filipinas (existentes en el archivo de Indias en Sevilla)*, Barcelona, *Tabacalera de Filipinas*, 3 vols., 1918-23.

The testimony of Lieutenant Juan de Sardonil

Original in Spanish.

...
*El navío **Espirito Santo**, decía, que salió del puerto de Acapulco a 6 de Enero de este año [1576], que llevaba once frailes y algunos soldados y otras cosas necesarias, habiendo llegado a las islas y ido con más brevedad que ninguno de quantos navíos de aquí han salido; por que se entiende que llegó a 25 de Abril, fué Dios servido que estando a cien leguas de la ciudad de Manila, con huracán dió al través en la costa, y se hizo cien mil pedazos y se ahogó toda la gente... -ame dado grandísima pena y hecho muy gran lástima; porque demás de ser gran pérdida llegaban a buena coyuntura. Iban en él fray Diego de Herrera con los religiosos que he dicho, y algunos de ellos hombres principales, que casi por fuerza los había hecho yr; y españoles y marinos más de cien personas.*

El primero que tuvo noticia de este naufragio fué el Teniente de Capitán don Juan de Sardonil, que en el baroto de unos indios halló: "una cuera de cordoban y un pedazo de plomo clavado en un navío [?], y tigras, y un cuchillo y un sayo de mochacho y camisillas y otras menudencias," por donde barruntó la catástrofe. Dirigióse inmediatamente a la isla de Catanduanes, de donde procedían aquellos indios, con once soldados y un escribano. Un indio y una india que allí cogieron, declararon: "como un navío d'España avía dado a la costa y que todos los españoles eran muertos y ahogados y mandándole mostrarme el lugar do[nde] se avía perdido, lo mostró y se alló la madera y jarcia hechos innumerables pedazos, y muchos españoles muertos y aporreados y descalabrados en unas piedras de riscos donde el navío dió, y aunque se buscó por el dicho señor don Juan y por los españoles que con él iban, no se halló banda [=bandera?], ni cabo entero, ni pieza, ni cosa de valor; sino entre las peñas debajo de la tabla-

zon se hallaron algunos quesos y panes de jabón mojado y muchos pedaços de libros en latín y algunos çapatos de frayres y de soldados, y algunas cartas de particulares..."

Un indio del pueblo de Bigan, de dicha isla, declaró: "que los que escaparon del navío que se perdió serían beynte españoles los quales mataron los naturales del río de Sión, y que estos propios naturales con otros sus vecinos robaron todo lo que de la nao salió; y que esto save por que los dichos naturales se lo contaron y dijeron alabándose dello.

... que los de Sion le dijeron, que tenían dos vibos pero que no los ha visto.

-- que tienen dos anclas y que las piezas que estan en el agua y que no las pueden sacar y que arcabuces hierro y otras muchas cosas están entre los dichos indios"... La india Adac de Lauigan, declaró que los naturales del pueblo de Sión "los habían dado unas bosas [sic = bolsas? ropas?] y zapatos y un sombrero... y que los de Sión les dijeron que tenían un español vivo y otras muchas cosas que habían avido del navío." El intérprete Si Alan declaró asimismo que le dieron voces aquellos naturales para que: "Dijese al dicho señor Don Juan, que no fuese a su pueblo, ni los corriese, y quellos darian un mochacho que se había escapado del navío."...

Translation.

...
He was saying that the ship **Espiritu Santo**, which left the port of Acapulco on 6 January of this year [1576], and was bringing to the islands eleven friars¹ and a few soldiers and other necessary things, upon arriving at the islands, after the fastest crossing than any other ships from that port, God willed that, when she was 100 leagues from the city of Manila, a typhoon made her crash upon the coast, and break up into a hundred thousand picces and all the people were drowned... [This disaster] was a very great pity and caused very great sorrow, because, in addition to being a great loss, they would have arrived at an opportune time. Aboard her were fray Diego de Herrera with the above-mentioned religious, some of whom were important men who had almost been

1 Ed. note: Six Augustinians from Spain, and four from Mexico. They were led by Fray Diego de Herrera. As for Fray Herrera himself, he had joined the Augustinian Order in Spain in 1545, was in Mexico when Legazpi and Fray Urdaneta planned their voyage to the Philippines; he joined them, became Prior when Urdaneta returned to New Spain, becoming Provincial in 1569, when he made a voyage to Mexico to bring back more missionaries. For the same purpose, he went to Spain in 1573. While returning to the Philippines with 10 missionaries, they were shipwrecked and all slain by the natives. (see note in B&R 3:52).

forced to go;¹ plus Spaniards and sailors, that made over 100 persons.²

The first [Spaniard] who received news of this shipwreck was Lieutenant Juan de Sardonil, who noticed aboard an Indian canoc "a sheep-skin and a piece of lead nailed to the hull(?), scissors, a knife, a boy's jacket and small shirts and other small belongings," from which he guessed that a catastrophe had occurred. He headed immediately to the Island of Catanduanes, where those Indians were from, along with eleven soldiers and one clerk. An Indian couple whom they captured there, declared: "that a Spanish ship has hit the coast and that all the Spanish on board had been killed or drowned. When they were asked to show the place where the ship had been lost, they did so, and there were found planks and rigging that had been broken into numberless pieces, and the bodies of many Spanish scattered about, beaten up and dismembered on top of the reefs where the ship had hit, and although said gentleman and the Spanish with him carried out a search of the area, they did not find any flag(?), or full-length rope, or anything of value, except that among the crags under the hull they found a few slabs of cheese and cakes of soap, all wet, then many pieces of paper ripped from books in Latin and a few shoes that had belonged to the friars and soldiers, and some letters from individuals..."

An Indian from the town of Bigan³ in said island, declared: "that those who escaped from the shipwreck amounted to 20 Spanish and that the natives living along the Sion⁴ River killed them, and that the same natives, along with some neighbors of theirs, stole everything that floated off the wreck; and that he knows this because the said natives themselves told him about it and they were boasting about it.

... that the people of Sion told him that they held two survivors, but he had not seen them himself. ... that there are two anchors and other pieces still underwater that cannot be pulled out and that the arquebuses, iron and many other things are among said Indians."

The Indian woman called Adac from Lauigan [i.e. Vigan], declared that the natives of the town of Sion "had given them some bags(?) and shoes and a hat... and that the people of Sion told them that they held one surviving Spaniard prisoner and many other things that they had gotten from the wreck." The interpreter, Si Adan, also declared that those natives had asked him to carry the following report: "Tell said gentleman, Don Juan, not to come to our town, and not to attack us, and we will turn the boy who escaped from the wreck over to him." ...

1 "The four from Mexico who join them are: Francisco Martinez, of the chair of writing in the University of Mexico, an excellent Greek and Latin student, who had been prior of the Augustinian convent in Lima; Lésmes de Santiago, an ascetic, and formerly a successful merchant; Francisco Bello; and Francisco de Arévalo." Quote from Chapter XIX of Fray Juan de Medina, O.S.A. *Historia de la Orden de S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas* (Manila, 1893, but written in 1630), and translated in B&R 23: 226-227.

2 "The loss of this ship was felt keenly in the islands, for it bore heavy reinforcements of troops, money, and other things needed in the new land, which lacked everything." Medina, *op. cit.*

3 Ed. note: Now called Vigan, or Viga.

4 Ed. note: Now Sionon.

Documents S1599B

Plan to send missionaries to the Ladrones Islands

B1. Letter from Governor Tello to the King, dated Manila 12 July 1599

Source: AGI Fil. 6-9-167, pp. 18-20, and copy on pp. 75-76.

Note: This letter corresponds to Torres Lanzas' Cat. N° 5546. Comments are made regarding Fray de los Angeles and his stay at Rota, 1596-1597.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

20. Que es necessario poner doctrina en los Ladrones y que por no se poder poner de aqui se escribe al Virrey ordene que dexe[n] los oficiales de las naos de la Nueva España.

Por no aver traído quando vino a servir a V. Md. en este gobierno, como tengo referido la real Instrucción que aqui recibí no se executo, lo que V. Md. manda por [su cap^o della] ella cerca, de que al pasar por ysla[s] de Ladrones dexase doctrina a aquellos Indios y la gente que me pareciese y así lo e tratado aqui con la Real Audiencia con cuió parezer se escribió al Virrey de la Nueva España la voluntad de V. Md. para que la cumpla ordenando a los oficiales de las naos que binieeren en el año de 600 años dexe[n] allí un par de Religiosos y diez soldados en su compañía, que por llevar de aqui las naos diferente derota, y ser dificultoso [para allí] el biaje no se a cumplido la voluntad de V. Md.¹

Entiendo sera esta una obra mui del servicio de [Dios] nuestro Señor y de V. Md. porque un religioso del orden de San Francisco y un marinero, el año de 1596 que pasé por las yslas de Ladrones, se hecharon de la nao **San Pablo** almiranta a las embarcaciones de los Indios de aquellas Islas que avian llegado mas de treçientas barquillas a bordo de la [dha] nao, y los yndios les [los] recoxieron en ellas y llevaron a tierra donde estubieron tiempo de un año, hasta el de 1597 que [bolbiendo a] pasar [pasando] las naos de la Nueva España que benian a estas yslas y por general dellas Don Lope de Ulloa

1 Ed. note: The duplicate copy says "lo que se manda" instead of "la voluntad de V. Md."

[que] al dho religioso y soldado llegaron a bordo de las naos en las embarcaciones de los Indios y fueron recibidos en ella. Llegados aquí dio cuenta el Religioso de lo que avia[n] visto en las Islas de los Ladrones, diciendo, que son muchas yslas [y] bien pobladas de yndios hombres [gentiles] de buena estatura y fuerzas [y] gente umilde y caritativa que a él y a su companero los regalaron [trayendoles] lo que avian de comer con {y tubieron} mucho respeto i que es tierra abundante de pescado y arroz y camotes [batatas]. Son gentiles y entrando allí Religiosos que con amor y destreza los enseñen, espero que nuestro Señor a de ser servido y V.Md. reduciendo aquella gentilidad a su verdadero conocimiento.

...
Guarde nuestro Señor la Catolica personal de V.Md. muchos y phelizes años.
De Manila 12 de Jullio de 1599.

Translation.

Sire.

20. That it is necessary to send missionaries in the Ladrones, but because it is not possible to send them from here, the Viceroy is being asked to allow the officers of the galleons of New Spain to leave some.¹

When I came here to serve Y.M. in this government, I received only here the royal Instruction that contained a clause allowing me to use my judgment whether or not to leave missionaries with the Indians and as many companions as I saw fit, upon passing by the islands of the Ladrones. So, I brought the matter up with the Royal Audiencia and it was their decision that a letter be sent to the Viceroy of New Spain to let him know the will of Y.M., in order for him to obey it and order the officers of the galleons that might come during the year 1600 to leave there a couple of Religious and ten soldiers to act as their companions, because the galleons that leave from here take a different route, and because the voyage from here [to there] is difficult the will of Y.M. has not been complied with.²

I understand that this good work will do much to serve [God] our Lord and Y.M., because a Religious of the Order of St. Francis and a sailor, in the year of 1596 when I passed by the islands of the Ladrones, threw themselves off the galleon **San Pablo**, our consort, and the Indians of those Islands took them on board their canoes, of which there came more than 300 alongside the [said] galleon. The Indians picked them up and took them ashore where they stayed for one year, until 1597 when, upon the galleons passing by there on their return journey from New Spain to these islands, with Don Lope de Ulloa as their general, said Religious and soldier came to the galleons aboard

1 Ed. note: In the duplicate copy of this letter, the paragraph number is 21. There is a note, in margin, that states that His Majesty did not put missionaries there, because he has not been asked for some. A note was added which says that "Don Pedro de Acuña was pleased to request, in a letter that was received at Mexico, that if the Viceroy wants this adopted, that it should be done."

2 Ed. note: The duplicate copy says "what is ordered" instead of "the will of Y.M."

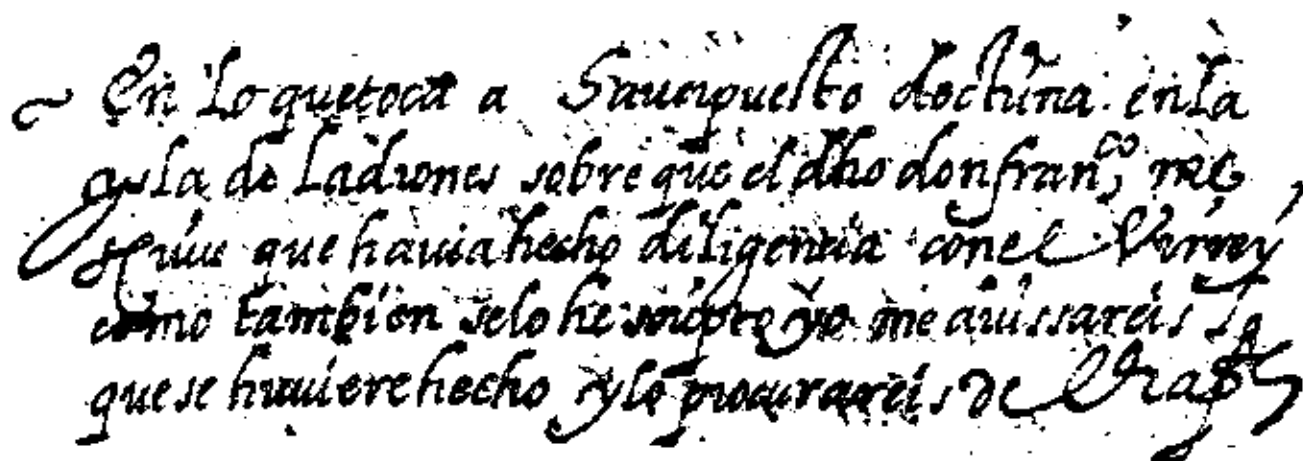
the boats of the Indians and they were received on board. Upon his arrival here the Religious reported what he [they] had seen in the Islands of the Ladrones, saying that there are many islands and well populated with Indians, [heathen] men of good height and strong, humble folk and charitable, as they gave him and his companion what they had as food with much respect. It is a land with an abundance of fish, rice and [sweet] potatoes. They are heathen and, if missionaries go there to teach them with kindness and skill, I hope that our Lord and Y.M. will be served by reducing those heathen people to His true knowledge.

...
May our Lord save the Catholic person of Y.M. for many happy years.
From Manila, 12 July 1599.

B2. Encouragement from the King, circa 1602

Note: This is a paragraph from a letter written to Don Pedro de Acuña, the new Governor of the Philippines, 1602-1606.

Facsimile of a paragraph from the King's letter.



Translation.

...
4. Regarding the placement of missionaries in the island [sic] of the Ladrones, about which Don Francisco [Tello] writes to me, having made a request to my Viceroy, I too have written to him asking him to advise me if he had done so and to try to do so.
...

Document S1601D

Letter from Governor Tello to the King, dated Manila 6 June 1601

Source: AGI Fil. 6-9-176, pp. 4, 13, 15-16.

Note: This letter corresponds to Torres Lanzas. Cat. N° 5908.

Mention of the galleon Santa Margarita and allusion to the San Jerónimo

Extract in Spanish.

Señor

El año passado de noventa y nueve hize larga rr[elacion] del estado desta tierra...

[Note in margin:] *El estado de yslas de Ladrones y que conviene se envie doctrinas a ellos y la dilligençia que se a hecho sobre ello.*¹

En las Yslas de Ladrones, ay mucha dispusiçion para plantar la ley evangelica como V. magd. lo quiere y ordna de lo qual como escrevi el año passado,² nos dio buenas nuevas desto, un rreligosso del orden de San Francisco y un marinero español que rresidieron entre los indios un año que fue el de noventa y seis y fueron dellos muy acariados(?) y tenidos(?) [fold in paper] y despues que se vinieron el año siguiente siempre que los indios ---len a las naos preguntan por padres franciscos y para dar(?) prinçipio a esta conversion que paresce la tiene Dios de --- porque es dificultosso el viage destas yslas a los Ladrones p[or] las grandes corrientes que detienen a la yda la navegacion.

Escrevi al Virrey de la Nueva España el año passado q. orden--- al general de las naos deste de seysçientos dexasse al passar p[or] la] ysla de los Ladrones dos rreligiossos franciscos y diez soldado[s] para hazelles compaña con to[do lo] de mas neçessario de lo que se [ha] hecho[.] dare aviso a V. Magd. por que asta oy 28 de Junio no an [llegado] las naos viniendo otros años un mes antes que nos tiene cuyda[dosos].

1 Ed. note: A note has been added by the King's representative underneath: "Que representando y se escribe al Virrey de la Nueva España s...[blot] en caso que no se abra(?) hecho."

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1599B.

Hasta [a]qui cra lo qual tenia escripto a V. Magd. el año passado y en ella dava gesta muy particular de todo lo que se avia ofrecido y por el subçesso y pordida de las naos cappitana y almiranta en que yban, a sido necessario volberlos a enviar y en ella acreçentare lo que despues aca se a ofrecido y lo primero es supplicar a V. Mgd. se sirba de passar los officios por ella pues dello [de]pende el rremedio que en muchas cossas que se trata convienen al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y al de V. Mgd.

Las Naos para Nueva España se despacharon por el orden y al tiempo que en esta refiero a V. Mgd. y aunque la nao *Sta. Margarita* se puso todo el cuydado possible a su despacho y buen avio por el malo que tenia, por la nueba orden que del Virrey de Nueva España dio en darla en administracion con ciertas capitulaciones. Luego que aqui llevo el administrador della, por ahorrar los salarios de la gente de mar la despedito, y quando la hubo menester no la hallaba por estar ya acomodada y algunos fuera destas yslas de que fue neçessario, por fuerza y con mucha sollicitud darle el avio que hubo menester como se lo dio, aunque si en todo se huviera podido dar y rremediar lo que despues de salida supe pudiera ser que no se perdiera como se perdio, pues por la **rrelacion** que con esta va, se vera que el mayor parte de culpa tubo el general en ella tubo [sic]. Y esto todo lo caussa el que el nombramiento destes officios y otros de la carrera se hagan de la Nueva España y en personas della que solo atienden a su particular fin y provecho, y sin obligasion a venir a dar quenta a esta çudad de lo que se les encargan pues quien la deve pedir son los dueños de las haziendas que ban en las naos que son vezinos destas yslas, y quando succede alguna desgracia destas o de las suçedidas, como tengo avissado a V.Mgd. an de yr a pedir su justia a la Nueva España a donde no tienen rremedio si no van, ni alla persona que le duela [blot] -rerla, y lo que conviene importa que estos nombramientos los haga el Governador destas yslas. Las mismas ocassiones que se an ofrecido lo dizen y assi supplico a V. Mgd. ordene en ello lo que mas conviniere a su Real servicio y bien destes vezinos que solo consiste en el buen suçesso de las naos.

...
Estando aguardando la nao *Santo Tomas* que avia de venir de Nueva España con algun gusto, por haver le quitado el storbo del enemigo que la esperaba en parte que no la podia herrar tube nueba a los [blank] de Mayo como avisso a V. Mgd. la **rrelacion de suçesso que con esta envio** de como avia dado en la costa de los Catanduanes donde nunca se escapa nao y por milagro conte y este lo fue muy grande en que no muriera alguna persona de casi quatroçientas que venian en el y que se pudiesse sacar el dinero y artilleria y cassi toda la caxeria de ropa que aun no dio lugar que se sacara toda, porque dio en una peña donde se hizo pedaços[.] a se [= se ha] sentido mucho la perdida y esta nao por ser la mejor que en esta carrera a havido asta agora y mas ver se perdiessse sin temporal, mas de venir tambien en administracion que paresce que las dos mejores naos que se an dado con este nuebo despacho se an perdido como se perdio *Sta. Margarita*, y esta luego que salgan estas naos, se procurara para fabricar por aca sacar della todo el hierro que pudiere salir della.

El daño que causan a los vezinos destas yslas, es que anden las naos de V. Mgd. en administracion son muchos y aqui dize[n] algunos, para que vistos ordene V. Mgd. lo que fuere servido que el Virrey de la Nueva España no las de mas en administracion, sino que naveguen con la orden de asta aqui pues dello resulta mucho servicio a V. Mgd. y lo primero que dire es que viniendo estas naos en administracion se pasan a estas p[ar]tes mucha mas cantidad de dinero de los quinientos mill pessos V. Mgd. a de permissio se traygan y los que mas pasan son de los mismos que trahon a cargo las naos y de compañia que dexan hechas en Nueva España que como señores dellas, mientras les dura la administracion tienen mano para cargar lo que quieren sin la que mas les dan que son treynta toneladas, para que pueden cargarlas que en lo uno del dinero, que trahen lo emplean quitando a los vezinos el empleo y haziendo subir de precio las mercadurias, y es lo que es las treynta toneladas, quitarlas a los mismos vezinos que con ellas se podrian sustentar mas de cien personas pobres y viudas, que deste genero ay mucho en esta çudad, y a esto se aoresce mas muchos nombramientos de officiales y mandadores de las naos que son los que hazen el daño que he significado a V. Mgd. a quien supplico mande rremediar a questo y hazer merced a estos vezinos desta tierra pues ellos son los que con las armas sustentan estas yslas, y no tienen otro premio mas de lo que les resulta de lo que cargan.

...
Francisco Tello

Translation.

Sire:

Last year 1599 I sent a detailed report on the condition of this land.

...
[Note in margin:] That is, the condition of the islands of the Ladrones and that it is convenient to send missionaries there and the measure taken about it.¹

In the islands of the Ladrones there is much disposition for planting the seeds of the gospel as Y.M. wishes and orders. As I said about this last year² a Religious of the Order of St. Francis and a Spanish sailor gave us a good report about them. They lived there among the Indians for one year beginning in 1596, and they were treated charitably and with respect(?) by the Indians. Since then, well, since they came the following year of 1597, whenever the Indians visit the [passing] galleons they ask for Franciscan Fathers to begin their conversion [but] it seems that God has it ... [on hold] because the voyage to said islands of the Ladrones is difficult on account of strong currents that oppose the voyage in that direction.

I wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain last year so that he might order the general of the returning galleons of this year of 1600 to leave, when passing by the islands of the

1 Ed. note: A note was added under this marginal note, that says: "Write to the Viceroy of New Spain to remind him, if this has not already been done."

2 Ed. note: See Doc. S1599B.

Ladrones a couple of Religious of St. Francis and ten soldiers to keep them company along with everything else necessary. I would report what has been done to Y.M. but until today 28 June, the two returning galleons have not yet appeared, and this is one more month than it usually takes on other years, which makes us rather anxious....

Up to this point is a repeat of what I wrote to Y.M. last year when I gave a very detailed account of what had happened but on account of the failure and loss of the galleons, both flagship and consort, that carried them, it became necessary to send them again. In it I will add the new happenings, but first I must beg Y.M. to please pass the letters through it,¹ since indeed from this depends the remedy which in many such cases is convenient to the service of God our Lord and of Y.M.

The galleons for New Spain were despatched in accordance with the order and time that Y.M. has set for this, but, although all the care possible was taken to despatch the galleon **Santa Margarita**, and she was outfitted anew, on account of the new order received from the Viceroy of New Spain for contracting out the supervision of this work. When the new Administrator got here, in order to save money spent on seamen, he dismissed them, but when they were again needed, many were already with new jobs elsewhere and some out of these islands and it became necessary to forcibly provide her with the minimum necessary, which was done, though not to the extent that it could have been done, as afterwards it was realized after her departure, and that could have prevented her from being lost. Indeed, by the enclosed report² it will be seen that most of the blame can be placed on her General.³ And the cause of it all is that the appointments to these posts and other posts of the run must be done from New Spain and accrue to persons who only take care of their private interests, and not returning to this city to give an account of what they have been entrusted with; indeed, the people who should know are the owners of the goods that go on board the galleons and they are residents of these islands, but when some disaster occurs to them or those that follow them, as I have told Y.M. about, they must seek justice in New Spain, and they find no remedy there unless they go there in person, or find trustworthy persons to do it for them. What is convenient and important is for the appointments to be made by the Governor of these islands. The events speak for themselves, and I therefore beg Y.M. to order what is more convenient to your Royal service and the welfare of these residents which depends only on the success of the galleons.

While awaiting the return of the galleon **Santo Tomás** from New Spain with some pleasure, because the problem of an enemy lying in wait had been removed and could not lead her astray, I received the [news of the events?] of May [last?] as I advise Y.M.

1 Ed. note: Meaning obscure. One word may be missing.

2 Ed. note: What report or account was this? It was that of the events at Manila, supposedly for the year 1600-1601 (see below). This AGI file does not contain anything besides the present document.

3 Ed. note: His name was J. Martínez Guillestegui, obviously a Basque, at least on his mother side of the family.

in the enclosed report about it, that she had hit upon the coast of Catanduanes where no galleon has ever escaped, except by miracle, as I have said, and it was a very great one because no-one died among the 400 or so persons that came aboard her and that the money and guns that came with her were saved as well as most of the crates of clothes, though not all, because she crashed upon a rock where she broke to pieces. Her loss was much regretted, the more so because she was the best galleon that had ever existed on this run, and the fact that she was not lost in a storm. She came under the new administration and that makes two of the best galleons to be lost that way, the way the **Santa Margarita** was lost. As for the former, once the new galleons have been despatched, efforts will be made to take out all the iron that can be taken from her in order to build ships overhere.

The damage done to the residents of these islands by having the galleons of Y.M. under [contracted] administration is great, and here they say that Y.M., being informed, may be pleased to order the Viceroy of New Spain not to contract them out but have them managed as before, since it would be more to the service of Y.M. The first thing I will say is that, by having the galleons come overhere under contractual administration, there is much more money involved than the 500 thousand pesos that Y.M. allows to come under the permit, and the extra money belongs to those who bring the galleons overhere and are in cahoots with the real owners of the money who live in New Spain. Now, while they have the contract, they can load whatever they want, and not limit themselves to the 30 tons that they are allowed. This extra money has the effect of causing the price of the merchandise overhere to rise and this badly affects the poor residents and widows, of which there are many in this city. Besides, they fill up the posts for officers and masters of galleons, and that is how the damage is done, as I have said to Y.M. whom I beg to please remedy this situation by favoring the residents of this land, as they are the ones who maintain these islands under arms, and they have no other income than what corresponds to their rank.

...
Francisco Tello

En caso q encauenten con enemigos del Salto
 aguiñe de Julio de mill y cien años q
 años 50 El Rey referendada de
 Juan de la Cruz y referendada del Consejo

El Rey

Al Virrey de la
 nra señoría de la
 casa en q se saca
 tendido ay cargo
 en la naue de las
 filippinas,

orig.

Conde de Montaroy Pariente mi Virrey gouern
 y capit general de la nueva españa. He entendido
 que todos los mas de las cabas almitantes inter-
 capitane de ynfanteria y las de mas ofiçales de las
 naos que van alas philippinas son deudos con los
 y allegados vros y que por esta causa no se haze
 el tractado que conuene en el dinero que llevan
 ala ysla sin registrar ni pagar los derechos ni cri-
 tar mercaderias q traen ala buelton de la misma
 manera ocupando las naos que acanta costa de
 mi la renta se enuencien y se siguen que los
 inconuenientes y por que conuenga y es justo se casten
 y remedien los mandos que siendo así lo suyo dñi
 las espensas de aqui adelante y guarden y cumplas
 lo que acerca desto esta proueyda gaceta.

Y tambien se ha entendido que en las dhas naos
 de las filippinas se nombran y nombran muchos ofiçes
 y ayudantes con gran costa y dano de mi la renta
 y enuencien en lo que hay bione en las dhas naos
 proueydas y dadas orden como se se fueren las de
 mas y gastos superfluos q son los dños
 y se proueyan y seueren de vil la parte q se
 de la renta de mill y suya mas y de otros 50
 El Rey Referendada de Juan de la Cruz y
 referendada del Consejo

Document S1602D

**Letter from the King to the Viceroy, dated
Villapardo 6 February 1602**

Source: AGI ... (exact file not recorded).

Note: It appears to be a copy of a previous letter dated Valladolid 15 July 1601.

(Facing page:) Facsimile reproduction of the King's letter dated 6 February 1602.]

**Letter to the Viceroy of New Spain regarding the Manila
galleons****Original text in Spanish.**

En caso que encuentren con enemigos. De Valladolid a quinze de Julio de mill y seiscientos y un años/Yo el Rey/refrendada de Joan de Ybarra y señalada del Consejo.

Yo el Rey

[Note in margin:] *Al Virrey de N^a Sp^a sobre ciertas cosas en que se ha entendido ay exñesoso en la navegacion de las Filippinas.*

Corregida.

Conde de Monterrey Pariente mi Virrey Governador y Capitan general de la nueva España. Hé entendido que todos o los mas de los cabos almirantes maestros capitanes de infanteria y los demas oficiales de las naos que van a las philippinas son deudos criados y allegados vuestros y que por esta caussa se haze el escutrino(?) que conviene en el dinero que llevan a la ysla sin Registrar ni pagar los derechos míos. Las mercaderías que traen a la buelta de la misma manera, ocupando las naos que a tanta costa de mi hazienda se extictinden [sic] y se siguen muchos invonvenientes y por que conviene y es justo sestazen [cosasen] y remedien, os mando que siendo asi lo susodicho los excuseis de aqui adelante y guardéis y cumplais lo que azerca desto esta proveydo y ordenado.

Y por que tambien se ha entendido que para los dhos navios de las Filippinas se nombran y envian muchos officiales y ayudantes en lo que hay [=alli] biene en los dhos naos provizeis y dexeis orden como se excusen las demasias y gastos superfluos que en estos ouieze [hubiese] y se pudiezen escussar. De Villapardo a siete de Febrero de mill

y seiscientos y dos años//Yo el Rey//Refendada de Joan de Ybarra y señalada del Consejo.

[Rubric]

Translation.

...
I the King

To the Viceroy of New Spain regarding certain things in which it is understood that there are excesses made overthere in the Philippine run.

Count of Monterrey, Relative, my Viceroy Governor and Captain General of New Spain.

I have learned that all or most of the generals, admirals, masters, captains of infantry and the other officers of the galleons that go to the Philippines are dependents and partisans of yours and that for this reason there is fraud(?) being made with the money that they take to the island(s) without declaring it nor paying my royal taxes. The merchandise that they bring back, the same way, occupying the galleons in which so much cost to my treasury is being expended and there follow many inconveniences and because it is proper and just that they cease and desist, I order you, if the above be true, to stop the excesses from now on and to obey and comply with what has been provided for and ordered regarding this.

Also because it is understood that for said Philippine galleons many officers and assistants are appointed and sent, on top of those who come on board them from there, you are to provide for and regulate the situation to stop the excessive and superfluous expenditures that may take place and that could be removed.

From Villapardo, 7 February 1602.

I the King

Countersigned by Juan de Ibarra and approved by the Council.

Document S1607A

De los Rios Coronel's proposal for a route around the north end of Luzon

Source: AGI Fil. 329, Legajo 2, pp. 349-352.

Editor's note: It appears that de los Rios also had in mind the discovery of the two quasi-mythical islands of Rica de Oro and Ricla de Plata in mid-Pacific, the idea of which may have arisen from real early sighting(s) of Marcus Island and/or Midway Island. The existence of the former was not proven until 1694, when Captain Arriola discovered it by accident.

Letter from the King to the Viceroy, dated 20 June 1607

Original text in Spanish.

Para que Hernando de los Rios Coronel queda hazer el descubrimiento que a ofrecido a su costa de la nueva navegacion que ay desde philipinas a la n^a España permitiendole que pueda llevar 40 toneladas de carga por navio.

El Rey

Por quanto por parte de Fernando de los Rios Coronel que al presente reside en las yslas Philipinas, se me a representado que las desgracias que de doze años a esta parte an subcedido en las naos de la Contratacion con la nueva Spaña, son de manera que lo que se a perdido en ellas passa de ocho millones de hazienda y que la gente a sido tanvien mucha siendo la causa de tal, el ser tan larga y prolixa la navegacion que de hordinario se detienen en ella cerca de cinco meses, sin saltar en tierra y que los mantenimientos salados de tanto tiempo y las destejanças del ayre cuan en lo que navegan muy grandes enfermedades por cuya caussa y el peligro de la buelta se atreven pocos a pasar alla y por la misma razon se haze tanvien gente con dificultad para aquellas yslas y que considerando con particular estudio y cuidado el rremedio que esto podria tener ha allado camino por donde se pueda hazer esta navegacion con mas de dos meses de tiempo menos de suerte que los extremos de los temples y ayres tengan una ygualdad y con esto no enferme ni se muera tanta gente como hasta aqui. Pues mudando la navegacion que oy se haze y saliendo por el cavo del boxeador que es lo mas setentrional de la ysla de Manila de hordinario se tarda en llegar a la costa de Yapon doze o quinze dias y alli puestos los vientos y las corrientes son favorables y asi se navega prosperamente, y saliendo de Manila a mediado de Junio (como esta mandado) en fin del, o

mediado de Julio, a la cabeza del Japon y luego pasen por el altura este mes y el de agosto que es benigno con que hallen todo el tiempo y igual en el viaje y se libran del daño que agora caussa a la gente el pasarla por octubre y noviembre habiendo salido de tierra tan caliente como es las philipinas demas de que siendo necessario podran hazer escala en la costa del Japon, o en las yslas Rica de oro y rica de plata que estan mandadas descubrir y son en parte a proposito para el respecto, y que con el deseo que tiene de servirme, como siempre lo ha hecho dara principio a ello haziendo el primer viaje a su costa sin que de mi hacienda se gaste cosa alguna, pues ofrezco de fabricar un patax de ciento y cinquenta toneladas y de pagar la gente que huvien de yr en el con que se le de facultad que quedan nombrar el Capitan y maestre y contramaestre y los demas oficiales que fueren menester sin que el governador ni la Audiencia de Manila se lo impiden, ni se entremetan en ello. Pues sera justo que el escoja los que le parecen que seran mas a proposito para su yntento, y que el pueda yr por cayo de todos dandole licencia para que haziendo rregistro ante los oficiales Reales de Manila desde donde començara su viaje pueda llevar alguna cantidad de toneladas de carga para ayuda a los gastos que ha de hazer, y que llegado a la nueva espanya, acavado su viaje, pueda libremente vender el navio con que si fuere necesario para mi servicio se a obligado a darle en mil ducados menos que lo que lo dicse qualquier particular. Supplicame que atento a que con solo que haga el dho viaje, demarcara la navegacion y formara cartas de marear ciertas y verdaderas de suerte que de alli adelante no aya dubda ni se negase en seguirle ni en que se tenga la Contratacion para quella Via-- mandase lo que fuese servido remitiendo lo que toca al premio dello para que asuepo(?) [accepte?] le haga la merced que mereziese y que fuere servido.

Y habiendose visto y conferido sobre ello en mi Consejo de las yndias, y consultadoseme me a parecido admitirle su ofrecimiento con que el registro de las toneladas de cargas que pide no pasen de quarenta y que solamente sean por aquella vez y que los oficiales que nombrare bayan con aprovacion del mi Governador y Capitan general de las dhas yslas philipinas por ende por la presente es mi voluntad y mando que queriendo el dho Hernando de los rrios Coronel hazer el descubrimiento de la dha nueva navegacion, con las condiciones y en la forma rreferida no se le ponga en ello impedimento alguno por el dho mi governador ni los demas ministros mios y persona a quien tacare todo o parte de lo aqui contenido sino que guardandosele y haziendo que sele guarde y cumpla todo ello le den el favor y ayuda que para su mejor execucion huviere menester y despues que aya echo su descubrimiento y visto con efecto de la importancia que es le mandare hazer la merced que fuere justo.

Fecha en Huerto(?) el Real a viente de junio de mil y seiscientos y siete años.

Yo el Rey

Refrendada de Juan Ruy de Contreras y señalada de los del Consejo.

Translation.

So that Hernando de los Rios Coronel may carry out the discovery which he proposes to do at his own cost of a new sailing route from the Philippines to New Spain, allowing him to take 40 tons of freight per ship.

The King

Whereas, on behalf of Hernando de los Rios Coronel who at present resides in the Philippine Islands, it has been represented to me that the disasters that have happened in the last twelve years with the galleons of the run to New Spain are such that a value exceeding eight millions has been lost thereby and that the loss in human life has also been great, the cause being so, on account of the very long navigation which ordinarily takes about five months, without the possibility of stepping ashore, and that the salted food supplies for such a long period and the lack of protection against the elements during the passage such that there result very serious illnesses, for which cause and the danger along the return route, few people dare go overthere and for the same reason it is difficult to recruit manpower for those islands, and when considering this situation with careful study and its possible remedy, he has found a route by which this navigation could be made, cutting over two months from the [regular] time, so that the extremes in weather and cold air would be more constant and therefore not as many people would sicken or die as until now. Indeed, by re-scheduling the voyage and departing by way of Cape Bojeador which is the northernmost of the island of Manila, normally it takes twelve to fifteen days to get to the coast of Japan and there, given that the winds and currents are favorable, sailing becomes prosperous, so much so that by departing Manila in the middle of June (as it is ordered), at the end of June, or by the middle of July, one would reach the head of Japan and then pass through the [high] latitudes [during] that month and that of August which is a time of benign weather and when they find the weather always constant during the voyage and they would then free themselves from the harm that is now caused to the people when they pass there during October and November, after having left such a hot climate like that of the Philippines, in addition to being able, if necessary, to make a stopover on the coast of Japan, or in the islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata whose discovery has been ordered and which are partly appropriate for this purpose, and that, for his desire to serve me, as he has always done, he will begin this discovery, making the first voyage at his expense and not spending anything from my Treasury; indeed, he offers to build a patache of 150 tons and to pay the crew that must go with him, requesting the authority to appoint the Captain and master and boatswain and the other officers who may be required without the Governor or the Audiencia of Manila preventing him, nor interfering with that. In fact, it would be just for him to select those who may seem to him to be more appropriate for the attempt, and that he should be able to go himself as the leader of them all, and giving him permission, when making the manifest before the Royal officials at Manila, the point of departure of his voyage, that he might take along some number of tons of freight as a contribution toward the expenses that he will have

to make, and that, upon his arrival in New Spain, at the end of his voyage, he may freely sell the ship but, if it be necessary for my service, he has obliged himself to give her for 1,000 ducats less than offered by any other private bidder

He begs me, should he accept to make said voyage, he should also accept the condition that he should make a log of the navigation and to draw sailing charts that would be correct and true, so that from then on there be no doubt or impediment for others to follow his track and that the official galleons could follow that route. --- it being my prerogative to reward him for his efforts and favors that he might deserve and at my pleasure.

And this having been seen and conferred about in my Council of the Indies, and after consultation, it seems to me proper to accept his proposal without the manifest of the freight that he requests exceeding 40 tons and that it should be only for this once and that the officers whom he would appoint would be approved by my Governor and Captain General of said Philippine Islands. Therefore it is by the present my will and I order that, should said Hernando de los Rios Coronel accept to make the discovery of said new route, with the conditions and in the manner prescribed, there shall not be any impediment whatever placed before him by my Governor nor my other ministers, but to the contrary they shall abide to the effect that he should carry out and comply with all of this by giving him the favors and assistance he will need, the better to execute his plan, and after his discovery has been made and in view of the effect of the importance that it has, I will then consider making him a just favor.

Made at Huerto(?) el Real, 20 June 1607.

I the King

Countersigned by Juan Ruy de Contreras and approved by those of the Council.

Document S1608A

Female slaves aboard Manila galleons

Source: AGI Filipinas 340, I. 3, pp. 114-115, from a letterbook containing the King's correspondence.

**Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines,
dated Aranjuez 1 May 1608****Original text in Spanish.**

Al Governador de Philipinas que con todo cuidado acuda al remedio de los ynconvenientes que resultan de las esclavas que los pasajeros y marineros traen consigo en las naos la contratacion de aquellas yslas con la Nueva España.

El Rey

Mi Governador y Capitan general de las yslas Philipinas, o à la perssona o perssonas a cuyo cargo fuere el Gobierno de ellas.

Hernando de los Rios Coronel procurador general de essas yslas me ha hecho rrelacion que los passajeros y marineros de la naos de la contratacion de ellas con la nueva España traen de ordinario consigo esclavas que son caussa de muy grandes ofensas de Dios y otros ynconvenientes en desservicio suyo a que no se deve dar lugar que no es bichn que en navegacion tan larga y peligrosa aya ocassion de ofender el Suppremo que atento a ello fuese servido de mandar proner(?) del rremedio necessario mandando que de aqui adelante no quedan traer consigo esclavas en las dhas naos ningun pasajero marino ni otra pcrssona alguna so pena de tener las propiedades y que se las quedan tomar por tales en el puerto de Acapulco, o como animal fuese, y haviendose visto en el Consejo de las yndias, y considerado todo atentamente me a parecido encargaros como os le encargo y mando que con particular cuidado acudais al remedio de lo susodho y prevengais todo de manera que cesen los ynconvenientes que se me an representado pues hace quando conviene al servicio de Dios y he vitarlos [evitarlos] que del cuidado y buena diligencia que en esto pusieredes me tieme prevenido.

Fecha en Aranjuez a primero de Mayo de mill y seiscientos y ocho años.

Yo el Rey

Refrendada de Gabriel de Roa y señalada de los del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines that with all care he should attend to the remedy of the disadvantages that result from the female slaves whom the passengers and sailors bring along aboard the galleons of the run of those islands with New Spain.

The King

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, or to the person or persons in whose charge their Government may Hernando de los Rios Coronel, procurator general of those islands, has given me an account to the effect that the passengers and sailors on board the galleons of the run between them and New Spain usually bring along female slaves who are the cause of very serious offenses to God and other disadvantages in disservice to them and this should not take place as it is not good that during such a long and dangerous voyage there be an opportunity to offend...¹ the Supreme ... to be pleased to order that the necessary remedy be taken by ordering that from now on none of the passengers, sailor or other person whatever be allowed to take along female slaves board said galleons under the penalty of having their properties taken from them as such in the port of Acapulco from any galleon whatever, even if it be an animal.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, and after careful consideration, it seemed to me proper to order you, as I do now, to take special care in finding the remedy of the above-said [practice] and to prevent it completely so that there may stop the disadvantages that I have been reported to me and you are to inform me of whatever measure you take with respect to it.

Made in Aranjuez, 1 May 1608.

I the King

Countersigned by Gabriel de Roa and approved by those of the Council.

1 Ed. note: Words are missing, probably the following: "God and the Supreme Council has asked me..."

Document S1610D

**Planned discovery of the islands of Rica de Oro
and Rica de Plata**

Source: AGI Fil. 129-1-2, pp. 241-243.

Letter from the King to the Viceroy, dated 5 June 1610**Original text in Spanish.**

Al Virrey de la Nueva España que oyga a Hernando de los Rios Coronel y confiera en una Junta lo que el propone acerca del descubrimiento de la yslas ricca de oro y Rica de plata, y que conformandose el Virey con el se execute lo que esta mandado.

El Rey

Marques de Salinas pariente mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General de las provincias de la Nueva España.

En mi Consejo de las indias se a visto el testimonio que con carta de veinte de octubre mil seiscientos y nueve me enviastes de lo actuado y determinado en ciertas Juntas que hiziezes acerca de las conveniencias de hazerse desde el puerto de Acapulco el descubrimiento de las yslas ricca de oro y ricca de plata y no desde philipinas como por la del riesgo de enenigo del dho año tengo mandado y todavia considerando la importancia de la materia y las Raçones que obligaron a tomar aquella Resolución y las que de nuevo me a representado Hernando de los Rios Coronel procurador general de las yslas philipinas que tanta noticia y practica tiene de aquella nabegacion la satisfaccion que se tiene desto y de su buen çelo a las cosas de mi servicio, me a parecido ordenaros, como se lo ordeno, y mando que luego que aya llegado a esa nueva España en la presente flota le oygais y hagais una Junta de las personas que fueren mas praticas y experimentadas en la nabegacion de las dhas yslas philipinas donde haviendo platicado y conferido con la atencion y çelo que se debe para negocio de tanta consideracion, se basase por la raçones y las caussas que el dicho Hernando de los Rios me presenta convendra que el descubrimiento de las dhas yslas ricca de oro y ricca de plata se haga desde philipinas y conviendose y siendo de un mismo parescer ordenareis que se ponga en execucion lo que como dho tengo mandado por la de treze de mayo del seiscientos y nueve y si acaso no concurriedes todos y fueredes de un mismo parescer tengo por

bien que conformando, os doi con el dho Hernando de los rrios coronel lo poder executar avisando al dho mi Consejo muy particularmente de la rresolucion que se tomare y advirtiendlo que no se ha de exceder de los veinte mil ducados que estan mandados, se gasten en el dho descubrimiento y las copias de los papeles que el dho Hernando de los Rios ha dado en la materia son las ynclusas que ha parecido embiarselas para que se bean en la dha Junta y la rresolucion que se hubiere de tomar sea conferiendo sobre todo lo que contienen y si conformidad de lo que casui se dize la somaredes de que se haga el dho descubrimiento por philipinas inviracis a mi Governador y Capitan dellas junto con los dhos veinte mil ducados el despacho cerrado que con la dha la del veinte y tres de mayo de seiscientos y nueve para el cuyo duplicado scra con esta de Lesma a cinco de junio de mil seiscientos y diez años.

Yo el Rey

Por mandado del Rey mi señor Juan Ruy de Contreras, señalada de los del Consejo.

Translation.

To the Viceroy of New Spain for him to interview Hernando de los Rios Coronel and confer in a meeting what he proposes for the discovery of the islands named Rica de oro and Rica de plata and, if the Viceroy should be in agreement with him, what has been ordered should be carried out.

The King

Marquis de Salinas, relative, my Governor and Captain General of the provinces of New Spain.

My Council of the Indies has seen the testimonial which, under cover of a letter dated 20 October 1609, you have sent me regarding what was done and decided in certain council meetings regarding the advantages of doing the discovery of the islands of Rica de oro and Rica de plata from the port of Acapulco and not from the Philippines on account of the risk of the enemy¹ of that year, as I had ordered, but I am still considering the importance of the matter and the reasons that made that decision necessary, and those that Hernando de los Rios Coronel, procurator general of the Philippine Islands, has once again presented to me. The well-known and practical experience that this man has in that navigation and the satisfaction held about this and his good zeal toward the things concerning my service have led me to order you, as I do now, that, as soon as he gets to New Spain aboard the present fleet, you are to give him an interview him and call to a meeting persons most knowledgeable about the Philippine Island run, in which, having discussed and conferred with the care and zeal due to a business of such an importance, based on the reasons and arguments that Hernando de los Rios presented to me about the advantages of making the discovery of said islands of Rica de oro and Rica de plata from the Philippines, and, should it be found

1 Ed. note: He refers to the Dutch threat.

advantageous, and all being of the same opinion, you are to order that it be so carried out, in accordance with my order of 13 May 1609. However, in case not all of you should hold the same opinion, I think it alright for you to side with said Hernando de los Rios Coronel in being able to carry it out, giving a very detailed report to my Council about the decision taken but with the warning you that the 20,000 ducats that have been authorized for the expenditures of making said discovery should not be exceeded. The copies of the papers that said Hernando de los Rios presented are enclosed so that they may be seen in said meeting and the decisions that will have to be taken must touch on all the reasons therein and, should there be an agreement, copy of what was said about the convenience of making said discovery from the Philippines are to be sent to my Governor and Captain of them with a copy of mine dated 23 May 1609 whose duplicate will be attached with the present one, dated Lesma 5 June 1610.

I the King

By order of the King my Lord, Juan Ruy de Contreras, and approved by those of the Council.

Document S1611A3

Addendum to the longitude experiment with the so-called fixed compass

Source: AGI Fil. 340, legajo 3, pp. 102-103. Note: Refer to Doc. 1611A in HM3.

A3. How the king in 1608 asked de los Rios to carry out this experiment across the Pacific

Original text in Spanish.

Hernando de los Rios como procurador de las Philipinas. Para que Don Francisco de Varte encargue a Hernando de los Rios Coronel el hazer la experincia que se ha de hazer de la aguja fija tocada por Luis de Fonseca en la flota de la Nueva España que se apresta para que despues lo haga tambien en la mar del sur.

El Rey

Don Francisco de Varte del mesmo de las Indias que estais en la ciudad de Sevilla entendiendo en cosas de mi servicio, por parte de Hernando de los Rios Coronel, Procurador general de las yslas philipinas se me a hecho relacion que a entendido que en la flota de nueva España que se apresta se a mandado que que se lleven Agujas fijas de marear tocadas por Luis de Fonseca Portugues para que se haga la experincia de Hiloton(?) en todos los meridianos y porque el a de yr para filipinas en la dha flota y conviene que no solo se haga la dha experincia en esta mar pero tambien en la del sur demas de que no yra en la flota nadie que lo sepa hazer con la puntualidad que se requiere y con los ynstrumentos tan aproposito como los que el llevara me a suplicado mandar se fuesele cometiese el hazer la dha experincia, pues justamente con esto pretende poner en uso los dhos instrumentos entre los marineros sin ningun ynteres alguno solo por servirme a mi, y haviendose visto en mi Junta de guerra de las yndias y considerado todo he tenido por bien de dar la presente para Vos por la que lo mando que yendo el dho Hernando de los Rios Coronel en la dha flota de nueva España le cometais el hazer la dha experincia entregandole para ello la aguja fija que como derecho se ubiere de llevar tocada por el dho Luis de Fonseca. Por quanto yo lo tengo assi por bien.

Fecha en Aranjuez a primero de mayo de mil y seiscientos y ocho años.

Yo el Rey

Refrendada de Gabriel de Roa y señalada de los de la Junta de guerra.

Translation.

Hernando de los Rios as procurator of the Philippines. To Don Francisco de Varte for him to entrust to Hernando de los Rios Coronel with carrying out the experiment that must be made with the fixed compass modified by Luis de Fonseca aboard the fleet of New Spain that is being made ready so that it can also be made later on in the South Sea.

The King

Don Francisco de Varte, of the same [council] of the Indies, who are in the city of Seville taking care of things related to my service.

By Hernando de los Rios Coronel, procurator general of the Philippine Islands, I have learned that in the fleet of New Spain that is being made ready it has been ordered they take with them some fixed compasses that have been modified by Lui de Fonseca, Portuguese, so that the experience of Hilton(?) can be carried out at all the meridians and because he [de los Rios] must go aboard said fleet to get to the Philippines it is convenient that the experiment be carried out not only in this sea but also in the South Sea, the more so because no other knowledgeable person is going with the fleet and could do it with the expediency that is required and with the appropriate instruments like those he will carry. For this reason, he has begged me to order that it be he who should be entrusted with carrying out said experiment. Indeed, by the same opportunity he intends to place said instruments in the hands of mariners without any personal interest but only to serve me.

And this having been seen in my War Council of the Indies, and been well considered, I have decided to send you the present so that you may order him to board said fleet of New Spain and carry out said experiment, handing him the necessary fixed compass that has to be of the type modified by Luis de Fonseca. Consequently, I think it a proper thing to do.

Made in Aranjuez, 1 May 1608.

I the King

Countersigned by Gabriel de Roa and approved by those of the War Council.

Documents S1611C

Matías Rodríguez was a ship's boy with Vizcaíno

Source: AGN AHHI 6-409.

Report containing a note from Sebastian Vizcaíno, dated Japan 4 May 1613

Original text in Spanish.

Matiaz Rrodriguez—grumete de la nao San Francisco que fue con el General Sebastian Biscaino al descubrimiento de las yslas Rica de Oro y Plata del Japon [sic].

MDCXXVII años.

*Alonso Pardo Contador, Juez ofizial de la Real Hazienda deste puerto de Acapulco por su Magd. certifico que por el rregistro vizita y lista de la nao **San Francisco** que se hizo en veinte y uno de março del año pasado de seisçientos y onze, consta y pareçe que fue çirviendo en ella Matias Rrodriguez, en plaça de Gurumente [sic] y asimismo pareçe que el susodicho se presento con su açiento ante los Jueses ofiçiales Reales deste dicho puerto, en diez y seis de febrero del dicho año.*

En cuya certificacion y para que de ello conste doy la presente en Acapulco en treinta y un dias del mes de dizembre de mill y seisçientos y quinze años.

Alonso Pardo.

Los escrivanos que aqui firmamos y damos fee, que Alonso Pardo, de quien la certificacion de arriba parese estar firmada, es contador Jucs ofizial Real de Su Magd. del puerto de Acapulco y como a las certificaciones que por el pareçen estar firmadas, se a dado y da entera fe y credito en juicio y fuera del. Fecho en Mexico a nueve de mayo de mill y seisçientos y diez y ocho años.

Nicolas de Luna, escrivano Real.

Francisco de Olalde, escrivano de su Magd.

Juan Bautista de Troxo, escrivano de su Magd.

[Certification of General Vizcaino]

General Sebastian Biscayno a cuyo cargo es el descubrimiento de las Yslas Ricas de Oro y Plata, y enbasador al enper[al]dor y Prinsipe del Japon por su Magd, etc, certificado a los que la presente bieren, que Matiaz Rodriguez Gurumete del navio San Francisco a çervido la dicha plaça desde vointe de março de seisçientos y onze asta oy dia de la fecha desta que le di Liçencia para yrse a la çiudad de Nangasaqui por haver mandado echar a traves el dicho navio por no tener con que lo despachar y lo demas que constare, por los libros de los oficiales Reales del Puerto de Acapulco que se le a de pagar por quenta de su Magd, de que se le deve descontar çien pesos de oro comun que me servio en la çiudad de Mexico de los oficiales Reales de ella, y de Juan de Oz y Gregorio Matiaz, que hizieron ofiçio de pagadores en este reyno çiento y çinquenta Reales que se le an de bajar de lo que alcanse[re sic].—*

En certifiçacion de lo qual y de su pedimento, le di esta firmada de mi nombre en Urangava, del dicho mes y año a quatro de mayo de mill y seisçientos y treze años.

Sebastian Biscayno.

Firmo ante mi de que doy fe, Sebastian Biscayno otra vez esta çertifiçacion, en Mexico a quatro de mayo de mill y seisçientos y diez y seis años. Sebastian Biscayno. Ante mi Christoval Rramires, escrivano de su Magd.

Los escrivanos que aqui firmamos, y damos fee que Christobal Rramires de quien ba firmada la çertifiçacion arriva contenida es escrivano de su Magd, y como tal a las escrituras y autos que ante el an pasado, y pasan se a dado entera fe y credito, en juicio y fuere del.

Fecha en Mexico a doze de mayo de mill y seisçientos y diez y ocho años,

Nicolas de Luna, escrivano Real

Alonso de Ruda, escrivano Real

Francisco de Arçe, escrivano Real.

El General Sebastian Biscayno, a cuyo cargo es el descubrimiento de las Yslas Rricas de Oro y Plata, y enbajador al enperador y Príncipe del Japon, por su Magd etc, por quanto Matiaz Rodriguez gurumete del navio San Francisco de mi cargo, me a pedido liçencia para yrse a la çiudad de Nangasaqui a negoçios que le importan y por haver dado al traves con el dicho navio, por no tener con que lo aprestar para hazer biaje a la Nueva España, y el consierto que hize con Jocozaiva Jozque [i.e. HOSUKA-WA Hosuke], Mayordomo de Mazamuny [i.e. DATE Masamuney] en el navio que fabrica[n] en Nauri veynte y seis españoles, y los demas que dan por quenta de su Magd, y escusarle gastos e tenido por bien de se la mandar dar como por lo que sente se la doy para que libremente baya a la dicha çiudad o a otra qualesquier parte, y mando a las Justicias a mi Juridiçion sugestas, y a las que no lo fueren pido por merçed le dejen pasar libremente.*

Para lo qual di esta firmada de mi nombre, con el sello de mis armas, y un fundado del ym[en]bra escrito del Secretario.

Fecha en Urangava del Japon a diez y nueve de mayo de mill y seisçientos y treze años.

Sebastian Biscayno.

Por mandado del Señor Gregorio Lopez.

Translation.

Matias Rodriguez—ship's boy aboard the ship San Francisco who went with General Sebastián Vizcaino to the discovery of the Japanese [sic] Islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata.

Year of 1617.

I, Alonso Pardo, accountant, official Judge of the Royal Treasury in this port of Acapulco for His Majesty, certify that, by the manifest and the report of the inspection of the ship **San Francisco** that was carried out on the 21st of March of the past year of 1611, it is recorded and appears that Matias Rodriguez was serving as a ship's boy aboard her, and in addition it appears that said person presented his papers before the Royal Judges of said port on 16th February of said year.

To certify same, and for the record, I give the present at the port of Acapulco on the 31st day of the month of December 1615.

Alonso Pardo

We, the undersigned notaries, do certify that Alonso Pardo, who appears to have signed the above certification, is accountant and Royal Judge at the port of Acapulco, and, as for all certifications that appear to have been signed by him, we give full credence and credit, in and out of court.

Made at Mexico on 9 May 1618.

Nicolas de Luna, Royal Notary.

Francisco de Olalde, Royal Notary.

Juan Bautista de Trojo, Royal Notary.

[Certification of General Vizcaino]

I, General Sebastián Vizcaino, in whose charge is the discovery of the islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, and His Majesty's Ambassador to the Emperor and Prince of Japan, etc. do certify to those who may see the present that Matias Rodriguez, ship's boy aboard the ship **San Francisco** has served in said post as of the 20th of March 1611 until this date when I gave him permission to go to the city of Nagasaki, on account of my having ordered said ship to be condemned for lack of what is needed to despatch her, and other information recorded in the books of the Royal officials in the port of Acapulco, he must be paid his due by His Majesty, minus the amount of 100 ordinary pesos in gold which I received in the city of Mexico from the Royal officials there, and from Juan de Hoz and Gregorio Matias who acted as paymasters in this kingdom 150 reals that should be deducted from what accrues to him.

Before me—I sign this certification once more in Mexico, on 4 May 1616.

Sebastian Vizcaino

Before me, Cristobal Ramirez, Royal Notary.

The undersigned notaries certify that Cristobal Ramirez who has signed the above-quoted certification, is a Royal Notary and as such, all the official papers that he has signed are to be given full credence and credit, in and out of court.

Made at Mexico, 12 May 1618.

Nicolas de Luna, Royal Notary.

Alonso de Ruda, Royal Notary.

Francisco de Arce, Royal Notary.

I, General Sebastián Vizcaino, in whose charge is the discovery of the islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, and Embassador to the Emperor and Prince of Japan, on behalf of His Majesty, etc.

Whereas Matías Rodriguez, ship's boy aboard the ship **San Francisco** under my care, has requested my permission to go to the city of Nagasaki on private business and because said ship has been condemned on account of the lack of what is necessary to make her ready to return to New Spain, and the agreement that I made with Hosukawa Hosuke, Majordomo of [Date] Masamunei with regards to the ship that 26 Spaniards are building in Nauri,¹ and for the other things they give on behalf of His Majesty, and to save him some expenses, I have thought it proper to give him this permission so that he may freely go to said city or anywhere else, and I order the justices under my jurisdiction, and to those who are not I beg it as a favor, to let him pass freely.

I have therefore signed the present with my name, affixing my seal, with a notation below it by the Secretary.

Made at Urugawa in Japan, on 19 May 1613.

Sebastian Vizcaino.

By order of Mr. Gregorio Lopez.

1 Ed. note: This is supposedly the old name for the place where the new ship was being built, in the kingdom of Sendai.

Document SI616D

Second voyage of the Date Maru to Acapulco in 1616

Source: A book written by Fray Diego de San Francisco, O.S.F., entitled: "*Relacion verdadera, y breve de la persecucion, y Martirios que padecieron por la confusion de cuenta de nuestra Santa Fee Catholica en Japon, quinze Religiosos de la Provincia de S. Gregorio, de los Descalços del Orden de nuestro Seraphico P. S. Francisco de las Islas Philipinas*" (Manila, 1625 & Mexico 1626). The Manila edition bears number R-14164 in BN Madrid. The book was printed by Thomas Pimpin, the Filipino printer, at the College of Santo Tomás de Aquino in Manila; it is quarto in size and contains 70 folios.

Notes: This document is an addition to those in Doc. 1613 in HM3. Fray San Francisco was aboard the Date Maru during the voyage from Japan to Acapulco. Admiral SHOGUN Mukai, who sprung the author from jail and a sure death, stayed behind in Japan.

Excerpts from the book by Fray San Francisco about Japan

Original text in Spanish.

Folio 1

"Relacion de los santos martyres de Japon.

A nuestro Charissimo Hermano Fr. Juan Baptista, Ministro Provincial de la Provincia de San Gregorio de Filipinas, de los Descalços del Orden de nuestro Serafico Padre S. Francisco."

Fray Diego de San Francisco, Predicador de la misma Orden, y Provincial, y Comissario de Japon; Salud en nuestro Señor IESV Christo.

...

Summary of the first chapters.

When 5 Franciscans were left alone after the persecution of 1613, they decided that each one should go to a separate kingdom. The author went to Meaco (now Kyoto), then to the Kingdom of Mino for 2 months, visiting the cities of Camo and Ichinomiya, among others. To get to Yedo (now Tokyo) he disguised himself as a soldier and joined the army returning from Osaka to Yedo escorting the Emperor [sic, meaning the old Shogun] Goxosama [i.e. Ieyasu] and his 4 sons, of whom Iongunsama [i.e. the new Shogun Hidetada] was then governing the State, the others were Fitachi [Hitachi], Usioye,



Side view of replica
(1993).



Original ship (1613)
(ref. HM 3:452).

Replica of the Japan-built ship Date Maru. Built in 1993, it is part of a theme park at Ichinomaki, Miyagi, near the place of the construction of the original ship, which was built in 1613 by Sebastian Vizcaino and 26 Spanish seamen under his supervision and many men from his sponsor, Date Masamune, the Daimyo of Sendai. She first crossed the Pacific to Acapulco in 1614, returning in 1615, and making a second trip to Acapulco in 1616. In 1618, when the Japanese Embassy to Rome returned with Fray Luis Sotelo, the new Governor of the Philippines commandeered her and she and the Manila galleon *Espiritu Santo* went straight to Manila. There the Japanese Ambassador sold her to the Governor and returned home by other means. On her first voyage to Acapulco, she had carried about 180 men, but in 1616 she had 200 Japanese on board and 10 Spanish seamen, in addition to five Franciscans, among whom was Father Fray San Francisco, the author of a book featured in the present document. During the second crossing of the north Pacific, in winter, 150 Japanese and 3 Spaniards died. Many of the Japanese survivors settled in Guadalajara permanently; in the meantime, they had learned about the seclusion of Japan, and, having becoming Christian, they faced the death penalty if they returned home. (Source of image: ikipedia).

and Canozusama Cami. The total number of soldiers was 400,000. Already there were some troops armed with arquebuses.

Near Edo, Fray San Francisco kept wearing Japanese clothes. During Lent 1615, he went to live for a while in the fortified house of Tono Cato Sama Dono.

He was made prisoner with a Brother, the latter being decapitated in June 1615. Fray San Francisco, as he says himself, spoke Japanese very well and was able to convince the judge that he was only passing through the Court, on the way to Voxu [or Oshu, now Sendai], the kingdom of Idate Mazamune [Date Masamune]. He was jailed with other Christians. The worst that they had to suffer was that the bodies of dead prisoners were not removed without permission from Governor Cambioye, and were left among the living for up to 8 days...

Six months later, while he was still in jail, the Spanish ambassador, Fr. Diego de Santa Catalina, and his companions,¹ arrived at Court in a ship from New Spain.² Brother Burguillos tried to see him but the guards denied him permission. After Fray S. F. had been in jail for one year, a Spaniard and a Portuguese were able to bribe the guards and speak with him.

...
[Chapter VII continued]

Con todo esto, por no parecer descortes, recibió el Emperador Goxosama the embassador de su Majestad, mandando a su hijo Iongunsama (que ya gobernava por el el Imperio) que no recibiesse al otro presente que para el venia. Hizose assi, y mandó el Iongun a los Religiosos Embaxadores que luego se embarcasen en su navio, y bolviessen a España todos. Y porque esto tuviesse efecto, y no se quedassen en el Japon escondido, llevaron con guardas a los quatro Religiosos, y los embarcaron en el navio, teniendo guardas continuamente, para que no les dexassen desembarcar.

Cap. VIII.

De como me sacaron de la carcel, y bolvi a la nueva España en compañía de los Religiosos Embaxadores.

Algunos criados del Emperador, viendo que bolvio a la nueva España aquel navio, quissieron gozar de la ocasion, de grangear, llevando a la nueva España sus mercaderias, por lo qual se embarcaron en el dicho navio. Uno de ellos era Muçay Xonquen, Japon noble, a cuyo cargo estava el cuydar de los navios del Emperador.

Este juzgando, o temiendo, que su hazienda tendria mal despacho, y salida en la nueva España, por la mala respuesta de la Embaxada, por assegurarlas, trató con el Emperador, de que me soltasse, para que hallandome yo obligado, le correspondiesse, en cuydar del buen despacho de su hazienda en la nueva España, siendo intercessor con el Virrey. Concedioselo el Emperador y la razon con que lo persuadió, fue dezirle, que mejor era desterrarle a la nueva España, que tenerme en la carcel, adonde hazia muchos

1 His companions were Brother Fray Bartolome de Burguillos and a lay brother, Fray Juan Matute.

2 This was the Date Maru returning from her first voyage to Acapulco.

Christianos, y que si me martirizava, seria peor, como con esso se animaran los Christianos. Finalmente este por su codicia y porque Dios lo quiso assi, me sacó de la jaula, y estava tal, que no me podía menear, y un criado suyo me llevó a cuestras a su casa, y me hizo grandes favores y regalos. Llevóme una vez a una casa de recreo y entretenimiento, que tenía en un lugar suyo; y para obligarme, y mostrarme el amor que me tenía (no por Dios, sino por su interés) hizo conmigo una cosa muy rara para en Iapon, y fue, que mando a los soldados, y pajes, y otra gente de su servicio se saliessen de casa, sin que quedasse alguno dentro que nos pudiesen ver, y haziendome un gran banquete, me sentó a su mesa, y hizo venir a su muger, y que todos tres comiessemos juntos, y nos sirvieron las mugres suyas concubinas a la mesa.

Estando yo admirado de ver esto por saber lo que es en Iapon, me dixo este Capitan del Emperador: A qualquiera que mira a mi muger, le corto la cabeza al punto, mas porque sé que los Religiosos no son hombres del mundo, y vivis c[h]astamente, quiero que la mires, y me digas si son tan hermosas las Empañolas. Yo no acostumbro a mirar a las mugres al rostro: pero mandandolo mire, y dixe: por cierto hermosa es tu muger como las Españolas. Estuvo la muger a la mesa tan grave y honesta, como lo estuviera una muger de un Grande de España, sin levantar sus ojos, ni bolver a mirar a parte alguna. Despues de esto, y otros favores, me dixo: Bien saveis que estavas condenado a la mas cruel muerte que se dá en Iapon, y que te he librado, que solo yo te podía librar de ella. He lo hecho por el mucho amor que tengo al padre fray Luis Sotelo, al qual (aunque yo no soy Christiano) le dí a un hijo mio, que me bautizasse, como tu bien sabes, el qual murio con el agua del bautismo. La causa de no ser ya yo Christiano, es por esta persecucion, pero espero en el verdadero Dios, en cuya dotrina y vuestra creencia, que abra mejor oportunidad en que sin riesgo me pueda yo bautizar: por aora no me atrevo, por no perder mi vida y estado. Mas pues te he librado de la muerte, te pido, que como hombre agradecido me des palabra, de que en nueva España haras mis causas, y apoyarás mis cosas con el Virrey, y con el Prelado mayor de tu Orden, para que en todo mi hacienda tengo buen despacho.

Yo le respondí: yo vine de España a predicar el Evangelio, y a encaminar las almas por el camino de la salvacion, y a dar (si fuesse necessario) en testimonio desta verdad, mi vida. Si uviera muerto en aquel carcel, ten por cierto, Mocyxongue, que estuviera mas medrado, porque uviera mi alma salido de la prision y destierro del cuerpo, y deste mundo, e ido a gozar del Reyno de Dios, por su bondad y misericordia: mas pues ya me has librado de la carcel y muerte; conformome con la voluntad de Dios, que el sabe lo que me está mejor, pues que assi lo ha ordenado. Por lo qual te doy las gracias, que a tu voluntad devo: y ten por cierto, que hare lo que pudiere para servirte, y que tus desseos no seran defraudados. Lo que te pido y ruego es, no te olvides de tu alma, y de ayudar a la Christiandad, porque alcançarás por ello eterna vida y gloria.

El lo prometio assi, con que dimos fin a estos negocios, y nos despedimos y yo me fue a la nao; y mis quatro hermanos Embaxadores, e interprete se consolaron mucho de verme fuera de aquella carcel, aunque tan enfermo y flaco.

Sentía yo mucho dexar a aquellas almas en la persecucion, y manos de los lobos: queria quedarme, y assi lo propuse a mis hermanos, pareciendome cumpla con la palabra que di a Mucayxonguen, con encomendar el cumplimiento della a los Embaxadores, que era cierto lo harian mejor que yo. Representéles muchas cosas de conveniencia: todas les parecieron bien, solo hallaron un grande inconveniente, y fue, que a mi me entregaron al capitan y maestre [español] del navio, y demas de esso me avian fiado el piloto y despensero, y que si viessen los Iapones las guardas que yo no yva, avian de prender a todos estos, y aun suceder otros mayores trabajos, dando tambien ocasion al Mucayxonguen de enojo y muy gran pena. Visto este, determiné de hazer mi viage, aunque tan enfermo, y cumplir el destierro por Dios. Fue un desconsuelo muy grande de muchos Iapones Christianos, que avian venido por mi, para bolverme a tierra, y esconderme: los quales derramaron muchas lagrimas, por ver me apartava dellos, diziendo otras palabras semejantes a las que decian a San Martin sus discipulos a la hora de su muerte, porque sabian lo que yá los amava.

Y finalmente, día de San Hieronymo [30 September] de mil y seyscientos y diez y seys nos embarcamos, vino a despedirse de los Religiosos un gran numero de Iapones Christianos, y era tan grande su sentimiento, lagrimas y solloços, viendonos embarcar, que eterneciera al coraçon mas duro del mundo, si los viera. Dezian: O miserables, y malaventurados de nosotros! Es posible, que la malacia de nuestros grandes pecados aya llegado a merecer, que Dios nos quite los maestros de la verdad, y padres amados de nuestras almas, y que quedamos desamparados, y sin remedio? Dezian destas, y otras razones muchas, y muy lastimosas, y luego hablaban en particular conmigo. Aunque el llanto, dolor, y afliccion que yo tenia de verlos, no me dexava hablar, con todo esto me anime, y les dixe como pude: No os congoxeis, ni afligais, hijos de mi alma, que aunque yo me voy aora, os llevo dentro de mi coraçon; yo os prometo de bolver en todo caso, siendo Dios servido, acompañado de otros muchos Religiosos, tales como conviene para nuestro bien; y pues veys, que yo no me voy, sino que me enbian desterrado, fiad de mi que bolveré como os prometo.

Otras muchas razones les dixe, despidiendome dellos; y afirmo, fuera mas consolado al martyrio, por darles buen exemplo, que no a embarcarme. Con esto nos abrazamos, y despedimos aquel mismo día, y a la noche tuvimos una cruel tormenta; y hasta llegar a la tierra de la nueva España, en cinco meses tuvimos quarenta tormentas, y huracanes. Quebrósenos el arbol mayor, y mesana, y de día y de noche sin cessar se dava a las bombas. Por encima de la nao, quatro meses continuos, passava de una parte a otra un rio de agua, tanto que nacio en el combes mucha yerva. De un golpe de mar nos llevó el corredor con quatro hombres. Yvan solos diez marineros Españoles, los demas eran Iapones, que no son hombres para la mar: murieron tres Españoles, y los otros yvan enfermos, y todos los Iapones, que faltando el agua, bebían de la del mar, y se murían hinchados: y assi no se mareavan las velas, y se hazian pedaços. De todos los Religiosos, solo estuvo bueno el hermano fray Pedro Baptista. por ser robusto, el qual nos servia a los demas con mucha caridad. Predicava, y bautizava a todos los Gentiles, de suerte que los que murieron, alcançaron el santo baptismo: y los demas se hi-

zieron todos christianos, que eran un capitan, y dozientos Iapones infieles. Yo ayudava (aunque enfermo) lo que podia.

Dexo de contar aquí otros muchos trabajos que padecimos, y por la brevedad, solo digo, en tierra de la nueva España, por persuasion y ruego de los Iapones antes de llegar al comun pucrto de Acapulco, dimos fondo en una ensenada del Valle de Váderas [Puerto Vallarta today]: porque los Iapones (que que solamente quedaron cincuenta vivos) dixerón que sino yvan luego a tierra avian de quemar el navio, que mejor era morir de una vez. Esto fue vigilia de S. Mathias de mil y seyscientos y diez y siete. Nosotros nos quedamos en tierra todos, y el navio llevaron á Acapulco, en que yvan el hermano fr. Pedro Baptista, el piloto con siete marineros, y algunos pocos Iapones. Los demas recibimos en tierra mucho regalo, y caridad en las estancias de los Españoles.

Despues de algun tiempo nos fuymos a Mexico, y visité a don Diego Fernandez de Cordova, Marques de Guadalcaçar, y Virrey de nueva España, y le signifiqué la obligacion en que quedava con Mucayxonguen, General de los navios del Emperador del Iapon. Pedile por merced la remission de la pena de la vida que tenian los Españoles, por haver llevado aquel navio via recta desde Japon a nueva España, y tambien el buen despacho, y salida de la hazienda que venia de Mucay Xonguen. El Virrey lo hizo en todo, como tan Christiano y Caballero, con que yo quedé desempeñado de mi palabra: y mas de superrogacion, me libró su Excelencia mil pesos, con que se remediaron y socorrieron por mucho tiempo los ministros del Iapon. Ayudó tambien mucho nuestro Reverendissimo Padre Fray Diego de Ojalora Comisario General de nuestra Orden en la nueva España, Dios nuestro Señor le pague tanto bien.

Cap. IX

Como bolvi de Mexico a Manila, y Iapon adonde hallé que avian martirizado a mis compañeros, que tuve en la prision.

En la ciudad de Mexico estuve mas de un año, aguardando ocasion y licencia de los Pidados(?), con desseo de bolverme a Iapón, pero con la tardança me fui resfriando en este desseo, y me dio una vehemente tentacion, y fue que me persuadí que me convenia no bolver a Iapon...

Translation.

Folio 1.

Narrative of the holy martyrs of Japan.

To our Dearest Brother Fray Juan Baptista, Minister Provincial of the Province of San Gregorio of the Philippines, of the disalced of the Order of our Seraphic Father St. Francis.

...
Fray Diego de San Francisco, Preacher of the same order, Provincial and Commissioner of Japan. Greetings in our Lord JESUS Christ.
...

Chapter VII.

... With all this, in order not to appear impolite, Emperor Goxosama received the ambassador of His Majesty, ordering to his son Iongunsama (who was already governing the empire on his behalf) not to accept the other gift that came for him. It was done that way, and the Iongun [Shogun Hidetada] ordered that the Religious Ambassadors to board his ship, and to return to Spain, all of them. And so that this would happen, and that none would remain in Japan in hiding, the four Religious in question¹ were taken under guard and placed on board the ship, and kept there under a continuous guard, to make sure they would not disembark.

Chapter VIII.

How I was taken out of jail and I returned to New Spain in the company of the Religious Ambassadors.

Some servants of the Empecoro, seeing that said ship was returning to New Spain thought of enjoying the opportunity to do business, in taking their merchandises to New Spain, and that is why they boarded said ship. One of them was Mucay Xonguen, a Japanese noble, in whose care was the management of the Emperor's Navy.²

This man, judging, or fearing, that his goods would be badly handled, and traded in New Spain, on account of the bad reception of the Embassy, in order to make it secure, approached the Emperor with the idea of releasing me, in order to oblige me to do him a favor in return, that of taking care of the good handling of his property in New Spain, and the way he convinced the Emperor was by telling him that it would be better to exile me to New Spain than keep me in jail, where I was converting many people, and that if he made me a martyr, it would be worse, because that way the Christians would become excited. Finally the latter, on account of greed, and because God wanted it so, he sprang me out of my cage, and I was in such a condition that I could not stand, but a servant of his carried me on his back to his house, and he did me great favors and presents. One day, he took me to a house for recreation and relaxation that he woned some place, and in order to oblige me, and to show me the love that he had for me (not for God, but for his interest) he did for me one thing that is very rare in Japan, and it was that he ordered the soldiers, pages, and other servants to leave the house, leaving no-one behind who could see [rather hear] us, and he put out a great banquet for me; he made me sit at his table, and had his wife come, and the three of us together were served at the table by some women who were his concubines.

As I was much surprised to see this, as I understood the customs of Japan, this Captain of the Emperor told me: "If anyone looks at my wife, I cut his head off immediately, but because I know that the Religious are not men of the world, and you live in

1 Ed. note: The fourth was Court Interpreter Brother Fray Pedro Baptista.

2 Ed. note: Admiral Shigen Mukai, the first Japanese to have learned navigation from the Spanish during the stay of Sebastian Vizcaino (1611+).

a chaste manner, I want you to look at her, and tell me if she is as pretty as the women of Spain." I am not accustomed to look at women in the face, but, since he had ordered me, I looked, and told him: "For sure, your wife is as pretty as the women in Spain." Meanwhile the wife was sitting there, so serious and as honest as if she had been the wife of a Grandee in Spain, not raising her eyes, or looking anywhere at all. After this, and other favors, he told me: "Well, you well know that you were condemned to the most cruel of deaths we have in Japan, and that I have freed you, and that I alone could have freed you from death. I have done it because of the great love I have for Father Fray Luis Sotelo, to whom (though not being Christian myself) I had given one of my sons, to be baptized. As you very well know, he died with the water of baptism. The reason why I am not yet Christian is because of this persecution, but I hope for the sake of the true God, in whose dogmas and yours I believe, that there will be a better opportunity for me to get baptized without risk. Right now I do not dare do it, so as not to lose my life and status. However, I did free you from death, and I ask you, a grateful man, to give me your word that, once in New Spain, to look after my causes, and to intercede for me with the Viceroy and with the chief Prelate of your Order, so that all my goods be handled properly."

I answered him thus: "I came from Spain to preach the Gospel, and to lead souls along the road to their salvation, and to give (if it be necessary) my life in testimony of this truth. If I had died in that jail, you can be sure, Mucayxongue, that I would be in a better situation, because my soul would have been freed from the prison and exile of my body, and from this world, and gone to enjoy the Kingdom of God, on account of his kindness and mercy. However, now that you have freed me from jail and death, I accept this as the will of God, as He knows what is best for me; indeed, He has so ordered. I therefore give you thanks for what I owe you, and you can be sure that I will do what I can to serve you, and that your wishes will not be frustrated. What I beg you and ask you is, not to forget your soul, and to help the Christians, because you shall gain eternal life and glory by doing so."

He promised me that he would do that. So, having finished this business, we said farewell, and I went to the ship where the four Ambassadors, my brothers, and the interpreter were much consoled to see me out of that jail, although I was so sick and lean.

I was sorry to have left those souls amid the persecution, and in the hands of the wolves. I wanted to stay, and I would propose that option to my brothers, as it seemed to me that I would comply with my promise to Mucay Xonguen, only by recommending its compliance to the Ambassadors—one thing for sure, they would have done that job better than I. I put up many arguments to them and they thought that was alright, except for one great disadvantage, and it was, that they had delivered me in the care of the [Spanish] captain and master of the ship, and in addition they had entrusted me to the pilot and steward as well, so that if the Japanese guards realized that I was not going, they had to seize all of these men, and there might be other greater difficulties, besides the fact that Mucaysoguen would get a reason for being resentful and very sorry.

In view of this, I decided to make the voyage, although I was so sick, and to suffer being exiled for God's sake.

It was a hard blow for the Christian Japanese who had come to get me, to bring me back ashore and hide me. They shed many tears, upon seeing me go away, and they were saying similar things to those said to St. Martin by his disciples at the time of his death, because they knew how much I loved them.

Finally, on the feast day of St. Jerome [30 September] 1616, we embarked. A large number of Japanese Christians came to say goodbye to the Religious. Their sadness was great. The shedding of tears and the sobbings also, upon seeing us board. It would have melted the hardest hearts in the world, of anyone seeing that. They would say: "Is it possible that our sins were so great that we have come to deserve this? That God would take the masters of the truth from us, and the beloved fathers of our souls, and that we remain abandoned, and without remedy?" They were saying such things, and many other reasons, and very pitiful ones, and then they were speaking to me in private. Although my crying, and the sorrow and affliction that I felt at seeing them did not let me speak, in the end I found courage to tell them as best I could: "Do not be so aggrieved, children of my soul. Although I am going now, I bring you all within my heart. I promise you to return in any case, God willing, and accompanied by many other Religious, as it is appropriate to our own good. Well, look, I am not going willingly, I am being exiled. Trust me, I will return as promised."

I told them many other words while saying goodbye to them, and I declare that martyrdom would have been a better example for me to give, than to embark. This done we embraced, and said farewell that same day. That same night we got our first storm, a rough one. In the five months that it took for us to reach New Spain, we had a total of forty storms, and hurricanes. Our main-mast and mizzen-mast were broken. Day and night the pumps had to be manned. During four months straight, the deck was washed continuously by waves, back and forth like a river, and to such an extent that much grass grew upon it. One huge wave carried away the gallery, along with four men. We had only ten Spanish seamen with us, the rest were Japanese, who are not good upon the sea. Three Spanish men died, and others were sick. As for the Japanese, all of those who drank sea-water during water shortages, died swollen. So it is that no-one took care of the sails, and they tore to pieces. Among the Religious, only one remained well, and it was Brother Fray Pedro Baptista, on account of his robustness; he served us all with much charity. He preached and baptized all the Gentiles, so that those who died had all been baptized first. All the others became Christians. All in all, there had been one captain and 200 Japanese gentiles. Though sick, I helped all I could.

I refrain here from recounting all the many other difficulties that we suffered from, and for the sake of brevity, I will only say that, once in sight of New Spain, by pressure made by the Japanese, before we reached the common port of Acapulco, we anchored in a bay of the Valley of Banderas [Puerto Vallarta today] because the Japanese (of whom there were only fifty survivors) were saying that they would burn the ship if we did not go ashore, that it was better to die once and for all. This happened on the

eve of the feast of St. Matthew¹ 1617. We all stayed ashore, but the ship was taken to Acapulco, included on board Brother Pedro Baptista, the pilot and seven seamen, and some few Japanese.² As for the rest of us, we were made very welcome and received charitably at the country estates of jSpaniards.

After some time, we went on to Mexico, and I visited Don Diego Fernandez de Córdoba, Marquis of Guadalcazar, and Viceroy of New Spain, and I explained to him my obligation of helping Mucayxonguen, the General of the Japanese Emperor's Navy. I begged him to do me the favor of pardoning those who deserved the death penalty for having brought that ship directly from Japan to New Spain, and also for a fair trade, and sale of the goods that came from Mucay Xonguen. The Viceroy agreed about everything, as a good Christian and Gentleman, and thus I became free of the promise I had made. Furthermore, I begged for more assistance, and His Excellency granted me 1,000 pesos, with which the Ministers of Japan were able to live for a long time. OUR Most REverend Father Fray Diego de Otalora, the Commissioner General of our Order in New Spain, also helped us very much. May God our Lord repay him for his good deeds.

Chapter IX.

Now I went from Mexico back to Manila, and Japan, where I found that they had put to death my companions, who had been with me in jail.

I spent more than one year in the city of Mexico, awaiting an opportunity and permission from the authorities(?), as I wished to return to Japan, but for the long delay, I became cool about my resolve and was struck by a violent temptation, that it might be better for me not to return to Japan...

Summary of the rest of the story.

One day, he went with Fr. Luis Sotelo to visit the saintly Father Losa, also living in Mexico. Upon seeing them, he was inspired to tell them a quote from the Bible: "*Cum ceteris ad mensam regis, pone gladium gutturi tuo.*"³ Then he told them that God wanted them to return to Japan. Both friars then went on to Acapulco to embark aboard the yearly galleon. Fray Sotelo had just returned from Rome with the Japanese embassy, and had been named Commissioner for the whole of Japan.

They boarded the galleon at the beginning of April 1618 and arrived at Manila at the beginning of July. There they found a ship departing for Japan three days later. Fray Sotelo was delayed at Manila, but the author, though sick, joined this ship and

1 Ed. note: That is, 23 February. So, the author is correct: it took five months to get from Tokyo Bay to Puerto Vallarta, after a terrible winter crossing of the north Pacific.

2 Ed. note: Most of the Japanese survivors stayed forever in New Spain, settling for the most part in Guadalajara where they were granted the status of "honorary white men" by the Spanish authorities.

3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: "With others being at the table of the king, he puts the sword at your throat."

was glad that he would get the opportunity to comply with the promise he had given to the faithful at Yendo [Tokyo] and ready to die with them, because, he says, "he loved them more than his brothers in the flesh." Two other Franciscans were also on board; they were Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura, a preacher, and Fray Martin de Pineda, a lay brother. There were members of other orders: two Dominican Fathers, Juan de Santo Domingo and Angel Ferrer, plus an Augustinian Father Pedro de Zuñiga; all three companions were to die as martyrs. All missionaries were disguised as Spanish gentlemen.

Along the way they went through a bad storm, so severe that all on board thought they would die. They finally made it to Nagasaki on the feast day of St. Clair [i.e. 12 August] of 1618. Upon stepping ashore, Fray de San Francisco lost consciousness and fell to the ground, where he remained like dead for a long time. Finally, he regained consciousness and was taken to the house of a devout Christian, where he remained too sick to work for a whole year.

The book relates many stories of martyrdoms. In the appendix are reproduced the documents relating to the reception of the Japanese embassy at Rome in 1615, as well as the letter from Date Masamune to the Pope, dated on the Eve of Nonas (supposedly 9 October) 1613.

Final note.

Fray Sotelo made it to Japan also, but was captured; he was put to death in November 1624, according to the French historian Léon Pagés who has studied the early history of Christianity in Japan. Most missionaries who escaped martyrdom lived secret lives. The last known foreign missionary to be discovered and executed was the Dominican Father Lucas del Espiritu Santo, in 1633. Two years later, there was the final edict from the Shogun and Japan entered into the severe seclusion (and I might add xenophobia) that was to last for over two centuries.

Document S1619E

**Gaspar Conquero, in search of the island of
Rica de Oro**

Source: AGI Fil. 129, L. 2, pp. 680-681.

Note: It seems that de los Rios Coronel did not search for the islands after all, given that Vizcaino had already looked for them very thoroughly, without success.

**Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines,
dated 12 December 1619****Original text in Spanish.**

Al Gobernador de Philipinas con copia de un memorial que dio el piloto Gaspar Conquero: Acerca del descubrimiento que ofrece azer de la Isla del oro.

El Rey

Don Alonso Faxardo de Tenza, mi governador y capitán general de las Island Philipinas y miembro de mi Real Audiencia dellas, o la personal o personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno: haviendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Yndias, un memorial que en el se dio por parte de Gaspar Conquero piloto que ha de servirme en la Armada que se esta aprestando para ir de socorro a las Yslas en razon de la noticia que tiene como por cierto(?) que a estado en el lado(?) de la Ysla del oro y pidiendo se le encargue su descubrimiento, ha parezido, remitirse lo pre- del dho: con copia lo ago para que haviendose enterado del fundamento que tiene y siendo con todo que refiere lo deis los recaudos nezesarios para que haga el dho descubrimiento: y el favor y ayuda se fuere menester, procurando que la haga con el menos gasto que fuere possible de mi Real hacienda: pues esta tan apurada como saveis.

Fha en Madrid en doze de diciembre de mill y seiscientos y diez y nueve años.

Yo el Rey

Refrendada de Podro de Ledesma señalada de los del Concejo.

Transaltion.

To the Governor of the Philippines with a copy of a memorial [not enclosed] that was presented by the pilot Gaspar Conquero: concerning the discovery that he wants to make of the Island of [Rica de] Oro.

The King

Don Alonso Faxardo de Tenza, my governor and captain general of the Philippine Islands, or to the person or persons in whose charge may be their government:

There having been seen in my Council of the Indies a memorial that was presented to it on behalf of Gaspar Conquero, a pilot who is about to serve me aboard the fleet that is being made ready to go to the relief of the Islands, in view of the reason that he puts forward as certain because he has been at the side of the Island of Gold and he requests that he be entrusted with its discovery; it has been decided to remit you a copy thereof, so that you may check out the reasons he gives and, should they be all valid, you may give him the necessary precautions for him to undertake said discovery, endeavouring to do so at the least possible cost to my Royal treasury which, as you know, is hard up.

Made at Madrid, 12 December 1619.

Countersigned by Pedro de Ledesma and approved by those of the Council

Document S1648C

Diary of notable events in Mexico during the 1648-1664 period, by Lic. Gregorio Martín de Guijo

Source: Orozco y Berra, Manuel (ed.). Documentos para la historia de Méjico (Méjico, Juan R. Navarro, 1853).—Primera serie: 7 tomos en 5 volúmenes. Available in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, under number 331 of the Lafragua Collection. Tomo I, Diario de sucesos notables, escrito por el Licenciado D. Gregorio Martín de Guijo, y comprende los años de 1648 a 1664.

Extracts from Quijo's Diary—Original in Spanish.**Año de 1648.**

...
Navío de Panamá. *Viernes 20 de febrero, vino nueva de Autlan de que se había visto nao de Filipinas; no fué sino de Panamá, que venia á llevar al virey conde de Salvatierra al Perú; y por haber dos años que no venia nao de China, el dicho conde despachó esta de Panamá con socorro á aquellas islas, y por capitán de ella á Juan Romero.*

Fuego en Acapulco. *—Por este mes de febrero se prendió fuego en la iglesia de San Nicolas del puerto de Acapulco, y de allí, por hacer viento, pasó y prendió en las casas y se quemó la mayor parte, y mucha hacienda; y de treinta y seis cajones grandes que tenia allí D. Sebastian de Corcuera, gobernador que había sido de Manila y al presente estaba allá preso, solo se pudieron escapar los seis, y los treinta restantes se abrasaron, y perdió en esta quema dicho Corcuera millares de ducados.*

...
Despacho á Filipinas. *—Domingo de Ramos 8 de abril, se hizo á la vela el navío que se despachó á Filipinas, que había venido de Panamá á llevar al conde Salvatierra por virey. Navarret., fol. 301. Fueron treinta religiosos dominicos.*

...
Aviso de Filipinas. *—Miércoles 9 de diciembre, llegó correo á esta ciudad á las once del día, de haber visto una vela en la carrera de Filipinas, y haber saltado el gentil-hombre en tierra: fué grande la alegría, y se recogió con repique general de campanas por haber dos años no se sabía de las Filipinas. Llegado el gentil-hombre á esta ciudad, se supo por relaciones, haber habido en dichas islas un grande temblor de tierra el día de*

señor san Andrés, patron de dichas islas, á 30 de noviembre de 1645, á las ocho de la noche, que asoló y arruinó la mayor parte de la ciudad y algunos pueblos extramuros, con muerte de mas de cuatrocientas cincuenta personas. Trajo nuevas de la muerte del Sr. arzobispo D. Fernando Montero de Espinosa, sin llegar á gozar su silla; y asimismo de la cerca que hizo el holandés, y batallas navales que tuvieron con él, y la quita de las haciendas de los vecinos de este reino, y violencias del gobernador D. Diego Fajardo, del hábito de Santiago: consta en una relacion.

A 12 de dicho mes se arbolaron doce companias, dentro y fuera de esta ciudad, y hacer gente para el socorro de las islas.

Martes 15 de diciembre, tuvo noticias el señor arzobispo de cómo habia llegado el conde de Salvatierra, á 22 de julio, al Callao, y hubo repique general de campanas en todas las Iglesias de esta ciudad.

...

Año de 1649.

...

Martes 9 de marzo de dicho año, salieron de esta ciudad los soldados y demas infantería para el puerto de Acapulco y despacho de la nao de Filipinas, y fué por capitan y cabo de la infantería, hasta entregarla en Acapulco D. Tomas Moran, regidor de esta ciudad y capitan del batallon de ella.

Viernes 12 de dicho mes y año de 49, se despacharon de esta ciudad veintiocho forzados para las Filipinas, y entre ellos nueve condenados á ellas por el tribunal de la Inquisicion.

...

Jueves Santo, 1º de abril, se hizo á la vela la nao de Filipinas.

...

Año de 1650.

Aviso de nao de Filipinas.—Dicho día viernes entre siete y ocho de la mañana, llegó correo á esta ciudad con carta del alcalde mayor de Colima, de cómo el domingo que se contaron, 21 de febrero, vieron pasar una nao de alto bordo y que llevaba la derrota á Acapulco, y que parccia de las de Filipinas: celebróse esta nueva con repique en la catedral solamente.

Sabado 26 de febrero, llegó correo de cómo se avisaba de Colima haber saltado el gentil-hombre en tierra, de la nao de Filipinas.

...

Domingo 27 se arbolaron banderas para el socorro de Filipinas.

Miércoles 2 de marzo, llegó correo á esta ciudad con aviso de que la nao de Filipinas estaba á la vista de Acapulco.

Domingo 6 de marzo, llegó correo al amanecer, del puerto de Acapulco, que trajo cartas y aviso de haber surgido la nao de Filipinas, nombrada [blank] y en ella por general [blank] y que surgió [blank] y salió de las Filipinas [blank] trajo pliego de car-

tas del rey y vecinos, y da por razon viene en dicha nao D. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, gobernador que fué de dichas islas, en cuyo gobierno sucedió el desacato mayor que entre católicos ni herejes se puede decir, prendiendo al arzobispo y derribándole de las manos el Santísimo Sacramento, y otras cosas que se deben pasar en silencio por su gravedad. Dicese viene D. [blank] oidor de aquella audiencia para los reinos del Perú.¹

...
Despacho de la nao para Filipinas.—Jueves 17 de marzo, fué último despacho que hizo la real audiencia con treinta y siete forzados, y el lunes antes diez y siete soldados y los 300,000 pesos que es costumbre para que saliese la nao con brevedad del puerto de Acapulco.

...
 [There is nothing relevant under the year 1651]

Año de 1652.

...
Nueva de galeones.—Domingo 3 de marzo, y lunes 4 llegaron correos á esta ciudad dando aviso al virey por el alcalde mayor de la villa de Colima, de haber visto pasar una nao grande y que al parecer es de Filipinas, y dicho día lunes á la una de la noche llegó correo de Colima de haber saltado en tierra dos hombres de dicha nao.

...
Banderas.—Miércoles 4 de diciembre, se arbolaron banderas en esta ciudad para hacer gente para el despacho de Filipinas: se pregonó para 15 de enero del año próximo venidero de 53.

Año de 1653.

...
Despacho de Manila.—Lunes 27 de enero, se despacharon los soldados para Filipinas.

Forzados.—Domingo 2 de febrero, salieron de esta ciudad cuarenta y cuatro forzados para el despacho de Filipinas.

Nueva para Manila.—Viernes 7 de febrero, llegó nueva á esta ciudad de haber saltado en Colima, dos hombres de la nao que viene de Filipinas y de haberla visto pasar, y dichos hombres entraron en esta ciudad miércoles 12 de febrero, y viernes 14 vino nueva de cómo estaba surta en Acapulco la nao nombrada **San Diego**.

...
Mas banderas para China.—Permitióse por el Virey y juntas que la nao capitana de Filipinas se hiciese á la vela, lunes 25 de febrero, y la que llegó y está surta se despacharía para fin de marzo con gente y socorro, y dió dos conductas de capitanes á los

1 Al márgen de esta partida se lee lo siguiente: "que la nao Encarnacion que iba para Filipinas el año pasado, dió en la costa, y se perdió con todos los géneros que llevaba."

dos hombres que saltaron en tierra, y ellos arbolaron banderas en esta ciudad, lunes 17 de febrero; y habiendo hecho juntas para determinar este despacho con efecto, vistos los pareceres de los hombres prácticos y que vinieron en dicha nao, se determinó inver-narse para el año que viene, por cuanto no queda casco en Manila para poder venir por socorro; y que la capitana **San Francisco Javier** se hiciese á la vela lunes 3 de marzo, y así se ejecutó, y fueron en ella D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, castellano, que era de Acapulco, gobernador por S.M., caballero del orden de Calatrava; Dr. Juan Velez, dean de Manila, el Dr. D. Miguel de Poblete Casasola, criollo de esta ciudad, maestre-escue-la de la ciudad de la Puebla por arzobispo de Manila, Dr. Fr. Rodrigo de Cárdenas, maestro en santa teología, del orden de Santo Domingo, criollo del Perú por obispo de Segobia, Dr. Fr. Antonio de San Gerónimo, del orden de San Francisco, obispo de [Nucva] Cáceres, cédula para dos eclesiásticos para obispos de los otros dos obispados, veinticuatro religiosos descalzos de San Agustín, diez y ocho padres de la Compañía, frailes agustinos calzados y franciscanos: D. Juan de Bolívar Cruz, relator de esta real audiencia por fiscal, D. Salvador Gomeç de Espinosa por oidor, con todas sus fami-lias: dicese lleva mucha suma de reales, así del socorro del rey como de particulares: tomó puerto en Cabite este galeon en 23 de julio de dicho año de 1653.

...
Bandcras. Sábado 29 de noviembre, se arbolaron banderas en esta ciudad y fuera de ella para levantar gente para el despacho de la nao que ha de ir á Filipinas.

...
Este año no vino nao de Filipinas.

Año de 1654.

...
Soldados.—Lunes 19 salieron de esta ciudad cincuenta soldados que se alistaron en esta ciudad para el despacho de la nao de China, y ocho forzados, los siete españoles y uno mulato, y nombró el virey por general á su capitán de la guardia, y remitió 250,000 pesos en reales y 100,000 en géneros y 50,000 al puerto de Acapulco para la paga de los oficiales y socorros.

El virey sale á rondar por lo cercano á palacio algunas noches, y una de ellas halló á dos religiosos agustinos en un tlacascual de una buñuelera comiendo buñuelos. J llegó á reconocerlos y el uno se le escapó y el otro llevó á palacio y luego el día siguiente llamó á su prelado, que era un prior del orden de San Agustín de la provincia de Manila, y le entregó al religioso, y este y otros veinticinco eran hijos de esta provincia de Méjico y habian asentado plaza para Filipinas, y luego llamó el virey á todos los prelados de las religiones y juntos les ordenó lo que debían guardar, con que no se ve religioso solo por las calles ni á deshora de la noche, porque en esto había descuido con que tomó oca-sion el prior para despachar edicto á 23 de enero, so graves penas, para que ningún clé-rigo trajese armas ni anduviese sin hábito ó con él, solo ó con seglares, desde las diez de la noche en adelante, ni entren en casas de juegos.

Despacho para Manila.—Domingo 22 de febrero se hizo á la vela del puerto de Acapulco para las Filipinas la nao que el año pasado se detuvo; fué por general el sobrino del virey, D. Pedro de Villaroel.

Año de 1655.

Nuevas de China.—Martes 23 de febrero, segunda semana de Cuaresma, vispera de San Matías apóstol, entre nueve y diez de la noche hizo señal la catedral de rogativa, y le siguieron todas las demas iglesias, suplicando á nuestro Señor entrasen con bien las naos de China, que habian nueva estaban cerca de la costa, y continuó la rogativa en la misa del dia del santo.

Banderas.—Domingo 28 de febrero amanecieron arboladas banderas para hacer gente para el despacho de Manila.

Hombre de la nao de China.—Lunes 1º de marzo, llegó á esta ciudad un hombre que saltó en Colima de la nao de China, con cartas en que se da noticia del estado de aquellas islas; y hasta este dia no hay nueva de haber embocado en Acapulco la nao.

Soldados.—Viernes 5 de marzo, se encerraron los soldados que se habian alistado en esta ciudad, que serian hasta veinte, y se reformaron los oficiales.

Forzados.—Sábado 6 de marzo, salieron los forzados y soldados para Acapulco, y se pregonó que á 20 del mismo se habia de hacer á la vela la nao.

Nao de China se hace á la vela.—Sábado 3 de abril, llegó correo á las nueve de la noche de cómo á 1º de él se habia hecho á la vela la nao para Filipinas, y á esta hora se hizo señal de rogativa en la catedral, y el dia siguiente continuó en los conventos á la hora de misa.

[Nothing relevant under 1656]

Año de 1657.

Naos de China.—A 13 de marzo llegó nueva á esta ciudad de haber visto las atalayas de la costa de Acapulco dos velas, y á 16 de marzo, de estar la una capitana para embocar y surgió, y en ella el sobrino del virey: y que la almiranta *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria*, por haber muerto la gente navegaba despacio. Luego á los principios de mayo, se tuvo noticia estaba en la costa de Guatemala, y despachó el virey orden para que hiciese su viaje á Acapulco.

La Almirante [sic] de Manila.—Miércoles 1º de agosto, á las ocho horas de la noche, avisó el virey al arzobispo de cómo habia llegado correo del puerto de Acapul-

co, en que le avisaban esta surta la nao Almirante de Manila, que habia arribado á Guatemala y así se hizo señal de repique en la catedral y demas iglesias.

...
Banderas.—Martes 25 de diciembre, primero de Pascua, se arbolaron banderas para hacer gente para Filipinas, y se puso batallon en esta ciudad á costa del rey.

Año de 1658.

...
Nuevas.—Domingo 27 de enero, llegó correo de la costa de Acapulco de haber descubierto en su mar una escuadra de navíos de alto bordo.

Desde Pascua de Navidad se van alistando soldados para el despacho de dos naos de Filipinas, y este día salió en público el sobrino del arzobispo en cuerpo y con baston; es caballero del orden de [blank].

...
Soldados.—Jueves 21 de febrero, se despacharon los soldados que se alistaron para las Filipinas, que fueron [blank] hizose plaza de armas en la villa de Cuyoacan, á donde iban todas las banderas que habian salido á diferentes pueblos de esta ciudad á levantar gente, y allí se les pagaba y caminaban para Acapulco.

Soldados forzados.—Miércoles 26 de febrero, se despacharon cuarenta y siete hombres por forzados para las islas Filipinas, y el mayor número de ellos por muertes y robos y salteamientos: salieron las compañías del presidio de esta ciudad por escolta de ellos hasta la ermita de San Anton.

...
Ida de dos naos.—Sábado 30 de marzo, llegó correo con aviso de haberse hecho á la vela las dos naos para las Filipinas; la una es **San José**.

Año de 1659.

...
Nao de Filipinas.—A 2 de febrero, día de la Purificacion de nuestra Señora, á las ocho de la noche llegó correo á esta ciudad y dió por nuevas haber pasado por Colima una nao de Filipinas, y luego se dió aviso á la catedral, que hizo señal de rogativa y luego de repique, y le siguieron todas las iglesias, y el día siguiente de San Blas llegó otro correo de haber saltado hombre en tierra de dicha nao.

Surta.—Jueves 13 de febrero, se publicó en la ciudad cómo estaba surta la nao de Filipinas, **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion**, en Acapulco, y se celebró esta nueva con repique en las iglesias, y dicen murió en el viaje D. Diego Fajardo, gobernador que fué de ellas; vino en ella el oidor D. Sebastian Caballero de Medina.

Forzados.—Martes 11 de marzo entregó la sala del crimen al guarda mayor veintisiete hombres forzados para las Filipinas, y este día á las cuatro de la tarde salieron de esta ciudad.

...

Año de 1660.

...

Nao de China.—Lunes 2 de marzo llegó nueva á esta ciudad de estar surta en Acapulco una nao de Filipinas.

Forzados.—Miércoles 10 de marzo despachó el virey treinta y un forzados para Manila, incluso los que el santo tribunal remite, que fueron penitenciados en el auto general del año pasado de 59; y á 1º de abril se hizo á la vela la nao para hacer su viaje.

...

Aviso de España.—Martes 17 de agosto llegó correo á esta ciudad con aviso de estar surto en la Veracruz aviso que salió de España á 29 de junio y surgió en ella á 12 del corriente...¹

...

[Nothing relevant under 1661]

Año de 1662.

...

Socorro para Filipinas. Domingo 5 de marzo llegó nueva á esta ciudad de estar surto en Acapulco un navichuelo que se trajo del Realejo para despachar el socorro á Filipinas,² y así luego el lunes se encerraron los soldados y recogieron las banderas, y fué el encerrarlos en la iglesia del hospital de Nuestra Señora (Casanueva), y dicho día se pregonó el despacho para 25 del corriente.

...

Viaje para Filipinas, salió á 5 de abril. Lunes 2, día de Pascua de Resurreccion, llegó nueva á esta ciudad de haberse hecho á la vela el navichuelo del socorro de Filipinas miércoles 5 de abril; fué la nueva á 10 de él; empezóse desde este día rogativa en las iglesias.

Naos de Filipinas.—Jueves 20 de abril al amanecer llegó correo á esta ciudad con nuevas de estar surtas dos naos de Filipinas en Acapulco, con que se repicó en todas las iglesias.

Segundo aviso.—Sábado 22, á las dos de la tarde, llegó correo á esta ciudad de estar surta una nao, y no ser dos, llamada **San José**.

...

1 Ed. note: Was Fr. Sanvitores aboard this advice boat?

2 Ed. note: This was the patache San Damián that took Fr. Sanvitores to Manila, via Guam.

Año de 1663.

...
Gobernador de Manila.—A 24 salió de esta ciudad D. Jacobo Osorio de Valdes, gobernador de Filipinas, para hacer su viaje en la nao que el año pasado vino, y para su despacho el virrey despachó todo lo necesario de soldados y forzados, religiosos y oidores; fué en 24 de febrero; hízose á la vela sábado Santo 24 de marzo.

...
Nueva de nao de Manila.—Sábado 31 de marzo á la media noche, llegó correo con aviso de cómo las atalayas del puerto de la Navidad habian visto pasar una nao: avisóse el domingo siguiente á la iglesia, hizo rogativa y le siguieron todas las demas iglesias y conventos, y trajo aviso de haberse hecho á la vela la nao para Filipinas, sábado 24 de marzo, y en ella el gobernador: trae nuevas del peligro en que están las Filipinas y temores del rey chino.

...
Nao de Manila.—Martes 10 de abril llegó correo de Acapulco de haberse amarrado una grande nao en él, nombrada la **Concepcion**, el viernes 6 de este; y esta nao es la capitana que el año de 61 salió de Filipinas para este reino y arribó, y despues volvió por julio de 62 á hacer su viaje para este reino: trae por nueva que un reyezuelo se ha alzado y tiene en grandes trabajos á las islas, y que el gobernador de ellas ganó al holandes á Isla Hermosa, ocasion de infestar las islas.

Año de 1664.

...
Despacho para Manila.—A 31 de marzo se hizo á la vela la nao de Filipinas, que estaba surta en el puerto de Acapulco desde el año pasado, para hacer viaje á aquellas islas; y en ella envió socorro el virrey, así de reales como de soldados, y forzados y algunas personas que desterró.

...
Cometa.—A los 23 de noviembre se vió un cometa grande de color blanco, y por la estrella algo pálido, la cauda á lo que parecia tenia veinte varas desparramada, nacia de Oriente á Poniente á la una de la noche, duraba hasta el amanecer, algunos dicen que se vió desde 12 de octubre, duró casi cinco meses: otros dicen que fueron dos cometas, el primero grande y el segundo pequeño, y lo cierto es que duró mas de cien dias el primero, y que se siguió el otro despues.

Translation.

Year of 1648.

...
Ship from Panama.—On Friday 20 February, there came news from Autl170n to the effect that a Manila galleon had been seen there. She was from Panama instead, and she carried the Viceroy, Count of Salvatierra to Peru; but, since no galleon had come from China [i.e. the Philippines] in two years, said Count had despatched this Panama ship to the relief of those Islands. Her captain was Juan Romero.

Fire in Acapulco.—During this month of February also, fire started in the church of San Nicolas in the port of Acapulco, and from there, the wind being strong, it spread to the houses in the town and most of them burned down. Many merchandises were also consumed; for instance, out of the 36 large crates that belonged to Don Sebastian de Corcuera, the former Governor of Manila, who was then kept in prison there, only six could be saved, while the remaining 30 caught fire. In this fire Don Corcuera lost thousands of ducats.

...
Despatch to the Philippines.—On Palm Sunday, 8th of April, the galleon was despatched to the Philippines, the one that had come from Panama where she took the Count of Salvatierra to be Viceroy. Navarret. fol. 301. There were thirty Dominican friars on board her.

...
News from the Philippines.—On Wednesday 9th of December, the mail arrived at this city at 11 o'clock, with the news that a sail from the Philippine run had been seen, and her mail-carrying gentleman had come ashore. The joy was so great, and it was shown by the general ringing of bells throughout, on account of not having been any galleon from the Philippines in two years. Once the gentleman in question arrived at this city, it was learned through reports, that a great earthquake had taken place in said Islands on the feast day of St. Andrew, patron saint of said Islands, on 30 September 1645, at 8 p.m., which brought down most of the buildings of that city and of a few surrounding towns. The death toll rose to 450 people. News was also received of the death of Archbishop Don Fernando Montero de Espinosa, who did not have time to enjoy his new post. There were also news about the blockage imposed by the Dutch, and the naval battles that they had against this enemy. There was another reports about the properties of the residents of this kingdom, and the violent acts of Governor Diego Fajardo, he of the Habit of St. James.

On the 12th of said month, flags were raised for twelve companies, inside and outside of this city, and it was hoped to attract men to go to the relief of the islands.

On Tuesday 15th of December, the Lord Archbishop received news about the Count of Salvatierra having made it to Callao on the 22nd of July, and the bells of all the churches this city were rung to announce this news.

...

Year of 1649.

...
On Tuesday 9 March of said year, the soldiers and other infantrymen left this city to go to the port of Acapulco and for the despatch of the Philippine galleon. Don Tomás Moran, councilman of this city and captain of its batallion, went along with them in the capacity of captain and head of the infantry, until their turnover at Acapulco.

On Friday 12th of said month and year of 49, 28 convicts were sent out of this city to go to the Philippines, and among them were nine men who had been condemned to be expelled there by the Inquisition.

...
On Holy Thursday, 1st of April, the Philippine galleon set sail.
...

Year of 1650.

News about the Philippine galleon.—On said day, a Friday, between 7 and 8 in the morning, the mail courier arrived at this city carrying a letter from the mayor of Colima, to the effect that on Sunday, the 21st of February, they saw a mighty galleon go by that was heded for Acapulco, and that it appeared that she was from the Philippines. This news was celebrated by the ringing of bells, but only those of the cathedral.

On Saturday, 26 February, another letter arrived from Colima saying that the mail-carrying gentleman had come ashore from the Philippine galleon.

...
On Sunday 27th there were posted flags for the relief of the Philippines.

On Wednesday 2nd of March, there arrived mail at this city to the effect that the Philippine galleon had arrived at Acapulco.

On Sunday 6th of March, the mail from the port of Acapulco arrived at daybreak. It brought letters and reports that the Philippine galleon had anchored. Her name was [blank] and her general was [blank] and that she had departed from the Philippines on [blank]. She brought official royal mail and private mail from the residents [of Manila]. The main news is that there came aboard her Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, the former governor under whose term of office there occurred the major catastrophe that the world of Catholics and heretics had ever known, as he had arrested the archbishop and set his hands on the holy sacrament, and he did other things that I must not repeat, on account of their gravity. It is said that Don [blank], member of the Audiencia there, came also, to go on to the Kingdom of Peru.¹

Despatch of the galleon for the Philippines.—On Thursday 17th of March, there took place the last despatch of 37 convicts made by the Royal Audiencia, and on the previous Monday 17 soldiers went off, along with the usual [subsidy of] 300,000 pesos, so that the galleon could be despatched as soon as possible from the port of Acapulco.

¹ A marginal note says the following: "The galleon *Encarnación* that went to the Philippines last year, hit the coast, and was lost with all the goods that she had carried."

...
[There is nothing relevant under the year 1651].

Year of 1652.

...
News of galleons.—On Sunday 3rd of March, and Monday the 4th, there arrived mails at this city for the Viceroy from the mayor of Colima, to the effect that a big galleon had been sighted which appeared to be from the Philippines, and on said day, Monday, at one o'clock during the night, there came mail from Colima saying that two men had come ashore from said galleon.

...
Flags. - On Wednesday, 4th of December, flags were put up in this city to raise men for the despatch of the Philippines. Criers were announcing that the departure date had been set for the 15th of January of next year, 1653.

Year of 1653.

...
Manila despatch.—On Monday 27th of January, there were despatched the soldiers for the Philippines.

Convicts.—On Sunday 2nd of February, there left this city 44 convicts for the Philippine despatch.

News for Manila.—On Friday 5th of February, there arrived at this city news from Colima to the effect that two men had come ashore from the galleon that comes from the Philippines and, that she had been sighted passing by, and said men arrived at this city on Wednesday 12th of February. On Friday 14th there came news that the galleon **San Diego** had anchored in Acapulco.

...
More flags posted for China [sic].—Permission was given by the Viceroy and council meetings for the Philippine galleon capitana should sail on Monday 25th of February, and that, as far as the incoming galleon was concerned, that is now anchored, she was to be despatched at the end of March with people and relief, and for this purpose, there were given commissions to the two men who had come ashore to act as captains of two companies, and they in turn posted flags in this city, on Monday 17th of February. Now, after some council meetings took place to arrange the details of this despatch, and having heard the opinions of knowledgeable men who came aboard said galleon, it was decided that the galleon should spend the winter [overthere] next year, because there is no more hull available in Manila thata could come for the relief; and that the flagship **San Francisco Xavier** should set sail on Monday 3rd of March, and so it was done. Aboard her were: Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, a Castilian, who was then acting as Governor of Acapulco by mandate of H.M., Gentleman of the Order of Calatrava; Dr. Juan Velez, dean of Manila; Dr. Miguel de Poblete Casasola, a creole of this city, and school-teacher of the city of Puebla, to become archbishop of Mani-

la; Dr. Fray Rodrigo de Cárdenas, Master of Theology, of the Order of St. Dominick, a creole of Peru, as Bishop of [New] Segovia; Dr. Fray Antonio de San Gernimo, of the Order of St. Francis, as Bishop of [New] Cáceres, as well as appointments for two others bishops, plus 24 discalced religious of St. Augustine, 18 Jesuit Fathers, and some Augustinian friars. In addition, there were the [following] for the Royal Audiencia: Don Juan de Bolivar Cruz, the reporter of this Royal Audiencia, as Fiscal; Don Salvador Gomez de Espinosa, as member, with all their families. It is said that a large sum of money is going, part of it as royal subsidy and part belonging to individuals.

Said galleon arrived at the port of Cavite on the 23rd of July 1653.

...
Flags.—On Saturday 29th of November, there were flags raised in this city in order to collect men for the despatch of the galleon that is scheduled to go to the Philippines.

...
This year there did not come any galleon from the Philippines.

Year of 1654.

...
Soldiers.—On Monday 19th there left this city 50 soldiers who had been recruited in this city for the despatch of the China [sic] galleon, and 8 more as convict soldiers, seven of them Spanish and one mulatto, and the Viceroy appointed the captain of his guards as [her] General, and he remitted 250,000 pesos in money and 100,000 in kind, plus 50,000 to the port of Acapulco for the payment of the officers and for subsidies.

The Viceroy goes out of his palace some nights to take walks, and on one night, he met with two Augustinian friars in the *tlacascual* of a doughnut shop, eating doughnuts.¹ He recognized them but one escaped him but the other he brought to the palace and then the next day he called their prelate, who was a prior of the Order of St. Augustine of the Province of Manila, and he turned over the religious man; this man and 25 others belong to the province of Mexico and have been waiting for some space to go to the Philippines. Later one, the Viceroy called all the prelates of the Religious orders and ordered all of them to keep watch, to prevent any of their religious men go out in the streets alone, specially at night, because there had been slackness in this matter. Well, the prior took this opportunity to issue an edict on the 23rd of January, so that, under severe penalties, there should be no cleric carrying weapons or going out, with or without their habits, as of 10 p.m., and they were not to enter gambling houses.

...
Despatch for Manila.—On Sunday 22 February, there sailed from the port of Acapulco the galleon that last year was delayed; the man whom the Viceroy sent as her general was Don Pedro de Villaroel.

...

¹ Ed. note: Rather "tlaxcalcualli" which means in this case, the kitchen area where they cooked the doughnuts (ref. Rémi Siméon's *Diccionario de la lengua Náhuatl*, Mexico, 2006).

Year of 1655.

...
News from China.—On Tuesday 23 February, during the second week of Lent, on the eve of the feast of St. Matthew, apostle, between 9 and 10 at night, there was heard from the cathedral the signal for prayers, and this was followed by all the other churches, to beg our Lord for the welfare of the incoming galleons from China, as news had been received they were near the coast. These prayers continued until the mass of the saint was celebrated.

Courier from the galleon from China.—On Monday 1 March, there arrived at this city a man who jumped in Colima from the China galleon, with letters in which are news of the condition of those islands, and so far, there is no news that the galleon has entered the port of Acapulco.

...
Soldiers.—On Friday 5 March, the soldiers who had been enlisted in this city were locked up, about twenty of them, and their officers were reformed.

Convicts.—On Saturday 6 March, the convicts and soldiers departed for Acapulco, and it was announced publicly that the galleon had to sail on the 20th of said month.

...
China galleon set sail.—On Saturday 3 April, the mail arrived at 9 p.m. announcing that the galleon had set sail for the Philippines on 1 April and, at that same time, there was given the signal for a prayer in the cathedral, and on the next day it continued in the convents at mass time.

...
[Nothing relevant under 1656].

Year of 1657.

...
China galleons.—On 13 March there arrived news at this city to the effect that the watch towers along the coast of Acapulco had seen two sails, and on 16 March, news came that the flagship had come in and anchored; in her was the nephew of the Viceroy. It was said that her consort, the **Nuestra Señora de la Victoria** was coming slowly, on account of having died many sailors aboard her. Later on, at the beginning of May, it was learned that she was on the coast of Guatemala, and the Viceroy despatched an order for her to return to Acapulco.

The Almiranta de Manila.—On Wednesday August 1st, at about 8 p.m. the Viceroy advised the Archbishop that mail had arrived from the port of Acapulco by which he had learned that the Almiranta galleon from Manila had dropped anchor there, the same one that had gone as far as Guatemala. So it was that the bells of the cathedral and of other churches were rung.

...

Flags up.—On Tuesday 25th of December, the first day of the Christmas season, flags were put up to recruit people for the Philippines, and a battalion was raised in this city at the king's expense.

...

Year of 1658.

...

News.—On Sunday, January 27th, the mail from the coast of Acapulco brought news that a squadron of two tall ships had been spotted in that sea. Since Christmas, soldiers have been recruited for the despatch of two galleons to the Philippines and on this day there came out in public the nephew of the archbishop in uniform and carrying a staff; he is an officer of the Order of [blank].¹

...

Soldiers.—On Thursday February 21st, there were despatched the soldiers who have been enlisted for the Philippines, to the number of [blank]. There was set up in the town of Coyoacán a place of arms where all the flags were going that had gone to the different towns of this city to raise men, and there they were paid and from there they made their way to Acapulco.

Conscripted soldiers.—On Wednesday February 26th, 47 convicts were despatched to the Philippine Islands, most of whom had been sentenced for murders, thefts and assaults; the companies came out of the presidio [garrison] of this city to escort them as far as the convent of San Antón.²

...

Departure of two galleons.—On Saturday March 20th, came the news advising of the departure of the two galleons for the Philippines; one of them is named **San José**.

...

Year of 1659.

Philippine galleon.—On February 2nd, the feast day of Purification of Our Lady, at about 8 p.m., there arrived at this city the mail with the news of having passed by Colima a galleon from the Philippines, and then the news was sent to the cathedral, which rang its bells to announce a prayer, then for a general rejoicing, which was followed by the churches. The next day, feast of St. Blas, there came another news to the effect that the official mail had come ashore from said galleon.

Anchorage.—On Thursday February 13th, news was spread in this city that the Philippine galleon named **Nuestra Señora de la Concepción** had anchored in Acapulco, and this news was celebrated with bell ringing from the churches. They report that ex-Governor Don Diego Fajardo died during the voyage. On board her came the member of the Audiencia Don Sebastián Caballero de Medina.

1 Ed. note: One of the military orders, possibly that of Calatrava.

2 Ed. note: This site is near the present-day intersection of Ermita and Tlalpan Streets.

Convict soldiers.—On Tuesday March 11th, the criminal court of justice delivered to the senior guard 23 men, convicts, for service in the Philippines, and on this day at 4 p.m., they left this city.

Year of 1660.

China galleon.—On Monday March 2nd came the news to this city that a galleon from the Philippines had anchored in Acapulco.

Convict soldiers.—On Wednesday March 10th, the Viceroy despatched 21 convicts to Manila, including those sent by the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition who had been sentenced during last year's general auto [da fé], and on April 1st, the galleon sailed on her voyage.

...
Advise-boat from Spain.—On Tuesday August 17th came the mail to this city with the news that an advise-boat had anchored in Veracruz which had left Spain on June 29th and had arrived on the 12th of the present month.¹

...
[Nothing relevant under 1661].

Year of 1662.

...
Succor for the Philippines.—On Sunday March 5th, news arrived at this city that there had anchored in Acapulco a smaller ship that had come from Realejo in order to send succor to the Philippines² and so it was that on Monday they locked up the soldiers and recovered the posted flags; the lock-up was the church of the hospital of Our Lady (Casanueva), and on said day there was published the decision that the departure date was set for the 25th.

...
Voyage for the Philippines, left on April 5th.—On Monday following Easter, there arrived the news at this city to the effect that the sssmall ship sent with succor to the Philippines had sailed on Wednesday April 5th. This news came on the 10th, and from this day began the prayers in the churches.

Galleons from the Philippines.—On Thursday April 20th, at daybreak, there came mail to this city announcing that two [sic] galleons from the Philippines had anchored in Acapulco; hence the bells were rung in all the churches.

Second advice.—On Saturday 22nd, at 2 p.m., came mail to this city saying that one galleon, and not two, was anchored there, her name being the **San José**.

1 Ed. note: Was Father Sanvitores aboard this boat, or another in the same year?

2 Ed. note: This was the patache San Damián which took Fr. Sanvitores to Manila, via Guam.

...

Year of 1663.

...
Governor of Manila.—On the 24th there left this city Don Jacobo Osorio de Valdés, Governor of the Philippines¹ to make his voyage aboard the galleon that came last year, and, for her despatch, the Viceroy sent all that was necessary in the way of soldiers and convicts, religious and members of the Audiencia. This was on February 24th, and she sailed on Holy Saturday March 24th.

...
News of the Philippine galleon.—On Saturday March 31st, at midnight, there came the news that the watch-towers of the port of Navidad had seen a galleon go by. The next day, Sunday, the news was passed to the church, which rang for a prayer, and that was imitated by all the other churches and convents. Advice came to the effect that the galleon had sailed for the Philippines on Saturday March 24th with the governor on board her; he [or she] carries news of the danger posed to the Philippines by the King of China.

...
Manila galleon.—On Tuesday April 10th, there arrived mail from Acapulco reporting that a large galleon named **Conocepción** had anchored there on Friday the 6th of this month, and this gaalleon is the flagship that left the Philippines in 1661 for this kingdom but had turned back. However, in July 1662 she resumed her voyage to this kingdom. She brings the news that a kinglet has rebelled and is keeping the islands in turmoil, but that the governor there has defeated the Dutch at Formosa Island who were threatening the islands.

...

Year of 1664.

...
Despatch for Manila.—On March 31st, the Philippine galleon which anchored at Acapulco last year sailed for those islands. The Viceroy sent succor aboard her, both money and soldiers, as well as convict soldiers, and a few others whomm he exiled overthere.

...
Comet.—On November 23rd, a large comet, white in color, was seen [in Mexico City]. Its star was somewhat faded but its tail appeared to be split into twenty bars. It

1 Ed. note: There is a mistake here, as the Governor who took over that year was already in the Philippines and was named Diego de Salcedo, appointed a year earlier by royal decree. There is no mention of this Osorio in Blair and Robertson.

came from the East and went towards the West at 1 a.m.; it lasted until daybreak. Some people say that it was first seen on October 12th and lasted almost five months; others say that there were two comets, the first was big, and the second small. What is certain is that the first one lasted more than 100 days, and the oother followed it afterwards.¹

1 Ed. note: In England, Newton noted the appearance of this comet, in December 1664. It was also observed in Japan by Matasaborou who named it the Tiger Tail Star.

Document S1658A

Sodomy existed in New Spain and was punished with the death penalty

Source: Documentos para la historia de Méjico. Tomo I. Diario de sucesos notables, escrito por el Licenciado D. Gregorio Martín de Guíjo, y comprende los años de 1648 a 1664. Publicado en Méjico, Imprenta de Juan R. Navarro, 1853 [lleva el n° 331 LAF en el Fondo Reservado de la Biblioteca Nacional].

Original text in Spanish

Año de 1658.

Justicia de catorce personas por el pecado de la sodomía.

Martés 6 de noviembre, á las once horas del día, sacaron de la real cárcel de esta corte á quinze hombres, los catorce para que muriesen quemados, y el uno por ser muchacho le dieron doscientos azotes, y vendido á un mortero por seis años; todos por haber cometido unos con otros el pecado de Sodomía, muchos años habia, así residiendo en esta ciudad donde tenían casas con todo aliño donde recibian, y se llamaban por los nombres que usan en esta ciudad las mujeres públicas, así de rengue como de aire: como estando en la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles fué el principal de este pecado un mulato que andaba en traje de indio, llamado Cotita de la Encarnacion, que era el mas aseado y limpio, y gran labradero y curioso, y este desde edad de siete años se dió á este vicio, y su aspecto al presente era de mas de cuarenta años, y ajusticiaron entre ellos á un fulano Correa, mestizo, que habia cuarenta y siete años que lo usaba, y á un español llamado [blanco] natural de esta ciudad: era el padre de todos, y á quien ellos llamaban señora la grande, y servia de escudero; avisando un día á unos y otro á otros para que se aperciesen para recibir la visita, y era el que los concertaba, y despues de la merienda los ponía en los puestos unos con los otros para ejecutar este pecado con toda liviandad; y él usaba en todas ocasiones, tiempos y lugares: este tal fué sentenciado por testigo falso por el tribunal del santo Oficio de esta Nueva-España, y condenado á doscientos azotes y que sirviese en un hospital cierto tiempo, y por compasion que tuvo la virgina, sacándolo á darselos se excusó y salió, desnuda la espalda, con los demas que entonces salieron, porque movia á compasion su mucha edad, que al parecer era

de mas de ochenta años, y habia sido este castigo cinco ó seis años antes de ahora, gobernando el de Alburquerque, y estando en servicio de los enfermos del hospital del Amor de Dios, al presente se ejercitaba en este pecado; no salió otro español porque los demas fueron tres mulatos con el referido Cotita, que su nombre legitimo era Juan Galindo de la Vega; los demas eran indios y mestizos mocetones, y todos ellos de malas caras. Condenó este mulato Juan y los demas á mas de cien personas de toda edad, así vecinos de esta ciudad como de la Puebla, á los cuales llamaron en la plaza real por públicos edictos y pregones: eran las invenciones de que estos usaban que el tribunal del santo Oficio, estando presos y sustanciando la justicia real sus delitos, envió por ellos, y habiendo hecho sus declaraciones los volvió á la cárcel, no fueron todos sino tres ó cuatro los mas principales de ellos, y se advierta que para proceder la justicia á darles sentencia de muerte, ademas de su confesion, los vieron los cirujanos y los hallaron sucios, lacrientos, asquerosos y hediondos: llevarónlos por la calle del Reloj y volvieron por la esquina de las casas de la marquesa de Villamayor, y fueron via recta hasta la albarrada de San Lázaro, y en el braccero se empezó á dar garrote al dicho Cotita, y acabaron con todos catorce á las ocho de la noche, que les pegaron fuego, porque estuvieron haciendo algunas declaraciones; y tan solamente descargaron á siete ú ocho de los citados: duró el fuego toda la noche; asistió la justicia y comisarios de los barrios, y se despobló la ciudad, arrabales y pueblos de fuera de ella para ver esta justicia.

Año de 1673

Source: *Idem*, Tomo II, by Lic. Antonio de Robles. BN n° 332 LAF.

Siete hombres quemados por sodomitas.

Lunes 13, quemaron en la albarrada de San Lázaro siete hombres mulatos, negros y mestizos, por el pecado nefando; estaban en el obraje de Juan de Avila, en el pueblo de Miscoac, extramuros de esta ciudad, el cual obraje se fué luego deteriorando hasta que por último se consumió.

Translation

Justice carried out on 14 persons for the sin of sodomy.

On Tuesday November 6th at 11 a.m., they took 15 men out of the royal jail of this city, 14 of whom to be burned,¹ and the other, for being a boy, they gave him 200 lashes and rented him out to a mason for a period of six years; all of them had committed the sin of sodomy with one another, over a period of many years, while they resided in this city where they had well-appointed houses where they met. They used names such as is

1. Ed. note: After they had first been strangled with a choking collar (see below).

the custom among the public women of this city, to style themselves and to put on airs. The principal sodomite was a mulatto who had lived in Puebla de los Angeles who went around dressed like an Indian, and was named Cotita de la Encarnación; he was the cleanest among them, very fashionable and curious. This person had dedicated himself to this vice from the age of 7 years and he now seemed to be more than 40 years old. One of those who was executed was a certain man named Correa, a half-breed, who had been used by them for over 47 years, and there was a Spaniard named [blank], a native of this city and he was the father of them all; they called him their Great Lady, as he acted as their grand secretary, advising some to get ready to receive them all on one day, and others for other dates. It was he who called them together, and after they had eating lunch, he assigned one to another in order to execute this sin with such levity. This man determined on all occasions, times, and places. He was sentenced by the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition of this New Spain for being a false witness, and was sentenced to 200 lashes, but on account of compassion on the part of the Vicequeen, they pardoned him the lashes while he was taken out with the others, all with bare shoulders. His advanced age is what caused compassion; indeed, he appeared to be 80 years old, although his sin took place five or six years ago, while Alburquerque was governing, and while he was working in the Hospital of the Love of God; now he was practicing this sin. No other Spaniard came out, because the others were three mulattos, including the said Cotita, whose real name was Juan Galindo de la Vega. The others were young Indians and half-breeds, and all of them had bad appearances.

This Juan and the others implicated over 100 persons of all ages, residents of this city and of Puebla. They were all cited in public announcements to report to the royal fort. The methods used by those people were investigated by the tribunal of the Holy Office. While they were in prison, their crimes were substantiated, then they were sent for, asked for their declarations, and returned to jail. Those were not all so processed, but only three or four of them, the leaders. It must also be said that, before justice sentenced them to the death penalty, in addition to the taking of their confession, the surgeons examined them and found them to be dirty, full of sores, disgusting and stinking. They were led along the street of the Clock, turning onto the street where the Marquesa de Villamayor resides, and then they went straight to the stone wall of St. Lazarus.

At the place of the fire, they began by giving the choking collar to the so-called Cotita, and they finished off the fourteenth by 8 p.m. when they burned them all. It took so long because they took declarations from some of them, but they gave absolutions to only seven or eight of them. The fire lasted all night. The court officials and the commissioners of all city districts were in attendance. The city, its wards and the surrounding towns were empty of people, as many had come to see this justice being carried out.

...

Year of 1673.

Source: Idem, Tomo II, by Lic. Antonio de Robles. BN n° 332 LAF.

Seven men burned for being sodomites.

On Monday the 13th, at the stone wall of St. Lazarus, they burned seven men, mulattos, Indians and half-breeds, for the infamous sin, while they were working at the plant owned by Juan de Avila, in the town of Miscuac, outside the limits of this city. Said plant later became deteriorated, and finally buened down.

Document S1662B2

Appointment of Sebastián Estrada as Major of Marines aboard the San Damián

Source: AGNAHH 600-119.

Official letter of appointment, dated Mexico 7 March 1662

Original text in Spanish.

[A] *Don Sebastian de Estrada capitan and sargento mayor de la nao capitana San Damian. Yslas.*

Título

D. Phelipe por la graça de Dios, Rey de Castilla, etc.^a

*Conformando de lo que tengo ordenado y mandado, açerca de que en cada un año se lleve de la n^a España a mi Real campo de la Ciudad de Manila de mis Islas filipinas la gente de Ynfanteria de mar y munijiones necessarias para su defensa, D. Juan de Leyba etc.^a ha mandado levantar y conducir este presente año algunas compañías de ynfanteris en diferentes partes de la n^a España para que bayan en la nao Capitana **S. Damian** que este año se despacha a dhas Yslas y conviene nombrar un Capitan y Sargento Mayor de la dha nao Capitana que es persona de la calidad meritos y partes que se quieren y porque estas y otras muchas concurren con la de Vos D. Sebastian de Estrada e habeis sido mi Capitan de ynfanteria española con acuerdo de el dho mi Virrey e tnicndo por bien de probecros y nombraros por mi Capitan de Ynfanteria española de una de las compañías que este presente año pasan a las Yslas Philipinas y por Sargento Mayor de mar y tierra de la nao Capitana **S. Damian** surta en el puerto de Acapulco y el tesoro de las compañías de Ynfanteria española[s] que pasan en dha Capitana a mis Yslas Philipinas y como tal usareis los dhos cargos en todos los casos y cosas a el anexas y concernientes segun y de la manera que lo han usado podido y debido usar los demas capitanes y sargentos mayores de mis campos y ejércitos Reales gosando como ellos de todas las honrras graças preheminencias exçepciones y luestades(?) [que rucstades?] y todas las demas cosas que por raçon de el dho oficio os perteneçen y deven ser guardadas y cumplidamente que os fal de cosa alguna, que para lo usar y exerçer le doy poder y facultad qual de donde se requise y pasasen esfuerzon(?) sobre los dhos capitanes y*

oficiales de guerra y dar las ordenes y competarlas y guardarlas, corexnycachgara(?) los que expediesen precediendo contra ellos ynformacion breve y sumariamente, a usansa de guerra y mando a mi Capitan general y Almirante de la dha nao Capitana que os hagan o guardan todo lo sobre dho, y a los dhos Capitanes y oficiales y gente de guerra os ayan tengan y obedezcan por tal mi Capitan y Sargento Mayor so las penas que e les precedereis las quales podeis executar con los rebeldes e inobedientes y por el trabajo u cuidado que en lo susodho habeis de tener os señalo de sueldo sesenta ducados de Castilla al mes que os corra desde ahora de limosna de Escruans(?) constara haber salido de la ciudad de Mexico a embarcaros al puerto de Acapulco donde se os ha de entregar una Compañia de Ynfanteria de Ramos Ocotra que se embarcasen librados.

*...
Dado en la Ciudad de Mexico a siete de março seiscientos y sesenta y dos.*

El Marques Conde de Baños

Refrendado de Don Pedro Velazquez de la Cadena

Translation.

[To] Sebastián de Estrada, captain and sergeant major of the flagship **San Damián**—Islands.

Commission.

Don Philip, by the grace of God King of Spain, etc.

In accordance with my standing orders, to the effect that every year there must be taken from New Spain to my Royal camp in the City of Manila in my Philippine Islands some Marine infantrymen and the munitions necessary for its defence, Don Juan de Leyva, etc. has been ordered to raise and lead this year a few companies of infantry in different parts of New Spain so that they can go aboard the flagship **San Damián** which is being despatched this year to said Islands and it is convenient to appoint a Captain and Sergeant Major of said flagship who is a parson of quality, merits and proven experience, and because such and many other requirements are found in you, Don Sebastián de Estrada and you have been my captain of Spanish infantry, with the agreement of my Viceroy, I think it proper to provide you and appoint you as my Captain of Spanish Infantry of one of the companies being transferred this year to the Philippine Islands and as Sergeant Major of land soldiers and marines aboard the flagship **San Damián** now at anchor in the port of Acapulco and the moneys of the companies of Spanish Infantry that are being transferred aboard said flagship to my Philippine Islands and as such you are to use said posts in all cases and things connected with them and in all the other things that, on account of said function, belong to you and they must be obeyed and complied with, and for such purposes I grant you power and authority wherever necessary to be exercised over the other military captains and officers and to give orders and make them obeyed and complied with, proceeding against those who disobey with a summary investigation and short report as is the military custom, and I order my Captain General and Admiral of said flagship to make said Cap-

tains and Officers obey this my Captain and Sergeant Major under the penalties provided by regulations which you are to execute on the rebels and disobedient persons. And for the work and care that you have to have in the discharge of said duties I have earmarked a salary of sixty Spanish ducats per month which are to begin as of now, when you leave the city of Mexico to go and embark at the port of Acapulco where you are to deliver on board one company of infantry, that of Ramos Ocotra.

Given at the City of Mexico on the seventh day of March 1662.

The Marquis Count of Baños.

Countersigned by Don Pedro Velazquez de la Cadena.

Editor's note.

Similarly, there may have been many other captains on board, as many commissions were given out in Mexico to raise troops for the Philippines and Ternate, e.g.

- Captain Cristobal de Santa Anna (ref. AHH 600-308);
- Captain Francisco Ximenez (600-309);
- Captain José de San Miguel (600-310);
- Captain Pedro de la Peña (600-311);
- Captain Juan de Briones (600-312);
- Captain Sebastian de Estrada (see above, 600-313);
- Captain Blas Rodriguez (600-314);
- Captain Antonio Pimentel (600-315);
- Captain Francisco Ramirez Cartagena (600-316);
- Captain Pedro Bernal Marufo (600-317);
- Captain Estevan Cabezas (600-318);
- Captain Lorenzo Cesareo de Salas (600-319);
- Captain Antonio de Seneca y Esteybar (600-320);
- Captain Domingo de Pruneda (600-321), but he stayed behind as Treasurer of the Port of Acapulco (-403);
- Captain Francisco Adame (600-322);
- Captain Francisco Palomino (600-323);
- Captain Joseph de Miranda (600-324, 343);
- Captain Juan Martinez (600-325);
- Captain Balthazar de la Vega (600-326);
- Captain Antonio Millan (600-327);
- Captain Gil Caron (600-328, 358);
- Captain Juan de Isla (600-329);
- Captain Juan de Amezaga y Murgia (600-330);
- Captain Fernando de Paderes (600-331);
- Captain Garcia del Castillo y Valdez (600-332);
- Captain Juan de Trexo y Avila (600-333);
- Captain Domingo Gomes Polanco (600-334);

- Captain Alonso de Abrego Figueroa (600-335);
- Captain Augustin Gonzalcz de Villavicencio (600-338);
- Captain Juan Montero y Aragon (600-339);
- Captain Antonio de la Cerda (600-340);
- Captain Pedro de Lerma y Velasco (600-341);
- Captain Phelipe de Campo y Lejarmendi (600-342);
- Captain Pedro de Ochayua (600-344, 357);
- Captain Juan de Galarza y Padilla (600-346);
- Captain Pedro Fernando Torilla (600-347);
- Captain Andrs **Gonzalez (600-349, 406)**;
- Captain Diego Sanchez Maya (600-350);
- Captain Pedro Martin Agudelo (600-351);
- Captain Martin Delgado (600-352);
- Captain Juan de Guebara (600-353);
- Captain Juan de Castro y Valdez (600-354);
- Captain Joseph de San Miguel (600-355, 359);
- Captain Juan de Palomares (600-356);
- Captain Estevan Dosel y Balcazar (600-389);
- Captain Domingo Diaz de Arze (600-400);
- Captain Pedro Alvarez (600-401);
- Captain Agustin de Olave (600-402);
- Captain Miguel de los Rios y Robles (600-404);
- Captain Pedro Francisco de Isla (600-407).

In addition, there were more soldiers raised in 1661, when there was no ship, and they may have passed to the Philippines in 1662.

[Notes under 1663, **San José**. There were two generals, García, appointed by Manila, and Medina, appointed by Mexico. The order for the payment of the salary of General Francisco García del Fresno is preserved in AGN AHH 600-170; the title, or letter of appointment of General Andrés de Medina Davila is in 600-336 (see Doc. S1663F).

Documents S1662C

Three letters from the Jesuit General to Brother Vello, in Mexico

Source: AGN AHH 332.

Note: Brother Vello was procurator in Mexico for the Province of the Philippines, which later included the Marianas.

C1. Letter dated Rome 30 March 1662

Note: Regarding the arrival in Mexico of Fr. Sanvitores and companions, in 1660.

Original text in Spanish.

2. via

Jhs

Pax Christi &^a

He recibido dos de mi carissimo H^o de 5 y 27 de Abr. de 61 escritas al P. General, con una informacion juridica de los precios de algunas cosas que se gastan en el mantenimiento de los Nuestros; y respondiendo a todo, digo, que doy muchas gracias a N.S. porque ha dexado llegar tan felizmente a essa Prov^a lla escogida y numerosa Mission de la de Philipinas y tambien le agradezco mucho el cuidado, y caridad, con que ha tratado a los Sujetos en el mar, y en la tierra.

Cerca de pagar dos ó tres jaios [sic] de alimentos por cada Sujeto, veo las dificultades, que representa el P. Provincial si se pagan dos solamente y las razones que ay, para que no se paguen tres; yo desseo, que no pierda essa Provincia, ni la de Philipinas pague mas del que es justo; y assi parece conveniente, que ay se haga el computo de los gastos, y que el P. Visitador, despues de informado, determine lo que se deve executar; sobre esto le escribiré yo en esta ocasion.

Estoy en lo que avisa de los excessivos gastos del Procurador de Yndias en Sevilla, y se pondra luego el remedio necessario; y á la Congregacion de San Francisco Xavier favoreceré con las veras, que ella merece, y dessea mi carissimo H^o a quien guarde DIOS, y en cuyas oraciones me encomiendo.

Roma 30 de marzo de 1662.

Juan Paulo Oliva

[Al] H^o Francisco Vello.

Mexico.

Translation.

2nd route.

JHS

Peace of Christ.

I have received two letters from my dearest Brother dated 5th and 27th of April 1661 addressed to Fr. General, along with a notarized statement of how much it costs to maintain our people, and in answer to everything, I say the following. I give many thanks to Our Lord because He has granted the favor of letting arrive so safely at that Province the chosen and numerous Mission going to the Philippines and also I thank you very much for the care and charity with which you have treated the Subjects at sea, and on land.

Regarding the payment of two or three jalias¹ for the food of each Subject, I see the difficulties put up by the Fr. Provincial if only two are paid and the reasons that exist for not paying three. I wish that that Province, nor that of the Philippines, pay more than what is just, and so it seems convenient that overthere there be done a calculation of the expenses, and that Fr. Visitor, having received the report, decide what must be done, and I will so inform him on this same occasion.

I am aware of the excessive expenses made by the Procurator of the Indies in Seville, and the necessary remedy will now be applied, and the Congregation of San Francis Xavier will get what it deserves, and what my dearest Brother wishes, to whom I commend myself to his prayers.

Rome, 30 March 1662.

Juan Paulo Oliva

C2. Letter dated Rome 15 August 1663**Original text in Spanish.**

2. via

#

Pax Christi

Recibo con mucho gusto dos de mi carissimo H^o escritas en 5 de Abril y 25 de Octubre de 62 y le agradezco el grande affecto con que me da el para bien del officio de Vicario siendo esta una cruz tan pesada para mí, mas nacidos le venian muchos pesames, Dios nos asista, que bien lo hemos menester. Holgaréme grandamente que los que fueron a Filipinas ayan llegado sin desgracia, y con salud y con la misma deseo ver aqui al P. Luis Pimentel Procurador de aquella Prov^a. Mas justo es que los Procuradores de Indias sean diligentes en despachar los pliegos, que van, y vienen; ya se les ha encomendados, y lo mismo digo, cerca del avisar a las Provincias de los gastos que se les cargan. Al Procurador de Sevilla ordenaré de nuevo que de satisfaccion a la Prov^a de Filipinas en lo que constare que le deve de aquellos olores [collares?], dincro, y txco de oro. Pareze que se ajustó bien la diferencia de los alimentos de los que pasan a Filipinas con señalar dos reales y medio, del modo que significa mi carissimo H^o a quien

1 Ed. note: Siang for "reales", (see C2 below).

quedo muy agradecido por el zelo, cuydado, y eficacia. con que ha procurado el despacho de los de su Prov^a y la caridad, con que los ha tratado; El Sr. se lo pague, y le guarde como le supplico encomendandome en sus santas oraciones.

Roma 15 de Agosto 1663.

Juan Paulo de Oliva

[Al] H^o Francisco Vello.

Mexico.

Translation.

2nd route.

#

Peace of Christ.

I am very much pleased to receive from my dearest Brother his letters dated April 5th October 25th 1662 and I thank him for the great affection that he shows in wishing me well in my post as Vicar, one that is such a heavy cross for me to bear, but one that attracts many sympathies with it. May God help me, for I need the help very much. I will be very pleased to learn that those who went to the Philippines¹ have arrived without a problem, and in health, and I also wish that Fr. Luis Pimentel, Procurator of that province would come here to see me. It would be better if the Procurator of the Indies would be diligent in despatching the mailw, that come and go; I have already advised them about it, and I say the same thing about the statements of expenditures that they charge to the Provinces. Once again I will order the Procurator in Seville to give satisfaction to the Province of the Philippines in the matter of the gold necklaces(?), money, and disk. It appears that the argument over the food expenses of those on their way to the Philippines has been settled well, by charging two and a half reales so that it means that my dearest Brother deserves thanks for his zeal, and the efficient manner with which he has despatched those of his Province and the charity with which he has treated them. May the Lord repay you, and save you as I pray Him, and I rely on your holy prayers.

Rome, 15 August 1663.

Juan Paulo de Oliva

[To] Brother Francisco Vello.

Mexico.

C3. Letter dated Rome 28 February 1664

I. via

Jhs

Pax Christi &^a

Respondiendo à una de mi carissimo H^o de 15 de Mayo de 63, digo, que es de estimar el gozo, que muestra por mi eleccion, pero mucho mas estimaré, que me alcanze del Señor, que yo acierte à hazer siempre su santissima voluntad. Heme consolado mucho con el aviso, que me da, de que se remitieron aquellos pliegos à Philipinas, y que

1 Ed. note: Fr. Sanvitores was one of the number.

se embarcaron los Sugetos, que yvan à aquella Prov^a, y estaban detenidos en esa; espero que yà estaran alla, donde tanto los desseavan. No extraño, que ay no quisiessen dar los Sugetos, que el P. General ordenó, porque me consta, que en essa Provincia ay gran falta. Lo que me huelgo es, que se asuhasse por medio del P. Visitador la diferencia, que avia, sobre quanto devian pagar por sus alimentos, los de Philipinas, mientras se detenian en Mexico: yà he escrito en orden à que se dejen à aquella otra del officio de Sevilla. Con esto, agraciendo otra à mi carissimo H^o el cuidado, y caridad, con que trató, y despachó à los de la Mission de su Provincia, ruego al Señor que le guarde, y me encomiendo en sus oraciones.

Roma 28 de Febrero de 1664.

Juan Paulo Oliva

[A] H^o Francisco Vello.

Mexico.

Translation.

1st route

Jhs

Peace of Christ, etc.

In answer to a letter from my dearest Brother dated 15 May 1663, I say that I am very pleased at the demonstration that you made on account of my election, but I would esteem it even more if he could get for me from the Lord the favor of my doing always His most holy will. I am very much pleased to learn that those files have indeed been sent to the Philippines, and that the Subject who were going to that Province but were detained in that one [Mexico], have been despatched. It is not surprising that that province does not wish to release those that Fr. General has ordered transferred, but I realize that there is a great need in that province. What makes me happy is to learn that, by the intervention of Fr. Visitor, the difference that existed regarding the food expenses of those going to the Philippines, while they were being delayed in Mexico, has been solved. I have already written to the office in Seville regarding that other matter. With this, there remains to thank my dearest Brother once more, for the care and charity with which he treated those of the Mission to his province. I beg the Lord to save you and I commend myself in your prayers.

Rome, 28 February 1664.

Juan Paulo Oliva

[To] Brother Francisco Vello.

Mexico.

Document S1663F

**Letter of appointment of General Medina,
dated Mexico 1663**

Source: AGN AHH 600-336.

Notes: This man was appointed by the Viceroy, in contravention of the Code of laws of the Indies, to replace General García, who had been legally appointed by the Governor of the Philippines. Only the first sheet of this document is extant; the others are either lost or misfiled.

Letter of appointment**Original text in Spanish.**

Al General Don Andres de Medina Davila: Capitan General del galeon San Joseph. Titulo.—Islas Philipinas.

Don Phelipe por la grazia de Dios rey de Castilla etc^a

Por quanto Don Juan de Leyva de la Cerda, Marques de Leyba, Conde de Baños Pariente mi Virrey de la Nueva España etc^a

*Por diferentes juntas generales de hazienda que mande formar con asistencia de mis ministros para que se biesen mis Reales Cédulas y demas despachos que le di por mi Consejo de Indias al general Don Andres de Medina Davila con las proposiciones que el susodho mi hijo. Y al dho mi Virrey para la brevedad de el viaje desde el puerto de Acapulco a las Islas Philipinas asi para la yda como para la buelta y que se evite el mayor daño que padesen por la dilazion de los viajes y por la mucha gente que pereze en ellos[,] por lo qual ofrezco el dho general Don Andres de Medina Davila [h]aria el viaje del puerto de Acapulco a Manila en poco mas de cinquenta dias, y de buelta en algo mas de tres meses dejando enseñando a los pilotos para que en lo benidero ocupen menos tiempo. Para lo qual ante el dicho mi Virrey presento ciertas Reales cedulas y prohibiciones que por horden mía hizieron con credits y calidad de su persona, los ministros mas graduados que la saçon se hallaron en mi corte. Y los mas entendidos en el arte nautica que haviendosele conosido en dhas juntas generales lo mucho que importaria al servicio de Dios y mio el que se pudiese conseguir lo que el dho Don Andres de Medina Davila propone se pidieron pareceres a personas practicas y en particular al general Francisco García que vino a esc Reyno por Cavo principal de la nao almiranta **San Joseph** surta en dho puerto de Acapulco y a los Pilotos y marineros que an benido en ella. Y en atencion a la gran satisfacion que se tiene del dho general Don Andres de*

*Medina y a que en el estado presente sera el mayor servicio mio[,] pues con el se restaurara el descaesimiento de dhas yslas[,] se resolvio en dhas juntas generales que era digno su celo de qualquiera merced y que por agora se le consediese la de general de dha nao almiranta **San Joseph** en execucion y cumplimiento de la patente de Capitan general que permite esta dada en el ynterin que se consigue el efecto y sea honrrado de mi Real mano por lo mucho que ynporta se logren sus propocisiones con advertencia que segun ellas en esta ocasion en la yda desde Acapulco a Manila, no sea de haçer novedad en la derrotera y partença sino que a de salir del puerto de Acapulco por el mes de Enero del año que viene de mill y seis y sesenta y tres, llevando el viaje hordinario comunicando esta resolucion con el Maestre de Campo Don Diego de Salcedo mi governador y Captain gncral de dhas Yslas Philipinas. Y mi presidente de la Real Audiencia de ellas que se halla al presente en la ciudad de Mexico que a de pasar en dha nao como tan yn-tercizado en el acierto y que en su gobierno se de principio a tan buena faccion y a en-mendar los hierros [sic] que tanto ase continuan y que con lo que experimentare en este viaje ajuste con el dho general Don Andres de Medina la buelta de aquellas yslas a este reyno sin detenerle fomentando ley dandole navio con la gente y dispocision necesaria con el cargo de general como por mi esta mandado para el logro de dhas propocisiones y salir de aquellas Yslas y cojer la derrota en que dice podra hacer su viaje en poco mas de tres meses[,] pucs cjecutandolo y dejando noticia de dha derrotera para que se continuc en dhas ocassiones sera uno de los mayores servicios mios que se me puedan hazer...*

Translation.

To General Don Andrés de Medina Davila: Captain General of the galleon San José. Appointment. — Philippine Islands.

Don Philip, by the grace of God King of Spain, etc.

Whereas Don Juan de Leyva de la Cerda, Marquis of Leyva, Count of Baños, my relative and Viceroy of New Spain, etc.

In various general meetings that I called to discuss finances, with the aid of my ministers, so that my Royal Decrees be seen and other despatches that I gave through my Royal Council of the Indies to General Don Andrés de Medina Davila with the proposals that the above-said my son, and my Viceroy made for the quick despatch of the voyage from the port of Acapulco to the Philippine Islands, not only for the forward trip but also for the return passage, and in order to avoid greater damage on account of the delays in the voyages and on account of the large number of people who die in them, that is why I offer said general Don Andrés de Medina Davila to make the voyage

i Ed. note: The rest is missing.

from the port of Acapulco to Manila in a little over fifty days, and the return voyage in some three months, thus teaching the pilots how to carry out in future how to lose less time.¹ That is why I present before my Viceroy certain Royal decrees and positions that, on my order, the most educated of my ministers who were at the time at my court inquired into the background of his person, most of them being knowledgeable in the science of navigation and, they having understood during those general meetings how important it would be, for the service of God and mine, if what said Don Andrés de Medina Davila could achieve his plan, the opinions of various practical persons were solicited, in particular that of General Francisco García who came to this kingdom as chief officer aboard the galleon **San José** now at anchor in the port of Acapulco and those of the pilots and seamen who came with her. And on account of the great satisfaction that is being held toward said General Don Andrés de Medina and to whom in the present condition would be for my greater service, as indeed with him the decadence of those islands will be restored, it was resolved in said general meetings that his zeal was worthy of any favor and that for now it was proper to grant him the post of general of said Almiranta **San José** and a commission as Captain General that is being given on an interim basis until it be honored by my Royal hand on account of the great importance tied to the achievement of his proposals, which consist, as far as the first part of the voyage, from Acapulco to Manila, is concerned, in not making any change to the point of departure but to leave the port of Acapulco during the month of January of this year 1663, making the ordinary voyage and communicating this decision to the Master of Camp Don Diego de Salcedo my Governor and Captain General of said Philippine Islands. And my President of my Royal Audiencia of the Philippines who is presently in the city of Mexico who has to go aboard said galleon and has so much interest in this venture and wishes to see it succeed under his term of office, and to see the errors corrected that have so affected this voyage and have them adjusted by said general Don Andrés de Medina during the return passage from those islands to this kingdom by providing him without delay a ship with men and the necessary dispositions for the post of general as is my order, for the success of said proposals and in order to leave those islands by the route of his choice by which he says he could make this voyage in a little over three months; indeed, by carrying it out and leaving notice of said route so that it can be adopted on said occasions, will be one of the best services that can be done to me...²

1 Ed. note: This was just a cheap excuse for the Viceroy to place his own man and so benefit from the voyage at the expense of the Manila residents. The normal times for the westward crossing was 90 days and about 5 months for the eastward passage, and they manage to hoodwink the king with it.

2 Ed. note: The rest is missing. for the follow-up story, see the footnote in HM6:309.

Document S1663G

Payment to Jesuit missionaries who crossed the Pacific in 1663

Source: AGN AHH 600-186.

Original text in Spanish.

Religiosos de la Comp^a de Jesus, que pasaron ha Islas. 1663.—Mandamientos para que se pague el vestuario y alimentos que gastaron y lo demas necesario para su transporte.

Don Juan de Leiba y de la Cerda Marques Conde de Baños, etc.^a

*Por quanto el Padre Francisco Vello Procurador que es de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus de Filipinas me ha representado que fui servido {de} mandare despachar, Mandamiento: Para que los oficiales Reales de Acapulco le diesen lo que se estila para los Catorce Religiosos, doze Sacerdotes y dos legos que este año se embarcaron en el Galeon **San Joseph**, para Filipinas por cuenta de su Magestad. Y para que se le ajustasen los dias de alimentos llevo sertificacion desta Real Caxa y como por falta de dinero no se le pudo ajustar, Se le dio dello otra sertificacion. Y de ante ambas asia demostrasion y me supplico fuese servido de mandar se le ajuste dha cuenta en virtud de dhas sertificaciones y se le pague. — A que proveí me ynformasen los Jueses oficiales de la Real Caxa desta Corte y lo isieron en esta forma:*

"Exmo. Sor.

"La pretencion del Suplicante se funda en las Reales Sedulas citadas en la sertificacion que presenta sobre que V.Ex. mandara lo que mas combenga.

"Mexico diez de Julio de mill y seis sientos y sesenta y tres años.

"Don Juan de Salinas; Valerio Martines de Vidaorreta."

De que mande dar vista al señor fiscal Dor. Don Manuel de Escalante y Mendosa Cavallero del orden de Santiago que dio esta respuesta:

"Exmo. Sor.

"El fiscal de su Magd. dize que V.Ex. siendo servido mandara que se ajuste lo que pide el Padre Francisco Bello y que se haga segun y como su Magd. manda en sus Reales Cedulas y que se le pague lo que se le restare deviendo.

"Mexico y Jullio dies y ocho de mill sientos sesenta y tres años.

"Dr. Don Manuel de Escalante y Mendosa."

Con lo qual le remiti al Licenciado D. Alonso de Alaves Pinelo Abogado de esta Real Audiencia, mi azesor qual para que diese como dio su pareser que es esto:

"Exmo Sor.

"En conformidad de lo que responde el Sor. fiscal y informan los Juezes oficiales de la Real hazienda puede V.Ex. siendo servido mandar que se aga como pide el Suplicante V.Ex mandara lo que mas combenga.

"Mexico y agosto nuebe de mill y sientos y sesenta y tres años.

"Licenciado D. Alonso de Alaves Pinelo."

*Y por mi visto conformandome con el dho pareser por el presente mando dhos Jueses offisiales de la Real Caxa desta Corte libren y paguen al dho Padre Francisco Vello lo que pareziere deberse a los Catorse Relixiosos que pasaron este presente año a las yslas Filipinas en la Nao Capitana **San Joseph** del sustento ordinario que se les devio dar por oficiales Reales de Acapulco y no lo dieron por no haver efectos en aquella Caxa de que poderlo hazer en conformidad de lo que su Magd. manda por sus Reales Cedula que con este mandamiento Carta de pago y los demas recaudos nesesarios se les pasara en data lo que montare, y acuerdemelo quando uviere dinero y no se pague desta manera.*

Mexico beinte y siete de otubre de mill y seissientos y sesenta y tres años.

En Mexico a siete de Nobiembre de mill y seissientos y sesenta y tres años ante los Señores Jueses oficiales Reales desta Corte se izo Razon del mandamiento de su Ex. desta otra foxa y visto dixeron se lleve a la Contaduría de Real hazienda para que ajustada la quenta y con recaudos legitimos y bastantes se despache libransa y lo rubricaron.

Ante mi Martin de Molina escribano.—

Los Jueses offisiales de la Real hazienda desta Nueva españa por el Rey nuestro señor certificamos que a los Catorçe Relixiosos de la Compañia de Jhs, los doze Saserdotes y los dos Legos que quedaron en esta Ciudad de los veinte y nuebe de dha Compañia los vinte y sinco saserdotes y quatro Legos que el año pasado de sientos y sesenta vinieron de los Reinos de Castilla en la flota del cargo del general Adrian Polido para pasar a las yslas Filipinas por quenta de su Magestad...

...

Translation.

Religious of the Society of Jesus who passed to the Islands. 1663.—Orders for the payment of what they spent in clothing and food and for other necessities for their transport.

Don Juan de Leiva y de la Cerda, Marquis Count of Baños, etc.

Whereas Father [sic] Francisco Vello, Procurator of the Province of the Society of Jesus of the Philippines has represented to me that I should be pleased to issue the following order for the despatch, so that the Royal officials at Acapulco may give him

what is usual for the fourteen Religious, twelve priests and two lay brothers, who embarked this year aboard the galleon **San José** bound to the Philippines at the expense of His Majesty. And in order for the days for the food charges could be adjusted, he presents a certificate from this Royal Treasury, and since they could not be adjusted for lack of money, he presents another certificate to that effect. And, in view of said certificates, he begged me to please order that said account be adjusted and that he be paid the amount.—To which I asked the royal officials of the Royal Treasury of this city to inform me respecting same and they answered in the following manner:

"Your Excellency:

"The claim of the suppliant is based on the Royal Decrees cited in the certificate that he presents regarding which Y.E. may provide what is most convenient.

"Mexico, 10 July 1663.

]"Don Juan de Salinas; Valerio Martinez de Vidaurreta."

I then referred the file to the Crown Attorney, Doctor Don Manuel de Escalante y Mendoza, Knight of the Order of St. James, gave the following answer:

"Your Excellency:

"The Crown Attorney says that Y.E. should be pleased to order that Father Francisco Vello be granted the adjustment in question, in accordance with the Royal Decrees, and that he be paid the sum due him.

"Dr. Don Manuel de Escalante y Mendoza."

I then forwarded it to Licentiate Don Alonso de Alaves Pinedo, lawyer of this Royal Audiencia and my counsel, for him to give me his opinion in this matter:

"Your Excellency:

"In conformity with the answer of the Crown Attorney and the report of the royal officials of the Royal Treasury, Y.E. may be pleased to order that the Suppliant be granted his request and Y.E. may order what is most convenient.

"Mexico, 9 August 1663.

"Lic. Don Alonso de Alaves Pinedo."

And having seen the above opinion, I order the royal officials of the Royal Treasury of this city to pay to said Father Francisco Vello what they seem to owe him for the fourteen Religious who passed this year to the Philippine Islands aboard the galleon **San José** for their ordinary meals which should have been given by the royal officials at Acapulco and was not given for lack of funds in that office in accordance with what His Majesty orders in his Royal Decrees, that with this order, Letter of payment and the other necessary papers he is to be given a credit note for said sum and please remind me when there should be money and it should not be paid in this manner.

Mexico, 27 October 1663.

In Mexico on 7 November 1663, before the gentlemen judges and royal officials of this city, the above order of His Excellency was taken into account and, having seen it, they said that it should be taken to the Accounting Office of the Royal Treasury for ad-

justment of the account and, along with the precautionary notes it was to be paid out, and so, they affixed their signatures.

Before me, Martin de Molina, notary.

We, the official judges of the Royal Treasury of this New Spain on behalf of the King our Lord do certify that the fourteen Religious of the Society of Jesus, twelve of them priests and two Brothers, who had remained in this City from the 29 of said Society, 25 priests and 4 brothers, who came in the past year of 1660 from the kingdoms of Spain aboard the fleet commanded by General Adrian Polido to pass to the Philippine Islands at the expense of His Majesty...

...¹

1 Ed. note: Rest missing. Only the first folio was preserved. As a matter of fact, the 310 sheets that originally composed the file of the despatch of the 1663 galleon from Acapulco have been dispersed throughout said bundle of loose sheets.

Document S1669K

Correspondence between Fr. Sanvitores and the Queen's confessor

Source: Letter quoted in Fr. Francisco García's Vida, Book II, Chap. XIII, fol. 170-172; translation published in the Guam Recorder, January 1937, pp. 26-27.

Letter of Fr. Sanvitores to Fr. Everard Nithard, undated

Notes: Written in either 1669 or 1670. Fr. Juan Ledesma assumes that Fr. Sanvitores wrote this letter before he heard that the king had died in September 1665, soon after issuing his decree authorizing the Mariana Missions. However, he bases this assumption on Fr. García's comment that Sanvitores knew that the Queen would soon be the sole protectress of the missions. Although the letter mentions "their Majesties" (plural) this expression includes the Prince. There is no reason to believe that Sanvitores would have asked for more missionaries before the missions had actually opened up in 1668.

From the AGI files (see Doc. 1673C), we learn that their correspondence started only in 1669. Reference is made there to only two letters from Fr. Sanvitores to Cardinal Nithard, one dated 25 April 1669 and the other 29 May 1670. Since there was no galleon in 1670, the second letter would not have arrived at Madrid before 1673. It is probably one of these two letters that were published by Fr. García, and which follows, as translated by Fr. Juan Ledesma. The second letter was reproduced by Fr. Morales in an appendix to his 1669-70 annual report (see Doc. 1670H3).

Extracts from a letter asking the Queen's confessor for intercession with the Queen on behalf of the Mariana Mission.

Who doubts that if our Lady the Queen could obtain the conversion to our holy faith of all the heretics and infidels of the world she would try it at all cost and with all diligence, and if she could not convert them all because of their refusal, she would get even and find relief for her zeal by procuring with all her might the conversion of those who offer no resistance and principally the salvation of such a multitude of children who die every day, when, if there were Ministers and with no objections whatever from their parents, they would receive the holy baptism and be infallibly saved?

If there were only one creature [small child] in the palace who were about to die without baptism, the Queen our Lady, on learning about it would not be able to restrain herself from getting up and rushing to baptize it, should there be no-one else to do so. And Your Reverence would tell her that such act of piety is a matter of strict obligation. What an employment then would her piety not find... if short of having to stand

up from her dais Her Majesty could obtain the salvation of thousands of children, who have no-one to administer to them the only remedy, nor will they have it, without the execution of the decrees and orders despatched by the King our Lord?

And if either the despatch of the Royal orders or their execution were delayed for only one year, for lack of interest, enlivened by the warmth of a breath of Her Majesty the Queen, or by a word signifying her special interest and devotion, those who would die in that and in the following years in the Islands and other lands, will perish infallibly and irremediably, if through lack of such effort the only remedy for those souls were further delayed.

If the mere knowledge that only one child is dying without baptism would oblige the most simple lady to go out of her way and help it... would one not be obliged to provide and hasten with all diligence the remedy were he to know that in those lands every day so many creatures die and will die without baptism only for lack of someone to administer it?

Finally, how many good intercessors would their Majesties have for all their good enterprises and for the felicitous upbringing and life of the Prince our Lord, as well as for a more numerous and prolonged succession. What will those children do in Heaven when they see him and realize their debt of gratitude which is greater than that of the souls in purgatory who are liberated through the suffrages which His Majesty usually orders to be made, since the souls of these baptized children of gentiles, for the speedy remedy applied to them, are indebted not only for the hastening of their glory but also for the whole substance of their eternal happiness. This would not have come to them neither early nor late had not the remedy been applied to them on time.

The parents are wont to offer to God and to the Blessed Virgin as pleasing votive offerings and signs of devotion children made of wax or silver to obtain the health and life of their offspring or a happy delivery and succession. How much more acceptable and efficacious will these votive offerings be if they consist of children incomparably more precious than if they were made of silver or gold, redeemed as they are and whitened by the blood of the Lamb, whom they will follow and praise for all eternity..!

The sweet Jesus delighted in having the children come to Him, and He said that the kingdom of Heaven is theirs. How much pleasure then will He now be given... by the alms and devotion which will be employed for the formation of this army of infants, who in part will be His guard of honor while living here on earth with the grace of baptism... and in part will also be His principal guard of honor consisting of those children who before losing the happiness of grace shall go to Heaven to be enlisted among the angels, with even more speedy possession of the happiness that the holy Innocents enjoyed, since in their time the Redemption was not yet consummated. And they will not need now the costly impiety of Herod, whose place has been taken by the sweet and efficacious divine inspiration by which the Queen our Lady finds her joy and pleasure in the conversion and settlement of those Islands...

Document S16720

**Posthumous gift to the Mariana Mission by
Captain Benito De Gama**

Source: AGN AHH 332-27.

**Clause in the testament of Captain Benito de Gama in favor
of the Mariana Mission**

Editor's note: In Mexico City, on 24 May 1672, before Don Fernando de Aguilar, King's Counsel, the clauses of the late Captain de Gama, a former resident of Mexico were examined. According to his testament, Benito de Gama was born in Lisbon.

Original clause in Spanish.

Clausula.—*Ytem mando que de lo mexor y mas vien pasado de mis vicios se paguen un mil pesos de oro comun y se pongan asento en partes seguros pues a de ser cinquenta pesos en cada año. Los quales dichos cinquenta senn de entregar al procurador que fuese de la compañía de Jesus de la provincia de las Yslas Filipinas para que los envíe en Reales o como mas conviniese al Padre Pedro [sic] Luis de Sanvitores Religioso de dicha compañía que esta en las Yslas Marianas en la conversion dellas o al que le subdiesse en dicha conversion de dichas Yslas para ayuda del sustento de los Religiosos de dicha compañía que aaassisten y en adelante asistiesen en dichas Yslas aplicandose a las Casas e Yglesias mas necesitadas que pudiese en dichas Yslas y en caso que en dichas Yslas Marianas no tenga efecto su conversion diichaos cinquenta pesos de Renta se apliquen para la conversion mas necesitada asi en lo temporal que como en lo espiritual de las que tiene dichos Religiosos en las dichas Yslas Filipinas o en otras partes perteneciendo a aquella provincia con declaracion que todo los años sea de traer Recivo de los misioneros que perciviesen dicha limosna de aver entrado en su poder dichos cinquenta pesos o los generos que dellos se remitiesen con advertencia que no teniendo efecto el continuarse la conversion de dichas Yslas Marianas el Provincial que fuese de dicha provincia de Filipinas aya de declarar qual a de ser la mision o conversion que por mas necesitada ade percivir dichos cinquenta pesos y esto declarado se aya de traer un recivo del misionero a que se aplicase para que conste al que fuese patron en conformidad entregue los dichos cinquenta pesos al dicho procurador de Filipinas o al que tubiese poder de dichos misioneros y el patronago y administra-*

cion de esta dicha Renta en orden a entregarlo y a su segridad y cobranza nombro por patron del al Dotor Don Antonio de Gama presvitero mi hijo y a los demas mis hijos preferiendo siendo el mayor al menor y despues de sus dias quedan y les doy facultad de nombrar patron y patrones para los tocante a lo contenido en esta clausula.

...
En la ciudad de Mexico a dos dias del mes de julio de mil seiscientos y setenta y dos años siendo testigos mios Fredo de Salinas de la Torre y Blas Leal vecinmos de esta dicha ciudad.

En testimonio de verdad hago mi signo.

[Rubric] *Bartolome de Vigo, Escrivano Real.*

Translation.

Clause.—Also, I order that, out of the best and oldest of my possessions, there shall be paid out one thousand pesos of common gold and shall be invested in secure holdings since they are to provide 50 pesos each year. The said 50 pesos each year shall be delivered to whomever is Procurator of the Society of Jesus for the Province of the Philippine Islands so that he may be able to send them in Reales or in whatever form may be convenient to Father Pedro [rather Diego] Luis de Sanvitores, Religious of said Society who is in the Mariana Islands busy in their conversion or to whomever may be his successor in said conversion of said Islands in order to help with the maintenance of the religious of said Society who assist him or may subsequently assist in said islands, applying same to the residences and churches that may be most in need in said islands and, in case the conversion of said Mariana Islands may not take place, said 50 pesos in Pension are to be applied to the conversion of the most necessitated one, be it in the temporal as well as the spiritual sense, from among those held by said religious in said Philippine Islands or in other places belonging to that province, with the proviso that every year there will be a need to bring back a Receipt from the missionaries who might benefit from said alms to acknowledge the receipt of said 50 pesos or the goods bought with said fund and remitted in this form, with the warning that, should the conversion of said Mariana Islands not take place, the Procurator of said province of the Philippines has to declare which conversion or mission must be the one to receive said 50 pesos, and once declared, a receipt must be sent back by the missionary in charge of said conversion benefitting from same, so that the Patron may have a record of it and so deliver the said 50 pesos to whomever may hold the power of attorney of said missionaries, in order for the patron to deliver it with full security to said Procurator of the Philippines or to whomever may hold the power of attorney of said missionaries.

For the patronage and administration of said pension fund, in order to deliver it in security and for the collection, I appoint as its Patron my son Doctor Antonio de Gama, priest, and my other sons, always preferring the elder over the younger, to replace him upon his death, and I give them the authority to appoint a patron or patrons to make effective the contents of this clause.

In this city of Mexico on the second day of the month of July of the year 1672, being witnesses thereof Fredo de Salinas de la Torre and Blas Leal, residents of this city.

In faith whereof, I have affixed my signature.

[Rubric] Bartolome de Vigo, Notary.

...
[There follows a petition for Father Manuel Duarte, Procurator, to begin collecting the yearly income from this bequeathed pension fund.]

Documents S1674M

Posthumous gift of 10,000 pesos to the Mariana Mission by Governor Diego Salcedo

Sources: For M1, RAH 9/2676 doc. n° 22; for M2-M5, AGN AHH 326-2 and 332.

M1. Letter from Br. Manuel Duarte to Fr. Cobián, dated Mexico 22 February 1672

Note: AGN AHH 326-2 contains many more original documents regarding this controversy.

Original text in Spanish.

Mi Padre Provincial Andres de Cobian.

El Hermano Manuel Duarte Procurador de su Provincia de Philipinas: Por todas sus cassas, colegios; y sugetos de ella, como parece del Poder que demuestro; y asimismo con Poder especial del P. Diego Luis de S. Vitores, Superior de la mission de las Marianas: sugetos de mi Provincia que es el ultimo que ay de dicho Padre y prefiere a otro que quiera que aya suyo:—

Digo que con ocasion de aver llegado en este aviso de España despachos a favor de dicha Mision que el uno me lo embio el Señor Don Geronimo de San Vitores; y el otro me avissa viene de oficio a su Ex^a para que el Procurador de Philipinas use del: para lo qual es necesario dar medios y poner en cobro lo que su Magestad mandare se de en esta Caja Real para aquellos missioneros; y dar la forma para en lo de adelante; que a de quedar estilado; y a de ser la norma; y modelo para los demas años; Para lo qual me parece muy necesario y preciso usar del Poder general que tengo de la Provincia; y no de aquel especial del Padre San Vitores: Lo primero porque el de la Provincia es el mas propio, y principal pues comprehende a todos los colegios, cassas, sugetos, y misiones de la Provincia de Philipinas donde son los mesioneros de las Marianas: y en uzar de aquel especial poder del P. S. Vitores, ay un incombeniente muy grande para lo venidero; y tan grande que cessara qualquiera cobranza y no se hara: Porque el Poder de dicho Padre en quanto Suppor.[=Superior] es instantaneo; y no tiene firmessa: porque oy es Suppor. y mañana no: o se morira, con que cesa dicho poder; y en comenzando a cobrar en la Caja Real con Poder especial oy, le pedirán el año que viene; y siempre; y no hallandose aqui tal poder, forcosamente cessara la otra porque faltara parte legitima y de las Marianas, es importante que se embian, que alli no ay escrivano; y quando la hu-

biera, era absumpto grande, que siendo aquella mission de la misma Provincia se aya de introducir nuevo modo de gobierno e independençia; y lo que se estila en esta Provincia para cobrar de la Caja Real la limosna de los misioneros de Sinaloa, no es debajo de poder espeçial de ellos, sino del general que da el Padre Provincial de toda la Provincia.

El P. Ministro, Joseph Vidal, dice que yo no tengo que ver, ni que entremeterme, con cosas que toquen al Padre S. Vitores, y su mission, porque a su Reverencia es quien le toca: que aquellos Padres no son de la Provincia de Philipinas, que la dicha Provincia no les a dado nada: que tiene poder del P. S. Vitores: a los quales puntos por Razon de mi ofiçio y la obligacion que me corre satisfare brevemente, en nombre de mi Provincia.

Digo à lo primero que son sugetos de la Provincia de Philipinas los Padres que oi se hallan en las Marianas; y sino lo son, ruego a V.R.^a lo declare assi: Porque en tal casso, cessara este litigio; Y no hablaremos palabra en ello: Porque es constante à dicho Padre S. Vitores, y su compañero el Padre Thomas Cardeñoso, vinieron de la Provincia de Philipinas y el Padre Luis de Medina que esta en el çielo, P. Casanoba, P. Morales, H^o Bustillos [sic], se quedaron alli, de la mission que yba a Philipinas: de donde vinieron el año passado a mudar los dos ultimos Padres los Padres Solano; y Ezquerra: y de la mission del Padre Ledesma, se quedaron alli los Padres Noriega y Lopes; y de la mission que va navegado se quedan alli los quatro Padres que V.R.^a nombro, con que son diez los Padres que ay alli. --

A lo segundo no respondo[,] que dice que la Provincia de Philipinas no les a dado nada, no respondo porque ella lo hara a su tiempo; lo que yo sé es, que todos los diez sugetos, los a costado, y traído de España a su costa y mençion; y que se el año passado me escrivió el Padre Provincial de Philipinas que no diese nada al P. Solano, fue porque la Provincia se lo avia dado alla; y no obstante el Padre Rector, P[edro] de Valencia que era Provincial me mando diese 100 pesos a dicho Padre y se los di; y en Acapulco se le havian dado antes aqui estubo, y el Padre Ezquerra; y le di una sotana sin otros gastos que he hecho por la dicha mission: Y al mismo P. S. Vitores ayude en que pude quando aqui estubo; y en Acapulco; y antes que en esta casa se le diera lo que despues le dieron, le preste muy gruesas cantidades de pesos con que compro quanto llevo de Mexico: y el gasto que an hecho estos quatro Padres ultimos, es muy grande, como por de las quantas de los Padres Procuradores de Madrid; y Sevilla; y no ha dejado la Provincia de acudirles este a^o con lo que a podido, pues les embio con el qual Don Joan de Ochoa un caxon; y un fardillo y para que se vea con lo que le socorrio el año de 670; y lo que le embio, hago demostracion de la lista de ello, que me embia el Padre Procurador General que es considerable; y no a dejado desde que estan alli, de embiarles, lo que a podido; y fuera infrutuoso el socorrerles desde Manila; con bastimientos, pues es notorio que desde que estan alli los Padres ninguna nao, a la venida de Philipinas a llegado alli. Y querer que viniesen y volbiesen por via de Acapulco fuera perderlo todo; y conociendo esta impossibilidad: se a hecho instancia a nuestro Padre y solicitado al Procurador de Madrid; y al Señor San Vitores para que buscasen los medios; y forma

para que en esta caja se les de competente limosna, para que con ello, se le embie lo necesario en las cosas y generos que dichos Padres pidieren; y Nuestro Padre general es testigo desta verdad a quien lo escreve luego al principio, para que asi lo ordenase al Padre Procurador general de Madrid; a quien lo escrivi varias vezes, como por desurresptos [=de respuestas?] y al Señor Don Geronimo; y al mismo P. Joseph Vidal; yo soi quien primero le advertio de ello; y en ello no alego servicio porque era obligacion; y los primeros despachos que el Padre S. Vitores embio al consejo para yr a las Marianas; y las respuestas; y despachos favorables corrieron por mi mano; y en Manila, no le ayudo poco con la pluma, trasladando, buscando, y sacando varias noticias de aquellas yslas que yo savia de que se aprovecho.

A lo 3º que dice el P. Joseph Vidal, que porque tiene poder del P. S. Vitores a de correr con lo que toca a la mision de las Marianas; y no otro alguno, a lo qual satisfago, con decir que quando no me asistira la razon que tengo, apoyada en el Poder general que tengo de toda la Provincia que lo abarca todo; y no havia menester mas: me quiero valer del mismo instrumento de que se vale el Padre Ministro, que es el Poder del P. Diego Luis de San Vitores. Porque yo le tengo posterior al suyo que es sustituydo; y no rreboca al mio.—Si ya no es que por algun horden, o disposicion de nuestro general (que yo no se) aquellos Padres esten mandados separar de la Provincia de Philipinas, o ya que el dicho P. S. Vitores, jugandolo assi lo aya pedido, que en este caso, yo no tengo que alegar sino pedir a V.Rª en nombre de mi Provincia y de nuestro P. general a quien he de embiar copia deste mi escripto, que V.Rª me lo declare.

Y con esto no niego, antes bien lo rreconosco, y agradezco y como tal lo escrivi a N.P. General para que por ello le de las gracias; y al P. S. Vitores lo escrivi tambien y al Padre Provincial de Philipinas que es mucho; y mui de agradecer con espeçiales agradecimientos lo que el P. Joseph Vidal con tanta caridad, conato, y empeño ha hecho por la mission de las Marianas, ayudandoles con tan grandes limosnas que a juntado, como todos sabemos; y que tiene grave y cabida con los que gobiernan, para que con sus suaves medios y buen modo alcance lo que pidieren: medios, modos, y cosas de que me hallo desvalido y que protexto no impedirles, sino antes cooperar a ellas, para que en todo redunden en mayor aumento y gloria del Señor, bien de aquella nueva conversion y pro [sic] y util de aquella mission: Lo que quicero dozir es, que en llegando el caso de Hazer cobrança de la Caja Real, o, otra qualquiera deligencia sca; y se haga en virtud del Poder general de toda la Provincia por obviar el inconbeniente que llevo dicho. Porque mi intento. Porque declaro delante del Señor no tener de nadie horden[:] de lo contrario, que con lo que se cobrare acudir a dichos Padres como, y de la manera que ellos lo pidieren y quisieren por sus cartas, y memorias y que se les embie quenta y razon de ello, y que para ello abra libro separado.

Esto es lo que se me a ofrecido representar a V.Rª en nombre de mi Provincia para que mirandolo delante de Dios, haga lo que jugare mas asertado segun razon.

M. Duarte.

Padres consultores: P. Provincial, P. Preposito Francisco Ximenez, P. Rector Pedro de Valencia, P. Francisco Carbonel, P. Diego de Montroy, P. Manuel de Artiaga, P. Diego de Medina.

Mexico 5 de Marzo de 1672: Decisión aserca de lo aqui contenido:

No se innove nada por aora hasta informar a nuestro Padre General[.] en el interin cobre el Padre Joseph Vidal y disponga: esto me dijo el Padre Provincial: y en fee de ello lo firmo de mi nombre en Mexico.

M. Duarte.

Translation.

My dear Father Provincial, Andrés de Cobián.

I, Brother Manuel, Procurator of my Province of the Philippines: For all its houses, colleges, and subjects therein, as stated in the Power of attorney which I exhibit; and in addition holding a special Power of attorney from Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, Superior of the Mariana Mission, all subjects of my Province, which is the last one issued by said Father and the one to be preferred over any other whatever by his hand:—

Do declare that, on the occasion of some despatches having arrived by mail ship from Spain in favor of said Mission; one despatch was sent to me by Don Geronimo de San Vitores, and he tells me that another is sent to me care of His Excellency [the Viceroy] so that the Procurator of the Philippines may make use of it. To this effect, it is necessary to find means to collect and put in a safe place what Her Majesty has ordered be given out from this Royal Treasury for those missionaries; and to determine the procedure to be used from now on; to do so in a proper style, one that would serve as the norm and remain a model for future years. To this effect, it seems to me to be very necessary and compulsory to make use of the general Power of attorney that I hold from the Province, and not that special one from Father San Vitores: firstly, because the one from the Province is the more appropriate and important one, given that it comprises all the colleges, houses, subjects, and missions of the Province of the Philippines where the missionaries of the Marianas are located; and in using that special power of attorney from Fr. San Vitores, there is a very great disadvantage for the future, one that is so great that any collection could cease and stop, because the power from the said Father is valid only as long as he remains Superior and is not permanent, since he is Superior today and may not be tomorrow: or else he may die, thus said power of attorney would cease.¹ So, if one begins to collect from the Royal Treasury with the special power today, next year they will ask for it again, and always so; thus, not finding such power of attorney in hand, the other aspect will forcibly fail, because the legal portion would be lacking. Also, it would require that such be sent from the Marianas, and over there there is no notary. Now, even if there were, it would still be an important matter, since that mission belongs to the same Province, to decide to introduce a new method of administration and independence. The procedures used in this Province to collect

¹ Ed. note: In retrospect, Brother Duarte was right, as Fr. Sanvitores did die 2 months later.

from the Royal Treasury the alms for the missionaries in Sinaloa is not under a special power of attorney from them, but under a general one issued by the Father Provincial of the whole Province.

The Father Minister, José Vidal, says that it is not my business, and that I should not intervene in things that concern Father San Vitores and his mission, because that is the business of His Reverence; that those Fathers do not belong to the Province of the Philippines, that said Province has not given them anything; that he holds a power of attorney from Fr. San Vitores. It is my job and duty to respond to those points, which I will endeavor to do briefly, on behalf of my Province.

Firstly, I declare that the Fathers who are today in the Marianas are subjects of the Province of the Philippines—and if they are not, I beg Your Reverence to declare it to be so, because in such a case, the dispute would cease, and we would no longer discuss it—because it is patent that said Father San Vitores and his companion, Father Tomás Cardeñoso, came from the Province of the Philippines, and Father Luis de Medina who is in Heaven, Fr. Casanova, Fr. Morales, and Br. Bustillos [sic] stayed there, from the mission that went to the Philippines, the latter two being replaced last year by Fathers Solano and Ezquerria; and from the mission led by Father Ledesma, Fathers Noriega and Lopez stayed there; and from the mission which is presently sailing overthere, four Fathers named by Y.R. will remain there, making a total of 10 Fathers overthere now.

I do not answer his second point, when he says that the Province of the Philippines gave them nothing. I do not answer, because it will answer to it in due course. What I know is, that for all the 10 subjects, the Province has borne the full costs of their transfer from Spain. When the Father Provincial of the Philippines wrote to me last year not to give anything to Fr. Solano, it was because the Province had given it to him overthere; nevertheless, Father Rector Pedro de Valencia, who was then Provincial, ordered me to give 100 pesos to said Father and I gave them; and in Acapulco, he had been given them before he was here; as for Father Ezquerria, I gave him a cassock without any other expenditures made by me for the said mission. In addition, I assisted Fr. San Vitores as best I could when he was here, and in Acapulco, and at this house, before he was given what they got later, I loaned him very large sums of pesos with which he bought everything he took from Mexico. Also, the expenditures made by the last four Fathers is very great, as can be seen from the accounts from the Fathers Procurators in Madrid, and Seville. Still, the Province did not stop assisting them this year as much as it could, witness the crate sent to them care of Don Juan de Ochoa, plus a small bundle. And if anyone wants to see what was sent as succor in 1670, I exhibit the list in question, as sent to me by Father Procurator General, which is considerable. It has not ceased to send to them, what it could send, from the time they arrived there. Furthermore, it would be fruitless to succor them from Manila with supplies, given that it is manifest that, from the beginning of that mission, no galleon coming from the Philippines has stopped there; to try and send it [from Manila] by way of Acapulco would be to put everything at risk. Knowing of this impossibility, a request has been presented to our Father [General], another to the Procurator in Madrid, and another to Don San

Vitores, for them to seek a solution, and a procedure, so that an adequate subsidy may be paid out from this treasury, and so that necessary things and goods requested by said Fathers be sent to them. Our Father General is witness to this truth; I did write to him at the beginning, for him to order the Father Procurator General in Madrid to do it that way. I did write to the latter on various occasions, as can be seen from his answers(?), and to Don Geronimo. I did so too with Fr. José Vidal himself. I am the one who first warned him about this, and I did so, not to render him a service, but as part of my duty. And the first despatches that Father San Vitores sent to the Council to go to the Marianas, and the answers, and the favorable decrees, all passed through my hands. Also, in Manila, I did what I could to help him with my pen, researching, and transcribing various notices of those islands that I knew of, and he did make use of them.

To the third point mentioned by Fr. José Vidal, that is, because he holds a power of attorney from Fr. San Vitores, it has to take effect in matters concerning the Mariana Mission, and no other whatever, suffice for me to say that my argument will not help him at all, as it is supported by the general Power of attorney that I hold from the whole Province that comprises it all, and there is no need for more. I wish to make use of the same instrument that the Father Minister pretends to use, which is the Power of attorney from Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, because I do hold one which is posterior to his, and supersedes his, and it does not revoke mine.—Unless, of course, there exist some order, or disposition, from our General (unknown to me) ordering those Fathers to be separated from the Province of the Philippines, or that said Fr. San Vitores, judging it to be so, has applied for it. Then, in such a case, I do not have to make allegations; rather, I beg Y.R. on behalf of my Province and our Fr. General (to whom I must send a copy of this my rescript) to please tell me so.

This said, I do not deny, rather I do recognize it well, and I appreciate—and I have already so stated to our Fr. General so that he may in turn thank him, and to Fr. San Vitores I also wrote about it, and to Fr. Provincial of the Philippines at some length—that what Fr. José Vidal has done is considerable, and very worthy of praise with special thanks. His charity, dedication, and efforts toward the Mariana Mission are great. He has helped them with large alms he has collected, as we all know. And he has access to and influence upon those who govern, so that by his suave methods and good manners he can get what he wants; such methods, manners, and qualities I do not possess and I beg to say I do not impede. Rather, I cooperate with them, so that in everything they may redound to an increase in the glory of the Lord, in the good of that new conversion and advantage of that mission. What I wish to say is, that, once the money has been collected from the Royal Treasury, or whatever procedure was followed, by virtue of the general power of attorney of the whole Province, in order to obviate the above-mentioned disadvantage. Because this is my intent. Because I declare before the Lord that I do not have any order from anyone, to the contrary, that I will use the money to be collected for said Fathers as, and in the manner, dictated by them and expressed

in their letters, and memorials and that I will send them an account and list of it, and that a separate account book will be used for that purpose.

That is what I wanted to tell Y.R. on behalf of my Province so that, after placing the matter before God, you may make a more decisive and logical decision.

M. Duarte.

Fathers consulted: Fr. Provincial, Fr. Substitute Francisco Ximenez, Fr. Rector Pedro de Valencia, Fr. Francisco Carbonel, Fr. Diego de Monroy, Fr. Manuel de Arteaga, Fr. Diego de Medina.¹

Mexico, 5 March 1672.

Decision regarding the above-mentioned matter:

Do not make any change for now, until our Father General has been informed. In the meantime, Father José Vidal is to collect the money and make arrangements. This is what Father Provincial told me, and in faith whercof I have signed my name in Mexico.

M. Duarte.

M2. Actual text of clause in Salcedo's will and testament

Original text in Spanish.

"Item de la cantidad que tengo declarada estar en poder de los Padres de la Compañía de Jhs es mi voluntad se entrieguese al P. Diego Luis S. Vitores, o a quien dho Padre ordenare, diez mil pesos, los quales por cartas simples al Padre Francisco Duarte [sic] Religioso lego de dha Compañía, tengo ordenado: se de limosna para el fomento de aquella nueva conversion, y si dho Padre Diego Luis S. Vitores hubiere fallecido, se entrieguen al Padre que en su lugar prosiguere dha conversion. 21 de octubre de 1670."

Translation.

Also, out of the sum which I declare to be in the hands of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, it is my will that it be delivered to Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, or to whom-ever he should name, ten thousand pesos, which, through simple letters sent to Father Francisco Duarte [rather Vello], lay Religious of said Society, I have ordered that there be given alms for the development of that new conversion, and should said Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores be dead, it should be delivered to the Father who is continuing that conversion in his place. 21 October 1670.

1 Ed. note: Those who had already been Provincial before Fr. Cobián were: Fr. Carbonel, 1665-68; and Fr. Valencia, 1668-71. Those who followed him in the post were: Fr. Arteaga, 1673-74, and Fr. Jiménez, 1674-77.

M3. Letter from Fr. Xavier Riquelme to Fr. Prov. Francisco Ximenez, dated Manila 10 June 1677

Summary note: Fr. Riquelme reports to Fr. Ximenez that Br. Manuel Duarte is gravely ill and he begs that Fr. Joseph Vidal should liquidate and adjust the accounts of the Marianas with Duarte before the latter dies. Enclosed is a letter where Duarte explains that ex-Governor Diego Salcedo left 10,000 pesos for the Marianas.

Father Provincial Francisco Ximenez,
Peace of Christ.

The bearer of this letter is Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla who will explain to Y.R. with words better than I can by letter how pleased this province would be if Y.R.'s health is good and that the number of the faithful of that holy province has increased and which we recognize as a mother province on account of its many kindnesses toward us, since we continuously receive so many gifts from it. We hope that Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla will receive no less, and the same for his companion, Brother Francisco Obando. Thus I look to them to have me excused for not having sent a Father to that kingdom, the one referred to in my letter of last year 1676, with the letter from Fr. Pedro de Espinar, Procurator General, written from Acapulco, in which he narrates how incapacitated is Br. Manuel Duarte for that job, that he is gravely ill, and that he would most likely die soon, and his death could result in some confusions in the information concerning the dependencies that this province is in charge of.

Fr. Pedro de Espinar told me as well how the income received by the College and Sacristy of Manila and other houses that are used for the divine service and sustenance of our people was earmarked, for reasons given by Fr. Joseph Vidal, for the apostolic Mariana Missions, he being their procurator. As the business is of such importance, following a provincial meeting, and the opinions given out by the Fathers consulted, I determined to send Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla, so that he would deal in person, he having shown marks of virtue, intelligence, and business practice, as Y.R. would find out, in order for him to discover fully the circumstances surrounding the account of Br. Manuel Duarte, and so that, with his prudence and seriousness, he may on my behalf liquidate and adjust with Fr. Joseph Vidal the Mariana accounts.

In fact, two letters from our Provincial dated April 74 and one from the Fr. Assistant written that same year 74, His Paternity orders Fr. Joseph Vidal to provide the accounts to the Provincial of the Philippines. This will be accomplished in complete peace, charity and to the satisfaction that this province can expect from Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla and the deep fervor of Fr. Joseph Vidal. This province wishes and, through me, they all beg Y.R. to use your authority and zeal to intercede as a last resort in order for the matter to be resolved to the satisfaction of what reason and charity expect, as well as the College and Sacristy of Manila and the other houses, that they may not suffer the harm done to them by denying them what they should have received every year.

I beg Y.R.'s pardon for not enclosing the annual report from the islands, since Fr. Balthasar de Mansilla will carry a letter giving ample information.

I pray God to keep Y.R. with zeal and I beg you to remember me in your holy sacrifices and prayers,

Manila, 10 June 1677.

Y.R.'s servant,

Xavier Riquelme.

M4. Letter from Br. Duarte to his Provincial, dated Mexico March 1675

Fr. Provincial Francisco Ximenez,

Fr. Vice-Provincial Diego de Monroy has read to me two paragraphs from a letter from our Fr. General, dated 8 January and 18 August 1674, in which he orders that the 10,000 pesos bequeathed by Don Diego de Salcedo (or whatever sum to be found) are be delivered to Fr. Joseph Vidal. Through the said Vice-Provincial, I was to give my reply to Y.R. in writing. I was about to obey then but fell under my present predicament; and then the said Vice-Provincial, during a provincial council meeting, read to me another letter from Y.R. dated 3rd of this month that contains the above-mentioned two paragraphs from our Fr. General. He then added the order for me to deliver to Fr. Joseph Vidal the 10,000 pesos that Y.R. says that Don Diego de Salcedo ordered me in many messages to give to the Mariana Mission, as it appears and is declared within his testament.

And, the said Fr. Vice-Provincial having read to me the letter from Y.R., ordered me, regardless of what I had said in the first letter, to give a reply to the present one. In obedience, I give the same reply (which now Y.R. should compare with that given to our Fr. General): I once again say that, on behalf of my Provincial and of our Rev. Fr. General, you will be pleased to order the Fr. Secretary to read to me a complete account of what it is that Y.R. wished me to do in this matter, jointly with the reply which I gave and the papers that I presented to Y.R., and which I need in order to inform our Rev. Fr. General and my province, in order to satisfy them and to report to them what I have been ordered to do and how I obeyed it; also a copy of the pertinent clauses from the testament that Y.R. mentioned in the order he gave me. His Reverend Paternity and Y.R. will understand that this sum which he writes is earmarked for the Marianas, was assigned to the province and would have been lost, had it not been for my care and caution. I wished it were much more; it would have been used in one province as well as the other; and in all of this I stand ready to answer Y.R. as well as anyone else besides God.

Mexico, [blank] March 1675.

Manuel Duarte.¹

¹ Ed. note: In another note, similarly convoluted, and dated Mexico 6 March 1675, he mentioned that the smaller sum of 1,021 pesos that existed in the account was all that was left after the testament was executed.

M5. Letter from Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, dated Mexico 30 April 1675

I, Lorenzo Bustillo of the Society of Jesus, have arrived in New Spain [from Manila] this year 1675, to go on to the Marianas. I declare that I have been surprised at seeing the difficulties and blockages that Br. Manuel Duarte employs in the delivery of the 10,000 pesos that Don Diego Salcedo left for the Mariana Islands; to wit, in the three years that I have been with the Philippine Province, I have always heard the Father Provincial and all the Fathers of that province about the certainty of those 10,000 pesos, already assigned to the Mariana Mission. I have never heard in the Philippines of the possibility of there being two separate deeds and I have heard that only here from Br. Manuel Duarte, and that all those in that province said that it was the deed made in the year 1668 by Don Diego Salcedo of 10,000 pesos, and of the clause of his testament is unique, and only mentions the Mariana Islands. And I have heard from the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines that Br. Francisco Vello had given a receipt for the said 10,000 pesos to Br. Manuel Duarte, and many times Fr. Andrés de Ledesma, Provincial of that province, told Fr. Gerard Bouwens and myself that the province did not give us provisions to go [back] to the Marianas, because in Mexico the said Mariana Mission had 10,000 pesos that Don Diego Salcedo had left for them and that Br. Manuel Duarte would no doubt hold the current interest money, because from the Philippines he had been ordered to invest them on behalf of the house of San Pedro, in order to assist the Mariana Mission with the revenue income.

In faith whereof, I sign this in Mexico on 10 April 1675.

Lorenzo Bustillo.

Item. I declare that the two paragraphs reproduced below are exact copies of the originals that the Fr. Provincial of the Philippines wrote to Br. Manuel Duarte. The first says the following:

Out of the endowment of 10,000 pesos from Hari (this name is used to mean the Governor, in the language of those islands) as I wrote last year, what could be recovered should be invested to the credit of the house of San Pedro in order to have them held in trust for the Islands of the Ladrones (that is how they called the Marianas before the faith reached there).

And in a letter dated 8 December 1671, part of a paragraph says the following:

That the sum of 10,000 pesos, unless order to the contrary from the Fr. Provincial of these Islands, be invested for the benefit of the house of San Pedro with a declaration that it belongs to the Mission in the Ladrones, and now as present Provincial I order the same and that it be executed.

Lorenzo Bustillo.²

1 Ed. note: "Hari" means king in Tagalog.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1679B, C, & D for follow-up story.

Documents S1676F

Letters from King Charles II regarding the Marianas in 1676

F1. Letter to Father Fray Payo de Rivera, dated Madrid 13 February 1676

Sources: AGI Fil. 82-5-200; also AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 15, decree n° 3, and AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 332-332v.

Summary note: He tells him that he approves the payment sent for the relief of the Marianas.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey.

Muy Reverendo in Christo Padre D. Fray Payo de Rivera Arzobispo de la Iglesia metropolitana de la Ciudad de Mexico de mi Consejo mi Virrey Gobernador y Capitan General (en Interin) de la Nueva España y Presidente de la Audiencia real que en aquella reside.

*En carta de 18 de Julio del año pasado de 675 dais cuenta de que en virtud de las Cédulas en que mande se socorriese en las Islas Marianas enviasteis a ellas con el Galcon **San Telmo** cinco mil pesos en reales de plata para los dos Seminarios tres mill para el de niños y dos mill para el de niñas Marianas en que se instruxen en las cosas de nuestra santa Fe Catholica buena educacion y politica. Y que asi mismo mandasteis pagar a Joseph Vidal de la Compañia de Jesus, Procurador de las dichas Islas, lo que montase la limosna de vino y aceite de este año para los diez sagrarios que parecia haver en ellas, como tambien lo que montase el sueldo de los **20 soldados** que estan en dichas Islas como se pagan a los del Presidio de Sinaloa. Y que asi mismo mandasteis socorrer la imosna adelantada del año de 675 a los **15 misioneros Religiosos** y un lego que havian pasado a dichas Islas, con todo lo demas que referis en vuestra carta.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias a parecido aproveros (como os apruebo) lo que en esta haveis ejecutado y daros muchas gracias por el cuydado y providencia con que haveis obrado en la forma de embiar este socorro.

De Madrid a 15 de febrero de 1676.

Yo el Rey.

Por mando del Rey nuestro Señor, D. Antonio de Rosas.

[Endorsement:] *Respuesta a una carta del Virrey de la N^a España aprovandole el socorro que a enviado a las Yslas Marianas.*

Translation.

The King.

[To] the Right Reverend in Christ Father Fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, Member of my Council, my Viceroy, interim Governor and Captain-General of New Spain and President of the royal Audiencia residing there.

In a letter dated 18 July of last year 1675, you reported that, in accordance with the Decrees in which I ordered the Mariana Islands to be assisted, you sent to them by the galleon **San Telmo** 5,000 pesos in silver reales for the two Seminaries, 3,000 for that of the Mariano boys and 2,000 for that of the girls, so that they may be instructed in our holy Catholic Faith, [and given] a good education and civility. And that you have also ordered to be paid to Joseph Vidal of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of the said Islands, what the alms for the wine and oil amounted to for this year for the 10 sanctuaries that seemed to exist in the said Islands, and also the amount for the salaries of the **20 soldiers** who are in the said Islands, the same as is done for those of the Sinaloa Garrison. And that you also ordered to send the alms, in advance for the year 1675, to the **15 religious missionaries** and one layman whom had gone to the said Islands, with all the rest that you mention in your letter.

This having been seen in my Council of the Indies, it has seemed proper to approve (and I do approve) what you have carried out in this matter and to give you thanks for the attention and foresight with which you have arranged the procedure for sending this subsidy.

From Madrid, on 15 February 1676.

I the King.

By order of his Majesty, Don Antonio de Rosas.

[Endorsement:] Answer to a letter from the Viceroy of New Spain approving the relief he sent to the Mariana Islands.

F2. Letter to the Viceroy, dated Aranjuez, 30 April 1676

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 99-99v.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey

Muy Rdo. in Christo Padre Don fr. Payo de Rivera, Arçobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Mexico de mi Consejo, mi Virrey Governador y Capitan General en ynterin de la Nueva España, y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ella, ó a la persona o personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno;

Alonso Pantoja, de la Compañia de Jhs, Procurator General de las Provincias de las Indias, me a representado que teneis dado orden al General de la Nao que del Puerto

de Acapulco buelve a Filipinas, tome Puerto en las Marianas, para dejar los misioneros que llevar a ellas, y los generos que a los que alli estan, se les embiaren, Y porque el Governador de Filipinas se la dava en contrario, para que no arrivase a ningun Puerto, me à suplicado fuese servido de mandarle expidiese a los dhos Generales de las Naos la misma orden que vos disteis,

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias, con lo que escrivisteis en carta de diez y ocho de Jullio del año pasado de mill y seis y setenta y cinco, dando cuenta (entre otras cosas) de haver dado el orden referido al General de la Nao, que aquel año volvio a Filipinas, con pena de dos mil ducados, y de pagarlos daños que de lo contrario se siguiesen a la Real hazienda a que tengo respondido aprovando os lo que haviades dispuesto por despacho de trece de febrero proximo pasado y lo que sobre todo dijo mi fiscal, he mandado por Cedula de la fha de esta, al Governador de Filipinas de a los Generales de las Naos de aquellas Islas las ordenes que fueren nezessarias, en conformidad de la que vos expedisteis para que tomen puerto en las Marianas y dejen en ellas los misioneros y generos, que a los que alli estan se les enviaren.

Y por la presente os buelvo a aprovar lo que acerca de esto dispusisteis, y os encargo y mando que en lo venidero lo hagais llevar a devida execucion, por lo mucho que ymporta su cumplimiento que asi es mi voluntad.

Fha en Aranjuez à treinta de Abril de mill y seiscientos y setenta y seis años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don. Antonio de Rosas.

[Membrete:] *Al Virrey de la N^a Esp^a aprovandole lo que dispuso p^a que el General de la Nao de Filipinas tome Puerto en las Islas Marianas y dege en ellas los misioneros y generos que a los que estan alli se les enviaren, y encargandole lo haga llevar a devida execucion.*

Translation.

The King.

Most Rev. in Christ Fr. fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, member of my Council, my interim Viceroy Governor and Captain General o New Spain, and President of my Audiencia there, or to the person or persons in whose charge its government may be.

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the provinces of the Indies, has made representations to me that you had given orders to the General of the galleon that makes the return voyage to the Philippines from Acapulco that he is to make port in the Marianas in order to leave the missionaries and the goods that are being sent there, but because the Governor of the Philippines opposed this measure and gave orders not to stop at any port, he begged me to be pleased to order you to give the same orders to said Generals of the galleons that I gave you.

And this having been seen in my Royal Council of the Indies, with regards to the letter that you wrote dated 18 July of the last year of 1675, reporting (among other things)

that you gave the above-mentioned order to the General of the galleon which that year returned to the Philippines,¹ under the penalty of 2,000 ducats and to pay the damages that may accrue to the Royal treasury, I have answered this letter of yours approving what you had ordered, in my despatch dated 13 February of last year and everything that my Crown Attorney said about the case: I have ordered by a Decree of this date, addressed to the Governor of the Philippines, for him to give the necessary orders to the Generals of the galleons of those Islands to the effect that, in conformity with the order that you gave, they are to make port in the Marianas and are to leave there the missionaries and goods that might be sent to them residing there.

And by the present I repeat my approval of what you did regarding this matter, and I entrust you and order you that in future you make sure that it be duly obeyed because of the importance of its accomplishment, and such is my will.

Made in Aranjuez, 30 April 1676.

I the King

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio de Rosas.

[Summary note:] To the Viceroy of New Spain approving the order he gave to the General of the galleon of the Philippines to make port in the Mariana Islands and leave there the missionaries and goods destined to those living there, and entrusting him with its effective compliance.

F3. Letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Aranjuez 30 April 1676

Source: *AGN Californias*, vol. 26, fol. 94-94v.

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey.

Mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia de ellas.

Alonso Pantoja de la Compañía de Jhs, Procurador General de las Provincias de la N^a Esp^a me à representado que mi Virrey de la Nueva España, tiene dado orden al General de la nao que del Puerto de Acapulco vuelve a esas Islas, tome Puerto en las Marianas para dejar los Misioneros que llevare a ellas, y los generos que a los que alli estan se les ymbiaren. Y porque vos se la dais en contrario para que no arrive a ningun Puerto, me à suplicado fuese servido de mandaos deis la misma orden que el Virrey expidio a los Generales de las dhas Naos;

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias, juntamente con lo que escribio el Arçobispo Virrey de la Nueva España, en carta de diez y ocho de Julio del año

1 Edl. note: This was General Don Thomas de Andaya of the galleon San Telmo. This letter, which also reproduces two memorials by Fr. Joseph Vidal, is preserved in *AGN Californias*, vol. 26, fol. 95-98v.

pasado de mill y seis y setenta y cinco, dando quenta (entre otras cosas) de haver dado el orden referido al General del nao que aquel año volvio a esas Islas con pena de dos mill ducados y de pagar los daños que de lo contrario se siguiesen a la Real hazienda, la aprovazion que de ello le despache, y lo que sobre todo dijo mi fiscal, he tenido por bien dar la presente, por la qual os mando que en todas las ocasiones que de esas Islas salieren Naos para la Nueva España deis a los Generales de ellas las ordenes neçesarias, en conformidad de la que el dho mi Virrey dio el año de mil y seiscientos y setenta y cinco, al que volvio a esas Islas, para que tomen Puerto en las Islas Marianas, y que degen alli los misioneros y generos que a los que estan en ellas se les embiaren, por ser tan justo y conveniente y con esta atencion aprove al Virrey lo que en razon de esto mando executar.

Y para que siempre consto lo aqui contenido y puedan observarlo, vos y vuestros antecesores hareis sentar esta mi Cedula en la parte que fuere mas publica para que se tenga presente, y se cuide de su cumplimiento que asi es mi voluntad.

Fha en Aranjuez a treinta de Abril de mill y seiscientos y setenta y seis años.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,

Don Antonio de Rosas.

[Membrete:] *Al Governador de Philipinas que de las ordenes neçesarias a los Generales de las Naos que ban a N^a Esp^a que tomen Puerto en las Islas Marianas y que dejen los misioneros y generos que a los que estan en ellas se les embiaren.*

Translation.

The King

My Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

Alonso Pantoja of the Society of Jesus, Procurator General of the Provinces of New Spain, has made representations to me to the effect that my Viceroy of New Spain had given an order to the General of the galleon that leaves the Port of Acapulco to return to those Islands, to make port in the Marianas in order to leave there the Missionaries who are posted there, as well as the goods sent to those residing there. And, because you have given contrary orders so that they would not stop at any port, he has begged me to be pleased to order you to give the same order that the Viceroy has issued to the Generals of said galleons.

And this having been seen in my Royal Council of the Indies, along with the despatch received from the Archbishop Viceroy of New Spain, dated 18 July of last year of 1675, reporting (among other things) having given the order referred to above to the General of the galleon that returned to those Islands that year, under penalty of 2,000 ducats and the payment of damages that might otherwise ensue to the Royal treasury, I approved the same and in view of everything that my Crown Attorney said about the case, I have decided to give you the present, by which I order you to give the necessary orders the Generals, on every occasion that a galleon should leave those Islands for

New Spain, in conformity with the one issued by my Viceroy last year of 1675, by which, upon return to those Islands, they make port in the Mariana Islands, and leave there the missionaries and goods that might be sent to those living there, as this is so just and convenient. By the way, I approve what the Viceroy has ordered and asked him to ensure compliance thereof.

And, in order for this my order to be always obeyed and complied with, you and your predecessors [rather successors] are to post this my Decree at a place that may be most public so that it forever be kept in mind, and duly complied with, as such is my will.

Made at Aranjuez, 30 April 1676.

I the King

By order of the King our Lord,

Don Antonio de Rosas.

[Summary note:] To the Governor of the Philippines for him to give necessary orders to the Generals of the galleons that go from New Spain to make port in the Mariana Islands and that they leave there the missionaries and goods that may be sent to those residing there.

F4. Letter to Governor de León, dated Madrid 30 May 1676

Source: AGI Fil. 331, libro 7, fol. 167v-168v, pp. 358-360.

Note: He acknowledges receipt of a letter (Doc. 1674F).

Original text in Spanish.

El Rey.

Respuesta a una carta del Governador de Filipinas sobre la Mision de las Islas Marianas.

Maestro de Campo Don Manuel de Leon mi Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Audiencia dellas.

*En carta de 31 de Mayo del año pasado de 1674 satisfazeis a dos zedulas de 16 de Noviembre del de 1671[.] en la primera se os mando os correspondiesedes con mi Virrey de la N^a España sobre dar una embarcacion a los religiosos Jesuitas de las Marianas, para pasar de unas Islas a otras[.] y en la secunda sobre el cambio de ducientos Indios Pangangos de esas Islas Filipinas con otros tantos de las Marianas. Y en quanto a la embarcacion deais haveros embiado el Virrey Marques de Mancera 3,000 pesos para su fabrica y que aunque no hubo vastante cantidad se havia hecho, y la embias-teis en quarteles en el Galeon **San Telmo**. Y en lo que mira a cambio de los Pampan-gos, representais los inconvenientes que dello seguirian de que tambien avisareis al Virrey con cuyo motivo pasais a dar quenta del estado estrecho a que se havia reducido esta mision con la muerte de Diego Luis de San Vitores con lo demas que acerca de esto referis.*

Y haviendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Indias con lo que escribio el obispo Virrey en carta de 18 de Julio del año passado de 1675 acerca de averos buuelto a em-

biar la dha embarcacion por no ser aproposito para el efecto referido, y lo que sobre todo dejo mi fiscal, ha parecido ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) que asistais en todo lo posible al mayor fruto de estas misiones, por lo mucho que deseo se logren, á honrra y gloria de Dios y de nuestra Santa fee catholica de mas de que en ello me hare por bien servido dellos.

De Madrid á 30 de Mayo de 1676.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, Don Antonio de Rosas.

Señalada del Consejo.

Translation.

The King.

Answer to a letter from the Governor of the Philippines regarding the Mariana Island Mission.

Master-of-camp Don Manuel de Leon, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Audiencia there.

In a letter dated 31 May of the past year of 1674 you honored two decrees dated 16 November 1671. In the first one, you were ordered to correspond with my Viceroy of New Spain about giving a boat to the Jesuit religious of the Marianas, so that they might pass from one island to another, and the second one was about the exchange of 200 Pampango Indians of those Philippine Islands with as many from the Marianas. With regard to the boat, you tell us that the Viceroy, the Marquis of Mancera, has sent you 3,000 pesos for its construction and that, although the amount was not enough, it had been made, and you had sent it in quarters aboard the galleon **San Telmo**. Concerning the exchange of Pampangos, you represent the disadvantages that would follow from this, and that you have also advised the Viceroy; for this reason, you go on to give an account of the dire condition to which this mission has been reduced with the death of Diego Luis de San Vitores with the other points you mention.

My royal Council of the Indies having seen it, along with what the Bishop Viceroy wrote in a letter dated 18 July of the past year of 1675 regarding his having sent back to you the said boat, because it is not suitable for the purpose intended, and considering what my fiscal has said, it has been decided to order you (as I do now) to assist as much as possible the better fruit of these missions, given that I wish very much to see them prosper, for the honor and glory of our holy Catholic Faith, so that I will consider myself well served by anything along that line.

From Madrid, 30 May 1676.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio de Rosas.

Countersigned by the Council.

F5. Letter to Father Fray Payo de Rivera, dated Madrid 23 December 1676

Source: AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 15, decree n° 100, pp. 303-304.

Note: The young king personally signed this decree, not the Queen Regent. He again thanks the Viceroy for having sent the relief to the Marianas.

Original text in Spanish.

Muy Reverendo in Christo Archobispo Padre Fr. Payo de Rivera, Archobispo desta Iglesia Metropolitana de la ciudad de México, de mi Consejo, mi Virrey, Gobernador y Capitan General de la N^a España en interín y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de ella.

*En carta de 10 de Mayo pasado me dais quenta de que en el galcon **S. Antonio de Padua**, que vino de las islas Filipinas, habeis socorrido las Marianas y a los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que asisten en ellas, y así para lo que han necesitado en ese Reyno, como para lo que han menester en aquellas islas, ordenando que a los **cinco religiosos** que por mi quenta fueron en la flota del cargo del General Don Francisco Martinez de Franda a la misión de aquellas Islas se les diese en el puerto de Acapulco casa en que [h]ospedarse mientras que la nao de Filipinas se hacía a la vela, y que por despacho de 12 de Febrero hicisteis librar y pagar al procurador de aquella misión lo que montase el sueldo de los **40 soldados** que estan en aquellas islas así para el presente año como para los venideros como se hace con los del Presidio de Sinaloa quedando obligados siempre a presentar certificación en las ocasiones que se huvieren de librar del superior de la misión de la asistencia de los 40 soldados y que asimismo mandasteis librar y pagar al dicho procurador de limosna adelantada de este año de 1676 y para los venideros de **17 sacerdotes a 250 pcsos y a dos hermanos coadjutores a 175** y también el vino y aceyte para los venideros para los 6 sagrarios que hay, para la celebración del santo sacrificio de la misa con lo demás que refereis en Vuestra carta.*

Y habiendose visto en el Consejo de las Indias, he mandado se os den muchas gracias por lo que en esto haveis executado y significaros que a sido de mi de sumo agrado, lo que haveis dispuesto en esta materia.

De Madrid y a 23 de Diciembre de 1676.

Yo el Rey.

Por mando del Rey nuestro Sr., D. Antonio de Rosas.

[Endorsement:] *Al Virrey de la N^a España dandole gracias por los socorros que ha embiado a las Islas Marianas.*

Translation.

[To] the Right Reverend in Christ, Archbishop Father Fray Payo de Rivera, etc.

In a letter dated 10 May of last year, you reported to me that you had succored the Marianas and the religious of the Society of Jesus who labor there, by means of the galleon **San Antonio de Padua** that came from the Philippine Islands, and also, in view of what is needed in that Kingdom, as what is needed in those Islands, you have or-

dered that a guest-house be reserved at the port of Acapulco for the **5 religious** who were sent at my expense aboard the fleet commanded by General Don Francisco Martínez de Franda¹ to the Mission in those Islands, while they were waiting for the Philippine galleon to set sail. Also that, by a message dated 12 February [1675] you had the amounts for the pay of the **40 soldiers** who are in those islands released and paid out to the procurator of that mission, for the present year and for the next ones as well, as is done for those of the Sinaloa Garrison, with the condition that the Mission Superior is to remain responsible always to submit a certificate whenever he releases the subsidy to the 40 soldiers, and that you also ordered released and paid to the said procurator the alms in advance for this year 1676 and the next ones to **17 priests at the rate of 250 pcsos and to 2 coadjutor brothers at 175**, and also the wine and oil for the next years for the 6 sanctuaries existing there, for the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass, with the other things that you mention in your letter.

This having been seen in the Council of the Indies, I have ordered that you be given many thanks for what you have carried out in this, and to let you know that I have been very pleased by what you have ordered in this matter.

From Madrid on 23 December 1676.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord, Don Antonio de Rosas.

[Endorsement:] To the Viceroy of New Spain giving him thanks for the subsidies that he sent to the Mariana Islands.

¹ Ed. note: The General of the quicksilver, or Atlantic, fleet of 1675 was indeed Francisco Martínez. The fleet reached Veracruz on 13 September 1675; it left Veracruz on 23 June 1676 (ref. vol. 10 of Henri Ternaux-Compans' *Voyages*, Paris, 1837-41).

Document S1677K

Letter from Fr. Ahumada to the Commander of Puebla in New Spain, dated Agadña 9 May 1677

Source: German translation of Spanish original (now lost) in Stöcklein's Welt-Bott I, n° 1.

Notes: This commander of Puebla was probably Juan de Zelacta, former commander of the fort of Acapulco and named Mayor of Puebla de los Angeles in 1676. The Jesuits had recommended his name to the Queen for promotion to Governor of the Marianas. See also Doc. 1676C4 for another document authored by Fr. Ahumada on same date.

First letter from Micronesia ever published in German.

Brief P. Joannis Ahumada der Gesellschaft Jesu Missionarij, eines Spaniers/ An den Commendanten der in Neu-Spanien gelegenen Stadt Puebla, oder Engelstadt.

Geschrieben auf denen Marianischen Insuln den 9 May 1677.

Inhalt: Ein Schiff, so zu Agadna [sic] an denen Marianischen Insuln mit frischen Missionariis anlangt, wird von dem Wind auf das hohe Meer hinaus geworffen. Die Innwohner dieser Eilanden erregen einen Aufstand; verbrennen deren Jesuitoren zu Agadna Kirch und Wohnung, und schlagen P. Sebastianum Montroy [sic] todt. Die Missionarii thun freywillige Kriegs-Dienst, und warten zugleich dem Feld-Bau ab. Der Brief lautet also:

Hoch-Edelgebohrner Herr!

P. C.

Dieses gegenwärtige 1677 [sic] Jahr langte alhier ein Schiff aus denen Philippinischen Insuln an/ welches die so sehnlich verlangte neue Missionarios mitbrachte/ ab derer Ankunfft wir uns desto mehr erfreueten/ je bessere Nachricht wir schon vorhin von ihrer Gottesforcht und Gelehrtigkeit empfangen hatten. Allein es gefiele dem gütigsten GOTT/ die Süsse solches Trosts mit vielen Thränen zu verbittern; dann/ also besagter Fahrzeug in dem Hafen bey dem Schloß Ancker zu werffen im Begriff ware/ erhube sich urplötzlich ein wüthender Sturmwind/ welcher bedeutetes Schiff wieder ab- und auf das hohe Meer hinaus geworffen/ mithin uns erwehnt unserer Mit-Arbeiteren oder Gehülffen/ die Besatzung aber des mitgeführten Proviant und Lebens-Mittlen erbärmlich beraubet hat/ ohne biß auf dise Stund deroselben Schicksal erfahren zu können, wodurch wir alle insgesamt in eine äusserste Nothdurfft verfallen/ so durch deren Indianeren Auf-

stand noch mehrers angewachsen/ daß wir/ so wohl Geistlich-als Weltliche/ bald die gantze Zeit unter dem Gewehr zu stehen seynd bemüßiget worden.

Allermassen ein gewisser meineydiger Indianer/ Nahmens **Aguarín**, aus dem Flecken Agadna [sic], unter denen seinigen der Ansehnlichste/ der von uns unzählliche Gutthaten genossen hatte/ unter der Hand gantz heimlich seine Mit-Burger und Lands-Leuthe wider uns aufgewickelt hat/ ohne daß wir des geringsten hievon wären benachrichtiget worden; weil die Indianer ehender alle Folter und den Todt selbst ausstehen/ als daß einer den andern verrathen/ oder ihm etwas zu schaden reden sollte.

Das Haupt-Absehen war/ die Missionarios, das ist/ die Jesuiten/ als Feind der Abgötterey und Lasterhaftigkeit/ vor allen zu vertilgen: Allein GOTT/ welcher nicht wolte zugucken/ daß so viel unschuldige Seelen diser neuen Heerde solten Hirten-loß gelassen werden/ hat dem bösen Feind einen solchen Riegel geschoben/ daß er seine Wuth nicht nach Vorhaben an uns hat können ausüben: Gleichwie aus dem Folg dieser Geschicht erhellen wird.

Am Vor-Abend der heiligen **Rosæ**, den 29 Augusti 1676 abends gegen 10. oder 11. Uhr/ ward in unsere Residenz zu Agadna Feuer gesteckt/ wovon nicht allein dieselbige/ sondern auch die Kirch samt denen zwey Waysen-Häusern/ deren eines für die Knaben/ das andere für die Mägdlein gewidmet ist/ in völligen Brand gerathen seynd/ da zu allem Unglück nur ein Pater zu Hauß war/ auf wessen Ruff und Bitt das Volck aus dem gantzen Marktfleck (dann die Mordbrenner waren aus einem andern Marck) zusammen lieffe/ und so wohl aus der Kirch/ als aus denen drey Häusern alles treulich rettete/ daß nicht das geringste abgangen. Er schrieb zugleich bey dem Liccht des hellen Brands einen Brief an den Hauptmann in die Vestung/ der mit wenig seiner Soldaten auf einem Nachen bald ankam;/ das Schifflein in das Schloß ziehen liesse/ und gedachten Pater, damit er dem Feind nicht in die Hände gerieth/ nachmal mit sich hinein führte.

Den folgenden Tag/ als an dem Fest höchst-gedachter heiligen **Rosæ**, kamen in einem andern Marktflecken/ allwo solches feyerlich begangen wurde/ die Indianische Meuter häufig zusammen/ nicht zwar den Feyertag zu heiligen/ sondern den allda befindlichen Patrem samt der ihm zugegebenen geringen Soldaten-Wacht zu erwürgen/ nach verübtem Mord aber in dem andern Marckfleck denjenigen Pater, welcher sich gestern Abends aus dem Brand errettet hatte/ nebst dem Hauptmann und Besatzung/ so ihn erlöset hatten/ todts zu schlagen. Allein GOTT hat uns auch dißmahl solchen wilden Thieren nicht lassen in die Klauen gerathen; dann/ als der Pater vermerckte/ daß die Indianer gewaffnet im Anzug seyen/ haben die sechs bey ihm noch übrige Soldaten auf seinen Rath gleich das Gewehr ergriffen/ welches dann den gantzen wiewohl sehr zahlreichen Schwarm deren aufrührischen Furien dergestalt abschreckte/ daß sie zurück gewichen seynd. Indessen came auch der Commendant mit seinem übrigen Kriegsvolck zurück in die Vestung/ womit sich alles auf einmahl gestillet. Mit ihm verfügten sich alle Patres in das Schloß/ Pater Sebastianus Montroy allein ausgenommen/ ein überaus behertzter Mann/ der einer Seits alle Gefahr samt seinem Leben um der Seelen Heylwillen vrachtete/ ander Seits aber/ weil er oftmahl aus augenscheinlichen Gefahren war errettet worden/ sich auf Göttlichen Schutz unverzagt verliesse. Zoge also

wider des Capiteins und unserer Priestern Rath mit acht Männer/ die ihm jener zugeben hatte/ auf das Land in seine Residenz, und überzogen ungemeinem Anlauff leicht vermerckt hatte/ daß er von einer allzugrossen Menge/ nemlich von 500. rasender Indianern wurde werden/ sandte er einen seiner Soldaten zurück/ dem Capitain hiervon Nachricht zu geben/ der sich mit den seinigen gleich auf den Weeg gemacht/ aber leyder/ zu spath ankommen ist. Inmassen die Indianer/ obschon sie unglaublich forchtsame Leuthe seynd/ dennoch mit Lügen und Trügen so meisterlich wissen umzuspringen/ daß sie den sonst sehr klugen und scharfsichtigen Pater, samt seinen sieben Kriegsmännern/ mit falschen Schmeichel-Worten und verstellter Demuth beredet/ nichts böses zu argwohnen/ sondern mit ihnen vertraulich umzugehen. Kaum hatte er sich mit disen Luegen bethören lassen/ und sich Freundlichkeit halber unter sie gemenget/ da er nebst denen sieben Männern von ihnen jämmerlich ist hingerichtet/ sein Leib aber/ welches uns nicht wenig schmerztet/ nirgend gesunden worden. Warhafftig ein Ausbund von einem Apostolischen Ordens-Mann: Nichts war weder ärmer/ noch keuscher/ noch gehorsamer/ als P. Sebastianus, der Gott zu ehren und dem Nächsten zu helfen keine Gefahr/ keine Mühe/ noch Unkosten spahrte/ allzeit bereitfertig ja gierig sein Leben vor den Glauben aufzuopfern.

Sein glorwürdiger Todt begab sich den 6. Septembris 1676. Abends an einem Sonntag. Seine Mörder waren eben jenige/ denen er unendlich viel Gutthaten erwiesen hatte: Welche/ obschon ihrer 500. der Spanier hingegeben nur 7. waren/ sich dennoch nicht wurden anzugreifen unterfangen haben/ wann die letztere sich nicht getrennet/ und das Gewehr niedergelegt hätten. Nach vollbrachter That langte der Hauptmann mit denen seinigen an/ aber wegen Weite des Weegs gar zu spat: setzte auch denen Schächeren hefftig nach; allein sie nahmen zeitlich die Flucht. Zwey zurück gelassene Leichname liesse er in der nächst gelegenen Residenz von Jupungana [sic = Tepungan] ehrlich begraben/ die darinnen befindliche Patres aber zwange er/ damit ihnen nicht ein gleiches Urtheil begegnete/ mit sich in die Vestung zu gehen/ samt denen Waysen/ welche wir/ wie auch die zu Agadna oder Airan aus dem Allmosen ernähren/ so wir an unserem Mund erspahren. Pater Sebastianus, an dem sie ihren Nähr-Vatter verlohren/ hat sie nach unserem Gebrauch in dem Glauben und Christlichen Sitten so wohl unterrichtet/ daß wir uns dessen alle verwundern/ wegen der ausbündigen Art/ mit welcher dise gute Kinder ihre Sünden beichten/ und die Glaubens-Fragen beantworten/ nicht anderst/ als wären sie in Europa von denen gottesfürchtigsten Eltern erzogen worden. Der Commandant, so nach wenig Tagen wieder heimkame/ hat P. Sebastianum bitterlich beweinet/ welchen so wohl er als wir insgesamt wegen seinem unersättlichen Seelen-Eyffer als einen anderen Xaverium dieser Länderen geachtet hatten.

Die Rebellen waren mit dem so fern noch nicht begnügt/ daß sie hingegen grimmiger als vorhin so gar einen Auschlag auf die Vestung selbst wolten ausüben/ auch sonst uns samt allen Spaniern aller Orten vollends ausrotten. Welches dann uns Geistliche bewogen hat/ auf daß sie den Christlichen Nahmen/ und so viel unschuldige auch einheimische Christen nicht gänzlich vertilgeten/ für den Glauben gesamter Hand mit denen ohne dem sehr geschwächten Soldaten/ die uns so ritterlich geschützt hatten/ das

Gewehr zu ergreifen/ und mit ihnen die schwere Kriegs-Dienst/ absonderlich auf denen Wachten/ fürhin zu theilen/ bist deren wilden Bestien Wuth wurde gestillet seyn. Sie setzten zwar an unterschiedlichen Orten und Enden öfters an/ doch allzeit vergebens/ weil wir sechs Wochen lang wachsam auf unserer Hut stunden; auch ihrer Seits ohne andern Sieg/ als daß der Commendant einen aus ihnen ergreifen und an den Galgen auf knüpfen lassen; gestaltsam sie während der diser Rebellion sehr viel Leuthe/ wir aber nicht einen Mann eingebüßt haben: Wir hätten wahrhaftig nicht lang können nachsetzen/ indeme wir in allem nicht über 40. Mann/ unter diesen aber nur acht erfahrene Soldaten zehleten. Bey aller dieser Müheseeligkeit/ da es uns an Lebens-Mitteln gänzlich gebrache/ bestunde unsere Nahrung bloß in gesottenen/ aber ungesalzenen und ungeschmaltzenen Burgel-Kraut. Mit der Zeit fiengen wir Missionarii an die Erde aufzuhauen/ und Türckisches Korn (weil nichts anders zu Handen ware/) mit eben denjenigen rauhen und Blatter-vollen Händen anzusähen/ mit welchen wir das heilige Meß-Opffer pflegten zu verrichten.

*Nach gestillter Aufruhr haben wir dieses Jahr ebenfals eigenhändig/ so gut wir es konten und verstunden/ eine steinerne Kirch gebauet: weil die höltzerne ohne dem bau-fällige und mit Palmen-Aesten gedeckte Gottshäuser dem Brand gar zu sehr unterworfen seynd. Nichts haben wir bey diesem Bau mehrers gewünscht/ als einen erfahrenen Maurer/ der dem Werck vorgestanden wäre/ und uns/ wie die Sach anzugreifen sey/ gezeigt hätte. Könten sie uns einen dergleichen zuschicken/ wird uns damit eine Gnad geschehen. Es kan folgendes uns nachgesagt werden/ dasz wir gewesen seynd **Prediger/ Priester/ wie auch Kriech-Lcut/ Baurcn und Maurer zu gleicher Zeit.***

Einige Soldaten haben sich verstrichenes Jahr entschlossen/ Indianische Weiber ihnen ehelich trauen zu lassen/ welches zu beyder Theilen Vergnügen wohl ausgeschlagen hat/ daß wir von dergleichen Verbündnuß mit der Zeit für die Christenheit allhier viel Gutes hoffen. Ich verharre

Meines Hoch-Edel-gebohrnen Herrn

Aus denen Marianischen Insuln den 9. May 1677.

Demüthiger Diener in Christo.

Joannes Ahumada, der Gesellschaft JEsu Missionarius.

Translation from German, by Roalnd Hanewald.

Letter by Father Juan Ahumada, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, a Spaniard, to the Mayor of the town of Puebla, also called City of the Angels, in New Spain.

Written in the Mariana Islands, on 9 May 1677.

Contents: A ship arrives at Agaña in the Mariana Islands with new missionaries and is carried off to the high sea by the wind. The inhabitants of these Islands stage a rebellion; they burn the church and residence of the Jesuits in Agaña [sic]¹ and kill

¹ Ed. note: Transcription error, or misprint, for Ayran, where Fr. Bouwens was then serving alone.

Father Sebastian Monroy. The missionaries volunteer for war service and at the same time engage in growing crops.

Your Lordship:

Peace of Christ!

In the present year of 1677 [rather 1676], a ship from the Philippine Islands arrived here [via Acapulco] and brought urgently needed new missionaries, whose arrival we had been looking forward to very much, specially since we had already received news how God-fearing and eager to learn they were. However, it has pleased our most gracious God to make bitter the sweetness of such consolation with many tears. Then, as said vessel was about to drop anchor in the harbor near the residence, suddenly a violent storm came up which drove said vessel out to the high sea again, taking along our co-workers or helpers, while the crew [of our mission boat] has been so wretched as to rob the provisions and food they were carrying ashore, and so far we have been unable to learn about their fate.¹ This [incident] has thrown all of us into extreme destitution, the more so since the rebellion of the Indians has started. We, the clergy and the laity, are forced to be on our guard almost all the time.

Since then, a certain treacherous Indian named **Aguarín**, from the town of Agadña, and one of its leading men, who had received unnumerable good deeds from us, has underhandedly and secretly stirred up his townsmen and other countrymen against us, while not the slightest news of this had reached us; indeed, the Indians would rather endure torture and even death than to betray one another, or say anything that could hurt them.

Their main intention was to destroy the missionaries, that is, we Jesuits, who are the enemies of idolatry and depravity; but God, who did not wish to allow that so many innocent souls of this new flock should be without shepherds, has put such a stop to the Evil One that he was unable to vent his rage against us as planned, as the rest of this story will illustrate.

On the **eve of the St. Rose Day**, 29 August 1676, at about 10 or 11 in the evening, fire was set to our residence at Agadña [rather Ayran], which caused not only the residence, but also the church and the two orphanages, one for boys and one for girls, to go up in flames, since unfortunately only one Father was at home. His shouts and pleas were heard by the people of the whole village (the murderous arsonists were from another village) assembled and loyally saved everything from the church and from inside the three houses, so that none of it was lost. By the light of the bright fire, he wrote

1 Ed. note: The mission boat that had been unloading the supplies was under the control of Juan Martín, a German from Marburg, who had been serving as a soldier/sailor in the Marianas for 13 years. Those ashore may have thought that the crew was escaping, but the truth is that this boat was also carried off by the wind, to the southward at first, where they sighted Ulithi, before pointing the bow towards the Philippines and safety (see Martín's story in Lévesque's *History of Micronesia*, Doc. 1711C5).

a letter to the Captain in the fort, who soon arrived in a boat with a few of his soldiers; he had the boat pull up to the residence and took said Father away with him, so that he would not fall into the hands of the enemy.

The next day, which was **St. Rose Day**, at another village,¹ where this event was celebrated, the Indian rebels assembled, not to celebrate the holiday, but to kill the Fathers present there, together with the small number of soldiers assigned to guard them. After these murders had been committed, their intention was to go to the other village and to kill the above-said Father who had been saved from the fire the night before, as well as the Captain and his crew who had saved him. However, this time also, God did not let us fall into the claws of such wild animals. When the Father noticed that the Indians approached in arms, the six soldiers remaining with him immediately took up arms upon his advice, which so frightened the whole troop of rebellious furies, though they were very numerous, that they retreated. In the meantime, the Commander returned to the fort with his remaining soldiers, after which everything suddenly became quiet. With him, all Fathers went to the residence [of Agaña], except for Father Sebastian Monroy, an extremely brave man, who on the one hand disregarded all danger, including that to his life, for the sake of the salvation of his soul, and who, on the other hand, because he had been saved often from imminent danger, dauntlessly believed that God would protect him. Thus, against the advice of the Captain and our priests, he took eight men whom the Captain assigned to him and went to the area of his residence,² and since he had easily discovered from the uncommon numbers that he would be facing too large a crowd, namely 500 raging Indians, he sent one of his soldiers back to give news of this to the Captain, who immediately set out with his men, but unfortunately arrived too late. Although the Indians are incredibly timid people, they are masters of lies and deceit when they are in large numbers, and so, with falsehoods and feigned humility they persuaded the Father and his seven soldiers who believed them and trusted them. He no sooner had allowed himself to be fooled by these lies and came to be among them, that he and the seven men in question were miserably executed. It is particularly painful to us that his body was never found. He truly symbolized a man of an Apostolic order: no-one was poorer, more celibate or more obedient than Father Sebastian who, to honor God and to help his neighbors, did not spare any danger, burden or expense, and who was always ready and eager to sacrifice his life to the faith.

His glorious death happened on 6 September 1676, on a Sunday evening. His murderers were precisely those for whom he had done many good deeds. Although there were 500 of them and only seven Spaniards, they still would not have dared to attack, had the latter not separated and laid down their arms. After the deed was done, the Captain and his men arrived, but too late, because of the great distance. He vigorously pursued the murderers, but they had had enough time to escape. For two bodies, which they left behind, he arranged a decent burial at the nearby residence of Jupun-

1 Ed. note: This was the village of Tepungan.

2 Ed. note: It was located on Oroto Peninsula.

gana [sic = Tepungan]. He forced the Fathers there to come to the fort with him, so that they would not suffer the same fate, together with the orphans whom, as those in Agaña or Ayrán, we are feeding from the alms for which we scrimp and save. Father Sebastian, in whom they have now lost their provider, had taught them the faith and Christian morality so well, according to our custom, that we are all surprised how properly these good children confess their sins and answer questions of faith, just as if they had been raised in Europe by God-fearing parents. The Commander, who returned home a few days later, has cried bitterly over Father Sebastian. He had, as we all did, regarded him as another Xavier in these parts because of his constant devotion.

The rebels were not yet satisfied with this. They were fiercer than ever and now even planned an attack on the fort itself, wanting to wipe us out completely, together with all Spaniards everywhere. This caused us Religious to take up firearms, to prevent the rebels from destroying the Christian name and so many innocent Christians, including native ones, for their faith, along with the already very decimated soldiers who had defended us so chivalrously. We now shared with them in the difficult art of warfare, in particular doing guard duty, until the rage of the wild beasts had subsided. They often attacked here and there in various places [of the enclosure], but always for naught, because for six weeks we were watchful and on our guard. They did not win another victory, and then the Commander seized one of them and had him [i.e. his head] exposed on top of the stockade. During this rebellion, they suffered many casualties, while we did not lose a single man. We truly could not have pursued them very far, since we counted no more than 40 men, and only 8 of them were experienced soldiers. During all this deprivation, we had no food at all with the exception of *Burzel-Kraut*¹ which was boiled, but unsalted and without any fat. In time, we missionaries began to hoe the ground and plant Indian corn (because nothing else was at hand). We did this with the same rough and calloused hands which we used to offer the sacrifice of the mass.

Now that the rebels are at peace, we have this year also used our own hands, as well as we could and as well as we understand, to build a stone church, since wooden churches are rickety and palm branches used as roofing material are much too prone to fire.² During the construction, we wished for nothing as much as for an experienced mason who could have supervised the building and shown us how to go about it. If you could send us someone like that, it would be a blessing. In retrospect, we can say that we were the following: **Preachers, Priests, Soldiers, Farmers and Masons, all at the same time.**

Last year, some soldiers decided to marry Indian women, which has worked out to the satisfaction of both parties, and we hope that such alliances will in time be of great benefit for Christianity here. I remain, in the Mariana Islands on 9 May 1677,

Your Lordship's

1 Ed. note: Rare German word, used to translate what was in fact a local root crop, called *nica* (see HM6:599).

2 Ed. note: The Filipino soldiers made an oven to bake some clay tiles for the new roofs.

devoted servant in Christ,
Juan Ahumada, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

Document S1677L

**Jesuit superiors given permission to appoint
military commanders of the Marianas**

Source: AGN Californias, vol. 26, fol. 368.

**Letter from the Viceroy, Archbishop Payo, dated Mexico 26
October 1677****Original text in Spanish.**

El Rdo. D. fr Payo de Rivera Arcobispo de Mexico del Conssejo de su Magestad su virrey lugar theniente gobernador y Capitan Gencral desta N^a Esp^a y Presidente de la Real Audiencia della.

Porque su Magestad por sus dos Reales Zedulas tiene aprovado todos los despachos que se an mandado dar a los Religiosos de la Comp^a de Jcsus que asisten en las Misiones de las Islas Marianas asi para la limosna de los sazerdotes vino y azeite para la zelebracion del Santo Sacrificio de la misa como para los quarenta soldados que estan en ellas y en obedezimiento de dhas Reales Zedulas dado los despachos necessarios para que en lo de adelante se les pague todo lo que esta resuelto por Juntas de Hazienda y despachado comision en onze de marzo de mil y seyscientos y settenta y cinco, para que el Padre Superior que es o fuere de las misiones de las yslas Marianas nombrase un Cavo de su satisfazion para que gobernase los quarenta soldados para escolta y defensa de los Padres misioneros: y para que se continue en lo de adelante: Por el presente doy comission al Padre Superior que es o fuere de las misiones de las dhas yslas Marianas para que en los años venideros pueda nombrar un cavo de su satisfazion que govierna dhos quarenta soldados mientras su Magestad o por este Gobierno no se mandare otra cosa, el qual se porte con las buenas costumbres y buen exemplo que requiere esta materia y encarga su Magestad sin hazer malos tratamientos vejaciones ni molestias a los naturales de aquellas yslas dando quenta de lo que subcediere al dho P. Superior y de los buenos prozedimientos de dhos soldados para que se de quenta a su Magestad.

Mexico veynte y seys de octubre de mil y seyscientos y setenta y siete años.

fr. Paio Arbpo de Mexico

Por mandado de su Ex^a

Manuel Sariñana

[Membrete:] *Para que el Padre Superior de la comp^a de Jesus que es o fuere de las misiones de las yslas Marianas pueda nombrar un Cavo de su satisfazion que gobierne los quarenta soldados que asisten en ellas segun y como aqui se refiere.*

Translation.

The Rev. Don fray Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of Mexico, member of the Council of His Majesty, his Viceroy, Lieutenant-Governor and Captain General of this New Spain and President of its Royal Audiencia.

Because His Majesty in two Royal Decrees has approved all the despatches that he has ordered be given to the Religious of the Society of Jesus who reside in the Mariana Island Missions, not only the alms for the priests, wine and oil for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the mass as well as for the forty soldiers who are there and in obedience of said Royal Decrees the necessary despatches have been given, so that from now on, they be paid all that is decided in financial meetings and there has been despatched a commission dated 11 March 1675 to enable the Father Superior who is or may be of the missions of the Mariana Islands to appoint an officer of his choice to govern the forty soldiers provided for escorting and defending the missionary Fathers. And in order for this to be continued in future, by the present I give a commission to the Father Superior who is or may be of the missions of said Mariana Islands so that in future years he may appoint an officer of his choice to govern said forty soldiers until His Majesty or this Government orders otherwise, provided that no bad treatments, harassments or annoyances be done to the natives of those islands, said Father Superior giving reports of that might happen and about the good deeds done by said soldiers so that His Majesty may in turn be advised of same.

Mexico, 26 October 1677.

fray Payo Archbishop of Mexico.

By order of His Excellency,

Manuel Sariñana.

[Summary note:] For the Father Superior of the Society of Jesus who is or may be in charge of the missions of the Mariana Islands to be able to appoint an officer of his choice over the forty soldiers who serve there in accordance with what is stated therein.

Document S1678C

Fr. Nicolás de Prado tried to join the Mariana Mission in 1678

Source: AGN Mexico, AHH Leg. 326-2.

Summary note: Fr. del Prado begs permission from his Provincial Fr. Thomas Altamirano to go to Mexico City and pass to the Marianas, since he has already received permission from his Father General.

Letter from Fr. Prado to Fr. Prov. Altamirano, dated Santa Teresa, 21 May 1678**Original text in Spanish.**

Mi P. Provincial Thomas Altamirano

Pax X. &a.

Dos tengo escrito à V.R., suplicandole con todo rendimiento, y eficacia, el que V.R., en execucion del gusto de N^o P. Gl., me dé licencia p^a avisarme desde luego p^a Mexico à fin que yo me halle aya à tiempo de poder passar à Marianas con la Nao que de Filipinas viniere el año venturo, y se bolverà en todo el mes de Março del 1679. Ya escribí las que quando esta llegue à V.R., no solo havrà visto las que escribí à V.R., sino que yà me haya embiado la licencia, que desseo, y buelvo à suplucar à V.R.: y esto lo espero[-ra] de su bondad, y conocida virtud, y zelo de V.R., quanto mas que Nuestro Padre me dize en la suya, averselo muy de veras encargado à V.R., y al P. Asistente de España me escribe, que ya me señalaron en Roma, y quedo dentro el numero de los Missioneros Marianos, y suponiendo mi yda, me da el buen viaje p^a aquellas Islas.

En quanto à ella mi querida Mission: tiene ella yà tres Pueblos assentados, y otros tres empezados: los primeros son Santa Ynes de Chiripa, Santa Teresa de los Guazapares, y Guadalupe de Borahios. Los otros tres son Vallcumbrosa, Santa Ana, y Loreto, todos de gente Barohia, como V.R. havrà visto en un borron de Mapa, que remiti al P. Visitador y que yà embio à V.R. En ellos se an bautizado 1940 gentiles, y unos 78 Apostatas confessados y reducidos. Los Pueblos assentados tienen continua doctrina mañana, y tarde, y Governadores, Alcaldes y fiscales: Al Pueblo de Santa Ana ya le dieron en la Villa Governador; y los dos otros tienen sus fiscales, y Topiles, y la gente esta quieta, contenta, y muy obsejante. Ayer bolvieron sobre 20 Indios que embié à las Villas p^a que en forma pidiessen Padres, y pudiesse el Sr. General hazer informe à

su Ex^a; como escribe el P. Rector Gonzalez Navarro, que queda hecho. Solo queda que V.R. embie aca, siquiera dos Padres: por amor de Dios, que los embie V.R.; pues la necesidad es grandissima. Ademas de lo dicho, acabà de descubrir todo el pais de los Barohios; y en Batopilas, Quecamun, y Seiquivico, y otros puestos de Gentiles, hay campo y gente p^a otra Mission, y dessean, y me pidieron bautismo, y bautizé entre ellos no pocos niños, y algunos muy viejos, y enfermos adultos. Al presente estoy empleado à acabar de confessar por las 1^a vez los que ya tienen un año de bautismo. Y en este Pueblo de S. Teresa, donde aora me hallo, havrà 600 de vonfession; que ya en S. Ynés, y en Guadalupe se confessaron todos, y en Santa Ynes esta semana santa hizieron procession, y muchos, sua sponte, quisieron diciplinarse à sangre, que no me internecí poco en gente tan nueva.

Ya recibí el ornamento, Alba, y las otras alaxas eclesiasticas que V.R. me hizo limosna de embiarme; y todo se lo estimo, y agradezco à V.R., rogando à N^o Sr. que se lo pague à mi Padre. Vea V.R. si ya queda libre de deudas la hazienda que dexo el Fernandez de Guadalupe y disponga V.R. con el P. Procurador el que responda à esta Mission con la limosna que p^a ella dexò dicho Fernandez que son 500 pesos cada años, pues esta Mission de S. Ynés es una de las dos que él mandò fundar.

V.R. perdone si escribo en este pedazito de papel, pues sabe que no lo ay en toda esta tierra, y menos lo tendré yo que desde el año passado no hé tenido papel.

N.S. me guarde à V.R. como desseo, y se lo suplico; y mucho me encomiendo à sus Santos Sacrificios y oraciones de V.R.

Santa Teresa y Mayo 21 de 1678.

Muy Siervo, e Hijo INdignissimo de V.R.

Nicolas de Prado

Translation.

My dear Father Provincial Thomas Altamirano,¹

Excellency,

I have already written two letters to Your Reverence, begging you with all effectiveness and efficiency that Your Reverence, in accordance with the pleasure of our Father General, to give me permission to supply myself for Mexico as soon as possible in order for me to get there soon enough to be able **to go on to the Marianas** aboard the ship that may come from the Philippines this coming year and would return during the month of March of 1679. I have already written to Y.R. about this in more details before and thus do not wish to emphasize it now. I trust in God that, when this letter gets to Y.R., not only will Y.R. have seen the previous letter, but also that he will have already sent me the permission that I wish, and I again beg Y.R.

What I hope to get from your goodness and well-known virtue and zeal, given that our Father [General] tells me in his letter that he has indeed advised Y.R. that the Father Assistant of Spain writes to me that they have already earmarked me in Rome, and that

1 Ed. note: Fr. Altamirano was Provincial of New Spain from 1677 to 1680.

I am part of the group of missionaries for the Mariana Mission, and supposing that I will go, he wished me a happy voyage to those islands.

As far as this, my dear [present] mission is concerned, it has already three established settlements and three more that are being prepared. The former are Santa Inés de Chiripa, Santa Teresa de los Guazapares, and Guadalupe de Borohios; the other three are Valleumbrosa, Santa Ana, and Loreto, all inhabited by the Barobia people, as Y.R. has shown on a draft map that he remitted to the Father Visitor and that he had sent to Y.R. In them [i.e. the settlements] have been baptized 1940 gentiles and some 75 apostates confessed and reduced. The settled towns have the doctrine taught continuously morning and afternoon, as well as Governors, Mayors and Inspectors. The town of Santa Ana has already got a town mayor, and the other two have their inspectors...

Santa Teresa, 21 May 1678

Nicolas de Prado

Document S1683Q

Fr. Solorzano's description of the Mariana Islands

Source: *Biblioteca del Palacio (Madrid), Mss. 2866, Miscelanea Tomo LII, folios 121-135.*

Note: This document appears to be made up of 3 source documents: an overview by Fr. Pimentel; a paraphrase of the annual reports for 1668-69 (see Doc. 1669A); and an exact copy of the annual report for 1682-83 (see Doc. 1683I). Only the last one was authored by Fr. Solorzano.

Original text in Spanish.

Descripcion de las Islas Marianas, costumbres de sus Naturales, y una relacion del estado en que se hallavan las Misiones que havia en ellas, con el numero de convertidos a nuestra Santa Fée, varios acaccimientos, y persecuciones padecidas por los Padres, dimanado de una falsa semilla esparcida por cierto Sangley Choco; y algunos casos maravillosos que obró Dios en favor de su causa, y para confusion de la Idolatria; Por Don Manuel Solorzano. Año de 1683.

[See facsimile reproduction, on following pages].

[Title page]

Description of the Mariana Islands, customs of their natives,
and a narrative of the condition in which the Missions there were in, with the number of converted to our Holy Faith, various happenings, and persecutions suffered by the Fathers, originating from a false seed spread by a certain Sangley¹ named Choco; and a few marvellous cases that God worked in favor of his cause, and to confound idol worship.

By Don Manuel Solorzano, Year of 1683.

¹ Ed. note: The common name used in Manila for a Chinese, originally meaning "merchant" in the Fukienese dialect.



DESCRIPCION
de las Islas MARIANAS
COSTUMBRES
de sus NATURAL^s



Una relacion del estado en que se ha-
llaran las Misiones que havia en
ellas, con el numero de convertidos
à nra S^{ta} E^{va}; varias acaccimientos,
y persecuciones padecidas por los Padres,
dimanado de una falsa semilla espar-
cida por cierto Sangley Checo; y al-
gunas cosas maravillosas que obró Dios
en favor de su causa, y para confusión
de la Idolatria.

POR

Dⁿ Manuel Solorzano.

Año de 1683.

Venia el Gobernador Don Maimel de Leon, con grandes deseos de saber de los Padres, y de lo obrado en la propagacion de Nuestra Santa Fe, en estas Yslas, dia del glorioso San Antonio trece de Junio de seisientos sesenta, y ocho, al amanecer fue descubierta la Isla de Guacan à donde con este fin iba proado el Navio, el Viernes siguiente catorce del dicho mes como à las dos de la tarde dio fondo la Nao a la parte de Oeste en una Bahia Capaz, adonde años ha estubo el Olandes con catorce años, pero no pudiendo hallar aqui luz de los Padres, por que aunque los Indios los nombraban a todos, y señalaban à la parte del Norte donde dando à entender, que alli estaban, como ninguno de la Nao los entendiese, quedamos todos con la misma confusion, que de antes, levò la Ancla la Nao, y fue navegando la Isla hasta encontrar con la parte del Norueste, y dio vista à una grande ensenada adonde estubimos gran parte del dia casi en calma, con singular desconuelo por no hallar Vostro de los Padres, despues de haber bogado con toda la Ysla à las cinco de la tarde llegaron

tres Indios principales con una carta del Padre
 Diego Luis de San Vitor escripta al Cabo, y Gene-
 ral del Mar: no se puede explicar el gozo que
 con esta Carta recibio la Nao, y en particular el
 dicho Gobernador por haber hallado ya tan clar-
 luz de lo que tanto dudaba, mandò su Señoria al
 Padre Luis de Finem el Religioso de la Compa-
 ñia respondiere en su nombre al dicho Padre Diego
 Luis de San Vitor, honramente que la Nao vi-
 rase acia el Sur, por lo contrario el viento para
 entrar en la Ensenada adonde estaba el Pueblo re-
 sidencia del Padre San Vitor: el Sabado siguiente
 por la mañana llegaron à la Nao los Padres
 San Vitor, y Luis Morales, siendo cumplida la
 alegria toda aquella noche con el viento escaso se
 volvio la Nao à anclar à la Ensenada, adonde
 antes habia dado fondo el Domingo al amanecer ni-
 ne el viento a popa solo durò lo que fue bastan-
 te para dar fondo en un surgidero harto capaz à vi-
 sta de dos Rios, y de un Pueblo aqui recibieron los Pa-
 dres el socorro, que el Mexico les trahia el Padre
 Luis Finem, y lo que el Señor Gobernador con singu-

piedad, y liberalidad le dio de limosna, que fue cantidad de ropa viejocho, y otras cosas, concurriendo otras personas con lo que pudieron pero el que mas se esmerò de los particulares fue el Piloto mayor Leandro Cuello: fueron los Padres agasafados de dicho Gobernador con singular afecto pero la cizaña que habia sembrado un Sangley de que hablarè despues desistió cogerte el Gobernador, à este fin embio à prenderle con un Aludante, y Soldados pero ya su mala conciencia le habia puesto en salvo, para el buen progreso de la fe en estas Islas importa mucho la llegada à ellas de la Vao à esta ocasion y venir en ella un Gobernador tan celoso, por que à no haberse desistido un instante, aunque mas lo facilitara el Piloto, como siempre lo facilitò: desistió el Gobernador seis personas, que acompañasen à los Padres con algunas Armas de fuego.

Relacion de las Islas Merianas

Llegaron los Padres Luis de San Victoris Luis de Morales Pedro Casanoba Luis de Medina, Thomas de Cardenoso y el Hermano Lorenzo.

Bustillo a estas Islas el año de sesenta, y ocho, à diez, y seis de Junio, como ya se escribió, el año pasado asentaron Residencia a la parte del Norte en la Isla de Guacan en un Pueblo llamado Mapayma, en esta una de las mayores de ellas, que consta de ciento y ochenta Pueblos, muchos de ellos de ciervo perinos, luego comenzaron los Padres à catequizar, y bautizar sin estorbo ninguno, hasta que se opuso el Demonio de un Sangley China que ha diez y ocho años que reside en estas Islas, fueron él, y otros llevados à ellas de una tormenta de un Champain del Rey, pasando de Manila à Terrenate, está ya hecho Maestro de Idolatria, comenzó à derramar que todos los que bautizaban morían luego; que los Padres era gente despreciada de los Españoles, y que como a tales los habían dexado desterrados en aquella Isla descubriose este incendio, con la ida à un Pueblo de un Padre donde residia, fue sino de vanidad del todo esta vez lo amortiguó en el animo de estos Indios, halló en este Pueblo un Viejo de sesenta años el qual se bautizó, y fue el primero que en este Pueblo rebeldes recibió el Bautismo, per

124.

de los Pueblos comarcanos, aunque tocados del
 engaño del Sangley, fueron bautizados muchos In-
 fantes, y algunos Adultos, que se hallaron enfer-
 mos: cada vno de los Pueblos quisiere tener à los
 Padres, pero acudescles con todo el cuidado que se
 puede; despues de haber bautizado ochocientas per-
 sonas en esta Ysla de Guacan, se quedò en ella el
 Padre Luis de San. Victores, como superior de la
 Mision, Remitió los quatro Padres con el Hermano
 Lorenzo Bustillo bien industriados en la lengua
 à hacer correrias por las demas Yslas, los quales han
 llegado hasta veinte grados de altura, desde trece
 y un tercio, en que esta Guacan, en cuyo espacio es-
 tan situadas Yslas, diez y nueve de Norte à Sur;
 en todas han sido bien recibidos y han admitido
 el bautismo tantos que llega el numero de los
 bautizados à trece mil quinientos, y sesenta. Los
 Catecumenos, pasan de veinte mil, y los Niños que
 han muerto con la gracia bautismal à doscientos.

Por todo este mes de Junio de seiscientos
 sesenta y nueve saldrán de la Ysla de Guacan à-
 donde oy se hallan los Padres Luis de Morales, y

17
Thomas de Cardenoso para el Norte con intento de
hacer entradas, y escalar todas las Yslas conocidas de
los Españoles, por ser todos los Indios de ellas de
una misma Nación y lengua y costumbres, y no se du
da del suceso que sería como en las demas: la lengua
de los Naturales es muy fácil, segun dicen los Padres,
y mas á los que entienden la Bisaya, y Tagala de
Manila, por tener muchos dialectos de ella, prueva es
de esto el haber ya en espacio de vn año dispuesto
Arte, y Bocabulario de ella el Padre Luis de Mora
les, ignorante del todo de las lenguas de estas partes,
y haber andado siempre embarcado en vn continuo
movimiento, discurriendo por todas las Yslas: no se
halla en ellas valiente alguno de los animales, sino
gatos, y algunos Perros, que se cree los han dexado
los Españoles; son abundantes de Cocos, frutas de
Arboles y Raices, que sirven de pan; no son altos los
Arboles, sino las que tienen Volcan; son capaces
en la siembra de Arroz, como se ve en lo poco que
hoy siembran los Indios: las mayores de estas Is
las son Guacan ò San Juan, que tendrá como tre
inta, y cinco leguas de Box, y en diez, y nueve

grados, la Ysla de Agripam, que tiene cincuenta leguas de Box, mas férul y à manera que las demás todas son muy abundantes de Fuentes, Ríos, y pescado: Guacàn, o San Juan, donde reside el Superior de la Mision, es toda tierra colorada, como Almagre, de la qual, mezclada con Cal, y amasada con Aceyte de Cocos hacen un betun estos Indios, con q^e hermoscan, y no poco, sus embarcaciones que aunque pequeñas son vistosas, y la misma ligerera; las Casas son las mas aseadas, y curiosas, que hasta ahora se han hallado entre Indios, las maderas de sus fabricas, son los Arboles de los cocos, techadas con osas de Palma y de Esteras, o Perates curiosamente texidos, tienen fabricados aposentos en modo de Bobeda, con puertas de perate, ò estera, que es vn todo, fuera de esta casa que es solo dormitorio, tienen otras tres, la primera y entrada de las demás, es un sorchado, ò Camarin grande adonde se cogen sus embarcaciones, fabrican, y hacen otras cosas de manos, despues hay otra otra que sirve de Cocina, despues de esta otra mayor y todas estas estan levantadas del suelo sobre unas piedras grandes donde guardan

es gente Juglar, y entretenida. y por las que no con-
poco donayre, y amistad hacen los Españoles, quan-
do rescatan el hierro les llaman Ladrones, no tienen
cabeza, ni Superior a quien obedecer: sus guerrillas
son un Pueblo con otro, pero en siendo uno herido,
o muerto se acaba toda la guerra. fácilmente se
inquiétan, y fácilmente se sosiegan; bien se ve de
estas costumbres para reducirse à la fè, no unièdo
muchas mugeres, ni tiramias ni borracheras: lo que
mas disminuà entre ellos es la desnudez hasta la mis-
ma naturaleza, sin avergonzarse los hombres, sola las
Mugeres, en quien es mayor esta pasion la ocultan con
ojas de Arboles.

De lo sucedido a los Padres
en dicha Isla.

El principal que admitio à los Padres y dio sitio
para Casa lo premio Dios este agasajo con la gracia
bautismal, y de alli a pocos dias el primero que en
aquellas Islas fue enterrado en Yoleia consagrada à
Dios el nombre que recibio en el Bautismo Don Je-
an Kipha: habia el Sangley Choco, que ya referi-
mos introducido algunas Idolatrias entre estos pueb-

Indios bien agenos de ellas pero donde mas habia sembrado su zizaña, fue en las otras Yslas, fuera de la suya de San Juan, causa de hallarse el Padre Luis de Morales à catorce de Agosto de sesenta, y ocho en la Ysla de Saypan, que llaman los Españoles de Buena vista bautizando unos Niños, un Yndio, inficionado del veneno del Sangley, le tirò una lanza, quese la clavò en la pantorrilla derecha, que sin peligro por este mismo odio los Principales de este Sangley dieron muerte alevosa à un Español, y un Criado suyo Togato, compañero de los Padres en la travesia de Buena vista à la Zurpana.

Al principio fueron recibidos los Padres en los Pueblos de estas Yslas con grande gusto, y agasajo, pero luego que llegó à ellos lo que derramaba el Sangley, eran echados con desprecio, negandoles, no solo la hospitalidad, sino tambien el sustento ordinario, en tablados de estos Indios agasajadores, de los Extranjeros; pero entre estas desdenes lo que mas lastimaba à los Padres, era, que quando mas moribundos, y enfermos los niños los escondian aun mas del Santo Bautismo, no obstante que hubo Padres, y Madres que

Compiendo por este Véclo entregaban sus hijos al agua del Bautismo y hubo Infantes que huyendo de los Padres naturales, que los escondian, se venian à los Padres Espirituales que los bautizasen. 323

Pueblo de Soqua en la Ysla de San Carlos inficionado no poco con la doctrina de este Sangleey oyendo la explicacion de los diez mandamientos, que explicaba el Hermano Lorenzo Bustillo, clamaron todos à una voz diciendo: estos son los Padres, que quieren matarnos, que no nos enseñan, sino à bien vivir en nuestras Yslas, que pueden buscar, sino nuestras almas, adonde, ni hierro, ni vestido hay de quanto abundan en sus tierras; ¿matarnos con el bautismo que pueden interesarse? y así todos adultos, y niños el Bautismo recibieron en este Pueblo, y lo mismo en el Pueblo de Turisar en la Ysla de San Juan oyendo la explicacion de los diez mandamientos al dicho Hermano Lorenzo Bustillo.

Vi ha desido el Señor de obrar algunas maravillas con estos pobres, por que hallandose en la Ysla de la Larpana, oy de Santa Ana, Francisco su natural de ella dos veces casi a la muerte, am-

à des Recibió Repentina salud, con el tacto de una ¹²⁸
 Medalla de los Santos Apostolos de las Indias: en
 la misma Isla, y Pueblo de Penna Residencia de
 San Xavier de un Niño de tres meses de edad con
 singulares circunstancias, por la intercession de la San-
 tiſſima Virgen, y de nuestros Santos Padres San Yona-
 cio, y San Francisco Xavier, por que hallandose este
 Niño, habia seis horas muerto, como un palo, y ungido
 con aceyte de Coco, que es la mortaja, que dan en
 estas Islas à los difuntos, Resucito de esta manera, to-
 mole en sus manos un Padre, y con afectuosas lágri-
 mas, y por ser su dia, y Sabado, la vida de aquel
 Niño, y à San Francisco Xavier, y ofrecio ponerle
 su nombre por ser aquel dia tambien Vigilia del San-
 to, y subitamente por tres veces intento decir su oracion
 sobre el cuerpo del difunto, pero nunca pudo dar, sino
 con la de San Yonacio hasta la mitad, acabo en la
 de San Francisco Xavier de esta manera: Deus
 qui ad majorem nominis tui gloriam propagandam?
 novo per Beatum Yonacium subsidio militantem Ecclē-
 siam roborasti, concede: y acaba así. Ut cujus glorio-
 sa merita veneramur, virtutum quoque imitemur

exempla: dicha tres veces con estas circunstancias
la oracion, Recibió el Viño, y Recibió el agua de L^o 325
Santo Bautismo y à los diez dias desu nacimiento
volò à la eternidad. hubo en este caso otra circunstan-
cia, por que aunque los Padres habian bautizado,
persuadidos que el Bautismo quitaba la vida à
los Niños se le ocultaron, y se le trageron muerto; con
este suceso quedaron esos Barbaros desengañados,
que el Bautismo es el que mata sino el que da
vida.

En el Pueblo de Visan en la Ysla de
San Juan, el mas inficionado con los errores del San-
gley, fue echado afrentosamente de aquel Pueblo un
Padre de los nuestros con dos heridas en la Cabeza y
instando toda la Octava de San Francisco Xavier
por la salud desus moradores à diez de Diciembre el
timo dia de la Octava, dicha la Misa del Santo
por la salud espiritual de los Indios, se partio con
un animo intrepido y halló los naturales tan muda-
dos, que todos Recibieron nuestra Santa Fè, y se bau-
tizaron en la Octava de la Concepcion; lo que se
puede tener por mayor maravilla, es que quando el

122.

Sangley Choco triunfaba mas de los Padres con la muerte de los dos compañeros, y la lanzada que dieron al Padre Luis de Morales, vino à confesar publicamente sus embustes y desdecirse de la Zizana que habia sembrado en los Corazones de los Indios, y lo que mas es à pedir el Santo Bautismo en el qual recibio el nombre de Ignacio por pegarseles tambien à los Chinos la Doctrina Evangelica; el fruto que hallamos del Santo Bautismo, es la paz, y concordia que han hecho unos Pueblos con otros, que antes se hallaban desunidos, con que oy entre todas estas Yslas es universal la paz, y comercio tan importante para la continuacion de nuestros Ministerios.

En Tarrefago Pueblo de la Ysla de San Juan, perdio por cinquenta dias el habla vna Mujer, hallandose incapaz para recibir el Santo Bautismo, la qual antes de su enfermedad habia reusado el Bautismo llevada de los humores del Choco, pero aplicandole vna reliquia de nuestro Padre San Francisco-Xavier y diciendole el acto de contricion, volvio en si repitiendo las palabras del dicho acto, que le iras diciendo el Padre tubo el Santo Bautismo que

instruida le recibió, y al punto volvió á perder el habla.

327

En el Pueblo de Pipug de esta misma Ysla, llamada ya del Triunfo de la Cruz, por haberse reducido este Pueblo en el día de esta fecha, à diez y seis de Julio, y con especial triunfo de la Santa Cruz, haber el Padre quemado cantidad de figuras ydo. los que introduxo el Sangley Choco.

Halló el Padre una Mujer sorda, y de mas de cien años à quien sus Parientes ocultaron en las primeras visitas, y aplicandole una Reliquia del Santo Signum Crucis, y diciendole la oracion de San Josef, cuyo día era, dio muestras de oir, de suerte que pudo responder à lo forzoso de la instruccion del Santo Bautismo, que le recibió con no poca admiracion de su familia, y de los que supieron el caso.

En Tubán, Pueblo de la Ysla de Zarpán, lanó el Padre un Demonio del cuerpo de una muger, en la resistencia que en los moradores de este Pueblo hizo el Santo Evangelio, se conocio, quan posesidos los tenia el comun Enemigo en cuerpo, y alma salió del cuerpo de esta muger el Demonio

con el tacto de las Reliquias de nuestros gloriosos Pa-¹³⁶
 tres San Ygnacio, y San Francisco Xavier, suplicas
 al glorioso San Josef Patron de todas estas Yslas.

En Opiàn, Pueblo de la misma Ysla, dio per-
 fecta salud el Santo Bautismo, à una Muger para-
 linca, y que padecia una ardiente Fiebre; successo que
 disminuyó la voz del Ydolatra Choco; con otro successo-
 semejante confirmò Dios la eficacia del Santo Ban-
 tismo en un Pueblo llamado Sumataraycò, de la Ysla
 de Torican; trageron al Padre una Viña, que dudò
 si del todo estaba muerta; con la duda en que se halla-
 ba de administrar el Bautismo sub conditione, que
 estubiere viva. Jurramente le ofrecio honrarla con su
 nombre, si el Santo Ygnacio, cuya Reliquia tenia apli-
 cada, le daba la vida; finalmente vio en la Viña
 figuras, y señales de vida, y durò con ella hasta el
 dia siguiente por la mañana, que la trocò por la eter-
 na, despues de haberla rebautizado con segunda con-
 dicion de que antes estubiese muerta.

En Opecò de la misma Ysla por día y medio
 se hallò una muger con terribles dolores de parto, y al
 punto que le fueron aplicadas unas letras de Carta

y una Estampa del mismo Santo dio à luz sin dificultad una Niña à quien en accion de gracias de este beneficio, quiso su Madre la llamasen Ignacio en el Bautismo: y por la priesa con que se escribe esta Relacion se desan de poner otros casos confiando en la Divina Misericordia; y en el feliz principio que han tenido esta nueva christiandad, han de ser muy crecidos sus aumentos, para honra, y gloria de Dios, y salvacion de tantas almas de aquella Gentilidad de que cada dia se descubren en gran numero y piden el Santo Bautismo, para cuyo mejor logro, esperamos el socorro de mayor numero de Operarios, para tan crecida mies Evangelica.

Breve Relacion de los sucesos mas notables, en el aumento de la Mission, y Christiandad Mariana, desde Junio de 1682. hasta fines de Mayo de 1683 años.

A ocho de Junio de Mil seiscientos ochenta, y dos, dio vista à la Ysla de San Juan, la Nao San Antonio de Padua que trahia asu cargo el General Don Thomas de Andaya cuya piedad y zelo christiano-

^{1321.}
 únicamente se ha señalado en favorecer esta Christiani-
 dad, haciendo dar fondo à las Nao en el Puerto, para
 que con mayor brevedad y seguridad se desembarque
 el socorro necesario para la conservacion, y aumento
 de esta nueva Yglesia: Venia en la Nao el Vllmo. &
 ñor Don Fray Juan Duran, que gozoso de la bu-
 na disposicion destes Naturales, y progresos de la
 Fè en estas Islas, quiso confirmarlos en ella, y fortale-
 cerlos con el Sacramento de la confirmacion, para lo-
 qual saltò en tierra con aclamacion, y gusto de todos
 por ser el primer Obispo, que la ilustrò con su pre-
 sencia, y santificò con tan santo exercicio. Juntaronse
 muchos de los Naturales en la Yglesia de San Dionisio
 Arcopagita, adonde fueron confirmados, recibiendo con
 la gracia del Sacramento, particular devocion, y afecto
 à las cosas sagradas: concluida esta funcion, y habien-
 dolo dexado dos nuevos Misioneros, y un Barco, y pro-
 vehido la Nao de todo lo necesario de bastimentos, y
 agua para el resto del viage, se dieron ala vela de-
 jandonos muy consolados, y agradecidos por el grande
 bien que se hace à esta Christianidad, dando fondo la
 Nao en el Puerto, pues en seis horas se hizo todo

el despacho de la Misión, y los de la Nao quisie-
ron por su gusto, y recreo detenerse día, y medio mas. 331
Para que se vea claramente, que el dar fondo no es
causa de que se detengan las Naoes en Marianas,
sino de que se despachen mas presto; y que la deten-
cion si la hay no la causa la Misión sino el andar-
barloventando, con daño irreparable de la Christiani-
dad, ò el querer recrearse y proveerse de lo que necesi-
tan los Pasajeros.

Habiendo pasado la Nao à Manila, se tratò
de poner en execucion dos cosas muy esenciales: la ma-
yor, la conclusion, y perfeccion de la Fortaleza, que se
habia empezado, de maderas; y la segunda, la con-
quista, y sujecion de la Isla de Seispàn, de que de-
pende la Reduccion de las demas. Para la prime-
ra, se hizo el empeño posible, aunque al mesor tiempo
saltò la madera, que se le queria, con que fue forzoso
empezar la obra de nuevo, con doblado trabajo de
piedra y lodo, si bien por su firmeza, y duracion bi-
en empleado; y como ya era empeño del Goberna-
dor y Capitan General esta obra, se diò tanto calor,
y prisa à ella, que falta solo uno de los quatro

Bahamates, que tiene para acabarse, estando los de^{132.}
 más, y sus cortinas acabados, terreplenos y calafe-
 teados; y muy en breve se dará fin, y perfeccion à toda
 la obra.

(Daba prisa à la conquista de Scypan, la
 obstinacion de aquellos Isleños, que no consentian de
 haber intentado el año antecedente la muerte del su-
 perior de la Misión, y de toda la escolta que lleba-
 ba; este año hicieron prisioneros à mas de sesenta
 christianos de esta Isla de San Juan los quales vio-
 lentamente fueron detenidos y obligados à que no
 volbiesen a sus casas, pretendiendo que se revelasen,
 è hiciesen desuando contra los Españoles, y todas
 sus Amigos, y Aliados, para lo qual les ofrecian tie-
 rras, y todo buen trato en su Isla. Por otra parte la
 necesidad extrema de tantas almas de aquella cordi-
 llera, y el rescato de los prisioneros estimulaban à
 los Ministros Evangelicos para arrojar se à los peli-
 gros aun sin escolta, por que no pereciesen sin el
 remedio de su salvacion.

Todo lo qual hallò igual correspondencia, y
 consonancia en la piedad y zelo catolico de el^o

333
Maestre de Campo Don Antonio Sarabia, que
mandò aprestar los Barcos con que se hallaba la
Mision disponiendose el mismo ala jornada, sin
querer faltarle de otro. A veinte y tres de Octubre del
año pasado de Mil seiscientos ochenta y dos se em-
barcò con sesenta Soldados, y dos Sacerdotes con deter-
minacion de dexar enarbolado en Scypan el Estan-
darte de la fè, allanadas todas las dificultades, que lo
pudiesen impedir dexando en dicha Isla un modera-
do Presidio para Viguardo de los Ministros Evan-
gelicos, y sujecion de los Barbaros. Mas fue nu-
estro Señor servido de que craseasen los vienos, y
poco a poco se volvieron contrarios, de suerte que ha-
biendo estado batallando dos dias contra los vienos,
y los Mares, por ultimo las embarcaciones debiles se
lindieron a la fuerza superior del Temporal, y se vie-
ron obligados à coger tierra viendo que era imposible
hacer viaje.

No desistió de la empresa el valeroso Goberna-
dor antes con mayor empeño se disponia para ella qu-
ando con un nuevo accidente de enfermedad que le
sobrevino se diferio por algunos dias, en los quales el

corrieron tan furiosos, y horribles uracanes, y tempestad
 que parecia, que todo el Infierno se oponia à la empre-
 sa Pero sossegado el tiempo y viendo el Gobernador
 Don Antonio Sarabia que su achague no le permiti-
 tia el acometerla personalmente, señalò dos de sus Ca-
 pitanes con cincuenta Arcabuceros, que fueren en
 su nombre à Seypan. Embarcaronse todos con dos
 Sacerdotes, à veinte y uno de Noviembre, y llegaron
 felizmente ala Ysla de Rota; y à veinte y ocho del
 mismo mes se volvieron à embarcar para pasar à
 Seypan, y el mismo dia se levantaron vientos contra-
 rios que les obligò à arribar à Rota. Volvieron terce-
 ra vez à embarcarse à nueve de Diciembre de ochon-
 ta, y dos, y habiendo navegado todo aquel dia con escaso
 viento, las muchas corrientes fueron llevando la embar-
 cacion tan lexos de tierra que estubieron à pique de
 perderse, y volviendo à soplar el Norte contrario les hi-
 zo arribar a Rota donde les tubo encartelados hasta
 fines de Diciembre sin ser posible proseguir el inten-
 to. Porque los vientos se establecieron de suerte que
 quatro meses continuos no cesaron à ser contrarios.
 Volviendo Dies lugar por suitos suitos à quel

se lograrse tan santa pretension, y gloriosa empresa
en la reduccion de aquellas almas.

335

Y así para no perderlo todo convinieron su ser-
vir los Ministros Evangelicos en la formacion de
otra nueva Residencia, è Yglesia que se establecio en la
Ysla de Rota dedicada al Apostol de las Indias
San Francisco Xavier, y se erigió en el Pueblo de Fon-
sín: y así aquella Ysla está ya reducida à dos par-
tidas, con dos Yglesias, cuyos Patronos son los dos
Franciscos Xavier, y Borja, y cada Partido consta
de tres Pueblos grandes, à que se han reducido los mo-
radores de toda la Ysla, los quales se señalan mucho en
el fervor de aprender la doctrina Christiana en la obe-
diencia, y rendimiento, así á los Ministros de Justicia,
como á sus Parrocos, y así todas deseadas ya sus Virts
gentilicas; son casados in facie Ecclesie, y la juventud
muy bien instruida, y doctrinada.

No se estaba ociosa la Milicia de Rota en
este tiempo, por que teniendo noticia de que el año de
de este siglo de dos. Vnos Capitanes, y Almirantes
que salieron de Filipinas para Nueva España, la
Armada San Antonio, se habia perdido en aguas

Ysla arrojada de una tempestad, y que se descubri-
 en algunas piezas de Artilleria que se pudiesen
 sacar aunque con trabajo y que ya se habia sacado
 otra que llevo à Manila el Gobernador Don Juan
 de Vargas Hurtado; trataron de sacar la dicha Ar-
 tilleria, aunque no sacaron mas de una pieza, que
 estaba en moderado fondo, por que las otras, ò ya
 por estar mas en lo profundo, ò por que con los muchos
 años las cubrieron los arrecifes (como ya tenian abra-
 zada, y medio cubierta à esta) no serieron, ni se ha-
 llò rastro de ellas.

Viendo pues, que la constancia de los Nortes
 les tenia cerradas las esperanzas de pasar à Sey-
 pan, dexando en tan buen estado la Christiani-
 dad de Rota, se volvieron à esta Ysla de San
 Juan, trayendo consigo la pieza para colocarla
 en la nueva fortaleza, la qual dió ocasion para
 mejorar de Sitio à todo el Presidio, que antes estã-
 ba enre la Mar y un Rio con estrechura, expu-
 esto à inundaciones y otros accidentes penceos. Los
 Ministros Evangelicos que aun seiduan en la casa
 primitiva de la Misión con demasiada estrechez

è incomodidades, pasaran asimismo à mejor sitio, y 37
Casa de bastante comodidad, para sus sumas, y Mi-
nistérios.

Y para establecer de vna vez esta Republica,
y dar perfecto asiento, y raíces à esta Christianidad,
pretende el Gobernador, y Capitan General Don
Antonio Sarabia imitar aquel celebre Gobernador
de Filipinas Gomez Perez das Marinas, relevando
à los Soldados que tienen familia (y casados ya con
las Naturales se han hecho Pobladores de esta Is-
la) de las cargas de la Milicia, y otros trabajos, qua-
les son hacer guardias, rondas, centinelas, y otras fae-
nas militares, para que dedicadas al beneficio, y culti-
vo de la tierra, que se les señalare, y à otros empleos,
formen una cabal Republica, que conste de todas
sus partes, y Ministros de Justicia, dejando el compe-
tente numero de Soldados solteros, los quales residen
ya dentro de la fábrica, y los casados forman un
Pueblo muy bueno, que cada dia se va aumentando
con nuevos edificios.

Al presente todo el empeño es en pasar ade-
lante à la Reduccion de las demàs Islas en especial

la de Syppàn, por que demás de ser mucha gente, y
~~destinado~~ para la conversion de las demas, y por esto de
 mayor importancia su Reduccion, en ella se hallan mu-
 chas piezas de Artilleria de Bronce de la Nao Concep-
 cion, que se perdió en aquella Ysla habiendola derrota-
 do, y dexado sin Timón vna gran tempestad; la qu-
 al Artilleria se puede sacar fácilmente, y traer à esta
 Ysla, ò adonde fuere de mayor servicio de Su Mage-
 stad: para la execucion de esta empresa no se aguar-
 da mas, que al tiempo, y vientos favorables, que los
 habrá por el mes de Julio, y Agosto, por que mas en-
 trado el tiempo peligra la empresa por la variedad, y
 inconstancia, y contrariedad de los vientos, que soplan
 desde mediado Octubre y hasito causa de no conseguir-
 se este año pasado. Quien su Magestad favorecernos
 y ayudarnos, como hemos menester, y son nuestros dese-
 os de dilatar su gloria, y aumentar su fè santissima
 en estas gentes Barbaras. Añoñà y Mayo ocho de
 mil seiscientos ochenta y tres= Manuel de Solorza
 no.

Translation.

Governor Don Manuel de León came, with a great eagerness to learn about the Fathers, and what they had done to propagate our Holy Faith in these Islands, on the feast day of St. Anthony, June 13th 1668 [error for 1669], at daybreak they discovered the Island of Guaxan toward which the ship was headed. The next day, Friday 14th, at about 2 p.m. the galleon anchored on the west side in a large bay where years before the Dutch had been with fourteen ships, but, not being able to find here any sign of the Fathers, although the Indians named them all, and they were pointing toward the northern part, giving us to understand that they were there, agiven that no-one on board understood them, we all remained with the same confused as before. The galleon weighed anchor and went on following the coast of the Island until we found ourselves on the northwest side, where there opened up a wide bay where we stayed for a great part of the day, almost in calm waters, with a singular anxiety because we found no sign of the Fathers. After we had almost sailed around the island, at about 5 p.m., three Indian chiefs came over with a letter from Father Diego Luis de San Vitores addressed to the Commander, and General of the galleon. One cannot explain the pleasure that this letter brought to all on board the galleon, and particularly to said Governor for having found such a clear sign of what he so clearly sought. His Lordship ordered Father Luis de Pimentel, Religious of the Society to answer said Father Diego Luis de San Vitores on his behalf, and at the same time he ordered the galleon to turn towards the south, because the wind was contrary to enter the bay where the town was located in which Father San Vitores resided. On the following day, Saturday, in the morning, there came to the galleon Fathers San Vitores and Luis de Morales, the joy being perfect. During the whole night, the wind having been scarce, the galleon had headed to the bay where she had anchored before. On Sunday morning the wind blew from behind but it lasted only as long as was necessary to anchor in an anchorage hardly big enough in sight of two rivers, and of a town.¹ Here the Fathers received the succor that Father Luis Pimentel brought them from Mexico, and what his lordship the Governor with singular piety and liberality gave them in alms, which were a quantity of clothes, biscuit, and other things; other persons contributed what they could, but the man who outdid them all was the Chief Pilot, Leandro Coello. Said Governor made much fuss over the Fathers and he showed them much affection; however, given the discord that had been sown by a Sangle, which I will explain later, the Governor tried to have him arrested; for this purpose he sent an Adjutant and some soldiers, but his bad conscience had already made him go into hiding. For the good progress of the faith in these Islands, the arrival of the galleon was of great importance, and much more so with the visit of such a zealous Governor, because, if he had not stopped even for one instant, although the Pilot tried his best at all times; the Governor left six soldiers with a few firearms to keep company to the Fathers.

¹ Ed. note: This was Umatze Bay.

Narrative of the Mariana Islands.

Fathers Luis de San Victores, Luis de Morales, Pedro Casanova, Luis de Medina, Thomas de Caardeñoso, and Brother Lorenzo Bustillo arrived at these Islands in 1668, on June 16th, as has been written before. Last year they vixed their residence on the north side of the Island of Guajan in a town named Hapayma [HagatNa] which is one of the larger ones in the islands, where there are 180 towns, many of them with 100 residents.¹ Later on, the Fathers began to catechize and baptize without any disturbance, until the Devil intervened in the person of a Chinese Sangley who has been residing in these islands for the last 18 years; he, and some others, were pushed to them by a storm aboard a Champan belonging to the King [of China], as it was on the way between Manila to Ternate. Being a Master Idol Worshipper, he began spreading the rumor that all those who were baptized would die later; that the Fathers were people of little repute among the Spaniards and as such had been exiled in that Island. This inflammatory rumor was discovered when a Father visited the town where he resided, and although the rumor was not abated completely that time, it was somewhat lessened in the spirit of these Indians. In said town he found an old man aged seventy, who was baptized, and he became the first one in that rebel town to receive baptism. However, among the surround towns, though touched by the Sangley's deception, there were baptized many infants, and a few adults, who were sick; every town wished to have the Fathers, but they were taken care of as best as possible. After having baptized 800 persons in this Island of Guajan, Father Luis de San Victores remained in it, as superior of the Mission; he sent forth the four Fathers and Brother Lorenzo Bustillo, once they had learned the language well, to make visits to the other islands, as far north as 20 degrees, from 13 degrees and one-third, which is the latitude of Guajan, and in this area there are located 19 [sic] islands from north to south. They have been well received in all of them and so many have received baptism that their number reaches 13,570; there are over 20,000 catechumens, and there were 200 children who have died with the grace of baptism.

During the whole of this month of June 1669, Fathers Luis de Morales and Thomas de Cardenoso will leave this island of Guajan where they are now, to go north, with the intention of making forays, and to visit one by one all the islands known to Spaniards, since all the Indians in them belong to a single nation, with the same language and customs, and it cannot be doubted that their success will be the same as in the others. The language of the natives is very easy, according to the Fathers, and even more so to those who understand the language of the Visayas and the Tagalog of Manila, as this language has many dialects. A proof of this is the fact that, in the space of just one year, Father Luis de Morales, who is ignorant of the [other] languages of these parts, has composed a Grammar and Vocabulary of it, and although he has been constantly on the move, visiting all the islands.

1 Ed. note: This is important: The first estimate of the population of the Marians was therefore approximately 18,000 people (see below).

The islands do not have any wild animals, except cats and a few dogs which, it is believed, have been left by the Spanish. There is an abundance of coconut trees, fruit trees, and roots that they used for bread. The trees [rather islands] are not high, except those with volcanoes; They are fit for the cultivation of rice, though the Indians sow little of it today. The largest of these Islands are Guajan or San Juan, which would be about 35 leagues in circumference, and, in 19 degrees, the Island of Agrigan which is 50 [sic] leagues in circumference, more fertile, and like the others, all have an abundance of springs, rivers, and fish. Guajan, or San Juan, where the Superior of the Mission lives, is made up entirely of red earth, like Almagre, and the Indians used it for polishing their boats to a good shine, after mixing it with lime and adding coconut oil. These boats, though small, are quite a sight and they are light craft. Most of the houses are clean, and the most curious that have been seen so far among Indians; the wood structure are made of coconut trees, and the roofs covered with palm leaves. The walls are made of mats that are curiously woven, and the doors as well, and the whole forms a sort of dome. This house is only for sleeping; they have three other types: the first one, at the entrance of the others, is a large roof or shed where they keep their boats and build things with their hands; after that, they have another building used as a kitchen; then they have another, larger one, and all of these houses are raised from the ground upon some big stones where they keep their seeds and furniture, so that these four types of houses form a very ample and comfortable area.

So far no-one has found any currency in these Islands; what has value is iron, and tortoise-shells; the man owning such things is more powerful.

Among these Indians there are Nobles and Plebeians; the leading men retain from father to son the names of their ancestors, as in Europe. Some people say that such customs come from Japan, because similar custom cannot be found in Asia except in Japan. This upper class is so proud in spite of their nakedness that at first they meddled with the Fathers and did not want them to baptize the Plebeians, as it seemed to them that only they were worthy of baptism. These Indians have never had other weapons than spears made of men's leg bones, which never leave their hands. They do not use shields nor bows or arrows, nor any defensive weapon except a few *Cacanas* [sic]¹ and they are so destitute of any knowledge that they did not know that there existed fire in the world until they saw Spaniards light fires in the year 1638 when the **Concepción** was lost.²

As far as their moral customs are concerned (if only those of many Christians were similar!) are such that they never knew anything about idol worship until they saw the Chinese man do it in San Juan. They have a few superstitions regarding the souls of their ancestors, about whom they keep some type of images, and from this they deduce that the soul does not know death, though the body does. They have the custom of di-

1 Ed. note: Misprint for *macanas*, or war clubs.

2 Ed. note: Others say, also erroneously, that the Chamorros first experienced fire when Magellan had some of the houses burned, in 1521.

vorcing their women, but not without a punishment, because the divorcing men lose their whole property and the divorced woman keep all of the children. Adultery is punishable with death, which the affected husband may give to the adulterous man, which many of them indeed do, but the adulterous woman is not punished at all. It is not permitted for them to have more than one wife. It is [not] customary among them to marry relatives; rather it is prohibited.¹ Drunkenness is such a foreign concept that they do not even have a word for it. Although they bear the name of Ladrones [i.e. Thieves], theft is so uncommon among them that they leave the doors of all the houses open but it is evident that they like to play amusing tricks; and on account of the clever and friendly tricks they use when trading iron with the Spanish, they are called Ladrones.

They do not have a chief or superior whom they obey. They have small wars, one town with another, but, once one man is wounded, or killed, the war is over. They get angry easily, but are easily appeased.

It can be well seen from these customs that they can be reduced to the faith: they do not have many wives, nor tyrannies, or drunkennesses. What is annoying among them is their nakedness; the men go around with even their nature showing; however, the women, in whom this passion is greatest, hide theirs with a few tree leaves.

What happened to the Fathers in said Islands.

The chief who admitted the Fathers and gave a site for the Residence was rewarded by God for this welcome with the grace of baptism and a few days later he became the first in those Islands to be buried in a consecrated Church. The name that he received upon being baptized was Don Juan Kipuha. The Sangley Choco, previously mentioned, had introduced some idol-worshipping practices among these poor Indians, otherwise so free of them. However, where he had spread his discord the most was in the other islands away from his own in San Juan. This was the cause of what happened to Father Luis de Morales on the 14th of August 1668 while he was in the Island of Saipan, which the Spanish call Bucna Vista.² He was baptizing some children when one Indian, affected by the poison of the Sangley, threw him a spear which hit him in the calf of the right leg, but not dangerously. On account of this same hate, the chief of the Sangley gave a perfidious death to one Spaniard and one of his servants, a Tagalog who was in the company of the Fathers during the crossing from Buenavista and Zarpana [Rota].

At the beginning the Fathers were received with a great joy and welcome in all the towns of these Islands but later on, after the rumors spread by the Sangley reached them, they were thrown out with disdain, and were denied, not only the usual hospitality but also the food which they ordinarily make these Indians so hospitable to strangers. However, among all these disdains, the worst one for the Fathers to bear was the number of dying and sick children whom they were hiding from them, and even more

1 Ed. note: The original is also ambiguous; the first part of the sentence should be negative.

2 Ed. note: The island called Buenavista was Tinian, not Saipan.

from holy baptism. Notwithstanding this mistrust, there were some fathers and mothers who delivered their children to the water of baptism, and there were some children who fled from the place where their parents had hidden them and came forward to their spiritual fathers to receive baptism.

The town of Sogua in the Island of San Carlos,¹ much affected by the doctrine of this Sangley, were listening to an explanation of the Ten Commandments given by Brother Lorenzo Bustillo; they all proclaimed in one voice, saying: "These are the Fathers whom they want us to kill, who are only teaching us, not only to live well in our Islands! What can they be looking for, if not our souls, where neither the iron nor the clothes that are so abundant in their own lands! What interest would they have in killing us with baptism?" And so all the adults and children of this town received baptism, and the same in the town of Turisar%GEd. note: Misprint for Talisay, Orote Peninsula, I think. in the Island of San Juan, upon hearing the explanations of the Ten Commandments from said Brother Lorenzo Bustillo.

The Lord has not forgotten to work out a few marvels with these poor ones, because when he was in the Island of Zarpana, or Santa Ana, Francisco Nufa, a native of that island, almost died twice and both times was cured by the application of a medal of the holy Apostles of the Indies.² In the same island and town of Usuna, residence of St. Xavier, a child of three months of age was cured under singular circumstances by the intercession of the Most Holy Virgin and of our holy Fathers St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, because this child was found to have been as stiff as a stick for six hours, and had even been anointed with coconut oil, which is the manner of embalming which they use in these islands, he resuscitated of the following manner: A Father took him in his arms and shedding affectionate tears, and on account of the day being his day³ and a Saturday, the life of that child, and that of St. Francisco Xavier, and he offered to give him his name, because that day was also the eve of the feast day of that saint, and exceedingly he tried three times to recite his prayer over the body of the deceased, but he could never say it properly, except to say the first half of that of St. Ignatius and the second part of that of St. Francis Xavier: *Deus qui ad maiorem nominis tui gloriam propagandam novo per Beatum Ygnatium subsidio militantem Æclesiam roborasti concede*: and he ended thus: *ut cujus gloriosa merita veneramur, virtutum quoque imitemur exempla*. After said the prayer three times in this manner, the child resuscitated, and received the water of holy baptism and within ten days of his new life it flew to eternity. There was another circumstance that occurred in that house, because, although the Fathers had baptized, persuaded that baptism took the life of the children, this child had been hidden and then was brought in when dead. In this way these Barbarians became convinced that baptism does not kill but gives life.

1 Ed. note: San Carlos corresponds to Sarigan Island, but we know that this incident occurred at Tinian (see HM4:510).

2 Ed. note: St. Ignatius and St. Francisco Xavier.

3 Ed. note: This was December 2nd, 1668.

In the town of Nisan in the Island of San Juan, the most infected with the errors of the Sangley, one of our Faather was thrown out rudely from that town and received two wounds on the head and, after he had prayed fervently the whole Octave of St. Francis Xavier for the health of its residents, on December 10th, the last day of the Octave, having said Mass of the Saint for the spiritual health of the Indians, he departed with an intrepid spirit and found the natives so changed that they all received our Holy Faith, and were baptized on the eight day of the Conception. What can be held as a major marvel is that, when Choco the Sangley was triumphing over the Fathers with the dead of the two companions, and the lance throw that they gave to Luis de Morales, he came to publicly confess his errors and disown himself from the evil seeds that he had sown in the hearts of the Indians, and furthermore to ask for holy baptism in which he received the name of Ignacio, because of his wish to bring the Gospel Doctrine to the Chinese also. The fruit that we found from Holy Baptism is the peace and concord that some towns have made with other towns, when they were at odds before. Today peace and commerce—so important for the continuation of our ministries—are universal among all these Islands, and

In Tarrefago [Taraifac] a town of the Island of San Juan, a woman lost his ability to talk for fifty days, which made her unable to receive holy baptism; before her sickness she had refused baptism, persuaded as she was by the rumors of Choco, but, by the application of a relic of our Father St. Francis Xavier and saying the act of contrition, she recovered and repeated the words of said act that the Faather was saying. She asked for Holy Baptism which she received after some instructions, and then she lost her voice again.

In the town of Picpug in the same Island, already bearing the name of Triumph of the Cross, for having been reduced on the day of this feast, July 16th, and with a special triumph of the Holy Cross as the Father had burned a quantity of idol statues that Choco the Sangley had introduced.¹

The Father found a deaf woman, over 100 years old,² to whom his relatives had hidden during the first visits, and by applying to her a relic of the Lignum Crucis,³ and by reciting the prayer of St. Joseph, whose feast-day it was,⁴ she showed signs of being able to hear, so that she was able to respond to the required instruction of the Holy Baptism which she received with not a little admiration of her family, and of those who heard about the case.

In Tubán [Tumhon], a town of the Island of Zarpana, MSFed. note: Rather SAYpan (see HM4:515). the Father threw out a Demon from the body of a woman. By the resistance that the residents of that town made toward the Holy Gospel, it became clear

1 Ed. note: We may presume that the so-called idols were statuettes of Buddha, and that Choco had been a Buddhist.

2 Ed. note: Though old, this woman could not have been 100 years old, as the natives' life expectancy was then well under 60.

3 Ed. note: Supposedly a sliver from the true cross.

4 Ed. note: Therefore, it was on 19 March 1669.

how much the common Enemy possessed them in body and soul. The Demon left the body of that woman at the touch of the relics of our glorious Faather St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, and prayers address to the glorious St. Joseph, the patron saint of all of these Islands.

In Opían, a town in the same Island, holy baptism restored perfect health to a paralytic woman, who was suffering from a burning fever, an event that decreased the voice of the Idolater Choco. With a similar event God confirmed the efficacy of the holy baptism in a town named Sumalarayco [Zummarago] in the island of Agrigan; they brought to the Father a girl whom he thought was not yet completely dead; in doubt as to whether or not he could administer baptism he administered it *sub conditione* and, in case she was alive, he promised to name her after St. Ignatius whose relic he applied to her; finally he saw the girl move and give signs of life, and she remained alive until the next morning when she exchanged life for eternity. After he had re-baptized her this time in case she had been dead the first time.

In Opcco [Oprao] in the same Island there was a woman who had been suffering the terrible pains of childbirth for one day and a half, and when a few phrases from a the Letters and an illustration of the same SAint were applied to her, she gave birth without difficulty to a baby girl to whom, as a sign of thnaks for the benefit, the mother asked that she be given the name of Ignacia during baptism.

And, given the haste with which this narrative is being written, other cases are omitted, trusting in Divine Mercy, and with the happy beginning that this new Christian community has had, its progress can only be greater, much to the honor and glory of God, and the salvation of so many souls of those Gentiles who are being discovered every day, who ask for Holy Baptism. For a greater sucess we hope for the succor of a larger number of Workers to gather the expanding evangelical harvest.

Brief narrative of the more noteworthy events, in the increase of the Mission and Christian community of the Marianas from June 1682 to the end of May 1683.

...
[Already translated as Doc. 1683I2 in IIM8:22-26].

Document 1684Q

Two more officers for the Marianas

Source: AGN AHH 1244, fol. 359.

Letter from Governor Vargas, dated Manila 27 June 1684**Original text in Spanish.**

Estando para despacharse un vaje! a las Islas Marianas el año de 83 suplio la caja destas Islas para el socorro de la gente de su presidio y salarios de dos oficiales mas de dos mil ocho cientos pesos cui! liquidación constara por certificación de los oficiales Reales destas Islas los quales se deven reintegrar y satisfacer de la porción que se hubiere de remitir de essa caja a dhas Islas así se lo suplico en esta ocaçion al Señor Virrey y a V.Mrds. estimase mucho hagan separar la dha cantidad y que se incorpore al situado de estas Islas que sea de remitir el año de 85.

Guarde Dios a V.Mrds. muchos años.

Manila y Junio 27 de 1684.

Servidor de V.Mrds.

Juan de Vargas y Urtado.

[A los] Señores Oficiales Reales de la Real Hazienda y Caja de la Ciudad de Mexico.

Translation.

As a boat was about to be despatched to the Mariana Islandz in the year of 1683, the treasury of these Islands earmarked a succor of 2,800 pesos for the the men of the garrison and salaries of two more officers, whose liquidation is to be recorded with certification by the royal officials of these Islands, said sum is to be paid back to satisfy the portion that might be remitted from that treasury to said Islands. Thus I beg on this occasion His Lordship the Viceroy and Your Graces to be pleased to set asides said sum and that it be incorporated in the subsidy of these Islands that will be remitted in the year 1685.

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Manila, 27 June 1684.

Your Graces' servant,

Juan de Vargas y Hurtado.
[To the] Gentlemen Royal Officials of the Royal Treasury and Paying Office in the
City of Mexico.

Documents S1696S

Salaries for the Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Marianas (cont'd)

Source: AGI Ultramar 561—"Colección de la Secretaría de Nueva España: Legajo de cartas del Virrey de Nueva España en asuntos de Filipinas: años de 1698 á 1721."

Note: To comply with the royal decree dated 30 March 1686 (Doc. 1686B2), the Viceroy of New Spain asked the opinion of the Governor of the Philippines only 9 years later, on 17 March 1695.

S1. Report of Governor Cruzat to the Viceroy, dated Manila 9 May 1696

Original text in Spanish.

D. Fausto de Cruzat y Gongora, Cavallero del orden de Santiago del Consejo de Su Magestad su Gobernador y Capitan General de estas Yslas Filipnas, Presidente de la Audiencia, y Chancilleria Real que en ella reside, &c.

En cumplimiento del Ruego y encargo antecedente despachado en virtud de la Real Cedula en el inserta por el Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Galve... para que informe el sueldo que se podrá señalar al Gobernador y Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas:

Digo que habiendome enterado del que gozó el Maestre de Campo Don Antonio de Saravia por señalamiento de su Magestad (que Dios guarde) segun el Real Titulo que se lo despachó de Gobernador que fué de las dichas Yslas su fecha en Madrid á veinte y seis de Agosto de mil seiscientos y setenta y nueve; y premeditado juntamente el que será proporcionado á dichos empleos segun su exercicio y gastos, y el estado en que al presente se hallan las dichas Yslas Marianas asi en lo espiritual como en lo temporal; me ha parecido y soy de sentir que en cuanto al Gobernador será correspondiente el mismo sueldo que su Magestad señaló al dicho Maestro de Campo D. Antonio de Saravia, que son ciento diez escudos, de á diez reales de plata al mes, que á el año importan un mil, seiscientos y cincuenta pesos; y por lo que mira al Sargento Mayor se le podran señalar, cincuenta y cinco escudos de á diez reales de plata al mes que es la mitad de lo del Gobernador, sin que se me ofrezca otra cosa que informar en el particular en el cual provehera dicho Excelentísimo Señor Virrey lo que pareciere del mayor servicio de su Magestad.

Dado en la Ciudad de Manila, á nueve de Mayo de mil seiscientos noventa y seis años.

D. Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Por mandado de su Señoría, Don Juan Lorenzo de Sotomayor.

Translation.

Don Fausto de Cruzat y Gongora, Knight of the Order of St. James, member of the Council of His Majesty, his Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands, President of the Royal Audiencia and Chncellery established therein, etc.

To comply with the predecing official Request despatched by virtue of the Royal Decree enclosed by His Excellency the Count of Galve... and asking me for a report about the salary that could be earmarked for the Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands.

I declare that, having found out what salary was enjoyed by the Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia by decision of His Majesty (God save him) in accordance with the Royal Commission that was issued when he was Governor of said Islands dated Madrid 26 August 1679,¹ and, after having considered also the man who owill be assigned to said functions, his exercise and the expenses, and the condition in which said Mariana Islands are to be found at present, both in the spiritual and temporal sense, it has appeared to me and it is my opinion that, as far as the Governor is concerned, he should get the same salary that His Majesty earmarked for said Master-of-camp Don Antonio de Saravia, which is 110 escudos of 10 reales of silver, per month, that is 1,650 pesos per year. And, as far as the Sergeant-Major is concerned, he could be allotted 55 escudos of silver per month which is half of the Governor's salary, and I have nothing more to report about this subject, other than to say that His Excellency the Viceroy may approve what he thinks more suitable for the service of His Majesty.

Given at the city of Manila, on 9 May 1696.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

By order of His Lordship, Don Juan Lorenzo de Sotomayor.

S2. Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 12 April 1698

Original text in Spanish.

El Virrey de Nueva España.

Señor.

Da cuenta á V.M. de que en cumplimiento de la Cedula de 30 de Marzo de 696 [sic] y con informe del Gobernador de Filipinas, ha señalado de sueldo á el de las Marianas 110 escudos de diez reales de plata al mes, y al Sargento Mayor 55 gozando este los propietarios, y los interinos la mitad, conforme á las ordenes de V.M.

En Cedula de 30 de Marzo del año pasado de seiscientos y noventa [sic] y seis, se

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1679K4.

sirve V.M. mandar que al Gobernador y Sargento Mayor de la Yslas Marianas se les señale el sueldo que se juzgare preciso, y mas ajustado á proporcion de estos empleos, precediendo informe del Gobernador de Filipinas; y habiendole hecho en Carta de nueve de Mayo del año de seiscientos y noventa y seis[,] con su vista se resolvió en Junta general que al Gobernador se le asista con 110 escudos de á diez reales de plata al mes, que es el que gozó D. Antonio Saravia con título de V.M. en veinte y seis de Agosto del año de seiscientos setenta y nueve, y al Sargento Mayor con cincuenta y cinco escudos de á diez reales de plata, que es la mitad del que está asignado al Gobernador; y que en esta forma se acuda á los propietarios en los efectos destinados á esta paga y á los interinos con la mitad en conformidad de las ordenes de V.M. como consta del Testimonio de autos adjunto; que en su vista mandará V.M. lo que fuere de su Real Servicio.

Dios guarde la C.R.P. de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Mexico 12 Abril de 1698.

D. José Sarmiento.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain.

Sire:

He reports to Y.M. that, in compliance with the Decree of 30 March 1696 [sic] and enclosing a report from the Governor of the Philippines, he has earmarked as the salary of the Governor of the Mariana 110 silver escudos of 10 reals per month, and for the Sergeant Major 55, those sums to be given to those with official appointments; as for those serving on an interim basis half of the above, in accordance with the orders of Y.M.

In the Decree of 30 March 1696 [sic], Y.M. was pleased to order that the Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands be paid the salary that might be judged adequate, and more in line with those functions, and first asking the Governor of the Philippines for a report, and this he did according in his Letter dated 9 May 1696. This having been seen in the general Meeting, it was decided that the Governor be allotted 110 silver escudos of 10 reals per month, which is what was enjoyed by Don Antonio Saravia who held Y.M.'s official commission dated 26 August 1679, and the Sergeant-Major allotted 55 silver escudos of 10 reals, which corresponds to the present salary allotted to the Governor, and this arrangement should be earmarked for those officially named to such posts in their pay cards, but those holding the position on an interim basis be allotted should get half in accordance with Y.M.'s orders as appeared in the enclosed declarations, but Y.M. should be pleased to grant what may be of your Royal service.

May God save the Royal Catholic Person of Y.M. for the good of Christianity.

Mexico, 12 April 1698.

Don José Sarmiento.¹

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1704G for the King's approval.

Document S1696T

Appointment of José Madrazo as the new Governor of the Marianas

Source: AGI Ultramar 561.

Letter from Governor Cruzat to the Viceroy, dated Manila 16 June 1696

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

El año proximo pasado de mil seiscientos y noventa y cinco, recibí una de V.E. de diez y siete de Marzo...

Al mismo tiempo que recibí la referida de V.E. tube la noticia de haber muerto D. Damian de Esplana Gobernador de dichas Yslas Marianas, mediante lo cual cumpliendo con lo que S.M. tiene dispuesto he nombrado en su lugar al General D. José Madrazo, quien se embarcó á ir á ejercer el puesto en un Patache que pocos días ha salió despachado para ellas, de las cuales no tengo otra novedad que participar á V.E. á quien suplico me de todos los empleos que fueren de su agrado que ejecutaré con ciega obediencia.

Nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. los muchos y felices años que deseo.

Manila y Junio diez y seis, de mil seiscientos noventa y seis.

Exmo. Señor.

B.L.M. de V.E. su mas rendido servidor,

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Translation.

Your Excellency:

Last year 1695, I received a letter from Y.E. dated 17 March...

At the same time as I received said letter I also received notice of the death of Don Damian de Esplana, Governor of said Mariana Islands, and for this reason and in accordance with the regulations of H. M. I have appointed in his place General Don José Madrazo, who boarded a Patache that a few days ago left for said Islands, to go and

fill that post. I have no other news to give to Y.E. to whom I beg to be given any tasks that may be of your pleasure, which I stand ready to carry out with blind obedience.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many happy years as is my wish.

Manila, 26 June 1696.

Your Excellency.

Your most faithful servant who kisses the hands of Y.E.,

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.

Document S1696U

Condition of the Marianas in 1696— 6,562 inhabitants, etc.

Source: AGI Ultramar 561 Col. de Secretaria de Nueva España, 1698-1721, folios 6-7.

Note: The original letter from Governor Madrazo, dated 10 October 1696, is missing, but it was effectively summarized by the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies, when he analyzed the proposed salaries for the Governors and Sergeant-Majors of the Marianas in 1698, as follows.

Opinion of the Fiscal, dated Madrid 29 Abril 1699**Original text in Spanish.**

El Fiscal con vista de esta Carta del Virey de la Nueva España y testimonio que la acompaña, y Carta del Gobernador de Filipinas de data 9 de Enero de noventa y seis, y de D. José Madrazo, Gobernador interino de las Marianas su Data 10 de Octubre de 1696.

*Dice que... D. José Maderazo da cuenta de haber llegado á las Marianas el dia 26 de Julio de 96. Remite el Padron de toda la gente que hay en aquellas Yslas en diez partidos ó distritos en que se comprenden los niños y todo hace el numero de **6,562 personas** y que la guarnicion de las Yslas se compone de dos Compañias de Ynfanteria española con 131 plazas, y otra Compañia de Pampangos que parece es gente de Filipinas con 53 hombres[,] que la Ciudad principal no tiene ninguna fortificacion, ni otra defensa que la de cuatro piezas de Artilleria que hallo sin curcñas, y la polvora de mala calidad. Refiere se padecio un temporal en aquella Ciudad, en que se arruinaron dos colegios que los Padres de la Compañia mantienen[,] uno de niñas y otro de muchachos, y que aunque se han buuelto á reparar, y se crían en ellos con exercicios de virtudes y enseñanza con el desvelo y aplicacion de los Religiosos[,] que son aquellos naturales muy rudos ó incapazes porque no se consiguen los frutos y efectos que correspondian á su enseñanza, concluye es miserable ó infructuosa[,] que son las Yslas descubiertas y que á la vanda del Sur, distante veinte leguas de la Ysla nombrada la Nueva Carolina, [que] descubrió la Nao de Filipinas, viniendo de la Nueva España otra Ysla que aunque es alta y montuosa, y que combienen aquellos naturales, y tienen noticia de sus mayores que hacia la vanda del Sur, hay Yslas mas pobladas y fructíferas de buenos y apacibles naturales de que carecen las islas descubiertas, que embió á pedir socorro al Gobernador de Filipinas alguna embarcacion suficiente para pasar á la vanda del Sur,*

que espera se la embie y que se consiga otro parage de una hermosa y florida Cristiandad.

Y lo que se ofrece al fiscal es que segun denota el expediente antecedente tocante á las Yslas Marianas está remitido al Señor D. Martin de Solis, y el motivo con que se le remitió, tiene entendido el fiscal fue el de considerarse la miseria y calamidad de las Yslas descubiertas, y que tiene grande imposibilidad (el que aunque la Real Hacienda gasta en ellas todos los años mas de 20,000 pesos) adelantar en ellas la Cristiandad ni aun mantenerla no se descubriendo otros parajes de mejor temperamento, para que comunicando el Señor D. Martin con el Padre Xaramillo, religioso de la Compañia, y Procurador de la Provincia de Filipinas y Marianas lo que resultaba de aquel expediente, se tomasen las medidas en lo que se pudiese hacer, y fuese mas practicable para mantener aquella Cristiandad en las Yslas descubiertas ó en otras si voluntariamente los naturales se quisiesen reducir á ellas, y teniendose presente las noticias de este expediente parece se devera juntar al antecedente para que el Señor D. Martin proponga al Consejo lo que se le ofreciere en vista de uno y otro expediente, y se tome resolucion con brevedad, y por si esta no pudiere salir en el despacho de la primera flota, sera conveniente el que participandose al Virey de Nueva España y Gobernador de Filipinas, y al proveido interin á las Marianas el recibo de estas Cartas[,] que se quedan esperando noticias si á la parte del Sur se han descubierto algunas Yslas ó parajes de mayor benignidad para la conservacion de aquellos naturales se les de á entender como la Junta aprueba por ahora el que D. José Madrazo, sirva en interin aquel Gobierno, y resolva en todo lo que fuere servido.

Madrid y Abril 29 de 1699.

Junta 12 de Mayo 699.

Luego se escribira papel al Señor Solis para que sin dilacion confiera el punto de las Yslas Marianas con el Padre Xaramillo, y responda en todo caso para el Martes de la Semana que viene, y que si no lo pudiere hacer embie los papeles; tambien se le dirá lo mismo en cuanto al expediente de las Minas del cobre de Cuba, pero que este sea para el Jueves de la Semana que entra para que la resolucion que se tomare vaya en esta flota.

Fechos ambos el mismo dia.

Translation.

The Crown Attorney, in view of this Letter from the Viceroy of New Spain¹ and the report that accompies it, and the Letter of the Governor of the Philippines dated 9 January 1696,² and that of Don José Madrazo, interim Governor of the Marianas, dated 10 October 1696.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. S1696T.

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1696A.

He says.. that Don José Madrazo reports that he has arrived at the Marianas on the 26th of July 1696. He remits the complete list of the present population of those Islands, divided into ten specific districts, including the children and the total population is **6,562 persons** and that the garrison of the Islands consists of two Companies of Spanish Infantry with 131 places, and another Company of Pampangos that seems to be men from the Philippines, 53 of them, that the main City does not have any fortification whatever, nor any other defence other than four artillery guns that he found without carriages, and the powder of bad quality. He mentions a storm that hit that City and destroyed two colleges that the Fathers of the Society maintain there, one for girls and the other for boys, and that, although they have been rebuilt, and that the children are being raised therein with exercises of virtues and the best teaching that the Religious can give, those natives are so very rude and incapable, because they do not correspond to the expectations of their teaching, he concludes that it is miserable or fruitless, and that is in the discovered islands, but that towards the South, at a distance of 20 leagues from the Island named New Carolina, [which] the galleon discovered when coming from New Spain,¹ there is another island that, though high and mountainous, may contain suitable natives, and there may be larger islands towards the South, islands thought to more populated and fruitful with good and peaceful natives which the discovered islands lack, that he has sent to the Governor of the Philippines for some boat of a sufficient size to go south, that he hopes that he will get it and that another field will be found or a beautiful and flourishing Christian community.

And what the Crown Attorney thinks about the above-mentioned file regarding the Mariana Islands, was passed on to Don Martín de Solís, and the reason why it was sent to him was, in the opinion of the attorney, was in view of the misery and calamity of the discovered Islands, and the great impossibility (in spite of the Royal Treasury spending over 20,000 pesos every year in them) of christianity making progress there, not even maintaining it, and much less going on discovering other neighborhoods of better climate. Hence, Don Martín should communicate with Father Xaramillo, religious of the Society, and Procurator of the Province of the Philippines and Marianas, to discuss that expedition, in order to take the measures considered suitable, in order to maintain that Christian community in the discovered Islands or in others, if their natives voluntarily wish to be reduced. And, considering the news contained in this file, it seems that it should be attached to the previous one, in order for Don Martín to propose to the Council what he thinks, in view of either file, and to make a decision soon, and if it cannot be ready for despatch on board the next fleet, it would be convenient that the Viceroy of New Spain and the Governor of the Philippines be advised, and that the interim Governor of the Marianas be advised of the receipt of these Letters, and asking them for [further] news about the southern islands or neighborhoods and if they are more suitable for the conservation of those natives, they should say so. Furthermore,

1 Ed. note: His own discovery of Faraulep was specifically mentioned in Doc. 1696H. The high island in question was Yap, discovered 10 years earlier.

the Meeting approves for now the interim appointment of Don José Madrazo to serve in that government, and U.M. will decide whatever may best serve you.

Madrid, 29 April 1699.

Meeting of 12 May 1699.

A letter should then be written to Mr. Solís so that he may without delay confer with Faather Xaramillo concerning the Mariana Islands, and in any case he is to give an answer before Next Tuesday, but if he cannot, he should send the papers back. He should be told the same also with regards to the copper mines in Cuba, but the latter before next Thursday so that the pending decision may go out aboard the next fleet.

Don on the same date for both.¹

1 Ed. note: The Ultramar copy does not reproduce the follow-up documents.

Note S1701H

**Letter from Fr. Francisco de Borja to Fr.
Gaspar Marco, dated Cavite 1 January 1701, re
Esplana's estate**

Source: AHN Clero Jesuitas Leg 891, part 7, class 5, doc. n° 67, fol. 200v.

Note: This letter was mentioned (with wrong date) in HM10:33. For follow-up, see Doc. S1705O.

Original text in Spanish.

Es original fecha en Cavite à 1º Henero 1701.

67. Otra del Padre Francisco de Borja, y Aragon al Padre Gaspar Marco, en que le dice que haviendole escrito desde la Concepcion de Chile las hijas, y herederas del Gobernador D. Damian de Esplana, suplicandole las favorecia en orden à la recaudacion de los Bienes que pudieron quedar, por muerte del Governador su Padre D. Damian y en poder de su Albacea, D. Francisco de Atienza, y como quiera que el principal empeño para la administracion de este negocio havian sido los Padres Procuradores de las Provincias del Peru, y Chile, entregandole el poder con mas la legitimacion de dichas Señoras, y demas papeles concernientes, y siendole preciso aplicar todos los medios posibles se valia de su Reverencia para que admitiese la sostitucion que en el havia de este encargo, remitiendole todos los dichos Papeles para que hallandose tan a la vista del citado negocio, hiciese S.R. con su acostumbrada actividad todo esfuerzo a la mas breve consecucion de esta libranza por lo qual no le estaria malo a este Colegio ó à S.R.

Translation.

This is the original dated Cavite 1 January 1701.

67. Another letter from Father Francisco de Borja y Aragon to Father Gaspar Mrco, in which he tells him that the daughters and heirsesses of Governor Admian de Esplana had written him from Concepción in Chile begging him to favor them in order to collect the goods that might have remained after the death of their father, Don Damian the Govenor, and in the hands of his Executor, Don Francisco de Atienza, and given the fact that the Fathers Procurators of Peru and Chile had been involved in the administration of this business, by delivering to you the power of attorney along with from papers authorized by said Ladies and other papers regarding the case, Your Rev-

erence should necessarily take all the steps possible to have him recognize the change in responsibilities, by remitting all said Papers [to you] so that, in view of the details of this business, Y.R. might with your accustomed activity make all efforts to have the release take place as soon as possible. This effort would result in much benefit to this College or to Y.R.

...

Document S1704H

Letter from Fr. Cundari to Fr. Francisco María Piccolo, dated Merizo 9 May 1704

Source: Herbert Eugene Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, Cleveland, 1919, vol. 2, chap. 3, pp. 139-142; reprinted Berkeley, 1948.

Note: Fr. Piccolo (1654-1729), like Fr. Cundari, was born in Palermo, Sicily. He was described in the regular physical inspection upon leaving Spain, as being of "fair complexion, blond, blue-eyed, tall." He worked as a missionary in northwest New Spain, as of 1684. For more biographical data, see Harry Crosby's Antigua California, pp. 2-13.

English translated furnished by Dr. Bolton.

My Father Francisco Picolo

Pax Christi

At last, after so many years, I have had the pleasure of seeing the first letter from one of the many beloved fathers of the province of the City of Mexico, and it is your Reverence's, which I received at the passing of the China ship last year, its date October 12, 1700. *MSFed. note: Fr. Piccolo was then laboring in a mission station called San Javier. Great was my pleasure at hearing of your Reverence's good health and the rewards for your labors in that mission, which, it seems, must be a younger daughter of the Mariana missions, judging from the opposition and the difficulties which I, with my poor judgment and inexperience, met in establishing them. I greatly approve of the time which your Reverence has considered it expedient to delay the baptisms of the adults, in which respect a great mistake was made in those missions, and it caused many doubts and great confusion in removing them. At the same time, we have undeceived ourselves in other respects, having seen the inconstancy of the [Chamorro] natives, so ready to leave everything and return to the same condition, particularly when ministers are taken away from them or are lacking.*

I appreciate the news of the fathers of my acquaintance, with the remembrances of Father Salvatierra¹ and of Captain Don Juan Romero, whose memory is not forgotten here. We were all rejoiced, and we return them most tenderly. I have written your

¹ *Ed. note: Fr. Juan María de Salvatierra (1648-1717), born in Milan, Italy, had founded the first mission in California proper in 1697. He was then (1700-1704) a missionary at Loreto. He became Provincial of New Spain in 1704.*

Reverence's remembrances to Father Muscati, who for some time has been alone in the island of Rota, ministering to those islanders. After my fashion I pass the time in good health (I mean good enough for the ministry) with a touch of a disorder which our Lord has sent upon me in my old age, I may say, for I am almost fifty years old, which age I never imagined I should reach, because of gall stones.¹

Some vessels of the natives with a Spanish commander and some soldiers have probably set out at this hour from the bar at Agaña to make a cruise to the remote Islands of Gani, now depopulated, to make a clean sweep with the people, who since then have been known to have hidden or to have returned [there], and who will probably amount to some 300 souls. May our Lord prosper the journey.

Last year [1703] on Holy Thursday, after the sermon of the Passion, Father Basilio [Leroulx], minister of Umata, died, a person of great gifts, and singularly meritorious in his relations with this mission, and of great virtue. He was succeeded by Father **Antonio de Arias**, who, with two other fathers from Mexico, came in the ship for the Philippines, and Father Arias alone remained to supply his place.²

I heard from the country folk, also last year, on Corpus Christi day, that the governor having come to inspect the land of Ynarahán, a new church, erected by Father Juan Schirmeisen, of excellent timber and well made, was consumed by the fire from a small mortar which was discharged at the Gloria, and that the father barely escaped with the reliquary. The misfortune and the loss were very considerable in these parts, and especially in the present hard times, owing to the patache not having come from Manila for two years in succession, which has caused us many lacks. Captain Romero continues to enjoy learning about the country. The married soldiers now number 100, and there will be a colony of half-breeds. A house for the governor is on the point of completion, so large that in time of need it will serve as a fort and a military plaza for everybody, all of wood and *fic* [sic], which is like iron, and the roof of asbestos [sic], that it may not take fire from projectiles.³

A church and a house for the fathers are also being constructed of the same material. The cows, which are very gentle, exceed 500; there are sufficient oxen for carting, horses, she-goats, etc.; and finally, the burros have multiplied to such an extent that they are being distributed; and I have chanced upon a she-mule, with which I can visit all the eight villages which I administer within a short distance, without the old-time pain of going on foot.

In this mission there are 10 priests, distributed as follows: in the Island of Ceipan one, another in Rota, and five in as many residences of this Island of Guahan. One

1 Ed. note: He seems to have left Guam the following year, probably because of this medical problem. There is no record of when he actually died.

2 Concerning Father Antonio Arias' work in Nayarit, Mexico, at a later date, see Stöcklein's *Der neue Welt-Bott*, Theil viii, 40.- Ed. comment: This is the only reference to a Fr. Arias having arrived at Guam in 1703. He probably stayed for a very short time. Anyhow, he was serving as rector of the College of San José in Manila in 1718 (ref. B&R 47:179).

3 Ed. note: The wood in question was called "ipil" and the so-called asbestos was probably clay tiles.

looks after the college for boys and girls, and after the country district. The Father Vice-Provincial, who at present is Father Gerardo Boubens, is now more than 70 years old, but is stronger than all the rest combined. One man, as mayor, has the immediate command in each district. All are Spaniards, retired from military service, there being no other soldier. The soldiers are all in the capital, the sergeant-major occasionally going out with a few to make a turn through the villages.

I have written because I have no other occupation for all are baptized. Help us, your Reverence, to continue advancing them, with your holy sacrifices and prayers, to which I commend myself, praying our Lord to guard your Reverence for me many years.

Merizo, May 9, 1704.

Your Reverence's humble servant,
Antonio Cundari.

Document S17050

Letter from José Quiroga to Fr. Gaspar Marco, re Esplana's estate

Source: AHN Clero Jesuitas Leg. 891, part 7, class 5, doc. n° 71, fol. 201v-202.

Note: This letter was still part of the archives of the Procurator's Office in the College of San Ignacio in Manila in 1776. Its present whereabouts are unknown. See Doc. S1701H for earlier letter on this subject.

Original text in Spanish.

Es original fecha en Angat [sic] á 1° Marzo 1705.

71. Otra de D. Jossef Lozada y Guevara [sic], al Padre Gaspar Marco, en que le dice, que en quanto a lo que S.R. le insinuaba en la suya devia decirle, que el no se havia metido en nada, en punto á los Bienes del difunto D. Damian de Esplama [sic], y que en quien podia dar á V.R. mas luz de todo serian los P.P. Antonio Cundari, Thomas Cardenoso; los Capitanes Luis Sebastian, Ramos, y Andres Garcia Fernandez, y este mejor que ninguno, pues havia sido su secretario, y criado, y por cuias manos havia pasado todo que el solo havia tomado cuatro Negros, por una deuda de mas de mil pesos que con el tenia de los quales havia dado el uno al Convento de San Francisco y el otro al Hospital Real por saber, era mandado que tenia ofrecida el difunto antes de su muerte, la qual quiso cumplir, por mirar á fines, tan devotos, y que los otros dos, le servian tan de poco, que pensaba ponerlos en la Galera, y segun tenia oido, mui poco, o nada, tendrian que tomar sus hijas y muger.

...

Translation.

This is the original dated Angat [AgaSa] 1 March 1705.

71. Another letter from Don José Lozada y Guevara [sic], to Father Gaspar Marco, in which he says: that, regarding what Y.R. insinuated to him in your letter, he should have told you that he had not meddled in nothing, respecting the goods of the deceased Don Damian de Esplana, and that those who could shed more light on the case are Fathers Antonio Cundari and Thomas Cardenoso, Captains Luis Sebastián, Ramos, and Andrés García Fernández, and the latter better than anyone; indeed, he had been his secretary, and house-man, and through his hands had been transacted everything[,] that he alone had taken four Negroes, in exchange for a debt of over 1,000 pesos that he had

with him, out of whom he had given one to the Convent of San Francisco and the other to the Royal Hospital, as he knew that the deceased had wished to offer them before his death, and to comply with such a pious wish, and that the other two, were serving him so little that he thought to placing them in the Galley, and according to what he had heard, his wife and daughters would get very little, if anything.

...

Document S1706C

Salaries of governors (cont'd)

Source: AGI Ultramar 561 -- Colección de la Secretaría de Nueva España... 1638 á 1721, fol. 10.

Note: This letter was in answer to Doc. 1704G.

**Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 17
August 1706****Original text in Spanish.**

El Virey de Nueva España da cuenta á V.M. con testimonio de haber dado la orden combeniente á Oficiales Reales para la remision de los sueldos del Gobernador y Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas que V.M. se ha servido aprobar.

Señor,

Por Cedula de 10 de Julio del año pasado de 704 se sirve V.M. aprovar los sueldos que mi antecesor en estos cargos D. José Sarmiento de Valladares, señaló al Gobernador y Sargento Mayor de las Yslas Marianas, de ciento y diez escudos al primero, y cincuenta y cinco al segundo y la mitad de ellos á los que interinariamente sirviesen estos empleos, mandandome V.M. que en esta conformidad dé la orden combeniente para la remision de estos sueldos con la forma que se acostumbra.

Y haviendo procedido informe de Oficiales Reales de que desde la resolucion referida de este Gobierno se ha continuado el embio anual de estos sueldos sin haber ocurrido embarazo de la Real Cedula de la aprovacion de V.M. para que asi lo practiquen sin novedad. De que doy cuenta á V.M. con testimonio.

Dios guarde la Católica Real Persona de V.M. como la Cristiandad ha menester.

Mexico 17 de Agosto de 1706.

El Duque de Alburquerque.

Translation.

The Viceroy of New Spain reports to Y.M. with an official copy of the appropriate order that he gave to the Royal Officials for the despatch of the salaries of the Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands that Y.M. has been pleased to approve.

Sire:

By Decree of 10 July of last year 1704, Y.M. has been served to approve the salaries that my predecessor in this post, Don José Sarmiento de Valladares, allotted to the Governor and Sergeant-Major of the Mariana Islands, of 110 escudos to the former, and 55 to the latter, and half of said amounts to those serving in an interim capacity, Y.M. ordering me to abide by said order and despatch these salaries in the customary manner.

And, having been informed by the Royal Officials that this Government had continually sent every year these salaries without infringing said Royal Decree as approved by Y.M., they should continue to do so without any novelty. This I report to Y.M. with the official copy.

May God save the Catholic Royal Person of Y.M. as Christianity needs.

Mexico, 17 August 1706.

The Duke of Alburquerque.

Document S1708K

Father Serrano learns about Carolinians having drifted to Samar in 1708**Letter from Fr. Andrés Serrano to the Marquis of Mejorada, dated Mexico 1 February 1709**

Source: AGI Fil. 1052.

Original text in Spanish.

Filipinas +

Mexico 1^o de Febr^o de 1709

El Padre Andres Serrano

Al Sr. Ms. de M. Da cuenta de su arrivo y el de todos los misioneros que pasaron en su Comp^a à aquel Reyno; y participa se havia savido por Carta de Manila como havian llegado de las Islas Australes, a un Puerto principal de las de Philipinas llamado Palapag en que la Compañia tiene misioneros, once Indios; y pondera que su arribo no ha sido acaso, sino una expecial providencia de Dios respecto de que haviendo resuelto el Governador de Philipinas despachar una embarcacion para explorar las Islas del Puerto de Cavite [sic], serviran de guía estos Indios.

M. Ill. Señor

Haviendo conduzido la bondad de Dios a todos los Misioneros, que vinieron en mi compañía con entera prosperidad à este Reyno de la Nueva España, no puede mi gratitud omitir el participar esta noticia à V.S. a quien mi Mission deve tan crecidos favores, por el singular regozijo, que concibo tendra el santo zelo de V.S. con esta noticia como tan ynteresado en los progresos de nuestra santa fe, y en qual quiera felicidad de los que la ban a plantar à rexiones tan remotas como las Philipinas è Yslas Australes del nuevo descubrimiento.

Este año hemos savido por las Cartas que vinieron de Manila haver arrivado nuevamente Once Yndios de dichas Yslas Australes a una Ysla de nuestras Philipinas, llamada Samar, y a un Puerto principal de ella por nombre Palapag, en que nuestra Compañia tiene Misiones de Cristianos antiguos, y el Rector de ellas escribe, que los dichos Yndios hera 12, siete hombres ya hechos, dos muchachos, dos Mugerres, un niño

de Pecho, que pasavan de una de sus Yslas à otra, y en espacio de ocho dias, los trajo la Providencia del Cielo al dicha Ysla de Samar, que como dixe es de Christianos antiguos. De estos murio uno en el camino, y llegaron los Onze. No es dudable que este arribo de estos Yndios Gentiles, que suzedio este año pasado de 708 no a sido acaso sino una especial providencia de Dios porque habiendo salido el mismo año, por Marzo una embarcacion embiada del Governador para explorar dichas Yslas del Puerto de Cavite [ratherh Carolinas], se hizo el viaxe mui lixeramente, pues por Junio estuvieron ya de buelta, sin haveras hallado por falta de practica y pericia en el Piloto; y Haviendo determinado el dicho Governador con mayor empeño, que se execute el viaje por Henero de este presente año de 709 con mejores Pilotos y gente (en cumplimiento de la Real Zedula de S.M.) ha expresado la divina providencia emviendo tan a tiempo à estos Yndios para que les sirban de guia con lo qual espero en el mismo Señor, que tantas muestras ha dado de ser su Voluntad la Conversion de estos Yndios, trayendolos tan frequenteente a nuestras Yslas ô a lo menos de algunas de ellas.

Yo con el nuebo resfuerzo de 20 de nuestra Compañia pasare fiado en el favor divino a las Philipinas, embarcandome por Marzo siguiente en Acapulco, y llegado que sea pasaré personalmente con algunos compañeros sin descansar hasta plantar el Estandarte de la fè en dichas Yslas Australes sin duda de hallarlas, y consagrarlas al Rey del Cielo, y al patrocinio de el de la Tierra. Los Yndios que vinieron este año pasado, son de la misma Bondad y doçilidad, segun escribe el Rector de Palapag; que yo expresè en mi memorial al Rey y nuestro señor. Dios por su Ynfinita vondad nos llene de su santo Espiritu, y alumbre à estos Ysleños con su luz Divina, para que cooperando a sus voneficios, hagamos que su santo nombre sca Eixaltado y adorado en esta tierra ynculta; para que sintiendole de Corazon en esta miserable vida merezcamos verle y gozarle eternamente y a V.S. pague con el Galardon de la vien aventuranza su Gíngantesco celo, dandole primero aquí largos años de vida para que vea logrados los efectos de su yn-signie piedad y relixion.

Mexico y febrero 1 de 1709.

M. Yltre. Sor.

B.I.m. de V.S.

Su menor capellan y scrvidor

Jhs

Andres Serrano.

[Al] M. Illtre. Señor Marques de Mexorada, mi Dueño y Patron.

Translation.

Philippines +

Mexico, 1 February 1709.

[Summary]

Father Andrés Serrano.

To the Marquis of Mejorada.

He reports that he and all the other missionaries who passed in his company to that [rather this] Kingdom have arrived [from Spain]; and he announces that it has been learned from a Letter from Manila, how eleven Indians had arrived from the Southern Islands to a main port of the Philippines called Palapag, where the Society has missionaries, and further says that their arrival had not been planned, but rather an act of Divine Providence, in view of the fact that, the Governor of the Philippines having decided to despatch a ship to explore the Islands from the port of Cavite, these Indians will serve as guides.

Most Illustrious Sir:

The kind hand of God having led all the Missionaries who came in my company to this Kingdom of New Spain with complete prosperity, my gratitude cannot omit to report this news to Your Lordship to whom my Mission band owes such great favors, on account of the singular welcome that I think this news will rejoice the zealous heart of Y. L. who is so interested in the progress of our holy faith, and in any successes of those who go and plant it in such remote regions as the Philippines and the newly-discovered Southern Islands.

This year we have learned from Letters that have come from Manila that Eleven Indians from said Southern Islands have recently arrived at one Island in our Philippines, called Samar, and to one of its main ports, called Palapag, where our Society has Missions of old Christians, and its Rector writes that such Indians were 12 in number, seven adult men, two boys, two women, one young child, who had been going from one of their islands to another, but within eight days, Divine Providence brought them to said Island of Samar, which as I have said has old Christians. One of these people died along the way, but eleven made it. It should not to be doubted that the arrival of these heathen Indians, which occurred this past year of 1708 has not been fortuitous but a specific providence of the Lord because, having sailed from the port of Cavite, a ship sent by the Governor to explore said Islands, the voyage was made very lightly; indeed, by June they were already back, without having found anything, for the lack of experience and expertise on the part of the Pilot. And, said Governor having decided to send another expedition in January of the present year of 1709 with better Pilots and men (in compliance with the Royal Decree of H.M.) Divine Providence has manifested itself by sending these Indians at such an appropriate time to be able to serve as guides. I therefore have faith in the same Lord who has so many times shown His will to have these Indians converted, by bringing them so frequently to our Islands or at least some of them.

I, with the new reinforcement of 20 missionaries of our Society, hope with divine help to embark for the Philippines next March in Acapulco, and once there, I will go myself with a few companions without taking a rest to plant the Standard of the faith in said Southern Islands, not doubting that I will find them, and will consecrate them to the King of Heaven, and to the patronage of that of the Earth, The Indians who came last year are of the same good-will and docility, according to what the Rector of

Palapag wrote about them, as those I wrote about in my petition to the King our Lord. May God in His infinite kindness fill us with His holy Spirit, and lighten these Islanders with His divine light, so that they may respond to His benefits. Let us cooperate so that His holy name be exalted and worshipped in this uncultivated land so that we may truly feel His presence during this miserable life and may we then deserve to see Him and enjoy Him eternally and may Y.L. be repaid with the many blessings which your gigantic zeal deserves, firstly here with many years in this life so that you may see the accomplishments of your noted piety and religious zeal.

Mexico, 1 February 1709.

Most Illustrious Sir,

Your lowest chaplain and servant,

Jhs

Andrés Serrano.

[To the] Most Illustrious Marquis of Mejorada, my Lord and Patron.

Document S1712C [a more complete text]

Expeditions to the Carolines—Accounts of the voyage of the patache Santo Domingo, returning from Guam in 1712

Sources: AGI Fil. 215 (ex-68-5-29), the logbook is in fol. 43-102; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 8, journal in fol. 227-230v, and logbook in fol. 200-223v; copy of journal in Anuario de Estudios Americanos, 3 (1946): 1089-1093; published by Thilenius, editor of the report of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition of 1908-10.

Notes: Bernardo de Egui acted as both commander and chief pilot on this return voyage to the Philippines. Captain Aguirre, along with Lieutenant José Martínez, may have remained in Guam. Fr. Bernardo Mexía, Jesuit, was on board acting as chaplain. The additions to the previous, shorter, document appear to be faulty in many places; punctuation is often lacking.

C2. The logbook of Chief Pilot Bernardo de Egui

Original text in Spanish.

Diario que yo Don Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga, Piloto mayor del Pattache nombrado Santo Domingo de Guzman en el nombre del Glorioso Patriarcha San Joseph hago de la salida de esta[s] Islas Philipinas para las Marianas, Yendo con el Real zituado de su magestad, para ellas y de torna viaje, a reconocer las Islas de Panlox y San Andres, con orden para ello del señor conde de Lizarraga Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, cavallero del orden de Santiago, Governador y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas y adelantado del Reyno de Itaa(?), por cuja disposicion sali con dicho cargo.

Y se entiende dicho Diario en la forma siguiente.

V[ie]rnes] 8 de Jullio [1711]

A las cinco de la tarde nos lebamos del Pozo con el viento leste bonancible, gobernando al Ueste norueste. Commo cossa de legua y media de aqui puse en derrota a la boca chica de Mariveles, gobernando al Uest quarta del sudueste, y como a las onze de la noche me halle desembocado por la banda del sur de la Monja al Uest sudueste; de aqui governe al Ueste quarta al sudueste, a enmarnarnos hasta el amanecer.

[The rest of the journal as far as Guam is here omitted]

D[omingo] 6 [Setiembre 1711]

Amanecemos con el viento por el sur Galerno esta noche emos andado con aparexo corto por considerarme poco distante de tierra y quando amanecio avistamos la Isla de Guajan que nos demoraba la punta del sur al nordeste quarta norueste como ocho leguas[.] desde ayer que observe hasta las quatro governe al leste quarta surueste entre quarta y viento y lo restante hasta amanecer [sic] al Leste las guiñadas por ygual y para el nordeste y despues que cntramós de la barra para dentro nos hizo el viento surueste escaso y dimos fondo abonaso el viento y por no poder levar el ancla que por estar arrocada la dexamos velada hasta por la mañana que se lebo y cspiendo llegamos al amarradero como doce de la noche y por la mañana se acabo de amarrar el buen navio.¹

Este es el puerto de Orote con su senda hasta el parage que el navio puede quedar surgido que es donde esta el ancla señalada[.] tiene que andar desde la punta de Orote hasta el dicho surgidero serca de una legua de camino mal fondo hasta donde señala P. De aqui para dentro es lama buen fondo[.] esto es lo que alle que ynnobar en los Puertos que alla en dicha Isla quando lo son de Mexico [Merizo?] y tacho ya se sabe que puertos son pues ban los Palaches todos los años à ellos. A la Zarpana [i.e. Rota] no fui à sondearla por causa que haviendo pedido embarcacion para ello me propuso el sargento mayor Don Joseph de Quiroga persona tan experimentada en estas Islas que cra escusado el que fuera por razon que no es mas que un peñasco que ni aun para barquillas tiene parte abrigada sino es que las tengan baradas[.]

Treinta de henero de mil siete cientos y doze años.

Diario que formé en nombre del Gran Patriarcha San Joseph de la salida del puerto de Merizo en la Isla de Guaxan para seguir el tornaviage con el favor de Dios à las Islas de Panlox y San Andres y de aqui à las Islas Philipinas y Puerto de Cavite. Esta este puerto de Merizo en la altura de treze grados y diez minutos y de longitud de diez y seis grados y treinta minutos.

En 30 de Henero de mill setecientos y doze me lebe como à las onze del dia con el viento por el leste bonancible y despues de aver salido de la Barra[.] estube à la Capa hasta el sol puesto aguardando à un ancloic y amarra que dejamos en el amarradero y à estas oras maros con el viento por el leste bonancible governando al ueste las guiñadas para el norueste y al anocheezzer estava leste ueste con dicho Puerto como tres leguas.

D[omingo] 31 [Enero 1712]

Amanecemos con el viento y leste bonancible[.] observe el sol en trece grados veinte y ocho minutos de latitud[.] andube de distancia desde que maree cincuenta y seis minutos de leguas de quinze en grado con el dicho viento bonancible por el angulo de setenta y un grados quinze minutos entre el ueste y norte y por averme salido este angulo y

¹ Ed. note: The original copy has a map inserted at this point, folio 59.

la observacion é conocido corren las aguas para el norte por cuja causa mande gobernar al ueste las guñadas por parejo[,] diferencie en latitud diez y ocho minutos y en longitud cincuenta y tres y ajustada mi cuenta quedo en quinze grados treinta y siete minutos de longitud.

L[unes] 1 - De Febrero.

Amanesimos con el viento norte muy bonanza[,] observe el sol en trese grados treinta y ocho minutos de latitud[,] andube la distancia quarenta y quatro minutos por el arco de setenta y seis grados cincuenta y dos minutos entre el ueste y norte con los vientos desde el leste hasta el nornorueste muy bonancibles; y haviendo echo la navegacion al ueste casi é diferenciado mucho en altura á donde se conoce muy evidente corren con furia las aguas al norte ó norueste[,] diferencie en latitud diez minutos y en longitud quarenta y quatro minutos y ajustada mi quenta quedo en quatorce grados cincuenta y tres minutos de longitud[,] despues de aver observado tenia navegado las veinte y cinco leguas[,] que me ordena la Instruccion navegara para el Occidente para dar resguardo al bajo de Santa Rosa[,] de aqui mande gobernar al sur quarta del sueste entre quarta y viento y despues de anochesido y pasar de la Salve me puse caveza al norte con el viento leste galerno con el trinquete amurado y la gavia sobre el foco asta media noche y á esta ora cambie la caveza al sueste por algo que abredes [sic] caido del bordo hasta media noche.

M[artes] 2 - De Febrero.

Amanecimos con el viento por el Leste nordeste bonancible[,] con el dia largue minutos(?) todo el paño pusc en derrota al sur quarta del sueste entre quarta y viento. Observe el sol en doze grados treinta y ocho minutos por el angulo de catorce grados treinta y cinco minutos entre sur y ueste con el viento que refiere[,] diferencia en latitud sesenta minutos y en longitud catorce y ajustada mi quenta vine á quedar en catorce grados treinta y nueve minutos de longitud[,] este once grados tenia de amplitud ortiva diez y siete grados veinte y un minutos[,] veo que nada en seis grados veinte y un minutos y despues que anochecio cambie la caveza al norte y tal vez al nornorueste porque el viento no dava mas lugar leste y nordeste galerno con el trinquete amurado y la gavia sobre el soco[,] á media noche cambieme la caveza al sueste al sur dando resguardo á lo que descae y la variacion de la Aguja y las corrientes para el ueste.

M[iercoles] 3.

Amanecimos con el viento por el lesnordeste muy bonanza[,] con el dia cambie la caveza al sur, mareando todo el paño[,] observe de distancia para mi derrota quarenta y ocho minutos entre el sur y el ueste[,] diferencia en altura quarenta y siete minutos y longitud ocho minutos y é quedado en catorce grados treinta y un minutos de longitud y despues que anochecio cambie la caveza al norte con el viento leste muy bonanza con el trinquete amurado y la gavia sobre el soco[,] á media noche cambie la cabeza al sur al sueste.

J[ueves] 4.

Amanecemos con el viento quasi calma por el leste[.] observe el sol en once grados treinta y cinco minutos de latitud[.] andube de distancia diez y ocho minutos por el arco de veinte y siete grados y diez y seis minutos entre el sur y el ueste con dicho viento muy bonanza[.] diferencia en latitud diez y seis minutos y en longitud quatro y ajustada mi quenta quedo en catorce grados veinte y siete minutos de longitud y quedo governando al sur al sueste y despues de anocheciso cambie la caveza al norte con el viento por el lessueste galerno[.] à media noche bolvi à cambiar la caveza al sur por causa que al biento no daba mas lugar.

B[ienes] 5.

Amanecemos con el viento lessueste bonanza y con el dia marcamos todo el paño caveza al sur. Observe el sol en diez grados quarenta y ocho minutos de latitud[.] andube en distancia quarenta y nucho minutos por el arco de diez y seis grados veinte y quatro minutos entre el sur y ueste con el dicho viento bonancible[.] diferencia en latitud quarenta y siete minutos y en longitud catorce y ajustada mi quenta quedo en catorce grados trece minutos de longitud y despues que anochocio cambie la caveza al norte con dicho viento bonanza y à media noche bolvi à cambiar la caveza para el sur con el viento lessueste bonancible.

S[ábado] 6 [Febrero 1712]

Amanecemos con el viento por el lesueste bonansa, con el Gobierno al sur y a sota-viento, por causa que el viento no dava mas lugar.—

Observe el sol en diez grados onse minutos de latitud. Andube de distancia para mi derrota, treinta y nueve minutos, por el arco de diez y ocho grados veinte y cinco minutos entre el sur y Ueste, con dicho viento de Arriva; diferencia en latitud, treinta y siete minutos, y en longitud, trese minutos. Y vengo à quedar en catorse de longitud, y por mi punto me hallava bordeando con una Isla de mi carta, quando gritaron del tope "tierra" que a la verdad jusgue era esta. Nos fuimos asercando y se reconocieron hasta ocho Islitas. De Abajo se beya una Islita que nos demoraba al sur sudueste como cosa de cinco leguas, y por tener poco dia cambie de cavesa al norte y fuy de esta buelta hasta las diez de la noche, con el viento lesnordeste galerno, y a estas oras cambie la caveza al sueste al sur, y le doy este resguardo por lo que conoçido sobre estas Islitas corren las aguas al Ueste.—

D[omingo] 7 [At Ulithi Atoll]

Amanecemos con el viento leste bonancible. Y viene a recalar por la mañana al medio de las Islitas, y me atraque a una de ellas como media legua. E[c]hamos el escandal[.]lo y no hallamos fondo. De aqui se reconocieron hasta veinte y ocho Islitas y por la frente que nos hazercamos estan tendidas de punta lesueste y Uesnorueste en distancia de siete leguas, aunque en el medio hazen saco para dentro; ellas son muy razas y pobladas de Cicales y arboleda. Y a mi sentir, la que mas distancia tendra una legua corta, y de

boxeo como dos leguas y media. Ymbie la lancha [a] tierra, prebenida de gente y armas, a una Isletilla que me parecio ser la mas comoda para surgir el navio, que biesen si [h]allaban surgidero para que el Navio pudiese llegar a dar fondo; y se bolvieron de medio camino con disculpa que avia mareta y se {h}anegaban, por ser la lancha tan ruinissima. Se dexo de lograr el buscar surgidero; yo no me dispuse a buscarlo con el navio, por no ser embar[ca]cion al proposito para estas diligencias; para lo qual hize la diligencia que refiero arriba, aun que no sirvio de nada.

A este tiempo vinieron unas seis Banquillas de Indios barbones, y habiendo[se] a[ser]cado al Navio, no se querian atracar á vordo, por Instancias que les habiamos, nos dieron a entender, que uno de los nuestros fuese a sus Banquillas, quando inmediatamente uno de los nuestros se arrojó al agua y fue a sus Banquillas, quando ellos se arrojaron al agua los mas y fueron suviendo hasta dies y ocho o veinte á Bordo. Los agasajamos con dulce y otras cosillas. Y cambalachearon unos zeñidores texidos de abaca y labrados medianamente, como tambien cambalacheaban unos sinchos compuestos de cuentecillas blancas de conchillas de la playa y otras quentecillas de concha de turtuga y de coco. Ella es gente muy tratable y dozil al pareser; no les vimos cosa de que se alimentasen; [son] desnudos, es[e]p[ro]to tapadas sus partes, muy solisitos a qualquiera cossa de fierro.

Y al tiempo que se fueron muy contentos por el agasajo que hallaron en nosotros, de ningun modo se queria quedar alguno, la mayor causa porque no nos entendiamos si no era por señas. Me dispuse a dejar uno a bordo que estava debajo de[la] Alcazar; bevio un traguito, y quando los demas se embarcaron, este no los vido. Las Banquillas sestubieron manteniendo serca de abordo, gritando al que teniamos abordo, y visto que no parecia, se fueron para tierra; y al tiempo que se fueron nos abonanso el viento y cambie la cavesa al norueste quarta al nordeste y al nornordeste hasta las onze de la noche que volvi a virar al sur con el viento lesueste muy bonanza.—

L[unes] 8 de Febrero

Amanesimos con el viento lesueste muy bonanza sobre la Isletilla de mas al norte. A medio dia ho[se]rve el sol, lesueste con esta Isleta cassi en dies grados y doce minutos de latitud, quando vimos una Banquilla que venia a barlobento a nosotros con la confianza que si fueros gente conosida, y sin hazer muchos reparos se atraco á Bordo a cambalachear unos zeñidores texidos de abaca medianamente labrados. Quisimos pasar nuestra lancha a la banda de estribor a donde estava la banquilla, y quando ellos vieron la lancha, se abisaron; quisieron desamartarse y uno de los nuestros que estava en la Banquilla les impidio. Ellos rezelaron que los querian coger, arrojaron al nuestro al agua y le dieron dos o tres palos en la caveza, aunque no fue cosa de cuidado; de a bordo se les disparo un pedrero que no hizo mella alguna.

Y ellos con los canaletes se desatraron de a bordo, quando nuestra lancha ynmmediately salio de a bordo esquifada, para cogerla. Por no ser [pr]en[d]idos, con un soplo de viento que ubo, hizo su velita la banquilla y dexo a nuestra lancha como a una posma. Son estas Banquillas al modo de las de Mariana[s], con poca diferençia. De adonde

salio esta Banquilla tienen otra demarcación las Isletas; corren nornordeste susudueste, en distancia de nueve leguas, aunque no estan en cordillera: unas estan mas adentro y otras mas afuera. Estan en altura de nueve grados y treinta y dos minutos hasta diez grados y diez minutos, y de longitud de catorze grados hasta treze grados y quinze minutos. Lo mas de este día [h]emos estado en calma; anochesimos con la caveza al nornordeste y al nordeste, casi calma. [Con] el poco viento sueste de esta buelta estubimos hasta las dos de la mañana, que entro un poco de viento por el lesnordeste, que cambiamos la caveza al sueste y al sueste quarta leste.

M[artes] 9

Amanesimos con el viento lesnordeste bonansible, unas cinco leguas al norueste de las Isletillas que anochezimos, y por lo que e visto que hemos descaydo para el norueste; y aunque e navegado de las dos de la mañana al día al sueste y al sueste quarta leste, estoy que abra hecho el navio el camino del sur para el sudueste. Hoserve el sol en dicho día: diez grados y diez minutos de latitud. Y me hallo de la Isleta de mas al norte como quatro leguas al sur sudueste, y del parage de la hoservación del día sabado seis [de] este mes hallo como onze leguas para el ueste. Y ajustada mi cuenta desde el día sabado, me hallo en treze grados y diez y seis minutos de longitud. Y al poner del sol apenas se beyan las Isletas Ultimas que estan al sursudueste, y despues que anochesio cambie la caveza al norueste hasta media noche, que bolbi á cambiar la caveza al sursueste con el viento lesnordeste galernito.

M[iercoles] 10

Amanesimos con el viento lesnordeste bonansible, caveza al sueste quarta al sur. No bimos mas las Isletas. Hoserve el sol en nueve grados y diez y seis minutos de latitud. Andube de distancia cinquenta y ocho minutos por el arco de veinte y un grado y veinte y seis minutos entre el sur y ueste, con el viento lesnordeste galerno, y emos governado esta singladura al sur surueste[,] sueste quarta al sur y al sueste. Por lo mucho que se a conosido que descae el Navio, diferencie en la latitud cinquenta y quatro minutos, y en longitud veinte y un minutos; y ajustada mi cuenta quedo en dose grados cinquenta y cinco minutos de longitud, y boy baxando altura hasta siete grados y treinta minutos que me [h]ordena la Instrucción. Y despues que anochesio cambie la caveza al norte con el trinquete amurado y la gavia sobre el foco hasta media noche que cambie la caveza al sursueste, que la doy este resguardo por lo mucho que el navio decae; y las aguas corren para el ueste; y con el día largue todo el paño con el viento por el nordeste. Esta mañana marqué el sol: apartado de leste para el sueste, diez grados y treinta minutos; tenia de amplitud ortiba catorze grados y treinta y seis minutos; beo que n[uestra] d[iferencia] [es]: quatro grados y seis minutos.—

J[ueves] 11

Amanesimos con el viento por el nordeste algo fresquito. Hoserve el sol en ocho grados y treinta y cinco minutos de latitud; andube de distancia quarenta y un minutos,

camino del sur; por mi hoservación diferencie en latitud quarenta y un minutos, y Vengo a quedar en la misma longitud de ayer, dose grados cinquenta y cinco minutos. Y despues de anochezido cambie la caveza al norueste quarta norueste [sic], y al norueste, porque el viento no daba mas lugar, hasta media noche que cambie la caveza al sueste, para ser nuestro camino del sur con el viento nordeste algo fresco.—

V[iernes] 12

Amanecimos con el viento nornordeste algo fresco, y con el dia mareamos nuestro paño, con la proa al sursurueste. Y para llegar al paralelo de siete grados y treinta minutos me faltan sesenta y cinco minutos, por la hoservación de ayer, y por la corredera tengo a[n]dado a las dies del dia sesenta y ocho minutos, a mi sentir, camino del sur. A estas oras puse en derrota al ueste, las guñadas para el sudueste, en el nombre del glorioso San Ignacio de Loyola, en demanda de la Isla de Panlox.

Hoserve el sol en siete grados y veinte y tres minutos de latitud; aqui mande gobernar al ueste, las guñadas por ygual para aumentar los siete minutos con el viento nornordeste y nordeste fresco, e andado de distancia, quando puse a esta derrota, setenta y dos minutos camino del sur; e diferenciado en altura setenta y dos minutos; bongo a quedar en dose grados cinquenta y cinco minutos de longitud. Y despues que anochezio cambie la caveza al nornorueste, con el trinquete amurado y la gavia sobre el foco, con el viento nordeste fresco, hasta media noche, que cambie la caveza al sueste, con dicho viento y dicho aparejo, hasta el dia. Esta noche a balanseado el navio muy lindamente, por el marullo que se [havia] armado del nordeste y coxernos atrabesados.

S[abado] 13

Amanecimos con el viento nordeste fresco; con el dia mareamos nuestro paño, y con todo el paño largo valanzea estupendamente. Hoserve el sol en siete grados y quarenta y tres minutos de latitud; e andado de distancia noventa minutos por el arco de setenta y siete grados y dies minutos entre el ueste [y] norueste, con dicho viento nordeste fresco; diferencie en latitud veinte minutos y por esta diferencia es ebidente corren las aguas al norueste—y de longitud ochenta y ocho minutos; y ajustada mi cuenta quedo en onze grados y veinte y siete minutos de longitud. Y quedo gobernando al ueste, las guñadas para el sudueste, y despues de la salve cambie la caveza al nornorueste, con los dos papaygos y la mesana, por ocasion del grande marullo y no podernos mantener con el trinquete y la gavia sobre el foco, por lo que valanzea el navio. A media noche cambie la caveza al sueste, con dicho aparejo, y al romper del dia mareamos el paño y puse en derrota al ueste, las guñadas por igual, con dicho viento nor{u}este fresco.—

D[omingo] 14

Amanesimos con el viento nordeste fresco, y mareado nuestro paño y puesto en la derrota que refiero arriva, hoserve el sol en siete grados quarenta y siete minutos. E andado de distancia a nuestra derrota noventa minutos por el arco de ochenta y siete grados y veinte y siete minutos, entre el ueste y norueste, con el dicho viento; diferencie en

latitud quatro minutos—y por la navegación que emos echo estaba yo á ver desm[in]judo de la altura de ayer, y beo al contrario, de donde infiero que las aguas continuan al noroeste—y en longitud noventa minutos: y ajustada mi quenta, he quedado en nueve grados y cinquenta y siete minutos de longitud. Y quedo governando al ueste, las guñadas para el sudueste; despues de la salve cambie la caveza al nornorueste, con los dos papaygos y la mesana, con bastante marullo; á media noche cambie la caveza al sueste quarta leste.—

L[unes] 15 [Arrival at Palau]

Y al romper del dia mare[am]os nuestro paño, puestos en derrota al ueste, las guñadas para el sudueste, el tiempo serrado. Y como a las ocho de la mañana gritaron del tope tierra; aclaro un poco, y se ha visto de abajo dicha tierra o **Isla de Panlox** que nos demoraba por la proa. Estaremos de ella como quatro leguas y media. Haze las señas que siguen como se be, a or[el]lamientos hasta el nornorueste. Y llegamos a la caveza del norte a medio dia, que me demoraba al ueste quarta al sudueste. La letra **B** es la caveza del norte; corre con la punta de la letra **A** sursueste nornorueste, en distancia de dies y media leguas, aunque en esta distancia ase sako para dentro. De la letra **B**, caveza del norte, salen tres Islotitos hasta la letra **C**, en distancia de tres quartos de legua. Al norueste, una legua mas adentro de la letra **B**, punta del norueste, empieza una restinga de piedras apartada de la costa como un quarto de legua, y ba a rematar como legua y una quarta al nordeste de la punta del norueste. Al nordeste de esta punta del norueste, en distancia de tres leguas, se haya un baxo que [se lev]ntaba ygual, casi, con el agua sobre esta caveza del norte. **Hoserve el sol en siete grados y quarenta y siete minutos de latitud**; andube en distancia setenta y dos minutos, y por mi hoservacion hize camino del ueste; y ajustada mi quenta vengo a quedar en **ocho grados y quarenta y quatro minutos de longitud**.

Intente pasar por esta caveza del norte para boxear la Isla, pero el viento no dio lugar a rebasarla, por havernos abonansado el viento, y fuera de esto vide yo mismo desde el tope al uesnorueste, norueste y nornorueste un pedazo de mar berde a modo de un placer de arena con m[u]lchas rebentaciones esparsidas en distancia de tres leguas a la mar. Yo estava como dos media[n]as leguas al este de la caveza del norueste, y biendo los inconvenientes para nuestro intento, no me esp[er]use a la contingencia de berme empuñado sobre algun baxo de los que teniamos a la vista [por se]r el Barco malisimo bolinero.

Nos abonanso el viento nordeste; cambie la caveza como a las cinco y media de la tarde a lesueste; el tiempo serrado, y el cariz de bentar. Y bide algunas Banquillas que salieron de tierra; por la mucha mareta que avia arrivaron algunas y llegaron a bordo tres, y de ningun modo querian subir arriva, siempre sobresaltados. De la ultima que vino subieron arriva dos con la codisia del fierro que los enseñaban, jurgando no lograr otra ocasion de que viniesen [las] Banquillas a bordo. Estos dos Indios que subieron arriva, que de otro modo no era posible que quedasen, los quales los metimos [en] el cepo por berlos emperrados. Esta es una gente de natural muy agrieste y poco trata-

bles, pues siempre los vimos muy desconfiados en lo que vimos en ellos; pues de sus Banquillas cambalacheaban unas rayses que llamaban *sunay* y unos zinchos de cuentas compuestos como los de las Islas pequeñas, a trueque de cualquier fierro viejo, platos y [c]osill[a]s, y por agasajo que les hacíamos de darles dulces y vino, siempre con la desconfianza de no querer subir arriba. Ellos andan en queros, essto sus partes tapadas con unas [h]ojas, limpio[s] de barba, muy melnudos; unos tienen la melena amulatados y otros de lindo cavello. Y de esta vuelta de lesueste fuimos hasta que rindio el quarto grande, que cambie la caveza para tierra al nornorueste, con el viento norueste [nordeste?] fresco, y caris de ventar. Quando amansio, nos hallamos como quatro leguas afuera. —

M[artes] 16

Amanesimos con el viento lesnor[d]este, quatro leguas al este del medio de la Isla, con muy mal caris de bentar y bastante marullo. Me atra[que] a ella, distante de media legua; y al medio de la Isla haze ensenada, y al pareser no tiene arresife la costa en este parage. Y temiendo del mal cariz, [l]a fui costeano hasta la punta de [leste?]; de esta punta corre otro pedaso de costa sursudueste y nornordeste quarta de norueste sur [?], distancia de tres media[na]s leguas, y haze estas scñas: Este pedaso de costa sigue a la de la vuelta; la letra D [sic] corresponde a la letra A [sic]. La punta del sur por la parte de este es la letra E; tiene arresife, y al pareser a modo de ensenada que por el mucho viento y mar no nos atracamos para tierra. De este remate de la punta del sur, que es la letra E, corre la frente del sur nornordeste susudueste, distancia de ocho leguas, que al pareser era toda una tierra.

Y quando nos pusimos al sur de esta frente, vide que hazia dos diviciones angostas, y por adentro algunas Isletillas, y haze la frente esta figura: El numero uno es la punta del sur por la parte de leste: corresponde a la letra E de la figura de la vuelta. El numero dos corresponde al numero tres, el numero quatro corresponde al cinco, que haze la frente del sur de dicha Isla. Los nueve Islotillos que estan en las dos linias de abaxo desde numero siete á quinze, punta del sur por la parte del ueste, Unos al uesnoroeste, y ban siguiendo hasta el sur en distancia de tres media[na]s leguas. Los dos numeros [...] son aberturas que haze esta frente del sur. —

No hoserve el sol, por estar el cielo toldado; estara esta caveza del sur en seis grados y quarenta y quatro minutos de altura. Le he dado a esta singladura de distancia cinquenta y seis minutos, y de longitud doze minutos. Y sigo la navegacion al sursueste, por desvariarme [=desviarme] de estos Islotes que [estoy] refiriendo agora. Y como a las cinco de la tarde se nos salto a la mar un Indio de los que cogimos ayer, estariamos de tierra como siete leguas; el navio no quiso tomar por delante, viramos en redondo, y en este medio lo perdimos de vista. Navegue toda la noche hasta rendir el quarto grande, con bastante viento que me obligo a rizar las gavias; y a las dos ampolletas del quarto del alba cambie a la caveza al nornoroeste y al noroeste, con dicho viento nordeste frescafch[on], marullo, hasta que amansio.

M[iercoles] 17

Amanecio el viento nordeste fresco, con la proa al sur sueste; no hoberve el sol, por estar el cielo toldado. Andube de distancia para mi derrota, cinquenta y seis minutos, a mi sentir, por el angulo de cinquenta y seis grados y quinze minutos entre el sur y el este, con dicho viento fresco, con una mar atrabazada del nordeste que a trabaxado el navio a balanzas estupendamente. Y desde las quatro de la tarde hasta la oraçion nos dieron tres turbonadas de razonable viento y agua muchisima por el nordeste; a estas oras cambie la caveza a lesu[d]jeste sobre los dos Papaygos, por hallarse el navio mas escorado. Y como a las seis ampolletas del quarto grande nos dio una turbonada por el lesnordeste de muchisimo viento y aguas que nos obligo [a] cargar la mayor y quedar con el trinquete amurado, y por no hazer mucha navegacion para desminuir altura, por no aver oserbado estos dos dias ni haver estrellas y no pasar de nuestra altura, cinco grados y treinta minutos que hordena la Instruccion, cambie la caveza al nornor-oeste y al noroeste, y me mantube de esta buelta, con muchisimo viento, con el trinquete amurado, hasta que amaneçio, y proseguí hasta medio dia que hoberve.—

J[ueves] 18

Hoberve el sol en cinco grados y treinta minutos de latitud[.] é andado de distancia en estas tres singladuras ciento quarenta minutos por el arco de onze grados y cinquenta y dos minutos entre el sur y el ueste y à balanceado el navio razonablemente con el viento por el lesnordeste con bastante mar[.] é diferenciado en altura ciento treinta y siete minutos y en longitud veinte y nueve minutos y ajustada mi quenta he quedado en ocho grados y quinze minutos de longitud[.] puse en derrota al ueste en demanda de las Isletas de San Andres y despues que anocheçio cambie la caveza al lessueste con el dicho viento nordeste muy fresco y bastante marulle sobre los dos papaygos que cra matar el navio ponerlo sobre el trinquete y la gavia sobre el soco y solo quedar con estas dos velas grandes[.] à media noche cambie la caveza al nornorueste hasta que amaneçimos y se à mantenido el viento recisimo y toda la noche metidos en turbonadas recisimas de viento y aguas que me haze fuerza en tan poca altura tal rigor de vientos y con bastante marullo.

V[iernes] 19. De Febrero.

Amanecimos sobre los dos Papaygos largamos nuestro gaviás à medio palo por el mucho viento dicho por el nordeste y turbonadas puestos à nuestra derrota al ueste[.] no observe el sol por estar el cielo toldado y viento razonable y como à las tres de la tarde gritaron del tope tierra[.] avistamos las dos Islitas de San Andres que por estar el tiempo cerrado no las vimos antes[.] estariamos de ellas como quatro leguas la proa al ueste y me demoraba la Islita demas al sur que es la mas grande al ueste quarta al norueste[.] tendra de largo como una legua larga[.] la pequeña que està mas al norte en distancia de legua[.] tendra de largo como una legua corta[.] ellas muy rasas y estan tendidas del nornordeste sursudueste[.] la islita de mas al norte à mi sentir estará en cinco grados y treinta y ocho minutos de altura y quando llegue à ellas seria como à la oraçion

ha orzamientos(?) hasta el norueste despues que las habistamientos(?) con el viento lesnordeste algo mas bonanza à dado de distancia hasta estas Isletas ochenta y cinco minutos y por la figura de fantasia me sale el angulo navegado de ochenta y quatro grados y veinte y un minutos entre el ueste y norueste[,] diferencia de longitud ochenta y dos minutos quedo en seis grados y cinquenta y tres minutos de longitud y por ser tarde quando llegue à estas Isletas no me dispuse à ponerme à sotaviento de ellas à andar buscando surgidero de noche é quando menos à sotaventarme tome un medio que me parecio el mas aproposito y fue seguir el rumbo del nornorueste y [el viento] lesnordeste algo fresco hasta media noche que cambie la caveza al sueste.

S[abado] 20.

Amanecemos con el viento lesnordeste algo fresco la proa al sueste el tiempo algo cerrado y no se alcanzo haver [rather a ver] las Isletas de los topes[,] segui el mismo rumbo hasta medio dia[,] no se pudieron ver de ningun modo[,] observe el sol en cinco grados treinta y ocho minutos de latitud y por esta observacion me considero leste ueste con la Isleta el norueste asotaventado[,] aqui ajusto mi cuenta de estos dos dias[,] tengo de distancia ciento y nueve minutos sobre el angulo ochenta y cinco grados y quarenta y siete minutos entre el ueste y norueste[,] diferencia en latitud ocho minutos y en longitud ciento y nueve minutos y ajustada mi cuenta vengo à quedar en seis grados y veinte y seis minutos de longitud y tube por disparate el porfiar y ponerme à barloventear que era esponerme à sotaventarme mas respecto de aver conocido corren las aguas al norueste y el navio poco bolinero y tube por le mejor medio poner en derrota al embocadero que lo hize despues de medio dia gobernando al norueste[,] en todo esta tarde nos obligaron las turbonadas tan recias de viento y muchas aguas que ni uracanes les igualaba que me admiro de tal rigor de vientos en esta poca altura à aferrar las gaviotas[,] cargar la mayor arriba y quedarnos toda la noche con el trinquete amurado con bastante viento hasta que amanecio.

J[ueves] 3 [de Marzo].

Amanecemos con la proa al norte quarta al noroeste con lesnordeste bonancible. Observe el sol en diez grados y treinta y siete minutos de latitud[,] é andado de distancia veinte minutos por el arco de veinte y cinco grados y cinquenta y un minutos entre el norte y ueste[,] é diferenciado en altura diez y ocho minutos y de longitud, nueve y ajustada mi cuenta queda por longitud de un grado quatro minutos, y estoy con la punta de Guiguan al sursueste en distancia de treze leguas[,] en toda la tarde se a navegado al norueste quarta norte con viento nordeste galerno con turbonadillas de poco viento aguazcos[,] toda la noche navegue, metido en turbonadas de poco y razonable viento desde el nornordeste al este[,] muchas aguas y todo cerrado[,] governe desde el rumbo que refiero hasta el norte quarta al nordeste y nornordeste con buena guardia, a proa por hallarme cerca de tierra[,] à las quatro ampolletas del quarto del alba aclaro algo los horizontes quando gritaron de proa, nos hallamos en tierra aquartelar todo el apare-

jo de proa para que arrive el navio y con lo poco que arribo, me halle barado en una Isletilla que no estava en mi carta ni otras que con el dia se alcanzo a ver[.] se llama dicha Isletilla Suluan que hace esta figura.

Con el dia sacamos el navio à flote, y lo maramos à tres amarras en tres y tres medias brazas de agua el fondo arena y algunas piedras sembradas, corre esta Isleta de uestnorueste lessueste[.] tendra de boxeo como legua y media[.] este dia observe el sol en lo alto de la Islita en onze grados y onze minutos[.] me demoraba la Punta de Guiguan al nornorueste en distancia de quatro leguas.

V[.]iernes[.] 4.

Amanecimos con el viento nornordeste bonanza[.] amarramos el barco como refiero arriba.

Hasta el dia Viernes onze de este nos divertimos en desamarrar en limpio y parte mas comoda en hazer agua[.] leña y coger cocos y la mayor tardanza en aguardar tiempo para salir à la mar y en ver lo tenaz del viento norte nordeste, nos expusimos à salir à la mar con el viento nordeste.

J[.]fueves[.] 14.

Amanecimos con el viento nordeste muy bonanza y me leve como à las siete de la mañana y puse en derrota al sur quarta sudueste y al sur sudueste para el puerto de Cavite[.] llegue à dar fondo como à las doze del dia[.] gracias à Dios etc. en dicho dia catorze de Abril de mill setecientos y doze años.

Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga.

Translation.

Logbook that I, Don Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga, Chief Pilot of the Patache named Santo Domingo de Guzman, in the name of the Glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, make from our departure from these Philippine Islands bound for the Marianas, taking the royal subsidy of His Majesty overthere and, on the return voyage, to reconnoiter the Islands of Panlox and St. Andrew, in accordance with the order received from His Lordship the Count of Lizarraga, Don Martin de Ursua y Arismendi, Knight of the Order of St. James, Governor and Captain General of these Philippine Islands and frontier governor of the Kingdom of Itaa, by whose disposition I set out in said capacity.¹

Said Logbook reads as follows:

Fri. 8 July [1711]

At 5 p.m. we came out of the Basin [i.e. Cavite] heading WNW, with a moderate easterly wind. At about 1-1/2 leagues from here, I changed course toward the smaller strait

1 Ed. note: I was unable to find a reference to this kingdom of Itaa. Perhaps Egui was referring to Ituy, a province of the Philippines, that was not fully conquered. Perhaps it is a misprint for Siao.

of Mariveles, heading W 1/4 SW, and at about 11 p.m., I found myself out of the strait on the south side of Monja Island, WSW of it. From here, I headed W 1/4 SW and we went off to the high sea until daybreak.

[The rest of this first part of the voyage to Guam is omitted].

Sunday 6 [Sept. 1711]

The day began with a SW wind. This night we used short sails for fear of being close to land and at daybreak we sighted the Island of Guajan. Its south point bore NE 1/4 NW [sic] about eight leagues. Since yesterday when I observed, until four I steered eastward for one watch and between SW and the wind for the other, the rest of the time until daybreak eastward with equal yaws and heading northeast and after we passed the bar inside the wind began to blow lightly from the SW and we dropped anchor. The wind rose and, because we could not weigh the anchor on account of it being caught on some rock we placed a watch over it until the morning when it was retrieved and we warped our way in to the anchorage which we reached at about midnight and the next morning we good ship was finally moored.¹

This is the port of Orote with the track until the area where the ship can remain anchored which is where the anchor symbol appears. One must make a run from Orote Point to said anchorage for about one league over a bad bottom until the point marked P. From here inward it is good bottom of clay mud. This is what I found I had to innovate. In the ports that exist in said Island, such as those of Merizo and Tacho, they are already known because they are used by the Pataches that go there every year. As far as Zarpana [Rota] is concerned, I did not go here to take soundings because, when I asked for a boat for that, the Sergeant-Major, Don José de Quiroga, suggested a person so experienced in these Islands that he said that there was no reason to go because it is not more than a piece of rock which does not even have a place good enough to shelter canoes, which they must pull on shore.

30 January 1712.

Logbook which I wrote in the name of the Great Patriarch St. Joseph of the departure from the port of Merizo in the Island of Guajan to follow the return voyage with the favor of God to the Islands of Panlox and St. Andrew and from here to the Philippine Islands and the port of Cavite.

The port of Merizo is in 13 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude and in 16 degrees and 30 minutes of longitude.

On 30 January 1712 I weighed at about 11 a.m. with the wind favorable from the east and after I left the bar, I kept a steady heading until sunset by keeping an eye on a kedge anchor and mooring which we left in the anchorage and at this time with the

1 Ed. note: The original copy has a map inserted at this point, folio 59.

wind blowing moderate from the east I steered west with yaws toward NW and at nightfall I was E-W abreast of said port and about three leagues from it.

Sunday 31 [January 1712].

The day began with the wind being favorable from the east. I observed the sun in 13 degrees 28 minutes of latitude. Since I set sail I have run a distance of 56 minutes of leagues of 15 per degree with the said wind favorable at an angle of 71 degrees 15 minutes between west and north and, given this resultant angle and the observation I knew that the waters were running northward and for this reason I ordered them to steer west with equal yaws. My difference in latitude was 18 minutes and in longitude 53 and I adjusted my count; the result was 15 degrees 37 minutes in longitude.

Monday 1 February.

The day began with the wind blowing from the north very favorable. I observed the sun in 13 degrees 38 minutes of latitude. I ran a distance of 44 minutes at an angle of 66 degrees 52 minutes of arc between west and north with winds blowing between E and NNW very favorable and since I have navigated almost due west, my difference was much to the north, from which I knew that the waters were obviously running furiously to N or NW. My difference in latitude was 18 minutes and in longitude 44 minutes and after I adjusted my count, there remained 14 degrees 53 minutes of longitude. After I had observed, I had navigated the 25 leagues that the Instruction ordered me to navigate westward in order to avoid Santa Rosa Bank. From here I ordered them to steer S 1/4 SW with 1/4 point off the wind and after nightfall and the Salve [Regina] I headed north with the wind being somewhat easterly with the foresail set for tacking and the topsail over the jib until midnight and at this time I changed the heading to SW, in case I had deviated to one side, until midnight.

Tuesday 2 February.

The day began with the wind ENE favorable. At daybreak I raised all sails and headed S 1/4 SW a quarter point off the wind. I observed the sun in 12 degrees 38 minutes by the angle of 14 degrees 35 minutes between S and W with the wind in question. My difference in latitude was 60 minutes and in longitude 14 and after adjusting my count it came out as 14 degrees 39 minutes of longitude. This 11 degrees [corresponded to] an amplitude of 17 degrees 21 minutes that I got. I see that nothing [but] in six degrees 21 minutes, and after nightfall I changed the heading to N and perhaps to NNW, because the wind slackened to E and NE, with the foresail set for tacking and the topsail over the jib. At midnight, I changed the heading to SW by S, giving the warning not to let it drift westward [taking into account] the variation of the compass and the currents.

Wednesday 3 [February].

The day began with the wind blowing from ENE very favorable. At daybreak I changed the heading to S, with all sails set. I observed the distance for my course [cal-

culations to be] between 48 minutes between south and west. The difference in latitude was 47 minutes and the longitude 8 minutes, and I found myself to be in 14 degrees 31 minutes of longitude. After nighfall, I changed the heading to N with the wind easterly very favorable with the foresail set for tacking and the topsail over the jib. At midnight I changed the heading to SSW.

Thursday 4 [February].

The day begana with the wind almost calm from the east. I observed the sun in 11 degrees degrees 35 minutes of latitude. I had run a distance of 18 minutes along an arc of 27 degrees and 16 minutes between south and west with said wind bevy favorable. The difference in latatude was 16 minutes and in longitude 4, and I adjusted my cound and found myself to be in 14 degrees 27 minutes of longitude and I kept on steering SSW. After nightfall I changed the heading to N with a slight wind from ESE. At midnight I changed the heading back to S, because the wind was mp ;pmger strpmg em-pig/

Friday 5 [February].

The day began with the wind blowing favorably from ESE and at daybreak we set all sails and headed south. I observed the sun in 10 degrees 48 minutes of latitude. I had covered a distance of 49 minutes along the arc of 16 degrees 24 minutes between south and west with said favorable wind. The difference in latitude was 47 minutes and in longitude 14 and after adjusting my count there remained 14 degrees 13 minutes of longitude. After nightfall I changed the heading to N with said favorable wind and at midnight I changed it back to south with the wind blowing favorably from ESE.

Sat. 6 [Feb. 1712]

The day began with a moderate wind from ESE, and trying to make headway southward, that is, to leeward, but the wind did not help much.—I observed the sun in $10^{\circ}11'$ lat. [N]. I covered a distance along my course of $39'$, along an angle of $18^{\circ}20'$ W from S, with the above-mentioned wind. And I end up in 14° of longitude, and my position was near an island on the chart, when they shouted from the mast-head "land ho!" and in truth I judged it to be the island in question. As we got nearer we recognized up to 8 islets. From the deck we could see one islet to SSW about 5 leagues away. Since there was not much daylight left, I veered northward and kept that course until 10 p.m., the wind blowing from the ENE, and at that time I tacked back to SW by S, and I give the following warning, that it was discovered that the current runs westward near these islets.

Sun. 7 [At Ulithi Atoll]

By daybreak we had a moderate easterly wind. And by morning I approached the middle of the islets, and I went close to one of them, about half a league from it. We sounded but found no bottom. From this point up to 28 islets were counted and on the

side that was near to us, they were lined up for 7 leagues along a ESE-WNW line, although they form a pocket on the inside; they are very low-lying and support thick groves of coconut and other trees. In my opinion, the one that has the most distance [rather length] would be slightly less than 1 league, and in circumference about 2-1/2 leagues. I sent the launch ashore, supplied with men and weapons, to an islet which seemed to me to have the most suitable anchoring place for the ship, in order for them to find out if there was an anchorage for the ship to come to an anchor. However, they went only half-way and turned back, with the excuse that the sea was becoming choppy and too much water was coming into the launch, on account of its very rotten condition. Thus we did not succeed in finding an anchorage. As for me, I was not prepared to seek one with the ship, because it is not a suitable boat for this kind of effort. That is why I had done the above-mentioned effort, though it came to nought.

At this time came about 6 canoes with bearded Indians, and having come near the ship, they did not wish to come alongside, in spite of the invitations that we made to them. They made us understand that one of us should go to their canoes. As soon as one of our men dove into the water and went to their canoes, most of them immediately threw themselves in and up to 18, or 20, in all came on deck. We made them welcome with sweets and other small things. And they bartered a few belts, woven with abaca and not specially well made. They also traded some girdles made with small white shells from the beach and others made with small pieces of turtle shell and coconut shell. These people are easy to deal with and apparently peaceful. We did not see anything that they use as food. They are naked, except for their private parts, and very fond of anything made of iron.

And when they went away very contented, on account of the good reception they received from us, none of them wanted to remain, most probably because we could not communicate, except by sign language. I resolved to keep one who was below the quarterdeck; he drank a little [wine], and when the others went off, this man did not see them. The canoes then stayed alongside, shouting to the man we had on board, but when he did not appear, they went home. And at the time that they went away, the wind grew stronger and I changed course to NW 1/4 NE [rather N], and to NNE until 11 p.m., when I tacked back to S with a ESE wind, very fresh.

Mon. 8 February.

At daybreak the wind was ESE, very fresh, and we were upon the northernmost islet. At noon, I observed the sun, when this islet was ESE, and it was almost $10^{\circ}12'$, when we saw one canoe that was coming toward us on the lee side, so steadily that it seemed as if they knew us, and without any hesitation, it came alongside to barter a few belts woven with abaca indifferently crafted. We wanted to have our launch go over to the starboard side where the canoe was; when they saw the launch, they shouted a warn-

1 Ed. note: This old man was most likely from Falalep and his name possibly Tagonan (see footnote on p. 489).

ing and wanted to untie the canoe, but one of our men who was aboard it prevented them from doing so. They became suspicious that we wanted to make them prisoners, and threw our man overboard and gave him two or three blows upon the head, although they did him no serious harm. From on board, a mortar was fired at them, which did no harm whatever.

They immediately pulled away from the ship with their paddles, when they saw that our launch was manned and about to capture their canoe. In order to escape capture, as the wind was just then gusting, the canoe raised its small sail and left our launch behind like a drone. These canoes are shaped like those of the Marianas, with little difference. From where this canoe came from the islets have another trend; they run along a NNE—SSW line, over 9 leagues, although they are not in a continuous chain; some are further in and some further out. Their latitudes are from $9^{\circ}32'$ to $9^{\circ}10'$ and their longitudes from 14° to $13^{\circ}15'$ [E of Cape Espiritu Santo]. For most of today, we were becalmed; by nightfall, we were heading NNE and NE, almost becalmed.

Tue. 9

At daybreak, the wind being ENE, moderate, we were about 5 leagues to the NW of the islets of the previous nightfall and, by my estimation, we have lost ground toward the NW, and although I have sailed from 2 a.m. until daybreak in the SW [SE?] direction and SE $1/4$ E, I conclude that the ship has been drifting southward, to SW. I observed the sun on said day in $10^{\circ}10'$ lat., and I find myself SSW about 4 leagues from the northernmost islet, and relative to the neighborhood where I observed on Saturday 6th of this month, I find that I am about 11 leagues further west. And, making my corrections since Saturday, I find my longitude to be $13^{\circ}16'$. And by sunset, the last islets that lie further to SSW could hardly be seen. After nightfall, I changed course to NW until midnight, when I tacked back to SSE with the light ENE breeze.

Wed. 10

When daylight came we had a moderate ENE wind, heading SW $1/4$ S. We could no longer see the islets. I observed the sun in $9^{\circ}16'$ latitude. I covered a distance of 58' along an angle of $21^{\circ}26'$ W of S, with the wind ENE, moderate, and in this daily run we have steered SSW, SW $1/4$ S, and SW. According to what has been learned so far about the drifting of this ship, I judged the change of latitude to be $54'$ and the change in longitude to be $21'$ and, after applying my corrections I am left with a longitude of $12^{\circ}55'$ and will go on reducing my latitude until I reach $7^{\circ}30'$ as per my Instruction. After nightfall, I steered N with the foresail pulled tight and the main topsail taut also, until midnight when I tacked back to SSW, taking into account the drifting tendency of this ship, and the current running westward. At daybreak I lowered the canvas, the wind being NE. This morning I took the sun's amplitude: the angle from E toward SE was $10^{\circ}30'$, and the [true] amplitude was $14^{\circ}30'$; [therefore] I see that our difference is: $4^{\circ}06'$.

Thu. 11

At daybreak, the wind was NE, somewhat fresh, I took the sun's elevation at $8^{\circ}35'$ lat. I covered a distance of $41'$ due south; by my observation, I got a difference in latitude of $41'$ and I end up with the same longitude as yesterday, $12^{\circ}55'$. Shortly after nightfall, I steered NW $1/4$ NW [sic = W], and NW because the wind did not give any more, until midnight when I tacked to SW, because we were making our way southward, with the wind NE, somewhat fresh.—

Fri. 12

At daybreak, the wind was NNE, somewhat fresh, and we set our canvas, with the bow pointing SSW. Before I reach the $7^{\circ}30'$ parallel, I am missing $65'$, by yesterday's observation, and according to the daily run I had made, by 10 a.m. I estimated I needed to lose $68'$ southward. At this time, I steered W, yawing SW and, in the name of the glorious St. Ignatius of Loyola, bound westward for the Island of Panlo.

I took the sun at $7^{\circ}23'$ latitude; here, I had the heading changed to W, the yawing the same, in order to regain the [excess] $7'$, the wind blowing from NNE and NE. When I set this course, I had covered a distance of $72'$ southward; my latitude changed by $72'$ and I end up with a longitude of $12^{\circ}55'$. After sunset, I changed the heading to NNW, with the foresail pulled tight and the jib on, the wind being NNE, fresh, until midnight when I veered to SE with the same wind and rig, until daybreak. This night the ship has rolled very nicely, on account of the swell that had built up from the NE and was hitting us broadside.

Sat. 13

At daybreak, the wind was NE, fresh. With daylight, we set our canvas, and with all the large canvas out, she rocks beautifully. I observed the sun at $7^{\circ}43'$ latitude; I have covered a distance of $90'$ at an angle of $67^{\circ}1'$ between W and NW, with said wind NE, fresh; my difference in latitude is $20'$ and because of this difference, it is evident that the current runs NW, and my difference in longitude is $88'$. After corrections, I am at $11^{\circ}27'$ longitude. I had the heading kept W and yawing to SW, and after the Salve, I changed the heading to NNW, with the two top-gallant sails and the mizzen-sail set, on account of the great swell and that we could not maintain ourselves with [only] the foresail and main topsail, on account of the ship rocking as it does. At midnight, I changed the heading to SE, with the said rig, and at daybreak we set our canvas and I set the course to west, yawing the same, with said wind NE, fresh.—

Sun. 14

At daybreak, the wind was NE, fresh, and we set our canvas and continued on the above course. I observed the sun at $7^{\circ}47'$. I have covered a distance along our course of $90'$, at an angle of $87^{\circ}27'$ between W and NW, with said wind. My difference [i.e. gain] in latitude is $4'$ —and, in this daily run I had expected to see the latitude decrease, but I see that the opposite happened, from which I infer that the current runs to the

NW and my difference in longitude is 90' so that, after corrections, I got 9°57' in longitude. I had the heading kept W, with yawing to SW, and after the Salve I changed the heading to NNW, with the top-gallant sails and the mizzen sail set, on account of the noticeable swell; at midnight, I changed the heading to SE 1/4 E.—

Mon. 15 [Arrival at Palau]

At daybreak, we set our canvas, with the course due west, yawing to SW, the weather closed in. At about 8 a.m., they shouted "Land ho!" from the mast-head. The weather had cleared a little, and the said land or **Island of Panlox** was seen from the deck, straight ahead; we were about 4-1/2 leagues from it. I drew the following indications, as can be seen, of the coastlines as far as the NNW. At noon, we arrived at the northern point that bore W 1/4 SW. The letter **B** is the northern headland;¹ it runs NNW—SSE to the point marked with the letter **A** for a distance of 10-1/2 leagues, although within this distance it embays inward. From the letter **B**, the northern headland, three small islands come out as far as the letter **C**, over a distance of 3/4 league. One league NW of the letter **B**, the northern headland, there begins a barrier reef that runs a distance of about 1/4 league off the coastline, and finally ends up at about 1-1/4 leagues at a point NE of the NW point. NE of this northwestern point, at a distance of 3 leagues, there is a shoal² upon which the water broke almost as high as on this northern headland. **I observed the sun in 7°47' latitude.** I covered a distance of 72' and, by my observation, westward; so, after corrections, I end up with **8°44' of longitude.**

I intended to pass beyond this northern point in order to circumnavigate the island, but the wind was not suitable to sail past it, on account of it having moderated, and besides I myself saw from the mast-head, lying to the WNW, NW, and NNW a piece of green sea like a shallow lagoon, with many breakers over a distance of 3 leagues out to sea. I was then two regular leagues away east of the northwest point, and seeing the disadvantages for our design, I did not expose myself to the contingency of seeing myself run aground upon some shoal, such as those that were in sight, on account of the ship being so bad at tacking.

The wind was NE, moderate; I changed the heading to ESE at about 5:30 p.m. There was a cloud cover and the sky looked as if the wind would increase. And I saw some canoes that came from the land; on account of the existing heavy seas, some returned to port but three came alongside. They positively refused to climb aboard, and remained always overly jumpy. Out of the last canoe to arrive, two [men] climbed aboard, out of greed for the iron that we showed them, as [otherwise] we thought we would not succeed in getting the canoes alongside. As for these two Indians who climbed aboard, they would not have done so otherwise; since there was no other way to make them stay, we placed them in irons, on account of their acting like mad dogs. These people are a very

1 Ed. note: The northern tip of the Arekalong Peninsula, on Babelthup Island.

2 Ed. note: It is called the Kossol Reef.

wild lot and hard to deal with; indeed, we always saw them very distrustful. As a matter of fact, [it was] from their canoes [that] they bartered a few roots that they called **sunay**¹ and a girdles made with small beads, like those of the small islands [i.e. Ulithi], in exchange for any old iron, plates and small things. In spite of our offer of some sweets and wine, they kept being distrustful and refused to come up. They go about naked, except for their private parts, which are covered with a few leaves.² They have no beards, but their hair is long; some have their mane fuzzy like negroes, while others have beautiful [long] hair. And we sailed on this SSE course until the end of the midnight watch, when I changed the heading to NNW back toward the land, with the wind NW [rather NE], fresh, and the sky looking stormy.—

Tue. 16

At daybreak, the wind was ENE. We were 4 leagues east of the center of the Island [i.e. Babelthuap], and the sky looked foreboding, and the sea rather choppy. I approached it within half a league. In the middle of the island, there is a bay, and it seems that there is a break in the reef in this neighborhood.³ Meanwhile, weary of the ominous sky, I went along the coast as far as the ... [eastern?] point; from this point runs another bit of coastline SSW—NNE 1/4 NW S [sic],⁴ for a distance of 3 average leagues, and it looks like this: This piece of coastline follows that shown on the previous page: the letter D [sic] corresponds to the letter A [sic]. At the southern point on the east side is the letter E; it has a reef, and, it appears, a sort of bay, which we did not dare approach too closely, on account of the strong wind and heavy sea. From this tip of the southern point, which is the letter E, runs another piece of coastline from the south NNE-SSW.

And when we came up southward of this piece, I saw that it made two narrow divisions, and on the inside a few islets, and this front looks as follows: The number 1 is the southern point on the east side; it corresponds with the letter E of the profile on the previous page. Number 2 corresponds with Number 3, and Number 4 with Number 5, that makes up the southern part of said Island. The 9 small islets that are shown on the last two lines below, from Number 7 to Number 15, the southern tip on the west side, some to WNW, and they are laid toward the south over a distance of 3 average leagues. The two numbers [blank] are openings into this southern front.—

I did not observe the sun, because the sky was completely overcast. However, the southern point would be in 6°44' of latitude. I have estimated this daily run to cover a distance of 56', and in longitude 12'. And I continue sailing SSW, in order to avoid these low islets that I am now talking about. And at about 5 in the afternoon, one of

1 Ed. note: So called by those on board, I think, with reference to the Chamorro word "suni," a type of yam.

2 Ed. note: This is in sharp improvement over the people of Angaur two years before.

3 Ed. note: This is probably Namai Bay, where there is indeed a break in the reef and a channel leading to the important town of Melekiok.

4 Ed. note: The original is similarly confused. The copyist did not do a good job.

the Indians whom we captured yesterday jumped overboard; we were about 7 leagues from the land then. The ship refused to come to; so, we turned about, but during this maneuver, we lost sight of him. I sailed the whole night until the end of the midnight watch, with enough wind that obliged me to furl the topsails. And after two hour-glasses during the dawn watch, I changed the heading to NNW, and to NW, with said wind NE, rather fresh, and heavy swells, until daybreak.

Wed. 17

At daybreak the wind was NE, fresh, the heading SSE. I did not observe the sun, on account of the sky being completely covered. I covered a distance along my course of 56', in my estimation, along an angle of 56°15' between S and E, with said wind remaining fresh, with a perpendicular sea running from the NE, which made the ship rock beautifully. And from 4 p.m. until the prayer, we were hit by 3 squalls of a reasonable wind but with much rain from the NE. At that time, I changed the heading to ESE, with top-gallant sails on, because I had found the ship's side offering too much resistance. And after 6 hour-glasses during the midnight watch, a squall hit us from the ENE with very strong wind and rain, which obliged us to furl the main-sail and pull the fore-sail tight, in order not to cover much distance or lose [too much] latitude, on account of not having been able to observe the sun over the last two days, and not seen any stars, not to run past the latitude of 5°30' as ordered by the Instruction. [Therefore,] I changed the heading to NNW and then to NW, and kept on that course, with a very strong wind, the foresail tight, until daybreak, and then I continued until noon when I observed.—

Thu. 18

I observed the sun in 5°30' latitude. In these last three daily runs I have covered a distance of 140 minutes along the arc of 11 degrees and 52 minutes between south and west and the ship has balanced reasonably well with the wind from ENE and an ample sea. My difference in latitude was 137 minutes and in longitude 29, and, after adjusting my count, I have remained with 8 degrees and 15 minutes of longitude. I set my course due west in search of the islets of St. Andrew and after nightfall I changed the heading to ESE with said wind being NE very fresh and a rather choppy sea, with only the two lower sails, as it was to kill the ship to place it under the foresail and the top-sail over the jib and I remained with only these two large sails. At midnight I changed the heading to NNW until daybreak and the wind remained very stiff and all night we had it blowing very hard with gusts of wind and rain which surprised me to find winds so strong and such agitated seas at such a low latitude.

Friday 19 February.

The day began with the two mainsails set. We set our topsails at half their heights on account of the said wind from NE, gusting, heading west. I did not observe the sun because the sky was covered and the wind reasonable [strong]. At about 3 p.m., they shouted from the topmast "Land ho!" The two islets of St. Andrew were in sight; we

had not seen them earlier because of the cloudy condition. We would have been about four leagues from them. With the bow pointing west, the southern islet which is the larger one bore west $1/4$ NW. Its length would be a little over one league. The smaller one which is about one league further north would have a length of a little under one league. Both are very flat and trend from NNE to SSW. The northernmost islet is in my estimate in a latitude of 5 degrees 38 minutes. When I arrived near them it would have been at about the hour of prayers. We tacked toward the NW after we had sighted them, the wind being ENE somewhat fresh. The distance as far as these islets has given 85 minutes and I estimate the angle that I navigated at 84 degrees and 2 minutes, thus giving me 6 degrees and 53 minutes of longitude. It being late when I arrived at these islets, I did not dare to place myself on their lee side to look for an anchorage at night and even less to fall downwind. I took the decision that seemed to me more appropriate; I continued heading NNW with [the wind] being ENE somewhat fresh until midnight when I changed the heading to SE.

Saturday 20.

The day began with the wind ENE somewhat fresh, the bow pointing SE, the weather somewhat overcast but we could not see the islets from the topmasts. I followed the same heading until midday. The islets could not be seen at all. I observed the sun in 5 degrees 38 minutes of latitude and by this observation I consider myself E-W abreast of the islet and drifted NW from it. Here I adjusted my count of the last two days. I find a distance of 109 minutes on an angle of 85 degrees and 47 minutes between west and northwest. The difference in latitude is 8 minutes and in longitude 109 minutes and after adjusting my count, I find myself in 6 degrees and 26 minutes of longitude. I made a mistake when I exposed myself to falling downwind after I had recognized that the currents run northwest and the ship being a bad pluer. I found no better decision than to set a course for the Embocadero [Strait of San Bernardino], which I did after midday, steering NW. During the whole of this afternoon, we experienced gusts of stiff winds with heavy rains such that not even hurricanes could equal them. I again was surprised that the winds were so strong in this low latitudes. We had to furl the topsails, load the mainsail upward and remain the whole night with the foresail close to the wind until daybreak.

...
[They fought their way towards the NW but the winds and current did not let them make much headway to reach the Strait of San Bernardino. Consequently, they headed for the Strait of San Juanico, south of Samar Island. On the 3rd of March, they met with an accident, running aground on Suluan Island (which Magellan had visited in 1521).]

Thursday 3 [March].

The day began with the bow pointing N $1/4$ NW with [the wind] ENE and favorable. I observed the sun in 10 degrees and 37 minutes of latitude. I had covered a distance of

20 minutes along an arc of 25 degrees and 51 minutes between north and west. My difference in latitude had been 18 minutes and in longitude 9. After I had adjusted my count, the longitude came out as 1 degree 4 minutes, and I am at a distance of 13 leagues SSE of the point of Guiguan. During the whole afternoon we have navigated to NW 1/4 N with a slight NE wind with small gusts of wind and rain showers. The whole night I sailed in the midst of gusts of little and reasonable wind from the NNE to E, under a cloudy sky and heavy rains. I steered between the above-mentioned heading and N 1/4 NW, maintaining a good watch at the bow, since I was close to land. At the fourth hour-glass of the dawn watch, the horizons had cleared somewhat when they shouted from the bow. We found ourselves upon the land. We shifted the whole forward rig in order to make her turn off, but I found myself running aground on a small islet that was not on my chart nor on any others that we checked after daybreak. Said small islet is called Suluan and it has this shape [no longer available].

After daybreak we managed to refloat the ship, and we moored her with three cables in water three and three-halves fathoms deep, with the bottom being sandy with a few rocks here and there. This islet trends from WNW to ESE. Its circumference is estimated to be about a league and a half. The point of Guiguan bore NNW a distance of 4 leagues.

Friday 4.

The day began with the wind NNE and favorable. We moored the ship as mentioned above.

Until Friday the 11th of this month, we spent our time by unmooring [and moving] her to a cleaner and more comfortable spot to take on water, wood and to collect up coconuts, but the major delay was to wait for [good] weather to set sail, but upon seeing the tenacity of the wind in remaining from ENE, we exposed ourselves in going out to sea with a NNE wind.¹

Thursday 14.

The day began with the wind being NNE very favorable and I got up at about 7 a.m. and set my course to S 1/4 SW and SSW in order towards the port of Cavite. I arrived there and dropped anchor at about 12 noon, thank God, etc. on said day 14th of April 1712.

Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga.

¹ Ed. note: However, he is not convincing, because this wind was favorable for him to get to the southern tip of Panaon and round Leyte Island.

Document S1734J

New regulations for the Manila galleon trade

Source: Printed document found in many archives, for instance, in AGI Fil. 342, L. 10, pp. 123 et seq.

Note: The note printed at the end is a sort of summary. It says: "Your Majesty grants to the City, and Trade, of Manila in the Philippine Islands, the continuation of its trade with the Kingdom of New Spain, in the form, manner, and conditions that are expressed therein."

Original printed regulations in Spanish

[Attached]



EL REY.

POR quanto por parte del Sargento Mayor Don Lorenzo de Rugama y Palacio, y Don Miguel Fernandez Munilla, mi Secretario, Diputados de la Ciudad y Comercio de Manila de las Islas Philipinas, se me ha representado haver llegado à su noticia las ordenes, que mi Virrey de la Nueva-España havia dado al Governador de aquellas Islas, y à la referida Ciudad y su Comercio, para que el Galeon annual, que de ellas va à la Nueva-España, navegase desde este presente año de mil setecientos y treinta y quatro, y siguientes, arreglado à lo dispuesto, y mandado por mi Real Cedula de veinte y siete de Octubre de mil setecientos y veinte (en la que prohibi la conduccion de texidos de Seda) cuya novedad ocasionaria irreparables perjuicios à aquel Comercio, expresando (entre otras cosas) que para la conservacion, y propagacion de la Fé Catholica en aquellas Islas, y sus Confinantes, era preciso su Comercio con la Nueva-España, y que este se hiciese, y permitiese con el principal correspondiente al retorno de un millon, y doscientos mil pesos en cada año, el qual seria imposible se verificase no permitiendo se el trafico, y conduccion de texidos, y ropas de Seda de China, de que no se havian seguido los perjuicios, que havia ponderado el Comercio de España, manifestando las razones, y motivos, que concurrían, para que sin embargo de lo que huviesse representado el referido mi Virrey, permaneciese, y continuase el Reglamento, que fue servido dar al referido Comercio por tiempo de cinco años, por Despacho de quince de Septiembre, y treinta y uno de Octubre de mil setecientos y veinte y seis, suplicandome, fuesse servido conceder para siempre, al Comercio de Philipinas, licencia, y facultad, para que con imposicion de perpetuo silencio à el de Andalucia, y Consulado de Cadiz, pudiesse conducir en cada Galeon annual, que sale de aquellas Islas para la

Nueva-España, las quatro mil piezas que le estaban considera-
das, y se havian tenido por precisas en el Reglamento, que di
el referido año de mil setecientos y veinte y seis, segun, y con
la expresion, y distincion de sexidos, que en él se previno, y
el retorno libre de su producto, à lo menos hasta en cantidad
de un millon, y doscientos mil pesos, que en lo regular po-
drian producir las referidas quatro mil piezas, y necesitaban
aquellos Naturales, assi para su manutencion, y la de las obras
pías existentes en aquellas Islas en utilidad comun, como para
la permanencia, y aumento de sus Christiandades; lo que tam-
bien resultaria en mayor beneficio de mi Real Erario, por ser
(como era) la misma cantidad, con corta diferencia, que se
havia verificado haver producido un año con otro lo que havia
llevado el Galeon en los que havia arribado à Nueva-España;
esto sin perjuicio de los accidentes, que podrian sobrevenir en
el siguiente año, cumplimiento à los cinco del citado permisso,
de que no cabia en el tiempo pudiesen presentar justificacion,
lo qual mandasse se practicasse sin embargo de lo que mi Virrey
de la Nueva-España me huviesse representado sobre este as-
unto: Que tambien fuesse servido mandar se recogiesen las
citadas ordenes, que el referido mi Virrey dió al expresado
Gobernador de Philipinas, y à la enunciada Ciudad, y Co-
mercio de Manila, suspendiendose los efectos de ellas, y quan-
to en su virtud se huviesse executado, por ser contrarias, y
opuestas ex diametro à lo que mandé en mi Real Cedula de diez
y siete de Junio de mil setecientos y veinte y quatro: Que en
caso de que, por algun accidente, excediese la feria de el refe-
rido millon, y doscientos mil pesos, solo huviesse de contri-
buir aquel Comercio el cinco por ciento del embarque, que era
lo mismo que Yo tenia mandado por mis Reales Cédulas cita-
das de quince de Septiembre, y treinta uno de Octubre de mil
setecientos y veinte y seis, sin incluirse los efectos, que se con-
duxessen de la Nueva-España, y llevassen para el gasto de los
Individuos de aquellas Islas, como jabon, cajas de dulce, jar-
ros, minestras, y otras qualquiera fructos: Que mandasse
prevenir, pudiese incluir, y llevar la Maniqueta de Gera diez y
ocho arrobas netas, por haverse experimentado, que reduci-
das

desfólo à doce , no produce lo correspondiente à derechos , y gastos ; y que esto fuesse baxo los mismos derechos à que está regulada la Marqueteria, sin augmento alguno : Que para en adelante quedasse libre aquel Comercio de la contribucion de los veinte mil pesos anuales , con que por la concession del referido quinquenio havia ofrecido servirme , por haverse experimentado le era gravosa , mayormente quando la regulacion de derechos de cada pieza , y el cinco por ciento de lo que se embarcaba producian à mi Real Hacienda tan notorias utilidades , à las que nunca havian llegado los derechos regulados en otros tiempos , ni el indulto de los cien mil pesos , à que estuvo reducida la carga por lo pasado : Que si algun año se perdiessse el Galeon , y su carga por naufragio , ù otro accidente de Piratas , ò arribasse à aquellas Islas , por no poder proseguir viage , ò que viniessse sin carga , por parecer asì conveniente à aquel Vecindario , tuviesse à bien mandar , que justificado que fuesse qualquiera de los referidos motivos , pudiesen los Interesados en el carguio del Galeon siguiente , retornar toda la Plata que produxesse , aunque esta excediesse del expresado millon , y doscientos mil pesos , en contemplacion à el atraso del año antecedente , sin cobrarles otros derechos , que el cinco por ciento del embarque de los pesos , que retornassen de mas de la expresada cantidad ; y que dado caso no fuesse de mi Real agrado condescender absolutamente à lo referido , me dignasse mandar se prorrogasse por otro quinquenio el expresado permiso del año de mil setecientos y veinte y seis , à excepcion de la referida contribucion del servicio de veinte mil pesos anuales. Y vista esta Instancia en mi Consejo de las Indias , y las representaciones , que el Marqués de Casa-Fuerte , mi Virrey de la Nueva-España , me havia hecho en cartas de primero de Noviembre de mil setecientos y treinta y uno , y tres de Abril de mil setecientos y treinta y dos , con los testimonios de Autos , que las acompañaban , en las que (con motivo de participar-me la llegada à Acapulco del Galeon nombrado Nuestra Señora de Guía , los generos que conduxo , y el caudal que havia retornado à Philipinas ; y tambien satisfaciendo à la orden , que le di en primero de Agosto de mil setecientos y treinta y uno,

aprobándole lo que havia executado, y el informe que me havia
 hecho en veinte de Marzo de mil setecientos y treinta, sobre
 una representacion de el Comercio de España, que le remitió,
 à fin que dixesse su dictamen, y le mandé diessé las reglas,
 y metodo, que le pareciesse se debian observar en el trafico de
 el Comercio de Philipinas con la Nueva-España, y que me
 participasse lo que huviesse determinado, y executado en este
 assunto) me expusó el referido Virrey quanto havia ocur-
 rido en la práctica del Reglamento, que dió al expressado Co-
 mercio el año de mil setecientos y veinte y seis; y que havien-
 do conferido este negocio en tres Juntas de Ministros, y sujetos
 inteligentes, se havia determinado, que el Navio annual de
 aquellas Islas navegasse desde el año de mil setecientos y trein-
 ta y quatro, y siguientes, con la carga que se señaló en mi
 Real Cedula de veinte y siete de Oétubre de mil setecientos y
 veinte, interin que Yo determinasse, y mandasse otra cosa,
 de que havia participado, y prevenido al referido Governador
 de Philipinas, y à la Ciudad, y Comercio de Manila
 para su observancia, y me proponia todo lo que su zelo à mi
 servicio havia premeditado, podria ser conveniente practicar
 en el trafico del Comercio de aquellas Islas con la Nueva-España.
 Y teniéndose presente asimismo las cartas, que el ex-
 pressado Governador de Philipinas, y Audiencia de Manila,
 (en que incluye la Instancia, que ante ella hizo aquella Ciu-
 dad, y su Comercio) me han escrito en veinte y ocho de
 Septiembre, y nueve de Oétubre de mil setecientos y treinta
 y dos sobre este assunto; y los Reglamentos, que en doce
 de Agosto de mil setecientos y dos; trece de Diciembre de mil
 setecientos y doce; veinte y siete de Oétubre de mil setecien-
 tos y veinte; diez y siete de Junio de mil setecientos y veinte
 y quatro; y quince de Septiembre, y treinta y uno de Oétu-
 bre de mil setecientos y veinte y seis, he dado à aquel Co-
 mercio, con lo que en inteligencia de todo expuso mi Fiscal.
 He resuelto sobre Consultas del referido mi Consejo de las In-
 dias, de diez y nueve, y veinte y tres de Diciembre proximo
 pasado, revocar las ordenes, que el expressado mi Virrey
 dió al Governador de Philipinas, y à la Ciudad, y Comercio
 de

de Manila, sobre que cumplido que fuese el quinquenio del ³ permiso, que concedi à aquel Comercio en el referido año de mil setecientos y veinte y seis, se arreglase el Galeon, que se despachasse para Acapulco desde este año de mil setecientos y treinta y quatro, y siguientes, à lo dispuesto en mi Real Cedula de veinte y siete de Octubre de mil setecientos y veinte, y declarar (como declaro) se haga, y continúe aquel Comercio, por lo que mira à los generos, que ha de conducir el Galeon, segun en la forma, y con las propias calidades, y condiciones, que mandè en mis Reales Cédulas de doce de Agosto de mil setecientos y dos, trece de Diciembre de mil setecientos y doce, y diez y siete de Junio de mil setecientos y veinte y quatro, excluyendo absolutamente la regulacion de este nuevo permiso por piezas, la qual se haga precisamente en adelante por facturas, y relaciones juradas, baxo tambien de las mismas calidades, y condiciones regladas en las referidas Cédulas de doce de Agosto de mil setecientos y dos, trece de Diciembre de mil setecientos y doce, y diez y siete de Junio de mil setecientos y veinte y quatro, y aumentar la permission hasta en cantidad de quinientos mil pesos de principal, y un millon de pesos de retorno; sirviendo esta mi Real deliberacion de Reglamento fixo, desde aora para en adelante, en el Trafico, y Comercio de Philipinas con la Nueva-España, en la forma que se expresa en los Capítulos siguientes.

I. Primeramente ordeno, que desde el dia en que confiare haverse presentado este Despacho al referido Governador de las Islas Philipinas, cèsse (como se lo mando) en la execucion, y cumplimiento de las ordenes, que mi Virrey de la Nueva-España le diò, y à la Ciudad, y Comercio de Manila en cartas de veinte, y veinte y cinco de Marzo de mil setecientos y treinta y dos, sobre que cumplido que fuese el quinquenio del permiso de las quatro mil piezas, que concedi à aquel Comercio el año de mil setecientos y veinte y seis, se arreglase el Galeon, que se despachasse de Manila para Acapulco en el presente de mil setecientos y treinta y quatro, y siguientes, à lo dispuesto en la citada mi Real Cedula de veinte y siete de Octubre de mil setecientos y veinte (en que prohibi la con-

ducion de texidos de Seda) la qual fui servido reformat , y anular por otra de diez y siete de Junio de mil setecientos y veinte y quatro , por ser mi Real voluntad revocar (como revoco) las mencionadas ordenes , que diò el expressado mi Virrey , segun queda referido.

II. Atendiendo à el derecho , que tienen los Naturales , y habitantes de las Islas Philipinas para comerciar con el Reyno de la Nueva-España ; y siendo justo no negarles el Comercio con la China , ni por consiguiente el Trafico con el referido Reyno de Nueva-España , de aquellos texidos en furtimiento , con los que se fabrican , y producen en las mismas Islas , por no poder de otra forma subsistir , y conservarse , ni ser bastante para ello los generos , y frutos , que en ellas se producen : Permito , y concedo à el referido Comercio de Philipinas , que cada año en el Galcon , ò Naos , que de aquellas Islas salieren para el Reyno de la Nueva-España por el situado de ellas , pueda embiar , y embie à el referido Reyno , quinientos mil pesos de principal , ò empleo en Philipinas en texidos , y ropas de Seda de China en furtimiento , y en los que se fabrican , y producen en aquellas Islas , y en los demás frutos , y generos , que hasta agora huvieren podido , y debido comerciar , y que pueda retornar à dichas Islas en el referido Galeon , ò Naos un millon de pesos en cada un año ; empezandose à practicar este mi Real Permisso , y Reglamento desde el primer Galeon , ò Baxeles , que despues de haver llegado este Despacho à aquellas Islas , salieren de ellas para la Nueva-España , el qual se aya de continuar los años siguientes , y sucesivamente en adelante.

III. No conviniendo (como no conviene) que la regulacion , y abaluacion del permissio de la carga del referido Galeon , ò Baxeles se haga por piezas , ni que se abran los caxones , y demás fardos en que conduxeren sus mercaderias , excluyo absolutamente la regulacion por piezas ; y mando , que las abaluaciones , y manifestaciones de la carga , se executen en adelante precisamente por las facturas , que cada uno ha de presentar en la Contaduria de Manila , en el termino que se le assignare , haciendo juramento solemne de ser fuyas todas las

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mercaderías que incluyeren dichas facturas, y no contener mas de lo que expresasen, y de no ser cosa alguna de los generos comprehendidos en ellas, perteneciente à vecinos, y residentes en el Reyno de Nueva-España, ni à otra persona alguna de las prohibidas en el Comercio de Philipinas con dicho Reyno.

IV. Respecto de que por mi Real Cedula de doce de Agosto de mil setecientos y dos, se regularon en cien mil pesos los derechos que debia pagar en Acapulco de ida, y buelta el Galeon annual, por el permiso que en aquel año le concedi de trescientos mil pesos de empleo en Philipinas, y seiscientos mil de retorno, y que agora he augmentado la permission à quinientos mil pesos de principal, y à un millon de pesos de retorno: Mando, que el Comercio de Philipinas satisfaga la cantidad, que (por prorrata) le correspondiere à este nuevo permiso de quinientos mil pesos de principal de empleo en Philipinas, y un millon de retorno, por todos los derechos que debe pagar en Acapulco, assi de venida, como de buelta (y no con nombre de Indulto) por cada Navio annual, ò Baxeles; con declaracion, de que lo que se vendiere, y despachare en el referido Puerto de Acapulco, tampoco pagará alcavala de la primera venta, aunque si de lo que recalare, y passare à las demás Provincias de la Nueva-España, como se ha practicado; pues es cierto que la contribucion, que ha de hacer el Comercio, regulandola por el millon de pesos, que se supone han de importar los quinientos mil del permiso, saldrá à diez y siete por ciento, y dexarán ochenta y tres de ganancia, con corta diferencia, à los Interesados; siendolo tambien, que costean-dose por mi las fabricas, carenas, aprestos, tripulacion, sueldos, viveres, pertrechos, y municiones de los Baxeles, sin recibir mas de à quarenta y quatro ducados por cada tonelada del repartimiento, no solo no quedará utilidad à mi Real Hacienda, sino que avrá menester suplir porcion considerable para mantener, y conservar este Trafico, y Comercio à los Naturales de Philipinas, que es toda la piedad de que puede usar mi Real magnificencia; pero si la Ciudad, y Comercio de Manila no conviniere en la referida regulacion, se avrán de exi-

gir , y cobrar los derechos enteramente , sin perdonar , ni remitir cosa alguna , pues de otra suerte no podrá permanecer este Trafico , ni costearle mi Real Patrimonio.

V. Ordeno , y mando , que la numeracion de los Comerciantes la haga la Ciudad de Manila por sí sola , y sin asistencia de Ministro alguno , incluyendo en ella los Naturales Españoles Militares , ò de otra profesion , que se hallaren en el Puerto de Cabite , y pudieren entrar en este Trafico , por ser justo se les atienda ; y que las personas à quienes se les repartiere en Manila parte , y porcion para la carga del Galeon , ò Baxeles , que no pudieren por sí usar del repartimiento , no puedan , por ningun modo , ceder à otro su accion , y derecho , y que indispensablemente aya de bolver à la Junta de Repartimiento , para que en ella se reparta esta porcion justificadamente entre los demás Comerciantes , Vecinos , y Naturales de Philipinas (excepto los pobres , y viudas , que estos podrán ceder su accion , y derecho à qualquiera de los Comerciantes habiles , como sea comprehendido en la referida numeracion) y permitiendolò el buque del Galeon , ò Baxeles , con advertencia , de que no se aventuren , ni arriesguen por ir sobrecargados.

VI. Que la referida numeracion de los Comerciantes se presente en la Junta , que se destinarà para la distribucion de las toneladas , que del Galeon , ò Baxeles quedaren utiles , y que este repartimiento se haga sin incluir en él , por ningun medio , ni debaxo de pretexto , ni simulacion alguna (pena de mi indignacion) à Ministro , ni Eclesiastico , Seculares , ò Regulares , ni à Forasteros de aquellas Islas ; haciendo para esto las personas incluidas en él , juramento en forma , de que es fuyò lo que han de comerciar en aquel viage , como queda prevenido en el Capitulo tercero.

VII. Que executado el referido repartimiento , presenten en el termino que se les assignare , las facturas de los generos que huvieren de remitir , para que se haga el abaluo de lo que importaren , concurriendo à él dos personas peritas diputadas de la Ciudad , y Comercio , con los Oficiales Reales , y Fiscal de mi Audiencia de Manila , que ha de su-

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tender en todo el abaluo, y lo demás que irá expref-

II. Que fi algun Comerciante fe sintiere agraviado en
neracion, pueda ocurrir à la Junta, para que en el repar-
to fe le guarde justicia; y que fi en el fuere agraviado
Junta, tenga el recurso à la Audiencia, exclufos los Mi-
sdo ella, que huvieren afistido en la Junta del Reparti-
o, en cuyos casos fe ha de proceder breve, y fumaria-

Que fi excediere de los quinientos mil pesos rata por-
le las toneladas repartidas, y valores de los generos que
biaren, fe minoren los carguios hasta dexarlos reducidos,
signado.

Que fi no cubrieren los quinientos mil pesos, y los
es lo permitieren, fe les conceda en la misma forma la
sion de cumplir esta cantidad; advirtiendole, que no por-
unos no puedan hacerlo, han de poder ceder este dere-
otros, excepto los pobres, y viudas, que estos podrán
su accion, y derecho à qualquiera de los Comercian-
biles, fiendo comprehendido en la expreffada numera-
como queda prevenido en el Capitulo quinto; pues
o menos se cargare, fe afseguraràn mas los Navios, la co-
lad de los Passageros, y hasta la ganancia de las merca-
facilitandose, y abreviandose la feria; pues de esta for-
ne hallare mejor servido, y no fe perjudicará tanto à los
ercios de España.

Que observado lo referido, quede registrado, y
ssado, y fe embarque con cuenta, y razon, y con afsif-
de los Oficiales Reales, ò de uno de ellos, y de el Fis-
y faltando este, de el Ministro que exerciere la Fis-

Que registrado, y proceffado todo, como vâ di-
fe visiten las Naos por el Fiscal, y Oficiales Reales, ù
l Real, que afsistieren, y fe entregue el registro al Co-
ante, ò Maestre de cada Nao, poniendo por cabeza la
racion executada por la Ciudad, y fuccessivamente el
imiento hecho por la Junta, las facturas, y el abaluo,

y aprecio de los generos , y cosas que estas comprehendieren , con el nombre de cada una de las personas à quienes tocaren , y juramento , que hicieren de comerciarlas , y remitirlas de su cuenta.

XIII. Que el Maestre de cada Nao aya de formar su libro de sobordo , y presentarle en Acapulco al Castellano , y Oficiales Reales para la descarga , trayendo duplicado de todo , el qual se ha de remitir à mi Virrey de la Nueva-España , à fin que le reconozca ; y haviendolo hecho , le comuniqué con el Tribunal de Quentas de Mexico (como mando lo execute) para que en él se copie , y se embie à mi Consejo de las Indias el que fuere de Philipinas.

XIV. Que luego que el Galeon , ò Naos lleguen à Acapulco , el Castellano , y Oficiales Reales de aquel Puerto pongan las Guardas convenientes , para evitar ocultaciones , y furtivas introducciones , y hagan , que con su asistencia desembarquen , y aligen su carga , sin detencion , ni intermision alguna , cobrando la cantidad , que por prorrata debiere satisfacer el Comercio al respecto de este nuevo permiso ; y en su defecto los derechos establecidos , ò afianzandose en los mismos generos , como hasta aqui se huviere practicado , porque à los Comerciantes no se les perjudique en la demora.

XV. Que desembarcado , y reconocido lo registrado , y processado , se visite el Galeon , ò Baxcles , y todo lo demás que se hallare , ò antes se aprehendiere con qualquier titulo (no siendo pertrechos , municiones , ni vastimentos de la provision de ellos) se dé por decomisso , sin oír sobre ello ninguna representacion , por prohibir de aqui adelante (como va exprellado) las manifestaciones ; siendo mi Real animo privarme de los derechos doblados , que estas podrian producir , por arajar de raiz estas fraudulentas negociaciones ; no siendo justo se toleren , ni dexen de castigarse quando se cometen contra mi Real voluntad , en deservicio mio , y en perjuicio de los Comercios de estos Reynos , por Vassallos , à quienes atiengo con tanto amor , y benignidad.

XVI. Que para evitar pretextos , y ocurrir à todo , quiero , que si estuviere en costumbre , que à los Marineros , y Sol-

dados de la Tripulacion (en que no se han de incluir los Oficiales) se les dexen embarcar con su ropa alguna caja , se continúe esta permission , como no exceda lo que tragere cada uno de treinta pesos de valor en Philipinas , cuya cantidad no ha de minorar la de el permiso de los quinientos mil pesos.

XVII. Que de las cosas que se comissaren , toque la mitad à la Real Hacienda ; la quarta parte al Juez ; y la otra quarta al Denunciador , sin embargo de qualquier ley , y orden , que en contrario huviere , para que obren con zelo , desvelo , y aplicacion en descubrir estos fraudes ; pero si el valor del comisso llegare à cinquenta mil pesos , en tal caso se señalarà por mi Virrey de la Nueva-España , y el Acuerdo de Mexico , al Juez , y Denunciador la cantidad , que pareciere proporcionada ; y sucediendo la aprehension en Philipinas , por aquella Audiencia , dexando al arbitrio de los Jueces las demás penas , que se proporcionaren à la culpa de los contraventores , lo qual se ha de publicar por Vando (como mando se publique) en Manila , Mexico , y Acapulco , para que ninguno pueda alegar ignorancia.

XVIII. Que el retorno no oya de exceder de un millon de pesos ; en inteligencia , de que la ganancia de lo que se trafica (despues de pagados los derechos Reales) no puede passar de ciento por ciento , ni aun llegar à tan crecido lucro , sino es por algun raro accidente ; pero esto no obstante , siendo mi voluntad utilizar en todo lo possible à los Comerciantes de Philipinas : Declaro , que si por causa de ser alguna vez la feria muy ventajosa , importare mas del millon de pesos el producto de los quinientos mil , que han de comerciarse , puedan extraer los Interesados el referido millon en reales , y lo demás en generos , y frutos de la Nueva-España , pagando los derechos acostumbrados , de que les resultará nueva , y mayor conveniencia ; y que para que esto se practique sin fraude , ni confusion , tengan obligacion los que vinieren de Philipinas , y los Factores , y Apoderados de los que no vinieren , de sacar licencias para el embarco de los reales , que por sus ropas , y generos huvieren adquirido ; las quales ordeno à mi Virrey de

de la Nueva-España, disponga se les entreguen, sin dificultad, dilacion, ni paga de derecho alguno; advirtiéndolo, que los Mercaderes, ó Factores, que no llegaren à la Ciudad de Mexico, por haver despachado sus generos, y ropas en la feria, que suele hacerse en Acapulco, han de sacar tambien la licencia para el embarco de la Plata, del Castellano, y Oficiales Reales, à quienes prevendrá el referido mi Virrey, que tampoco lleven por ellas algunos derechos.

XIX. Que observandose asì, se reconozca al tiempo del embarco, por las mismas licencias que han de presentarse, la Plata que se ha de embarcar; y siendo mas del millon de pesos, se ratee el exceso entre todos los Interesados, segun las toneladas que se les repartieron, y las abaluaciones que se hicieron al tiempo del despacho en Philipinas, que han de estar (como queda dicho) para este efecto en poder del Castellano, y Oficiales Reales de Acapulco; los quales procederàn en ello breve, y sumariamente, sin perjudicar à las partes en la detencion, ni embarazarles, que el exceso lo puedan extraer en frutos, y generos de las Provincias de Nueva-España; teniendo entendido, que si no obraren como deben, y llegare esta queja justificada à mi Consejo de las Indias, seràn severamente castigados; asì como haciendo lo que es de su obligacion, mereceràn mi Real gratitud.

XX. Que si el producto no llegare al referido millon (que serà lo mas regular) no ha de poder conceder mi Virrey de la Nueva-España, ni otro Ministro alguno, de ningun estado; ni calidad que sea, permission para remitir la cantidad que faltare, con ningun pretexto, por fundado, y justificado que parezca; porque desde ahora, para siempre, lo prohibo, y se castigará con especial demonstracion lo que en su contravencion se executare, por haverse entendido, que debaxo de este motivo han ido introduciendo su Comercio en Philipinas los Naturales, y residentes en el Reyno de Nueva-España, haciendo gravísimos perjuicios à mi Real Hacienda, y poniendo este Trafico en el estado, que oy se reconoce, con grande detrimento de los Comercios de España; sobre que encargo à mi Virrey de la Nueva-España, vigile, y se dedique todo al mas pun-

puntual, y exacto cumplimiento de lo expresado, de modo, que no se relaxe, ni disimule cosa, por pequeña que sea, pues en esto consistirá no vuelva à experimentar el daño que se ha padecido.

XXI. Que si à el tiempo del desembarco en Acapulco, ò en el intermedio del despacho del Galeon, ò Baxeles, ò despues al tiempo del embarco de la Plata, y frutos para el tornaviage, se averiguare, que es alguna porcion de Vecino, Natural, ò residente en la Nueva-España, de qualquier grado, calidad, ò condicion que sea; ordeno se dê por decomiso, aplicando à los Juces, y Denunciadores las partes que les pertenecieren, segun, y en la forma que va declarado, y que además de esto, pague à mi Real Hacienda el delinquente por la primera vez, el tres tanto de lo que importaren los generos, y facturas que comerciare, segun los abalnos, que se han de tener presentes; y en caso que reincida, se le imponga perdimento de bienes, y destierro de las Provincias de Nueva-España por diez años; en cuyos procedimientos espero de los Juces de la Nueva-España, y Philipinas, desempeñarán enteramente su obligacion, si no quieren experimentar los efectos de mi desagrado; porque lo que conviene à mi servicio, y al bien universal de la Causa Publica, es, que el Comercio de Philipinas sea unica, y libremente de los Naturales de aquellas Islas.

XXII. Por lo que toca à las medidas, vengo en que la Ciudad, y Comercio de Manila usen de las que hasta aqui han acostumbrado, como no excedan, con el aumento que las dieron; de la quarta parte de extension, que les concedi por la citada mi Real Cedula de doce de Agosto de mil setecientos y dos; y por otra de veinte y tres de Oétubre de mil setecientos y treinta y tres: Y por lo que mira à la Marqueta de Cera, vengo asimismo en que sea del peso, y tamaño que se ha practicado (como fruto de la tierra) antes del año de mil setecientos y veinte y seis.

XXIII. Conviniendo que la Junta de Repartimiento del Buque se componga de las personas mas principales, y de mayores experiencias: Nombro para ella al Governador, y Capi-

407
v. tan General de las Islas Philipinas; al Oidor Decano de aquella Audiencia; y à su falta, el Ministro que le siguiere por su antigüedad; al Fiscal de ella; al Arzobispo; y en su falta, al Dean de la Iglesia de Manila; à un Alcalde Ordinario de aquella Ciudad; à un Regidor de ella; y à un Compromissario de los ocho, que componen aquel Comercio: Bien entendido, que el Regidor, y Compromissario, han de ser à los que por turno tocara en cada año asistir à la referida Junta de Repartimiento, y à el carguio de las Naos, como antes se executaba; practicandose el referido turno entre todos los Regidores, para el Regidor; y entre los ocho Compromissarios, para el Compromissario, sin embargo de lo mandado por el citado Despacho de quince de Septiembre de mil setecientos y veinte y seis. Por tanto, por la presente ordeno, y mando al Marqués de Casa-Fuerte, Capitan General de mis Exercitos, mi Virrey, Gobernador, y Capitan General de las Provincias de Nueva-España, y Presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Mexico; ò à la persona, ò personas à cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno; à la referida mi Real Audiencia de Mexico; à el Fiscal de ella; à los Oficiales de mi Real Hacienda de las Caxas de la expressada Ciudad; al Castellano, y Oficiales Reales de Acapulco; à Don Fernando Valdés Tamon, Brigadier de mis Exercitos, Gobernador, y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas; ò à la persona, ò personas à cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno; à mi Audiencia Real de Manila; à el Fiscal de ella; à los Oficiales de mi Real Hacienda de las Caxas de la referida Ciudad de Manila; à el Concejo, Justicia, y Regimiento de ella; y à todos los demás Ministros del Reyno de la Nueva-España, y de las Islas Philipinas: Y ruego, y encargo à el muy Reverendo en Christo Padre Arzobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana de la expressada Ciudad de Manila; y por su falta, al Venerable Dean, y Cabildo de ella, observen, guarden, cumplan, y executen, en la parte que à cada uno tocara, y hagan guardar, cumplir, y executar precisa, y puntualmente todo lo que va referido, sin poner duda, interpretacion, réplica, ni embarazo alguno, por convenir assi al servicio de Dios, y mio;

y à la regular conservacion, y continuacion del Comercio de las Islas Philipinas con el Reyno de la Nueva-España, como lo fïo del zelo, y amor à mi servicio de las enunciadas personas; pues lo contrario, serà de mi desagrado. Y si se entendiere por qualquiera noticia veridica, haverse faltado por alguno, ò algunos de mis Ministros à la observancia de lo que vò expressado, se procederà à el castigo, y penas, que correspondan al exceso de la contravencion, y deberàn responder, y satisfacer à qualquiera cargo, que resultare por falta de cumplimiento en esta mi Real deliberacion. Fecha en *Buen Retiro* à ocho — de *Abril* — — de mil setecientos y treinta y quatro.

Yo el Rey. ss.

Le mandò de su Real còrte.

Juan de los Rios
Real còrte

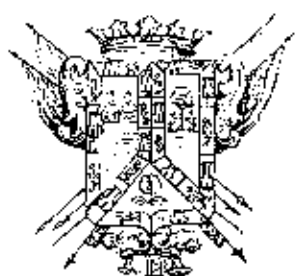


V. Mag. concede à la Ciudad, y Comercio de Manila en las Islas Philipinas la continuacion de su Trafico con el Reyno de Nueva-España, en la forma, y con las calidades, y condiciones que se expressan.

Document S1746F

Viceroy of New Spain, 1746-1755

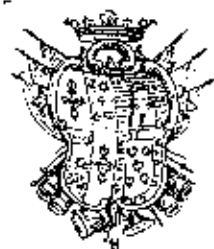
*Source: Manuel Rivera Cambas, *Los gobernantes de México*, Aguilar Ortiz, 1872-73, 2 volumes.*



*El Excmo. Sr D.^o Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Comente Genl. de los Reales
Ejércitos, Gobernador que fue de la ciudad de la Havana. El Virrey de esta Nueva
España.*

Por su hijo de Don Juan de Guzmán

Don Antonio de Sevilla Gueda



El Excmo. Sr. D. Juan de Barrantes y Villalón, Marqués de las Américas, Gentil-Hombre de la Cámara de S. M. con entrada, Comendador de la Real Orden de Santiago, Caballero del Real Consejo de las Indias, Teniente General de R. Armadas de la Armada Española, político y militar de Mar y Tierra, y Comandante General interino de Cataluña, Virrey, etc. y Cap. Gen. de esta Nueva España, y Real Audiencia y Chancillería.

En la ciudad de Madrid a 10 de Mayo de 1763.

*Al Marq. de las
Américas*



FERNANDO VI.

En el año de 1763.

Y El Rey.



El Excmo. Sr. D. Juan de Meneses, Marqués de Cruillas, Caballero de la Orden de Santiago, Sanz de la Llosa, Alfonso y Catalayud, Marqués de Cruillas, Caballero de la Orden de Santiago, Comendador de Mayorga y Barriona, y lugar de guerra en la villa de Montesa, Teniente General de las Reales Armas, Teniente Coronel del Regimiento de Reales Granaderos Españoles de a caballo, Virrey de la Nueva España y Virrey de la Nueva Galicia.

Madrid de España, 1712

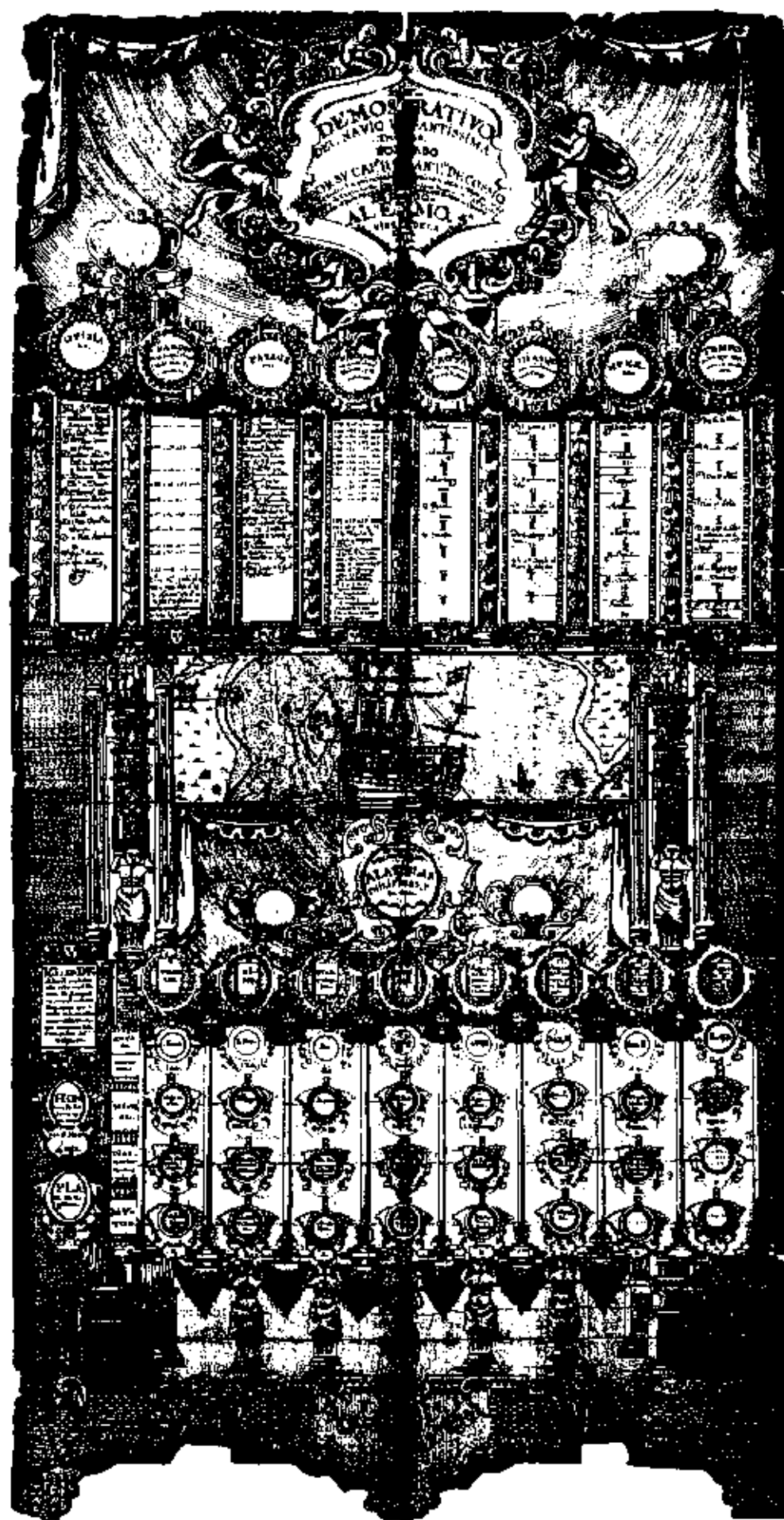
Don Juan de Cruillas



El Excmo. Sr. D. D.º Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix, Caballero del Orden de Calatrava, Comendador de Alcázar y Laguna, está en la misma época, capitán gen. de la 1.ª Brigada de Infantería, Gobernador y Capitán Gen. de esta Nueva España y Presidente de su Audiencia, de cuyos últimos empleos tomó posesión el día 23 de Agosto de 1766.

Ant. de la V. de Murguía e hijos.

El marq. de Croix



Document S1755D

Biographical sketch of Captain Pedro Cosio

Sources: AGI Fil. 681, and Mex. 1369.

Cosio was captured on board the galleon **Trinidad** by the English and brought to England as a prisoner, as it appears in a petition of his presented to the King in 1764 [no specific date]. He requests redress for his sufferings and back pay, and requests an appointment as Governor of the Marianas, or New Mexico, or another, and, in the meantime, a salary of 40 pesos, which is half of what he was making when Captain of the Manila galleons.

Cosio was asked to provide documents to show how he got to the Philippines, and what military jobs he filled there. He answered that there were none as such, but that he had gone to Mexico in 1736, where he did some trading, before moving to Manila. In 1743, 44 and 45 he took some royal mail to Mexico, without cost, while he was Master of the Silver aboard the Patache **Santo Domingo** that arrived at Matanchel in bad condition. In the 1750s, he was sent to the island of Paragua to make the plans for a new fort there. He gives as his character references: the Crown Attorney Pedro Calderon; Don Joachin de Condon, and Don Manuel del Rivero.

The Council thought of recommending him for the post of General of the Manila galleon, but a letter that came from Manila, informed them that Don Francisco Meylan had gotten that post from Archbishop Rojo. However, they judged the services of Captain Cosio as of commercial interest, rather than in the interest of the royal service. Therefore, he apparently got no compensation, not even for his sufferings.

However, in a letter signed by Viceroy Croix on 27 October 1770, he tells Bailiff Arriaga that he has appointed Cosio to a post in the administration of the port of Veracruz.

(Facing page:) **Diagram showing the actual results of the 1755-56 voyage, by Captain Cosio.**

Sources: AGN Mexico; reproduced in color in the National Geographic, September 1990, page 23. Note: This clean copy was re-done by Captain Cosio for the Viceroy of new Spain.

Document S1758G

Governor Arandia's comment about the Santísima Trinidad's design

Source: AGN Fil. 6, fol. 28-29v.

Note: See Doc. 1759D for follow-up documents.

Letter from Governor Arandia to the Viceroy, dated Mexico 20 July 1758

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

Mui Señor mui.

*En el despacho pasado noticié à V.E. se quedaba en este Astillero de Cavite trabajando en la rebaja del Navio la **Santísima Trinidad** que siendo de tres puentes, ha quedado en el de dos, quitándole la maquina de la ventola que le hacía tan pesado, y el medio de las conveniencias que en todos los que hasta él, se han fabricado en este Continente, ha sido cueba de atractivo para los escandalos que ha causado este Comercio, à sombra del lisito, y permitido por Reales Zedulas. De forma que el dicho baso, va renovado desde la quilla, hasta la grimpula, con singulares mejoras de las de su primera formacion para los alojamientos como lo he visto, pues vine en él. Con esperanzas segun el parecer de todos los peritos, navegará con distinta velocidad que antes, y desde luego se evidencia de no calar su puntal tanta agua como antes, por que era peligrosa su entrada en muchos puertos de este Continente, por su puntal. Puede montar quarenta y dos cañones, pero utiles, y sin embarazarle, le restan à su manejo treinta y seis.*

Lo que no se há podido estrechar, és el ambito de la bodega que sacó del vientre de su astillero por lo que su arqueo siempre se ha de considerar maior, que para la carga, que annual puede dar este Continente, pero con las reglas dadas, y lo que asegura el dicho, de que el miedo guarda la viña, asegurada la bodega al deber, y está conforme à registro, espero no aya en mi tiempo queja por indebida carga.

He tenido la desgracia que acabado de alistar el Navio, y pucsto para recibir la aguada, se há muerto el Maestro Constructor que há hecho, por lo que queda en confuso, como vandearme para las nuevas Fragatas que espero hazer, por faltarme las satisfacciones, que de su propiedad, pericia, y legalidad tenía, bien que tengo otros para esta

esperanza, pero son sin probabilidad de las experiencias del difunto.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Manila y Julio de 1758.

Exmo. Señor

B.I.m. de V.E. su mas seguro servidor

D. Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Marques de las Amarillas.*

Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

In the last despatch I notified Y.E. that the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** was being refitted in this shipyard of Cavite. Having been of three decks, she is being reduced to two decks, by removing the bulk of her volume that made her so heavy, and the means by which all ships before her that had been built in this continent had been the cause of scandalous trade practices flourishing in the shade of the licit trade, as permitted by Royal Decrees. The outcome is that this new vessel, has been renovated from the keel up to the vane, with singular improvements over her original design for the accommodations, as I have myself seen, since I came aboard her [in 1752]. It is hoped that, according to the opinion of all the experts, she will sail with a distinct speed than before, and of course this is made obvious by her draught which is not deep as before, because it was dangerous to go into many ports of this continent, on account of her draught. She can hold 42 guns, but useful ones, and without them being in the way; there remain 36 spare ones.

What has not been possible to reduce is the width of the hold that that the shipwright took out of her belly, so that its tonnage must still be considered of major capacity than what is necessary for the annual freight [allowed] to this continent; however, with the given rules, and, as the saying goes "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure", the hold is rightly in accordance with her registered tonnage, and I hope that during my term there will not be any excessive loads.

I have to report the misfortune that occurred when the ship was ready, and about to take on water, the Master shipwright who did it all has died. Shipbuilding has become difficult and I do not know how I will manage to build the new Frigates that I had planned, because I lack persons with his knowledge, expertise and honesty; however, I will make do with other builders in waiting, though they do not have the experience of the deceased.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, July 1758.

Your Excellency.

Your most dedicated servant who kissed the hands of Y.E.,

Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of las Amarillas.

Documents S1759E

Appointment of Lieutenant Soroa (cont'd)

Sources: AGN Fil. 6, fol. 191, and Fil. 6, fol. 392.

E1. Letter from the Bishop of Cebu to the Viceroy, dated Manila 24 July 1759

Original text in Spanish.

Excmo. Señor

Muy Señor mio: haviendo cumplido Don Andres del Barrio, y Rabago los tres años de su Govierno en las Yslas Marianas, y no comparciendo provisto por S.M. nombre para que le subceda en este empleo á Don Joseph Soroa. Y por que los Situados y quantas de los sele dirijan, y no al expresado Barrio lo avizo á V.Ex^a esperando que así lo mande a oficiales Reales de ese Reyno.

Dios guarde á V.Ex^a muchos años.

Manila y Jullio 24 de 1759.

B.I.m. de V.Ex. su afecto servidor y Capellan

Miguel Obispo de Zebu.

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Marques de las Amarillas.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

As Don Andrés del Barrio y Rabago has served the three years as Governor of the Mariana Islands, and since no-one else has been provided for by H.M., I have appointed Don José Soroa as his successor in this post. And because the Subsidies and their accounts be addressed to him, and not to the said Barrio, I let Y.E. know about this, hoping that you may so advise the Royal Officials of that Kingdom.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 24 July 1759.

Your affectionate servant and Chaplain, who kisses the hand of Y.E.,

Miguel Bishop of Cebu.

[To] His Excellency the Marquis of las Amarillas.

E2. Letter from the Bishop of Cebu to the Viceroy, dated Manila 17 July 1760

Original text in Spanish,

Señores

Estoy en inteligencia por la que recevi de V.Sorias con fha de 20 de Marzo del Corriente año, en la que participan, haver hecho tomar razon de la que dirigí el año proximo passado con fha de 24 de Jullio, en assumpto de haver cesado en el Gobierno de Marianas Don Andres del Barrio, y sucedido en su lugar Don Joseph del Soroa, para que Ofiziales Reales, se hallen advertido de esta Variacion.

Dios Guarde a V.Srias. muchos años.

Manila y Jullio 17 de 1760.

Miguel Obispo de Zebu

[A los] Señores y Real Audiencia Gobernadora del Reino de Nueva España

Translation.

Gentlemen:

I acknowledge the receipt of letter from Your Lordships dated 20 March of the present year, in which you let me know that you have asked for consultation with respect to mine of 24 July of last year, regarding the end of the term of the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don Andrés del Barrio, and his replacement by Don José Soroa, in order for the Royal Officials take this change into account.

May God save Your Lordships for many years.

Manila, 19 July 1760.

Miguel Bishop of Cebu.

[To the] Gentlemen of the Royal Audiencia, Governors of the Kingdom of New Spain.

Documents S1762C

**How the stage was set for the loss of the
patache Filipino**

**C1. Letter of General Juan Blanco dated Palapag 12
September 1762**

Source: Fr. Eduardo Navarro, OSA. Documentos indispensables para la verdadera historia de Filipinas, Madrid, 1908, vol. 1, pp. 154-159.

Original text in Spanish.

[Attached]

Carta del General de el Navio «Filipino».

Muy Ilustre Señor Doctor Don Manuel Antonio Roxo del Río y Vieyra, etc. Muy Ilustre Señor: Tengo hecho á Vuesefloria Ilustrísima tres despachos, primera y segunda via, desde este Puerto de Palapag², noticiando á Vuesefloria Ilustrísima los trabajos y ca-

— 155 —

tado de la ida y buelta, habiendo desembocado de Acapulco el catorce de Abril, fondeado en Marianas el veinte y nueve de Junio, saliendo de allí el tres de Julio, y que por la tenacidad de los vendavales no havia podido avistar la tierra de Sáman hasta el diez y ocho de Agosto, llegando á la inmediación de San Bernardino con gran necesidad de víveres, y que no dando el tiempo lugar de entrar para adentro, havia determinado tocar en este Puerto para remediar la expuesta necesidad, y, mejorado el tiempo, seguir mi destino, lo que executé con el mayor esfuerzo en beneficio de los intereses de su Magestad y ese comercio, en cumplimiento de mi encargo y honroso proceder, cuyo tanto de los testimonios de su justificación (que son en mi poder originales) es adjunto á la letra, consiguiente al estado de dicho Navio y demas cartas de oficio que escribí al Señor Virrey de México, y sus contestaciones, como así mismo tres papeletas de estar rota la Guerra desde Diciembre de el año proximo pasado contra el Inglés en auxilio del Francés, los oficiales y demas trasportados que vienen á este Bordo, y de precios de feria, lo que executo ahora también, por si se huviese perdido aquel despacho, lo que dudo, mediante haver tenido respuesta de el otro, que hice á Vuesefloria Ilustrísima, estando ya dentro de dicho San Bernardino, en Baliquatum¹, de el Padre de Bulusan² y alcalde mayor de Sorsogón, quien me respondió, que uno y otro havia remitido con la mayor promptitud á Vuesefloria Ilustrísima el dos del corriente, y haviendo llegado á dicho Baliquatum el tres de dicho, hasta el diez del mismo, estuve batallando con las corrientes y tenacidad del vendabal, haver si podia conseguir montando el

— 150 —

temido y tremendo paso de Capul¹, Naranjos², punta de Bulusan y bajo de Calantas, cuya fatiga por el hervidero de corrientes furiosas en la corta distancia de legua y media, que distan dichos escollos unos de otros, no obstante, toda la consideración de ello, lo hubiera conseguido en cualquiera de las cuatro veces que lo intenté si tuviera sugeto para ello. La inquietud, timidez, desventura y desgracia de este infeliz Piloto (si mereco el nombre de tal) no lo ha permitido, y aun puestole dos practicos buenos de aquel parage, no havia para el admisión de razones de ellos, porque todo se reducía á argumentos theóricos suyos, y los Indios no responden á estos, sino la práctica que tienen á su modo, y así es preciso entenderles; aora bien, ¿Qué quiere Vuesefloria Ilustrisima que diga yo más á todo esto? ¿Qué quantos trabajos, riesgos patentes (sea Dios bendito por sus infinitas misericordias, pues nos ha concedido llegar á cojer las Islas con vida!) gastos del Real Haver, de el comercio y de el comun de oficiales y Pasajeros, y dotación de este Patache, de todo tiene su incapacidad la culpa; pero ¿cómo? me preguntará Vuesefloria Ilustrisima, y yo estoy prompto á justificarlo con todo el Navío. Prosigo, pues, así mientras exponiendo á Vuesefloria Ilustrisima razones de priori, que el conjunto de ella será á primera vista la peremptoria decisión de lo mismo que afirmo, en que sólo diré lo mas principal por no molestar mucho la atención de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrisima, pues su narración es muy fastidiosa á la pluma.

En toda la carga de este Patache puso este hombre (siendo de su obligación) los pies á bordo, hasta la última ora que yo me embarqué, por lo que fué reprehendido del Señor Fiscal severamente, y sin saver como estava su Navío hizo su juramento y lo firmó de ser á su satisfacción, siendo lo contrario por mal cargado y estibado, por lo que queria retroceder desde la Bahía, ó que allí se le hechase lastre, y llegando á San Jacinto con mil trabajos, por poco descargo hasta los fardos, hallando hueco en la Bodega de bentola,

— 157 —

que llebó dos barcadas de leña, y de todo ello resultó perder allí catorce días de vendaval, que con estos, y los que despues tubé, huviera montado las Marianas, siendo el viage feliz, sin experimentar el temporalazo, el alijo que hizé, los riesgos, necesidades y pobres que se murieron, la demora para las ventas, gastos al Rey en recomposiciones del Navio y atrasos de la salida, y de resulta de ella los trabajos que padecieron á la venida, y los atrasos aora de la invernada, y aún haviéndole proporcionado con todo rigor en Acapulco la asistencia á la carga, y que tragese el Navio aproado, con lo que de esta suerte anda más, nada quiso entender ni ejecutar. Mas: Qué tengo que cansarme, señor Illustre, con el viage de el Marques de Villamediana (ocho meses menos días), ocupó en llegar á Acapulco, despues de haver herrado más de quatrocientas leguas, cient hombres que fueron al agua, doscientos y quince que estaban en la enfermería y setenta y tres causas judiciales (que á segun razón) entre el y otras cabezas como la suya. Voy á concluir esta maquina brevemente; pues ya considero á Vuesefloria Illustrísima cansado. Ayer diez del corriente, retrocediendo de dichos escollos á popa con el mayor desatino, y repreendido de sus compañeros pilotos y de todos visto. Yo esto le dije cogiese el fondo de Capul, me dixo que no, que se mantendría á la vela, y luego me vino á decir que no podía mantenerse fondeado ni en Balliquatum por ser algo fuerte el viento, le respondí si se atrevía á entrar en tres Puertos, uno que está en la punta de Bulúsan ¹, otro más antiguo que llaman Bacur ², y el otro de Sisiran, respondió, que en ninguno de estos; pues qué hacemos, le díxe, á Palapag, que no habia otro remedio, le mandé poner la proa aquí antes que quizá nos perdiere enteramente. Aseguro á Vuesefloria Illustrísima, que á la ora de este toda la gente de popa á proa está como tumultuando contra el, y luego que viró de bordo para este Puerto, le colgaron una especie de lazo en medio del convés, cuya avilantez mandé remediar.

En atención de todo lo que tengo experimentado, que lo referido á Vuesefloria Illustrísima es muy corta parte, y como que tengo la cosa presente, se hace precisimo, el que Vuesefloria Illustrísima se sirva de mandar otro Piloto de esa, para que en una llamada de

1 Esta puerta que aquí se indica, pero que no se nombra, quizá fuera en la Punta Dougón que se halla un poco al Sur de Bulúsan.

2 El puerto antiguo que dice se llamaba Bacur y que no existe en los mapas modernos es probable que fuera en la Ensenada de Sagón junto á Dacán.

El puerto denominado Sisiran es tan seguro como Palapag, se halla en la parte oriental de Camarines Sur formado por la Isla Quibualasag ó Bagatá y la avanzada Punta de Tinajuelan ó Pamhuon. De este puerto, muy concurrido por lo seguro, levantó un plano, que creemos fidedigno, el piloto Sr. Maqueda en el viage de las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida el año de 1772.

— 158 —

tiempo favorable meto el navío para adentro, pues yo con éste de ninguna suerte me expondré mas á ello, y me hallo constituido en la precisión de representar á Vuesseñoría Ilustrísima la grave contingencia que tiene el Navío, y sus intereses de asegurarlo más con este Piloto, para que Vuesa Señoría Ilustrísima se sirva de mandar á Don Pedro Abciais, como tan practico en el embocadero, y por defecto de este á Don Pedro Arastin, pues qualquiera de los dos es sugeto para la execución de esto tan importante empeño, que se puede conseguir en una callada de tiempo favorable. Yo por lo que toca á mi particular responsable, de ninguna suerte me expondré mas con él, salvo que Vuesseñoría Ilustrísima preceptuosamente me lo mande, lo que llevaré en amor de Dios, obedeciendo como devo. De consiguiente, toda la desgracia y hechos de Bacur, atendiendo á el bien público y número uno lo hizo presente al Señor Espeleta, y no hubo fuerzas humanas de hacerlo retroceder en punto á lo que les informaba el Doctor Neira y otros empeños, peste de las repúblicas, y mas en cosas de cargos como éste, el que sólo falta, el que patentemente vean la ruyna de la república, y de lo contrario no quieren creerlo. ¿No es fuerte temeridad ésta? Sin duda alguna lo es. Finalmente Señor Ilustrísimo, oy once de la fecha, como á las once de la mañana, he vuelto á entrar en este puerto á donde queda amarrado el Navío con el mayor seguro.

Nuestro Señor guarde la Ilustre persona de Vuesseñoría Ilustrísima. Abordo de este Patache el Philipino, Palapag doce de Septiembre de mil setecientos sesenta y dos.

Posdata. Muy Ilustre Señor: No me he podido entender de llantos con todos los pasajeros, considerando no tener éstos aquí que comer y faltos en un todo, aun lo preciso de chocolate, y ser costumbre el mudarse luego que el Navío fondea en qualquier Puerto, y así con la impermisión de llevar carta, ni noticia le concedí la licencia y orden al Capitán D. Joséphi Cerezo ¹ de los que pudiese transportar en su Galera Santa Gertrudis, y los restantes, para que escriban una carta á San Jacinto, á fin de que venga por ellos algun Champán. La necesidad es mucha y no tiene otro remedio, y á dicho Capitán di las ordenes de lo que devia hacer etcetera. —Muy Ilustre Señor. Beso la mano de Vuesa señoría Ilustrísima su mas atento y afectisimo servidor. —Juan Antonio Blanco de Sotomayor.

¹ Este D. José Cerezo, capitán de la Santa Gertrudis, era el que cayó prisionero con el Alférez Castro y el sobrino del Arzobispo Antonio de Sierra Tagle en la galerilla que, perseguida por los ingleses, embocó en el bajío que existe entre Tambobong y Tondo.

Translation.

Letter of the captain of the galleon Filipino

[To the] Most Illustrious Doctor Don Manuel Antonio Rojo del Rio y Vieira, etc.
Most Illustrious Sir:

I have already sent to Your Most Illustrious Lordship three despatches, by the first and second route, from this Port of Palapag, in which I notified Your Most Illustrious Lordship of the hardships and the condition of the forward and return voyages, having departed from Acapulco on the 14th of April, anchored at the Marianas on the 27th of June, left there on the 3rd of July, and that, on account of the tenacity of the monsoon winds, I was not able to sight the land of Samar until the 18th of August, arriving in the vicinity of [the Strait of] San Bernardino with a great need for food supplies, but the weather not permitting me to enter, I had decided to touch at this Port in order to remedy the expected need, and, once the weather had improved, to pursue my voyage until the end, which I did carry out with a great effort to the benefit of the interests of His Majesty and of that Trade, in compliance with my obligations and honorable proceedings. A copy of the declarations of their justification (the originals remain in my possession) are attached to this letter, for instance, the condition of said galleon, and other official letters that I wrote to the Viceroy of Mexico, and replies made to them, as well as three small papers about the war having broken as of December of this past year against the English and in support of the French, the officers and other persons on board this ship, and the prices obtained at the [Acapulco] fair, which I transcribe again here, in case that despatch was lost, which I doubt because I have received a reply to the other that I sent to your Most Illustrious Lordship, when I was within said San Bernardino, in Baliquatum [Balicuatro], from the Father in Bulusan and from the Mayor of Sorsogón, who answered me that he had forwarded both to your Most Illustrious Lordship with the best speed on the 2nd extant, and having arrived at said Baliquatum on the 3rd of said month, until the 10th I was battling the currents and tenacity of the monsoon, to try and pass the terrible strait of Capul, the Naranjos, the point of Bulusan and the shoal of Calantas, which represents much trouble on account of the furious currents in the maelstrom between said reefs within the short distance of a league and a half; nevertheless, in spite of this whole consideration, I would have succeeded in getting through it during the four times that I attempted it, had I had the right man to do it. The worry, timidity, misfortune and disgrace of this unhappy Pilot (if he deserves such a name) did not achieve it, and although two good coastal pilots knowledgeable about this neighborhood were given him, he did not accept their reasonings, because he was intent on using theoretical arguments which the Indians could not answer, because they know only practical things, and thus it is necessary to understand what they say. Now then, what is it that your Most Illustrious Lordship wishes me to say about all of this? What hardships, obvious dangers (may God be blessed for His infinite mercies, since He has granted us the favor of reaching the Islands alive!), so many expenditures by the Royal Treasury, by the Trade and the common officers and passengers, and the crew of this Patache: he is the culprit of everything on account of his

incapacity. But how? your Most Illustrious Lordship will ask me, but I am ready to justify it with the whole ship. I therefore go on to expose to your Most Illustrious Lordship the *a priori* reasons which amount at first sight to be the peremptory decision made by the same which I affirm, about which I will say only the more important so as not to bother much the attention of your Most Illustrious Lordship; indeed, the details are very fastidious to write about.

This man had something to do with the loading of all the pieces aboard this Patache (this being part of his responsibility), until the final hour when I came on board, and this work of his was severely criticized by the Crown Attorney, and without knowing the condition of his ship he formally declared and signed his declaration to the effect that it was satisfactory, though she was badly loaded and accommodated, and then he wished to return to the Bay [of Manila], or to have more ballast put in overthere, and upon getting to San Jacinto with a thousand hardships, he almost offloaded the pieces, but, finding a free space inside the upper hold, he brought in two boatloads of firewood, and the result of it all is that he lost there fourteen days of monsoon wind, so that with these [delays] and those that occurred later, he would have been able to go beyond the Mariana Islands, thus making a happy voyage, without the stormy weather, the dumping overboard that was done, the dangers, sufferings and the poor people who died en route, the delay for the sales, the expenditures by the King for the repairs to the ship, and the delay in the departure date. All of these, of course, caused the troubles that we suffered from during the return voyage, and the present delay for wintering. And even after he had been formally warned in Acapulco to pay close attention to the loading, and to have the load moved up toward the bow, so that she would move faster in the water, he refused to consider any of it, or do anything about it.

Furthermore, I have to tire myself, dear Illustrious Sir, with the voyage made by the Marquis of Villamediana,¹ which lasted eight months less a few days in getting to Acapulco, after she went off her track by more than 400 leagues, 100 men buried at sea, 215 who were in the infirmary and 73 legal complaints (for many reasons) took place between him and other heads like his.

I am going to conclude this long list soon, indeed, I now think that your Most Illustrious Lordship is getting tired

Yesterday the 10th extant, while returning from said shoals, and with the greatest of nonsense, as he was being reprehended by his fellow pilots and in sight of everyone. I told him to get into the port of Capul, and he said he would not, that he would keep on sailing. Later he came to see me to say that he would not go into Baliquatum either since the wind was somewhat strong. I responded by suggesting three other ports to him, the one that is at the point of Bulusan, another older one which they call Bacur, and that of Sisiran. He answered that he would not go into any of these. I responded

1. Ed. note: That is, the eastward voyage of this same patache, the Nuestra Señora del Rosario, alias Filipino, in 1761.

by asking him: what are we going to do? To Palapag; there is no other choice, he said. I ordered him to fall back here, before he would lose us completely.

I assure your Most Illustrious Lordship that at the present time all those on board from the poop to the bow are furious against him, and after he turned around to fall back to this port, they hanged him in effigy amidship, but I ordered this insolence to stop.

When I consider everything that I experienced (I assure your Most Illustrious Lordship that the above report is a very short one), and now that I have this mess before me, I must necessarily beg your Most Illustrious Lordship to please send another Pilot from there, so that during a spell of favorable wind the ship can be put inside; indeed, with the present pilot I am not going to risk myself any more, and I have no recourse but to point out to your Most Illustrious Lordship the serious contingency facing the ship and her interests by placing her more at risk with the present pilot, so that your Most Illustrious Lordship may be pleased to send Don Pedro Aociais [Asiain?], such an experienced pilot for the Embocadero, and failing whom, Don Pedro Arastain; in fact, either of these two is suitable to accomplish such an important task, which can be achieved during a spell of favorable wind.

As for myself, and what falls within my specific responsibility, I will not take any more chances with him, except if your Most Illustrious Lordship gives me an express order to do it, which I would carry out for the love of God, by obeying as I must. Consequently, this whole misfortune and the events of Bacur, taking into account the public good and number one [sic], I reported to Mr. Espeleta,¹ but there was no human force to make him go back on his decision, even when Doctor Neyra had informed him and other endeavours, but to hell with the republics, and more in posts such as this one, the only thing that is missing is for them to see the republic becoming ruined, and otherwise they do not believe it possible. Is this not temerity? No doubt it is. Finally, Most Illustrious Sir, today the 11th, at about 11 a.m., I have returned to this port where the ship has been very safely moored.

May our Lord save the Illustrious person of your Most Illustrious Lordship.

Aboard the patache **Filipino**, Palapag, 12 September 1762.

Postscript.

Most Illustrious Lordship:

I have not been able to put up with the cries from all of the passengers, considering that they have nothing to eat here and they lack everything, even a little chocolate, and the custom they have of moving on as soon as the ship anchors in any port, and so, with the prohibition of carrying a letter, or any news, I granted them permission and an order to Captain Don José Cerezo to take those whom he can transport aboard the galley **Santa Gertrudis**, and for the rest, permission to send one letter to San Jacinto, in order

1 Ed. note: Bishop Espeleta preceded Archbishop Rojo as interim governor.

to have some champan come and get them. The need is great and there is no other remedy, and to said Captain I gave orders for him to obey, etc.

Most Illustrious Sir,

The most attentive and affectionate servant of your Most Illustrious Lordship, who kisses your hand,

Juan Antonio Blanco de Sotomayor.

C2. The answer of Archbishop Rojo dated Manila 24 September 1762

Original text in Spanish.

[Attached]

— 159 —

Copia de carta en respuesta de la antecedente.

En el día y aún en el mayor conflicto del Bloqueo que nos están haciendo los Ingleses en esta Plaza con trece navios, los quatro de mayor porte, y los restantes regulares, respondo á la de doce de Septiembre fecha en Palapag que recibí afortunadamente, y muy mojada por haver apresado los enemigos la Galerilla *Santa Rosa*¹ ya en esta Bahía azia Navotas, hechos los demas pliegos al agua, aunque me temo, que con la presa de algunos de dicha Galera tengan completa noticia de ese Navio y su interes.

En esta suposición, con acuerdo de los Señores Ministros Togados, y corbatas, y de los primeros sujetos del comercio se remita á Don Ignacio Barzola con esta, que ofrece llegar allá muy en breve, y es sujeto de satisfacción, y el orden que doy á Vuesa merced es, que luego se desembarque, é interne la plata en la parte mas segura que se reconozca, y se fortifique con Artilleria, y el Navio se atraviase en el Puerto; y en caso de avistarse navio contrario, se le de harreno, ó fuego. Que todos estén á las ordenes de Vuesa merced, y á ninguno lo permita venir á esta Capital, ni á ninguna Isla, salvo en caso, que sea necesario destacar alguno para recoger viveres, en caso de que no baste lo que es corriente, y mejor, que por medio de el Alcalde y Gobernadoreillos en sus Barotos no alcance esta providencia. Los Padres que allí están, creo de su religiosidad y fidelidad al Rey cooperen á la defensa y resguardo del Tesoro con el mayor zelo.

En virtud de esta carta, tiene Vuesamerced toda mi autoridad para requerir y mandar á los Alcaldes y Gobernadoreillos y demas para el expresado intento. No se trate de que pueda salir el Navio para otra parte alguna, por el mayor peligro que amenaza de apresarle los enemigos, y sin nueva orden no se mueva de dicho parage.

Dios guarde á Vuesamerced muchos años. Veinte y quatro de Septiembre á las seis de la tarde de mil setecientos sesenta y dos. Señor General Don Juan Blanco.

Posdata. Se advierte, como cosa tan importante, que no se embien aquí pliegos algunos, y en caso de hallarse muy afligido de enemigos en un extremo estrecho se queman. Con fecha de quatro de Octubre² repetí el orden, que sólo me obedeciese con la contraseña de Eug.^o assi. Manuel Antonio Arzobispo de Manila. Señalado con una rubrica de el Secretario Don Juan de Montroy.

¹ Aquí debe haber una equivocación; como se ve por la carta anterior del General del Filípino D. Juan Antonio Blanco, la galerilla que envia á Manila bajo el mando del capitán Cerezo se llamaba *Santa Gertrudis*, no *Santa Rosa*.

² Esta posdata no es continuación de la carta anterior, sino una constancia de otra posterior que el Arzobispo dirigió al Sr. Blanco la víspera de la toma de Manila.

Translation.

Nowadays and even at the time of major crisis when the English are blockading us with 13 ships, four of them of large size and the others normal, I take time to answer your letter dated Palapag 12th of September which I luckily received, and very wet for having the enemy captured the small galley **Santa Rosa** [rather Gertrudis] now in this Bay towards Navotas, having thrown most of the mail in the water, although I much fear that, since they captured a few men from said galley, they may now have a full knowledge of that ship [of yours] and her interest.

Based on this supposition, with the agreement of their Lordships the Judges and Ministers, and the first representatives of the Trade, I remit this letter through Don Ignacio Barzola who promises to get there very fast, and he is a trustworthy individual, and the order which I give to Your Grace is, that you unload the silver immediately, and take it to the safest place that can be found, and it be fortified with Artillery, and the ship be run aground inside the port, and in case of sighting any enemy ship, she is to be scuttled, or set on fire. That everyone be at the orders of Your Grace, and that you do not allow anyone to come to this Capital, or to go to any Island, except if it becomes necessary to detach someone to go and look for food supplies, in case there should not be enough, and better, through means than those provided by the Mayor and Gobernadorcillos with their canoes whom this letter may not have reached. The [Jesuit] Fathers who are there, I believe in their religious devotion and fidelity toward the King, that they will cooperate to the defence and safeguard of the Treasure with the best zeal.

By virtue of this letter, Your Grace holds my full authority to request and order the Mayors and Gobernadorcillos and others for the expressed purpose. There is to be no question to let the ship leave in order to go to any other port, on account of the greater risk of her being captured by the enemies, and she is not to be moved from said neighborhood without further order.

May God save Your Grace for many years.

6 p.m., 14 September 1762.

[To] General Don Juan Blanco.

Postscript.¹

You are hereby advised, as something of great importance, not to send any mail overhere, and in case of finding yourself very hard pressed by the enemies and in dire straits they are to be burned. On the 4th of October, I repeated the order that you are to obey me only if there appears the password Eugenio, thus.

Manuel Antonio Archbishop of Manila.

Countersigned with a rubric by the Secretary Don Juan de Monroy.

1. Ed. note: As the original says, this postscript does not belong to the above letter, but to another sent on the eve of the invasion of Manila.

Note S1772C

Portrait of Abbé Raynal

Author of the book "Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens..."



Document S1808C

The Santa Gertrudis and the Santa Rosa, via Guam in 1808

Introductory note.

Source: Captain Corey's report of 1809 (see Doc. 1808A).

According to a report by a U.S. citizen who was an eyewitness and became a passenger aboard the **Santa Gertrudis**, these two ships, owned by the RPC, stopped at Guam in 1808. They came from Lima and were on their way to Manila. The **Santa Gertrudis**, whose captain is not mentioned, became shipwrecked, with a loss of 99 lives, soon after at Mindanao. The **Santa Rosa**, under the command of Captain Fernando Zualdea, continued on and reached Manila safely.

Earlier report from San Blas

Source: AGN Marina 213, fol. 184-210.

Original text in Spanish.

N. 47.

El Ministro de S. Blas.

*Dá parte haver llegado á este Puerto por escasés absoluta de víveres en la Fragata de la Comp^a de Filipinas nombrada **Sta. Gertrudis** alias el Neptuno que va destinada á Lima.*

Excmo. Sor.

*Ayer á las siete de la noche, fondeò en este Puerto baxo de una furiosa turbonada la Fragata de la Real Compañia de Filipinas, nombrada **Santa Gertrudis** alias el Neptuno [sic] al mando del 1er. Piloto D. Juan Delgado, salio de Manila para Lima el 19 de Abril con dies Cañones montados de á 24 y ciento quarenta y quatro hombres de tripulacion, la absoluta escasés de víveres, le hizo dirigirse á este Puerto, con el fin de proveerse de ellos, y manifiesta estará solo el tiempo preciso á proveerse. En la navegacion se le han muerto dos Yndividuos de su tripulacion [;] conduce tres pasajeros, y sinco Polizones, de los quales unos por su gravedad de enfermedad hà entrado hoy en*

*el Hospital[.] da por noticia su Capitan haver salido en compañía de la Nao nombrada **San Fernando** con destino à Acapulco y escoltada por la Fragata de guerra francesa nombrada la **Canonier** [sic] que tambien deve ir al citado Puerto y se separaron despues de haver montado el Cabo Bojador, cuja participacion hago à V.E. en cumplimiento de mis deberes para su noticia, asegurandole estar tomadas todas las providencias respectivas à que no se experimente el menor fraude.*

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

S. Blas 6 de Agosto de 1807.

Exmo. Señor.

Francisco de Paula Bermudez.

[A] Exmo. Sor. Don José de Yturriagaray.

Translation.

N167 47.

The Minister of San Blas.

Reports that the Royal Philippine Company frigate named **Santa Gertrudis** alias **Neptune** that was on the way to Lima has arrived at this port for lack of food supplies.

Your Excellency.

Yesterday at 10 p.m., there anchored at this port, under a furious squall, the frigate of the Royal Philippine Company, named **Santa Gertrudis** alias Neptune, under the command of the Chief Pilot Juan Delgado. She left Manila for Lima on 10 April, carrying 10 mounted guns of 24-pound caliber, and a crew of 144 men. The absolute shortage of food supplies made him head for this port, for the purpose of getting some, and he states that he will be here only enough time to get them. Two members of the crew have died during the crossing; he carries three passengers and five stowaways, among whom some have been taken to the hospital today, on account of the gravity of their illness. The Captain reports that he had departed in company with the galleon named **San Fernando** [alias Magallanes] bound to Acapulco and escorted by the French war frigate named **Canonnière** which was also bound to the same port.¹ They separated after having passed Cape Bojador. I pass this information to Y.E. to comply with my duty, for your intelligence and I can assure you that all the appropriate measures have been taken to prevent any fraud.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

San Blas, 6 August 1807.

Your Excellency.

Francisco de Paula Bermudez.

[To] His Excellency Don José de Iturrigaray.²

1 Ed. note: All three ships had left Manila on 19 April 1807.

2 Ed. note: The original captain, Gerónimo Delgado, arrived sick at San Blas and died in port. The ship left San Blas for Lima on 8 September 1807.

Documents S1808D

Subsidies for the Marianas, for 1808

Source: AGN Fil. 60, fo. 152-155, 171-176.

Note: See also Doc. 1809E.

D1. Petition of Fr. Folez de la Encarnación, undated

Note: The date of this document is, however, Mexico 12 February 1808, or a few days before that date.

Original text in Spanish.

*Pide licencia para el embarque en el **Magallanes** de los efectos y dinero que expresa, perteneciente a su Provincia y a los Sinodos de las Misiones de Marianas.*

Excmo. Sor.

*Fr. Tomas Folez de la Encarnacion Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas de esta Ciudad, y Procurador general de mi Provincia de Agustinos Recoletos de Filipinas, con el mayor respeto digo: que la Nao **Magallanes** está proxima à regresar à aquellas Yslas, y no debe perderse, especialmente en las actuales circunstancias, esta ocacion que se presenta de que mi Provincia, y las Misiones de Marianas reciban los socorros de que están sumamente necesitadas: y por lo mismo he resuelto embarcar en el referido Buque treinta mil pesos que son pertenecientes parte a mi Provincia y parte à los sinodos de dichas Misiones de Marianas que se han recaudado en estas Reales Caxas: y asimismo ocho tercios de garbanzo; quatro de frijol; tres dozenas de Sombreros, y un cajon de Jamones, suplicando à la superioridad de V.E. se sirva conceder su permiso para el embarque de dicha moneda y efectos, librandose la orden oportuna à Acapulco ó haciendo sus veces el mismo superior decreto que se me debuelva original para que no se ponga impedimento.*

A V.E. suplico así se sirva hacer &c^a

Fr. Thomas Folez de la Encarnacion

Translation.

He requests permission for the embarkation on board the **Magallanes** of the goods and money that he mentions as belonging to his Province and to the church subsidies for the Missions of the Marianas.

Your Excellency,

I, Fr. Tomás Folez de la Encarnación, President of the Hospice of San Nicolas of this city, and Procurator General of his Province of Augustinian Recollects of the Philippines, with the greatest respect, declare: that the galleon **Magallanes** is about to leave to return to those Islands, and this opportunity must not be wasted, specially under the present circumstances, to send to my Province, and the Missions in the Marianas, the assistance that they extremely need. Therefore, I have decided to embark on board the above-said ship 30,000 pesos that belong to my Province and part of the church subsidies of said Missions of the Marianas that have been provided by this Royal treasury; and, in addition, 8 half-loads of chick-peas; 4 of beans; 3 dozens hats, one crate of hams, begging the superior government of Y.E. to be pleased to grant me permission for the embarkation of said money and goods, by issuing a timely order to Acapulco or by duplicating the same superior decree (whose original you will please give me back) so that I will not meet with any opposition there.

I beg Y.E. to be pleased, etc.

Fr. Tomás Folez de la Encarnación¹

D2. Report by the Royal officials, dated 13 February 1808

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

*No tiene otro arbitrio el R^o Pe. Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas de Tolentino, de esta Capital, para remitir á la Provincia de Agustinos Descalzos de Filipinas y á los Misioneros de Yslas Marianas los socorros y sinodos necesarios que embarcandolos en la Nao, por cuyo motivo puede V.E. si lo tiene a bien permitirle el registro en la Nao **Magallanes** de los treinta mil pesos y de los efectos que expresa en su memorial ó lo que fuere del superior agrado de V.E.*

Tesoreria General de Exercito y Real Hacienda de Mexico 13 de Febrero de 1808.

Lasso Vildosola

[Decree]

Mexico 18 de Febrero de 1808

Como informan los Ministros de la Tesoreria general.

Yturriagaray.

1 Ed. note: On 12 February 1808, the Viceroy ordered the Royal officials to inform him.

Translation.

Your Excellency,

The Rev. Fr. President of the Hospice of San Nicolas de Tolentino of this capital has no choice, to send to the Province of Augustinian Discalced of the Philippines and to the Missionaries of the Mariana Islands their succor and necessary subsidies but aboard the galleon. That is why Y.E. may, if you please, permit him to register them aboard the galleon **Magallanes** the 30,000 pesos and the goods that he mentions in his petition or what may be of the superior pleasure of Y.E.

Treasury General of the Army and Royal Finance of Mexico, 13 February 1808.

Lasso Vildosola

[Decree]

Mexico, 18 February 1808.

Concur with the Ministers of the Treasury General.

Iturrigaray¹

D3. Subsidy for the garrison of the Marianas, for 1808

Original text in Spanish.

Secretaría del Virreynato. Año de 1808.

Filipinas. Sobre remision del situado de Marianas respectivo a 1808.

Exmo. Sor.

Josè Mariano Cobarrubias por el Sor. Governador y demas de la Compañia que residen en el Precidio de Yslas Marianas en virtud de los Poderes que tengo presentados ante V.E. como mejor proseda

Digo: Que hallandose los Buques proximos a su salida para Manila, y habiendose adelantado siempre los sueldos de aquella Compañia, ocurro a la justificacion de V.E. para que se sirba mandar se me entreguen por los Señores Ministros de estas Caxas situado del presente año de ocho cientos ocho librandose al efecto la orden oportuna para que se pueda remitir en dichos Barcos por el Apoderado principal.

A V.E. suplico asi lo mande juro &c"

Joseph Mariano Cobarrubias.

Translation.

Secretariat of the Vice-Kingdom. Year of 1808.

Philippines. Regarding the remittal of the subsidy of the Marianas for the year 1808.

¹ Ed. note: On the same date, the Royal officials of Acapulco were advised of the Viceroy's approval, and on 29th February, they answered that they had received such an order.

Your Excellency.

I, José Mariano Cobarrubias, on behalf of the Governor and others in the Company that resides in the garrison of the Mariana Islands, by virtue of the power vested in me, which I have presented to Y.E. [before], in the best manner possible,

Do declare: That, since the ships are about to sail for Manila, and that the salaries of that Company have always been paid in advance, I appeal to the justice of Y.E. for you to be pleased to order the Royal Ministers of this Treasury to deliver to me the subsidy of the present year of 1808, and at the same time let me have the timely order to allow the principal Agent to remit same aboard said ships.

I beg Y.E. to please order same, etc.

José Mariano Cobarrubias

Editor's notes.

On 28th February, the Viceroy ordered the Royal officials of the Treasury to inform him. They did so that same day. The next day, the Viceroy asked the Fiscal for his opinion. He answered that same day, saying that it seemed alright to send the overdue salaries for 1806 and 1807 at the same time, that the sum of 20,137 pesos 4 reals should be delivered to the Agent of the Governor of the Marianas, for shipment aboard the **Magallanes**.

The Viceroy sent the file to the Royal officials on 3 March, along with his approval. On 29 March, they advised him that they had complied.

Document S1821K

The launch that formerly belonged to the ship Santiago

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Col. Gov't, Item 97.

Note: It came from the shipwrecked Spanish RPC ship Santiago, alias Infante Don Carlos, in February 1814.

Letter of Governor Medinilla, dated 5 March 1821

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 235.

M. Y.S.

El haver hallado el Boto negro que fué de la Fragata de la Real Compañia, y que Naufragó, comido enteramente de broma [=eaten through by teredo worms], y no capaz de ser útil en ningun termino, à hecho [=in fact,] le mande dar al travez, y que sin dilacion se ponga en construccion otro de mayores proporciones, y tamaño capaz de salir con toda libertad al reconocimiento de los Buques que puedan aparecere por la Cavez Norte de la Ysla, y lo comunico à V.S. para asu Superior inteligencia.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Villa de Umata en las Yslas Marianas, y Marzo 5 de 1821.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

[Al] M. Y.S. Gobernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.¹

Translation.

Superior Government N° 235.

Most Illustrious Lordship:

Upon finding that the black boat that had formerly belonged to the Royal [Philippine] Company ship, shipwrecked, was eaten by teredo worms and completely useless for any service, I had it condemned, and immediately ordered the construction of an-

¹ Ed. note: The next document in this file, N° 236, dated 31 December 1821, is the annual report on the fortifications of Guam.

other boat, of larger size, one that should be able to go out and reconnoiter any ship that might appear off the north point of the island, and I inform Y.L. about this matter.

May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

Town of Umata in the Mariana Islands, 5 March 1821.

Your Lordship.

José Medinilla y Pineda.

[To] His Most Illustrious Lordship the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Document S1826I

English whalers committed acts of vandalism at Tinian in 1826

Source: New England Palladium, Boston, Jan. 23, 1827; quoted in Ward's American Activities, under Tinian 2.

Captain Alfred P. Edwards, of New York, who came passenger in the ship **Champion**, at the Vineyard, from Canton and Manilla, states that he was at the Island of Guam, the Capital of the Ladrone or Mariana Islands, in April last, and that while there he learnt from the Governor that he had, a few days before, dispatched a Sergeant's Guard to the Island of Tinian, and that on their arrival there, they found that the Island had, a short time before, been visited by the British whale ship **George the Fourth** [sic], Capt. Buckley, of London,¹ and that, after replenishing his ship with refreshments, he commenced a general devastation on the Island, by burning all the houses built there, cutting down and destroying the bread-fruit, cocoa-nut trees, vines, &c, &c, and left the Island. Two of his crew, however, deserted, and were found in the Island by the Soldiers, and from them the facts were confirmed. No reasons were assigned for his conduct.

The Island of Tinian is the spot in which Lord Anson, when on his voyage round the World, stopped for refreshment, when his crew was in the most distressed situation, from the effects of the scurvy, and the Island is described by the writer of Anson's Voyage, as being one of the most fertile and delightful spots on the face of the Globe, and from that time it has been a favorite stopping place for the ships which visit the Pacific, particularly the American Whale Ships.

The Governor of Guam had taken measures to have the houses rebuilt, and the fruit trees renewed.

¹ Ed. note: According to Jones' Ships, there was a whaler named **George IV** but her captain was named Joy; however, there was another whaler named **Daniel IV** with a captain named Buckley. The culprit could have been the latter, although Reuben Delano (see Doc. 1826E2) ascribes, wrongly I think, the damage to the crew of the *Indispensable*.

Documents S1845C

**Governor Santa María—First conference on
the development of the Marianas**

Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Colonial Government, Item 48; cited in B&R 53: 384.

C1. Report dated 16 April 1845**Original text in Spanish.*****Gobierno de Marianas.***

Con intencion de recordar el Señor Governador firmando su marcha observada desde que tomó el mando de las Yslas: motivos muy poderosos que á ello le han obligado, si en algun caso se ha separado en alguna formalidad de poca prevesion y practica, dirigiendo su objeto á el verdadero adelanto de la Ysla en cualquier de los puntos si caso segui... se le hayan ido presentando, haviendo procurado desembarando algun obstaculo cuando há creido no contravenir á mandatos Superiores para un buen resultado seguro, y en honor de la nacion que en esta le puso y conserba, acreditandolo con la franqueza que há sido hecho, y observaciones interesantes á la Ysla y de que la Superioridad le tenga exacto de su estado con la marcha franca del que rige por el dicho metodo y caso que abajo manifiesta obserbadas, auxiliadas, y disfrutadas para estos havitantes, y son:

1º.— Que el fallecimiento del Padre Rector quince dia despues de tomar su mando y haviendole conocido semanas antes recargado de atenciones: algunas descuidadas por costumbre immemorial y no poder mas que nadie en plena salud hubiera podido atender á la administracion espiritual de la Ciudad con sus cinco Pueblecitos anexos y el de Pago á otros dos leguas distante á que se agregaba el rectorado con espendio de varios efectos pertenecientes al Colegio de que no podía, ni llevaba cuenta aclarataria, sino de un modo propio para adivinar: esta necesidad y su falta aumentó la de tener que recargarse los Religiosos y encargale á otro del Colegio; que con mil esposiciones y algunos yerros se formaron de pronto los Ymbentarios con el deseo de dar cuenta y corresponder á la confianza que se le havia recomendado en instrucciones y de palabra.

2º.— Que este Colegio se puso habitable desde fin de 843 y se senta(?) para recibir á su enseñanza, como asisten hace un año mas trecientos y cincuenta niños incluso los Colegiales, y á la antigua Escuela pública y Hospital abandonados é inhabitables havien-

do compuesto concurren à la Escuela ciento y cincuenta niños, y al Hospital todas las niñas en numero de doscientas y cincuenta à trescientas, enseñadas por tres maestras, una y otra misma conocida en esmero de enseñanza si es decir que se enseñan, à diez y uno desde Septiembre de 843 à Enero de 844 con lo respectivo al situado del Colegio, y bajo un pie muy distinto: (esto és en varendo).

3º.—Que la enseñanza de niños de ambos sexos se ha generalizado en dos Yslas pobladas bajo el mismo pie y orden que está en la Ciudad, que las reglas que hay para su logro y continuacion han sido algo molestos, pero bajo el pie establecido, no és gravoso para los padres, ni dejarán de conocerse sus ventajas si como és de esperar, continuan por ser el mas propio y adactables [sic] à las necesidades de estas Yslas.

4º.—Que entusiasta por la prosperidad de la Ysla desde su llegada hà procurado desentrañar algun medio capaz de mejorar la suerte de sus havitantes (flojos) ensayando en el articulo de tabaco, añil, algodón, Balates, y otros, haciendo gastos donde no podia esperarse utilidades sino remotamente, y para informar con toda certeza à la Superioridad, solo se hà logrado bastante estension en las Siembras de Palay y raices: en la Caña dulce dà algunas esperanzas mas que otros articulos, preparandose este para algun desarrollo por su apoyo en gran parte.

5º.—Fomento de la Ysla la hà procurado en general à los Pueblos, y à los individuos; estimulandolos con su ejemplo, razonamientos, recogiendo informes yà particularmente de inteligentes, ya de ancianos practicos y laboriosos en juntas estrordinarias[,] conferenciando lo que mas pueda combenir al fomento, y con suplementos propios, repartiendo à todos los tribunales y establecimientos mas publicos herramientas y medidas desde media chupa à medio cavan: lo mismo varas de medio tambien en los tribunales: libros en los mismos; cuadernos para govierno de Maestros y Maestras de niños, estendiendose su zelo à cuanto concibe pueda ser util à la Ysla.

6º.—Bancas ó Champanes para alivio de los hombres y mugeres que se cargan; y faciles transportes à una por cada dos cavecerias de que estaban eccastados hasta de Baroto y hoy las tienen à discrecion.

7º.—Reparto desprendido de Presidarios à beneficio de particulares laboriosos, y Hacienda de Tinian en beneficio de Lazarinos.

9º.—Arados: repartidos à Pueblos de mas facil uso y Presos para que enseñen el servicio de ellos, y en esta Ciudad lo mismo.

10º.—Cantidades para que algunos traficantes se ingenien y hagan compras en los Buques sin que en esto tenga interes, o parte mas que los deseos que aprendan à vivir y utilizar.

11º.—Por ultimo: adelanto de gruesa suma à hombres honrados y deseosos de su prosperidad y de la Ysla en el apronto para completo de la compra de un Buque que pueda estimular à es--- y animar à muchos à grandes siembras ú pesca de esportacion.

12º.—Ordens justas y razonables que tienden al buen govierno, y administracion equitativa para ambas Yslas.

13º.—Que varias desavenencias antiguas (con motivos ó sin ellos) han desaparecido y logrado la mejor armonia con autoridades y subditos de todas clases como se disfru-

ta, que muchos hace les era desconocida y esta és sin mezcla de renzillas, descreditos cumpliendo cada uno con los cargos de su deber sin cñir en los suyos à los estraños sino por falta de capacidades algunas veces adaptando los medios precedentes yà de enseñar.

14º.—Administracion de justicia, con brevedad à cuantos necesitan y se corrigen por medios moderados y armoniendo lo que és posible paternalmente.

15º.—Los vicios estan reprimidos y los rateros disminuidos por prontas correcciones, no por la dureza rigurosa que és por un medio mas favorable à los Pueblos y à sus proprias familias que separados por semanas, ó un par de medios lo mas de salir de la Ysla, y antes era por un año saliendo à otra durante el cual varias familias quedaban en el abandono: lu---za de carceles en cuanto à retener presos en ella es muy duro: las correcciones se conmutan en trabajos publicos, medida que gana el individuo, y los Pueblos.

16º.—La fuerza de las cavecerias nivelada para el mal a--cillo manejo de las cavezas que con poca costumbre, poca aficion, poquissima instruccion la mayor parte, y sin tener con que remplazarlos todo se va regularizando con medidas nada gra--- constandolos que esto mismo se ha practicado por todas las Poblaciones en las que si en la Ciudad hay cavezas que si lo saben escribir su nombre, en los Pueblos hay Gobernadorcillos que estan ---les, y les havido pocos años hace sin saber escribir las letras de su nombre propio, siendo tan espuesto que en el caso mas instruccion peligran casi los nombramientos de Justicia ... hombres abandonados a la flojedad ó à la embriaguez, sino apoderados de alguna enfermedad ó lepra, en cuyos casos solo sin Governador celoso lo remedia en lo posible y nadie mas que se tome interes por los Pueblos.

17º.—Reforma y remplazo de la Milicia completa y vestida cuales nunca se ha visto por mas esfuerzos que hizo el Sor. Villalobos, y otros con muy distintos recursos, aprovechando los sugetos y en todo con liquidad y justicia los ascensos(?) y empleos repartidos.

18º.—Instruccion de esta tan metodica e insensible que no se hace odioso: el tiempo que se emplea en ejercicio: con exactitud y cuenta, se rebaja de trabajos comunales un dia para cada diez horas.

19º.—Construccion de Yglesias, Casas Parroquiales, Reales, y Escuelas, por medio de composiciones las mas equitativas a los Pueblos se principiò y aun va continuando sin que la falta de recursos le descomen, si él los tiene.

20º.—Etc.

Gregorio Santa María

Fr. Manuel de la Encarnacion

Felix Calvo

Silvestre Ynocencio Palomo

José Joaquin de la Cruz

José Flores

Nicolas de Borja

Francisco Tudela

Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo

Joaquin de Leon Guerrero

Cecilio Camacho

José Martinez

Juan Roberto

Damaso de San Nicolas

<i>Juan Diaz</i>	<i>Lucas de Castro</i>
<i>Francisco Dias</i>	<i>Pedro Guerrero</i>
<i>Justo de la Cruz</i>	<i>José de la Cruz</i>
<i>Xavier de Salas</i>	<i>José Tanoña</i>
<i>Ante mí, José de la Cruz, Secretario de Gobierno y Guerra.</i>	

Translation.

Government of the Marianas.

His Lordship the Governor, wishing to put on record the approach that he has followed since he took over the government of the Islands: very powerful motives which have made him to it, if in any case he has diverged from any formality of little importance in practice, his objective being directed at the true advancement of the Island in any of the points followed in any case placed before him, his intention having been to sweep away any obstacle whenever he thought he did not contravene any superior order in order to obtain an assured result, and to honor the nation that has entrusted him with said post, by frankly admitting what he has done, and by making interesting observations about the Island, so that the superior authorities will get a clear idea of its state of affairs, in accordance with the frankness that regulates said method, and specifically in the following cases that he has observed, assisted in, and performed on behalf of these natives, to wit:

1°—Given the death of the Father Rector which occurred fifteen days after the take-over date, having known him to have been working hard over the previous weeks but neglecting some other duties that have been neglected since time immemorial and not being able to achieve more than anyone would have done having been in full health, with regards to the spiritual care of the City with its five small towns that depend from it and the town of Pago which is distant two leagues from it, plus the charge of rector of the College whose accounts he could not and did not keep in a clear fashion, except in a particular way which no-one else can decipher: this necessity forced him to overload the other religious and assign the College to someone else; that with a thousand expositions and a few errors the Inventories were soon taken for the purpose of reporting and in conformity with the trust that had been placed upon him and the verbal recommendations made to him.

2°—That this College has been made liveable as of the end of 1843 and fit for teaching, given that for one year now it has accommodated over 350 children, including the College boys, and as to the old School and Hospital, abandoned and unliveable, they have been repaired, and 150 boys attend this school, and all the girls, numbering from 250 to 300, attend the Hospital, under the direction of three school-mistresses, both [sic] of them known for their teaching ability, which is to say that the children are being taught. at 10 and 1, since September 1843 to January 1844 with respect to the subsidy received for the College, but under a footing that is very different (this is by using compulsion).

3°—That the teaching of children of both sexes has become general in two inhabited islands under the same footing and discipline used in the City, that the rules used for its success and continuation have been problematic, but under the established footing, it is not taxing upon the parents, and the results will soon be forthcoming, it is hoped, since they are most suitable and appropriate for these Islands.

4°—That, for being enthusiastic for the prosperity of the Island since his arrival, he has tried to find some means to improve the lot of its (lazy) inhabitants, by teaching them how to sow tobacco, indigo, cotton, sea cucumbers, and other articles, investing money where returns can only be expected in a remote date, and the better to inform the superior authorities with complete precision, positive results have only been achieved in the extension of the planting of rice and root plants; as for sugarcane, there is some hope, more than for any other articles, preparations being made for its development with his support in great part.

5°—The progress of the Islands has been generally applied to the Towns, and to individuals; he has stimulated them by his example, by his arguments, by asking for specific reports, either from expert persons or from old persons with practical experience and laborious, during extraordinary meetings and conferences about the best methods for development, and with a personal input, by distributing to all the courts and more public institutions some tools and measures starting with half chupas to half cabans; also some measuring sticks in the courts, record books therein; notebooks for the administration to male and female school-teachers, his zeal knowing no bounds when it comes to the benefit of the Island.

6°—Canoes or sail-boats for the relief of the men and women who do the transport; and one easy transport for every two towns, all of which they no longer had access to, not even for dugout canoes, but they now have them at their disposal.

7°—He distributed convicts for the benefit of laborious individuals, and for the plantation of Tinian for the benefit of the lepers.

8°—Ploughs of easy-to-use designs were distributed to the Towns and Convicts to show them how to repair them, and in this City the same.

10°—Sums of money so that a few traders would get busy and make purchases aboard ships, though they may not be interested in this, for the simple reason that they should learn to live and be useful.

11°—Finally, the advance of a large sum to honorable men wishing for the Island to prosper along with themselves, to make complete and final arrangements to buy a ship that might stimulate them and encourage many more to make larger plantations or to fish for export purposes.

12°—Just and reasonable orders that may tend toward a good government, and a fair administration of both Islands.

2°—That some slack practices of old (with or without foundation) have disappeared and a better harmony has been gained with local authorities and subjects of all classes now prevail, which had been unknown to many, and this without creating resentments, disfavours, everyone complying with his duty without sticking to his own interest when

dealing with strangers, except for lack of means, sometimes by making use of the above-mentioned teaching methods.

14°—The administration of justice is done speedily to whomever needs it and corrections are applied with moderation and as much as possible arranging things in a paternal way.

15°—The vices are repressed and the number of thieves diminished by applying prompt corrections, not through harsh means but by means that are more favorable to the Towns and to their own families other than by keeping them separated for weeks at a time, or even a couple of measures that took them off the Island, but rather to another island during which time the families were left in abandonment; to keep prisoners in jail is very harsh; corrections are commuted to public works, a measure that benefits the individual and the Towns at the same time.

16°—The strength of the districts has been levelled by the bad administration of their leaders who are little accustomed, have little love, very little education for the most part, and, not being anyone else available, things are going on which are nothing great, considering that this has been going on in all the settlements, though in the City there are leaders who know how to write their name, but in the Towns there are Gobernadorcillos who are such ones who not too long ago did not even know how to write the letters of their own name, and the matter is such that we have cases in which Justices of the Peace are either men addicted to laziness or to drunkenness or affected by some diseases such as leprosy, in which cases only a zealous Governor can remedy when he can, but he must take interest in the Towns.

17°—Reform and replacement of the complete Militia, with uniforms, something that had never been seen, not even through the best efforts of Mr. Villalobos, and others with very distinct resources, by taking advantage of the individuals and everything done with liquidity and justice, such as in the distribution of promotions and posts.

18°—The training of this [Militia] is so methodical and light that it is not a heavy burden; the time employed for exercises is well accounted for and taken off from communal works, at the rate of one day for every 10 hours [of training].

19°—The construction of Churches, Parish Houses, Forts, and Schools, by means of agreements reached with the Towns, was begun and is still going on, without their being held up by lack of funds, if he has any.

20°—Etc.

Gregorio de Santa María
Fr. Manuel de la Encarnación
Felix Calvo
Silvestre Inocencio Palomo
José Joaquín de la Cruz

Francisco Tudela
Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo
Nicolás de León Guerrero
Cecilio Camacho
José? Martinez

1 Ed. note: Some parts of the original document were missing from the bottom of some photocopies, unfortunately.

Nicolás de Borja

Juan Díaz

Francisco Díaz

Justo de la Cruz

Xavier de Salas

Before me, José de la Cruz, Government Secretary for Administration and War.

Damaso de San Nicolás

Lucas de Castro

Pedro Guerrero

José de la Cruz

José Tanofia

C2. Letter dated 21 April 1845

Original text in Spanish.

Gobierno de Marianas.

Exmo. Señor.

Por la anterior manifestacion hecha á la corporacion de los principales y personas mas visibles de esta Ciudad, unica poblacion que puede decirse hay en la Ysla, pues en los Pueblos no puedan hacerse ni concevir estas obserbaciones como en la Capital, pues carecen de personas de capacidad para ello: por lo que de estas Yslas Marianas la unica que puede contarse entre todas es esta de Guajan y el todo de esta Agaña que es esta pobre Ciudad donde el Gobernador tiene su residencia y en la que haviendo puesto todo el esmero posible, sin haver suspendido quanto haya podido hacer ni retrasado-lo: hasta esta fecha hé logrado la satisfaccion de presentar en la Junta los treinta y un articulos que preceden, sin que ninguno haya tenido que contradecir en quanto ellos manifiestan, y yo bien satisfecho que hubiese aumentado mas que disminuido: contentisimo por el orden que ha sido lograndose mis esfuerzos, pero tambien sin dar oido á algunos reparos que yo he ido venciendo con prudencia y cada uno desengañandose á su tiempo, por lo que, etc.

San Ygnacio de Agaña 21 de Abril de 1845.

Exmo. Sor.

Gregorio Santa María

Translation.

Government of the Marianas.

Your Excellency:

By the above manifestation by the corporation of the leading citizens and more famous residents of this City, the only settlement that may be said to exist in the Island—indeed, in the Towns no-one could think, much less express, such remarks as in the Capital, since they lack persons able to do so—so that in these Mariana Islands the only one that can be counted on is Guam and above all Agaña which is this poor City where the Governor resides and in which he has expended his best efforts, without his having suspended as much as possible, or delayed it. So far, I have gained the satisfaction of presenting the above 31 articles to the Council, without anyone being able to contradict any of them, as they themselves declared, although I would have been glad if

they had increased this number, rather than decreased it. I am very happy that my efforts have succeeded so well, but I also must not fail to mention the few complaints on the part of a few whom I have prudently won over in the course of time, so that, etc.

...

San Ignacio of Agaña, 21 April 1845.

Your Excellency.

Gregorio de Santa Maria

Document S1846W

The Ebonites and shipwrecks

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, 14 September 1861; reprinted in the Daily Evening Standard, New Bedford, 8 November 1861; reproduced in War's American Activities, under Marshall 2.

The Ebonites of the Pacific

... The inhabitants of this Island, in consequence, they now say, of a barbarous attack upon them by the crew of a whaler many years ago, declared a war of death to all whites, and it has been ascertained that since that time they have imbued their hands in the blood of many strangers and seamen who have visited their Islands.

In 1834, a sea captain named Dowsett, mysteriously disappeared at the Piscadores [sic], one of the most northerly islands of the Ralick Chain, but it is hoped that as the missionaries advance, some more definite facts with regard to his fate may be obtained. A servant woman states that a number of years ago, a boat came ashore with six men in it, for water, three of whom were large and good looking, not sailors. They had money in a Hingham box or bucket. They were all killed by the natives, who destroyed their boat, and put their clothes out of the way. The natives threw gold pieces about, and of some made fish-hooks.

It is thought that the boat may have belonged to the ill-fated brig **William Neilson**, Capt. Weston, which sailed from Honolulu, in 1846, for China, and was never heard of afterwards. Ex-U.S. Commissioner Brown and Capt. Dominis, passengers, were on board of the vessel, with Mr. Chas. Green, also a passenger, belonging to Barnstable, having been the chief officer of Capt. Dominis on board the schooner **Swallow**. Another passenger was Mr. George Brown, Jr. Of the crew of the brig, Mr. Hammett, of Martha's Vineyard, was first officer; second officer, Mr. Benson of Baltimore; seamen, Seth T. Peterson and Amherst Peterson, brothers, belonging to Marshfield, Mass; David Mann and Walker Tybee, belonging to Hanover, Mass. It is now thought the **Wm. Neilson** was lost upon a fatal reef, that those murdered by the Ebonites were a boat's crew saved and in search of water, and that three of the passengers, including Mr. Brown, were among the number in the boat.

The schooner **Glencoe**, of San Francisco, was burnt by the natives of these islands in 1852, and the crew murdered. Also, the same year schooner **Sca Nymph**, of San Francisco, met with the same fate. It is also stated by the islanders that a number of years ago a large ship went on shore at Bikini, one of the most northern islands of the

Ralick Chain. Report says that the ship's company embarked in their boats, but left plenty of articles on the ship, and among other things left behind, was a black Newfoundland dog which the natives rescued, and which is now reputed to be among the islanders.

Document S1847T

The barque Samos visited Ponape in 1847

Source: Ms. Log 1845S2 in Salem Museum; PMB 212.

Note: The ship went from Salem to Manila and visited Tahiti, Fiji, Pingelap, Mokil and Ponape along the way.

Barque Samos, Capt. Henry Archer.—Voyage 24 July 1845 to 10 July 1847.

...
Thursday April 15, 1847.

Good breeze and passing clouds. At 2:30 p.m. saw the Covell [Ebon] Group of Islands bearing from W to NW in the extreme 15 miles distant. 6 p.m. hove to off the lee of them to trade with the natives. 7 p.m. hauled up SE by S with head off shore. 10, stood into the Northward. 3 a.m. tacked to Southward. 4 a.m. tacked to Northward. 8 a.m. hove to again and were visited by 16 canoes. 11, filled away NW by W. Noon, northernmost island bearing East.

Lat. 4°40' N Long. 168°25' E

...
Monday April 19th [1847]

... 11:30 a.m. Macgaskills [sic = Pingelap] Is. in sight. SW 15 miles off. Ends cloudy & rainy. No observation.

...
Tuesday April 20th

... 1 a.m. tacked to NNE. 3 a.m. wore to southward and close reefed topsails as it was very thick squally weather. 5:30 bore away W by N. 6 a.m. let 2 reefs from top sails and set main top foresail. 7 a.m. Wellington [Mokil] Islands in sight, 3 in number bearing NNjW 15 miles distant. At 9 a.m. hove to on the lee side to trade & found the natives very friendly and good-natured. At noon bore away on our course.

...
Wednesday April 21st

... At daylight saw the island of Ascension [Ponape] W by S 30 miles. Made all sail. 8 a.m. took a pilot. At 4 p.m. came to anchor in the Weather Harbour [Metalanim] in 8 fathom water and furled sails & was visited by the chiefs of this bay. Tried to get into

the Lee Harbour but the swell hove us so near the reef that we were obliged to haul up for the weather one. Ends light breeze and pleasant.

Wednesday April 22nd

Matanolim [sic] Harbour, Island of Ascension.

Yesterday, it should have been mentioned that we had to lower our boats to tow off the reefs. It was calm and a high swell heaving us down to the reef at the rate of one knot per hour [sic].

April 22.—This day begins with heavy rain and fresh breezes from E by S. Employed cleaning decks ready for painting, making new ropes out of coil sennet. Ends pleasant with passing clouds. Wind variable. Our leak is about the same as usual.

Friday April 23rd.

Light breezes and pleasant. This day scrubbing the decks with sand ready for painting. Unbent the top gallant sails and flying jib. Received a spar from the shore to make a new lower yard. Ends rainy & wind light and variable. N.E. wind. Opened a barrel of pork.

Saturday April 24th

Fresh breezes and rain. This day sent the spar on shore to be made into a lower yard. Caarpenter and one man at work on it. The rest of the crew at work on sails. Ends calm and cloudy.

Sunday April 25th

Light breezes and pleasant. Ends good breeze at N.E. and passing clouds. Our leak is about the same rate.

Monday April 26th

Light variable winds and pleasant. Bent the flying jib and M.T.G. sail and unbent the fore topsail. Ends pleasant. Carpenter and one man on shore at work on the yard.

Tuesday April 27th

Squally with rain. This day took in the new yard and stowed it. Cleared decks ready for sea. Ends light rain and clousy.

Wednesday April 28th

Light breeze from N and W. At 3:30 a.m. weighed anchor and made all sail. 8 a.m. passed out through the passage on the reef. Ends calm and warm. Assscension about 5 miles distant bearing West, the center of it.

Lat. 6°50 North, long. 158°18 East.

The island is incorrectly placed on the chart. The above Lat. and Long. is about the position.

H. Archer.

Thursday April 29th

Light breeze and pleasant. 4 p.m. the pilot left us. 6 p.m. extremes of Ascension WSW and SW.

Monday May 10th

Light wind and pleasant. 3 p.m. wind hauled to W in a squall, in all studding sails and braced up. 4 p.m. wind East Northerly, set all studding sails. 6 p.m. Zarpana [Rota] in sight WSW 40 miles. 10 p.m. hauled to the northward. Midnight good breeze and pleasant. Wore to S and E. 2 a.m. wore to Northward. 4 a.m. wore to SE & kept away and made all sails. 6:30 Guam in sight bearing SW by W 40 miles. Noon, North end Guam SW by W, South end S by W, center Zarpana NNE. Opened barrel pork. Cleaned. Lat. 13°45;

Tuesday May 11th

Fine breeze and pleasant. 6 p.m. took in light sails and hauled on a wind to the N. Orote Pt. bore W by SW and Goat [Apapa] Island S. Stood off and on through the night off the mouth of Port Apra. 5:30 a.m. kept away for the harbour. 7 a.m. the pilot came on board. 8:20 a.m. came to in 23 fathoms water an furled sails. Fort Santa Cruz bears SE, Orote Pt W by S, Goat Island N by E. Employed fitting the mizzen rigging & painting starboard boat. Ends fresh breezes and pleasant.

Wednesday May 12th

Fine breeze at East and pleasant. This day the Capt. went up to town. Employed rattling the mizzen rigging. Took the larboard boat on deck & painted her. Ends pleasant.

Thursday May 13th

Light wind and pleasant. Finished tarring the mizzen rigging & shifted the fore-sail. The Capt returned from Agaña. Ends light variable winds and rainy.

Friday May 14th

Good breeze and pleasant. 4 of the crew on liberty. Ends pleasant. Fitted mizzen top mast rigging.

Saturday May 15th

Moderate breeze and pleasant. 5 of the crew on liberty. Ends light breeze and pleasant. Carpenter not returned on board at 7 o'clock. Finished painting the boat and hoisted them up to the quarters again.

Sunday May 16th

Light breeze at East and pleasant. Middle part fresh breeze and cloudy. Ends light breezes and passing clouds. Carpenter came on board this morning at 7 a.m.

Monday [May] 17th

Good breeze and pleasant. At 7 a.m. weighed anchor and made all sail, wind ENE. 8 a.m. the pilot left us. Noon, Orote Point ENE 5 leagues. Took in lower and M.T. Gallant studding sail as the winds hauled to SSE. Course SW. Lat. $13^{\circ}24' N$

Tuesday May 18th

Moderate breeze and pleasant. 2:30 p.m. took in larboard F.T. mast studding sail. South end Guam E at 4 p.m. Orote Pt. ENE.

Noon, Guam bears ENE 40 miles.

Lat. $13^{\circ}09' N$. Long. $144^{\circ}16' E$.

...

Note S1880G

**Eduard Hernsheim aboard the ship Pacific,
Captain Nowlan**

Source: Sack and Clark's Eduard Hernsheim (1983).

**Excerpt from the logbook kept by Hernsheim, 21 April to 3
May 1880**

...
[Hernsheim had arrived in Hong Kong in March 1880 to have the engines of the **Pacific** repaired. As the result of some mail waiting for him there, he decided to return to the Islands as quickly as possible.]

...
21 April

Well, today I'm supposed to get away at last but in spite of all my efforts I am not really today... Went to Hoppius's place for a farewell tiffin with Consul Travers, etc. who is a very nice likeable chap...; a pity that I couldn't spend more time with him... Weighed anchor and cast off. Air pump working badly. Once outside port, engineer seasick. Extremely weary myself and pleased I can have a sleep at last. Fasting so as to start the treatment tomorrow.

22 April

Light northerly breeze. Ship going well, but engine leaves so much to be desired. Engineer hopelessly seasick. Eat nothing except a few salt herrings.

23 April

Calm and good weather. 4 a.m. take the tapeworm medicine, the most abominable brew ever concocted by any chemist; consequently feel awful. Dreadful diarrhoea but no worm, presumably passed it earlier. At all events I haven't felt so well for years as this time in Hong Kong. Take a bit of castor oil which fixes me up.

Pass big Russian warship, presumably Admiral.

24 April

Fresh north-east breeze. Engine giving me a lot of worry again, here no pump water into the boiler with the donkey; things look terrible below...

25 April

... Start to do the accounts... many mistakes, as usual. This evening again no water in the boiler, engineer seasick, stay down in the engine-room. About 1 a.m. pressure a bit better again.

26 April

6 a.m. the engine out, stop the ship and get the air pump taken out. Piston badly lagged. 3 p.m. got it going again, excellent pressure. 9 p.m. feed pump or the check valve in the boiler breaks down, can't get any water into the boiler. On the point of ordering the fires to be raked out when the thing gets going again. The whole engine is filthy as always when it has been worked on in Hong Kong.

27 April

8 a.m. circulation pump not working. Can't get any water into the boiler although the whole ship is full of it. Give order to stop the ship again and to take out the circulation and feed pumps. 11 p.m. we start to make steam again and engine now going well.

28 April

... Wind is fresh easterly. Engine all right, only boiler water very salty.

29 April

134 miles; steady easterly breeze, once again doesn't seem to be much prospect of a westerly.

30 April

132 miles.

1 May

146 miles; engine working very well now.

3 May

8 a.m. anchored in Ruul Harbour; no ships been here; once again no rain for a long time; Sanders has done best; approx. 25/m, Brown 10/m, Shaw 4-5/m, Holcomb 4-5/m, O'Keefe's men 3-4/m. Brown has started drinking agin and had a shooting affray with Hott, his best worker—otherwise everything all right.

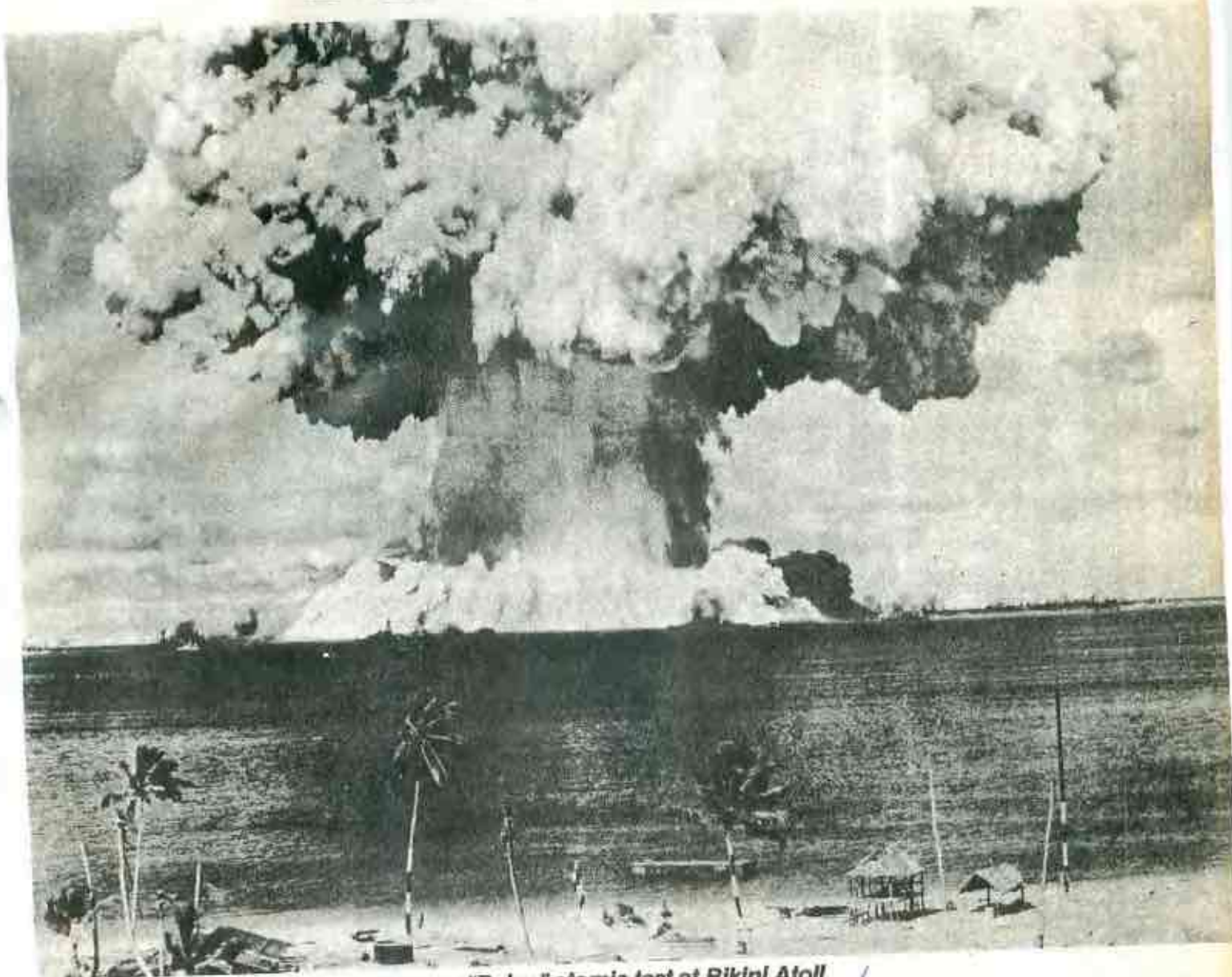
Document S1946D

Marshall Islands Chronology, 1944-1978

Source: A publication of the Micronesia Support Committee, Honolulu, 1978.

[Attached]

Marshall Islands



*"Baker" atomic test at Bikini Atoll,
July 1946. U.S. Navy photo.* ✓

1944 – A CHRONOLOGY – 1978

1942-1944 More than 6,200 U.S. Soldiers die and 22,800 wounded as Americans battle Japanese for control of Micronesia in the western Pacific.

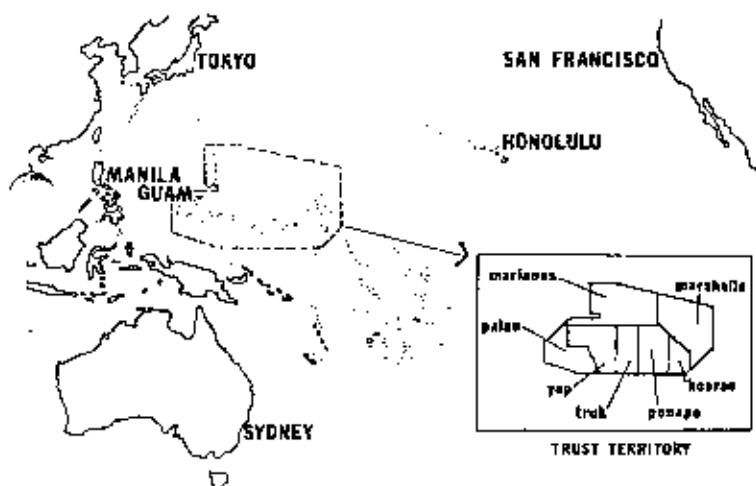
1944 FEBRUARY U.S. forces capture Kwajalein Atoll, Marshall Islands, from the Japanese. Americans recruit Marshallese living on outer islands of Kwajalein lagoon as laborers in support of war effort. (Following Japan's defeat Marshallese continue construction of military base at Kwajalein.)

1945 JULY 16 At 5:29 am, *Trinity*, the first test of an atomic bomb takes place in New Mexico.

AUGUST 6 United States drops atomic bomb on Hiroshima city, Japan. It is estimated by Japanese that 140,000 people died by December, 1945 as a result of the bomb.

AUGUST 9 U.S. drops second atomic bomb on Nagasaki city. Approximately 70,000 people died by December, 1945 as a result of the bomb.

AUGUST 10 Japan surrenders to the U.S.: World War II ends.



Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) covers a land and ocean area of 3,000,000 square miles.

NOVEMBER American military and political leaders begin planning nuclear experiments for further development of nuclear weapons. Two tests, code named *Operation Crossroads*, planned to test effects of atomic explosions on naval vessels. Search begun for appropriate site.

1946 JANUARY Navy officials in Washington, D.C. announce that Bikini Atoll, in the Marshall Islands, fulfills all climatic and geographical requirements for *Operation Crossroads*.

FEBRUARY 10 Bikinians' first relocation accomplished swiftly and with little planning. Military governor of the Marshalls obtains consent of Bikini's paramount chief for the relocation, informing the people that the

Excerpt from the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement for the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands:

Article 6—"In discharging its obligations under Article 76(b) of the Charter, the administering authority (U.S.) shall:

2. promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants, and to this end shall regulate the use of the natural resources; encourage the development of fisheries, agriculture, and industries; protect the inhabitants against the loss of their resources; and improve the means of transportation and communication;
3. promote the social advancement of the inhabitants, and to this end shall protect the rights and fundamental freedoms of all elements of the population without discrimination; protect the health of the inhabitants..."

scientists were experimenting with nuclear devices "...for the good of mankind and to end all world wars." After deliberation, the Bikinians consent to move, but have no real alternative other than submission to U.S. plans.

MARCH 7 166 Bikinians move from Bikini to uninhabited Rongerik Atoll, almost 100 miles east, whose 17 islands barely contained one-half square mile of dry land.

MAY Less than two months after their arrival the Bikinians express anxiety over Rongerik's resources and make the first of many requests to return home.

JUNE *Operation Crossroads* begins at Bikini Atoll. It includes two atomic bomb blasts—Able (June 30) and Baker (July 24). About 250 ships, more than 150 aircraft for transport and observation, and 42,000 military, scientific, and technical personnel eventually involved in *Operation Crossroads*.

DECEMBER Bikinians' situation on Rongerik worsens. Food shortages occur during the winter months of 1946-47.

1947 JUNE Military governor appoints investigation board to look into Bikinians' plight. In meeting with the people, they report that there is insufficient food, the store is bankrupt, fresh water supplies are low, and the atoll has only one brackish well. The Bikinians suggest Kili Atoll as a possible relocation site.

JULY The Marshall Islands, along with the Caroline and Mariana Islands, formerly under a League of Nations Mandate to the Japanese, become the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific under the United Nations. Military government ends, but Navy given authority for the new administration until it can be transferred to a civilian agency.

JULY The situation on Rongerik further deteriorates. A medical officer, after visiting Rongerik, reports that the Bikinians were "visibly suffering from malnutrition."

OCTOBER 17 Navy officials announce that Bikinians will be moved to Ujelang, the western-most atoll in the Marshalls.

NOVEMBER 22 Ten Bikinians and twenty Seabees go to Ujelang to begin construction of a new village.

"At first the food was plentiful (on Ujelang Atoll), crabs, and coconut and fish. Then it was gone. We had thought that if we ate more, more would come. We started running out of food. It would be six months between ships from the trust territory, ships with supplies... We came close to starving."
— *Ismail John, Deputy District Administrator for the Marshall Islands.*

DECEMBER 2 Washington officials announce that Enewetak Atoll is to be used for a second series of nuclear tests, and that its inhabitants must be moved immediately.

DECEMBER 21 The people of Enewetak are quickly relocated to Ujelang Atoll, which has only one-fourth the land area of Enewetak, and has a much smaller lagoon—25 square miles compared to Enewetak's 390 square miles.

DECEMBER Bikinians remain at Rongerik Atoll, despite having built housing at Ujelang.

1948 JANUARY The High commissioner of the Trust Territory requests an independent survey of the Rongerik situation by University of Hawaii anthropologist Dr. Leonard Mason.

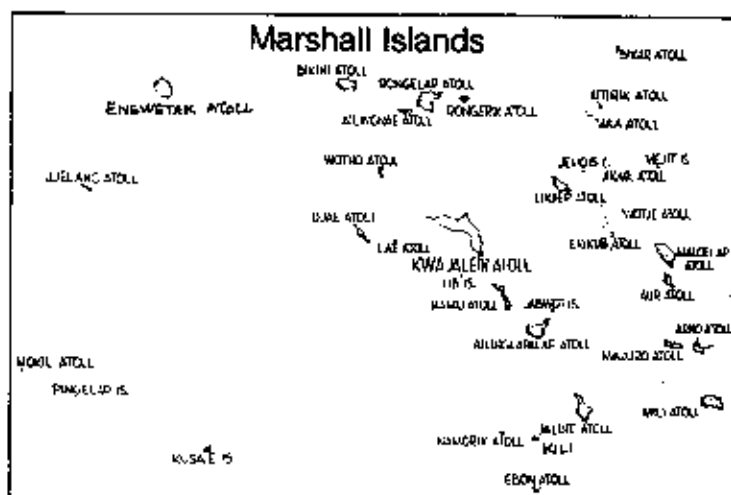
FEBRUARY 4 A medical officer and food are flown to Rongerik. After examining the people, the doctor states their condition to be that of a starving people.

MARCH 14 Bikinians are evacuated from Rongerik and are sent to a temporary camp on Kwajalein. The Rongerik resettlement lasted two years and one week.

APRIL Operation Sandstone begins on Enewetak. This atomic test series includes X-ray (April 14), Yoke (April 30), and Zebra (May 14).



Bikinians leaving their atoll in 1946, prior to start of nuclear test series, "Operation Crossroads." Photo by Grieve.



APRIL Search begins for alternative resettlement sites for the Bikinians. On June 1, they vote two to one in favor of Kili Atoll, uninhabited former Japanese copra plantation, over Wotje Atoll, inhabited and controlled by former paramount chief.

SEPTEMBER Advance party of 24 Bikini men and 8 Seabees arrive on Kili to begin construction of a new village.

NOVEMBER 2 The total Bikini community arrives on Kili. The disadvantages of the island include the lack of a lagoon and protected anchorage, and the heavy winter surf which isolates the island and halts offshore fishing from November to late spring. Kili has advantages of good agriculture soil and stands of quality coconut trees for copra export.

1950 Operation Greenhouse begins at Enewetak: this series includes atomic tests Dog (April 7), Easy (April 20), George (May 8), and Item (May 24).

1951 JANUARY The 40 foot ship provided for the Bikinians by the administration washes into Kili reef by the heavy surf and sinks with a full load of copra. (Because of rough seas and a shortage of vessels, food supplies on Kili run critically low on more than one occasion from 1951 to 1953. At one point the situation becomes so critical that an air drop of emergency rations is required).

JANUARY The Marshallese labor camp at Kwajalein (about 500 people) is relocated to the island of Ebeye, 3 miles away.

JULY 1 The Navy administration of the Trust Territory is replaced by the Department of the Interior.

1952 Operation Ivy begins at Enewetak, including the first thermo-nuclear bomb test, Mike (October 31) estimated at 10.4 megatons, and King (November 15), a "high yield" atomic test. "Mike" blast vaporizes Elugelap Island, and leaves a crater one mile in diameter and 175 feet deep in the coral reef. The mushroom cloud rises to 130,000 feet in just 15 minutes.

1954 The population on the island of Ebeye, a 66 acre island less than a mile long and 650 feet wide,

"During the course of a routine atomic test in the Marshall Islands, 28 United States personnel and 236 residents were transported from neighboring atolls to Kwajalein Island according to a plan as a precautionary measure. These individuals were unexpectedly exposed to some radioactivity. There were no burns. All were reported well. After the completion of the atomic tests, the natives will be returned to their homes."

FEBRUARY The U.S. government informs the chief of Rongelap that a hydrogen bomb test is going to be carried out soon, but does not inform him of any precautionary measures to take.

MARCH 1 "Bravo," the largest hydrogen bomb exploded at Bikini, is detonated. Despite an incomplete and somewhat alarming report concerning the winds above Bikini, the decision is made to proceed with the test. Winds from sea level to 55,000 feet were generally heading east or northeast, in the direction of Rongelap, Rongerik and Utrik (all inhabited atolls).

MARCH 1 Joint Task Force Seven ships are located in monitoring positions about 30 miles from the blast, in what was expected to be an upwind position. Within minutes after the explosion, RadSafe personnel see the

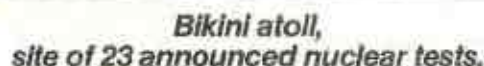
MARCH 1 Approximately one and a half hours after the blast, a "gritty, white ash" begins to fall on the 22 fishermen aboard the Japanese fishing vessel "Lucky Dragon," which was in the waters near Bikini. (The fishermen were unaware that the ash was fallout from the nuclear test. In three days they begin to experience the effects of acute radiation exposure: itching of the skin, nausea, and vomiting. Two weeks after their exposure, they arrive in Japan. Within 2 years the Japanese government receives \$2 million in compensation from the U.S. for the Lucky Dragon's exposure.)

MARCH 1 Four to six hours after the blast, a white, snow-like ash begins to fall on the people living on Rongelap and the 18 Rongelapese on Ailingnae, about 100 miles east of Bikini. The white dust soon forms a layer on the island an inch and a half thick. The fallout is also carried into the drinking water catchments. Later that day, RadSafe personnel go to Rongelap, find the radiation levels dangerously high, and tell the people not to drink the water. They then leave to report their findings.

Unlike the Americans stationed on Rongerik, the people of Rongelap were not told of any precautionary measures to take to protect themselves from the fallout. About 24 hours after the Americans were evacuated from Rongerik, ships from the Seventh Fleet arrive at Rongelap and Ailingnae to remove the people. It has been *more than two days* since the people were initially exposed to the radioactive fallout.

MARCH 1 Utrik Atoll, about 275 miles east of Bikini, is the last to experience the fallout from the "Bravo" blast. The fallout begins about 22 hours after the test, and is described as "mist-like." The 157 islanders on Utrik are removed by the Navy three days and six hours after "Bravo."

MARCH 5 Many of the exposed people, having all been evacuated to Kwaialein, begin experiencing symptoms.



"The American people used the Marshallese people as though they were animals. While I am still alive, I can never forget what a horrible fate the American people inflicted on the Marshallese people. At the time I was 29 years old, the mother of five children. I suffered severe burns on the neck. My eyes have been affected. I suffered pregnancy difficulties, ankle pain, tonsillitis for many years and finger pains."

Mitsuwa Anjain

quoted from "Bikini photo documentary: the testimony of bomb victims in the Marshall Islands."

"Even though... the radioactive contamination of Rongelap Island is considered perfectly safe for human habitation, the levels of activity are higher than those found in other inhabited locations in the world. The habitation of these people on the island will afford most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings."

—Brookhaven National Laboratory 3-year report on Rongelap and Utirik.

of acute radiation exposure: itching and burning of the skin, eyes, and mouth, nausea, vomiting, and diarrhea. During the month, the second stage of radiation exposure begins to be felt: hair on the heads of many people wholly or partially falls out, the skin 'burns' begin appearing on the necks, shoulders, arms, and feet of the more heavily exposed.

According to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), approximately 90% of the exposed Rongelap people suffer from skin lesions and loss of hair, beginning about two weeks after exposure.

The maximum permissible dose per week of radiation to the thyroid gland is set at 0.3 rems. According to the AEC, the exposed children on Rongelap received a dose of 500 to 1,400 rads to the thyroid gland, or 1000 to 2000 times more than the maximum permissible dose.

MAY After initial examination, Rongelapese resettled on Ejit Island in Majuro Atoll, because high radiation levels on Rongelap prevent their return. They are examined by AEC medical teams in September, 1954, and in March 1955, 1956 and 1957.

MAY Utirik people, receiving what AEC officials term "small" amounts of radioactive fallout from "Bravo" test (at 14 rads), return to Utirik from Kwajalein. AEC states, "their island was only slightly contaminated and considered safe for habitation."

1956 Operation Redwing begins at Enewetak and Bikini, and includes 13 atomic and hydrogen bomb tests. "Cherokee" blast listed as "several megatons."

SEPTEMBER Enewetakese, who had received NO compensation for use of their home atoll, are offered \$25,000 in cash and a trust fund of \$150,000 with semi-annual interest payments, by the U.S. government. The people, faced with difficult living conditions on Ujelang Atoll, accept offer.

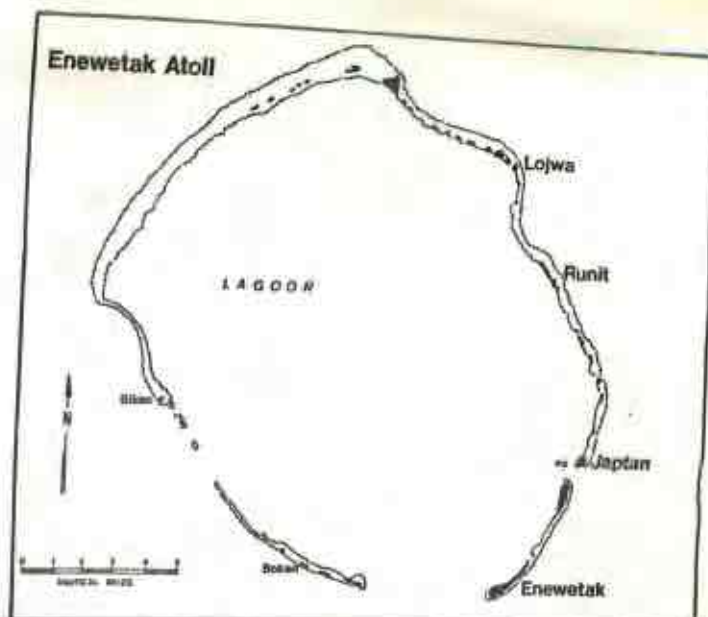
NOVEMBER Three Bikini families move from Kili Island to selected site in Jaluit Atoll, 30 miles north, as start of satellite community. During 1957, several other families alternate with the original settlers as housing is erected and food crops (coconut, pandanus, taro) are planted.

NOVEMBER Bikini people sign agreement giving the U.S. government "full use rights to Bikini Atoll until

"It was as bright as though the whole island was on fire. The white ashes stuck to my daughter's skin and I didn't think of washing them off right away. Since then I have never been well..."

Sarah Oamy

quoted from "Bikini photo documentary: the testimony of bomb victims of the Marshall Islands."



**Enewetak Atoll,
site of 46 announced nuclear tests.**

such time as it determines it will no longer be necessary to occupy and use the said Atoll." In return the Bikinians are given "full use rights" to Kili Island and several islands in Jaluit Atoll and \$25,000 in cash and a \$300,000 trust fund yielding semi-annual interest payments of \$4,972.50 (approximately \$15 per capita) —to be divided among the Bikinians living on Kili.

1957 JULY AEC radiological survey states that "in spite of slight lingering radioactivity" Rongelap Atoll is safe for habitation. People move back to Rongelap from Majuro Atoll, after three year exile. (In 1971 a Japanese medical survey team reported: "Our conclusion concerning the human test on the people of Rongelap is that it was a great mistake to permit the people of Rongelap to return to their island in July, 1957 without sufficient work having been done to remove radioactive pollution from the island.")

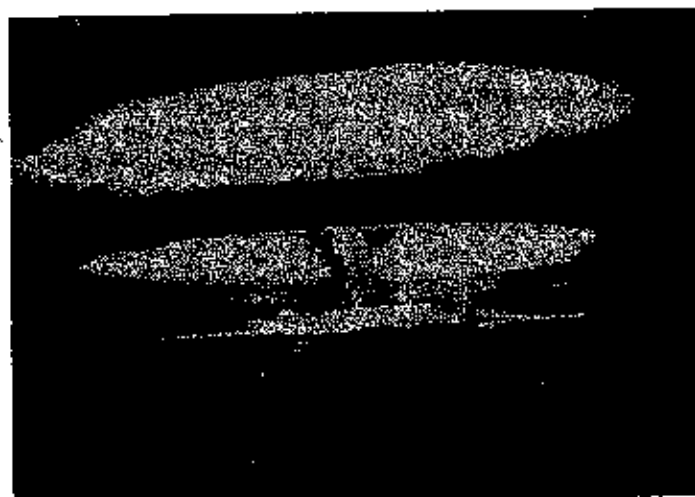
NOVEMBER Typhoon Lola hits Kili and causes extensive damage to crops, in addition to sinking the islanders' supply ship, "Libra II."

1958 JANUARY Typhoon Ophelia causes great destruction on Jaluit and other southern atolls. All Bikinians living on Jaluit have to move back to Kili as colony site becomes uninhabitable.

Still births and miscarriages among exposed Rongelap women more than twice the rate of unexposed Marshallese women (for first four years only, following exposure in 1954).

Operation Hardtack (Phase I) begun at Enewetak and Bikini, largest and final test series conducted in the Marshalls. Series includes 29 nuclear tests, and two blasts of megaton strength near Johnston Island.

Following Operation Hardtack, U.S. concludes nuclear testing program in the Marshalls, after more than 60 announced atomic and hydrogen bomb tests at Enewetak and Bikini. More than \$2.5 Billion spent during the testing program in the Marshalls, begun in 1946.



Nuclear cloud from one of many tests in the Pacific.

"The group of irradiated Marshallese people offer a most valuable source of data on human beings who have sustained injury from all the possible modes of exposure..."

— Brookhaven National Laboratory 3-year report on Rongelap and Utirik

validity of that lease. When it was negotiated, the Army promised to help the people of Ebeye with social and economic problems. So did the Trust Territory. That lease was signed on the basis of those promises. Those promises have not been kept.")

1965 JULY Congress of Micronesia, a territory-wide legislative body modeled on the U.S. Congress, holds first session after being created by an executive order in 1964.

1966 JANUARY Ex gratia payment by U.S. government of about \$950,000 for injuries resulting from radioactive fallout. (\$10,800 per capita.)

In a 1966 film entitled "Return to Bikini," the AEC says the island has returned "almost to normal" when in fact it is covered with thickly entangled scrub weeds, and debris from the nuclear testing program.

JUNE New England Journal of Medical Science reports that the death rate among Marshallese exposed to radiation was 13.0 per thousand compared with 8.3 for the Marshalls as a whole, in the 12 years following the "Bravo" test in 1954.

1967 Enewetakese living on Ujelang Atoll nearly starve, when the few crops available are attacked by growing number of rats on the island.

1968 Enewetak people living on Ujelang Atoll face starvation conditions. Supply ship arrives, but is short of goods — islanders board ship and refuse to leave, stating they wish to abandon Ujelang. Ataji Balos, a government official (later a member of the Congress of Micronesia), agrees to stay on Ujelang with the people until a new supply ship returns with sufficient food. Ship returns within two weeks.

President Johnson promises 540 Bikinians, living on Kili and other islands, a permanent return to Bikini because radiation levels, according to the AEC, dropped below the danger level.

Brookhaven National Laboratory (on contract to the AEC) medical team reports that *all but two* of the nineteen children on Rongelap who were less than ten years old when their island was subjected to radioactive fallout in 1954, *have developed abnormal thyroid glands.*

Bikini man living on Kili:

"Why is it you Americans are so smart and powerful that you can send men to the moon, but you can't help us with our problems here on Kili?"

1960 Kwajalein converted from Naval Air Station to part of the Army's new Pacific Missile Range.

During winter months, field trip vessels unable to provide adequate service to Kili Island; Bikinians face food shortages again.

1961 Army's Pacific Missile Range at Kwajalein completed. Kwajalein lagoon becomes target for Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles fired from California. Because of increased job opportunities for Marshallese at the missile range, population on Ebeye continues to expand.

A report for the AEC by Dr. Robert Conard (of Brookhaven National Laboratory) shows that after the exposed people of Rongelap were returned to their island in July, 1957, their body burden of radioactivity rapidly increased. In 1961 it was recorded by the AEC that their body levels of radioactive cesium rose 60-fold, zinc rose 8-fold and strontium-90 rose 6-fold.

1963 Polio epidemic throughout the northern Marshall Islands, caused by a case in American population at Kwajalein. 196 cases of severe residual paralysis secondary to polio were recorded among the 18,000 inhabitants of the Marshalls, although polio vaccine had been discovered 8 years earlier. The attack rate in the U.S. is about one patient with severe residual paralysis per 1,000 infections of polio.

1964 First thyroid tumors begin appearing among radiation-exposed Rongelap people — also, a higher than average level of growth retardation among young Rongelap children.

A 99-year lease for Kwajalein Island (750 acres) signed by Kwajalein landowners, Army Command and Trust Territory. Lease provides compensation of \$500 per acre for past use (since the end of WWII) and \$500 per acre for future use. An additional payment of \$40 per month is provided for each of the original 148 Mid-Corridor residents relocated by the Army to Ebeye in 1964. "Mid-Corridor" refers to central two-thirds of Kwajalein lagoon required by Army for its missile testing. (Marshallese Congressman Ataji Balos stated in 1976, "The people of Kwajalein do not recognize the

"On July 4th, 1976, only a matter of hours after T. T. Acting High Commissioner Peter Coleman had finished telling the United Nations Trusteeship Council there was no segregation at Kwajalein (a statement he would not dare make on Ebeye), the command of Kwajalein Missile Range celebrated the American Bicentennial by closing Kwajalein Island to any Marshallese... So American independence was celebrated at Kwajalein Atoll by enforcement of all out and total segregation."
—Congress of Micronesia Representative Ataji Balos, July, 1976.

1969 Enewetakese lose crops on Ujelang, as tropical storm sweeps the island.

Bikini resettlement planned to extend over period of eight or more years to allow for maturation of newly planted crops. The AEC and Defense Department plan first phase of cleanup of radioactive debris on Bikini, while Trust Territory assumes responsibility for second phase of replanting the atoll, constructing houses and relocating the community.

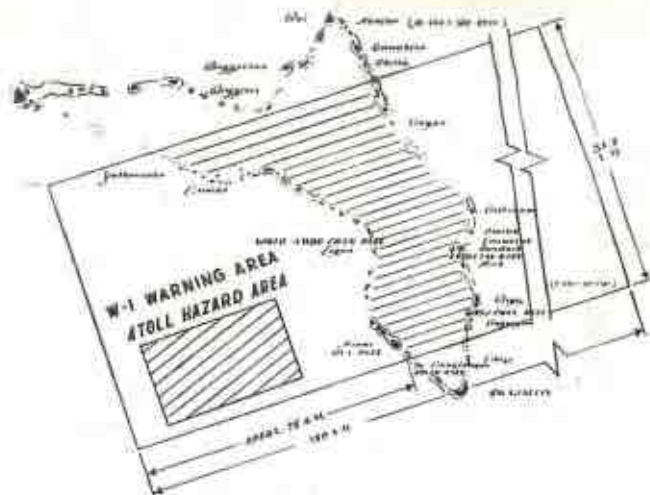
OCTOBER Bikini cleanup phase finished. AEC, military personnel and equipment withdraw and weekly air service to Kwajalein terminated. Phase two of rehabilitation marked by serious logistics problems.

Bikini declared safe for reoccupation. AEC states, "There's virtually no radiation left and we can find no discernable effect on either plant or animal life."

OCTOBER Congress of Micronesia begins negotiations with U.S. towards a new political status for Micronesia. (From October, 1969 to June, 1976 eight rounds of negotiations held: initially U.S. offered commonwealth status for the islands, while Micronesia demanded independence. Presently a "free association" status is being negotiated, where Micronesia would control internal and foreign affairs, with the U.S. having authority for defense of the islands, including the establishment of "necessary military facilities.")



*Bikini in 1946: a self-sufficient people prior to relocation by Navy.
Photo by Leonard Mason.*



**Kwajalein Atoll,
the Army's Pacific Missile Testing Range.**

Congressman Balos' and other Marshall Islanders' actions set in motion U.S. Congressional legislation to pay \$1,020,000 to the Enewetak people to be phased in a trust fund.

Medical survey by Dr. Robert Conard (Brookhaven) shows little difference in radioactivity levels among exposed and unexposed Rongelap people living on Rongelap. However, as late as 1969 the body radioactivity levels of previously unexposed Rongelap people was 10 times that of Marshallese living on Kili.

1970 Atomic Energy Commission conducts survey on Enewetak and finds that atoll radiation level has dropped enough to allow islanders to return if extensive cleanup of remaining radioactive debris is undertaken.

DECEMBER Agreement signed among Mid-Corridor Kwajalein Marshallese, Army Command and Trust Territory, to provide \$420,000 per year to the people displaced by the Army's target area requirements, with 5-year review clause.

1971 Bikini rehabilitation program proceeds at snail's pace; because of erratic shipping and no air service, supplies arrive late. Eventually replanting at Bikini and Enyu Islands completed.

SEPTEMBER Air Force Pacific Cratering Experiments (PACE) project begun on Enewetak. More than 220 tons of explosives brought to Enewetak for series of tests, aimed at simulating nuclear bomb blasts. Six tons actually detonated; 190 holes drilled into reefs and land for explosives; and 86 trenches (seven feet deep, 3 feet wide and 6 feet long) dug in different parts of the atoll.

DECEMBER Japanese medical survey team comes to Marshall Islands at request of Marshallese. Administration refuses medical team permission to travel to Rongelap and Utirik, in what administration terms conflict over credentials. Medical team stays on Majuro and meets with those exposed to radiation—their report states: "the team was welcomed by the islanders, who strongly desired our investigation work..."

1972 JANUARY Marshallese Congressman Ataji Balos accuses the U.S. of consciously allowing Marshallese people to be exposed to radioactive fallout in order to study the effect of radiation on human beings; states the Brookhaven medical team is using Rongelap people as guinea pigs and not giving them proper medical examinations and treatment.

Marshallese refuse to allow AEC doctors to examine them during annual AEC medical survey, until AEC agrees to include independent doctors on their team.

Bikinians living on Kili Island begin moving back to Bikini atoll. (By 1978, the returned population reaches 139 out of total population of more than 600 Bikinians.)

FEBRUARY Congress of Micronesia creates Special Joint Committee concerning Rongelap and Utrik Atolls to investigate the problems of the irradiated people living on those atolls.

APRIL Military ends use of Enewetak Atoll as support site for Pacific Missile Range at Kwajalein.

Air Force quarantines Runit Island, site of several large nuclear tests, in Enewetak and denies access to

Konrad P. Kotrady, M.D.

"The Army's position was summed up to me one day when a high-level command officer at Kwajalein remarked that the sole purpose of the Army at Kwajalein is to test missile systems. They have no concern for the Marshallese and that it is not of any importance to their being at Kwajalein."

anyone for any purpose. Radiation data suggests Runit will be unsafe for habitation for 240,000 years.

SEPTEMBER Conard medical team discovers two more Marshallese with thyroid abnormalities, one from Ailingnae and the other from Rongelap. To date, 18 out of 19 Rongelap people who were under 10 years old when exposed to radiation from "Bravo" in 1954, have had thyroid abnormalities.

SEPTEMBER Enewetakese file suit in federal court in Hawaii to stop Air Force PACE project. Temporary injunction granted. In January 1973, federal judge orders program halted. U.S. Pentagon in June calls off the PACE tests in face of court action by Enewetakese.

OCTOBER AEC announces that coconut crabs on Bikini, considered a delicacy in the Marshalls, can be eaten on a restricted basis. (Even in 1978, they are still not safe for every day consumption.)

NOVEMBER Leko Anjain, from Rongelap, one year old at the time of his exposure to radioactive fallout, dies of myelogenous leukemia, at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Md. (At age 13, he was taken to the U.S. for removal of thyroid nodules — his mother, father, and two brothers also had thyroid lesions surgically removed.)

DECEMBER U.S. begins separate negotiations with Mariana Islands towards that district becoming a U.S. commonwealth (commonwealth agreement signed in 1975, gains Congressional, then presidential approval in 1976. Key provision in agreement is military rights to two-thirds of Tinian Island, used in WWII to launch A-bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for an air naval base).

1973 FEBRUARY Japanese medical survey team report following investigation trip to Marshalls in December, 1971 states: "...The body burden (of radiation) on the 'unexposed group' of Rongelap is actually higher than that on the people of other islands. This means that the people of Rongelap who were *not* exposed to the fallout, received a considerable amount of radioactive nuclides from the environment. Consequently, the 'unexposed' group actually became an 'exposed' group..."

Ebeye population estimated at 5,260 people living on 53 available acres. Average of 10 persons per single room housing unit. Between 400-500 Marshallese employed at Kwajalein Missile Range (KMR).

1974 U.S. spends \$435,000 for Bikini cleanup program.

MARCH Marshall Islands District Legislature adopts resolution asking for separate political status negotiations between the Marshalls and U.S. American negotiators encourage Marshallese to continue negotiating through the Congress of Micronesia.



Signs in both English and Marshallese indicate the "off-limits" islands at Enewetak. Honolulu Advertiser photo by Ron Jett.

JUNE AEC reports that nearly 28% of the Marshallese exposed to radiation originally have developed thyroid nodules or tumors, in contrast to an average 3 or 4% among Americans.

Brookhaven National Laboratory study states that of 68 persons irradiated on Rongelap, 29 have developed thyroid abnormalities and 24 have undergone surgery in the U.S. for removal of the tissue. The study also notes significant growth retardation among Rongelap children.

SEPTEMBER Environmental Impact Statement on Enewetak released — states radioactivity in northern islands much greater than southern islands. Report suggests no habitation of northern islands, although islanders have stated a preference for these islands. EIS proposes using A-Bomb crater in Runit Island as "dump" for radioactive material removed from other islands, and covering it with a cement "cap."

DECEMBER 97 Bikinians now living on Bikini.

1975 APRIL Enewetak Chief, Johannes Peter appeals to U.S. Senate Armed Services Subcommittee to rid their atoll of radiation dangers, so the people can return home.

Marshall Islands District Legislature creates Marshall Islands Political Status Commission (MIPSC) to seek a political status with the U.S., apart from the rest of Micronesia.

JUNE New radiological tests discover "higher levels of radioactivity than originally thought" on Bikini and it "appears to be hotter or questionable as to safety," states an Interior Department source.

AUGUST Data on local foods grown on Bikini island point to the need to restrict completely the use of pandanus, breadfruit, and coconut crabs, according to a preliminary report issued by the Energy Research



Atomic tests "Cactus" and "Lacrosse," carved huge craters hundreds of feet across in Runit Island on Enewetak. U.S. Army photo.

Anonymous Bikinian, 1974:

"If there is no danger (for Bikinians to return home), why do they want to give us diet restrictions and physicals? If they find something wrong then, isn't it too late?"

and Development Administration (formerly AEC) on August 6. In addition, the report states that banana and papaya grown on Bikini are not recommended for consumption until they have been analyzed and declared acceptable.

OCTOBER Bikinians file law suit in Honolulu court, demanding complete scientific survey of Bikini to determine if it is fit for human life. Bikinians law suit maintains that U.S. government has refused to employ highly sophisticated technical equipment to measure radiation.

Ebeye population estimated at 7,049 living in "deteriorating and substandard" housing units according to a Trust Territory study. Average of 12.3 persons per single room units.

NOVEMBER Outbreak of flu on Ebeye. At least 10 persons, mostly children, die. Health officials blame flu epidemic on over-crowding and lack of proper sanitary and health facilities on Ebeye.

DECEMBER For second year in a row, U.S. Congress refuses to approve funds to clean up radioactive debris on Enewetak for islanders to return home.

1976 Kwajalein Mid-Corridor landowners, Army Command, and Trust Territory sign 5-year extension of 1970 agreement for Army use of Kwajalein Atoll for missile testing. New agreement calls for \$3,520,000 (\$704,000 per year) in monetary compensation, plus provisions for transportation within lagoon and replanting of home islands.

JULY U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, chaired by the Hon. Patsy Mink, holds hearing on Ebeye and Majuro. Calling the situation at Ebeye island a "patent violation of basic human rights" the Subcommittee demands strong corrective action on the part of the Departments of Defense and Interior. (In 1978 the problems on Ebeye remain substantively unchanged.)

U.S. Congress appropriates \$20 million for Enewetak cleanup. In addition, military agrees to provide equipment and personnel for massive project, estimated to cost well above \$50 million.

DECEMBER *Washington Post* exposes CIA surveillance of Micronesians during political status negotiations with the U.S. According to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Henry Kissinger authorized the CIA's "information collection" operations, which included electronic surveillance, as early as 1973. The Intelligence Committee report states that Kissinger granted permission for a study of "the possibility of exerting covert influence on key elements of the Micronesian independence movement" to "support U.S. strategic objectives."

DECEMBER Utrik islanders refuse to submit to examination by Dr. Knud Knudsen, during AEC's annual medical survey. *Los Angeles Times* points to "monumental culture clash" between the AEC scientists and the Marshallese underlying their refusal of medical examinations.

1977 **MARCH** U.S. Congress approves \$1,083,000 to compensate the Rongelap and Utirik islanders whose thyroid problems and cancers increased since 1963.

MARCH 56 Enewetak islanders, who had lived on Ujae Atoll in a U.S.-imposed exile since 1948, return to Japtan Island in southern Enewetak Atoll (Japtan is 6 miles from Runit Island, off-limits and considered the most radioactive in the atoll).

JUNE Study prepared for ERDA states, "All living patterns involving Bikini Island exceed Federal (radiation) guidelines for 30-year population doses."

JUNE Sudden increase in thyroid disease and cancer among Utirik people, which did not become apparent until 22 years after their exposure in 1954, forces government scientists to revise theories on radiation safety levels for human beings.

JUNE Army plans to clean up from northern area of Enewetak an estimated 125,000 cubic yards of non-contaminated debris, 7,300 cubic yards of radioactive material and another 79,000 cubic yards of soil contaminated with plutonium. The radioactive debris will be dumped into an a-bomb crater on Runit Island and sealed with a "cap" of cement. Besides plutonium, the radioactive contaminants at Enewetak are cesium 137, strontium 90 and cobalt 60. Army troops from Schofield Barracks in Hawaii begin arriving at Enewetak to carry out clean-up.

JULY Second round of informal talks held between the U.S. and Micronesia on Guam in an effort to resume formal political status negotiations stalled since 1976. For the first time, U.S. agrees to recognize separate political status commissions from the Marshalls and Palau, in addition to the Congress of Micronesia. (Formal rounds of negotiations held in October, 1977; January, 1978; and April, 1978. Negotiations to continue at accelerated pace, as U.S. has set termination date of U.N. Trusteeship Agreement for 1981.)

OCTOBER ERDA monitoring of Bikinians who returned in early 1970's shows an uptake in radioactive

nuclides — "some of them are eating unapproved foods" high in cesium, according to ERDA scientist.

OCTOBER Following tests which show the Bikinians taking in higher than acceptable concentrations of cancer causing radiation from the water and food grown in the island's still radioactive soil, the U.S. government begins sending all food and drink to Bikini.

1978 Interior Department officials confirm seven new thyroid cases over past 18 months in Rongelap and Utirik islanders exposed to fallout. Counting these, 33 of Rongelap's 82 inhabitants at the time of the fallout have developed thyroid problems. Of 21 Rongelap children under 12 years of age at the time of the explosion, 19 have had thyroid tumors or problems.

MARCH 30 Kwajalein landowners and supporters reclaim island in off limits "Mid-Corridor" area of Kwajalein lagoon to protest use by Army. Handel Dribo, a landowner on Kwajalein states, "for 12 years my land was used by the military. I have not received one penny." Army goes ahead with missile test while Marshallese occupy island in hazardous area.

APRIL Army bars Handel Dribo, a Kwajalein landowner and Ebeye resident, from entering Kwajalein, because of his earlier protest actions.

APRIL A Trust Territory report reveals the dire overcrowding and public health hazards on Ebeye Island. T.T. report states that:

- at least 8,000 Marshallese live on Ebeye's 66 acres (less 13 used by the Coast Guard) giving it an extrapolated population density of 65,000 people/sq. mile compared with developed islands of Hawaii, 120 people/sq. mile and Washington, D.C., 12,400 people/sq. mile.
- as of 1977, more than 13 people live in each single room unit on Ebeye, and in extreme cases up to 40 people in one unit.
- unemployment rate on Ebeye is 36% of actual workforce.
- Ebeye lagoon bacteria counts have been 25,000 times higher than deemed safe by the U.S. Public Health Service and the World Health Organization.
- incidence of hepatitis on Ebeye is three times higher than that recorded on any Micronesian island.

MAY Medical examinations conducted in April suggest that 139 people on Bikini are well above over-all radiation "safety" levels set by U.S. Examinations show that people are being exposed to strontium-90 as well as external radiation from fallout material still on the ground.

MAY Interior Department officials describe the 75% increase in radioactive cesium found in Bikinians living on Bikini as "incredible." Interior states plans to move residents to another island "within 75 to 90 days."

JULY Interior official John DeYoung describes Kili Island's school, community facilities and homes as being "awfully shabby."

JULY U.S. Congress appropriates more than \$1 million in compensation for the inhabitants of Rongelap and Utirik who were exposed to radiation in 1954. Each person who had the thyroid gland or a neurofibroma in the neck surgically removed or who has developed hypothyroidism, will receive \$25,000. A payment of \$25,000 will also be made to anyone who develops a



Enewetak people on Ujae Atoll, after their relocation in 1947. Photo by Leonard Mason.

radiation-related malignancy, such as leukemia. All residents on Utirik on March 1, 1954 will be given \$1,000.

AUGUST Interior Department decides to return all Marshallese now on Bikini Atoll to Kili Island, owing to high radiation levels on all Bikini islands, including Enyu.

"For me and the other people on Rongelap, it is life which matters most. For you it is facts and figures. We want our life and our health. In all the years you've come to our island, you've never once treated us as people. You've never sat down among us and really helped us honestly about our problems. You have told people that the 'worst is over,' then Leko Anjain died. I am very worried that we will suffer again and again."

— *Nelson Anjain, Magistrate of Rongelap in a 1975 letter to Dr. Robert Conard, Brookhaven National Laboratory.*

Sources:

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- Air Force Pacific Cratering Experiments (PACE) draft Environmental Statement (1973)
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- Ebeye Redevelopment and Gugeegue Development Study, Trust Territory Government, 1978.
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- Newspaper articles from: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, *Honolulu Advertiser*, *Marianas Variety*, *Micronesian Independent*.

Document S1970A

Saipan then and now, by Bruce Bahrenburg

Source: Bruce Bahrenburg. The Pacific Then and Now (New York, Putnam, 1971).

A visit to World War II battle sites

[Attached]

The tour bus with fifteen elderly Japanese turned off the main road and lifted a trail of white dust until it stopped at the edge of a cliff overlooking the sea. In two days in mid-July, 1944, thousands of Japanese soldiers, along with women and children loyal to Japan, walked to the edge of this cliff and threw themselves to their death rather than surrender to the Americans in the conclusion of the battle for Saipan.

The Japanese got off the bus carrying with them a large bottle of sake, a favorite white rice wine in Japan, and walked with measured steps to one of the two wooden stick memorials on the cliff's edge. The leader of the group stepped forward, knelt and poured some of the wine around the base of the stick. The group then formed a semicircle around it, bowed their heads with hands held together in the position of the worshiper, and then moved to the second wooden marker and repeated the ritual. When they finished the ceremony they snapped to rigid attention and, throwing their arms straight above their heads, yelled "hanzai" three times, their voices echoing down to where the waves crashed on rocks half submerged in the turbulent sea.

> There are two plain stone monuments back up the hill from the cliff, put there by students of the University of Tokyo. At the base of the smaller stone is a plaque with the cryptic inscription in both Japanese and English: "Devote Yourself to the Creation of a Pacific Global Era." To some Americans the inscription resurrects memories of the strident Japanese eco-

180 *The Pacific: THEN AND NOW*

nomic and military expansionist policies of the 1930's that led to America's entrance into World War II.

One of the Japanese men stepped away from his group and walked to an American standing beside the monument, and with a pleasant, unforced smile said, "No more war," repeating the phrase once more before returning to his countrymen to participate in the ceremony of the pouring of sake to appease the souls of the Japanese who died on Saipan. This time the shouts of "banzai," a call of honor to the dead, were not repeated. The Japanese posed for a group photograph and climbed quietly back into the bus.

From Banzai Cliff, one of the more popular tourist attractions on Saipan, the bus went back over the graveled field to the main highway, paved and smooth, and proceeded north on it before again turning onto another dirt road, this one circling up the side of a mountain to a heavily tree-covered rock formation at the top. It is called Suicide Cliff, and from here more Japanese soldiers leaped to their death, down past the green sides of the mountain to the gray rocks below.

The group remained subdued, despite the Japanese tendency to be more animated when on exhibition in other lands. After the same sake ritual was completed on Suicide Cliff, some quickly returned to the bus while a few men knelt in the corner of the abutment, the sake bottle in the center of them, and posed for photographs.

The men in the group were well into their fifties and sixties, and, though none had relatives who had died on Saipan, they had come to honor the dead. They were men haunted by the memories of their defeat here which presaged the inevitable defeat of Japan and the occupation of the homeland by foreigners for the first time in the country's history.

The driver of the bus, owned by Micronesia Tours, could speak fluent English and Japanese, and he said his passengers talked throughout the journey about the battlefield sites of the mass suicides, condoning them as an extreme but honorable method of answering to their ancestors for the defeat of their army on Saipan.

Saipan 181

"The attitude of these old men," the driver said, "was that if they had been stationed on Saipan and faced with capture, they would have rather died as heroes by committing suicide than surrender to the enemy." These Japanese, however, were of two minds about the war. "Though still very much influenced by the war," the driver said, "they thought the military leaders were mad for having started it when the odds said they would lose it."

After their visit to Suicide Cliff, the Japanese began to relax. The bus took them to a beach where they had a picnic of raw fish prepared by Micronesia Tours. Knives and forks had been placed in the picnic baskets. But these were old traditionalist Japanese, and they insisted on using chopsticks. A young imaginative Californian, Bruce Kuhn, who is director of the tours and was following the bus in a private car, remembered a Saipanese man who owned many pairs of chopsticks, and he sent his aide back to the village for them. The gesture was greatly appreciated by the Japanese.

After the Japanese left the cliff, white birds drifted serenely in the sky over the flat green field below, a short, deserted air-field strip from the war knifing through it. Beyond it the frantic surf beat on the rocks. The guide said there is a legend on Saipan that there weren't any white birds on the island before the war. They arrived in flocks after it and contained the souls of the Americans and the Japanese killed there.

Many soldiers on both sides died in a battle that for blood-letting was comparable to Tarawa and Peleliu. It began on June 15, 1944, when seven hundred landing crafts carrying 8,000 Americans came ashore in the first twenty minutes of the invasion, and it ended more than three weeks later when almost the entire Japanese garrison of 30,000 men was either killed or had committed suicide. The American casualties were 3,426 Marines and soldiers killed and 13,099 wounded.

MacArthur, assigned to clear out the Japanese from New Guinea, was against the invasion of the Marianas, contending his army could move up through the Philippines to Hong Kong and capture the air base there for the air attack on Japan. Air-

182 The Pacific: THEN AND NOW

fields were a prime target because of the development of the long-range B-29 bomber capable of traveling 1,500 nautical miles without refueling and carrying 10,000 pounds of bombs.

In March, after it was decided MacArthur would take Hollandia in New Guinea and Mindanao in the Philippines by November, Admiral Nimitz's amphibious fleet was given the task of capturing the Marianas, the most important being Tinian, Guam and Saipan, which in the spring of 1944 had the most suitable air base for the long-range bombers.

The Marianas were part of Micronesia which Japan had been awarded control of by the League of Nations after World War I. The Japanese transformed a number of these islands into substantial military bases even while remaining a member of the League of Nations and therefore pledged to the general concepts of mutual national disarmament and peaceful means of finding answers to international political problems.

Saipan was the site of the Japanese government in the Marianas and at the start of the war in the Pacific was one of its best fortified bases. Thirteen miles long, with a maximum width of two and a half miles, Saipan is unlike the other islands on which the Americans had conducted amphibious landings. The Marianas are volcanic islands, not coral atolls, and they have mountains suitable for a defense away from the beaches. But, because materials were late in arriving, the Japanese again relied on a beach defense, something that had not worked for them in Tarawa.

For the American invasion of Saipan, there was a fleet of 535 ships and auxiliaries carrying 127,571 men, over two-thirds of them Marines. The Americans came ashore on a four-mile-wide stretch of beach after their amphtracs crossed without the difficulty they had in Tarawa.

Although the preinvasion assault from planes and ships had worked better than it had on Tarawa, it was still faulty. Little of the gunfire was aimed behind the beach defenses where many of the Japanese artillery guns were located, and not much attention was paid to the Japanese machine gun and mortar nests on the flanks of the beachhead. This small-arms fire on the flanks harassed the amphtracs as they pulled to the shore to

Saipan 183

empty their human cargo. Some of the Navy guide boats caught in crosscurrents veered off course, and a number of amphtracs bunched up on the beach, making them vulnerable to the Japanese artillery. The amphtracs were supposed to carry the men



inland, but the debris on the beach of trees, supplies, and fresh shell holes made this impossible, and the men rushed off the beach on foot. Even with the extremely heavy casualties during the initial part of the landing, 20,000 Americans came ashore before the day was out.

The Japanese used almost entirely artillery to try to stop the Americans. They waited twenty-four hours before committing

184 The Pacific: THEN AND NOW

their infantry, and then they sent a thousand men and 37 tanks down the main coastal road. This force was met by the Marines and was driven back by a barrage of fire from machine guns, mortars, rifles and bazookas. In this futile charge, the Japanese lost 24 tanks.

Two days after the invasion, the U.S. Army's 27th Infantry Division was sent into the battle. By the next night, attacking in parallel offensive lines, the soldiers and Marines had cut the island in half and captured the important Aslito airfield. The combined forces then turned north, moving on the Japanese mountain defenses. The going was cruelly slow, measured daily by a few thousand feet. In this advance, the latent interservice rivalry erupted. When the Army's 106th Infantry Regiment of the 27th Division was accused of starting late on its advance north, subjecting the Marines to attack on their flanks, Marine General Holland Smith relieved Army General Ralph Smith of his command on June 24. Later investigations showed the Army officers in the division were not adequately combat trained, and many were overaged.

But the Army proved its valor on July 6 when the Japanese, mustering what was left of their ground forces, launched a banzai attack. About 5,000 Japanese charged the Americans with anything they could carry, from clubs to bayonets attached to the end of rusty rifles. It was a suicidal maneuver, and up to 4,000 Japanese lost their lives.

The American advance continued up the island into what became known as the Valley of Death, a thickly weeded field with no real protective covering at the base of the mountain at Marpi Point. From the sides of the mountain, the Japanese rained round after round of shells and bullets on the advancing Americans, not aiming at individuals but indiscriminately firing at a moving mass. Still, the Americans came on, engaging the Japanese in hand-to-hand combat, driving them back into the caves on the side of the mountain, and then sealing them off until the screams from within were silenced by the wall of stone.

When the Americans reached Banzai Cliff, they looked down and saw thousands of bodies floating in the water. There were

Saipan 185

so many corpses that a small naval craft was unable to steer through them.

The island was declared secure on July 9, and this was made possible by the efforts of the U.S. Navy in a decisive naval battle that took place on June 19 and 20, and that was known as the Battle of the Philippine Sea.

Preparing for a sea rescue of Saipan by carrier-based air attacks on the American landing force, the Japanese launched an air strike against the vessels of the U.S. Fifth Fleet, which was participating in the invasion. During the battle, which was known also as the Turkey Shoot, the Americans lost under 30 planes and only 20 pilots, but the Japanese carrier air force was decimated, losing 476 planes and 445 pilots. The Fifth Fleet went in pursuit of the Japanese and sunk two carriers and two tankers and severely damaged four carriers, one battleship, one cruiser and one tanker.

✱ Saipan was one of the crucial battles of the war in the Pacific. With the fall of Saipan, the Japanese inner-island defense perimeter protecting their mainland had been cracked and the Americans had captured valuable air bases from which strikes could be made against the major cities of Japan. The first of the almost-daily bombing missions by B-29's from the Marianas began on November 24, 1944.

The capture of Saipan also brought about the fall of Prime Minister Tojo, the architect of Japan's disastrous military adventure in the Far East. He was forced to resign and his departure strengthened a peace faction within the Japanese Cabinet.

At the invasion beach site today a number of tanks are still sunk in the waters of the lagoon, their decomposing, rust-colored turrets sticking above the surface at all tides. Two of these tanks are in the water directly in front of the Royal Taka, the island's only first-class hotel. Young Japanese skin divers have made it their headquarters on expeditions to Saipan, and when not in the water, they are bronzing themselves on towels spread over the prickly, stiff grass by the hotel's pool.

The hotel has the feeling of being much larger than it is, more massive in bulk because of the thickness of its walls which

186 The Pacific: THEN AND NOW

must withstand the pounding of waves pushed across the coral reef to the undefended shore during a typhoon. The rooms are quite comfortable, and most have small balconies facing the sea, radios and air conditioning.

At the Valley of Death, the site of the heaviest American casualties, a road sign reading HISTORIC MARPI is stuck in a field of beautifully somber wood roses growing around human bones. Another sign warns DO NOT REMOVE ANY HUMAN REMAINS. Many skeletons of Japanese soldiers are still scattered through the thick growth of bushes and trees, bleached white by the sun yet still resisting ultimate decay. Piles of bones have also been left in the entrance to the caves in the side of the mountain, an orderly housekeeping job done by the Americans after the war. The local government wants to keep this part of the island an historical park, and it is treated as if it were the Acropolis, with tourists forbidden to pick up pieces of the rubble for souvenirs.

Saipan is the capital of Micronesia, a U.S.-administered trust territory of 2,100 small islands spread over the Pacific in an area roughly the size of the United States. Only one hundred of these islands are inhabited, with a total population of 100,000 natives. There are 11,000 people living on Saipan, of whom 200 are Americans, most of them working for the trust territory government. The United States was given the administration of Micronesia by the United Nations.

As was all Micronesia, Saipan was closed to tourists until the mid-1950's. The United States restricted travel for strategic military reasons. Saipan had a large Central Intelligence Agency complex where Nationalist Chinese agents were supposedly trained to be infiltrated into Red China. Some of these CIA buildings are now used as a post office and library by the local civilian government.

Saipan is easily accessible from Guam, which is 135 miles south. There are daily flights, some on jets which take only twenty minutes to reach Saipan. But there is very little to do on the island for a tourist if he doesn't like to fish and sun. There are two movie houses, one of them with seats not secured to the floor, and a number of native bars, the more daring having

Saipan 187

earthy floor shows. There is also a television channel in operation during the evening hours six nights a week. The islanders also hope someday to get their oasis of community salvation, the bowling alley.

But there are the girls from Truk, their promiscuity legendary among the Americans on Saipan. The girls gather at dusk on a pier used by native fishermen and then go off into the sand, walking several yards up the beach before sitting down, their loose-fitting cloth skirts billowing around their crossed knees, waiting until dark and the arrival of the men. Then they pair off with their dates, both sexes dropping their clothes as they race into the water for a moonlight swim before going off into the bushes bordering the sand to make love. This is what the girls from Truk will freely do with men they are taken with, so the rumor goes, and every night the American visiting the island goes to the pier and waits for his girl from Truk, but she was there the night before, or so he is led to believe by the old fisherman pulling his bark boat over the pebbles in the shallow water, the keel making a piercing, scratching sound.

Even without the uninhibited Truk girls, Saipan is much more naturally primitive than is Guam, and the natives want to keep it that way, fearing that the Americans might reactivate the military airfield next to the commercial one at Asilo if they are eventually forced to leave Okinawa, their largest island military base in the Pacific and the one nearest the Asian mainland. The Saipanese enjoy their uncluttered sandy beaches and acres of semitropical wilderness.

The island cannot escape nature, though, and Saipan was almost completely devastated by a typhoon two years ago, when wind and tides flattened practically every building on the coast. The United States has since spent more than \$2,000,000 to build permanent stone buildings to replace the old Quonset huts used to house government offices. Most of the residential dwellings appear today to have been put together with any material left on the ground by the storm: wings of houses being of tin and wood while the foundations remain stone.

Because the island is open to the fury of ocean windstorms, the Saipanese use five huge concrete bomb shelters, constructed

188 The Pacific: THEN AND NOW

by the Japanese before the war, as havens in typhoons. They are huge, empty rooms, the dampness sealed in. Names of those who fled into them during the typhoon are scratched into the concrete. Each bunker holds three hundred people, and those who can't get into them during a storm flee to caves left by the Japanese in the sides of the mountain.

→ Saipan was agriculturally self-sufficient before the war, but its economy was ruined and has never been revived by the United States. Most of the food has to be imported, and the prices are exorbitant. Carrots and cabbage sell for 48 cents a pound. About the only fresh fruit on the island is watermelon.

Many Saipanese still have warm regard for the Japanese. The agricultural economy was started by the Japanese, who were also responsible for the first school system. This affection for the Japanese—one of the considerations given before the Americans invaded Saipan—was the loyalty of the natives for the Japanese—may play a role in determining the future political status of Saipan.

There was a referendum in the fall of 1969 in Saipan, Tinian and Rota, the northern Marianas Islands, and the vote was heavily for joining Guam in an Independent Territory of the Marianas. Guam already has an independent-territory status and is not a part of Micronesia. But the Guamanians voted down the proposal, presumably because of hard feelings from the war when Guam was occupied by the Japanese and overrun by Saipanese workers.

There is also the possibility that if Micronesia is given the freedom in a referendum to choose her political or territorial affiliation, she may elect to be returned to Japan. It is doubtful the United States would let the election get that far out of hand. { The choice for the Micronesian voters will probably be affiliation with the United States as a commonwealth or independent territory or complete independence as a new nation.

Whatever happens politically to Saipan, the tourists will still be drawn here because of the battlefield. Along the main road, from the airport in the south to Marpi Point in the north, are many relics of both war and nature: a fishing boat resting on a bank where it was tossed by a wave during the typhoon; rusting

Saipan 189

tanks, their sides splintered by shells; stumps of coconut trees with their tops shorn by the wind; crumbling pillboxes and sunken barges.

There is also man-made debris. The site of the initial American landing where engineers later built a sturdy pier is now the native garbage dump, and heaps of trash stand sentinel the length of the road to the pier.

Probably the best-kept war relic is the Japanese command post at Marpi Point, a maze of heavy artillery and machine guns arrayed around paths at the entrance to a cave, and the guns still point not toward the sea but around to the Valley of Death where the white birds fly.

Documents S1970B

Tourist guide to Micronesia in 1970

Seven articles from the Micronesian Reporter, 1970-1971

Contents:

B1—Eastern Micronesia, by Barbara Teitge

B2—Majuro, by Charles Singletary

B3—Tarawa, by John Perry

B4—Ponape, by Jeffie Gillespie

B5—Truk, by Charles M. Siccard

B6—Yap, by Carl Heine

B7—Koror, by Bonifacio Basilius

ON THE GO

with Barbara Teitge

Eastern Micronesia

It is amazing that an area as vast, and as beautiful, as Micronesia is almost unknown by American tourists. Trying to get information about how to travel and where to stay was a major chore. Even Air Micronesia, the only air line in the Trust Territory, was uncertain about the whole operation. But eventually it all worked out, and we were on the jet from Honolulu to Majuro. "Just tourists" you are not, and the protection and care of the innocents began. Each cabin crew has one Micronesian and one Caucasian girl. Their jaunty straw hats and short shifts, split to here, are eye catching. They were happy and informal, the service was good, and the trip a pleasure.

A brief touch down at Johnston Island, a U.S. Government base, made a neat transition. There we were whisked from the plane to the little waiting room and told not to touch, and hardly to look or listen. This hiatus gave us a first chance to meet the other passengers, to learn that they are mostly government and construction workers—interested, and interesting.

Several hours later and Majuro Atoll. It was our first sight of an atoll, and we were awed by its perfect beauty: a ring of small islands in neat oval, palms waving, turquoise water in the lagoon, white sand beaches, waves breaking around the outside reef. And then the plane circled the landing field to clear it of pigs and people—apparently in that order—pigs having been hit, people, hopefully never. On the ground Majuro provided contrasts. In town the veneer of our civilization seemed to have brought mostly dirt—tin cans, bottles, rusty bits of machinery—to detract from nature's beauty. Once out of town it was fresh again, and native houses are neat and orderly. Pigs are everywhere, but they are such a part of island life we quickly learned to accept them and soon found ourselves looking for the tiniest piglets. That grass houses are slowly disappearing saddened us. The reasons are practical: tin roofs make excellent water catchments, badly needed here; tin siding nearly solves the bug problem; and, most important, it does not need replacing each year. There are still enough thatched houses left however, to cheer the romantic.

The Mieco Hotel is different. Overwhelmed by kindness we could easily overlook the sparseness of the room, the splotches of plaster in the bathtubs, leftover from how many months ago! Water is rationed, so twice a day it's a rush to shower and brush teeth. The inside rooms, black as a hole the minute the lights are off, however have air conditioning that never missed a beat. Tasty food was served in a dining room open to the lagoon. Surrounded by all the lush tropical growth outside, we found the dining

room decorated with plastic plants!

We rented a car one day and drove to Laura, a flawless white sand beach. That the beautiful 35 mile drive there took over two and half hours will give you a rough idea of the road, and no pun intended. My companion remarked that she always had wondered how it felt to live inside a rattle and now she knew. We stopped to shell along the beaches. Almost always the native youngsters were there to help. Their shells were donated with big shy smiles. One, a bit more daring, handed us his treasure asking "You want? You take." We found this generous attitude extended to their elders as well. Perhaps the loveliest surprise of the Majuro stopover was our walk on the living reef. The coral grows in dozens of fantastic shapes and patterns, and the colors!—bright magenta, pale lavender, perfect pink, chartreuse, gold, green—we were speechless. Even the sand was tinted pink!

Soon we were airborne again and Majuro was left behind. We stopped briefly at Kwajalein, long enough to send letters home. As we walked away from the familiar red and blue box I said, "Guess what? I've just mailed my ticket and boarding pass." The young man at operations was kindness itself, and how many times we said that before the trip was over! The huge Micronesian who came from the Post Office department to open the box for me had a laugh large enough to match his size.

Three hours later we were at Truk, and without people, Truk might have proved a bit dismal. The lagoon is huge, large enough to hold the entire Japanese fleet during the last war, as people kept reminding us. We felt boat trips to the smaller island would surely have been a delight. However, we were on Moen, the big city island, and with only two days, we didn't venture far. We had been told there was no hotel, hence we would be housed in a dormitory style quonset hut, to which we eventually found our way. It was immaculate, but proved to be the men's dormitory. We were whisked up the hill to a house: living room, dining room, kitchen, two bedrooms

and two baths, all this for \$2.50 a night each. The spacious accommodations also included dirt, millions of ants, enormous cockroaches, and plumbing that didn't work. That we discovered these fringe benefits more or less gradually was probably just as well.

During our stay we visited the District Administrator's office—kindness again, also maps, information, and offers of help at any time. We hardly anticipated that "anytime" would come the next day, "our" holiday Washington's birthday, to fix the plumbing. We also visited the Truk Trading Company: two enormous quonsets filled with every kind of food, clothing, household, and hardware material imaginable. We met the manager and his beautiful Scottish wife and had the pleasure of visiting their apartment over the store. There they had collected a small museum of lovely things.

Their second in command guided us to the "Club" where we were served drinks and dinner along with Trukese charm. We also learned something about their sacred mountain on Moen, including the interesting tradition that taught only white men would land there. Sure enough the Spanish, Germans, and Americans all came to Moen, but the Japanese landed on nearby Dublon Island.

The following morning we met our first Peace Corps couples. And such a magnificent job these dedicated young people are doing! Without exception as we saw them working with the Micronesian people the love and respect was unmistakable. We had the young couples to "our" house for cocktails that evening, and the small piece of cheese and half can of peanuts left from our picnic lunch were obviously as welcome as rain would have been. We insisted on taking them to dinner, to the Kukun-nu; a joint project of a farsighted Trukese family and an ex-Peace Corps Volunteer. It passes as a coffee house, but it is much more. We had tuna sandwiches, each sandwich a small loaf of home made bread sliced in half, piled with tuna. French fried breadfruit, and fresh limeade were followed by home made cookies and coffee. The total bill for the six of

us was \$3.60!

We left in the morning without too much regret, yet with enough feeling of curiosity to return one day and see how the new hotel is coming along, if nothing else. The flight to Ponape on the pre-WW II, SA 16 float plane was about two and a half hours. It was unique in this day of jets and inevitable crowds. The plane holds fifteen passengers who share the cabin with the freight. We loved it. The plane came down on the lagoon at Ponape light as a feather to the applause and cheers of all aboard.

Ponape is a tropical paradise of flawless beauty. The hills are high and rugged, the rocks are a picture. The palms wave—as they should—but they are not alone here. Breadfruit, banana, mango, papaya, mangrove, kapok, citrus, flame trees, the list is endless and they all grow on this lovely island. There are also hibiscus, orchids, lantana, rice, pepper, and such unlikely things as corn and watermelon. Tree ferns grow higher than houses. The turquoise of the lagoon somehow seems more perfect here. Our trip, which was to have covered more island, ended here, as we simply could not bear to leave.

The Kaselehli Inn is owned by the Trust Territory and operated by a cooperative. There are ten rooms with a bath between each two rooms. As they lock one another out of the bath, guests can easily get acquainted, and lovely friendships bloom fast on Ponape. Our spotlessly clean room looked out over the lagoon, and the three delicious meals were included for under \$8.

We arrived to find no dinner that night. However, instead there was to be a huge party. "Everyone was coming" to welcome the new District Administrator and his wife. So we were guests as well, sharing food, drink, and entertainment enough to satisfy all. Sitting on the floor was a quick lesson in why so many women wear graceful long dresses, but we tugged at our hems, squirmed a bit, and had a wonderful time.

Another day took us to the ruins of Nan Madol at the north end of the island. No one knows for sure who built this city on over a hundred islands, connected by canals—a South Pacific Venice. No one knows for sure just how old it is, nor how the tremendous black rocks were taken there. No one knows for sure what happened to these master builders. We knew, though, that we had a bad tide, and not enough water to tour the canals. In fact we had to wade in, and wading through that sand was like pulling through sticky syrup. On the way back we visited our first Peace Corps home, a lovely little thatched house by the river. The matting on the sides was very distinctive, and the interior, about ten feet square, was spotless and most attractive. Our two young hosts were from Pennsylvania. As always, the young people were surprised to see tourists and delighted to have "mothers" to talk to.

Our last two days turned out to be the climax of our trip. We'd been hearing about the song and dance festival at Wene, and everyone urged us to stay for it. So we did, and Friday morning found us on the Peace Corps boat once again. Upon our arrival at Wene, no one seemed to know just what to do with us, but we drifted about for a few hours, meeting people and watching the villagers arrive by the hundreds. This was the first time in over 20 years the festival had been held. It is sad but true that the Protestant missionaries had discouraged the traditional native dances, and finally the young Catholic priest at Wene decided to revive this art before it had completely vanished.

The natives arrived all in their Sunday best, shining clean, and almost everyone wearing a *mwarmwar* the lovely flower head-wreath typical of Ponape. Each family clan also brought their own food, transported on strong bamboopoles in lovely baskets quickly woven of palm fronds. Some families had huge square carriers, taking up to twelve men to transport. The food was all cooked, mostly pork, breadfruit, coconut and yams. Some carriers were decorated in fancy designs of flowers and greens; we even saw two huge sea turtles. We dined that night with the Peace Corps. Our hosts cut off a huge chunk of pork, gave us half of a roasted breadfruit, served on a banana leaf. Our only tableware was the machete they provided.

The entertainment finished, we were sent down the jungle path to the home of the man who had headed the dispensary at Wene for 21 years. Although his English was not the best, and our Ponapean was nil, the hospitality of his family needed no words. We were shown our room, and a lovely mat was spread on the floor. Before we had hardly settled, more house guests came, three delightful Catholic sisters. The superior had come from Spain many years ago, and the young girls were from Truk and the Marshalls. Their bubbling good humor was contagious. And soon we faced another dinner—more pork, breadfruit, yam, fried green banana, watermelon, oranges, papaya—and a surprise, clam chowder. On a picnic the day before the sisters had gathered tiny delicate clams, less than an inch in size. These were cooked in coconut milk, served over rice, and surely nothing ever tasted better.

The sisters said they were going to the stream to wash and asked if we would like to come along. Our light was the moon, and through the coconut forest we wandered. It still seems unreal that we could have bathed in a jungle stream by moonlight! Back at the house we found that in our absence we each had acquired a mattress, also clean white sheets, pillows embroidered with flowers and tender messages, such as Sleep Well and

Good Night. We didn't learn until the next day that the mattresses from the dispensary beds had somehow disappeared!

The dance festival continued through the following afternoon. The *mwarmwars* worn by the dancers seemed to be more beautiful than ever. The women, many of whom were bare breasted, wore their bright cotton skirts dyed to identify their village origin. The men wore grass shirts, each dyed a different combination of colors, but tending toward the reds and yellows. Their waist bands were magnificently decorated with shells and seeds. Each entertainer had coconut oil rubbed on his upper body, arms and face, and their beauty gleamed in the sun. For the most part the performers were on a stage that can only be described as a huge shadow box, about three feet deep with one center shelf. It had been constructed of bamboo, palm and banana fronds, and decorated with red ginger blossoms. The men stood on each level and the women sat in front of them. There were 114 chanting dancers performing in the first number. On their laps most of the women had boards on which they beat with small round sticks, in an amazing variety of tempos. The men used their arms and hands and just a slight swaying of their upper bodies. Their performance was so beautiful and dreamlike. Occasional dances were also performed on the ground in front, including one exciting stick dance. When we realized we had to leave, the dancers had just moved into the *Nahs* house—the large community building for each village. As we left would you believe we heard the strains of "I've been working on the Railroad"—in English?

This account only highlights some of the unexpected adventures that came our way. We knew when we left home that Mr. Hilton hadn't been to Micronesia and this was the way we wanted it. We tried always to respect the local customs, to avoid troubling people, and never to complain. We felt we did fairly well. It was a dream fulfilled in every way. Changes are certain to come. About most of these

we are apprehensive, but we are confident the people will remain, unique in today's chaotic world.

N THE G

Majuro - Between Flights

by Charles Singletary

Yokwe Yuk! Welcome to Majuro, the gateway to Micronesia. You have arrived and now have at least a few days to explore this last bastion in the advance of the 20th century. Your plane has landed at a community called D-U-D. The initials stand for Darrit-Uliga-Dalap, the three small islands that make up the Marshalls district center on this Majuro Atoll.

First of all, unless you have made advance arrangements, there is the immediate problem of where to stay and later on, where to eat. As of Spring 1971, there are two hotels on the atoll. One, the Mico Hotel, named for its owners the Marshall Islands Import-Export Company, offers rooms (both natural breeze and air-conditioned) with rates starting at \$8.00 single. It's located in the center of town. The brand new Eastern Gateway Hotel, closer to the airport, offers 14 doubles, two triples and two apartments, with single rates starting at \$12.00.

Good food, both Micronesian and American meals, is served in six district center restaurants. In addition to the Mico Hotel second floor dining room, there are: Kitco Bar and Restaurant on the main road as you enter town from the airport, Whitney Brothers about a hundred yards north of Kitco, Clara's Restaurant (Calco) further to the north on the main road in Rita Village, the

Lula Restaurant just a little south of Marshall Islands High School, and the Tibrik Restaurant towards the end of the road. At the very end of the road-way is a snack shop.

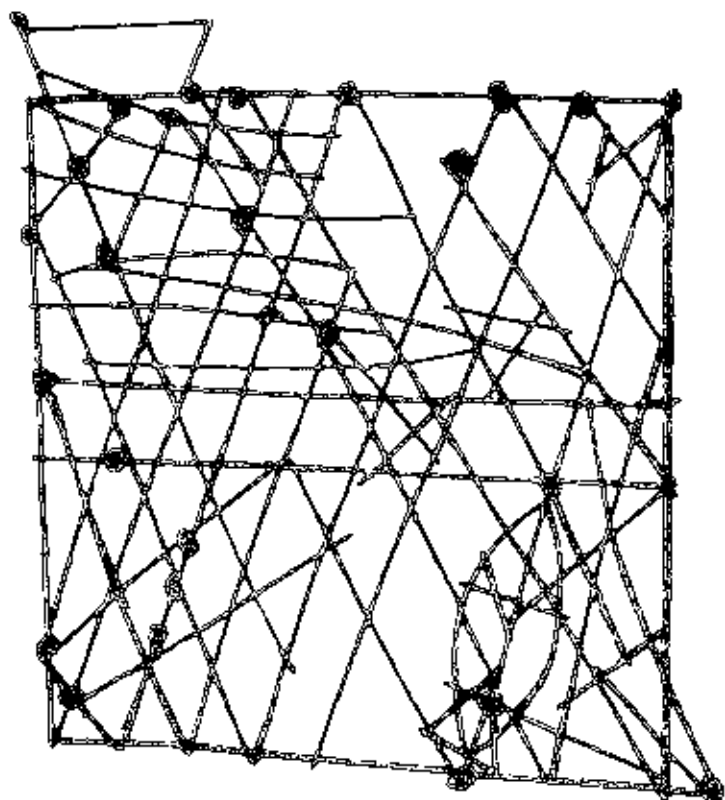
Before or after dinner you may want to relax (?) in one of several cocktail lounges or clubs that dot the area. The Mico Lounge is entered through the hotel dining room and the Kitco Downtown Club is adjacent to its restaurant. The Coconut Rendezvous Club, in the staff housing area, is a membership club that opens its doors to non-member visitors: those who are on the atoll for less than 30 days. Taverns are the "old" Mico Club located on the lagoon about 300 yards north of the hotel, the Rock-O-Town Club across the street from the Mico Club, and the Blue Lagoon Club found on the ocean shore 300 feet north of the Rock-O-Town. Many of the establishments serve pupus and occasionally some have live music for listening or dancing. Usual opening time is around 4:30 p.m. and doors swing shut around midnight. All of them are closed on Sundays.

Now that you have these essentials plotted, it's time to plan your activities for the next few days.

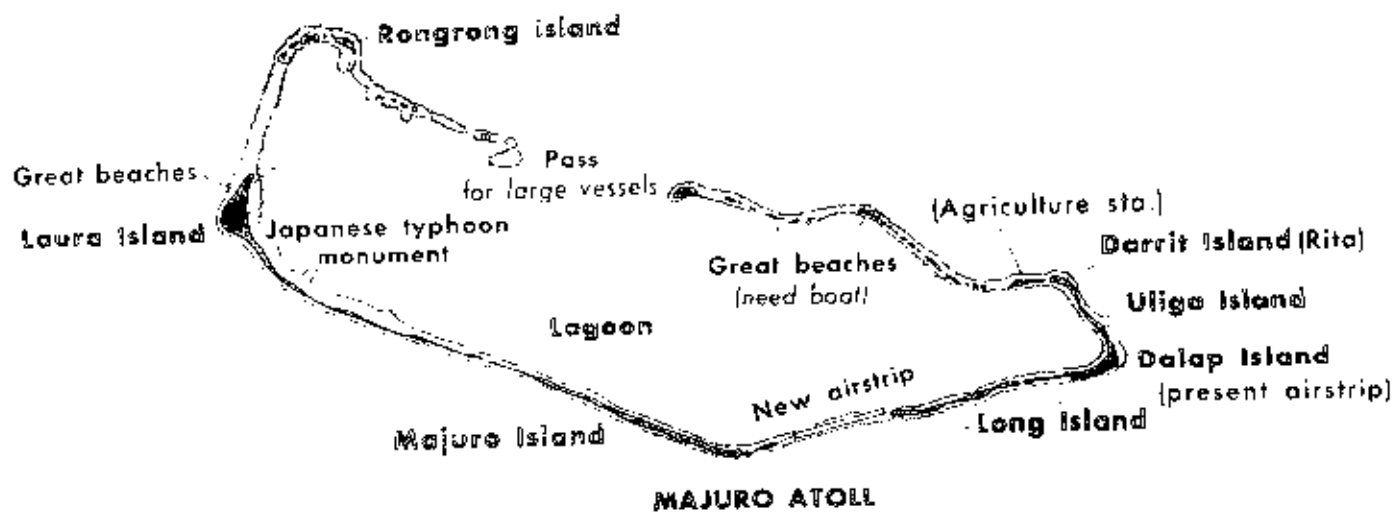
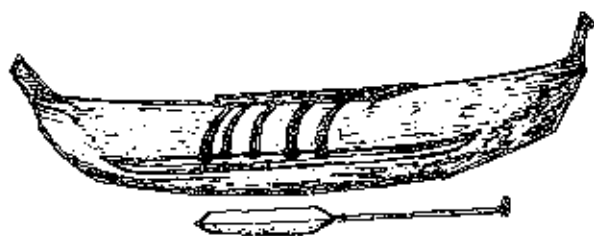
Maybe you'd like to take in some swimming, shelling, snorkeling or SCU-BA diving. . . all of which are excellent here in the Marshalls. The better beaches

are found alongside the 35-mile road leading from the D-U-D area to Laura Island along the western rim of the atoll. The closest swimming areas are in the lagoon, just beyond the weather bureau's facility at the airport. Others are on both sides of the road all the way to Laura where more excellent beaches can be found between the end of the road and the tip of the island. The road has been substantially improved and can be an enjoyable drive. . . unless recent rains have pot-holed the surface and maintenance crews have not yet arrived. Then it can develop into a ride you may want to but can't forget.

It's advisable to wear some kind of foot covering, such as canvas shoes, at most of the beaches and to stay within the reef areas while swimming, shelling or skin diving. For information about where to possibly find specific kinds of shells, ask any of the island residents or stop by at the Women's Handicraft Center near the Uliga Protestant Church. You might want to try hiking northward to the smaller islands on the eastern side of the atoll. You can walk across the reef from Rita Village when the tide is low, but by all means be back before high tide. Contact the U.S. Weather Bureau for tide times and heights. Almost all beaches are pleasant spots for picnics and box lunches may be ordered from some of the district center restaurants. Please remember that while at just about all the beaches and coconut groves, you're a guest on

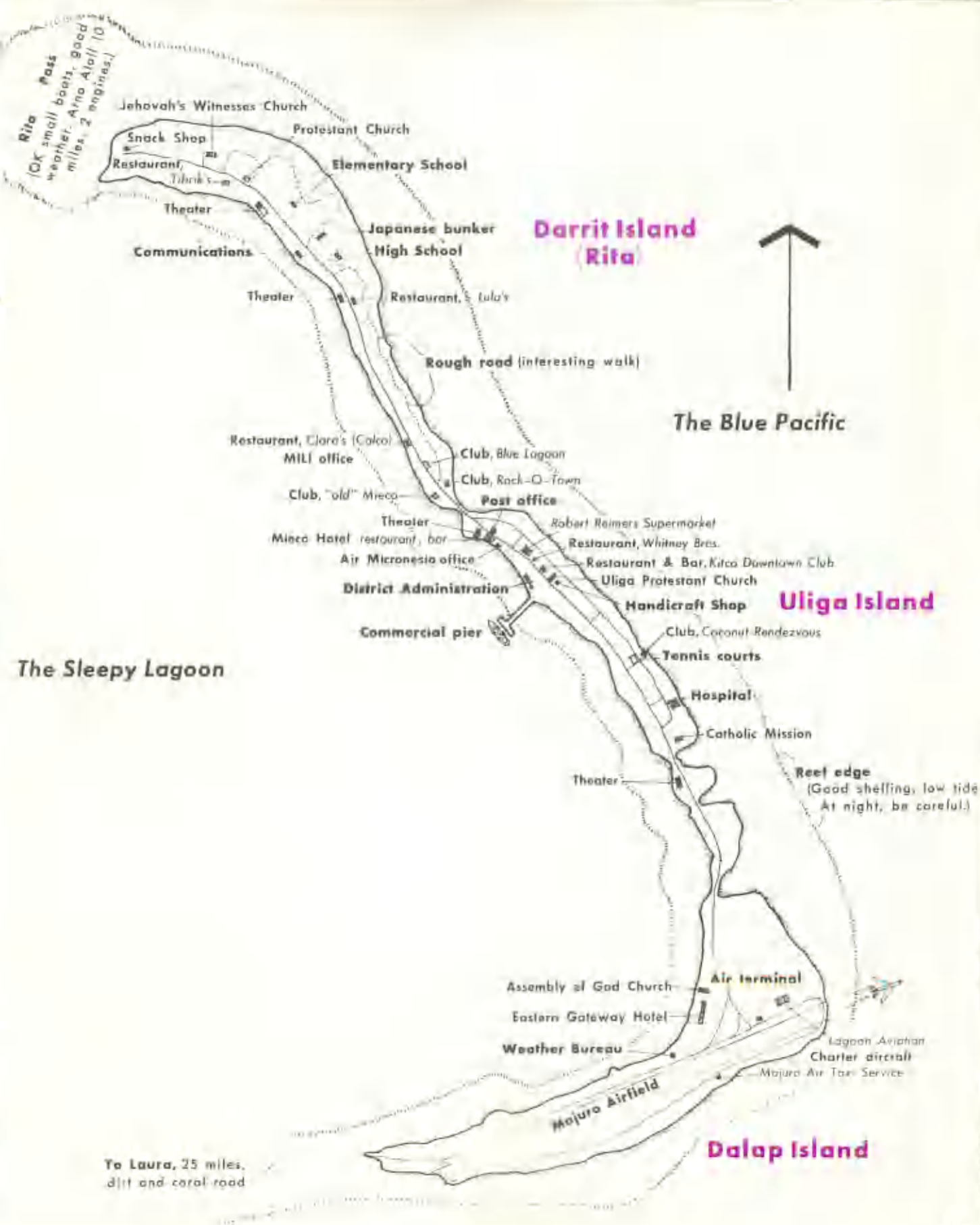


This way to small islands,
good beaches, good shelling--need boat.



MAPS BY MIKE ALLEN

DESIGN BY NICOLAS C. GUERRERO



someone else's private property and it would be nice to carry your trash back to the hotel for disposal.

War remnants are few in the district center. Some old pillbox fortifications remain near the high school on the ocean side of the road. At Laura Island, Japanese aircraft are lying on the reefs at both the lagoon and ocean sides of the island. At this island's highest point of elevation, about 20 feet, is a monument erected by the Japanese government as a memorial to the people that were lost during a typhoon in the mid-1920s.

On Sundays, church services are held at 10:00 a.m. at the Uliga Protestant Church, United Church of Christ, and Assembly of God. The Catholic Mission masses are said at 6:30 and 8:30 a.m. on Sundays and at 7:00 a.m. on other days of the week. Jehovah's Witnesses meet Tuesday and Fridays at 7:30 p.m., 7th Day Adventists gather in Laura Village on Saturdays at 10:00 a.m. and members of the Bahai World Faith can get information about their gatherings from Betra Laipen at the Marshalls Community Action Agency (MCAA).

Various forms of transportation are readily available. A stream of busses and taxis flows constantly during the waking hours. A dime will take you almost anywhere on the bus, and taxis normally charge 20 cents per passenger . . . and don't be surprised if your cab is shared with several other riders going in the same general direction. A few taxi operators have instituted reduced fares for people on their way to church.

For U-drive sedans, small busses or pickups, contact the hotels or Robert Reimers Enterprises on the mezzanine of the Robert Reimers supermarket. Rates start at \$8.00 per day. Water transportation varies from 14 to 16-foot outboards to the large 46 and 48-foot motor-sailers. A 36-foot diesel powered launch sometimes is available through

the office of the assistant district administrator. The outboards can be rented from Robert Reimers, the 46-foot *Little Bear* from Micronesia Tours, and the 49-foot *Mera* from Julian Reimers.

The Marshall Islands district is made up of 29 low-lying coral atolls and 5 low coral islands scattered over a Pacific Ocean area of half a million square miles. The total land area is a mere 70 square miles. Geographically, the islands lie in two parallel chains running some 800 miles northwest from the vicinity of the equator. They are roughly 150 miles apart. The Marshallese have given the two chains the colorful names of *Ratak* and *Ralik*—sunrise and sunset. The usual atoll is an irregular oval shape, about 25 miles in length. It consists of a coral reef enclosing a lagoon, with the circle of islands standing as part of the reef area. There are more than one thousand islands clustered in the 29 atoll groups of the Marshalls and the Kwajalein atoll is the largest in the world with its 840 square mile lagoon.

Spanish voyagers claimed the Marshalls in 1592 for the Spanish crown. Spain gave practically no governmental supervision for the next 300 years, but this was the period when the history-making pioneers of the Pacific, whalers, traders and missionaries, reached the Marshalls. Western civilization had its impact on a stone-age culture with the introduction of metal tools, trade goods, the development of a written Marshallese language and Christianity.

Germany purchased the area from Spain after the Spanish-American war in 1899 and immediately set about disarming the Marshallese and establishing law and order. Tribal warfare was abolished, a health and education program was started, and trade and commerce was developed.

The islands were taken over by the Japanese government under a mandate

from the League of Nations following the defeat of the German empire during World War One. The Japanese, in developing the islands commercially, brought rapid changes in the life of the people. Their administration ended abruptly in February of 1944.

The Allied forces then occupied the Marshalls and the islands have since been administered by the U.S. government; currently under a trusteeship agreement with the United Nations that began in 1947.

If you have many days to spend during your visit and wish to see some of the outer islands, arrangements can be made with either of the two local air companies for flights aboard sea planes, or with the ship owner/operator of the trading vessels in the district. The shipping companies and their motor vessels are: *Molik Co., Tetami Maru and Etoi Maru*; Acme Importers, *Mieco Queen* and *Yap Islander*; *Mieco, Ralik Ratak*; *Bilamon Store, Melajan*; Julian Reimers, *Mera* and *Makua*, and the district supply officer for the government operated field trip vessel *James Cook*. Rates start at 5 cents per mile plus food and lodging. MILI (Micronesian Inter-ocean Line, Inc.) operates cargo/passenger ships from the west coast of the U.S. and from Japan through Majuro and the other ports of the Trust Territory. A MILI agent can give details of possible bookings. Ground arrangements, including land, sea and air, can be handled through the Majuro office of Micronesia Tours.

You'll find that your trip to Majuro will afford the opportunity to visit a last frontier in the 20th century. Here western civilization is looking for someplace to set its feet and is still found trying. The pace is still a leisurely one, where time doesn't mean a lot, and missing an appointment by two or three hours is considered normal. Just finding and enjoying the restful atmosphere here in the Marshalls is well worth making the trip.

ON THE GO

with John Perry

Tarawa (1969)

The Micronesian standing next to me shook his head nonchalantly and spoke with a British accent: "That's right, that's right, Prince Charles' birthday." No, I wasn't in a London pub conjuring up celebrations for another round. I was standing in the doorway of a green warehouse on Tarawa jotting down official-looking holiday notices: "Monday, November 17th, the day appointed for the celebration of the Anniversary of the birthday of the Hire to the Thrown," read the memorandum tacked to the back of the door. Yes, I thought, that's the Prince's birthday okay. The spelling proved somewhat better on the next notice: "Queen's birthday, Saturday, June 14th." I knew that one. In fact, I had a pocket full of pictures of Elizabeth II, each jingling one worth twenty cents Australian.

Only two days out of Majuro on the legendary *Mieco Queen* and I found myself smack in the middle of Churchill's blood and tears, the British empire. Tarawa, a flat coral atoll on the same order as the Marshalls, is the district center of the British Crown Colony of Gilberts and Ellice Islands, the Trust Territory's little-publicized southern sister in Micronesia.

Unfortunately I was twenty-five years late to cover the American invasion, the big bang, but I poked around the Colony anyway on behalf of the *Reporter*.

Betio, where the Leathernecks blasted their way ashore in one of the bloodiest battles of the war, today sports an excellent harbor and a population of around five or six thousand. Thinly pop-

ulated if you recall that Ebeye in the Marshalls has about one-fourth of Betio's landmass and a population of around four thousand.

Tarawa is an electric island, especially Betio—lots of lights and a lot of houses with lights inside. Swinging teen dance halls hammer out the sound of the twist. Two outdoor movie theatres piled side by side divide the market between them. The owners alternate nightly flicks to avoid competition. You can eat in a Chinese cafe or down a beer at the Betio Club decorated with its flock of ensigns and mug shots of merchant ships whose sailors in past years have lined her bar. On another island some distance from Betio rests the *Oritai* Hotel. Nice and modern, anchored by the edge of the lagoon, the *Oritai* is where you can get an up-to-date copy of *Time* or *Newsweek*. I bought one copy at the bar, motivated by the red signs some enterprising magazine salesman had tacked around the hotel: IN THIS ISSUE, WILSON AND RHODESIA. The British bought them like tea. So did I.

Hauling in a pre-lunch drink at the Betio club, I found myself interviewing the local island merchants next to me, and at the same time describing to them the post-war inflated cost of stateside malts and hamburgers. However, things warmed up. "You know, of course, the British get very little out of the colony in the way of money," one merchant said. "they stay, I guess, probably for moral reasons, and for the sake of the empire." The British have been around since the turn of the century when the Gilberts became a British protectorate and later a crown colony. Across the bar, a British seaman pulled up the knee socks of his crisp, white uniform, downed his VB, Victoria Bitter, an Australian brew, and told me about his coming voyage to Fiji, and the durability of a special shoe skin made by the Americans guaranteed to last maybe forever.

Betio is where Jerry Taylor works. Taylor's a young Irishman serving with the British counterpart to the U.S. Peace Corps. He helps train young colonists as merchant seamen. And bobbing off the Betio dock just for this purpose is a sizable training ship, decked with blue-suited cadets.

"Volunteers," said Taylor, "are the only Europeans who have a close contact with the people here."

"The Gilbertese have a great pride in

who they are, and in the old ways. And sometimes things European are little valued by the people." To illustrate his point, Taylor recalled the time the training ship returned from Hong Kong and one of the young Gilbertese cadets hid his newly-bought white shirt and long pants before going ashore to meet his father. "To have European things," added Taylor, "is not everything to the Gilbertese." And throughout the islands, the traditional *lava lava* is still worn, though sometimes over European shorts.

Like many other Volunteers who approach the end of their stay in the islands, Taylor was wondering what to do next. "I've spent two years converting to the Gilbertese way of thought—learned all I want to learn. Now I just want to sit back and enjoy it. Once I've left here the language is of no use anywhere else in the world." Taylor's going back to Ireland shortly. But he'll be back. You can bet your shiny twenty cents Australian with the Queen topside and the duckbilled platypus on the flip side.

Taylor, the Irishman, taught me a good lesson. Greeting him with an off-the-cuff, "and what part of England are you from?" I found out fast that generalizations are always safer. From then on it was, "and what part of the Commonwealth are you from?" It always worked.

Somehow I knew the *Mieco Queen* would get me into trouble. She did. In a quiet bar, over friendly conversation, I dropped the innocent line, "Yea, the rusty old Queen needs repairs, needs a new bottom." Judging from the look of a nearby British officer, I quickly added, "The ship, man, the ship!" Last time I had so much trouble with queens they were wearing spades and hearts and cost me a week's pay.

The next day a story idea I had in mind for the *Reporter* about some bells fell through. The Royal Navy had donated a ship's bell to some island village. They were going to ring it in a new church somewhere. But someone said it was stuck in Singapore.

Things happen on coral atolls, things sometimes loud as bells, sometimes soft and quiet like the glow of a lantern. The old Betio man came every night. He would walk across a clearing of coconut trees, down the dusty road to the small cemetery. In the last light, the miniature stone skyscrapers stood like a dark city towering up over the dead. The old man came with the darkness. He would go to

the same mounded plot, guarded by a small cross and caged lantern. Each night he would bring light to the small grave. He would never forget. In the darkness, I watched the orange light glowing among the stones. I didn't know who he was, only that he had buried his daughter there.

On learning that the Queen had recently granted a new constitution for the Colony, a more liberal one for local elected representation, I set out in search of the Chief Elected Member, the Micronesian holding the highest political post yet available in the Colony.

Gilbertese Reuben Uatua, 43, Chief Elected Member was expecting me. The local newspaper had carried a full-page story—PEACE CORPS JOURNALIST ARRIVES ON TARAWA. News must have been hard to find that week.

In Uatua's home on a Sunday evening he lit up a pandanus cigarette, poured out a cup of coffee and elaborated on the stuff colonies and territories are made of: politics.

"By self-determination, I mean the power of making laws, and where controls rest in the hands of the local people. External matters can be left to the British.

"Independence is risky at this moment. We need someone to help us."

I asked him about self-determination—the big word in the Trust Territory. "Perhaps," he said, "self-determination may come for us in five years—for in five years we should have a better economic base for self-determination at that time."

We knocked off for more coffee and Uatua apologized for not offering me anything stronger. But it was Sunday.

Later thumbing through a copy of the *Illustrated London News* in the local information office, I uncovered a synopsis of colonial politics applicable to these and other islands elsewhere: "When a colonialist power decides, or is forced, to decolonize, it withdraws its own officials and hands government and control to the cadre of indigenous people who have been trained under colonialism."

Today on Tarawa not much remains of the war. A few barges, and guns dot the Betio coastline. Recently, however, one of the remaining relics, an old landing barge that over the years had become a plaything for any kid adventurous enough to wade out to it, was found to be a rusting timebomb—stuffed full of sleeping ammo. When it went up, the island shook.

November of last year, Tarawa celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle: seventy-six hours of war on a spot of sand where eight thousand U.S. Marines and Japanese would either be wounded or killed. "Last week," declared *Time* on Dec. 6, 1943, "some two to three thousand U.S. Marines, most of them now dead or wounded, gave the nation a name to stand beside those of Concord Bridge, the Bonhomme Richard, the Alamo, Little Big Horn and Belleau Wood. The name was Tarawa."

Today a white, pointed memorial guards the Betio entrance. A line of flag poles stand behind. Etched in bronze are words about the supreme sacrifice, words to be tattooed again at Kwajalein and Eniwetok, words earned on a late November weekend, on a hot, out-of-the-way island when morning snow was falling in Concord and the evening sun touched the horizon of the Little Big Horn.

Not far away, next to a small grocery store, the gray shell of a Japanese tank turret rested on a pile of coral. Out of the top hatch through which a Japanese soldier once crawled and went out to meet the Americans, a small weather-beaten post projects. Carved on two sides words in a different language, words of another supreme sacrifice were visible—Memorial For The Spirits Of The Japanese Who Died. . . . Nearby some flowers grew. Then, that November, it was winter in Japan too, and snow was falling on crystal lakes, and the Inland Sea rocked against Hiroshima.

Like other Pacific battlegrounds, the fossils of war still periodically find their way topside. Once, the body of a U.S. Marine still wearing his combat boots erupted from the Tarawa sand where he fell twenty-five years ago. Sometimes holediggers on Tarawa will shovel up one of the Emperor's soldiers. "I must have twenty bodies in my office," the man who digs holes for electric cables and wires told me. "Last year," he said, "at the twenty-fifth anniversary, I bundled up a boxful for an American general. Sorry, I can't show you my skull, sent it to Sydney."

Posted along the Betio shoreline, barrels streaked by years of bird droppings, are the famous guns of Tarawa. Less dynamic, however, than those of Navarone, the Betio battery holds a tale of confusion as twisted as the muzzles of several of the guns. For years, locals

have thought the guns hailed from Singapore—that they were once part of the battery guarding that invincible city against invasion. After the Japanese destroyed the myth of Singapore, some said they then sent the guns to Tarawa to defend the island from future invasion.

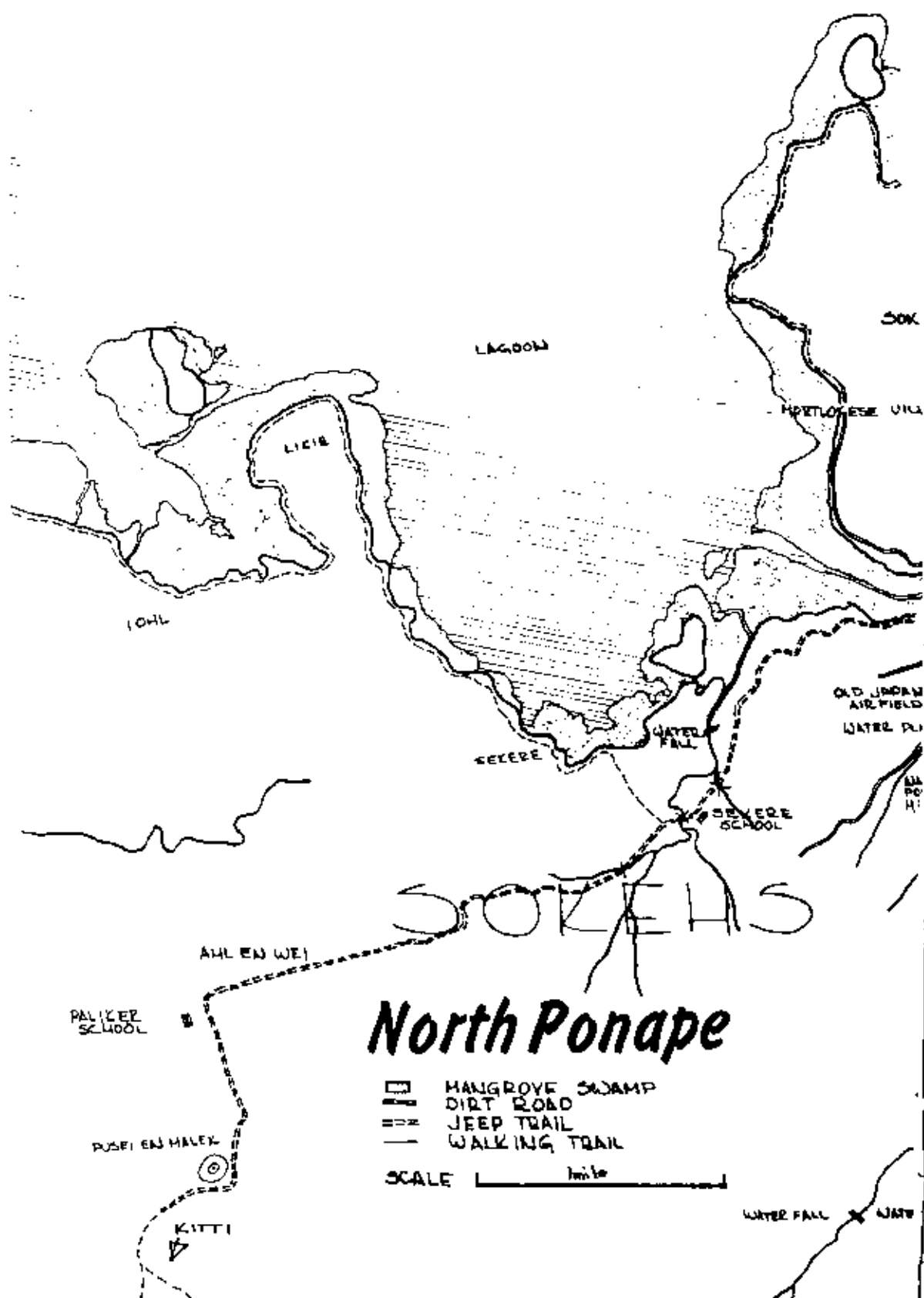
The controversy, however, may be resolved. A student of the guns spent time researching and writing manufacturers and concluded they were not from Singapore at all. "The Singapore guns certainly seem to be ruled out on account of dates of manufacture," he said, "and it has been reported that they were rendered useless anyway before being taken by the Japanese."

Someone told me a Betio man had found a Marine dogtag some years ago and wore it on his keychain. Inspired over the possibilities of being able to photograph an authentic tag, I located the man. He agreed and we motorbiked down to the beach. Unsnapping the keychain, we bent down and put the small, silver name tag on the sand. I checked the tide. It was lapping quietly at the bottom of the beach. Standing up momentarily to change my camera lens, I asked him to watch the tag. Then it happened. I will never forget it or understand it. The ocean, like a hungry octopus, rose up, rushed down on us like a flood, and returned to its lapping. "I can't see it, I can't see it!", the man shouted. Neither could I. The silver speck was gone, perhaps forever.

I had written down the name notched on the tag. To console my friend, I promised to notify the Marines and find out what really happened to the Marine whose tag had just been lost for a second time.

The next day, dropping the idea to represent the battle of Tarawa by a dogtag photo, I decided to use one of the big guns as a prop. Stacking two green rusty trash cans together, I climbed up high enough to stick my head in the muzzle. Pulling out a couple of flowers I had just picked, I photographed the mouth of the gun smoking a bouquet. Later word got to me about a conversation among some colonists that night: "Did you see that bloke picking flowers yesterday? So that's what they look like, those bloody hippies."

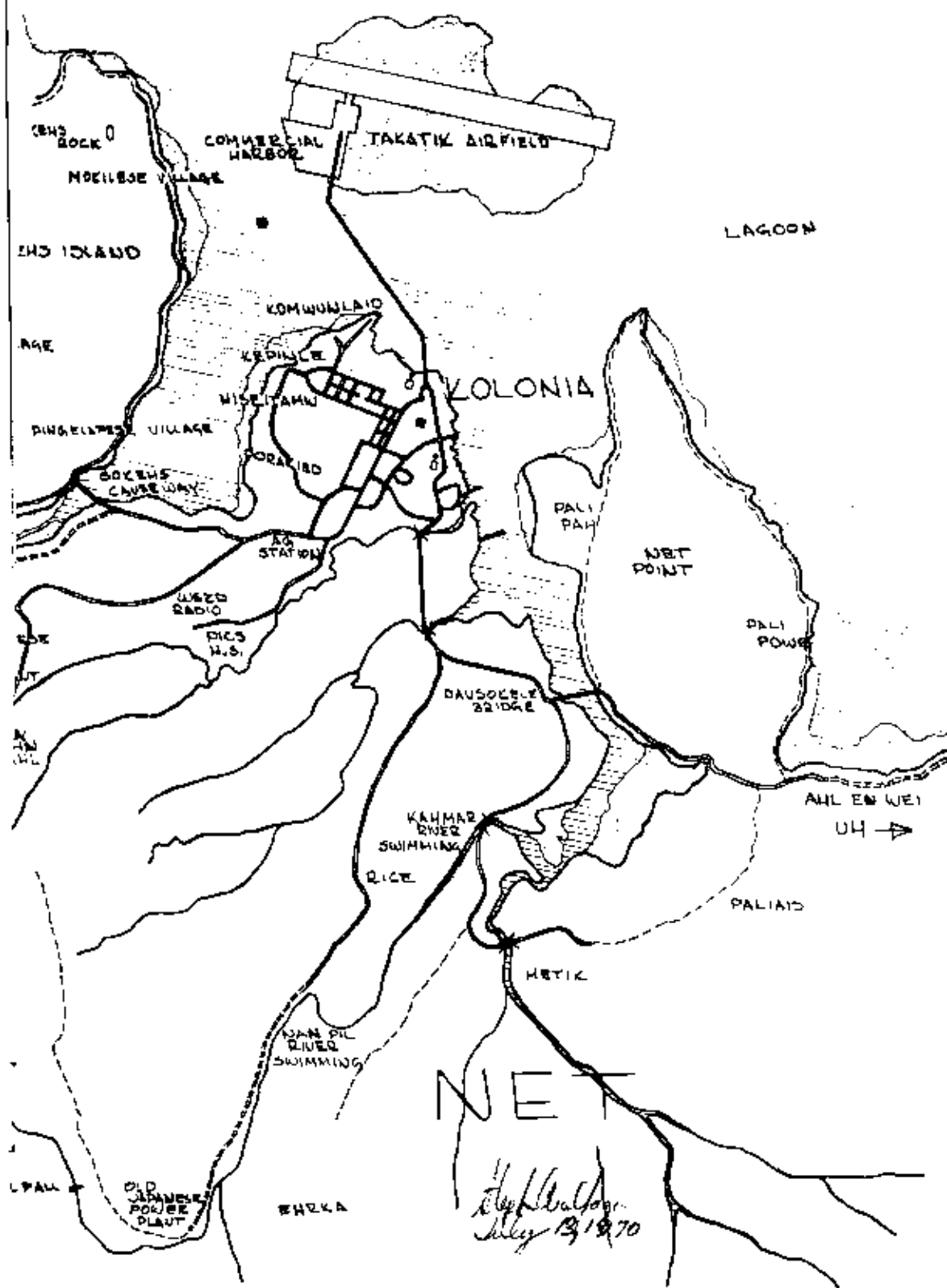
When you go to Tarawa, comb your hair if you wish, but remember to bring flowers for the open mouths of dead and warring guns.



North Ponape

- HANGROVE SWAMP
- - - DIRT ROAD
- ... JEEP TRAIL
- WALKING TRAIL

SCALE 1 mile





Ponape - Between Flights

with Jeffie Gillespie

Kaselehlia! On your way from here to there, you decided to stop off and "see" Ponape in some two-and-a-half days. When and where to start .. and what to do? Answer: Now, and what and where are up to you.

There are as many ways to experience Ponape as there are people. Your own mood and preference will lead you. Rain or sea spray are almost constant companions .. and a waterfall, stream plunge or shower at the end of the trip will refresh and relax. Ponape's on the near side of standard tourist development, which means it's fresh and informal and personal .. and what happens is up to you.

If you're feeling practical and haven't yet made hotel reservations (which you should do well ahead as space is tight) address: Economic Development Office, Ponape, East Caroline Islands 96941 or write to the individual hotels. Prices listed here are as of summer of 1970. You can try for rooms now at: the Kaselehlia Inn near the end of the causeway from the airport (a BED in a double room for \$4.50/night; meals are \$4.50/day .. now as a government operation .. but due to go private with new rates and arrangements); the Cliff Rainbow Motel overlooking the shore at Niseit-amw (\$10, \$15 and \$18 for single, double or triple occupancy of cabins); the Hotel Pohnpei nearby with the same

rates in cabins, or the Kawali Inn, five minutes south of town along the lagoon shore with rooms for \$5. If you can't get reservations but are flexible, there is always some place to sleep .. it can be exciting, though definitely not standard or fancy.

Perhaps you're feeling restless and daring. Cast your fate to the winds and follow a road .. wander down along the waterfront for sashimi and banana-rice at Mendiola's, or something more American at Joe Henry's (local foods by arrangement) .. walk up the main street and find a fish-and-rice establishment, order from the menu-de-jour at Stewo's, or, at the end of main street in the Palm Tree Inn, with drinks after. Investigate the Agriculture Station, its groves of exotic plants and view the mountains from the top of the office building .. stroll through Porakied, a piece of Kapingamarangi Atoll washed up on the Ponapean shore (the Kapingis are great with handicraft).

Historically, Ponape was ruled by two known dynasties in ancient times. It was discovered by the western world only a hundred fifty years ago and soon became a popular provisioning and wintering stop for whalers .. with traders and more or less piratical types sharing the stage with missionaries in the nineteenth century.

In 1886 the Spanish arrived and built the Santiago Colony. Months later, Ponapeans burned the town and fort. The Spanish rebuilt and ruled a little until the Spanish-American war. The wall of Fort Alphonso XIII remains in Kolonia town. The crumbling parapet offers a view of mountains and sea, bordering the hospital and the Catholic mission with its school. Inside the mission yard stands a bell tower, all that is left of a pre-World War One, German-built church. The church proper was torn down during the second world war to provide materials for a Japanese fortification.

The Kawad clan and their supporters in Sokehs killed three Germans, including the governor, on October 8, 1910, in the first engagement of a rebellion over road construction in their territory. (We've had road problems ever since, but none so bloody, mostly muddy.) It took over three months to quell, with the help of those Ponapeans who supported the German administration, the New Guinea constabulary, and sailors from four German cruisers.

In February of the following year, fifteen of the leaders were executed and buried in a mass grave in Komwunlaid, Kolonia. The Governor, his several aides and four sailors are buried in the German cemetery in Kephnie, Kolonia. Also buried there is another governor

who died soon after digging up the bones of Isokelakel, the outsider who overthrew the Saudeleur dynasty and became the first Nanmwarki hundreds of year ago. (And magic still works on Ponape!)

The Japanese came in 1914, taking advantage of Germany's involvement in Europe, to acquire the islands. They encouraged colonization, economic and agricultural development, with the islands considered part of Japan. A number of structures remain from this period, among them the Agriculture Station office, the Public Works shops building on the waterfront, a sugar processing plant in Metalanim, and defensive gun emplacements on the mountains, some within a half-day climb.

The setting of Ponape is all-encompassing foliage rolling down from often cloud-shrouded mountains .. features come to you out of the green as you approach. By foot or on rented wheels you can head out east, west or south. You can go by the Ag Station and take a right .. and the next two rights at succeeding forks and you're on Sokehs island, with villages of Mokil, Pinglap and Mortlock people: the overflow from crowded atolls. You can follow the waterfront south to Dausokele Bridge. Cross the bridge and turn left for a four mile walk (on rough trail) around Net Point. Or continue straight along the ahl en wei, the main coastal road, as far as you please. Or circle south and back across the Kahmar river. Every direction provides vistas, pleasant walking, and a chance to greet Ponapeans. When you return to the bridge, sit and watch outriggers gliding back from the lagoon as the sun sets behind Sokehs rock.

If you'd rather ride than walk, you can take a taxi most anywhere the road goes for less than a dollar. Or you can rent a car: from Bernard Helgenberger at his store, Lee Mendiola at the Kaselehia Inn, or Martin Christian at his store; or rent a scooter from Johnny Hawley at Air Micronesia on the waterfront. For distance, a scooter or rugged four-wheeler is best; for comfort, take a sedan.

As the sun sets and dusk comes on the land, you might feel in a martini-ish mood. The Palm Tree Inn, near the Ag Station and the new airport cocktail lounge are the places, with soft lights .. plus dinner at the Palm Tree. And at night, you can walk through the night breezes and fantasy-moonlight, or take in one of the several movies (mostly vintage production), or apply yourself to one or more of the bars .. and mingle.

One day while you are here you should make a boat trip to Nan Madol, ruins of a canal-crossed city of a lordly people who once ruled Ponape. The standard tour is about \$26 per outboard boatload (up to 4 or 5 people), taking in Nan Madol, PATS (Ponape Agriculture and Trade School .. Father Costigan's major development in Metalanim), and the Kapworohi waterfall, a rock-studded cascade filling a stone-lined pool. Several pamphlets describe Ponape. Read the one on Nan Madol before you go, for sounds of the Saudeleurs and Isokelakel, the tortoise sacrificed to the sacred eel .. a continuing oral tradition peoples these hundred islets, which

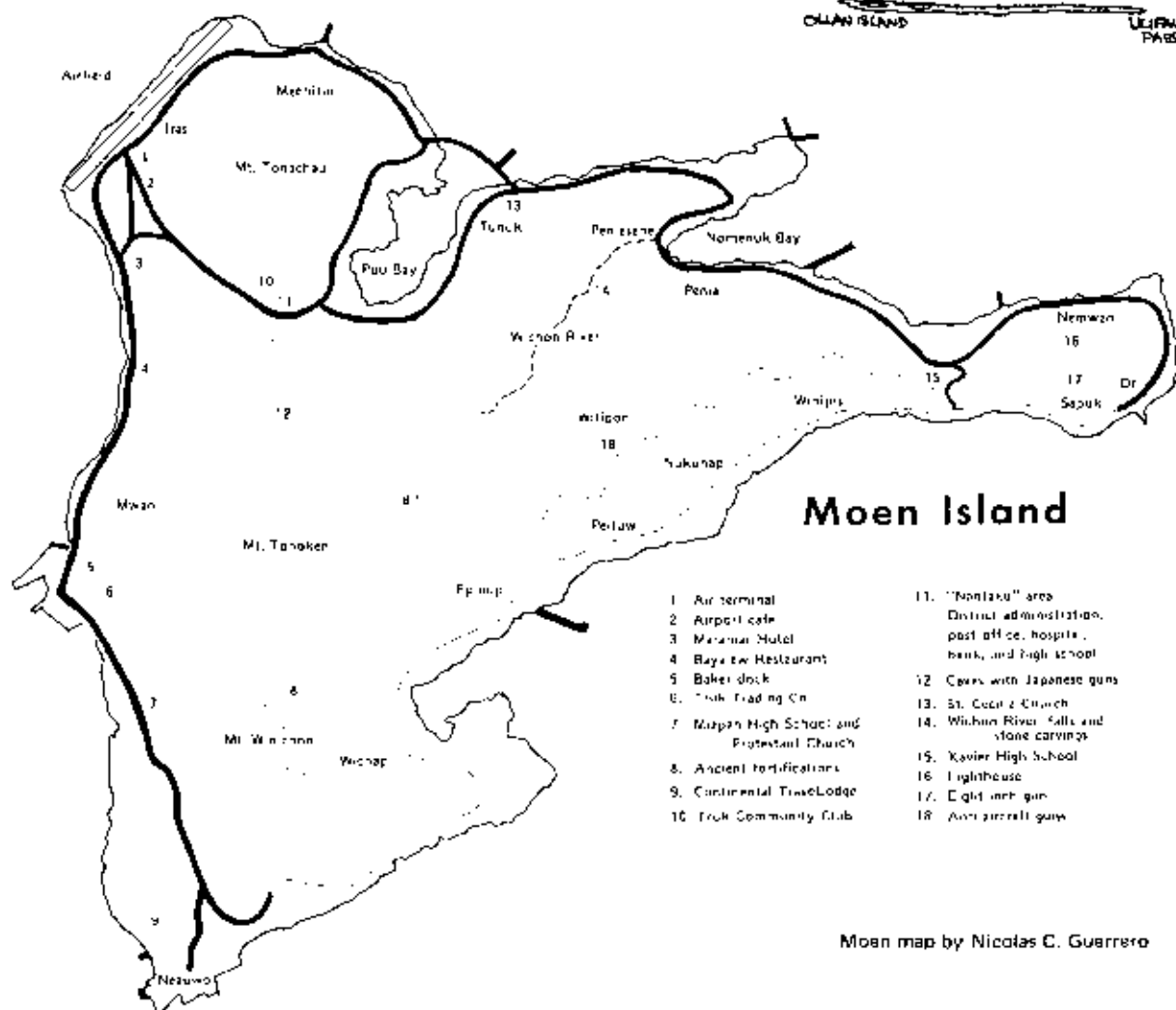
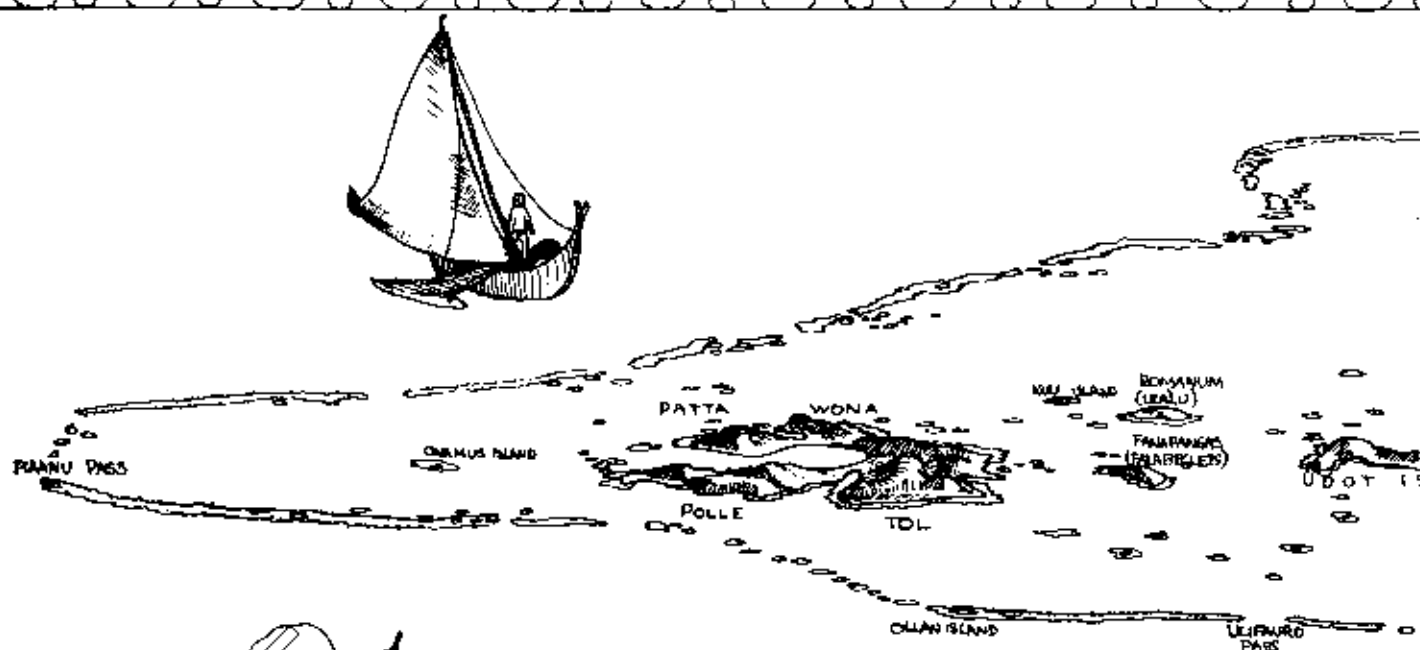
otherwise are pretty cold stone.

One night you may want to join in the traditional sakau ceremony. Sakau is a bland narcotic, mildly intoxicating, taste-bud deadening, sociable and relaxing. For Ponapeans it still has profound meaning, as the root is pounded on great bell-ringing, flat stones, and served according to strict precedence. For the visitor it can be a close-in feel of things Ponapean. Dozen of stones are pounded nightly in and around Kolonia, and a visitor would be welcome at many.

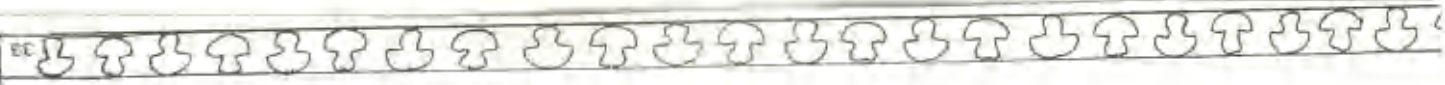
.....And so another day dawns, and perhaps you will find someone to climb Sokehs Rock with you, or to take you into the mountains, or to one of the other dramatic waterfalls .. or maybe today you'll rent a boat and just cruise, or fish, or dive in the lagoon (\$10 - \$50 per boat, depending on length of time and boat size).

Take your camera wherever you go .. scenery, people, houses, boats .. there's lots that's photogenic in an uncontrived way. It wasn't set up for you, but with basic courtesy on your side (Polaroids can be nice that way), your welcome will be wide. Ponapeans have a deep tradition of hospitality, although the category of "tourists" is new. Maybe you'll pass people making an earth oven, or some thatch, or a boat. With asking first, Ponapeans are usually generous about photos.

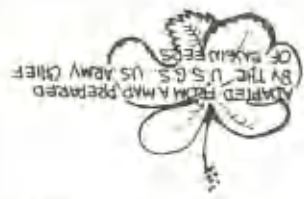
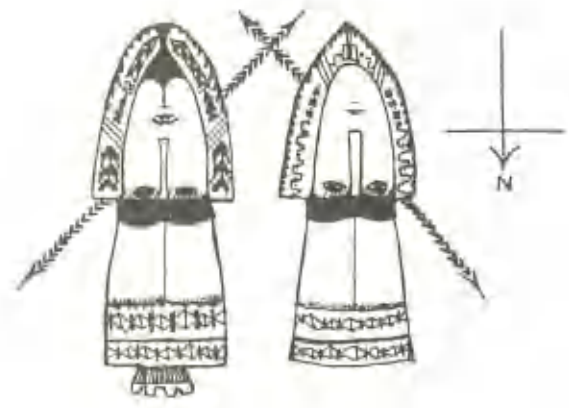
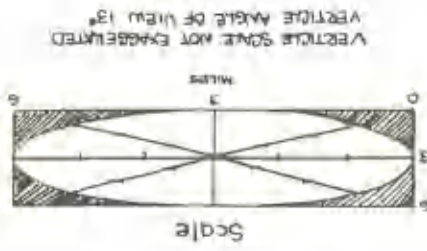
Finally, when it comes time to leave, you'll feel that you've just barely touched the surface of a deep pool .. but then maybe, just maybe, you won't go today! You'll stay and take another plane, another day .. and meanwhile you'll wander into some places you've never been, meet some people you've never known, try some things you've never done, on this unscheduled isle.



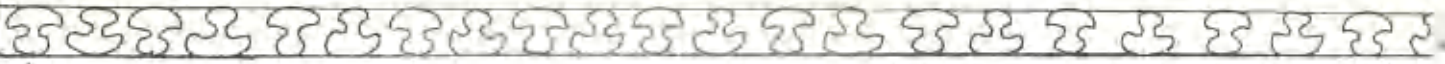
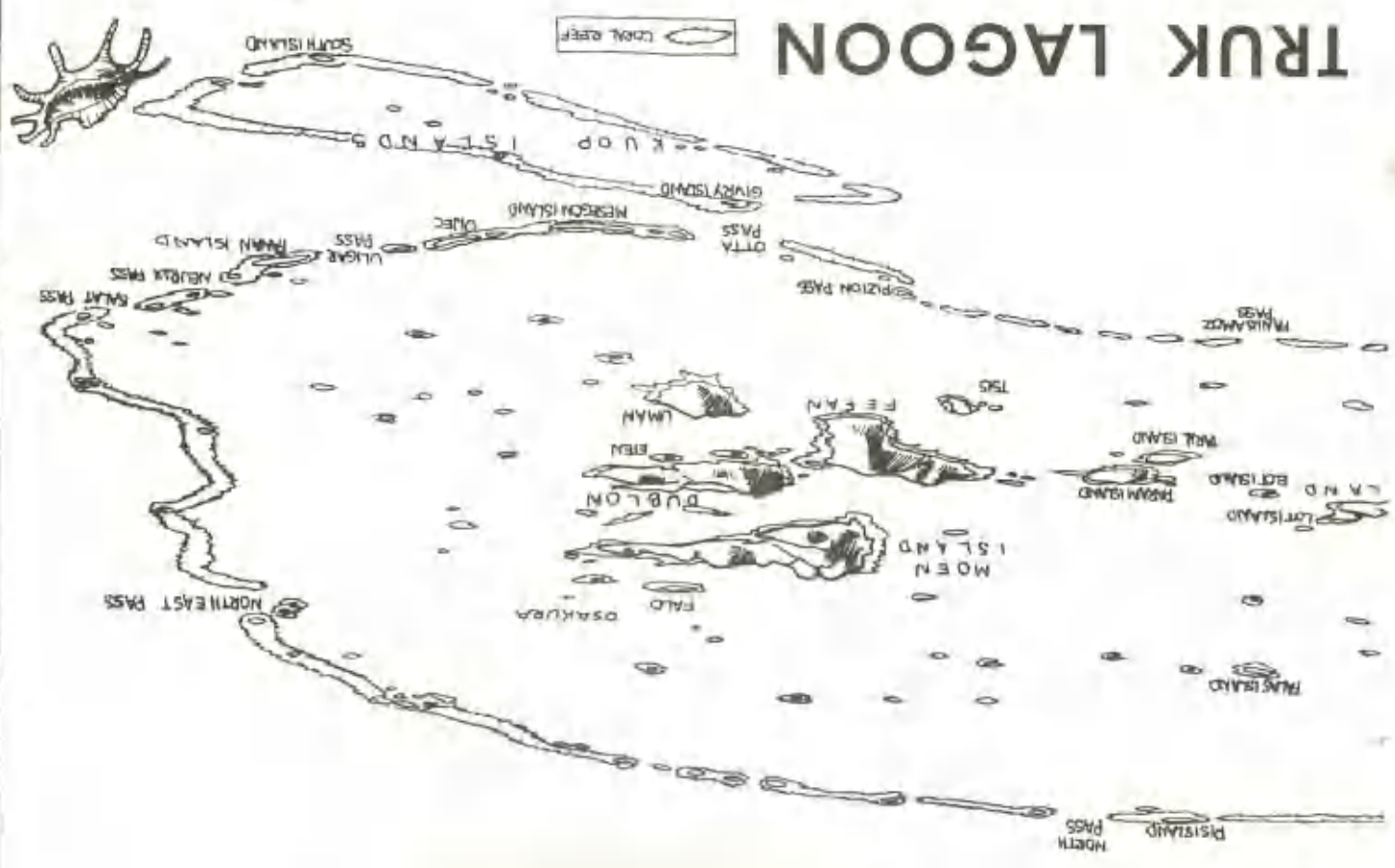
Moen map by Nicolas C. Guerrero



Lagoon drawing by Brian Daniels



TRUK LAGOON



ON THE GO

Being

Ran Annim! As the 727 jet glides over the reef at 1,500 feet, your scenic view of mountainous islands, cupped in a coral ring, may leave a lasting impression with you. It was after the California gold rush and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln that the first pioneers and missionaries settled in the Truk Lagoon. First, in 1874, came the German trader August Hartman and his family; he made his home on Fefan Island. He later was followed by two English traders named Irons and Capt. Narruhn, and then a Frenchman named Nedellec. Still today, these names are well known family names in Truk.

Peering through your airplane window at the green volcanic peaks, you'll find it worthwhile to note that the Trukese call this island cluster, "Chuk," which means mountain. And even now, as your stagecoach of the Pacific wings past Tonachau Mountain and over the Moen airfield to clear away playing children and stray pigs, you have entered into the land of legend and magic. With the roar of reversing jets, you arrive safely under the watchful eye of the octopus-whose silhouette is very much a part of the legend of Tonachau Mountain next to the airport.

1f you haven't made hotel reservations (which would be a tribute to your adventurous spirit) now is the time to seek out your hotel representative. You

Truk - Between Flights

with Charles M. Sicard

have a choice of the Bayview Restaurant/Hotel (single \$9, double \$12) with four rooms and a modest air; or the first-class Maramar Hotel (single \$9, double \$12); or the luxury Truk Continental Travelodge Hotel (single \$24, double \$28) at the southern sandy tip of the island.

After you have gotten settled and refreshed with a cool, locally-grown lime drink you may be wondering how best to spend your first afternoon in the heart of Micronesia. If your stay includes one or more days you are encouraged to make boat arrangements right away so you may travel to a sunken ship, or to a quiet uninhabited island with a sandy beach, or to Dublon Island where at one time Japanese military ruled. You are in a water wonderland of Micronesia—plan to experience it.

A pleasant exploratory walk is a fine way to become acquainted. You might start this after a taxi ride (most vehicles on the road will give you a ride for a small fee) to the "official Distad's house" where the driver can point out the general direction to hike to (12) the big gun and cave some 500 feet off the road. The gun is said to have been used by the Japanese to protect the western passage of the lagoon from the possibility of invasion. Its muzzle barely peeps out of the cave opening.

As you leave, proceed directly down the road past the radio towers and you will come out behind Microne-

sia's newest and most modern hospital. You can continue your stroll down the hill to (11) where the flag poles mark the Trust Territory Government buildings for the administration of Truk District. Behind these buildings stands an old courtyard where you might want to photograph the most fantastic Bank of America building you will ever find, a rusty quonset built by Japanese prisoners of war and hardly a picture of security. Tourism affairs are handled in the adjacent building displaying the Economic Development Office sign. Continuing on, a short up-hill walk will bring you to another pleasant panoramic view from (10) the Community Club where refreshment and food is served, usually late in the afternoons and evenings.

1f your real joy in traveling is in the people you meet, the people of Micronesia may become for you the most charming encounter in the Pacific. Your social contacts can be most rewarding if you relax, and speak and present yourself in a gentle manner. This is the island way. Your sincere interest in people will be respected; for it is here that material things have not become very important, and love of one's family, home island, and friends is held in the highest regard.

Being slightly more than 7 degrees north of the equator means that the tropical sun eases down on the west lagoon horizon about six every evening.

ON THE GO

Yap Between Flights

with Carl Heine

1971

MOGETHINI

Yap has much to recommend itself to the tourist. It is true that her people may lack the sophistication of the Saipanese, or the drive of the Paluans, and the islands may lack the scenic beauty of Ponape (described as the "Hollywood version of a south sea island"), or the intimate charm of Palau's Rock Islands. Yet the traveler is often reluctant to leave this small island of which he so quickly becomes a part. The pace, the placidity and serenity help one repair the ragged edges of one's soul and create a pace more in harmony with one's own nature.

The Yapese, the most traditional of all Micronesians, are absolutely secure in the knowledge of their own superiority and rival the Americans on the point. From this Olympian vantage, they view the foreigner with friendly, amused detachment and the certain knowledge that the camera, the jaunty step, and the funny clothes belong to a race of people who can most delicately be called quixotic.

The attitudes of the Yapese, who think they own the place, and the Americans, who don't give a damn who owns it, make for friendly relations and mutual respect. The tourist will find

the Yapese and foreign workers alike eager to point out places of interest, describe their favorite beaches, perhaps (after 4:30 PM) invite him to O'Keefe's Oasis for a smart drink.

O'Keefe's is a membership club, but the tourist is not likely to be aware of this circumstance unless he gains the ill-will of the barkeeps, Anna and Margie, heroines worthy of W. Somerset Maugham, who dispense strong drink and justice with a cavalier disregard for the superficialities of all manmade and natural laws, and are majestic even in what lower mortals might describe as "errors." However, if the drinker will be good, refrain from cussing, and wear a shirt after 6:00 PM, he may drink to the depths of his pocketbook and the needs of his psyche. At eleven o'clock weeknights, one o'clock or thereabouts weekends, the bar closes, and reality (and, often, rain) is the tourist's hard lot.

If the O'Keefe's Oasis is found to be too Americanized, the traveler may find the Seamen's Club more to the style of local people and therefore more interesting. Here one will see a great

number of transplanted Paluans and other Yapese congregate for a smarter drink called "Yap Singapore." The Seamen's Club is only several yards from O'Keefe's, across the bridge over the narrow canal separating Colonia from Rul.

Fortunately, Joe Tamag's hotel, the Rai View, is but a few steps from O'Keefe's. The hotel is sparkling clean, and the food is unpretentious and good. Fancy local meals consisting of fish, pig, turtle, taro and tapioca, all presented in fresh green palm frond baskets, are served by special request in the hotel dining room. Room reservations should be made well in advance, inasmuch as the hotel is frequently booked to capacity with tired bureaucrats from Saipan who know the best spots and love an occasional visit to this most serene island in the Trust Territory. Room rates range from \$4 to \$10 per night, depending on accommodations. The hotel is being enlarged and shops and a bar are to be added.

All of Colonia is easily accessible from the hotel. The hospital is within hobbling distance (if you arrived ill), the

district administration building even closer. And there is a department store of sorts where one can buy a variety of local products—grass skirts, carvings, shell jewelry. Foreign products are available, too, often much cheaper than on Guam. The chances of buying stone money are slim. First, one would have to find a piece, and then legislative permission is required to remove it from Yap.

From the hotel one can see the Protestant Mission, easily the most beautiful complex of buildings on an island dotted with fantastically un-stylish buildings. Not traditional, but still not doing violence to the aesthetics of the surroundings, the church rests familiarly on the hillside on the lower slope of which is the manse. Across the road is the Protestant Youth Center where one can buy ice cream cones, sandwiches, and passion fruit punch at prices too low to mention. The minister has built the substantial beginnings of a marina, and the entire complex is as scrupulously clean as German compulsion and the protestant ethic demand.

Up the hill from the hotel is the Yap Museum, presided over by Raphael Uag, an interesting, intelligent man with a wealth of stories he can relate in excellent English or Japanese. But even if he did not have the qualifications just noted, he would still have to be in charge of the museum because he is the most colorful person on the island. Old, as wise men should be, and with a wispy white beard, he commands the immediate respect of the visitor. Tall, gaunt, wirey, he welcomes visitors graciously to the traditional Yapese building which houses Yapese artifacts.

A number of car rental operators flourish on the island. Often, it is impossible for the tourist to rent a car, the demand being so great. However, should he be able to secure one, a

seventeen mile drive over the best roads (save, perhaps, Saipan's) in the Trust Territory is available -- from the adequate beach at Giliman where one can walk to the reef at low tide and swim comfortably at high tide, to the villages on Map (pronounced "mop") where, more often than not, one can watch traditional dances.

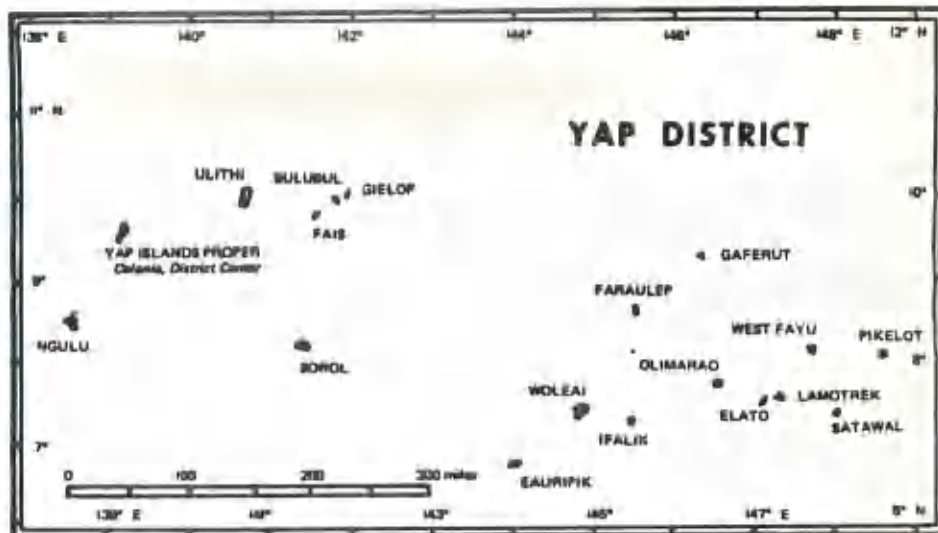
The Yapese are extremely proud of their beautiful island, a mountainous, true continental island, and finding a guide is not difficult. Among the virtues in the vegetation the guide will ask you to observe is the betel nut tree. Yap grows the finest betel nut in the Trust Territory, and one seldom sees a person leave Yap to visit friends in Palau or Guam without a basket of betel nuts, some pepper leaf, and some lime. The guide will ask the adventuresome tourist to try the betel nut. It is an interesting experience.

The betel nut quid is prepared by biting the rather firm nut in half and placing both halves on a piece of pepper leaf. (The pepper leaf is not hot; chewed alone, it makes the mouth feel clean.) Over the nut and leaf dry lime is sprinkled. (The lime is prepared in the villages by people who burn coral, the residue of which is a fine lime ash.) The betel nut is rolled in the leaf and the entire quid is chewed. There are the spit-out-the-juice advocates and the swallow-the-juice advocates, but, to the best of my knowledge, they have not come to blows -- unlike Swift's Big Endians and Little Endians. Indeed, I have seen regular chewers change sides, midstream, so to speak. For the quickest, most intense effect, I recommend swallowing the juice. In a matter of minutes, your heart will palpitate, your forehead will perspire, and you will feel very light-headed. At this point, you will be seeking a gentle, grassy knoll on which to lie. Lie down. The effect passes soon, and for this not unpleasant experience, you will have a wealth of conversational fodder for your first cocktail party back in Searchlight, Nevada.

1. Largest piece of stone money, 12' in diameter
2. Map-Maki Causeway
3. Japanese lighthouse
4. Coast Guard Loren Station
5. Tageren Canal
6. O' Keele's Island
7. District Administration
8. Stone money bank
9. German cable station
10. Air terminal



YAP DISTRICT

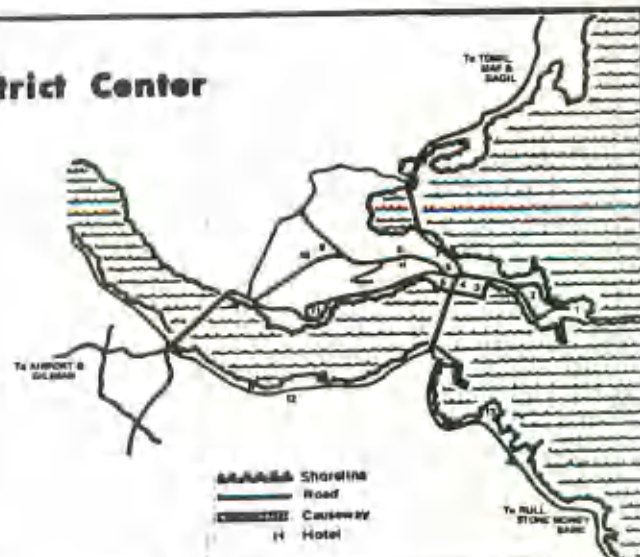


YAP DISTRICT

YAP ISLANDS
PROPER

COLONIA, District Center

1. Legislature
2. Hospital
3. Commercial port
4. Courthouse
5. Police and Fire Depts.,
Commercial bank
6. District Administrator,
Office of Tourism
7. Farmers' Market
8. Women's Handicraft Shop
9. Catholic Mission
10. Museum
11. Post Office
12. Protestant Mission
13. Madrich (Outer Island
Village)



Maps by Mike Ashman

Unless your guide owns a boat, water transportation is difficult to come by. However, the dauntless explorer who wishes to see O'Keefe's Island will manage, somehow. All overgrown now, and totally in ruins, the house remains as a foundation, a water catchment, and a stairwell which leads interestingly up to nothing. However, from the top of the stairway, one has an overview of the grounds, and, should one be of a romantic, speculative turn of mind, one can reconstruct the gracious house, imported brick by brick from Hong Kong (along with the skill and labor to build it, I suspect).

It would take a lively imagination to fit the humans into these ruins. David Dean O'Keefe, ship captain, first entrepreneur of Yap, and King of all he surveyed, left Savannah, Georgia, his wife and baby daughter about the middle of the last century, under the shadow of the gallows. He was shipwrecked off the coast of Yap, and was the sole survivor of the tragedy. This Irish man, of the I-can-lick-any-man-in-the-house school, probably survived because of his great strength and excellent physical condition. He was nursed back to health by a Yapese, a medicine man from Kanifay, one of the ten municipalities of Yap. He got along well with the Yapese, and the doctor became his life-long friend. Ultimately, he found an outbound ship and sailed to Hong Kong (where he stayed long enough to find a partner, a Chinese dentist with money and a ship, an old Chinese junk in bad repair); to Nauru (where he stayed long enough to find a wife, a beautiful half English, half Nauruan girl); and to Palau (where he stayed long enough to discover that the Yapese would work with unbelievable fervor and run many, often fatal, risks to carve stone money and return it to Yap in their light boats). Up to that point, no one had succeeded in convincing the Yapese to do anything so ridiculous as gathering coconuts, husking them, drying the meat, and loading this end product

aboard outbound ships.

Thus, O'Keefe discovered the secret that was to make him a rich man, a man with a tropical paradise, a man who stood tall in the banks in Hong Kong, a city that afforded him the best of everything during his trips there. He had the best of all possible worlds, a captain's paradise. He offered to help transport the stone money safely in his big ship if the Yapese would prepare copra and gather trepang, a sea slug which, when dried, is much favored by rich Chinese for holiday breakfasts. O'Keefe survived German competition, Spanish rule, British aid, Bully Hayes, only to be defeated by German occupation: he made the serious error of hitting the German District Administrator when the latter suggested that O'Keefe fly the German flag instead of his own gaudy ensign. He escaped the island with his sons, and all were lost at sea in a severe typhoon.

O'Keefe was a man burdened by guilt -- he thought he had killed a man, and he suffered remorse all his life for having deserted his wife and child. He corresponded frequently with his first wife -- by check, never a letter. But he loved his second wife and family and was content in Yap, where, off and on for forty years, he represented popular authority. However, he always worked through his doctor-friend, and ultimately, through the chiefs. He learned something early on which has to be newly learned by every administration: The Yapese are extremely independent and insist upon doing only what is important to them and only in their own way.

But I digress:

Should the tourist be lucky enough to be on Yap when a field trip is being readied for the outer islands, and should he have the hearty nature necessary for such a trip, he can arrange quite easily, again, with Joe Tamag, for passage. Twelve dollars, round trip to Ulithi, about \$126 for the long trip to Satawal and back. Field trips come in two sizes

-- the short field trip to Ulithi lasts from two to five days. One may live aboard the vessel, or, much preferred, sleep on the beach on Falalop, Ulithi. The single industry of this tiny island -- 5/8 of a mile long -- is education. During the school year there are nearly 400 students from all of the outer islands, grades seven through twelve, all under the watchful eye of Mike Littler, the principal, and perhaps the best PR man in the Trust Territory. His graduates receive congratulations from President Nixon, and the major speaker at commencement this year (as last) was Rear Adm. Paul Pugh, Commander of the Naval Forces, Marianas. Graduation is the social event of the entire season.

The Ulithians are big, beautiful, energetic people. During the school year, the tourist will find the students in school all day, at supervised study tables most evenings, and, finally, being chased off to bed by the excellent U.S. and Micronesian faculty who want fresh alert students in the morning.

The tourist will note that the island is clean, and the school buildings and houses are in good repair, mostly the result of student labor under the direction of the Public Works Department and members of the SeaBee teams.

To the east, each island from Falalop to Satawal is so varied and so unique that an entire article could be devoted to each -- from Ngulu where not a stone is out of place and every fallen leaf is immediately picked up and buried, to the fantastic beaches of Ifalik and Lamotrek.

The tourist will note that the airport at Yap is always crowded with non-travellers who might otherwise be downtown watching haircuts; and he will leave with the satisfied feeling that his quick perception and sensitivity have yielded him much in this district which has many small things to recommend themselves to the tourist.

in 1971

1. An hour's boat ride from the district center, home of the largest piece of stone money—12 feet across. Permission to visit the island is required.

2. Yap's finest beach stretches below the low bluffs of Map's eastern shore.

3. Ruins of a Japanese lighthouse.

4. Coast Guard Loran station—1,000-foot tower. (*Wier down*)

5. Tagering canal, built at the turn of the century by the Germans using Yapese labor.

6. O'Keefe's Island (Tarang).

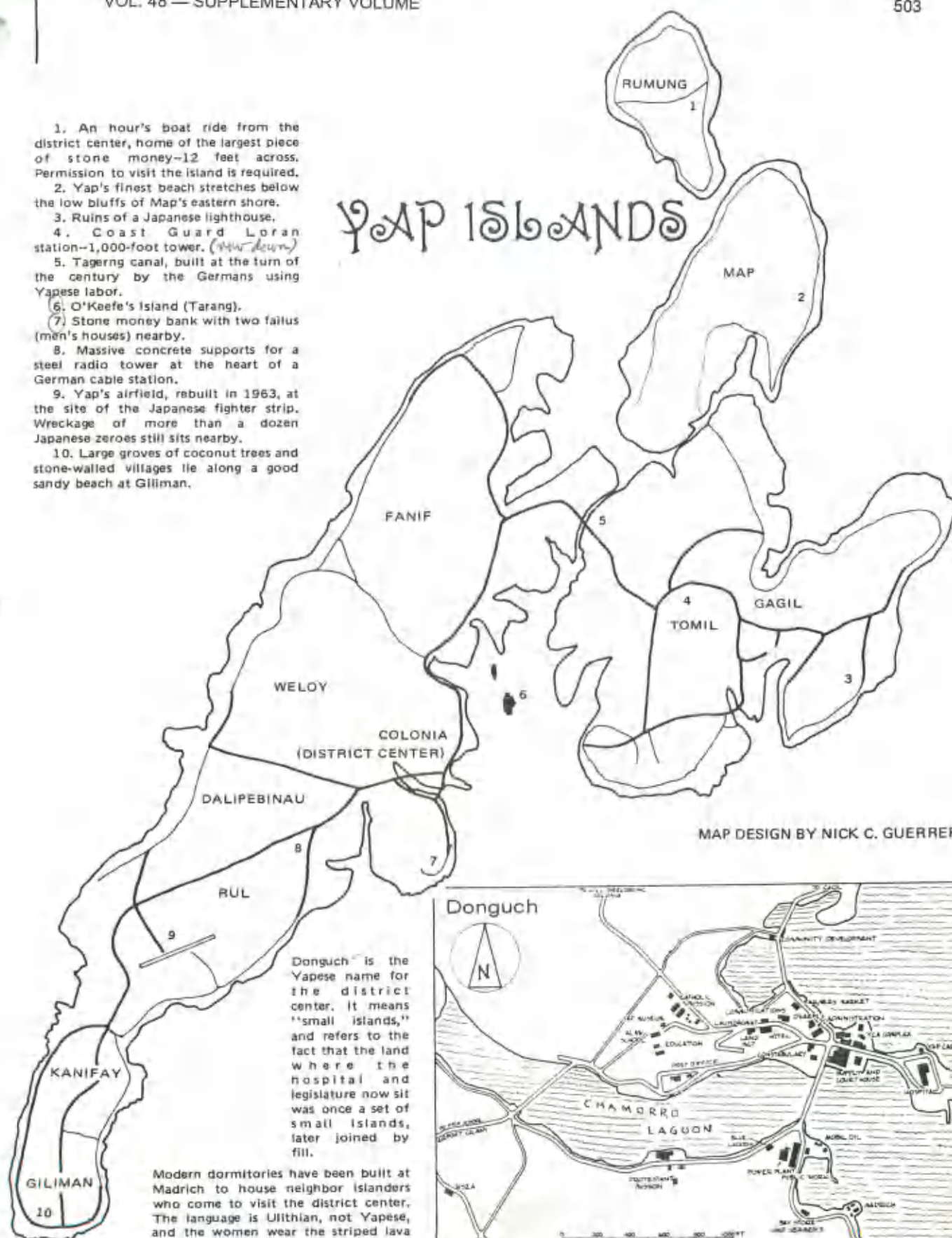
7. Stone money bank with two failus (men's houses) nearby.

8. Massive concrete supports for a steel radio tower at the heart of a German cable station.

9. Yap's airfield, rebuilt in 1963, at the site of the Japanese fighter strip. Wreckage of more than a dozen Japanese zeroes still sits nearby.

10. Large groves of coconut trees and stone-walled villages lie along a good sandy beach at Giliman.

YAP ISLANDS



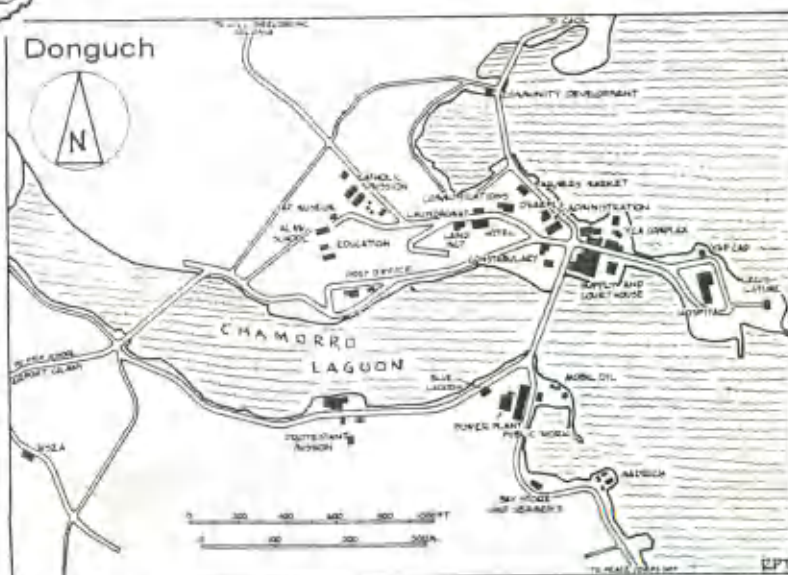
MAP DESIGN BY NICK C. GUERRERO

Donguch is the Yapese name for the district center. It means "small islands," and refers to the fact that the land where the hospital and legislature now sit was once a set of small islands, later joined by fill.

Modern dormitories have been built at Madrich to house neighbor islanders who come to visit the district center. The language is Ulithian, not Yapese, and the women wear the striped lava lava in place of the grass skirt.

LEGEND

improved roads
unimproved roads or trails



ON THE GO

Koror Between Flights

by Bonifacio Basilus

ALIII

On approaching Palau, the pilot usually tells you to be on the lookout for turtles swimming in the clear waters between the beach and the reef or for tuna boats taking in their catch beyond the barrier reef. Most times you don't see either, but you will always have a breathtaking view of the island of Babelthuap and portions of the rock island clusters as the plane makes a turn southward for a landing. The airstrip is not paved, but the landings are always smooth. Before you know it, you are taxiing to a makeshift terminal conspicuous only for a piece of rope separating incoming passengers from local people who have come to see the plane.

The airstrip is located on top of a hill some seven miles away from the town of Koror, and if you haven't made arrangements for someone to pick you up, you can always get on a tour bus to start your trip to Koror. Your luggage? You can either claim your bags at a temporary Air Micronesia office located in an old Japanese Naval communications building two miles from the airstrip, where it won't cost you anything, or later in Koror, for a transportation fee of fifty cents per suitcase.

On the way to Koror, you will drive through several villages of Airai Municipality, until you reach the Renrak Channel where you will be ferried across to the Koror side of the channel. From there on, you can either go to the new Continental/Travelodge, the Royal Palauan Hotel, the Blue Lagoon Hotel or the Paradise Hotel. You might want to relax during your first day in Palau, and make plans for your stay with local tourist officials who are always available for consultation. If your visit is to be a brief one, from two to three days, it is advisable that you limit your activities to the town of Koror itself.

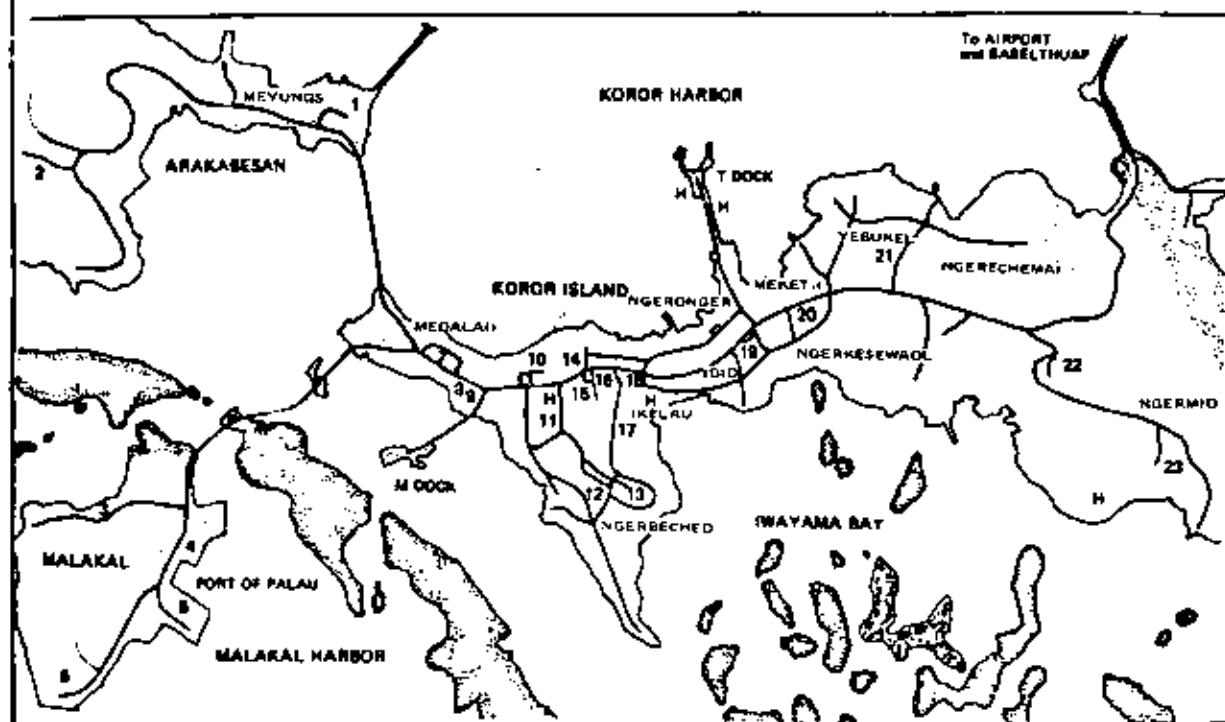
There are a number of businesses who cater to visitors' needs from which you can rent a car, a boat or buy souvenirs. Storyboards, locally made furniture, shells and various handicraft items may be purchased from local shops. Information about where to purchase these items may be obtained from the Micronesia Tours office right in the middle of town.

As soon as you have bought your souvenirs, you may want to tour the island of Koror. Here are some of the spots you might visit:

The Continental/Travelodge Hotel which just opened is at the northeastern part of Koror on a site that used to be a Japanese shrine before World War Two. This shrine was one of the few sites outside Japan that contained a specially blessed altar in pre-war years. After the war, the U.S. military occupied it as their headquarters for the Palau Islands. When the military left in the early fifties, the area was reclaimed by vegetation. It was only two years ago that it became accessible to visitors when Continental Airlines began building its hotel on the site.

From there, return to the town to see the Palau Museum. Founded in 1955, the Museum is the oldest of its kind in the Trust Territory, and it houses various handicraft and other artifacts and documents dating back a hundred years. The Museum also maintains a traditional "abai," located near the entomology building. The abai is an authentic, traditional-style meeting house, serving as a showplace for a form of Palauan architecture which is fast disappearing.

For visitors who stay for a week or more, there are several interesting tours to enjoy. For those who are addicted to



KOROR, District Center

1. District Administrator Office of Tourism	8. Malakal Lookout	12. Museum and Abel	16. Post Office
2. Road to Shokai Seaplane Ramp	7. Agriculture Station	13. Biology Laboratory	19. Municipal Office
3. Boobyard	6. Bank	14. Micronesian Occup. Center	20. Catholic Mission, School
4. Fisheries, Treas. plant	9. Courthouse	15. Police and Fire Dept.	21. Protestant Church
5. Commercial port	10. High School	16. Legislature	22. Gun emplacement
	11. Hospital	17. SDA Church and School	23. Japanese shrine
			H. HOTEL

skindiving, shelling or water skiing, a speed boat trip through the rock islands, a dive in the clear water between Peleliu and Koror, or a walk along the reef at low tide is enough to satisfy even the strongest addiction. And while busy at these activities, you can always stop off at Peleliu to inspect the old battle sites that include deep caves, mountain ridges and treacherous swamps—places that made headlines in the news more than 25 years ago.

While on Peleliu, it is highly recommended that you visit Chief Obak and obtain permission to visit these places. Chief Obak, with his warm personality, is a subject to visit himself. He speaks good Japanese, understands

slow English, and can recount for you events dating back to German times.

If you are on a big boat, forty feet or more, you might visit Angaur, about five miles south of Peleliu. The island is now sparsely populated, but you can inspect the old phosphate mines, or lay a flower at the grave of a young German girl whose epitaph bears the single word, "Warum."

For those who have strong legs and are anthropologically inclined, you can visit the east or west coasts of Babelthuap. On the west coast, stop at Ngeremlengui, famous for its strict adherence to traditional customs. Or visit Ngardmau, further north, which boasts the largest waterfall in all Palau.

On the east coast, there is Melekeok, which, in ancient Palau, was the foremost village in Northern Babelthuap.

Whether your visit is long or short, come prepared for rough rides on our unpaved roads. Light summer attire is a must, and if you plan to spend your time at the seashore, rubber-soled shoes are a must, with large brimmed hats for the ladies and caps for the men.

Night life on Koror is the same as elsewhere in the Trust Territory, and rates for good food and drinks are reasonable. The people speak both English and Japanese, and if you are conversant in either, your trip should be most enjoyable.

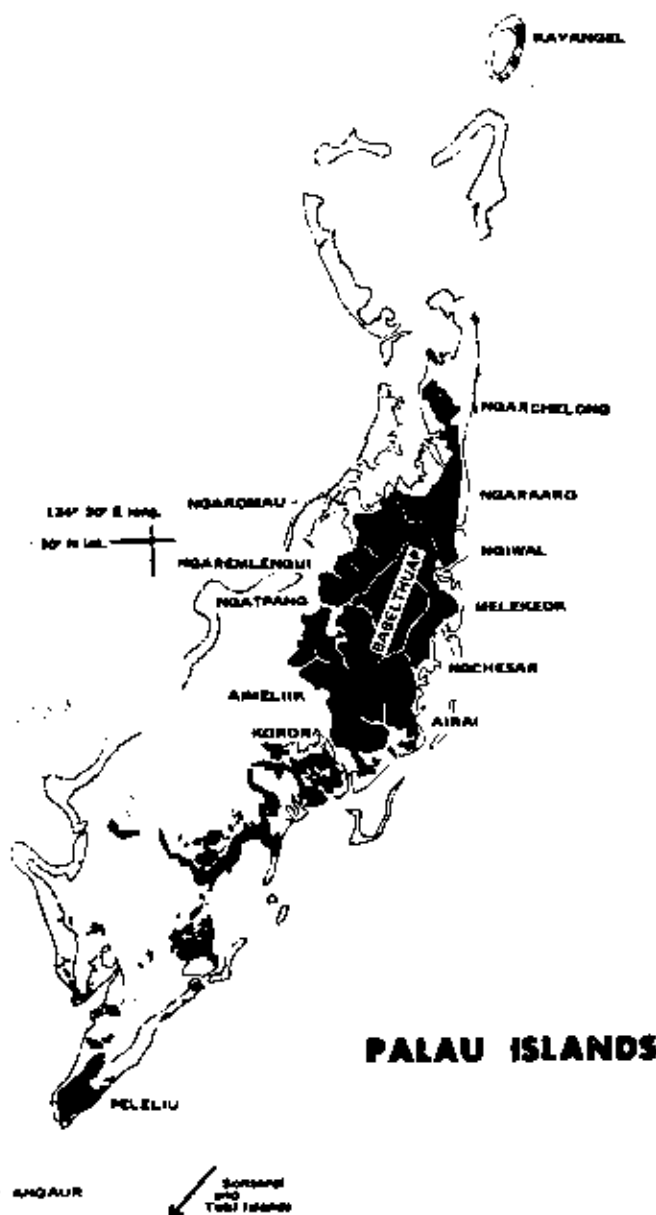
Native Money of Palau

Once upon a time, travelers passing through the islands of the Pacific could exchange a mirror or an axe or a handful of colorful beads for food, water, sometimes even a parcel of land. How times have changed! Today, some islanders could travel to Boston, to San Francisco, to Honolulu. . . making offers to buy prime real estate. . . with only a handful of beads.

The native money of Palau, rare, beautiful, traditionally coveted, is valued beyond the imagination of most non-Micronesians. The necklace being worn by the lovely young lady photographed for this issue's back cover, is valued above U.S. \$50,000. Is it worth it? Well, who can deny the worth of native Palauan money in the face of occasional cash transactions and business deals with the beads used as collateral and loan values set in dollar amounts.

The Palauan money, from uncertain origins, has been identified as a variety of polychrome and clear glass beads, crescentic bar gorgets, and beads of pottery. All the money is of foreign material and made by a foreign technique. Some of the polychrome beads appear to be of Indian origin. Other pieces were considered by German ethnologists to be types of pottery "enamel" of Asiatic origin.

According to Robert E. Ritzenthaler, who made a detailed study for the Milwaukee Public Museum in 1954, the "money is, or was, involved in such (Palauan) institutions and social phenomena as marriage, divorce, death rites, birth rites, politics, war, status and prestige, reciprocal relations, and religion. That the people themselves regard money as of paramount importance is shown by the fact that its acquisition is a major goal, by the fact that money and recent transactions involving it is a primary topic of conversation among the men,



by the fondling care with which it is handled and stored in the sacred section of the house, and by the high regard accorded the money expert."

Each type of money has its own value in relation to the other types, and even among similar kinds, different pieces have different prices, depending upon quality, size and its history.

Anthropologist Ritzenthaler, in his study, reported that all evidence points to the route of travel to Palau via the direction of Indonesia. Antique polychrome beads were reported in use as money in such islands as Borneo, Sumatra, and Timor. Beads for Sarawak have counterparts in Palau. Antique beads also have been used as money in Melanesia, specifically northern New Guinea.

While the route may appear certain, the ultimate origin is in doubt. A few of the Borneo beads appear to date from the Greek or Roman period, a few are comparable to those from South India and Malaysia, a few are comparatively modern (nineteenth century) trade beads and the great majority, including the chevron and ornamental beads are very difficult to place. Whatever the origin, Ritzenthaler reports it is clear that glass beads were introduced into Indonesia in prehistoric times, and in Sumatra have been found associated with the Dongson Bronze Age, hypothetically dated at 300 B.C.

Of course, folklore has carried along stories of how the money reached Palau. Villages have their own favorite versions. In Anguar, the legend is that a bird gave birth to a fish which in turn gave birth to a girl with supernatural characteristics, who grew to tremendous size and became pregnant with money. Upon being angered, she emptied the money from her large fingers and disappeared.

Ritzenthaler's search also discovered the Kayangel story in which a boy was towed to a strange island by a fish. The boy picked up pebbles which turned out to be money strewn over the beach, and returned with them. Melekeok's abai, lost during WW II, displayed a storyboard telling of a god who visited the community and emptied the money from his testicles.

More likely are accounts such as one which tells of taking the money from two wrecked Portuguese ships said to have run aground near Kayangel, and on Ulong, an island between Koror and Peleliu.

Actually about all that is known concerning the early history of the money is that it was observed already in use in 1783, the earliest report on Palau. Captain Henry Wilson whose ship, the Antelope, was wrecked there in that year, reported both the glass and pottery money operating at that time.

An estimate by anthropologist Ritzenthaler placed the number of pieces a little below the 3,000 mark. Today, estimates range from 1,000 to some 1,500. The money system is a frozen one, and there is always some decrease in the number of pieces due to loss and breakage. There are accounts of money being lost due to accidents such as an outrigger capsizing, or persons, known to have buried their money, suddenly dying without revealing the hiding place. Beads which become cracked or broken must be written off as a loss.

Counterfeiters have had little luck in passing off phoney beads. Ritzenthaler tells of presenting several Venetian polychrome beads to a local leader who said he would accept them as a gift, but that they would never pass as money. The only large scale and successful counter-

feiting of Palau money occurred in German times when pieces of imported green glass bottles were cut and ground to resemble a specific type of money. By early Japanese times the pieces had become so numerous that the whole category was nullified and passed out of circulation.

The individual histories of the more valuable pieces are known to certain of the money experts who can relate the origin and subsequent transactions, along with the names of the persons through whose hands the piece was passed down to the present time.

At the present time Palauan native money functions as prestige money. Every effort is made to keep it within the family, and considerable intrigue goes on in the attempt by a family to acquire important pieces of money. This money is regarded as family, not individual property.

Important money transactions are settled through a formal meeting of representatives from the two bargaining clans. Each group meets separately to determine how much money to pay or to receive. The paying clan will then put some money in a turtle-shell dish and pass it over to the other clan. The amount is always less than they really expect to pay; but this the regular bargaining procedure, and there is always the slight hope that the offer may be accepted. The receiving group already has decided how much the other group can afford to pay and after each person examines each piece, they will say the amount is not enough and pass the dish back. After a discussion, more money is added and the dish returned. And so the bargaining goes on, often for several days or more before the negotiations end with the dish being accepted.

—C.M. Ashman

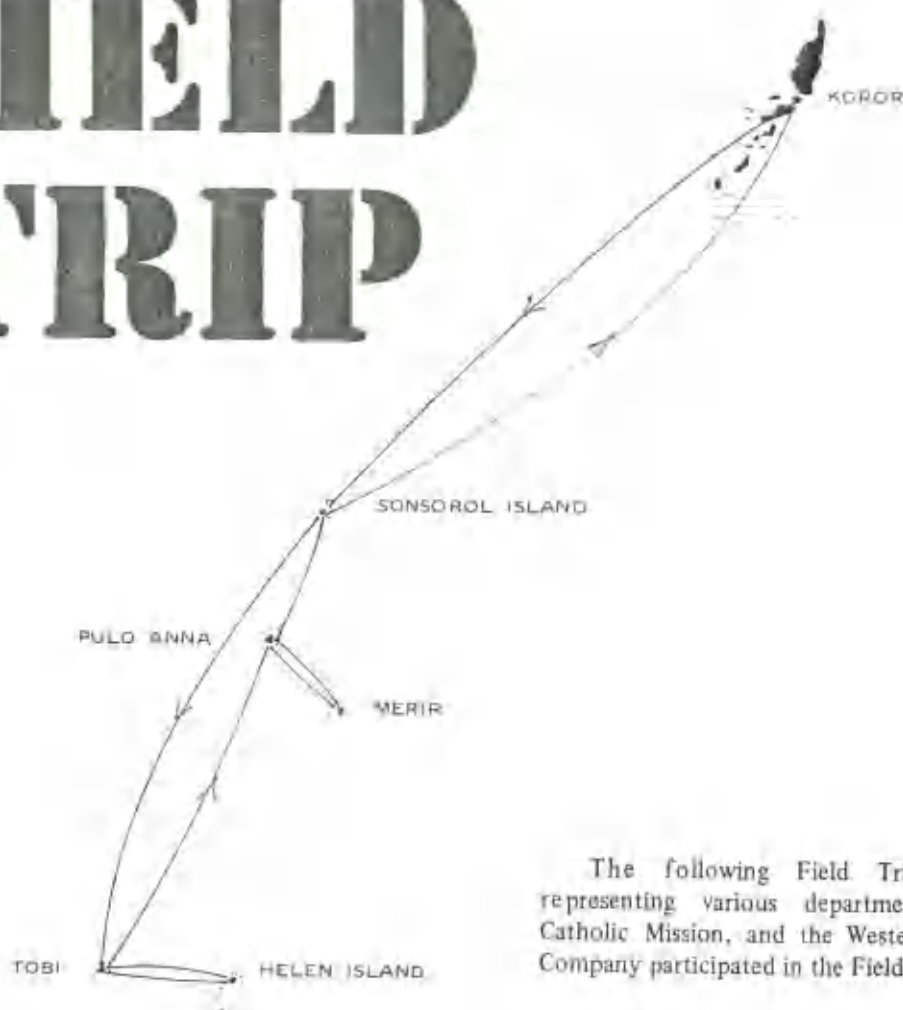
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**Field trip in the Palau District,
by Raymond J. Boucher**

Source: Article in the Micronesian Reporter, 3rd quarter 1971.

[Attached]

FIELD TRIP



The following Field Trip Party members representing various departments and activities, Catholic Mission, and the Western Caroline Trading Company participated in the Field Trip:

Memorandum

To : District Administrator
From : Field Trip Officer
Subject : Southwest Islands Field Trip Report

The regular Southwest Islands Field Trip commenced on Monday August 10, 1970 at 3:00 p.m. The Field Trip Party and the revenue passengers had been on board the M/V *Ran Annim* since 12:00 o'clock noon. The delay was due to last minute loading by WCTC and delay in the arrival of lists of passengers and cargo from WCTC.

Field Trip Officer (Education)	Raymond J. Boucher
Medical Officer (Ass't F.T.O.)	Dr. Nobuo Swei
Sanitation	Tokiwo Sumang
Education	Timothy Donohue
Community Development	Mike Colburn, Peace Corps
Public Works	Rekemesik Rengil
Constabulary	Nisang Tewid
Conservation	Becky B. Madraisau
Agriculture	James Ngirakebou
Administration	Felipe Bismark
Public Defender	Bill Norris
Census	Valentino Triso

Catholic Mission

WCTC = Western Caroline
Trading Co.

PCAA →

Father Robert O'Connell
Hideos Idelekei
Ichiro Meltel
Dilubech R.
Sam Iyar
Orue Tamol

Sonsorol Island - August 11

We departed Koror at 3:00 p.m. on August 10. At 3:30 p.m. the Field Trip Party held an orientation meeting. The Field Trip Officer presented the tentative plans for the field trip.

At 7:36 a.m. we arrived at Sonsorol. The Magistrate who came with us from Koror requested that the people's religious needs be taken care of first. It was agreed that the public hearing would be held after the religious services. In the meantime the Field Trip Party went about their duties the best they could. The census team waited outside the church doors so that they could get everyone as they came out of the church.

The Magistrate walked around the village with the Field Trip Officer. They went out to examine the channel which Public Works had recently cleared. The Magistrate requested that this channel on the west side of the island be lengthened to twice its length and two feet in depth at low tide so that copra could be loaded at low tide. He also requested that a channel be cut into the reef about fifty feet on the east side of the island.

The Magistrate mentioned the new school building which is to be built. He mentioned that Koror was in error when they said that the people on Sonsorol did not know what kind of building they wanted. It was because of the confusion in Koror that he went there on the last field trip. He said that just before returning to Sonsorol this time he had discussed about the construction of the new school building with the District Director of Public Works. He said that the people wanted the all metal building which simply had to be bolted together once the foundation had been built. He said that Public Works had approved it when he was there and that Public Works knew exactly which type of building the Sonsorol people wanted.

The public hearing was held at 10:45 after the religious services were finished and after the census team had had a chance to interview everyone. The meeting was opened by an introduction of the department activities representatives. The departments which had special information to pass on to the community were Community Development, Sanitation, Conservation and Palau Community Action Agency (PCAA).

Community Development: As per instruction from the C.D. Officer the people of Sonsorol were informed as to the status of their Grant-in-Aid proposal for a dispensary. The proposal is now with the High Commissioner's Office. C.D. is awaiting approval. When it is approved the Seabees will help in assembling it on Sonsorol.

The C.D. field trip member noticed that there appeared to be a lack of adequate water catchments on Sonsorol. He believes that the T.T. should look into some sort of large central water catchment for this island. He and others also noticed that the rail system for transporting copra and supplies to the other side of the island is also in need of repair and is almost inoperable. There should also be some type of shelter on the east side of the island for the copra when it is transported to that side for shipment; otherwise it will be ruined by the rain.

No specific requests or questions were addressed to the Field Trip C.D. Officer.

SONSOROL ISLANDS (ST. ANDREW)



Agriculture: The agriculturalist performed the following duties:

- 1) He planted twenty seedlings of *Swietenia macrophylla*.
- 2) He distributed about 100 seeds of papaya (Hawaii varieties).
- 3) He inspected the papayas and bananas in the gardens. All of them were found to be normal.
- 4) He inspected the pigs and poultry. He found that some chickens were dying of an unknown disease. He would bring some of them to Koror for further investigation.

When the agriculturalist attended the public hearing the following were requested by the people of Sonsorol:

1. breadfruit cuttings for planting,
2. a male and a female pig,
3. fertilizer,
4. papayas (Hawaii varieties),
5. bananas (Hawaii varieties),
6. tree poisoning chemicals, and
7. more species of fruit trees.

Education: On Sonsorol the Education Representative inspected the present school facility, discussed plans for a new school building with the magistrate and teachers, and instructed the teacher in the use of new English reading and writing materials to be used this coming school year.

The school building appeared inadequate in both classroom and storage space. The building is shared with the dispensary, the two being divided by a partial partition. This must certainly lead to inconveniences. There is no water supply available at the school. The building is a wood-tin construction. Many of the beams are termite ridden. Plans for a steel pre-fabricated construction were reported by the magistrate to be the community's preference for a new school building. It was requested that the Education Department follow-up its plans for the new school building as quickly as possible.

Because of the weather and tide, only part of the construction materials for an addition to the present school building was unloaded. None of the school supplies or USDA food were unloaded.

The teacher requested that he be permitted to take his remaining leave days before the beginning of the new school year.

Public Health: Upon arrival the Medical Officer went to the dispensary where he met the Health Aide. The Health Aide made an oral report on the health of the islanders. There were no births or deaths since the last field trip. Nor were there any epidemics or severe illnesses.

The Medical Officer made a brief inspection of the medical supplies on hand. There were enough supplies and equipment to carry on with the medical needs of the island.

The Medical Officer saw seven patients, all of whom had minor complaints. There was one pregnant girl to be accompanied to Koror by her mother and son.

At the public hearing the Medical Officer thanked the islanders for cooperating with the Health Aide.

Sanitation: The Sanitation Officer began his inspection about 9:00 a.m. He inspected twenty individual dwelling houses and one school. The result of the inspection was as follows:

School: The school is getting very old. At the time of the inspection, the tank for the water supply was not working because the teacher in charge was cleaning it. The toilet facilities are inadequate. There was only one facility for both sexes.

Private premises: Twenty houses were inspected. They were found to be very clean except for the following defects:

- 1- most of the toilet facilities were unsanitary;
- 2- there was no proper screening;
- 3- there were no proper doors; and
- 4- they were not rat or fly-proof.

Water supply: Most of the 55 gallon tanks used for water catchments were found to be without covers. Mosquito larvae were found in most of the tanks.

Only one municipal water tank was found to be sanitary.

Yards: A lot of coconut leaves and husks were lying around the houses. Tins and coconuts were found in the outskirts of the village. These tins and coconuts were breeding places for mosquitoes.

Animals: Pigs and chickens were found running loose. There were no proper pens for them.

Miscellaneous: The Sanitation Officer had a meeting with the magistrate and the village people. He discussed the topic "Cleanliness and Better Homes." This was part of the public hearing. He requested the people to correct the things mentioned above in this report.

Requests of the people:

- 1- Screens for their toilets;
- 2- A sprayer and insecticide

Public Works: The public works mechanic fixed the outboard motor for the government boat. The starter was found to be defective. He changed the oil and oil-filter in the generator. He performed other maintenance checks on the generator and outboard motor.

Public Defender: He arrived in the village proper at 10:15 a.m. and reviewed the existing facilities. After the public hearing, he had discussions with the magistrate concerning the operations and problems of the community.

Security: Sgt. Tewid met with Magistrate Joe Nestor and Chief Tamol of Sonsorol. They reported that around 11:00 o'clock on August 6, 1970 a jet airplane flew over the island. Everything else was normal village routine.

Conservation: The conservation officer made a tour of the island and made the following observations:

1. *Turtles:* No turtle nests were found. The Acting Magistrate said that he had never seen or found any landing on Sonsorol or laying eggs since the last field trip.

2. *Birds:* There were many sea birds present on the island. Very few fruit bats were seen.

3. *Fish and crabs:* There were only a few land crabs noticed. Very few fish were noticed around the reefs and never in schools.

4. *Staples:* The island was found to be poor in staple foods. There were no taro patches or tapioca patches or sweet potato gardens. A few types of wild papayas and taros were seen.

5. *Public hearing:* The conservation officer reminded the people of Public Law No. 9-4-68 which prohibits the hunting of all birds. This reminder was considered necessary because some young boys were seen practicing with an air gun.

6. *Starfish (Acanthaster Planci):* The islanders said that these starfish were very rare on the island. The conservation officer informed them that in order to kill them the people should bring them on dry land. He warned them that if they chopped them to pieces in the water the starfish population would increase.

Census: The team was delayed in their work because of the religious services. However, they were able to get most of the people as they left the church.

Results:

AGES	NO of MALES	NO of FEMALES
0 - 10	10	5
11 - 20	5	0
21 - 30	3	3
31 - 40	1	1
41 - 50	2	2
51 - 60	3	2
61 - 70	3	2
71 - 80	1	2
81 - 90	0	1
TOTAL:	28	18 = 46

PCAA: Community Organizer/Fang and South West Islands

There is an arrangement between the people of Sonsorol and the PCAA to establish a Salt Fish Co-op on this island. \$300.00 was funded by PCAA. \$300.00 was collected by the people to start the experimental venture. Hopefully this will boost the economy of the island and perhaps even take the place of copra making.

Economy: WCTC purchased 120 bags of copra and sold \$140.70 worth of goods.

We started hauling copra as soon as the public hearing was finished. We had brought the copra from the west side of the island to the east side by rail. By 3:30 p.m. it was raining and the sea was too rough to load any more copra. The Field Trip Party and those passengers who were helping with the loading of copra returned to the ship.

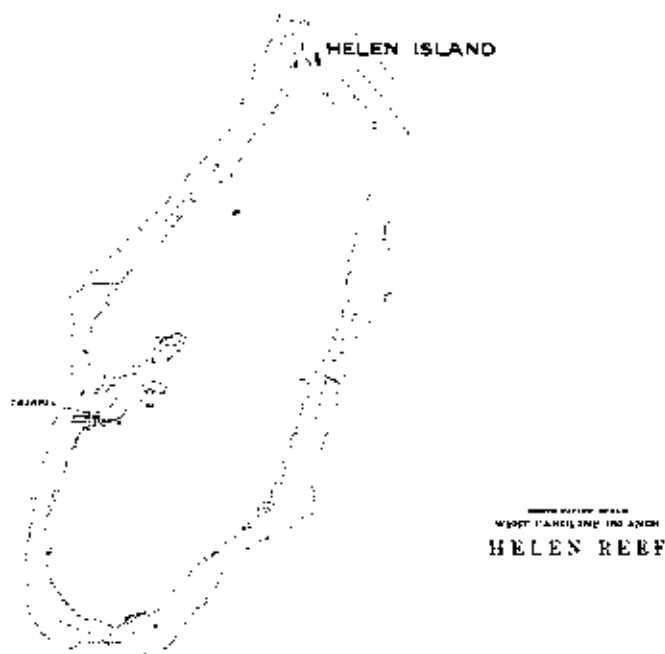
At 4:10 p.m. we departed from Sonsorol. Due to the exceedingly rough weather the ship was going only at half speed, and many of the Field Trip Party and passengers were seasick. At 11:00 p.m. we bypassed Pulo Anna and continued on to Tobi. We would have to perform the field trip in reverse.



Tobi Island—Dr. Swai inquires about medical needs.

Tobi, August 12

After buffeting heavy seas all night the *M/V Ran Annim* arrived at Tobi at 9:48 a.m. Here some of the Field Trip Party were given food supplies for four meals and sent ashore to perform their duties while the rest of the Field Trip Party went to Helen Reef while the Conservation and Agriculture Officers performed their duties on Helen Island. The food and water situation limited the number of people who could be let off in Tobi overnight. Those who went ashore were Mike Colburn (C.D.), Timothy Donohue (Education) and the census team comprised of John Skehong and Valentino Triso. It was thought wise to leave Miss Gloria Gibbons aboard the ship even though she was a member of the census team. Orue Tamol of PCAA also requested to remain on Tobi. The Government personnel were put on "per diem" from 10:00 a.m., August 12, until our delayed return at 9:18 a.m. on August 15. The Tobi people had supplemented the food supplied by the ship especially when the food ran out.



Helen Reef, August 12

The *M/V Ran Annim* arrived at Helen Reef at 3:16 p.m. Upon arrival a foreign vessel was discovered reefed. This and the security measures taken are described in a separate report. (see page 33)

On August 13th, 1970, the *M/V Ran Annim* set anchor inside Helen Reef near Helen Island while the Japanese crew repaired their ship. The Conservation Officer, the Agriculturalist, the Security Officer and the Field Trip Officer went on Helen Island for security check, collection of birds and observation of seedlings previously planted. At the request of Dr. Swei, the passengers were allowed ashore after having been instructed by the Field Trip Order regarding birds and turtles. They were very closely supervised on the island. Everyone cooperated. No harm was done. Justification for allowing them ashore was to relax tensions. We had been at anchor for two days after many had been seasick due to the severe storm encountered on the way down from Sonsorol. The members of the Field Trip Party without duties on the island were not allowed ashore.

Agriculture: The agriculturalist went ashore at Helen Reef to check all the coconut trees on the island. They were all in good condition.

There are only a few species of trees growing on the island. The coconut seedlings which were planted on the last field trip were growing well. The papaya seeds that were sown on the last trip were checked. They must have rotted or were eaten by the birds or by insects. Only one native papaya is growing in good condition.

Recommendations of the agriculture agent:

- 1- The coconut seedlings on the island should be thinned. Those taken away should be planted at the eastern end of the island.
- 2- More trees should be planted on the island.
- 3- Try to reduce the number of people going to the island at any one time.

Conservation: There was no evidence of people having been on the island since the last field trip.

Turtle nests: Thirty-eight turtle nests were counted around the island. None of them had been dug up.

Birds: Thousands of birds were seen all over the island. Four types of birds were seen: boobies, frigate, white chest with gray back and yellow bill, and white chest with black back and yellow bill.

Bird eggs: Most of the eggs were on the beach sand. Some were on the grass. Others were in nests in the trees (boobies). Baby boobies were very rare. There were a few dead birds on the island. These were probably killed by crabs or bird ticks.

Fish: Many fish were seen in the waters around the island, very close to the shore. Among the fish seen were a school of mullet, snappers and goatfish. One sting ray and one small green sea turtle were also seen. The reef around the island had healthy living coral and many reef fish. There were also giant clams.

We lay at anchor overnight to proceed early morning to Tobl.

A solitary resident of Helen Is



Tobi - August 15

We arrived at Tobi at 9:18 a.m. The sea was relatively calm and the tide was low.

The Magistrate of Tobi was on the ship. He had come with us from Koror. He informed me that since the tide was low he wished that the religious services would be held first. He asked, however, that the people be advised that the public hearing would be held in the *bai* immediately after the religious services.

When we arrived ashore the Field Trip Party members went about their duties before the public hearing. Those who had been left on Tobi on August 12 went to the ship to refresh themselves. They had run out of food the day before but the people were kind enough to assist them. The census team had completed their work.

Upon arrival on the island Dr. Swei was notified that Esta Islaus who had returned to Tobi on this field trip was dying from a complication of urinary infection and pneumonia (as diagnosed by Dr. Swei). The patient contracted pneumonia from the heavy winds and rain on the way from Sonsorol. The decision of the family, the magistrate and Dr. Swei was that the patient should stay on the island because he would not live through a return trip to Koror. He died at 2:45 p.m.

We held the public hearing after the religious services were over. The Field Trip Party was introduced to the people. The only departments which had any information for the people were agriculture and sanitation. They in turn were addressed and questioned by the people. The C.D., Education and PCAA representatives had been on the island for two days and had been able to contact the people at their leisure.

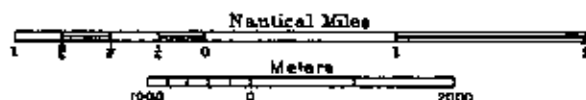
Community Development: The C.D. representative went ashore on August 12 while the field trip vessel proceeded to Helen Reef. He held a meeting with the people to discuss the possibilities of a Grant-in-Aid dispensary. The proposed site was particularly under question. All those present agreed that the land was municipal property. However, Marcello, the Magistrate, read a letter from a man named Bacilio who claimed the right of ownership for the coconuts on the land and implied ownership of the land. The meeting turned into a heated discussion as to what would be their procedure in convincing Bacilio that the land was municipal property. Since Bacilio was in Koror and Marcellina, whom the people of Tobi agreed is the rightful trustee, was also in Koror, the C.D. representative attempted to set up a radio conference with them. He also included Isaac N., the C.D.O., in the conference. Only Marcellina showed up at the communication center in Koror so little was gained.

The people present at the meeting maintained that there was no other municipal land suitable (*i.e.*, large enough and centrally located) for the proposed dispensary. The C.D. representative asked if there were some suitable private land that might be exchanged for public land elsewhere on the island. Marcello agreed to allow some of his land to be used for the project. With that the meeting ended.

While on the island, the C.D. representative checked the school which was initially a G.I.A. project. The people said that the additional rooms of the school which were planned to be used as a dispensary were not suitable because of its non-central location.

TOBI ISLAND (LORD NORTH)

Tobi I
(Lord North)



Education: While on Tobi, the Education Representative observed the school facilities, instructed the teachers of Pulo Anna and Tobi schools in the use of the new English reading and writing materials to be used this coming school year, discussed with the teacher on Tobi his teaching problems resulting from his blindness, observed classes to become acquainted with the Tobi teacher's effectiveness, unloaded the Tobi school supplies, checked them against the WCTC invoice and saw them to the shore.

The school facilities are adequate and well kept. The old school building is now used as the lower grade classroom. A new concrete structure, originally intended as a dispensary/municipal office, is used as the upper grade classroom. The school lacks an adequate source of drinking water.

In spite of his handicap, the teacher appears to be doing an excellent job. The classes observed were well organized with clear objectives and a high degree of student participation. The teacher depends a great deal on his wife who serves as his reader for lesson planning and teaches several periods each day in the lower grades. The teacher also made extensive use of a tape recorder both as an aid in his planning and in classroom presentation. The tape recorder is now broken and has been returned to Koror for repair.



Request: It was requested that another tape recorder, with an adequate supply of batteries, be sent to the school as soon as possible. Eight door knobs are needed for the new school building. Two padlocks and four slide latches are also needed. The teacher would like 10 gallons of white oil base paint to paint the interior of the new classroom and school office.

A set of Dr. Suess books and any other library materials available to elementary schools in Palau were asked for. It was asked that the Education Department look into various means of providing a large water tank for the school. There is sheet metal available on the island to be used for gutters.

The last request was that the Education Department consider hiring the teacher's wife on either a part time basis or as a teacher's aide.

Sanitation: The Sanitation Officer made his routine inspections in the village. The results of the inspection are as follows:

1. **Houses:** a) He inspected 26 houses. Of these only 24 houses were occupied. Only three houses of the 24 had toilet facilities.

b) Most of these houses had yards which were found to be fairly clean. Coconut husks, leaves and cans were found around some of the premises.

c) Most of the houses had thatch roofs which are not good as catchments for water. They supplement their drinking water with green coconuts.

2. **Wells:** A few wells were noted. These had been built by the Japanese. They were properly lined with coral stones and cased with cement up to about three feet. The water was found to be a little brackish but can be used for cooking, bathing and drinking.

3. **Fly breeding places:** Due to the nature of the island which does not have too many toilet facilities and which has many young opened coconuts lying around, the fly population increases.

4. **Mosquito breeding places:** Some 55 gallon drums were found with mosquito larvae. There were also empty cans and coconuts. The main breeding places, however, were the big trees, pandanus and damp coconut husks.

5. **Public hearing:** The Sanitation Officer made the following recommendation:

a) The houses should be cleaned both inside and outside. The houses should be well ventilated so that fresh air will be circulated and so that mosquitoes will not hide in the dark corners of the houses.

b) A refuse dump (hole) should be dug so that all noncombustible refuse could be buried.



Abai—Tobi Island

c) The wells should be cleaned and covered with plywood or screen. Drinking water should be boiled for 10 minutes and Chlorox recommended for use.

d) Toilets should be provided for each house.

Public Health: The Health Aide on Tobi gave an oral report to Dr. Swei of happenings since the last field trip. There were no new births and no deaths. There were no outbreaks of epidemic. There was one acutely ill patient. This patient died on the same day. One patient is 5 months pregnant. Medical supplies were delivered.

Public Works: The P.W. representative checked the generator and helped to install the radio which arrived on the ship.

Security: The chief of Tobi reported that in July, 1970, a Japanese fishing vessel went on the western side of the island to take coconuts. The islanders found a Japanese towel with writing and a slipper but the boat was not there.

Census: Two of the census team had stayed on Tobi on August 12 when the rest of the Field Trip Party went on to Helen's Reef. They had ample time to complete their survey during the long delay of the *M/V Ran Annim* at Helen's Reef.

The results were as follows:

AGES	NO of MALES	NO of FEMALES
0 - 10	7	4
11 - 20	6	5
21 - 30	3	1
31 - 40	2	2
41 - 50	2	2
51 - 60	3	4
61 - 70	7	7
71 - 80	3	4
81 - 90	1	0
TOTAL:	34	29

PCAA: Community Organizer/Eang, and South West Islands: There are arrangements between the people of Tobi and the PCAA for the building of 16 small canoes to better promote a sounder economy. The total value of these canoes will be \$800.00. The people of Tobi agree to build the canoes but they do not agree about the price. A written agreement should be made between the Angaur and the Tobi people. Then they will start building the canoes.

Economy: WCTC purchased 175 bags of copra and sold \$586.40 worth of goods.

During the hearing the young people of the island (boys and girls) unloaded the personal cargo from the ship. Once the meeting was finished the older men and even the women helped to load copra and unload cargo. The Field Trip Party assisted them as soon as they had lunch.

The Tobi people deserve commendation for their fine cooperation and community spirit.

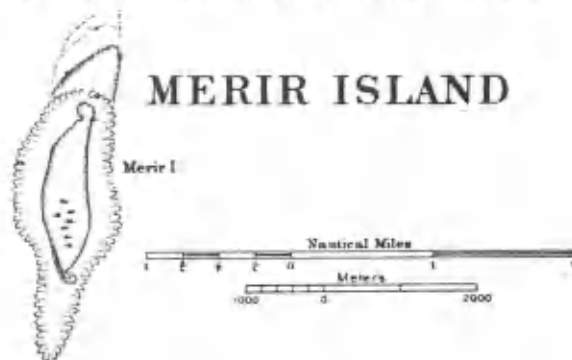
The copra was loaded by four o'clock just as heavy winds and rain started. We departed from Tobi at 6:48 p.m.

Pulo Anna, August 16

We left Tobi on August 15 at 6:48 p.m. We arrived at Pulo Anna at 6:26 a.m. Upon arrival we spotted a sailboat some five miles north of the island. It was having difficulty in the rough seas so we went to its rescue. The security procedures that followed are described separately in the security report. (see page 33)

One addition to the security report is added here in relation to the exact number of days the Indonesians stayed on the islands of Pulo Anna and Merir. The three survivors of the *Nisbah* had been on the island of Merir for twenty-three days. The crew of the *Tenagabaru* had been on Pulo Anna for eleven days and then on Merir for five days.

After the rescue of the Indonesians we made a fruitless attempt to land on Pulo Anna. It was too dangerous. Some of the students on the landing craft jumped into the water and swam across the reef. One of them wore very thick eyeglasses which were lost in the surf. Orue Tamol of PCAA swam ashore to check on emergencies. He swam back to the boat to notify us that the people were exceedingly short of food. Consequently, it was decided that we should make another attempt to land on Pulo Anna the next day on the return trip from Merir in order to land the food supply of the Pulo Anna people which was on the ship.



Merir, August 16

We arrived at 3:06 p.m. The following members of the Field Trip Party went ashore for security and other purposes: the Field Trip Officer, the Conservation Officer, the Security Officer, the Agriculturalist and the Sanitation Officer. The security findings were reported in the security report.

Sanitation: The purpose of the visit to this island was the complaint of mosquitoes. They breed in the swamp in the center of the island. The water was found to be brackish at high tide but there were many freshwater plants around. There was a strong possibility that the mosquito-fish would thrive. If the use of these fish fails to reduce the mosquitoes then a drainage trench might be tried.

Conservation: The following were done by the Conservation Officer:

1. He counted 22 turtle nests, only green sea turtles. Four green turtle shells were found. One of the shells was undersize. In the old house on the island there were many turtle egg shells which were used by the Indonesians for food.

2. The Conservation Officer put thirty mosquito-fish (*compusia*) in the swampy area of the island with the hope that this would decline the mosquito population. Many land and helmet crabs were seen on the island.

Pulo Anna - August 17

We arrived at Pulo Anna at 6:00 a.m. when the tide was high. The Agriculturalist and the Conservation Officers went ashore first to go about their duties. We concentrated first on discharging cargo on Pulo Anna and then loading copra. When this was completed other members of the Field Trip Party went about their duties. There being no big population on this island, no public hearing was held. The Field Trip Officer and Assistant Field Trip Officer talked with the Tamol. Tamol made the following requests for his people:

1- He stressed the importance of having a radio on the island and wanted us to resubmit his request for a two-way radio.

2- He wanted Public Works to blast a channel into the reef.

3- Tamol's house was completely destroyed by a recent storm on the island and he requested that help be given him by the Administration in order that he might be able to rebuild his home.

4- The water catchment tank which is about 20'x20' needs a cover to keep out mosquitoes and debris. He would like assistance for this from the Administration.

Agriculture: The Agriculturalist followed up the report that a storm had destroyed the food plants on the island. The following are the crops which in his estimation were damaged by a small tropical storm or possibly a twister (tornado) in July.

bananas	70% damage
papaya	20% damage
breadfruit	2 trees
coconut	4 trees
<i>callaphylum inophylum</i>	1

The house of the Tamol of Pulo Anna was completely destroyed by the *callaphylum*. In general all the crops are in good condition except for the above.

Education: The Education Representative unloaded and checked the school supplies for Pulo Anna school, inspected the school facilities and discussed possible improvements with the teacher.

The school building is a wood-tin structure of recent construction. Except for the window screening, the building is in good repair. The screening has rusted and come loose from the window frames.

The teacher plans to renovate an old tank to use as a water catchment. The tin delivered is to be used for guttering and for covering the tank. The plywood brought on this trip will go into shelving and an additional blackboard.

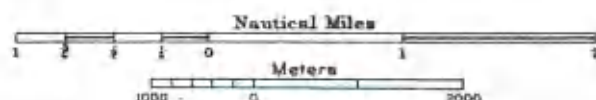
The only request that the Pulo Anna teacher made was that he be supplied with nylon screening to repair the screening at the school. He would need approximately 100 feet of 3 foot wide screen.

Census: The following are the results of the census survey of the island.

AGES	NO of MALES	NO of FEMALES
0 - 10	6	3
11 - 20	2	2
21 - 30	1	0
31 - 40	0	1
41 - 50	1	0
51 - 60	0	0
61 - 70	0	1
71 - 80	1	1
TOTAL:	11	8

PCAA: Community Organizer/Eang, and South West Islands: He made a survey of a possible new channel which could be made on the southwest end of the island. He measured with fishing line which he brought back to Koror to be measured with a measuring tape. He will submit it to Public Works with a request for the channel.

PULO ANNA ISLAND





Islanders ready copra for transfer to the M/V Ran Annim.

Economy: WCTC purchased 86 bags of copra and sold \$226.05 worth of goods to the people, especially rice and flour.

Sonsorol - August 17

We made a second stop at Sonsorol to let off cargo which was still on the ship and to pick up copra and passengers.

Public Health: One pregnant girl returned with her guardian who was accompanied by four children.

Concluding Remarks

The Field Trip Officer would like to thank Dr. Swei for his fine cooperation, advice and assistance throughout the field trip.

The Field Trip Officer would like to commend the following people to the District Administrator for their exceptional cooperation and hard work during the whole trip. They performed work beyond the call of duty in good spirit and without complaint. These are:

James Ngrakebou	Agriculture
Becky Madraisau	Conservation
Bill Norris	Public Defender
Tokiwo Sumang	Sanitation
Rekemesik Rengil	Public Works

Another person who worked exceedingly hard throughout the trip though he didn't have to was James Greivell who was a passenger. To him we would like to express our gratitude for his assistance. We would also like to thank those other passengers who assisted in the operations when they were able to.

It was observed on all the islands that there are many more coconuts than the people of the islands can make into copra. This can be seen by the many, too

many, seedlings in sight everywhere. It is suggested that some arrangement be made between the unemployed people of Koror and the South West Islanders to allow Koror people to go to the islands to help work all the copra. Compensation one way or another could be made.

It was further observed that the whole process of the field trip is exceedingly slowed down because the support boats used to carry the copra and cargo to and from the ship are too small and the motors not strong enough. It is suggested here that each future field trip vessel carry a larger flatbottom support boat much like the small M-boat type boats being built by the Palau boat yard.

It is further suggested that WCTC provide more than one loading net to lift the copra out of the support boats. It is further suggested that WCTC provide labor to bring the copra to the ships since they are the one purchasing the copra and gaining the profit.

Lastly I would like to congratulate the Field Trip Party for their fine spirit of charity which they demonstrated by donating money, clothes, and cigarettes to the Indonesians who were rescued. Some members of the M/V Ran Annim crew also participated in this, as also did some of the passengers. To them also I would like to express my gratitude. The amount of money collected was \$60.00 plus a lot of clothing which was handed to the District Administrator's office to be used by the Indonesians.

Respectfully submitted,

Raymond J. Boucher
Raymond J. Boucher, Field Trip Officer

Memorandum

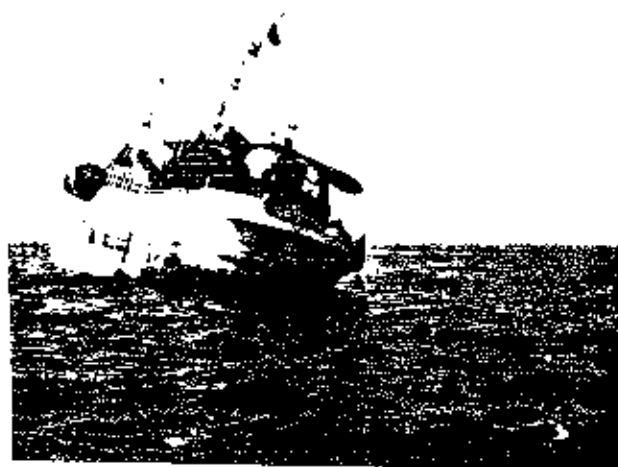
To : District Administrator
 From : Field Trip Officer
 Subject : Security Measures Taken, Southwest Islands
 Field Trip

The *M/V Ran Annim* was buffeted by heavy winds and rains after its routine field trip stop at Sonsorol. Pulo Anna was bypassed. We arrived at Tobi on Aug. 12th at 9:48 a.m. The seas were still rough but we managed to land part of the field trip party to go about their duties on Tobi while the *M/V Ran Annim* sought shelter in Helen Reef and the conservation and agriculture personnel on the field trip performed their duties on Helen Island.

As we arrived at Helen Reef at 3:16 p.m. on August 12, 1970, it was noticed that there were three ships on the reef. One had been there since the early 1960's. Another had been there since early this year. It was decided that we would investigate the third. The *M/V Ran Annim* entered the lagoon and lowered one of the field trip speed boats. At 4:00 p.m. the investigation party, comprised of the field trip officer (Ray Boucher), Captain Rodrigo Santos, the Security Officer (Sgt. Nisang Tewid), the Conservation Officer (Mr. Becky Madraisau), WCTC boat operator and one assistant, headed for the third vessel.

Upon arrival at the south end of the reef, it was obvious that the ship, a long line Japanese (Okinawan) fishing vessel, was caught on the outside of the reef. We circled the ship twice to notice any possible opposition and took polaroid pictures of the ship. The only ship markings on the ship were YFR 3 858.

• *Korvo Maru No. 1 off Helen Reef. 1970*



We boarded the ship at 4:30 p.m. without opposition. The captain of the vessel, Captain Bunei Nishimei, was very courteous and cooperative. The ship's papers were investigated and taken by the Security Officer. The ship had no log.

The name of the ship is the *Korvo Maru No. 1* with markings YFR 3-858 and registration number 787, Okinawa. It is a fifty ton vessel used for long line fishing.

On board the vessel were 16 people, four of whom were fisheries students. The students and the captain had passports. No visas for the Trust Territory were possessed. The other members of the crew had their names on the immigration and police clearance records from Okinawa. These were part of the ship's papers and records.

As mentioned earlier, the ship was reefed on the outside of the reef. The crew had thrown many things overboard including the six tons of fish which it had caught. The purpose for this action was to attempt to float the ship at high tide. They had been on the reef for two days and had been unsuccessful in their attempt.

Sgt. Tewid was not able to communicate satisfactorily with the captain of the vessel. Captain Nishimei and his Chief Mate were taken under custody and brought to the *M/V Ran Annim*. The ship's papers, charts and compass were also taken.

Once we were back on the *M/V Ran Annim*, we requested the help of Mr. Felipe Bismark who was the most fluent in Japanese. The captain told us that the ship had been on a training expedition. They had been fishing south of Helen Reef and were on their way back to Okinawa where they were due on August 30th. The ship's papers confirmed this. The alleged causes of the reefing were the equatorial currents, the severe storm which hit the area and the malfunctioning of the ship's radar. The ship's charts confirmed most of this. The puzzling thing was that the ship contained sophisticated navigational instruments including Loran and other direction finding equipment. The captain explained that this had been his first trip on this particular vessel and he did not know how to use the equipment even though he had been a captain for some fifteen years.

Captain Nishimei also informed us that his radio was also malfunctioning but he was able to fix it and radio for help. He was unable to make direct contact with Okinawa. He was able to contact the *Muthumi-Mar No. 1* which was south of the equator and too far to help. The *Muthumi-Mar* relayed the information to Okinawa. A rescue ship was due on August 14th.

The Conservation Officer counted six yellow fin tuna in the hatches. These we were made to understand were being kept for food. Eighteen trochus and some giant clam muscle were also in evidence. These also had been taken for food. The trochus were still alive and the Conservation Officer ordered them to be thrown back into the water.

Upon completion of our investigation, the investigating team decided that the reefing was accidental. It was reported as such to Koror. The District Administrator instructed us to assist the vessel and then release it.

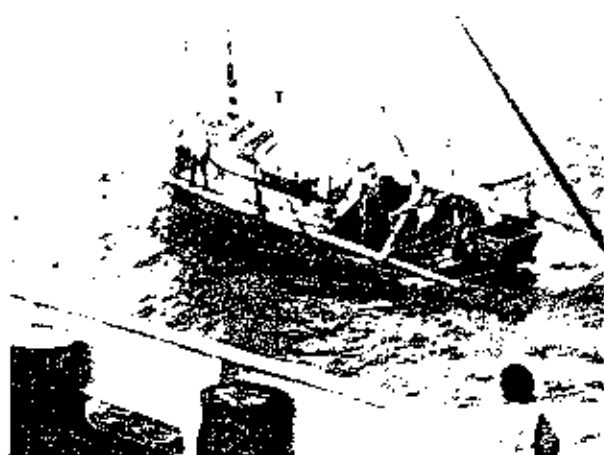
On August 13th, at 9:45 a.m., after having received the instructions of the District Administrator, we informed Captain Nishime of the decision. We departed from the *M/V Ran Annim*. Upon arrival at the south end of the reef we saw that the *Koryo Maru* had freed itself during the night. It was drifting about two miles out. We waved it in but were unsuccessful in attempting to put Captain Nishime and his Chief Mate aboard. We instructed him to have his ship move to the channel and enter the reef.

Captain Nishime wanted us to help him pick up his fishing line which was all over the reef. We made an attempt but the tide was moving in fast and it was too hazardous. We brought the captain back to the *M/V Ran Annim* and then sent him to his ship when it entered the lagoon.

The *M/V Ran Annim* set anchor close to Helen Island so that the Conservation and Agricultural Officers could go about their duties on Helen Island. In the meantime the Japanese crew tied their ship to the *M/V Ran Annim* so that they could evaluate the damage done to their ship by the reef. They made necessary repairs which would enable the vessel to reach Okinawa safely. They informed us, however, that their keel was cracked.

On August 14th in the morning we accompanied the fishing vessel to the place where they had thrown their lines and other things overboard. We stood by as they collected their things. At one point they hauled a mass of fishing line, which they managed to float, to the *M/V Ran Annim*. We lifted the mass of line out of the water with one of the *M/V Ran Annim*'s booms and put it on the Japanese vessel.

By 4:00 p.m. on August 14th, the *Koryo Maru* had gathered all its things and started on its way back to Okinawa. We anchored in the shelter of the reef overnight.



Indonesian sailboat, Tena

Indonesian sailboat off of Pulo Anna

On August 16th, as we approached Pulo Anna, a sailboat was noticed in the rough waters about five miles north of the island. We bypassed Pulo Anna in order to help the sailboat which was obviously in need of help. It was then 6:30 a.m. As we approached the vessel, we saw that it was an Indonesian sailing vessel. When we approached they pulled down their sails and made signs for us to approach. John Albis, who speaks Indonesian, was asked to try to communicate with them. The Field Trip Officer was able to communicate with one of them in Pidgin English. Several of them were asked to come aboard the *M/V Ran Annim* so that we might communicate more easily. They did come aboard. We found out:

1. They had been on Pulo Anna for eleven days where the people shared their food with the Indonesians. Three of them had been on Merir for a much longer time.

2. Three of those on board the vessel were rescued from Merir. All told there were thirteen on board the vessel which we were helping: 10 crew members and 3 survivors of another vessel.

3. The ship's name was the *Tenagabaru* whose home port was Tarnate in Indonesia. The name of the other vessel from which the three survivors came was the *Nisbah* whose home port was Menado. The *Tenagabaru* had left its last port of call on July 1, 1970. The *Nisbah* had left its last port of call on June 6 with fifteen people aboard. They were both copra carrying vessels. The *Tenagabaru* was carrying copra from Morotai to Menado which normally took four days and five nights. It was sent off course by heavy winds.

4. The *Tenagabaru*'s only navigational instrument was a 3-inch compass with a broken glass plate. There were no charts.

After much discussion and much thought, the Indonesian crew and captain decided to abandon their ship, especially after an unsuccessful attempt was made to pull the vessel back to Pulo Anna. They put all their personal belongings, the vessel's sails and other movable things on the *M/V Ran Annim*. At 9:45 a.m. we helped the Indonesians set fire to their vessel which was still full of copra in order to prevent the sailboat from being a hazard to navigation.

We then proceeded to Pulo Anna to complete our field trip. We later learned from the Pulo Anna people that they had shared their food with the Indonesians. The Indonesians, however, made themselves very useful to the islanders. They helped clean up the school grounds, make and sack copra, fix the copra drying shed and one of the walkways through the swamp to the shed. They also cut up a tree that had fallen on one of the houses during a wind storm. In short, they had earned their keep.

When we landed on Merir we first found a sea-going canoe which had been under construction and then abandoned. In the large house up on the hill near the beach some turtle shells were found, as well as shells of turtle eggs. We later questioned the

Indonesians about our finds. We found out that the canoe had been the work of the three survivors who had been rescued by the *Tenagabaru*. Our other finds were things which they were able to catch in order to survive.

When the *M/V Ran Annim* caught up with the *Tenagabaru* it was attempting to sail against the wind and was returning to Pulo Anna. The Pulo Anna people had told them that the Sonsorol people had a radio for outside communication. The Indonesians had made an attempt to reach Sonsorol to make their plight known to the outside world.

The Indonesians stayed aboard the *M/V Ran Annim* for the remainder of the field trip and even helped with the operation. Without their help we probably would not have been able to complete the field trip as quickly as we did.

Upon arrival in Koror, the Indonesians were delivered into the custody of Mr. Haruo I. Remeliik, the Deputy District Administrator, and the Constabulary.

Respectfully submitted,

Raymond J. Boucher
Raymond J. Boucher, Field Trip Officer

M/V Ran Annim returns to Kt



Document S1970D

A new voyage to Micronesia, by Kenneth Brower

Source: Kenneth Brower and Robert Wenkam. Micronesia: Island Wilderness (San Francisco, Friends of the Earth and Seabury Press, 1975).

A new voyage to Micronesia, by Kenneth Brower

The **Hoi Kung** is a freighter in the small fleet of ships that serves the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. She is 360 feet long, with a gross tonnage of 4454.55. She was commissioned in 1964 and was originally rigged to run Chinese between various ports of Asia. She carried 900 deck passengers. On her forward deck is a row of the huge rice boilers that fed the Chinese, now used for storage. None of the ship's present officers was with her on those days, but Hans, the Chief Engineer, recently left a ship with a similar mission. That ship ran Moslem pilgrims from Bangkok to Jeddah. In the beginning, Hans says, when a pilgrim died the ship's captain made a little ceremony of stopping and committing the body to the sea, but soon they were running far behind schedule. After several days at sea the bodies were just dumped over. When the ship arrived in Arabia there were exactly as many passengers as had started out, the births balancing the deaths.

So the Joseph Conrad days in these seas have never ended. The **Hoi Kung** is a new ship, with modern nautical equipment, but the view from her bridge, down to deck, where 900 people somehow found room to sleep, and lined up at mealtimes before the boilers waiting for their rice, cannot have been very different from what Lord Jim saw.

The ship is now chartered by Micronesia Interocean Lines to carry freight between the west coast of the United States and the ports of the Trust Territory. It is not a profitable run, and the ship may well return some day to her old business.

The **Hoi Kung** is as friendly to allegory as the **Pequod** was. As on Ahab's ship, the inhabitants of the **Hoi Kung** are of many races. Her officers are Norwegian, her stewards Hong Kong Chinese, her passengers for the most part elderly Americans, and her crew Micronesian. Since "Micronesia" is just a convenience for cartographers, and embraces a number of very different islands and peoples, the crew is more correctly Marshallese, Ponapean, Trukese, Chamorro, Yapese, and Palauan. There is one crewman from Kapingamarangi, an island culturally part of Polynesia but politically part

of Micronesia's Trust Territory. Painted on the **Hoi Kung's** stack is the emblem of the ship line, a circle of six white stars against a blue field. Each star stands for a district of the Trust Territory, a cluster of islands. As microcosm for Micronesia, the ship is not quite perfect. It would be better if the officers were American. The allegorical significance of the Chinese stewards is puzzling, if indeed there is any.¹ A whale to chase would help the story, but there is none. The ship's voyages are without climax or satisfactory conclusion, and the fate of the voyagers is left in the air. Yet perhaps that is appropriate to a place where the future is so much in doubt.

The passengers spend their days on the boat deck, sitting or reclining on foldable furniture. They read mysteries or sleep. They burn, peel, and freckle in the sun. Aft of the passengers, separated from them by the valley of the central hold, are the crew's quarters, outside which the Micronesians, who are off duty sleep on woven mats or sit on coiled hawsers. They talk, or stare out to sea, or with downcast eyes regard the deck while fellow crewmen cuts their hair.

The attitudes of the voyagers change little, from day to day. On the boat deck the smallest passenger, a baby girl, plays in her crib. Her father sleeps in a lounge chair nearby. The baby will be taken in soon, but the father, if he holds to his daily customs, will stay in the sun for hours longer. His lobster-red skin has exhausted its power to peel. The red simply deepens briefly, in protest, after each exposition. The father is a San Francisco hairdresser. He knows that too much sun is bad for him, but he hates his pale winter's face, and lying in the lounge chair he fights his battle against it.

At the very stern of the ship a Micronesian sleeps. He lies on his back in the shade, for at this stage of his life more sun would be superfluous. He is dark enough already. Under him is a piece of cardboard that he uses for a mat. His feet are turned outward, his hands folded on his big stomach, and his heavy stubbled face is in repose. Tied to the railing above his head is a trolling line. The line runs out into the ship's wake, where the lure bobs to the surface now and again, chasing the ship. Nearby lies a second Micronesian, a younger, smaller and more fastidious man. He is clean-shaven, and sleeps in palid shorts on a woven mat. His head rests on a tiny pillow, placed exactly at the mat's center. The dark, raised welts of his bun marks—Micronesian men and women of several districts pledge their love by burning themselves with cigarettes—lie in a perfect row on his upper arm. Both men sleep soundly. If a fish had bit the trolling line, neither would have known about it.

The passengers are mostly retired people who discovered freighter travel late in life, and now spend much of their time at it. There is Howard, a retired brigadier general who was in biological warfare research during the world war. He has spindly legs, a wide waist, a thin brown, World War II Colonel's mustache, and small Nazi eyes. He smokes large cigars. Later in the voyage, in a port of Micronesia, Howard will see a Japanese fishing boat, its masthead unashamedly flying the rising sun, tied up next to an American LCT. He will be infuriated.

1 Ed. note: Not if they stood for other Asians, the Japanese.

"They let them dock there like that?" he'll ask, appealing to the heavens and the passengers around him. The tall photographer, Wenkam, will look at the general in amazement. "But the war is over," Wenkam will say. "We won!" The general will fall silent, to suck in frustration on his cigar.

There is the Canadian couple, both born on the prairies, where they spent hard lives. They are weary now, and amenable to any argument. The general position makes sense to them, and so does Wenkam's.

There is the small man from southern California who plucks viciously at his wife under the dinner table whenever she says anything, hissing at her, his face contorted by rage. She often leaves the table in tears. When the Californian is not barrassing his wife, he is suspiciously watching Wenkam, who sits next to him. He waits for Wenkam to knock something else over with one of the wild, expansive, conversational gestures of his long arms.

There is the old Danish gentleman who owns a papaya plantation in Hawaii. He is eighty years old, the oldest of the passengers, yet the wittiest. He is a brave punster, and a proposer of beautiful toasts. He is never drawn into shipboard feuds, and he alone of all the passengers has nothing bad to say about his fellows. He is tolerant of the imperfection in the others. He seems even to appreciate the imperfections.

There are several passengers who join the ship along the way. Three Army wives embark at Guam. The three are ill at ease, and seek one another's company. They are all traveling without their husbands for the first time, and perhaps they are uncomfortable in that. It seems likely from their whispered conversations and other evidence, that each is debating whether to admit to her cabin the ship's wolf, one of the Norwegian officers. Each decides against it, with some relief, apparently.

There is the somber American girl from the loveliest atoll in the world. She and her husband have been contract teachers on one of the islands of the atoll's broad circumference. They were both Midwesterners, and both from Calvinistic sects, his the more antediluvian. For months at a time on the island he did not touch her—whether from religious conviction or from aversion to her—she could not tell. She would walk alone to the island's ocean side to watch the sunset. When the sunset faded on the ocean, she would make the ten-minute walk across the breadth of the island to the lagoon side, where she watched the moonrise. The moonlight on the lagoon's calm waters was so beautiful she could not believe she was there. She asked her husband, again and again, to watch with her and finally he consented. He spent the sunset throwing rocks at crabs. She is leaving him now, to start over again.

Among the crew is the Yapese sailor who left Yap as a young man and has spent sixteen years at sea to earn the money to buy a store in Yap, so that he can return to Yap again. There are the four Chamorro boys, Ben, Tony, Joaquin, and Felipe, who keep a stash of marijuana concealed in their cabin. Each afternoon, when they have finished their shifts, the Chamorros shut the cabin door and begin their evening ritual. They winnow the marijuana, roll, light up, and pass it around. As the room fills with smoke

they grin at one another, content and unworried, secure here, observed only by the big ship's cockroaches that skitter along their walls.

Somewhere between California and the Marshall Islands, a passenger decides he knows the **Hoi Kung** as well as he knew his crib, or the climbing tree in his backyard. Every brass knob, every cabin door, every face is familiar. The virtues of each deck chair have been weighed, and a favorite picked. All the books on the two shelves of the ship's library have been handled, and several have been read. Then, strolling the deck one night, the passenger looks in through a porthole to see the galley for the first time. It happened so for one passenger, at least. The passenger looked in. The Chinese cooks and stewards are hunkered there, beyond the steamy porthole glass, eating with chopsticks from bowls of rice and fish. They wore shorts and T-shirts cut differently from the Western kind. The ample neck openings of the shirts exposed much collar-bone, and seemed to give the stewards plenty of room to breathe. The sleeves were longer than the Western kind. They reached down the slim stewards' biceps almost to their elbows. The material was a very thin cotton that looked as if it should feel good against the skin. Somehow it was the T-shirts that made this unexpected country, glimpsed through porthole glass steamily strange.

In this unexpectedness of the galley the ship was indeed like the world, full of new corners for jaded passengers. The passenger turned from the porthole and resumed his walk. A ship is like the world also, the passenger decided, in that a lesson seems to hang above the voyage, never quite to the grasped. Sometimes the lesson seems simply to be that, like all ships, this is a ship of fools. Sometimes the lesson seems to have to do with destinations. It is difficult, sailing on a tropical ocean at night, to believe there is a destination. Or that the enterprise makes any sense. The passenger reached a stairway, and climbed to higher decks.

Standing at the rail of the boat deck, looking down from its height at the night sea, he felt the ship under him. Forward was the dim figure of the officer on watch, who was dressed in his whites, and had just stepped out of the bridge to flip a cigarette into the sea. The officer looked for a moment at the stars. Then he returned to the wheelhouse. The deck was deserted again.

The ship was not so wide that the passenger, looking forward, couldn't see the foam, struck from the sea by the wedge of the ship's prow, slide by him to port and starboard. His peripheral vision caught both foam margins at once, and they streamed away white-ly at the corners of his eyes. The ship's few lights illuminated only this water disturbed by the ship's passage. The lace of foam was ghostly, partly reflected ship's light and partly phosphorescence. Waiting beyond the edge of the lace was a lightless ocean, and out there, except for an occasional glimmer as a small wave broke on itself and caught the light, everything was black. The ship's milky margins were reassuring in the night, but only a little, as the galaxies of the known universe are reassuring. Aware that he was on a vessel, and was proceeding into darkness, the passenger took his elbows from the rail, and strolled aft. He paused at the ventilator shaft to the engine room, and looked down. The tremendous heat rising from the shaft was a shock after the balmy night

wind. The passenger blinked his eyes to remoisten them. Far below him was the pit of the engine room. As nearly as he could judge, the engines labored beneath the level of the sea. Leaning over the shaft, the passenger's head had entered a column of noise suddenly harsh and tympanic. Elsewhere on the ship the sound of the engine was muted, and was so engraved on a voyager's consciousness, waking and sleeping, that he heard the engines only when they changed speed. Now, in the blast of heat and noise, the passenger felt himself looking in, as if through a door accidentally opened to him, at a secret furnace, at the heart of the vessel, its moving principle.

There was a catwalk around the engines, along which a shirtless Micronesian walked, oiling the rocker-arms. He gave the working parts of each arm squirts of oil, in a fast, unvarying sequence, and he repeated the sequences for each of the eight arms. The Micronesian was a young man with hair and a beer belly. Or maybe it was a taro-and-fish belly. He moved mechanically down the row of pistons, like a machine himself except for the evidence, in his hair and stomach, that he was at least in part a sensual man. The passenger could not decide how to interpret the Micronesian. Was the task of tending the engine hopeless, and was the crewman Sisyphus? Or was he, with his wild hair, someone like Prometheus, full of promise and hope? The passenger, in watching the sequence of lubrication, found himself strangely hypnotized. He shook free of that, and strained to reach a decision. He could not. He waited for the Micronesian to give some other sign. The Micronesian gave none. The man finished his oiling, and passed from sight.

Document S1972A

Pagan Island, by Manuel Sablan

Source: Article in the Micronesian Reporter, 2nd quarter 1972.

[Attached]

ON THE GO

by Manuel C. Sablan

PAGAN

Of the fourteen islands of the Northern Marianas strung out along 400 miles north of Guam, only six are regularly inhabited: Rota, Tinian, Saipan, Alamagan, Agrihan and Pagan. This last-named island, Pagan (pronounced PAH-gun), is a beautiful land of black-sand beaches, volcanoes and hot springs at which our field trip ship called earlier this year on its regular journey to the small islands which are home for only a few score Marianas citizens. Pagan residents number about five-and-a-half dozen, all living in the village at Shomushon, southwest of towering Mt. Pagan, one of five slumbering volcanic craters whose slopes blend into one another to form the island.

Pagan is shaped roughly like a frying pan, ten miles long and from four miles wide at the "pan" end narrowing to a half mile at the "handle." At either end stand the major volcanoes, each nearly 1,900 feet above sea level, each higher than Saipan's Tagpochau: Mt. Pagan in the center of the main body of the island to the north, and South Volcano, with four separate cratered cones near the southern end of the Sengan (south) peninsula. The geologists say the island's volcanic history probably began about 20-million years ago. The most recent eruption was in 1930.

There are two ways to get to Pagan: by Trust Territory field trip ship, once every two or three months, and by charter Air Pacific flight, landing at the Seabee-renovated Japanese fighter strip. We arrived by ship, with the first sight that greeted us the majestic volcanoes. Either way you get there, you'll find enough to do for a day or two of exploring this natural paradise: no electricity, cars or hotels, but lots of friendly people, many of whom will readily act as a guide for the walking tour around the island.

The boat docks at a small wharf on the Bandera peninsula. One of the first things you'll notice there are the

remains of a miniature Japanese temple. At the time of the Japanese surrender of Pagan at the end of the war, there were as many as 2,900 Japanese troops and other Japanese nationals on Pagan in addition to 300 Saipanese contract copra workers and about 100 natives of Pagan.

A short walk to the east brings you to the village at Shomushon where we counted sixty-six residents at the time of our visit. From the village, the visitor can set out on a tour that will take him from fantastic black-sand beaches to the top of a fuming volcano in a couple of hours.



The best of the island's 22 beaches are on the west side of the island, two of them quite near the village. The blue, sparkling water and white foam of breaking waves against the black sands invite the visitor to enjoy a cool dip. Other beaches on the island are excellent for skin diving, and plentiful reef fish provide targets for the sportsman's spear.

But Pagan has inland waters, too, and another few minutes walk to the north brings you to Lagoon Lake, close to the shore, with waters as deep as 65 feet, safe for swimming. On the south, east and north sides of Lagoon Lake are steep ridges; a bar to the west, rising about 30-feet above sea level, separates the lake and the ocean by about 500-feet. Farther to the north and accessible by a trail, is Sanhalom (Inner) Lake, a large, circular lake in a hidden valley that presents another breath-taking vista. Sanhalom Lake is fed by hot mineral springs, and the soothing waters are a welcome relief after the lengthy hike.

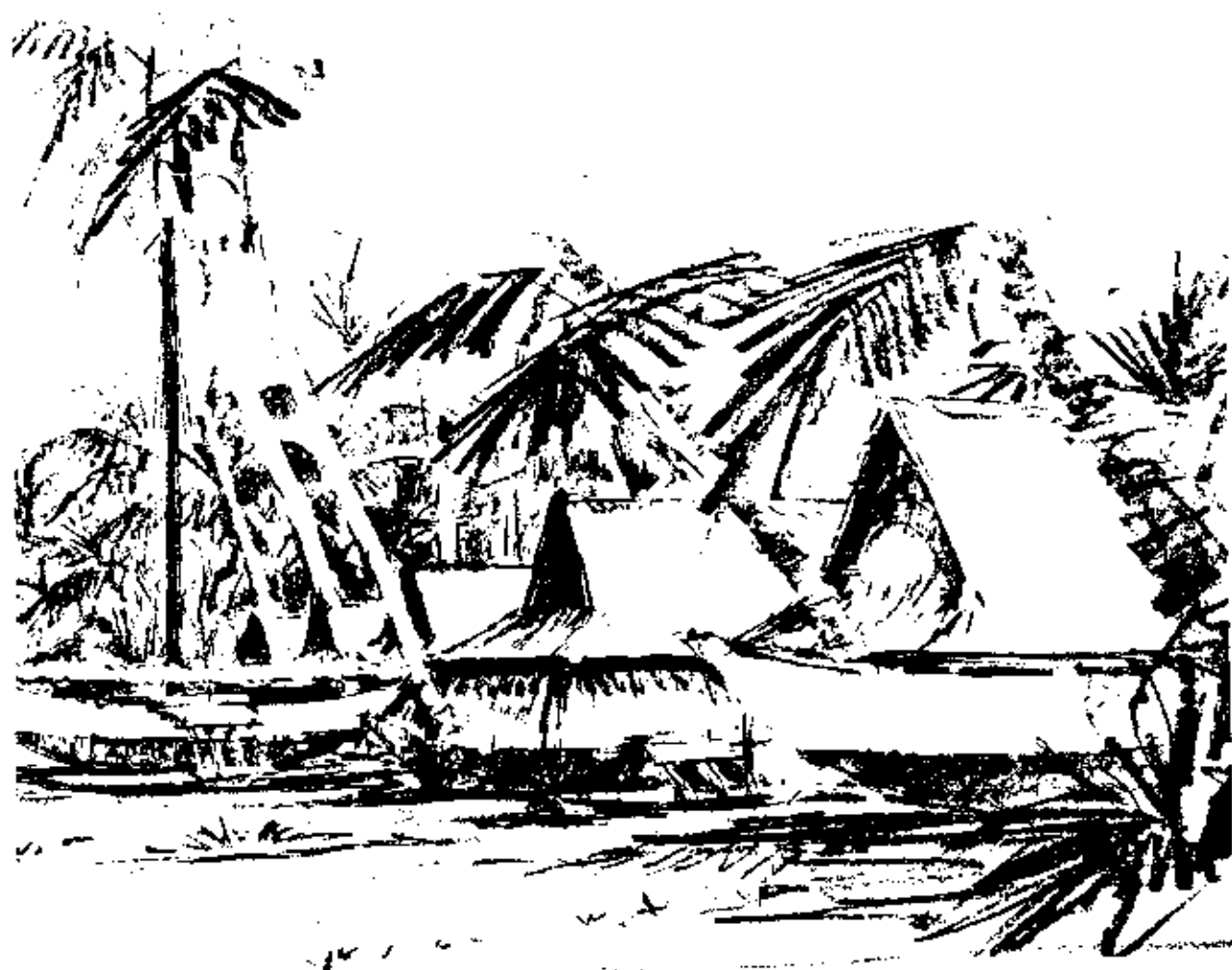
Along the way to the hot springs lake, hikers pass through the remnants of the old Lagoon Village, home for 100 or so residents in the early 1950s. A recent land classification study of the island has pointed out that the present location of the villagers, near the air strip, is good agricultural land. For this reason it has been suggested that the residents move back to the previous village site, and the present site be given over to crops.



Looking toward Maru and Togari mountains on Pagan's southern peninsula.

Pagan's inner lake, fed by hot mineral springs.







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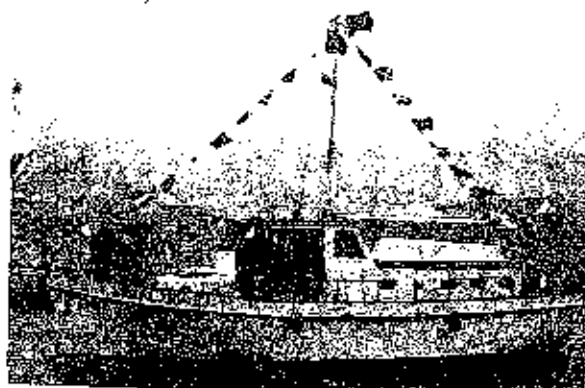
Liebenzell mission report on the loss of M/V Chen at Puluwat

Source: Article in Currents magazine, No. 10, October 1973.

Truk—M. V. Chen lost

Can it be true? The Chen's first trip to the unreachable islands between Truk and Yap became her last one.

The boat was tossed from one side to another throwing people and equipment all around. Each surf-breaker shook the hull all the way through. Men from Puluwat risked their lives trying to put out all available anchors. With hammer and chisel the most valuable things were dismantled. Due to her position on the reef and the outgoing tide, all attempts to free her were fruitless...



Upon radio contact with Truk the government arranged for a ship to be diverted to the area. On August 12th the crew-members and 19 passengers were picked up. As there was already a hole in the side and the pumps would not have been sufficient to keep her afloat, the Chen could not be taken in tow...

Upon return to Truk, negotiations with the government in Saipan as well as with the Navy on Guam about the possible salvage of the boat began immediately but without positive results. The former is not yet equipped for such tasks and the latter is not allowed to do it, since there is a commercial salvage company on Guam. If the hole can be patched and the boat towed, their estimate is \$26,000; yet, an unsuccessful trip would still be half of that amount.

Once before, these islands demanded sacrifice. In 1905, due to a storm, not only a boat but also the lives of Rev. Schnelling [sic] and some of his sailors were lost. His grave is at Eauripik, an island west [sic] of Woleai. How thankful are we that there were no casualties this time. However, how shall the work continue? Will it be possible without further sacrifices whether they are human or material?

...
[Rev.] Peter Ermel

Editor's Note - Word was received that all efforts to salvage the Chen were futile. On returning to the site, the Chen was found destroyed by the pounding surf.

Document S1975C

Chowanoc cruises through islands

Source: Article in the Micronesian Reporter, 2nd quarter 1975.

[Attached]

Chowanoc Cruises Through Islands

as told to Derson Ramon
by Jim Bateman

The USS Chowanoc (AFT-100) conducted a surveillance cruise to several islands of Ponape and Truk districts from March 21-April 3, 1975. The operational objectives of the cruise were to display a US Naval presence in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, to obtain information relative to violations of the Micronesian waters by foreign vessels and frequency of sighting of poacher, and to promote general goodwill and provide contingency medical evacuation.

The islands that the USS Chowanoc visited included Ponape, Mokil, Pingelap, Kusaie, and several islands in Truk District. Lieutenant Commander Jim Bateman (TTP1 LNO), Lieutenant Commander Jim Owens (30th Naval Construction Regiment Civic Action Team Officer), Lieutenant Commander Larry Gunney (USN orthopedic surgeon from Naval Regional Medical Center, Guam), and Journalist Seaman Apprentice (JOSA) Eric Honipe were among the passengers on board the ship when it departed Guam on March 21 for the lovely paradises of the Eastern Caroline Islands.

A brief call was made at the tropical rain-garden of Ponape to embark these additional passengers: Congressman Joab Sigrah of Kusaie; LTJG Saunders, Officer in Charge, Civic Action Team, Ponape; TT Chief of Community Development William Allen; and Mr. Denlong Jack, medex from Ponape. After the ship left Ponape a medical call was made at Mokil Atoll, some 90 miles east of Ponape, in response to an urgent request from Ponape Deputy District Administrator Bermin Weilbacher, to determine the condition of a ten-year-old girl injured in a propane lantern fire. The USS Chowanoc arrived at the 48-square-mile atoll at night and the isles could barely be seen in the darkness.

Children as well as adults thronged the shore on Pingelap to greet the ship and its crew.



Arrival of a ship at an outer island is treated as a holiday. People put away their daily chores just to see the ship and its crew.



Medex Denlong Jack of Pingelap (left) conversing with his parents, who he had not seen for fourteen years. When his family was located, a tearful reunion followed.





A USS Chowanoc crew member on watch in the pilot house of the ship.

Drinking fresh coconut milk for the first time was enjoyable for the captain (right) and officers.



The dock at Kusaie is a Mogas barge.



However, a two-man party went ashore on the pitch black evening of March 24 in local boats to assess the situation. After examining the girl, it was decided that medical evacuation was unnecessary, due largely to local Peace Corps dispensary aide Peter Smith's treatment.

On the next day, the Chowanoc arrived at Pingelap Atoll, geographically situated 160 miles east of Ponape. While visually inspecting the 68-square-mile atoll from seaward, it was learned that medex Demong Jack was a native of the atoll and had not seen his family on Pingelap for fourteen years. As a consequence, the Chowanoc moved to Pingelap's lee-side and awaited local craft. Jim Sidman, the Peace Corps dispensary aide on the atoll, came out in a local boat, and transportation ashore was arranged for the TTPI LNO, medex Jack, and JOSA Hompe. Mr. Jack's family was quickly located and a tearful reunion followed.

The USS Chowanoc departed Pingelap the same day, arriving Kusaie early the next day, March 26, and moored starboard side to a Mogas barge, which was also the dock. After arriving at the 42-square-mile island, located some 300 miles southeast of Ponape, a conference with District Administrator Representative Marvin Krebs was held and a tour of potential Civic Action Team's sites was conducted. Lieutenant James Howick, the Commanding Officer, and Lieutenant Commander Jim Bateman made a call on Mr. and Mrs. Palik in response to a request from Dr. Scott Wilson, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Guam, who is married to the Palik's daughter.

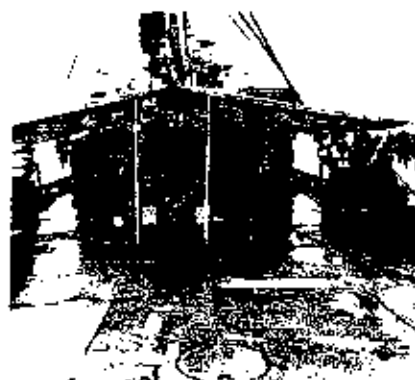
Everyone was delighted with the reception and hospitality cordially exhibited by the Kusaiens, especially at the ship's picnic held in the afternoon. A

Out of their plain curiosity, these Kusaie children came to the dock to see the ship.



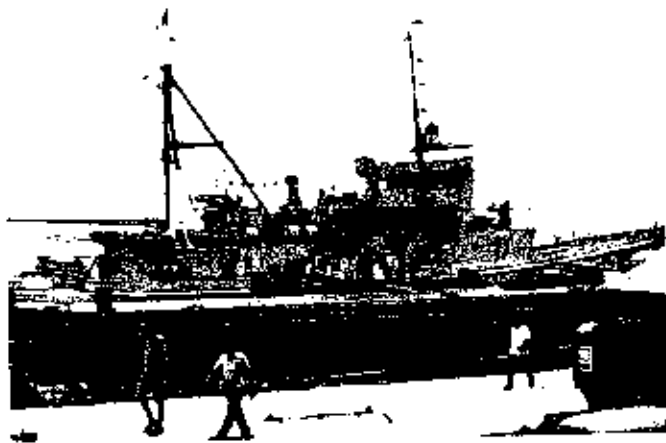


We were requested by Professor Scott Wilson of the University of Guam to visit his parents in law, Mr. and Mrs. Palik on Kusaie. Commanding Officer James Howick (left) and James Buteman meeting with Mrs. Palik.



Many local foods were given to the crew by the islanders as a token of island hospitality and appreciation. These bananas came from Kusaie.

Not having an airfield, Kusaie's "umbilical cord" to the outside world is the Mogas barge shown here.



After departing Kusaie, the ship cruised to Kapingamarangi, the southern-most island in the Trust Territory. There a picnic was held in which, for many children as well as adults, it was their first time to taste hamburgers and hotdogs.



The eighteen-foot-draft ship could not enter the narrow lagoon passage at Kapingamarangi so we rode the local canoes to the shore.



Eating a diet consisting mostly of rice, fish, coconut, and taro, the people of Kapingamarangi are among the healthiest people in the Pacific.

The Kapingamarangi Atoll Magistrate's Council gathered in a canoe house for a presentation in which the people were given sports equipment, camping gear, and assorted foodstuffs.



social call was made at the residence of Congressman Inab Sigrah, Congress of Micronesia, at Tafunsak, one of the four villages on the island. The TTPI LNO and the Commanding Officer of the Chowanoc, on Thursday morning March 27, presented community relations materials to the Chief Magistrate and the Council of Kusaie on behalf of Rear Admiral G.S. Morrison. Because of foul weather, sports events planned for the afternoon were cancelled. Shortly prior to our departure, Mrs. Palik made a return call on board and presented gifts. The Chief Magistrate's Council, as well as numerous private individuals, presented the crew with many baskets of local produce as a token of island hospitality and appreciation.



The ship, after departing Kapingamarangi, cruised to Truk, where the crew inspected several islands. Shown above is a Civil Action site on Fefan, Truk.

Modern, comfortable living accommodations are found in all the islands visited. This house is on Fefan.



An old remnant of a pre-World War II building still stands prominently on Daplan, Truk.

The USS Chowanoc departed Kusaie at 1600, March 27. After an uneventful cruise, the Chowanoc arrived at Kapingamarangi at 0800, March 29. Kapingamarangi, an atoll located some 400 miles south of Ponape and just 64 miles north of the Equator, has a population of about 500. While tying off the lee reef, a local outrigger canoe carrying the Chief Magistrate came out around 0830 to assist the ship in entering the reef channel. However, the Chowanoc was unable to enter the channel because of her eighteen-foot draft. Leaving the ship outside the reef, the TTPI LNO accompanied the Chief Magistrate in his outrigger canoe with the Chowanoc's captain and Dr. Guinney following in the ship's rubber boat.

A man paddling an outrigger canoe at Lukunor.



A brief presentation was made by the TTPI LNO, with school principal Apinel Mateak acting as interpreter, to the Kapingamarangi Atoll Council explaining the purpose of the visit. Shortly thereafter, a site was selected for an afternoon picnic for the crew and the islanders. During the afternoon of March 29, a community relations ceremony was held in which various sporting equipment, foodstuffs, and camping gear was presented to the people of Kapingamarangi. The Council then presented a broad array of handicrafts to the ship's company. Honoring an earlier request, the Chowanoc provided a projector, films, and screening crew to show movies Saturday evening. The entire population was on hand until the wee hours of the morning viewing the four films. The remainder of the crew, who had not visited the atoll, went ashore for general liberty on Easter Sunday.

The ship, after departure from Kapingamarangi, cruised to Truk. The ship's route was configured so as to inspect as many islands as possible en route to Moen. In this manner, the atolls of Nukunoro, Satawan, Lukunor, Etak, and Namoiuk were observed. While surveying Lukunor Atoll, people were seen waving from the beach as if they were signaling. A boat approached from the atoll, and its occupant said that there was a man ashore with a broken leg requiring medical assistance. With darkness approaching, Dr. Guinney, the Chowanoc's chief corpsman, and the TTPI LNO went ashore in a local boat to determine what assistance might be rendered. Upon examination of the patient, a decision was made to medically evacuate the patient to the Truk District Hospital on Moen. The USS Chowanoc's arrival in Moen, Truk, on April 1 officially concluded the surveillance cruise to the several islands of the Eastern Carolines.



A Civic Action Team inspecting an area on Fusan.

During the cruise we were always welcomed by friendly faces such as these children on Onnop island in Truk.



*Two of the crew
in a local boat
going ashore at
Lukunor Atoll,
Truk.*



Document S1975D

Nauru, the smallest, richest republic in the world, by Walter McQuade

Source: Article in Fortune magazine, December 1975.

Nauru is located just south of the equator, halfway between Honolulu and Melbourne, Australia. Its total area is eight and a half square miles—you can drive completely around it in twenty minutes. It is the smallest independent republic in the world. It is also, on a per capita basis, the richest.

What makes Nauru so rich is a lavish endowment of phosphate. Topographically, the island is shaped like a hat. On the brim live Nauru's 4,000 citizens, amid palm trees and ocean breezes. Packed into the crown of the hat are millions of tons of calcium phosphate—not the biggest supply in the world, but just about the purest. The Nauru Phosphate Corporation, which is owned by the government, digs the stuff out with huge power shovels. The vast majority of it is used as fertilizer by the farmers and ranchers of Australia and New Zealand. Since 1973 the market price of phosphate has risen at about the same velocity as the price of oil, increasing almost fivefold.

Rolling in royalties

Last year the island shipped out 1.9 million tons of phosphate at prices averaging about \$74 per ton. The production cost was under \$10 a ton, so the total profit was more than \$123 million, or nearly \$31,000 for every Nauruan citizen—man, woman, and child. On a per capita basis, those earnings put Nauru in the same league as the oil sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf. Last year, oil exports brought in \$51,000 per person in Abu Dhabi, \$9,000 in Kuwait.

Nauru's money from abroad was distributed according to a definite formula:

- \$3.50 per ton, or nearly \$7 million, to the Nauruans who own specific acreages of land being mined.

- \$23.60 per ton, or \$45 million, to the Nauru Phosphate Royalties Trust, to provide for the Nauruans after the phosphate is mined out.

- \$38 a ton, or \$72 million, to the local and national governments of Nauru.

Like the natives of other Pacific islands, the inhabitants of Nauru are conscious of property rights and they have been careful to keep track of who holds title to what land

on the phosphate plateau. A Nauruan man of property may be paid royalties of as much as \$230,000 for just three months of digging.

Eighteen years to go

The accumulated worth of the Phosphate Royalties Trust is estimated to be \$165 million. The trust funds are channeled to Melbourne, where they are invested by Douglas S. Rogers, a keen Australian financial man and one-time general manager of the Melbourne Stock Exchange. Rogers says his objective is to earn a 10 percent return on investment and, while disclosing no figures, he claims to have done considerably better than that recently.

The investments range from short-term securities and Wall Street growth stocks to a \$45-million skyscraper, Nauru House, now nearing completion in Melbourne. The office building, taller than any other in that bustling city, will be topped off with a palatial penthouse apartment for President DeRoburt, who, in pursuit of diplomatic and business deals for his country, spends more time abroad than he does in Nauru.

The investment trust, by Nauruan statute, cannot be tapped before the year 2000, or the time when the island's phosphate runs out, whichever comes first. At an average extraction rate of two million tons a year, the government calculates, the phosphate will be depleted in about 18 years. Meanwhile, the fund reinvests its earnings and grows fatter as more phosphate revenues are poured in. Eighteen years from now, the Nauruans can forget all about phosphate mining. If contributions to the fund are sustained and Rogers succeeds in earning 10 percent a year, Nauru's nest egg, in 1975 dollars, will be worth \$3.4 billion. Assuming a population increase of 50 percent by 1993, this sum will amount to half a million dollars for each living Nauruan.

What the government has done with its own share of the income is to supply the little country with facilities and services that much larger nations might envy. For example, Air Nauru is a superb airline with a cadre of forty-four pilots, mostly Australians, and shy, graceful island stewardesses. The government shipping company, Nauru Pacific Line, operates six vessels that ply the Pacific throughout Micronesia and on to Australia. The \$3.8-million Meneng' Hotel which would grace any resort, boasts a French chef who can satisfy the most sophisticated diner. The majestic new Nauru Civic Center cost \$5.1 million.

Traffic accidents are not approved

Even relatively poor people on Nauru live far above the standards of most Pacific islanders. In government-built houses at nominal rentals. There is only one main road, circling the island for twelve miles, and it is not yet completely paved; but Nauru's inhabitants have more than 2,000 automobiles, trucks, and motorcycles, including two Cadillacs and two Continentals—and many traffic accidents. None are reported in the local newspaper because, it is said, President DeRoburt disapproves. Two hospitals serve the island, and medical and dental care are free. Patients requiring the attention

of specialists are flown on Air Nauru to Melbourne. Last year the republic, in official gratitude, donated \$295,000 to the three Melbourne hospitals it patronizes.

Public schools that teach in English extend through the secondary level, and scholarships are available for colleges and technical schools abroad. There are no income taxes, and the island is duty-free, except for very small levies on cigarettes and spirits. Johnny Walker scotch costs less than \$3.50 pre imperial quart, the best English gin \$3. Food and clothing are sent in by the government's buying office in Melbourne, and prices are kept reasonable. Electricity is free.

With so much handed to them, what do Nauruans do? Not much that involves labor. Very few of them have to work. All gritty jobs, including the phosphate mining, are done by 1,600 workers imported on terms of indenture from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Tuvalu [Ellice] (1,000 miles to the south), and the Gilbert Island (600 miles to the east).

Life on Nauru reflects a heritage of centuries of cheerful, easy existence in a gentle climate, under coconut palms, beside an ocean leaping with fish. Neither financial prosperity nor political independence seems to have changed the inhabitants. The usual Nauruan is genial and uncompetitive. His family, on the open pattern, sprawls. His pigs roam the island unpenned. His chickens wander the brush, and roosters rouse everyone in the morning, even the President, when he is in residence in his statehouse.

Those who draw the big money from royalties are expected to donate to their clansmen, and do so. Generosity reigns supreme. Admire a Nauruan's beads and there is a danger he'll give them to you. Government stores have learned not to employ Nauruans at the checkout posts: they are embarrassed to charge their relatives, so often they don't.

But for all their generosity, the natives believe in Nauru for Nauruans. No non-citizen can even live on the island unless he is an employed expatriate or an indentured worker. Despite the excellent hotel, tourists are not invited, and visas are hard to come by. If a native woman marries a foreigner, her husband must keep his job in order to remain on Nauru. No non-Nauruan can own land or a business. And, of course, Nauruans own all the phosphate.

Happy with ha'pennies

Nobody is certain how the phosphate came to be on Nauru. The island is the peak of a submerged mountain thrust upward out of the seas long ago by vast earth-churning forces. The phosphate lies embedded between great towers of coral limestone. Some scientists believe that the coral was bare when it was pushed out of the water, and acquired the phosphate over the centuries from bird guano. Some think the deposits are of ancient geological origin. Nauru's modern history began around the turn of the century, when the island was a German protectorate. A visiting New Zealander picked up a rock, brought it to Australia—where it was analyzed—and discovered the island's secret. In the ensuing deal, his company got exclusive rights to mine Nauru's phosphate for 94 years, until the year 2000. The Germans got equity in the enterprise, plus royal-

ties. As for the native Nauruans, not consulted, they were to be paid a half-penny per ton for the rights to dig up their land. They seemed quite pleased by the arrangement.

This was the beginning of a blandly colonial operation that was to continue under various auspices, for more than half a century. Germany lost the island to Australia during World War I, and Nauru was made a mandate of the League of Nations. Then England, Australia, and New Zealand bought out the phosphate mining company, set up the British Phosphate Commission, and began mining phosphate at cost to their farmers back home. By 1933, Nauru was turning out one-eighth of the world's phosphate production.

The Phosphate Commission ran not just the mines but the whole island, natives included. Nauruan children were reequipped to go to mission schools. Indentured laborers were brought in, and neither they nor the natives were allowed in the white man's settlement after dark. The administrator appointed by the Australian government had penal powers and used them. In 1922, when a young Nauruan named Timothy Detudamo tried to start a cooperative that would compete with the Phosphate Commission's store, he was jailed two years for disturbing the peace. (Eventually Detudamo went on to become Head Chief, and if Hammer DeRoburt is the father of his country, Detudamo was the grandfather. Air Nauru's new Boeing 737 is named *Chief Timothy Detudamo*.)

Trapped in a war

In December 1940, Hammer DeRoburt was a teenager, home on vacation from school in Australia, when German ships appeared offshore and sank four freighters waiting to load phosphate, then returned a few days later to shell the whole place. DeRoburt never did get back to his school. World War II had found Nauru.

The Japanese seized the island and put the Nauruans to work building an airstrip near the shore. In January, 1943, fifteen Japanese planes were flown in, only to be wiped out by American bombers almost at once.

Trapped in this war between the more civilized nations of the world, Nauruans learned a good deal about human inhumanity. The Japanese, for example, solved the problem of the forty-nine patients in the leper ward by towing them offshore in a small boat and shelling it. Most of the Nauruans were shipped to labor camps on the island of Truk, where a third of them perished, including DeRoburt's father and a sister. DeRoburt himself soon picked up enough Japanese to be able to act as an intermediary between his people and their captors.

In August, 1945, peace came to the Pacific, leaving the Nauruans stranded on Truk with the Japanese garrison. One day a flotilla of American destroyers appeared offshore, and the Japanese took DeRoburt and five of his compatriots out in one of their craft to make contact. The Japanese moved as close as they dared to the leading American destroyer, then put DeRoburt and his friends in a rowboat. "It's up to you," they said. "Go to them if you want, but it's at your own risk."

Rowing slowly to the ship, the nervous Nauruans were warned off by an American sailor. But they persisted, rowing around to the other side, until they finally got the attention of the duty officer, who ordered them brought aboard and interrogated. "We're friends, not enemies," they told him. "We want to get home."

DeRoburt recently asked an American friend to search out a photograph of that destroyer, the U.S.S. *Heyliger*. The framed photograph now stands on a shelf in the presidential office.. note: USN records indicate that there was indeed a ship named *Heyliger* that was operating in the Pacific in 1945. It was a destroyer escort bearing number DE-510.

The path to independence

On January 31, 1946 (now a national holiday), the Nauruans were transported back to their own island. All but leveled by three years of bombing, Nauru was not much to come home to. For example, all that remained of the Protestant church, used as a warehouse by the Japanese, was its steel bell, cast in Germany, dated 1900. Work got under way immediately to rebuild the phosphate plant, and in 1949, a million tons were shipped—those Australian farms were malnourished.

The problem of Nauru's government took longer. The U.N. General Assembly at first designated the island a trust territory, to be overseen by Britain, Australia, and New Zealand for the benefit of the natives. Royalties to the Nauruans rose slightly. An investment fund was set up to provide income for the island when the phosphate was gone. The Head Chief got a bit more authority, subject to the administrator's veto. But all this amounted to little change from pre-war days.

As time passed, however, pressures for change began to build, and it became evident that the U.N. Trusteeship Council was not the gentlemen's club the League of Nations Mandate Commission had been. Under the League, one nation seldom questioned another's policies toward mandated territories. But at the U.N., critics of the Western powers began using Nauru as a flail on countries they considered colonial.

The Soviet Union, Iraq, the Philippines, and the United Arab Republic came up with pesky questions: Why did so few Nauruans hold responsible jobs in the phosphate company, and why were they paid less than expatriates? Why was it that money from the trust fund could be used only to buy Australian government securities? Why had native royalties increased only 50 percent since 1940, when the amount of phosphate exported had tripled? Why were the movies Nauruans saw censored, but not the expatriates' movies? Why were Nauruans prohibited from drinking alcohol when expatriates were not?

Australia found such questions hard to answer, and Nauru became a minor embarrassment to some of the western democracies. A U.N. mission went out to the island to investigate, and after that the royalty rate paid to Nauruans inched up again. Then in 1955, Hammer DeRoburt, occupation school-teacher, was elected Head Chief and began making regular visits to the U.N. in New York City. A decade of complex, often tortuous, negotiations ensued.

DeRoburt argued that Nauru owned the minerals and that the British Phosphate Commission had no right to mine them. After all, the Nauruans had not been a party to the original agreement in which the Germans let the phosphate concession. But even as the debate warmed, the Phosphate Commission announced a development program to raise the extraction rate to 1.6 million tons a year in 1955 and 2.5 million in 1964—without so much as consulting the Nauruans.

The U.N. Trusteeship Council sent additional missions to the island and anticolonialist pressures mounted. DeRoburt engaged Australian economists and lawyers to bolster his moral case with economic data and legal opinions. He brought in a public-relations firm. Gradually, popular opinion in Australia began to shift in his direction.

Not in it for quid pro quo

An observer who watched DeRoburt from across the table back then recently recalled: "The Phosphate Commission boys were like any group arguing about prices and commercial rights—wheat, wool, or what have you. But Hammer was not in it just to quid pro quo. He had his mind on a higher solution." It was independence—but he knew the economic argument had to be won first.

It turned out he was right. In early 1967 the British Phosphate Commission, finally worn down, agreed to turn over the phosphate operation to the Nauruans. Six months later, a bill passed the Australian Parliament granting the island its independence. In December, the U.N. General Assembly voted that Nauru be made a sovereign nation. Her Royal Majesty awarded Hammer DeRoburt the Order of the British Empire as a farewell gesture.

The financial settlement that came with the divorce worked out well for Nauru. The new republic agreed to pay the Phosphate Commission a little more than \$23 million for the phosphate-extracting facilities, and to sell the commission two million tons of phosphate a year for three years at \$14 a ton, which was a little over the world price at the time. Then, in 1973, Morocco tripled the price of its phosphate; the Florida producers followed suit; and Nauru followed Florida.

Colonialism turned inside out

Nauru today is an extension of the personality of the man who brought its independence. Hammer DeRoburt, now fifty-three, is a son of the South Pacific, but as his tenacity indicates, he does not have the languor characteristic of his compatriots. Almost neckless, and with a fleshy lower lip, he bears a physical resemblance to the late movie actor Edward G. Robinson. He is a chain-smoker. He is also an intent, determined man, fully conscious of his own dignity and that of his nation.

With strangers he is charming but severe in manner, careful not to give away anything about himself until he learns a little more about the stranger. To the end he has a way of throwing people off balance, so he can watch how they react. Recently, introduced to a visiting reporter, he suddenly asked, "Don't you agree that government should always have an ulterior motive?" Amused, he waited for an answer.

Life on Nauru today might be described as British colonialism turned inside out. DeRoburt is addressed as His Excellency. His official car is a Daimler limousine, like the English Queen Mother's. He, however, has two of them; he keeps the second in Melbourne to be used on his frequent visits there. Members of his staff of white expatriates come to see him in the pukka uniform of the tropics—short-sleeved shirt, walking shorts, and knee socks—but before entering his office, they put on neckties. DeRoburt adheres scrupulously to the long constitution he worked out for Nauru, but he has a way of getting what he wants in the end. He is ubiquitous, and close to omnipotent. He sits not only as President, but also as Minister for Island Development and Industry, Minister for External Affairs, and Minister for Civil Aviation. He also designed the national flag.

The President retains as well the office of Head Chief of the Nauru Local Government Council, a tribal association that constitutes a kind of clubhouse government for the nation, with roots deep in the past. Here, sitting at the core of the ancient and traditional power, he deliberates with his native peers, and does so without the intervention of the bright white assistants who make the national government run so tidily. In Parliament, English is spoken; in the tribal council, Nauruan. One can get at the financial figures for the republic; but the local council, which had an income of more than \$15 million last year, publishes no financial statement.

The motorcycle set

In order to export its phosphate Nauru must continue to import people: experienced professional managers for both the government and the phosphate company, and indentured workers to perform the labor that Nauruans shun. Both classes of expatriates are attracted by life on Nauru, although they live very differently.

Several hundred white expatriates live in pleasant government hillside houses, paying only furniture rental, \$12 per month. They do not earn huge salaries—from \$15,000 to \$19,000 for the senior expatriates in the government. But there are no income taxes, living costs are reasonable, and imported luxuries are cheap. Home leave of three months, with paid transportation, rolls around every twenty-one months. The climate is kind, and the social life, if a little constricted, is cordial.

It is not difficult for Nauru to attract and import staff as well. Advertisements in the Australian and New Zealand newspapers bring applications from adventurous young women who earn from \$93 to \$181 a week as stenographers and school-teachers, and can rent government flats for \$4 a month. Off-hours, they can be observed charging around the island on their motorcycles, dressed in T-shirts and jeans, or turning up in high style to enliven parties.

On the other end of the scale, near the phosphate plant, the indentured workers inhabit what is called The Location, a twenty-six-acre compound of crude but adequate concrete row houses. They have no furniture except an occasional refrigerator; they sleep on mats on the floor. They come on indentures of from one to six years, but some

of them, particularly the Chinese, have renewed so often that most of their adult lives have been spent on the island.

Pigs disappear fast

These people earn a basic wage of \$2.85 per day (a truck driver gets \$3.18), but they are provided with food as well as housing, medical attention, and excellent schooling for their children. And there are opportunities on prosperous Nauru to earn extra income. Off-hours, the Gilbert and Tuvalu islanders build themselves canoes and go fishing; they sell their catch for good prices.

The Chinese set up stores and restaurants in partnership with Nauruans, and moonlight at other skilled trades. Gambling with Nauruans is a profitable speciality—it is said that as much as \$50,000 has crossed the tables in the Chinese quarter of The Location on a weekend. The indentured workers' neighborhood is a teeming, thriving, and jolly community, full of vitality. When one of the Nauruans' wandering pigs ambles into The Location, it disappears fast.

For a man on an idyllic isle, Hammer DeRoburt has his share of things to worry about. He is in early middle age, and in good health, but succession is important, and there is no successor apparent. Nor is it his nature to help younger leaders learn the ropes by releasing much responsibility to them. He says it is not yet the time.

Many of the expatriates on the island express concern about the Nauruans, and with reason. Their President shares a social problem with those oil monarchs who are trying to hustle their domains into the twentieth century. Nauruans have hi-fi radios (and a government-supported radio station), pianos, infra-red broilers, and Ford Galaxies (and Chinese mechanics to service them). But they show ominously little real interest in the industrial culture upon which they are becoming so dependent.

Corpulence is endemic on the island. The incidence of diabetes is thought to be higher than anywhere else in the world—possibly the result of hereditary tendencies, exacerbated by the Nauruans' diet, which has shifted from coconuts and fish to a staple of rice, plus many imported foods. Concerned, the President has had consultants do a nutrition study.

Experienced teachers are imported to motivate young Nauruans in the schools, but with uncertain results. Fall into conversation with an expatriate teacher on the hotel terrace in the evening, and he'll tell you morosely about the problems he is having with even his brightest Nauruan pupils. He had high hopes for one twelve-year-old girl, he says, "but I'm lucky if she even comes to class. She doesn't care. And why should she? In the school penny-savings plan her balance is \$3,000."

Some who have been attracted to Nauru from more hectic cultures smile. The chief of survey for the government, an Australian named Laurie Stott, says: "They are a lovely people. They have the ability to do nothing and enjoy it. You and I may die from ulcers, but they will die laughing, and they would whether they had all that money or not."

After the dozers are done

Another problem DeRoburt has to face is the fact that when all the phosphate is gone from Nauru, 80 percent of its green landscape will be gone too, the terrain picked bare on the plateau above the sixty-foot contour line. The big dozers and diggers devour about 100 acres of land per year, and eventually will be heading in the direction of the statehouse.

Getting the phosphate out is a fascinating, if somewhat messy, process. It is something like dentistry. The miners have to drop big shovels down between the enormous tooth-like stalks of coral limestone, some of them eighty feet high. After the digging moves on to new areas, what is left is not simply a devastated landscape but an awesomely beautiful one, especially in the late equatorial afternoons when the sun is casting long shadows and the trade winds fan gloriously across the top of the island.

The sculptural towers of coral throw up in a vista unlike any other on earth. The new ones look as clean as an exposed brain, the older ones are beginning to green with second growth. There is no motion except for the flocks of black terns the Australians call naughty-birds wheeling in the sky, an occasional very small lizard darting across the ground and mountains of clouds piling up on the empty horizon. If Nauru were in Arizona, there would be no problem of what to do with the landscape after the mining is finished. Millions of American tourists would come to regard it with awe, and point their Instamatics at it.

On Nauru, DeRoburt feels a need to make other plans. An engineering study has advised that, when the mining is finished, the fields of coral pinnacles could be smashed flat, sealed, and covered with a layer of fertile topsoil. But the topsoil, imported and put in place would cost considerably more than the phosphates that were taken out.

Thoughts up on the plateau

On a late afternoon last September, His excellency was driven to the top of the plateau in his black Daimler. He had not been up there in years. As the gleaming car moved up the broad coral road, an enormous Leyland dump truck came down it. The Gilbertese driver's eyes widened in amazement when he saw the presidential limousine, and he did not tarry. At the top DeRoburt got out and posed for a few photographs at the edge of the excavation. There was small talk about whether the scene was awful or beautiful.

"I once heard two Englishmen argue about that for a long time," he mused, "about whether it was good or bad." Then he got in his Daimler and was driven back down to the green edges of the island below.

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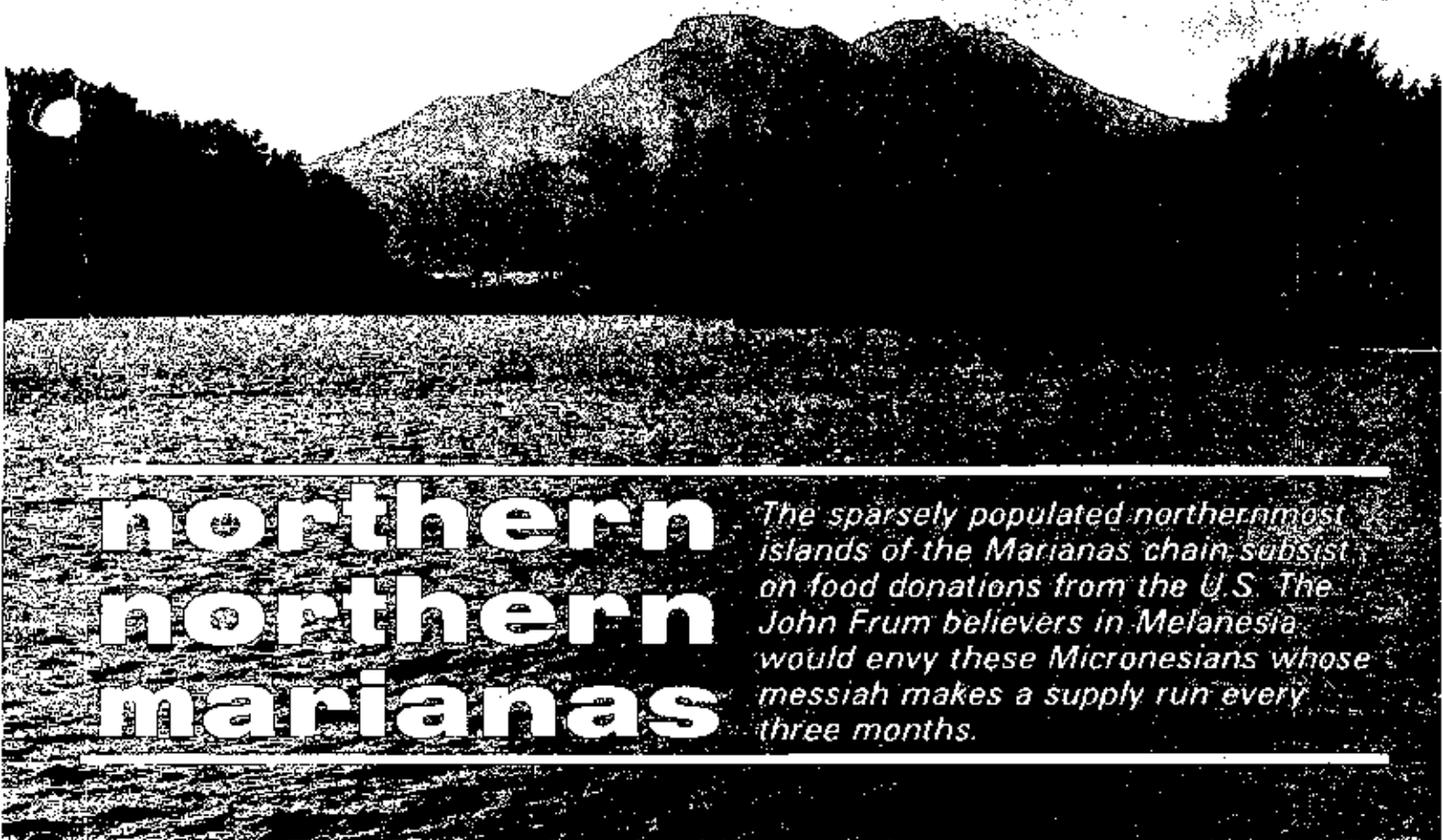
**Northern Northern Marianas,
by Peter Van Name Esser**

Source: Article in the Pacific Magazine, July-August 1982.

Note: The Northern Northern [sic] Marianas are, in fact, the same as the old Gani Islands.

[Attached]

Sum 1981 A



northern northern marianas

The sparsely populated northernmost islands of the Marianas chain subsist on food donations from the U.S. The John Frum believers in Melanesia would envy these Micronesians whose messiah makes a supply run every three months.

Story and photos
by Peter Van Name Esser

1981

The islands north of Saipan were among the first to be discovered and named in the Pacific. Hundreds of years before Tahiti or Hawaii were visited by European explorers, the exotic names of Pagan, Alamagan and Agrihan appeared on antique maps. Since the Sixteenth Century, when the Manila galleons passed through the Marianas chain on their way from the Philippines to Mexico, strangers in foreign ships have sailed by these remote volcanic islands rising sheer from the sea. Poor harbors and inaccessible terrain discouraged settlement or development, and 400 years after their discovery, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas' nine northern outposts remain largely unchanged.

Beginning with Anatahan, 100 miles north of Saipan, the northern islands are comprised of raw, new landscapes: the tops of smoking volcanoes rising from the ocean floor. Unlike the southern group, which shows extensive coral growth, the northern islands have bare, basalt shores, where unbroken surf relentlessly crashes on the rocks. While Saipan and its civilized southern neighbors are home for over 15,000 people, only 64 inhabitants live on three of the islands in the northern group. The rest are deserted.

Every three months, a small and crowded cargo boat departs Charlie Dock on Saipan and weaves its way among the northern islands, carrying food to the few inhabitants. With little subsistence farming except for copra plantations, the 64 residents of Agrihan, Alamagan, and Anatahan depend upon donations of

Five dormant volcanoes of Pagan from Apsan Bay.

U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) pork, rice, flour, milk, orange juice, shortening, corn, and peanut butter for their survival.

On one supply run in 1981, I rode the field trip ship to Agrihan, 225 miles north of Saipan, with outward and homeward stops at Pagan and Alamagan, 175 miles and 125 miles, respectively, from Saipan. The trip was made in the Sagman, an 85-foot Japanese fishing vessel with an efficient Korean crew of five.

The Sagman was crowded with stevedores and northern islanders, including a group of homesick Paganites anxious to inspect their homes which they had deserted in May 1981 when the volcano on Pagan erupted. Sleeping accommodations were found on the pitching deck, either inside the "spare room" for the lucky ones, or outside under the stars and intermittent rain and sea spray. The food was prepared by a bored Korean kitchen steward who preferred catching fish on the fantail to stirring their cut up remains in a smelly kettle in the galley between-decks. Three times a day he placed steaming pots and pans of dubious-looking gruel before the hungry stares of the passengers. I lost five pounds on the trip.

Time at sea was spent sleeping or gazing out over the swells of the northeast monsoon. I spent hours alone in the crow's nest, a steel-tubed look-out post over the pilot house, 30 feet above the cargo deck. It took a while to get used to the wild motion of the boat up there, but the view was wonderful. By day I looked for boobies and petrels and frigate birds, and counted flying fish exploding from under the bow of the boat. At night

I leaned back under a canopy of stars, picking out Orion above, and the faint shape of the Southern Cross off the stern.

We motored the first night through an inky sea, and I was in the crow's nest at dawn when the sun came up over the hulking shape of Sariguan. Guguan's low outline lifted up across the bow as Sariguan's silhouette disappeared astern. We passed Guguan at mid-morning, where sea birds from its rookeries caught the Sagman and followed her through the waves.

Eighteen hours out of Saipan, we anchored off Songsong Village on the island of Alamagan. The green cliffs rose 2,000 feet to the crater, with grassy pastures and coconut groves high in the hills. A mantle of white cloud hung above the crater rim, and whiffs of steam poured from a small fissure in the volcano's side. We lowered the Sagman launch with the cargo crane and a small group piled in for the first trip ashore.

The flies hit us almost as soon as the Sagman dropped its anchor in the deep water offshore. Once we arrived on the beach, they descended in a black cloud. I grew used to them, largely because the Alamagans paid them no heed, but their omnipresent whine detracted from the peaceful beauty of the scene.

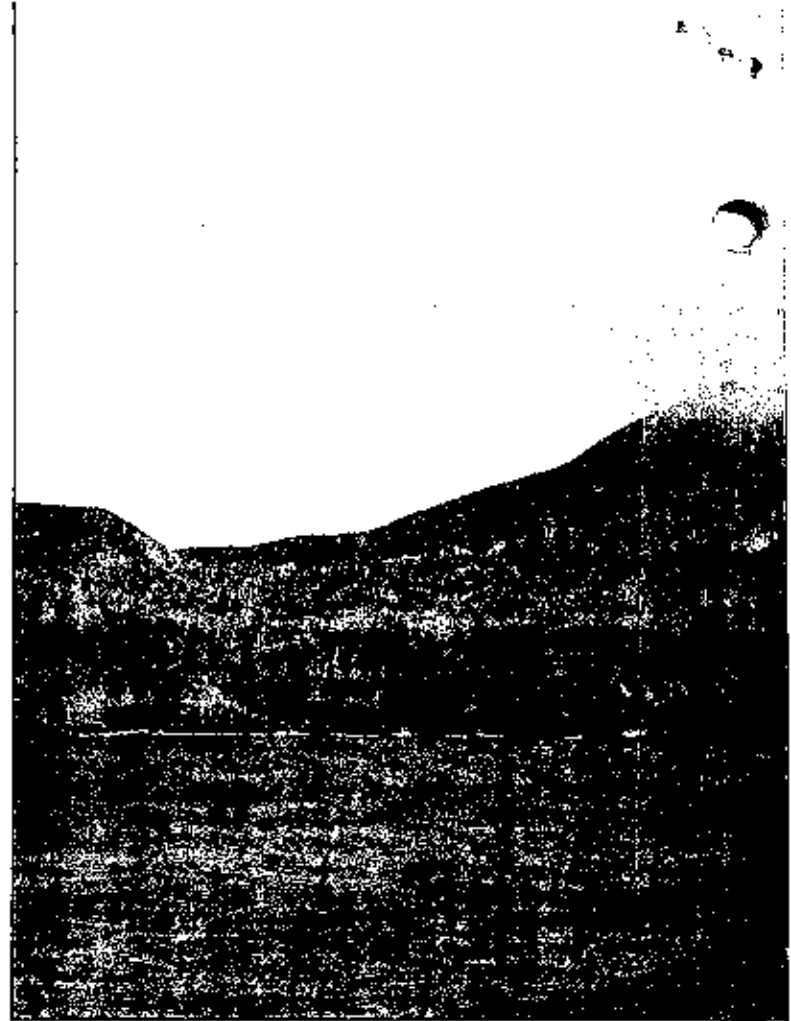
I climbed a steep path up the cliffs to a small cluster of tin and thatch shacks above the bay. As I walked into the village, I was surrounded by children and dogs. An old man approached me, shook my hand, and then introduced me to his wife. She was thin and wrinkled, but her eyes sparkled and her betelnut-stained teeth produced a dazzling smile. The couple told me they had lived in Alamagan since the time of the Japanese.

I returned to the beach and stood in a passing line bringing boxes up from the outrigger to a growing pile near the trees. Everyone helped. Along with the flour and rice sacks and canned milk came the first case of beer. The Alamagans had not had beer for months, and our meager supply would not last long. But they quickly tore open cans for everyone and passed them around. Somebody popped new batteries into a long-silent tape deck, and Chamorro music drifted across the beach.

In the late afternoon we returned to the Sagman. I climbed to the crow's nest and watched the sun go down in the west, its waning rays lighting Alamagan's cliffs in a golden glow.

Before sunrise, the crew weighed anchor and we departed for Pagan, a journey of five hours through

Alamagan—three boats to Songsong Village.

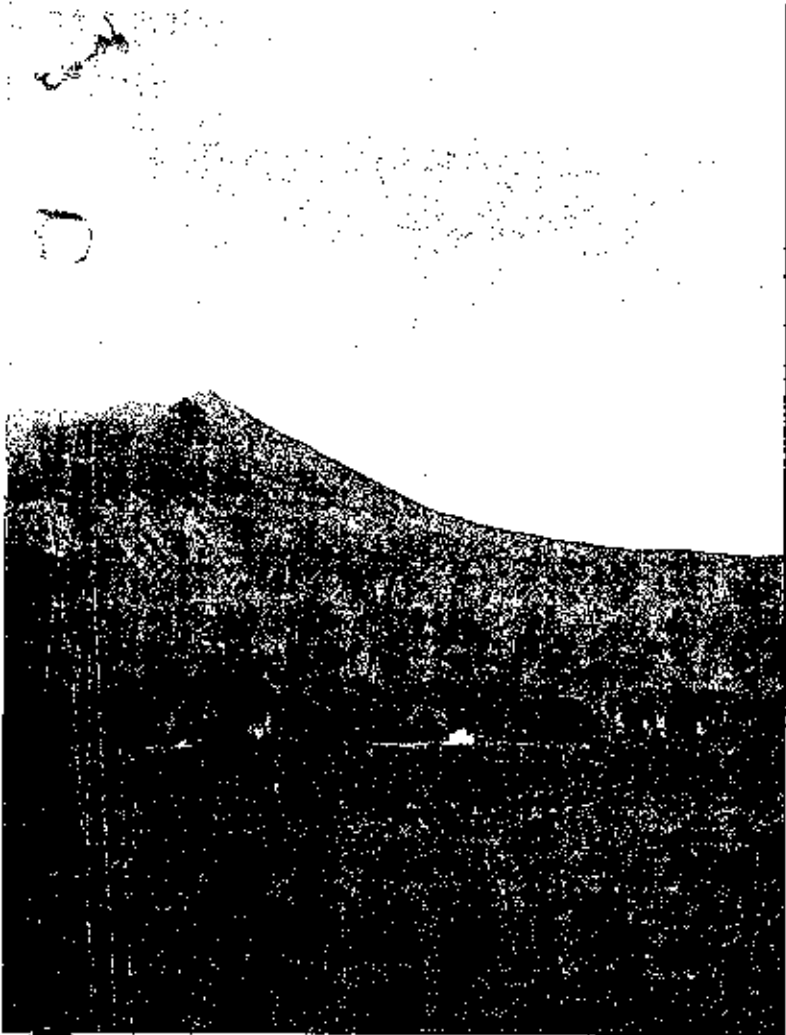


heavy seas to the northwest. We rounded Pagan's southern promontory and motored up its west coast to Apaan Bay. We anchored in the placid waters off the Japanese dock, with steaming Mt. Pagan looming in the distance behind Bandeera Village. The village sits on a narrow isthmus separating the five dormant volcanoes of the southern peninsula from the explosive northern half of Pagan.

An odor of sulfur was in the air. Yellow-grey clouds rose from the northern volcano, still smoking from its May 15, 1981, eruption. The gaping hole on top of the mountain stretched a half mile from rim to rim. The northern peninsula, from the crater's lip to the tops of cliffs overhanging the sea, was frosted with grey ash. A

Landing on a pebble beach near Songsong, Alamagan.



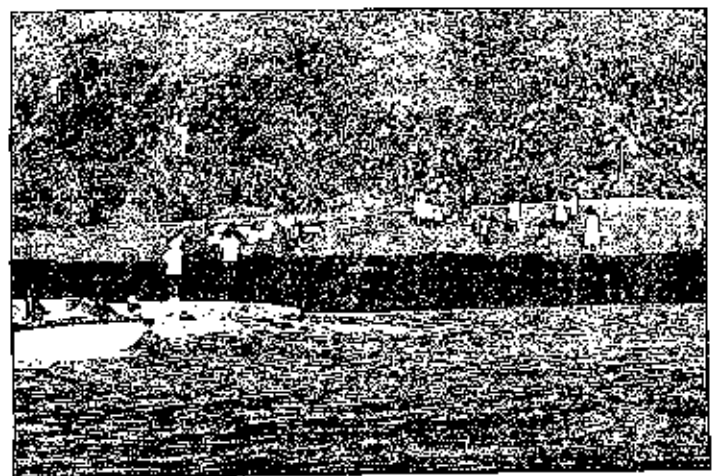


macabre display of blackened sticks on the northern slopes of Mt. Pagan was all that remained of a once-lush coconut grove planted by the Japanese in the 1930s.

To the south, the steep cliffs of the dormant volcanoes rose abruptly from a flat, blue bay. All around, the geography was harsh, primeval, magnificent. The brooding presence of the crater, with its potential to rain fire and ash, added to the sense of natural forces that created the island of Pagan.

The anchorage on Apaan Bay was idyllic. Three graceful palms waved in the breezes off the lagoon. A sandspit divided the two coves that form the harbor. The deserted village flanked the beach. No one has lived on the island since the May eruption, and the rows of

Unloading supplies on a black sand beach, Agrihan.



Mt. Pagan from Apaan Bay: Brooding, smoking landlord of Pagan; evicted 54 residents in May 1981.

empty houses looked forlorn and desolate. Some of Pagan's residents had accompanied the *Sagman* on her trip to the northern islands, and they asked to be put ashore for the duration of our visit to Agrihan in the north. Three Paganites rode the *Sagman* launch to shore and stood waving as we pulled up the anchor and motored away.

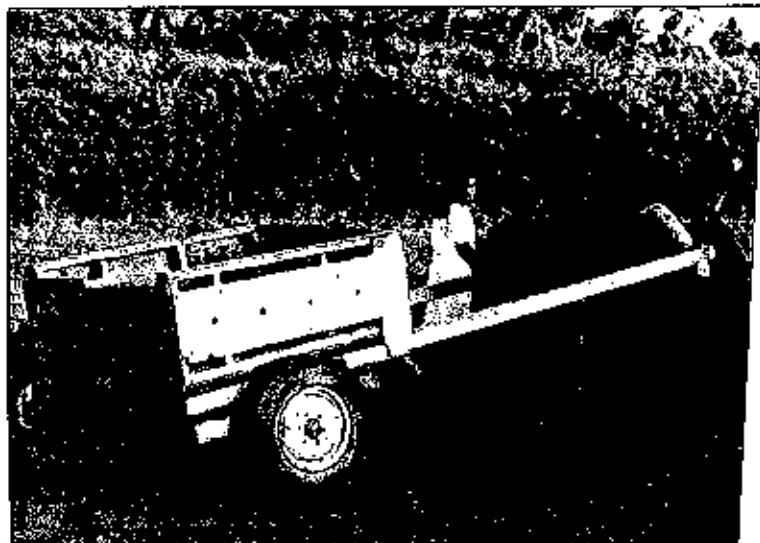
Agrihan Island is the highest and most beautiful of the northern group. Its still-smoking crater rises 3,166 feet into the clouds. With a population of 42, Agrihan's USDA food supplies were substantial, and the ferrying ashore through the surf promised to be a lengthy and arduous task. Each carton or sack had to be manhandled over the gunwale of the ship, taken across the bay in the launch, and run through the breaking surf to the black sand beach. Once ashore, the cargo continued its trip to the village in a cart pulled by a bull caribou.

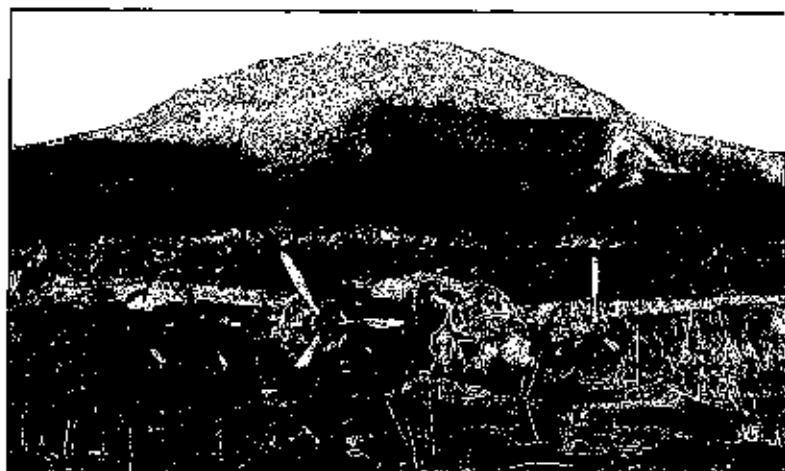
Agrihan's residents are Carolinians and quite different from the Chamorros on Alamagan. The men wore beaded necklaces and long hair, and the women dressed in bright island prints with flowers behind their ears. Enough people live on the grassy knoll above the beach to provide a real sense of community.

We slept that night in a screened shack built by Peace Corps volunteers during their visit to Agrihan in the early 1970s. They had come to preach agricultural self-sufficiency, and by my estimation, they appeared to have failed. Except for the ubiquitous coconut palms, and an occasional papaya and mango, the food on the island came from USDA supplies.

We spent an extra day on Agrihan due to storm warnings in the south picked up on the *Sagman* wireless. On the fifth day we made the six-hour voyage back to Pagan and once again dropped anchor in Apaan Bay. I rode the launch ashore and started up an ash-covered road to Banderera Village with Charlie Oden, an American who had spent two years farming pineapples on Pagan before the volcano destroyed his crops and drove him to Saipan. We walked through rows of deserted houses and then out a narrow road through leafless tangantangan to the airstrip. He took me to a 20-foot lava wall crossing the runway, cutting Pagan's airstrip in half. X

Bull cart transport from beach to village, Agrihan.





I climbed up the crumbly lava and snapped pictures of the skeletal remains of a World War II Japanese plane lying in the ash below. Nearby, an anti-aircraft gun aimed its silent barrel into the sky. The fields around the airport were pockmarked with cone-shaped craters from an American bombing run from Saipan 37 years ago. Pagan has suffered a confluence of natural and man-made disasters in recent years. But I could see small green weeds peeking through the ash covering on the ground; the devastation was weirdly beautiful and calm.

Back at Alamagan on the sixth day, we visited the tiny one-house village of Patidō on the southwest coast. The Santos family lives high on a cliff above the water, and the swells that morning made it seem impossible to get ashore. The *Sagman* launch was lowered over the side, and the stevedores motored again to the blue water just outside the surf. Members of the Santos family dove from the rocks, dragging supplies through the water and then hauling them up the steep cliff to the house.

In return, the family decided to export its major commodity to Saipan. By late afternoon, 32 squealing pigs had trundled down the cliff and through the surf to the launch. The little boat moved back and forth, between the shore and the *Sagman*, until the lower deck of the cargo ship was full of pigs and goats and a solitary caged rooster. A load of green coconuts brought from the groves behind the Santos home was ferried out to the ship, and we fed the soft white meat to the animals on board. The human passengers munched on another Alamagan produce: betelnuts. What with the munching and screaming and snorting and clucking and spitting,

Left: The *Sagman* launch in Apan Bay, Pagan. Right: Antiaircraft gun near lava wall slicing Pagan airstrip (top); Japanese WWII plane backed by Mt. Pagan.

the *Sagman* was a happy place.

We departed Alamagan on the seventh day and began the long trip back home to Saipan. A storm had whipped the seas into whitecaps and mountainous swells. The trip south was a wild sleigh ride through rolling greybacks, throwing the human and animal passengers back and forth on the pitching deck. We huddled over a transistor radio in the spare room, trying to get weather reports from Saipan radio stations. Between snatches of music and static, we finally picked up a typhoon update that assured us the storm had moved on to the Philippines.

At 3:00 a.m., three crew members in the pilot house strained their eyes towards the distant lights of Saipan. The captain studied his charts and peered at the glowing dial on a small radar screen. We passed through the outer reef at 5:00 a.m., with the first pink rays of sunrise lighting the eastern sky. As we entered the Saipan lagoon, the rocking of the boat slowed, and everyone stood at the side of the *Sagman* watching the early morning traffic onshore. The rooster in the cage on deck crowed the arrival of a new day as we tied up again at Charlie Dock.

Peter Van Name Esser was confirmed in early June as Attorney General of the Northern Mariana Islands.

This article, with basically the same content, appeared originally in the Jan. 8, 1982, issue of the Marianas Variety, Saipan, and is reprinted here with permission.

Document S1981B

Bishop Felixberto C. Flores welcomes Pope John Paul II to Guam.

Source: Newspaper clippings, Daily News file photos, etc.



Bishop Felix Flores of Guam.



Bishop Flores welcoming the Pope to Guam in 1981.



Bishop Flores, circa 2000.

Leading Guam's faithful

By Christie Wilson

Shepherd of 102,000

Bishop Felixberto C. Flores

"I was never a very pious young man. I was a practicing Christian, but I attribute the depth of my faith to my mother."

Although he may not have considered a religious vocation while growing up on Saint Ignatius Street in pre-war Agaña, Bishop Felixberto C. Flores, shepherd to over 102,000 Roman Catholics in the Marianas, has become the area's most influential religious leader.

His father, Leon Flores, was an attorney for the church who was determined for his two sons to be successful and encouraged their scholastic pursuits while his wife, Anna Camacho, preferred to instill in her offspring a sense of spirituality and the fine arts.

Bishop Flores remembers those simple times when he played in sandlots, shot baskets and rode bikes. As a teenager he enjoyed dancing, reading, music (he played the violin), and visiting the family ranch in Tamuning. At that time, it had been decided that Felixberto would be an engineer and attend M.I.T. while his brother (now deceased) would go into law. To prepare for the prestigious Boston college, Flores went to the American Jesuit University in Manila and discovered a new facet of the Catholic clergy.

"The Spanish missionaries on Guam were Capuchins, whom I held in very high regard and awe. But I could not see it as my calling in my very youthful imagination," Flores explained. "With the Jesuits, you could see very clearly the humanness of the ministry. They went out to dance, fraternized, participated in sports and were very personable."

"One of my biology professors had been a practicing physician. He had given up medicine to become a priest. It was quite inspiring."

After two years of engineering studies, Flores entered the San Jose seminary in Manila and earned a degree in philosophy. The 21-year-old almost immediately faced his greatest test of faith. The war broke out and

he was interned in a concentration camp at Santo Tomas for nearly three years.

"I was in a position of seeing death and dying, and out of touch with my family—enslaved," Flores said. "It's a miracle I'm alive today. People were dying around me. I saw injustice and it became part of a challenge that I felt could be meaningful. I wanted to join the priesthood with the mission of bringing peace, charity and justice to people."

On Feb. 12, 1945, the camp was liberated and a scrawny Flores (he weighed only 80 pounds when released) returned to Guam to regain his strength. Several months later, with the help of Admiral Chester Nimitz, Archbishop Cushing, a U.S. senator and several other distinguished Americans, Flores was admitted to the exclusive St. John's seminary in Boston, ironically, just across the river from M.I.T. Earning his masters degree in theology and another from Fordham in education administration, he was assigned as pastor of the Asan parish and assistant pastor to the Agaña Cathedral. Flores also served as secretary to Bishop Baumgartner, superintendent of the Catholic schools and editor of the church newsletter. He was 28 years old.

Most of Guam watched in person at the Agaña Cathedral among a crowd which included 30 cardinals and bishops, or at home on television when, on May 17, 1970, Flores was ordained a bishop at the age of 49.

His energy and verve betray his age. Flores attributes his trim build to a careful diet of vegetables, fish, chicken, very little red meat, skim milk and decaffeinated coffee. It's also important to leave problems behind, he added, and rest well.

The bishop rises at his Agaña Heights home each day around 5:30 a.m. After 6 o'clock Mass at the cathedral, he spends an hour meditating before a brisk routine of calisthenics. After breakfast, the rest of the day is spent handling administrative and pastoral work, visiting schools, writing articles, receiving visitors, answering countless phone calls and perhaps entertaining in the evening. On more quiet nights, Flores likes to read or watch television.

Document S1983A

Visiting Saipan

/Source: Marianas Visitors Bureau.

[Attached]

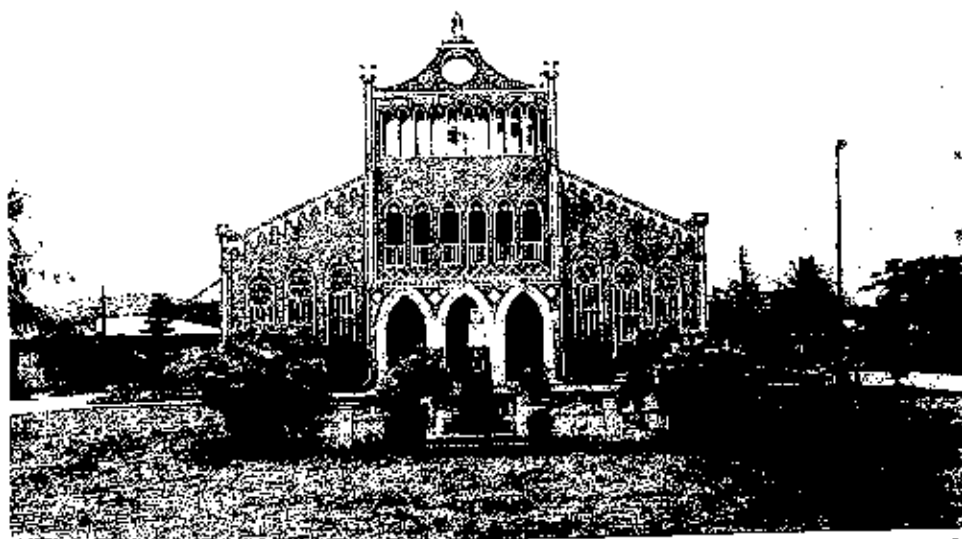
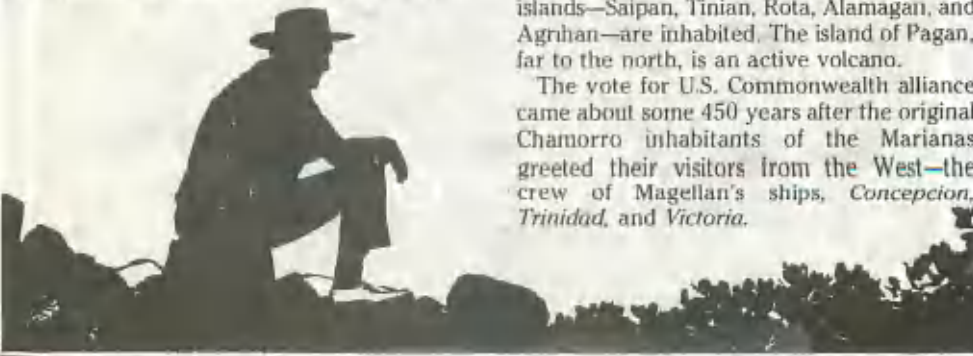


Photo by Hank Duncan

***Mt. Carmel Church
Chalan Kanoa***

SCAN 191



Get Away To Saipan

The tranquility of Saipan 1983 conceals a violent, recent past. It was only 39 years ago that American forces launched operation Forager, the 24-day battle that wrestled this 14-mile long island from the Japanese in one of the Pacific's bloodiest conflicts.

Naval and air bombardment began June 11, 1944. The invasion followed on June 15, successive waves of landing craft putting 20,000 American troops ashore between 08:43 and nightfall. Organized Japanese resistance ended July 9, and by then 3,500 Americans and perhaps as many as 30,000 Japanese had died. Towns and villages were in rubble, the land denuded of vegetation.

Today, Saipan is a resort island covered with luxuriant green shrubs and trees, punctuated by the brilliant scarlets and yellows of flowers. Battle scars are healed, covered by a jungle of *tangantangan*, an erosion-inhibiting weedy shrub seeded after the invasion.

Flame trees, which reach their peak of fiery bloom in June, now shade the road and bicycle path that flank 4½ miles of beach road between Garapan and Chalan Kanoa villages. These beaches were 1944's invasion ground, but now there's little to remind you of that

day in June when the Marines waded ashore through the gentle surf. Here and there, you see some rusting relic of the battle. Offshore, two tanks, guns still in place, rest half submerged in the shallow lagoon.

In an ironic twist Saipan's beaches and resorts are now favored by young Japanese tourists. In fact, Saipan and other islands of the Northern Marianas are sometimes called "Japan's Riviera." Crisp blue skies, seemingly perpetual sunshine, clean air, unpolluted water, green rolling hills, and wide-open spaces are the basic appeals to young families, couples and singles from teeming, bustling Japanese cities. Other important lures are the duty free shopping and a certain exotic American atmosphere reflected in such institutions as Little League baseball, Rotary, and a Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet.

Saipan's American touch, however, runs deeper than just baseball or fried chicken. In June of 1975, the 15,000 residents of Saipan and her neighboring islands voted to become U.S. citizens of the new Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas. The fledgling Commonwealth embraces 182 square miles of land and 14 islands. Five of the islands—Saipan, Tinian, Rota, Alamagan, and Agrihan—are inhabited. The island of Pagan, far to the north, is an active volcano.

The vote for U.S. Commonwealth alliance came about some 450 years after the original Chamorro inhabitants of the Marianas greeted their visitors from the West—the crew of Magellan's ships, *Concepcion*, *Trinidad*, and *Victoria*.



The Spanish annexed the Marianas in 1565. When they left 334 years later, they had created a Catholic-Hispanic community in the Central Pacific. Today, the Spanish influence is reflected in an abundance of such first and family names as Jose, Carlos and Francisco, Guerrero and Cruz, as well as in the everyday use of *buenos días* and *buenos noches*. The friendly, all-purpose greeting *hafa adai* (pronounced hah-fah dye) is, however, pure Chamorro.

German traders purchased the Marianas, along with the rest of Spain's far-flung Micronesian possessions, in 1899. Their interest in the islands was mainly economic, as a source for the production of copra. The Japanese arrived when World War I began; and, in 1920, the League of Nations mandated the German islands to Japan. Finally, following World War II, the Marianas and all Japan's Micronesian possessions became part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administered by the United States under an agreement with the United Nations. That trusteeship has not yet officially been terminated, but Saipan's new banner is already flying proudly beside the Stars and Stripes.

Saipan is the Commonwealth seat of government, home for most of its 16,000 citizens, and the main goal, as well, of most of its sun-and-fun seeking visitors. As a 1983 visitor, you'll land at the Saipan International Airport (formerly Isley Field) where B29s once took off for bombing runs over Tokyo. Leaving your jet, you'll enter one of the most

attractive and modern air terminals in Micronesia.

Your first Saipan stop will probably be a resort at Micro Beach. Here, you'll find the 184-room Saipan Hyatt Regency, the most handsome resort in Micronesia. Its rooms, overlook gardens and ponds, swimming pool, lighted tennis courts, beach and lagoon. Sharing the same beach is the 200-room Saipan Beach Inter-Continental Inn.

Further south on the beach, you'll find smaller, more modest hotels, including the Saipan Grand Hotel, Hafadai Beach Hotel, and the Royal Taga.

Once settled, all Saipan's visitors, whether Japanese tourists, American veterans on battlefield pilgrimages or "sun break" travelers in general, follow the same sightseeing path. You'll travel north to the Marpi area, scene of the last grim events of the invasion. On the rugged Marpi coast, you'll pause at Banzai Cliff where Japanese civilians leapt to a watery death rather than face surrender to the Americans. A cement peace memorial built by Japanese students stands on the windy point, and near it are numerous thin and weathered prayer boards placed upright and inscribed with Japanese calligraphy. Elsewhere, the statue of a bodhisattva faces seaward, his back to a ragged line of cliffs farther inland.

At the base of these inland cliffs, a rusting tank and cannon mark the site of the Last Japanese Command Post. Atop the cliffs, 800

(Continued on page 60)



Saipan . . .

(Continued from page 7)

fect above the plain and the Command Post, is yet another memorial, commemorating where more Japanese jumped to their deaths. Battlefields and memorials, of course, aren't the sum of Saipan. The island is ready-made for the adventurous, energetic traveler. You can, for instance, hike to such secluded beauty spots as the crescent beach facing Bird Island. You can hire a U-drive for back road exploring to lovely Lau Lau Beach fronting Magicienne Bay on the east coast or Obyan and Ladder beaches on the south, or take a special tour to the top of the highest peak on Saipan, Mt. Tagpochau.

For the most leisure-minded, there is sunbathing on the soft white sandy beaches. The shallow lagoon off the resorts is ideal for snorkeling and sailing, as well as for glass-bottom boat viewing of coral and strange-colored tropical fish.

Windsurfing, waterskiing, and sailing lessons are available. Well-equipped scuba diving agencies and schools are ready to

show you deeper waters, while deep-sea fishing crafts are available for charter. A special treat is a sunset cruise on a glass-bottom boat, complete with Chamorro fests, singing and native dancing. Several of the hotels and entertainment spots feature Polynesian and local dance troupes.

Dry land sportsmen can enjoy tennis at the Hyatt Regency, Inter-Continental or Grand hotels or golf at the Marianas Country Club or Saipan Country Club.

While the preponderance of tourists are Japanese, English-speaking Gray Line tours are available.

Saipan is well-placed for the Guam resident seeking a place for a "sun break" getaway. It's a 30-minute jet hop from Guam.

For the details on touring the fascinating islands of the Northern Marianas, get in touch with the Marianas Visitors Bureau, P.O. Box 861, Saipan, CM 96950. Telephone No. 67327.

Note S1983B

A visit to Tinian in 1983

Source: Photos by Rod Lévesque.

Descriptions of the photos, attached.

Photo 1: Sailing into Sungharon Harbor, Tinian.

Photo 2: The ruins of the so-called House of Taga.

Photo 3: Idem. The author in foreground.

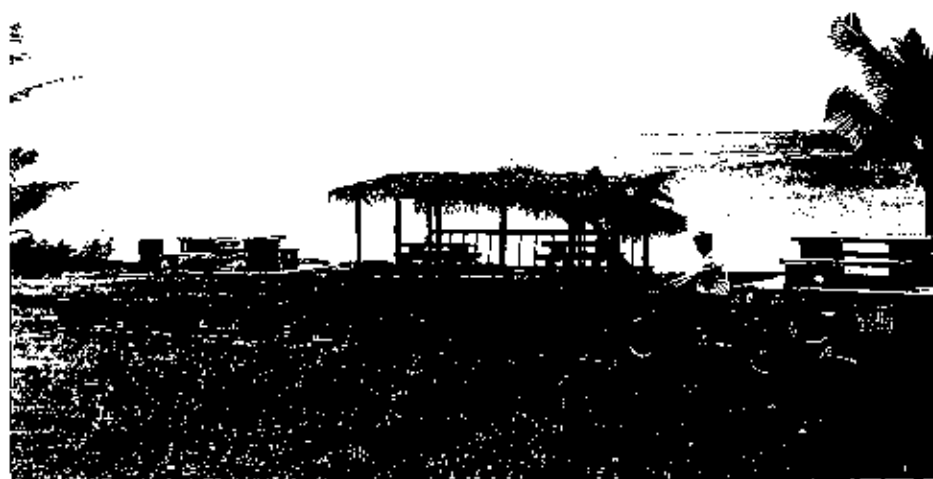
Photo 4: The tallest of the pillars of an ancient Chamorro house. The author's son, Daniel, in foreground; he was then studying at Mt. Carmel High School in Saipan.

Photo 5: The church of Tinian. Note the Japanese-style lantern posts in foreground.

Photo 6: Aguijan Island can hardly be seen on the horizon.







Document S1990A

The battle for Enenkio [Wake], by David North

Source: Article in Pacific Islands Monthly, July 1990.

An innocent proposition sparks a territorial row.

The last time there was battle over Wake Island, the weapons were deadly, and after a few weeks the Japanese defeated the United States Marines. This time the weapons are words, the outcome is uncertain, and the antagonists are Amata Kabua, President of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and Ben Blaz, the Republican Congressman from Guam.

It all started innocently enough when a Hawaii Congresswoman of Japanese descent, Pat Saiki (Republican), introduced a bill which would expand boundaries of her state to below the Equator, taking in six outlying island possessions of the United States.

Another provision in the legislation (which was co-sponsored by Blaz) would add Wake, locally known as Enenkio Atoll, a U.S. Air Force base, to the territory of Guam.

The six new islands for Hawaii would be Midway, now occupied by the U.S. Navy, three wild-life refuges (Howland, Baker and Jarvis), Kingman Reef, and Palmyra, which is privately owned and may also be a bone of contention. None of these six, except Midway, are routinely inhabited, although one of the owners of Palmyra, Ainsley Fullard-Leo, coincidentally, was visiting that island group on the day that Saiki's proposal was announced.

Wake is some 1,400 miles East-North-East of Guam but only a few hundred miles north of the northernmost islands of the Marshalls; Midway, some 1,500 miles West-North-West of Honolulu, is an outlier in the Hawaiian chain; while the other five lie 900 to 1,500 miles south and southwest of Hawaii, near the Equator, and near the waters of Kiribati.

The purpose of the legislation, according to the congresswoman's statement, was to give the State of Hawaii "a stronger argument for environmental control of these islands' territorial waters." Her staff suggested that the six islands would be safer if controlled by the relatively nearby, and presumably concerned, state Government rather than by the distant Washington-based Interior and Defence Departments.

Another consideration, not mentioned specifically in connection with her proposed Insular Areas Consolidation Act, presumably is the current activity on another U.S. is-

land in the general area—Johnston Atoll. It is here that the U.S. Army plans to destroy nerve gas and other chemical weapons. Passage of the Saiki-Blaz bill would make it more difficult for the Department of Defence to use islands not now under its control for such purposes were they to become part of the State of Hawaii. Saiki's concerns on the use of Johnston to destroy weapons were reflected in a separate bill she introduced on the subject.

Still another factor behind the bill, particularly the inclusion of Wake into Guam, relates to possible fishing and underwater mineral rights. Guam has neither at the moment, but might acquire them from the U.S. during the on-going Commonwealth negotiations.

The proposed re-alignment of the boundaries, discussed by Saiki in terms of future concerns, and dealing with what are now largely uninhabited islands, was not expected to generate controversy, but it certainly has done so. In addition to setting of the Guam-Marshalls controversy, the bill has reminded observers of some grim historical events, and has rubbed salt into the wounds of the family which owns Palmyra.

Howland was the objective of Amelia Erhardt on the last leg of her ill-fated flight around the world. Wake Island was the scene of a World War II defeat for the U.S. as Midway was the location of a major victory.

Howland and Baker, lying about 1,500 miles southwest of Honolulu, and Jarvis, located just south of the Equator and about 1,200 miles south of Hawaii, are low-lying islands once rich with guano. None had any indigenous human population, all were worked by American and/or British mining interests in the 19th Century, all were then uninhabited for decades but were colonised by a few Americans in the 1930s, and all were abandoned again right after Pearl Harbour. Now all three, still uninhabited, are controlled by the Fish and Wildlife Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior. Blue-faced boobies abound, and presumably the supply of guano is being slowly restored.

Kingman Reef is probably the least significant of the islands, on the grounds that, according to *Pacific Islands Year Book* in heavy seas the whole island goes under water. It was used, nevertheless, by Pan American as a way station for flying boats on the Honolulu to Pago Pago run in the late 30s.

In his own understated way, President Kabua protested Guam's claims to Wake during his June visit to Washington: "Wake Island is part of our archipelago and it has been known to our people for centuries. We have not had an opportunity until now to lay claim to it; in the past we were not independent."

While the Saiki bill does not make Wake any more of a U.S. possession than it has been, the proposal to add it to the territory of Guam stirred up the Marshalls' long quiescent interest in the island.

"You must remember that Wake was particularly important to the chiefs of the Marshalls," Kabua continued. "Traditionally all chiefs, and only chiefs, had facial tattoos, and they made the long sea voyage to Wake to get their tattoos."

It was on Wake where the bones of the frigate bird were used to make the tattoos, a practice, the President said, that was terminated by the missionaries "a couple of generations ago."

Kabua is not only the head of Government in the Marshalls' Westminster-style democracy, he is also a high chief, and presumably would have been a prince candidate for a Wake tattoo in the old days.

The controversy over Wake perhaps spilled over into the Pacific Islands social scene in Washington; while a prominent island politician like Blaz could be expected to attend a major gathering such as the welcoming party for President Kabua, he did not appear at the functions in June, though he was in Washington at the time. (The party also marked the opening of the Marshalls' attractive new embassy in the heart of Washington's diplomatic neighbourhood along Massachusetts Avenue.)

Blaz, however, has written to Kabua in an effort to ease his criticism, saying, among other things, the bill "does not purport to provide for the disposition of conflicting international claims of sovereignty over Wake Atoll. Any such territorial claim to Wake Atoll by a sovereign other than the United States—including the Marshall Islands—must be taken up and resolved on a government-to-government basis. In contrast, HR 4905 is domestic legislation..."

While the Marshalls laid a renewed claim to Wake as a result of the Saiki-Blaz bill, there was no such reaction from yet another chain of islands, the Marianas. Wake is a little closer to Saipan and some of the outer islands than it is to Guam, but the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands' Washington office has been silent on the matter.

As for Palmyra, its status has generated a number of disputes over the years, with the disputants being an arm of the U.S. Government on one hand, and the Fullard-Leo family on the other.

Palmyra is a perfect name for a desert island; while named for the American ship that discovered it in 1802, the ship, in turn, was named for a Graeco-Roman cultural centre in what is now the Syrian desert. The island, or more precisely the atoll with a collection of islands, has 656 hectares or over 1,400 acres of dry land.

The total area of land and sheltered waters is about 40,000 acres according to its owners. It is probably the largest privately-owned grouping of tropical islands under the U.S. flag.

The U.S., however, has not always had it. The Kingdom of Hawaii first laid claim to Palmyra in 1868. Britain did the same in 1889, and the Americans included it in Hawaii's boundaries when it took over the islands in 1898. A few years later a Judge Cooper, of Honolulu, acquired the title to the island group and used it to grow coconuts. Subsequently, the Judge, who died in 1929, sold virtually all of his holdings there to the late Leslie and Ellen Fullard-Leo, of Hawaii, keeping two islets, about one acre, for his heirs, who own that smidgin of land to this day.

The first really significant contact between the Fullard-Leos and the Government was a happy one, according to Leslie Fullard-Leo, one of the three sons of the original owners.

"My mother was the only woman in the history of the United States to cause the annexation of an island to the U.S.," Leslie Fullard-Leo told *PIM*. "She saw to it that Kingman Reef was acquired by the U.S. Government," he explained. That happened in 1922. Kingman Reef is about 50 miles north-west of Palmyra.

Not that relations between the family and the Government ran downhill. After the attack on Pearl Harbour the U.S. armed services decided they needed Palmyra as a re-fuelling site for planes headed from Honolulu to the South Pacific. (Some of the alternative stopping points, such as Tarawa, having been captured by the Japanese). The family was willing, according to Fullard-Leo, and signed a lease prepared by the Navy, giving them full use of Palmyra during the war.

But although the Navy had prepared the lease, it did not sign it.

While no rent was ever paid, the military took over Palmyra in a big way. There had been three lagoons and 52 islands. The Seabees merged two of the lagoons to create a protected landing area for seaplanes; similarly, the military strung together a number of the islands (there are now 59 of them) to build an 1,800-metre-long landing strip for land-based planes. Roads were built, the harbour deepened, and a radio sending facility was constructed. At one point there were thousands of troops on Palmyra.

Although the U.S. Air Force continued to use the landing strip as late as 1961, it is now unserviceable. "Too much vegetation and too many birds' nests to use," according to a member of the family.

After the war the family sought compensation for the wartime use of the island. "All we got was \$100,000 for damages," according to Fullard-Leo.

Meanwhile, there was a long court struggle between the family and the U.S. Government as to who owned the islands; eventually it went to the U.S. Supreme Court, and eventually the family won. "And while this was going on the State of Hawaii, which had issued us our deed, never lifted a finger to help us. We do not have much aloha for the State of Hawaii," Fullard-Leo told *PIM*.

Saiki's bill could not have come at a worse moment for the owners, the three sons of the late Leslie and Ellen Fullard-Leo, Leslie, Dudley and Ainsley. They have been seeking to sell the islands for some time; the asking price, we gather, has risen from \$11,000,000 to \$36,000,000 over the last several years.

The family now has a prospective customer, willing to sign a lease-purchase arrangement. Leslie Fullard-Leo would not divulge the terms, the purchaser, or the prospective use of the islands but did allow that the pending bill might complicate matters. Meanwhile, the deal had not been signed at press time because when the document was ready brother Ainsley was visiting Palmyra—maybe for the last time as co-owner of the islands.

Appendices

Documents out of sequence

—Document S1542H Villalobos Expedition.

—Document S1611D Albornoz, Frontier Governor of the Marianas.

Document S1542H

Villalobos used three of the thirteen ships that Alvarado had built in Guatemala

Source: Chapter 203 of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's book entitled: "The True Story of the Conquest of New Spain."

Note: Written in 1568 by one of the conquerors of Mexico. Translated by R. Lévesque.

Chapter CCIII.—About a fleet which the Frontier Governor Pedro de Alvarado built in the port of Acajutla in the Province of Guatemala.

It is appropriate for me to record, so that it may not be forgotten, the fact that the Frontier Governor Pedro de Alvarado built another fleet in the year of 1537, in the province of Guatemala where he was Governor, in a port called Acajutla¹ along the coast of the South Sea. He did this in order to comply with certain engagements which he had made with His Majesty the second time he went to Spain and came back married with a lady named Doña Beatriz de la Cueva, who was the sister of another named Francisca de la Cueva, extremely beautiful, who had been the first wife of Don Pedro de Alvarado and who died at Veracruz in New Spain.

Now then, the agreement made with His Majesty stipulated that Don Pedro de Alvarado was to build certain ships and provide them with pilots, seamen, soldiers, food supplies and all necessities for that fleet at his expense, and it was agreed that they should be sent on a voyage of discovery westward to China and the Moluccas or any other islands among the Spice Islands. And, for this discovery to be effected, His Majesty promised him that he would grant him some favors in those lands. However, because I have not seen such agreement, I refer to it and will not mention it in this narrative.

Now, to return to my narrative, he built in the South Sea 13 ships of a good size, well supplied with bread, meat, barrels of water and all the things that they could get a hold of in those days, and well equipped with guns, good pilots and seamen. Indeed, for it to be a good fleet, while at the same time being so far away from the port of Veracruz—

1 Ed. note: Today this port is part of San Salvador.

in fact, they were built at some 150 leagues from Veracruz—whence at the time they brought the iron to make spkes with, as well as the anchors and barrel [staves] and everything required for said fleet, because at that time there were no ship from Spain coming to the port of Caballos.¹ He [Alvarado] spent many thousands of pesos of gold in this venture, whereas such money would have been sufficient to build 80 ships in Seville. In fact, the wealth that he had brought back from Peru did not suffice, and neither the gold that was mined for him in the province of Guatemala, not even the tributes that he got from his towns, nor the money that he got on loans from his investors and friends, plus the merchandise that was purchased on credit. Indeed, what he spent for horses, [salaries for] captains and seamen, arquebuses, crossbows and other types of weapons, represented a large sum of pesos in gold.

When his ships were ready to sail, with each ship flying the royal standard, he appointed pilots and captains and gave them instructions on what they were to do, at night as well as in the daytime, and the courses that they were to follow, including the procedures for light signals at night and in case of storms. After they had heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, celebrated by a bishop of that province, the same Frontier Governor took command of the fleet as Captain General.

They set sail in the year of 1537 or 1538 (I do not remember which). He went on his course up the coast to the port that is called Purificación in the province of Jalisco,² and in said port he had to take on water and food supplies, and more soldiers, although he had already over 550 soldiers in said ships.

Well, the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, heard about this large fleet, which in these ports can be said to have been very large, and of the many soldiers, horses and guns that it carried, and so he thought it to be a very great thing, which indeed it was, considering how difficult it was to make ready 13 ships in the South Sea and that so many soldiers could have been assembled, so far away from the port of Veracruz, and from Mexico, because, as I have said before, there were not yet any ships that came from Spain with merchandise to the Port of Caballos. This was an incredible thing for anyone who knew about conditions in these parts and knowing how great were the costs involved. Well, when the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, heard that this fleet was on the way to China, and that he learned from pilots and cosmographers that it was very possible to go on such discovery by going west, and had it certified by a gentleman in his company, one named Villalobos who knew a lot about the art of navigation, and also because he had heard that the valorous Hernando Cortés had sent three ships to discover the same islands before he went to Spain and was not yet Marquis, he decided to write to Don Pedro de Alvarado, making him good offers and promises, and giving orders for the expedition to take place as a joint venture with him. To make this happen, the Viceroy sent Don Luís de Castilla and a mayordomo of his, named Agustín

1 Ed. note: Port on the north coast of Guatemala. The route they used was across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

2 Ed. note: Appears to correspond to Chamela Bay.

Guerrero, to come to terms. When the frontier governor saw the proposals that they brought for the purpose, and had discussed the details with them, it was agreed that the Viceroy should meet with the frontier governor face to face in a town called Chiribitio that is in the province of Michoacan,¹ which was part of the *encomienda* of a certain Juan de Alvarado, a dependent of the same governor, Don Pedro de Alvarado. They came to an agreement on a common venture, and after this, they discussed who was to be the Captain General of the fleet. On this subject, they had different opinions: Don Pedro wanted the post to go to one of his nephews named Juan de Alvarado, not the same man who was owner of Chiribitio but another man with the same name, but the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, wanted one of his companions named Villalobos to be appointed jointly with said Alvarado as captains [general].

Later on, Don Pedro de Alvarado went to the port of Navidad—and so it is called—where all his ships and soldiers were at the time, in order to despatch them himself.

...
[However, news came to Alvarado that some Spaniards had been ambushed nearby and he went with an army on a relief expedition inland. While an officer was mounting guard on top of a high point, his horse lost its footing. Both man and horse came tumbling down on top of Alvarado and his horse. Badly wounded, Alvarado was carried to the nearby town of Purificación where he gave up the ghost. His bones were later taken to Guatemala.]

...
Let us leave this matter alone for now, and return to the fleet. When the men of the fleet realized that their leader was dead, everyone went his separate way.

Within one year, the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, ordered that three of the best among the 13 ships that the frontier governor was sending on a voyage of discovery be chosen. As captain of them all, he sent one of his men, already mentioned, whose name was Villalobos, who was to follow the same route as already agreed for this discovery.

As far as what happened during said voyage, I do not know much about it, but I can say that they went to certain islands where the king of Portugal already had some captains trading there, and they captured him, and he ended up in Spain.

...

1 Ed. note: Tiripitio, 50 km east of Acamburo.

Documents S1611D

García de Alborno, descendant of Legazpi, Frontier Governor of the Marianas

Source: AGI Ultramar 562 Colección Simancas.

Note: The Ladrones Islands were not yet colonized. They were renamed the Marianas in 1668, when they were occupied.

D1. Letter of the Council of the Indies to the king, dated 7 May 1611

Original text in Spanish.

Señor

Por informacion de parte de Oficio hechas en la Audiencia Real de la Ciudad de Mexico, conforme á la Ordenanza conta que Don Garcia de Alborno, Acuña y Legazpi Adelantado de la Ysla de los Ladrones en las Filipinas es viznieto materno de Rodrigo de Alborno y nieto paterno de Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, y materno de Don Garcia de Alborno y hijo mayor del adelantado Melchor de Legazpi difuntos y que el dicho Rodrigo de Alborno estando sirviendo al Emperador su Señor que sea en gloria, de su Secretario, y fué por Contador de la Real Hacienda de la Ciudad de Mexico, y el primero que past² á exercir este oficio, y le usó algunos años, y por ausencia del Marques del Valle [Cortés] fué su Teniente de Gobernador de la Nueva España y hizo la iglesia Caatedral de ella, y habiendosele dado por sus servicios la yns^o [sic] de Guastepes se le quitaron por ser oficial Real y que el dicho Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, pasó á la Nueva España, donde sssirvió en las ocasiones que en su tiempo se ofrecieron y en virtud de Cedula Real el Virrey Don Luis de Velasco el año de 63, le nombró por General de la jornada del descubrimiento, pacificación y pooblacion de las Yslas del Poniente, sin señalarle sueldo, y tomó asiento y Capitulaciones con el sobre ello, la cual firmó el Rey N. S. que sea en gloria, y una de las condiciones del fué se le habia de hacer merced de la tenencia de las fortalezas que en la dicha isla fabricaase á su costa por su vida y de sus herederos, y que luego que hubiese nueva de [rather en] la Nueva España de haberse hecho el dicho descubrimiento, se le habia de dar en ella 4,000 ducados de renta perpetuos en la Real Hacienda ó en un pueblo de ins^o [sic] para Ayuda á casar dos hijas, que en conformidad de esto fué á la dicha jornada y hizo muuuchos gastos de su ha-

cienda y estando en ella, en los Navios que iban de Nueva España, le embiaron sus deudos bastimientos y otras cosas á su costa con que socorrió la gente de su cargo y habiendo dado la obediencia los naturales de Manila, S.M. le hizo la merced de dar Título de Adelantado de las dichas Yslas de los Ladrones para el y sus subcesores, y el año de 94, á Melchor Lopez de Legazpi, su hijo pero al dicho Don Garcia de Albornoz, del repartimiento de yns^o de Bitis y Lubao en las dichas islas con que fuese á residir en ellas y no lo haciendo, se diese á la persona que estubiese casada ó casan con la hija mayor que hubiese quedado del dicho Adelantado, lo cual no gozó por estar sirviendo en la Ciudad de Mexico el Oficio de Contador de la Real Hacienda de ella, y bino á estos reys^o á dar aviso de haaberse hecho el dicho descubrimiento habiendo buuelto á la Ciudad de Mexico á exercer su Oficio procuró siempre el aumento de la Real Hacienda, y que de dos nietos que llevó consigo á la dicha jornada el dicho su abuelo paterno el uno murió en ella siendo Maestre de Campo y el otro descubrió el viage para venir desde las dichas Yslas á la Nueva España, de que se siguió grande utilidad y beneficio universal de aquel Reyno, y el dicho Don Garcia de Albornoz su abuelo materno fué Factor y Veedor de la Caxa Real de aquella dicha Ciudad de Mexico donde sirvió con aprovacion, y que por los muchos gastos que hizo en la dicha jornada y conquista el ddicho adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi su abuelo dexó sus hijos pobres y el y su madre, tres hermanos y una hermana lo estan y no se pueden sustentar conforme á su calidad, y que por los servicios referidos no se ha hecho merced in gratificacion á los dichos Miguel, Melchor, y Don Garcia de Legazpi, Rodrigo y D. Garcia de Albornoz ni á sus mugeres y suplica á V.M. atento á ello le haga merced como á hijo mayor del dicho adelantado Melchor de Legazpi del repartimiento de Bitis y Lubao de que sele hizo á él y no lo goz^o M162 y que sea por vida de succsion y mas pertetuo sin obligacion de ir á residir en el y darle Título de Marques ó Conde, y á Doña Luisa de Albornoz y Acuña su madre, y á D. Antonio, D. Miguel, y Doña Teresa de Albornoz sus hermanos 123 pesos de renta perpetua en la Caxa Real de Mexico y de honrrar V.M. á el y á sus dos hermanos con habitos de Santiago y la Audiencia Real de la dicha Ciudad de Mexico.

En el parecer que dice que por los muchos y grandes servicios que hizo el dicho Adelantado su abuelo en la conquista de las dichas Yslas (donde murió) resultó haberse puesto tantos reynos provincias en partes tan remotas en la Corona Real y se ha seguido y sigue tanto aprovechamiento á ellos y á la Nueva España podria V.M. hacer merced á dho D. Garcia de Albornoz su nieto, a quien tiene por Cavallero de buen rendimiento, modesto y honorado trato un Avito y ocho mil pesos de renta en cada un año con lo que pueda sustentar el Título que tiene de Adelantado y vivir conforme á su calidad y socorrer y alimentar á la dicha su madre y hermanos.

Y habiendose visto quanto aparecido podrá V.M. hacerle merced de honrrarle con un Abito de las tres ordenes militares pues cabe bien en la Calidad de su persona y en los servicios referidos de sus pasados.

V.M. le hará la qye nas será servido.

En Madrid á 7 de Mayo de 11611.

Hay ocho rubricas.

Membrete.—Consejo de Yndias 7 de Mayo de 1611.—Las causas porque parece que á D. Garcia de Albornoz, Acuña y Legazpi, Adelantado de la Ysla de los Ladrones, le podria V.M. hacer merced de honrrarle con un Avito.

Quedo advertido de esto y los papces que hubiere dado paara lo del Avito se eembiese á Francisco Gonzalez para que me lo acuerde con brevedad.—Hay una rubrica.

Translation.

Sire:

From information taken from official reports within the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, in accordance with the Regulations, it appears that Don Garcia de Albornoz, Acuña de Legazpi, Frontier Governor of the Ladrones in the Philippines, is the grandchild on his mother's side of Rodrigo de Albornoz¹ and grandchild on his father's side of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, and on his mother's side, grandchild of Don Garcia de Albornoz, and first-born son of the Frontier Governor Melchor de Legazpi, all deceased, and that said Rodrigo de Albornoz, while serving the Emperor his Lord (may he rest in peace) as his Secretary, and who was also Accountant in the Royal Treasury in Mexico and was the first person to fill that post, which he did for a few years, and also, during the absence of the Marquis del Valle, was Lieutenant Governor of New Spain and he had the Cathedral there built; and, having been given, on account of his services, the [repartimiento of the] Indians of Guastepeg, he had it taken away from him, on account of being a Royal Official, and that said Miguel Lopez de Legazpi passed to New Spain, where he served on occasion as opportunity offered and, by virtue of a Royal Decree, the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, in 1563 appointed him General of the expedition sent to discover, pacify and colonize the Western [Philippine] Islands, without allotting him a salary but he made an agreement with him about this which was signed by the King our Lord (may he rest in peace). One of the conditions of this agreement was that he was to be granted the command of any forts that he would build at his expense while he lived, and to his heirs during their lifetimes, and afterwards, once news of the discovery having been received in New Spain, he was to be given there 4,000 ducats in perpetual pension from the Royal Treasury or in a town of Indians as a way to assist him to have his two daughters married.

As per this agreement, he went on said expedition and spent swaid sums of money of his own, and while he was busy there, aboard ships from New Spain there were sent to him by his business agents some supplies and other things at his expense with which he paid the men in his charge and, after the natives of Manila swore obedience to Y.M., you granted him the Title of Frontier Governor of said Ladrone Islands to him and

1 Ed. note: Rodrigo Albornoz was the first royal accountant sent from Spain at the time of Cortés. He was very contrary to Cortés in his letters to the king.

his heirs and, in the year of 1594, it passed to Melchor Lopez de Legazpi, his son, but to Don Garcia de Albornoz the repartimiento of the Indians of Bitis [rather Betis] and Lubao¹ in the said islands, and would go and reside there; however, if there were no one willing to do that, it was to be given to the person who was married or would marry his first daughter of the Frontier Governor. However, he was unable to enjoy this, because he was serving as Royal Accountant in the City of Mexico, but he came to these kingdoms to give notice of said discovery having been made.

Having returned to the City of Mexico to exercise his post, he always thrived to increase the Royal income, and from the two grand-children when his paternal grandfather had brought along with him on said expeditions, one died in it, while he was Master-of-camp and the other discovered the return route from said Islands to New Spain, for which resulted a great benefit and universal advantage to that Kingdom, and the maternal grandfather of said Don Garcia de Albornoz was Factor and Inspector of the Royal Treasury of said City of Mexico where he served with recognized talent, and that, for those expenses that he made in said expedition and conquest, the said Frontier Governor Miguel Lopez de Legazpi his grandfather, he left his children in poverty. He, his mother, his three brothers and one sister are [still] poor and they cannot maintain themselves according to their status and, with respect to the above-mentioned services no reward whatever has been made to the said Miguel, Melchor or Don Garcia de Legazpi, Rodrigo or Don Garcia de Albornoz, not to their wives.

He therefore begs Y.M. that, in view of his being the first son of the Frontier Governor Melchor Legazpi, you may grant him the repartimiento of Betis and Lubao, a favor which was made to him but which he did not enjoy, and that it should be by way of succession and at perpetuity, without the need to go and reside there, and to give him the title of Marques or Count, and to Doña Luisa de Albornoz y Acuña his mother, and to Don Antonio, Don Miguel and Doña Teresa de Albornoz, his brothers and sisters, 123 pesos in permanent pension from the Royal Treasury of Mexico, and may Y.M. honor him the habit of St. James and [membership in] the Royal Audiencia of said City of Mexico.

In this request of his, he says that, in view of the many great services of Frontier Governor his grandfather during the conquest of said islands (in which he died) there resulted the addition of so many kingdoms and provinces in places so remote to the Royal Crown, and that continue such great benefits for them and for New Spain, Y.M. could grant to said Don Garcia de Albornoz his grandchild, whom he considers a gentleman of good performance, modesty and honorable behavior, a habit and 8,000 pesos per year, with which he could support himself in the title that he holds of Frontier Governor and to live in accordance with his status and to support and feed his mother, brothers and sisters.

1 Ed. note: Two towns, so linked together, in the province of Pampanga.

And, after this has been reviewed, Y.M. could grant him the honor of a habit of one of the military orderxs, as indeed it fits well with his character and the above-mentioned service of his ancestors.

Your Majesty will decide what may be of your pleasure.

Maadrid, 7 May 1611.

There follow 8 signatures.

[Summary.—Council of the Indies, 7 May 1611.—The reasons why it appears that Don García de Albornoz, Acuña y Legazpi, Frontier Governor of the Ladrone Islands deserves his being granted a habit by Your Majesty.

I remain advised of this and, let the accompanying papers regarding the matter of the habit be sent to Francisco Gonzalez, so that I may grant it as soon as possible.

[Rubric].

D2. Another consultation of the Council of the Indies in 1612

Original text in Spanish.

[Al] Consejo de Yndias 29 de Agosto de 1612.

En la pretencion de Don Garcia de Albornoz y Acuña Adelante de la Ysla de los Ladrones.—

Miro el Consejo si quede ser de consecuencia para otros el dar esta permission para [no] residir y los inconvenientes que podrian resultar de abrir esta puerta, y en quanto al Abito llevense á Gonzalez los papeles para que me lo acuerde luego como lo tengo mandado.

Hay una rubrica.

Señor.

Por la Consulta inclusa en que se refieren largamente los servicios de los pasados de D. Garcia de Alborno de Curuzelaegui [sic] adelantado de la Isla de los Ladrones en Filipinas, counsultó el Consejo á V.M. sele podria hacer merced de un Avito de las tres ódenes militares y fué V.M. servido responder (quedo advertido de esto y los papeles que hubiese dado para lo del Avito se embien á Francisco Gonzalez para que me lo acuerde con brevedad) y despues de esto con ocasion de haber presentado nuevos papeles y vistos en el Consejo en 8 de Octubre de 611 consultó á V.M. le podria hacer merced de un repartimiento de tres mil ducaddos en las dichas Yslas por dos vidas conforme á la ley de la Subcession con obligacion de residir en ellas desde que fuese efecto la dicha merced, y que sele pudiese encomendar aunque no se hallase presente con que dentro de dos años fuese obligado á ir á ellas y de otra manera le perdiese y no sele acudiese con renta alguna de el y V.M. fué servido concederlo asi y Agora por dos memooriales remitidos de vez ha representado que los servicios de su viisabuelo, abue-

lo, y padre, fueron muy señalados y hasta agora no han sido gratificados á cuya caussa su madre, dos hermanos y una hermana no tienen con que se sustentar por haber gastado sus pasados su hacienda en servicio de V.M. y el estar en esta Corte casi un año que V.M. mandó que el Señor Francisco Gonzalez de Heredia le acordase con brevedad lo que tocaba al Avito hasta agora no ha sido servido tomar resolucion en ello y que la renta que V.M. le hizo merced no es equivalente á los dichos servicios ni se podrá sustentar con ella ni con mucho tiempo no tendrá efecto, ni tienees con que llevar su casa desde Mexico á dichas Yslas en que gastará mucha cantidad y suplica á V.M. atento á ello le haga merced de concederle las que tiene pedidas y tomar resolucion en la consulta del ávito y habiendose visto en el quanto aaaparecido acordar á V.M. la pretencion que tiene del Abito. pues es persona en quien cabe esta honrra y merced, y que siendo V.M. dervido sola podria hacer de dispensar que puede gozar del dicho repartimiento donde quisiere relevandole de la oobligacion de residir en las Yslas Filipinas por su vida. V.M. le hará lo que mas será servido. En Madrid 29 de Agosto de 612.

Hay ocho rubricas.

...

Translation.

[To the] Council of the Indies, 29 August 1612.

Re: Pretence of Don García de Albornoz y Acuña, Frontier Governor of the Island [sic] of Ladrones.

The Council is to decide if, as a consequence of this, the door may not be opened for others, [not] to reside, and the ddisadvantages that might result, and, with regards to the habit, to foorward the paapers to Gonzalez, so that he may then grant it to me, as I have ordered.

Sire:

By the enclosed consultation, in which are discussed at lenth the services of the ancestors of Don García de Albornoz de Cruzelaegui [rather Acuña y Legazpi], Frontier Governor of the Island of Ladrones in the Philippines, the Council advised Y.M. that you could grant him a habit from one of the three military orders and Y.M. was pleased to respond as follows: "I remain informed of same and the papers that were given to support the matter of the habit should be sent to Francisco Gonzalez so that he may grant it to me as soon as possible." Afterwards, on the occasion of other papers having been presented and reviewed by the Council on 8 October 1611, the Council recommended to Y.M. that Y.M. could grant him a repartimiento of 3,000 ducats in said Islands for two lifetimes in accordance with the Law of Succession with the obligation of residiing therein from the time of the grant being made, but that it could be granted to him, though he may not be present there until after a delay of two years when he would become obliged to go there, under penalty of losing it, and he should not be given any income from it, and Y.M. was pleased to grant these two requests that he has since made on account of the services of his great-grandfather, grandfather and father,

most distinguished and which have not yet been rewarded, and as a consequence of this his mother, two brothers and one sister do not have another with which to live, because his ancestors spent their fortune in the service of Y.M. and the fact that he has lived in this city without means or one year since Y.M. ordered that Francisco Gonzalez de Heredia grant him quickly what concerned the habit and so far you have not been pleased to decide on this matter and that the pension which Y.M. granted him is not equivalent to the said services as he would not be able to maintain himself with it for a long time, and he has no means to move his residence from Mexico to said islands for which he would need much money; he therefore begs Y.M. to grant him the favors that he has requested and to make a decision with respect to the habit.

And, the matter having been seen by the Council, it appears that Y.M. can grant him the habit; indeed, he is a person befitting such habit and favor, and, should Y.M. be pleased, he could be given the dispensation of being able to enjoy the repartimiento without the obligation of residing in the Philippine Islands during his lifetime.

Y.M. will decide what suit your pleasure.

Madrid, 29 August 1612.

There follow 8 signatures.

[Annexes omitted.]

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF MICRONESIA

INCLUDES

COELLO'S MAP OF OCEANIA,
INCLUDING MICRONESIA
1852¹

EDWIN H. BRYAN'S GUIDE TO PLACE NAMES
1971
(Maps amended, text summarized)

¹ Ed. note: The inset General Map of the Palaos, Marianas and Caroline Islands was re-published separately by the Royal Geographic Society of Madrid in 1885 (see HM31: 11-13).

CONDICIONES DE LA SUSCRICION.

El Atlas general de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar constará de 45 hojas, que se repartirán por el orden siguiente:

AÑO 1869.	AÑO 1870.	AÑO 1871.	AÑO 1872.	AÑO 1873.
Madrid. (prov.) Alava. Guipúzcoa. Madrid. (plana) Segovia. Caceres. 1. Canarias. 1. Filipinas. 1. Cádiz. Pamplona. Oviedo. Ponferrada. Oviedo. Ponferrada.	Lugo. Avila. Córdoba. Jaén. Valencia. Teruel. Lérida. Barcelona. Albacete. Murcia. Cuenca. Almería. Granada. Cádiz. Pamplona. Oviedo. Ponferrada.	Orones. Vizcaya. Tartagosa. Guba. 1. Cuba. 2. Coruña. Alcántara. Soria. Cádiz. (prov.) Cádiz. (plana) Almería. Granada. Cádiz. Pamplona. Oviedo. Ponferrada.	Buenos Aires. Zaragoza. Sevilla. Suplemento. 1. Badajoz. Almería. Granada. Cádiz. Pamplona. Oviedo. Ponferrada.	Lugo. Avila. Córdoba. Jaén. Valencia. Teruel. Lérida. Barcelona. Albacete. Murcia. Cuenca. Almería. Granada. Cádiz. Pamplona. Oviedo. Ponferrada.

En cada hoja, además del mapa de la provincia, figuran los planos particulares de sus principales poblaciones, y extensas noticias estadísticas é históricas, escritas por D. Pascual Madoz.

Los precios por suscripción, iguales en Madrid y en las provincias, son los que expresa la tarifa siguiente:

Precio de cada mapa sin doblar en papel grueso.	30 rs.
Id. doblado en papel mas delgado y con cartón de la misma forma que este.	25
Id. doblado y con cartón de piel labrada con relieve y colores.	35
Id. ornada en encuadernación, forrada en tela y con estuche.	50

Por las hojas que no tomen parte de suscripción, ó sea en venta, se pagará 5 rs. sobre los precios anteriormente designados.

No se hace anticipo alguno, y se pagan los mapas en el acto de recibirlos. En cualquier época que se verifique la suscripción, se repartirán las hojas correspondientes. Las atrasadas podrán tomarse sucesivamente, con arreglo á condiciones que se darán de común acuerdo entre el suscriptor y la empresa. admiten también suscripciones á pagar á cuenta de sueldos atrasados, sin abitar en manera alguna el pechero de las mensualidades correspondientes. Asimismo se da abono á los ayuntamientos en el presupuesto de gastos municipales al importe de esta suscripción que se ha reconocido por real orden de 24 de febrero de 1864.

Se admiten suscripciones en la administración central en Madrid, calle de Carretes, núm. 2, y en las demás comisiones de la empresa.

ATLAS



POSESIONES DE ULTRAMAR.

DE FRANCISCO GOELLO,

Comandante coronel, capitán de Ingenieros.



PRECIO
DE
CADA HOJA
por
suscripción,
30 Rs.

PRECIO
DE
CADA HOJA
por
separado,
25 Rs.

ISLAS MARIANAS, I

Insurance Cost

[illegible]

Il primo è un'analisi di mercato che stabilisce quali sono le esigenze e le aspettative dei clienti. Il secondo è un'analisi di concorrenza che stabilisce quali sono le strategie e le tattiche dei concorrenti. Il terzo è un'analisi di risorse che stabilisce quali sono le forze e le debolezze dell'azienda. Il quarto è un'analisi di rischi che stabilisce quali sono le minacce e le opportunità dell'azienda. Il quinto è un'analisi di opportunità che stabilisce quali sono le possibilità di crescita dell'azienda. Il sesto è un'analisi di minacce che stabilisce quali sono le sfide e le difficoltà dell'azienda. Il settimo è un'analisi di punti di forza che stabilisce quali sono le competenze e le risorse dell'azienda. L'ottavo è un'analisi di punti di debolezza che stabilisce quali sono le carenze e le lacune dell'azienda. Il nono è un'analisi di punti di opportunità che stabilisce quali sono le possibilità di crescita dell'azienda. Il decimo è un'analisi di punti di minaccia che stabilisce quali sono le sfide e le difficoltà dell'azienda.

It is important to note that the results of the regression analysis are not statistically significant. This is due to the fact that the sample size is small and the data are not normally distributed. The results of the regression analysis are not statistically significant. This is due to the fact that the sample size is small and the data are not normally distributed.

[illegible]

Station	Latitude	Longitude	Depth (m)
1	28° 45' N	90° 15' W	100
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3	28° 45' N	90° 15' W	100
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6	28° 45' N	90° 15' W	100
7	28° 45' N	90° 15' W	100
8	28° 45' N	90° 15' W	100
9	28° 45' N	90° 15' W	100
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76	28° 45' N	90° 15' W	100
77	28° 45' N	90° 15' W	1

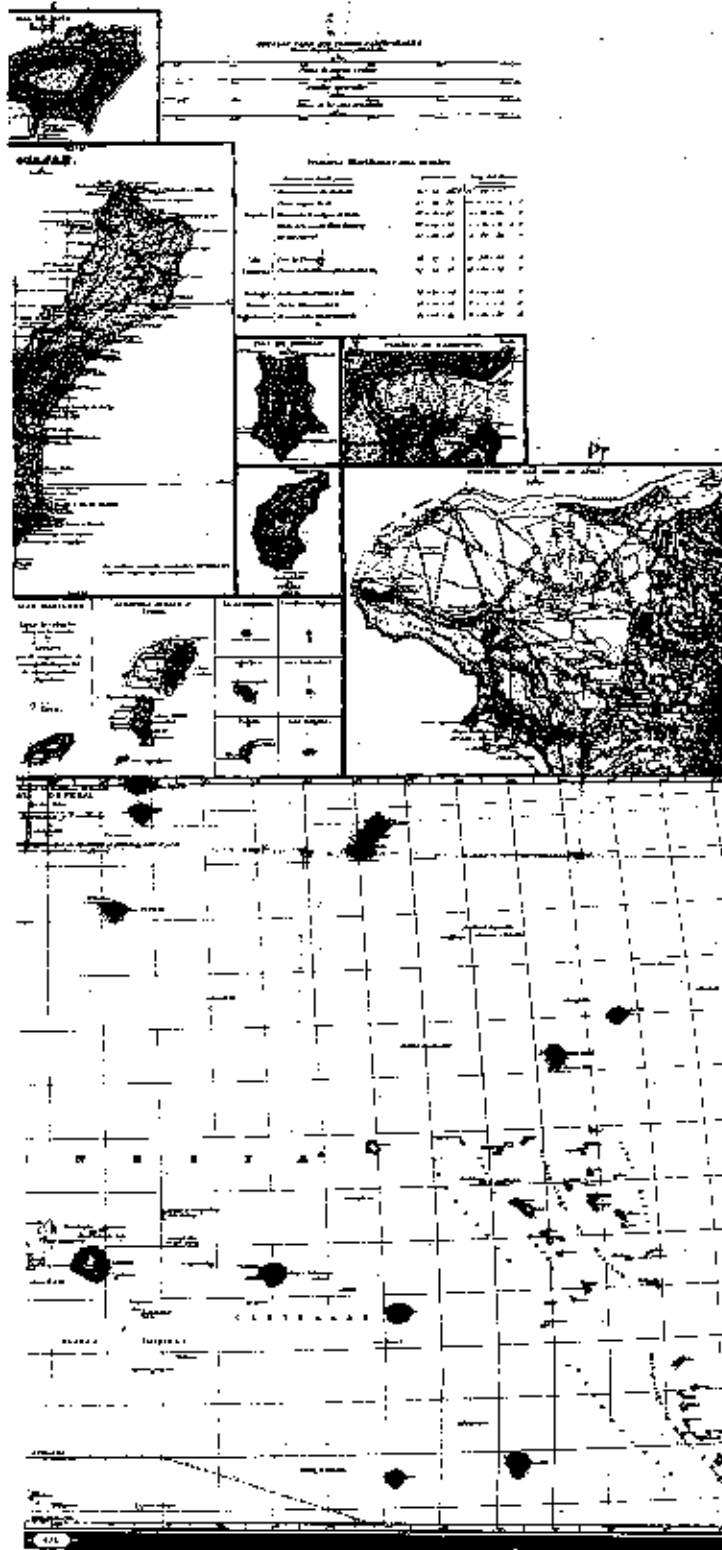
				
				
				



PALAUOS Y CAROLINAS.

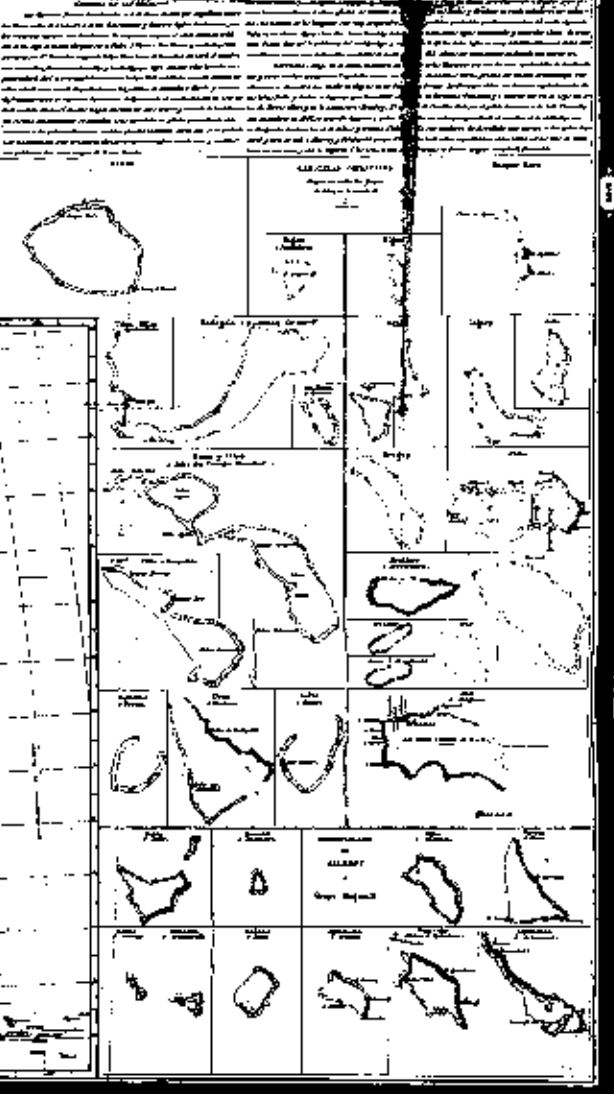
PAU. 20.
 Voz. Capitan de Ingenieros.
 ANTONIO PEREZ.
 AÑO 1907.

El presente mapa de las Islas de Palauos y Carolinas, que comprende el grupo de las Islas de Palauos y el grupo de las Islas de Carolinas, ha sido elaborado por el Sr. Capitan de Ingenieros D. Antonio Perez, con base en los datos que le han suministrado los señores D. Juan de Dios y D. Juan de Dios, que han sido los que han hecho el levantamiento de las mismas. El mapa ha sido elaborado en la escala de 1:100,000, y ha sido publicado en el año 1907.



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POSESIONES DE OCEANIA

NOTE

MARIANAS, PALAOS Y

FOR FE

Teniente Coronel, Capitan de Ingenieros

D. FRANCESCO GOBLIO.

MARTIN 1852

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ISLAS MARIANAS.

Estas islas forman una provincia dependiente de la Capitanía General y Gobierno superior de Filipinas; están regidas por un Gobernador militar, generalmente de la clase de Teniente Coronel ó Coronel, auxiliado en sus funciones militares por un Teniente ó Sargento Mayor, perteneciente á la clase de Capitanes, y en las asuntos de hacienda por un Administrador. El mismo Gobernador está encargado de la administración de justicia, asesorándose de una especie de consejo de guerra para las causas de alguna entidad, y sometiendo las delitas graves al fallo de la Audiencia de Manila. Para el gobierno y administración de algunas poblaciones hay Alcaldes con un corto sueldo que suelen ser militares retirados, y además en cada pueblo un Gobernadorcillo, un Teniente de justicia y un Alguacil nombrados en turno anualmente por las Cabezas de Barangay ó jefes de familias, y elegidos por el Gobernador. Estas autoridades ejercen funciones municipales, forman los sumarios en casos de delitos y resuelven por sí las pequeñas litigios, siendo unos verdaderos jueces de paz. Hay además celadores ó jueces para las remensas y fomento de la ganadería y algunas empleadas subalternas. En el orden eclesiástico dependen estas islas del Obispo de Cebú habiendo á parrocos, y en Guajan uno de las cuales tiene amplias facultades, y carácter de Vicario y para las islas de Rota y Saipan. La fuerza armada se compone de compañía de obreros y otra de milicias de Artillería con 25 plazas, un batallón de Milicia Urbana de 6 compañías con 3 oficiales y 70 hombres cada una. Para la defensa del territorio hay 20 ó 30 cañones colocados en el palacio del Gobernador en Agaña y en varios fuertes de la isla, todas muy abundantes, y una pequeña goleta con varias jaluas y barcos del país á cargo de algunas escuadras de marina.

El clima de las Marianas es sumamente templado y saludable, las mayores calorías que se experimentan en Mayo, Junio y Julio, rara vez hacen subir el termómetro Beaumér á mas de 36° y el frío puede decirse que no se conoce, las lluvias son frecuentes y abundantes, sobre todo desde Julio á Noviembre. Las vientos reinan alternativamente hacia el Este de Diciembre á Junio y en los otros meses al Oeste, los huracanes son mas frecuentes en los últimos meses y se hacen sentir de cuando en cuando ligeras temblores de tierra.

El terreno se compone de rocas calizas, macas de coral ó de madreporas y capas volcánicas, apareciendo las islas como formadas por erupciones submarinas; en Guajan se conservan trazas de volcanes que indican una antigüedad remota, pero en otras islas se ven señales mas recientes, y en Iigan y Asumpción las hay todavía en actividad. Algunas particularidades ferruginosas que arrastran varios arroyuelos de Guajan, ligeras vestijas argentíferas y algo de azufre, salitre, lignito y turba en muy cortas cantidades, con cales y piedras de construcción son las únicas producciones minerales de este archipiélago.

La naturaleza del terreno y del clima influyen poderosamente para la variedad de producciones y la laxanza de la vegetación; grandes bosques en los que se encuentran maderas para toda clase de construcción entremezcladas con frondosas praderas cubren la mayor parte de las islas, existiendo plantas filamentosas, tintóreas y medicinales de muchas especies. El arbol de ban, varias clases de palmeras, el cocotero y otra porción de arboles, ofrecen par do quiera sus subraros frutos, y hay además de las bananas, guayaba, el mango y otras frutas de estos climas, las granadas, naranjas, limoneras y otras frutales de Europa. La caña de azúcar, el café, arroz, caña de azúcar, caña de azúcar, caña de azúcar y otra porción de sustancias farináceas y alimenticias se dan juntamente con la mayor parte de las legumbres de nuestro país, como son las habas, guisantes, garbanzos, chíchuelas, el maíz y otras producciones. El trigo no se recoge pero podría cultivarse con suma facilidad lo mismo que la pimienta, canela, nuez moscada y otras plantas de las que se encuentran algunas ejemplares; el tabaco y el algodón se cultivan con éxito aunque el 2º en cortas cantidades y es tal la bondad del terreno que basta con una labor ligera y superficial para conseguir abundantes cosechas. Del coco sacan los naturales aceite y un aguardiente llamado tuba, así como otras bebidas espirituosas y sustancias oleosas de diferentes plantas.

En las Marianas no se encuentra ningún animal dañino ni tampoco insectos venenosos. Antes del establecimiento de los Españoles no se conocía ningún gran cuadrúpedo, pero estos introdujeron bien pronto el buey y después el ciervo, el cerdo, la cabra, el caballo y el asno; á excepción de las dos últimas especies que son hoy raras, han procreado mucho y se encuentran en todas las islas, y aun en estado salvaje. Las ratas que parecen indígenas abundan y destruyen gran número de cosechas. De aves existen varias especies, entre ellas las gallinas y patos que han sido importadas de otros países. En las montañas se encuentra variedad y gran cantidad de pecados, entre ellos el mañaja, tiao, y caballas que aunque pequeños son muy sabrosos; también se encuentran el balaté de superior calidad y gran tamaño, pero la falta de embarcaciones hace que la pesca de todas clases sea muy poca considerable. Los insectos mas abundantes é incómodos son el mosquito y la hormiga.

PALAOS Y CAROLINAS.

Ninguna de estas islas se halla ocupada, ni sometida indirectamente al dominio Español, y la nación solo sitúa sus derechos á ellas, en la proximidad á sus otras posesiones, en haberlas descubierto primeramente y en haber enviado algunas misiones dando las otras establecimientos de la Oceanía. La mayor parte son de poca extensión e importancia, que en ocupación no produciría ventaja alguna. Solo el grupo de Petia, la isla Uyap, el grupo de Rue, y las islas Bone begy y Palan son importantes por su tamaño, y la primera y la última lo son además por su buena situación, pudiendo producir en ocupación, unida á la de Guajan, ventajas muy considerables para la navegación en estas mareas.

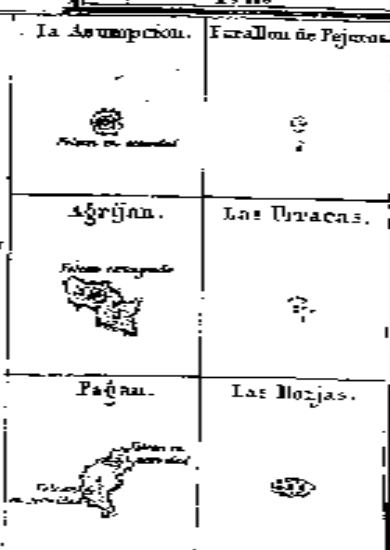
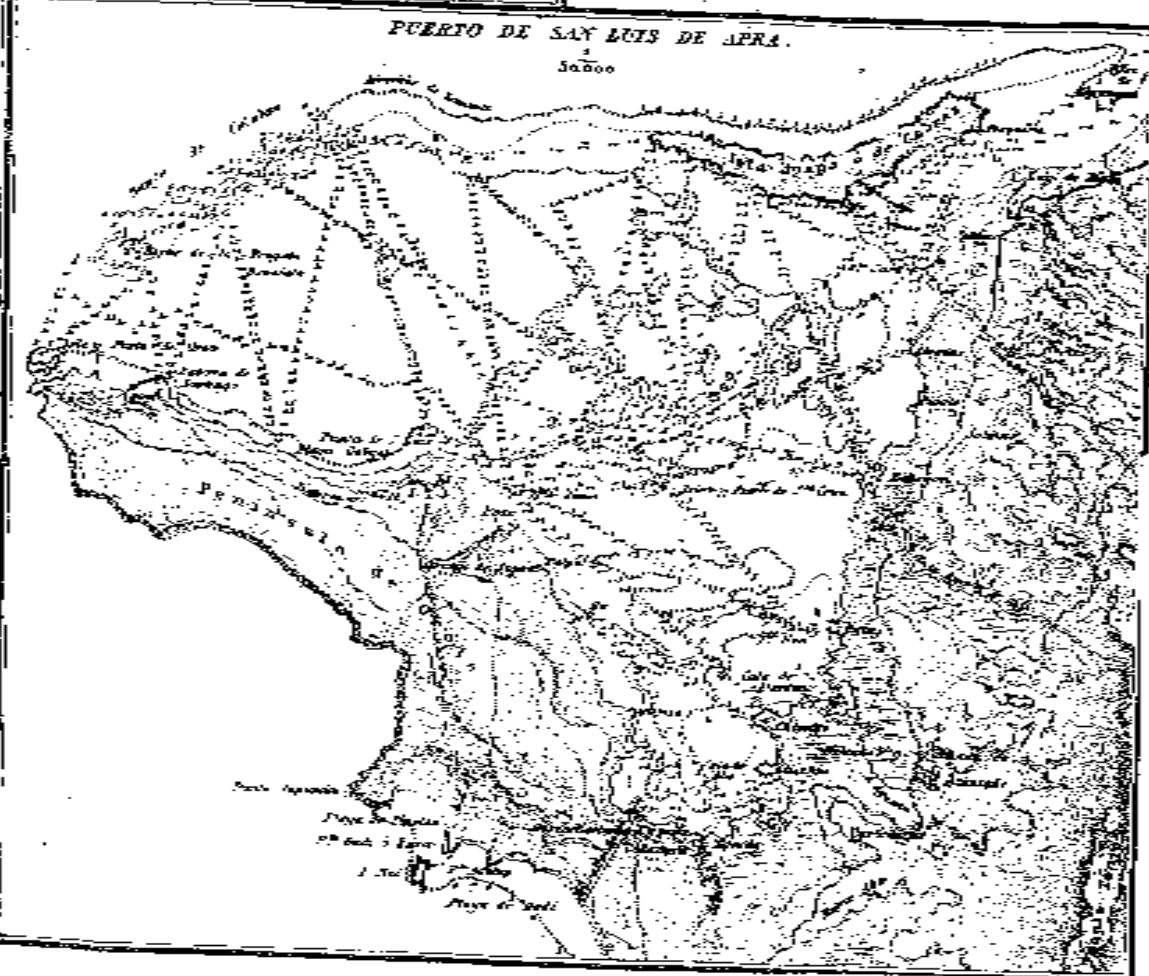
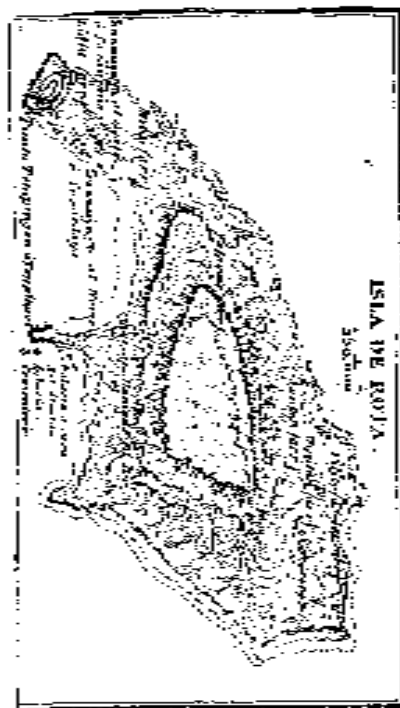
El clima de estas islas es el mismo que el de las Marianas, estando también sujetas á algunas tempestades de tierra. Tanto las islas altas como las bajas parecen formadas por volcans submarinos: en las segundas sobre el contorno de sus crechas coniruyilas, se han ido formando masas de sandrepora, y coral que constituyen los arrecifes: vireadores sobre las cuales se hallan colocadas diferentes islas, formadas también por las arenas calcareas y otros residuos que han ido depositando las aguas y donde el viento á las pujas han llevado después las semillas de la vegetación. El abrigo de las islas altas, y huyendo solo de las parages en que desaguan corrientes de agua dulce, se han formado también arrecifes de coral, pudiendo designarse con una propiedad estas islas bajo el nombre de Corallinas: No se conocen mineras en ellas, y únicamente en las altas se ven producidos volcánicos. Las producciones peculiares mas comunes son el árbol del pan y el coco, que constituyen el alimento de sus habitantes: se hallan tambien la nipa y otras clases de palmeras, el plátano, el banano, el ñame, la caña de azúcar, el árbol de la pimienta, el bambú, el ébano y otras maderas: plantas filamentosas como la abaca y aliménticas como el ñame, la patata y varias raíces, formadas de la ñava, y otras plantas se crían sin que usen las naturales. En las islas pequeñas no hay mas agua dulce, que la que se conserva de las lluvias en balsas, cisternas ó en troncos de árboles preparados al efecto. Del mismo modo que en las Marianas no se encuentran aqui reptiles dañinos, y el unico cuadrúpedo originario es la rata: los bueyes, bufalos, cerdos y cabras han sido introducidos en algunas islas altas por los Europeos, y se ven tambien gallos y perros salvajes en ellas: las gallinas, pollos, y otras aves se encuentran en abundancia: en el mar se pesca el tálato, tortugas, las conchas de caracaras de perlas y otras muchas perlas, calicacas.

Los habitantes de las Palaos y Carolinas parecen descendientes de los Malayos ó mas bien de los Dayas que habitan la parte central de Borneo: tienen algunas rasgos de los Japoneses, y su color es sobre todo, aunque es un varas casi blancos, y otros de diez mas oscuros. Todos son altos, bien formados, y de facciones regulares, generalmente mejores en las hombres que en las mujeres: ademas son astutos, fuertes, ágiles, y buenos nadadores. Su carácter es dulce, alegre, bondadoso, y hospitalario, no son propensos al robo, y sus mujeres son castas, y se recrean de los extranjeros sobre todo en las islas bajas en las altas y en especial en Petia, Rue, y Bone begy son mas audaces, pero muchas de sus travesuras las cometen las ex-ceras de las tripulaciones de los buques Europeos. Las enfermedades son las mismas de las Marianas, y originadas por la falta de limpieza ó la costumbre de comer pescado crudo. El idioma es casi el mismo en todo el archipiélago. Aunque la poligamia, y el divorcio están admitidos, no tienen comunmente los habitantes mas de una mujer, y respetan mucho las viudas y ancianos. La union con hombre bu-bura que se les concede en algunas islas pequeñas es la de matar los hijos de cada mujer que puyen de tres, fundada en la necesidad de coartar el desarrollo de la población: algunas suponen además que las de varias islas con antropófagos y hacen sacrificios humanos. Hay entre los habitantes diferencias de clases, perteneciendo siempre el jefe á la clase de los nobles: ademas de los jefes de tribus hay uno superior en cada isla ó grupo, que si neces extiende su dominio á otras islas inmediatas. Todas son muy respetadas, las demás prorrion á sus necesidades y sus

hay frutas reservadas exclusivamente para ellos. Los jóvenes y los ancianos administran la justicia, pero sus castigos más fuertes son la reprensión o el destierro: los primeros no llevan distinción de su categoría, pero los segundos aun después de muertos, conservando sus cadáveres en sitios reservados con alfileres, y ofrendas. En algunas islas conservan también los cuerpos de los deudos habitando, pero en otras los arrojan al mar. Las ocupaciones de estos isleños son la agricultura, la pesca, y la navegación en lo que son muy atrevidos. En sus guerras proceden siempre con habilidad: se pisan de rojo o amarillo para el combate en el que toman parte á veces hasta las mujeres: sus armas son el hacha, y la lanza con puntas de conchas, la maza y la honda. Sus diversiones son el canto, la danza y las penitencias para caer á tierra, en casas reservadas á este fin. Los habitantes van casi desnudos, van una cintura ó delantal, llevando varias mujeres una faja corta y otras y algunos hombres un sombrero de palma de forma china en la cabeza y una especie de capa ó poncho: usan muchas collares, y hojas enrolladas, runchas, huacas, ó flores en las orejas, que se rapan desmesuradamente; llevan el pelo tendido, ó recogido en verdichosas, formando sobre la cabeza, y sujeto á veces con un peine de figura de tenedor. Todas llevan diferentes rayas ó dibujos en la piel, y son muy aficionados á tatuar el cuerpo con aceite de coco. Los hombres se arrancan la barba y solo en muy pocas islas se dejan crecer una parte ó toda ella. Las habitaciones son chucas, y solo en algunas islas se ven mejores casas de madera, sostenidas á veces por pilares hiladas de piedra: para la conservación de sus piraguas construyen grandes cobertizos. Su mueblaje se reduce á esteras que sirven de cama, y de abrigo, á algunas vajillas, y cofres de madera, hachas, y cuchillos hechos de conchas, y otras utensilios. La industria de los indígenas se limita al tejido de sus cinturas, y ponchos en groseros teleros, y á la construcción de sus piraguas que son muy perfectas, y capaces de navegar de 8 á 12 millas por hora. Se ven en Banebey y Balan nuros, y ligeros antiguos, construidos de grandes piedras, que son obra sin duda de una raza más adelantada, lo mismo que los vestos de edificios con grandes pilares de Rota y Pimán. La instrucción es nula, pero poseen algunas nociones de astronomía, la dirección de los vientos, y del año, el sistema de numeración y algunos usan la escritura por signos. Tienen algunas ideas religiosas, reconocen la existencia de un ser supremo y de otra vida, pero no profesan culto exterior, existiendo algunos agoreros que conjuran las tempestades y á los que respetan mucho. El comercio de estas islas se reduce al cambio de sus productos con los buques que atracan en ellas y solo algunos piraguas de Saiboré, Los Surres y Utoi las llevan periódicamente á Guajan, para obtener hierro, amateños ó otras efectos. El número de habitantes de las Edoes y Carolinas no puede calcularse con exactitud: las noticias de los indígenas son muy exageradas, pero según datos probables puede resumirse del modo siguiente. Pohn 20,000 almas; Ujaep, Soa, Ruc, Sooa; Banebey, Sooa, Utoi, 1,000; islas bajas occidentales y centrales 1,000; id orientales 500. Aun así la población del archipiélago y rodeando la de las islas bajas es muy considerable, pues todas ellas reunidas no tienen más de 50,000 habitantes, cuando en España hay apenas 100.

HISTORIA. Diego de la Rocha descubrió en 1565 las islas Marianas, que con las más occidentales de las Carolinas y otras muchas navegantes Españolas fueron en los años sucesivos, por varios grupos del mismo archipiélago solo citaremos á Sautredra que vivió en Soa las de las Pinindas y Buenas Jardinas, que deben ser las más septentrionales de las islas Ratic y Ratic, á Legaspi que descubrió en 1565 la de Banebey (Pleasant) y á Quirós que vivió en Soa las de las de Torres (Ruc) y de la Asomación (Banebey). El nombre de Carolina dado por el piloto Luaxana á la isla Farwell que descubrió en 1588, se extendió después á todas las islas en estos parages, dando el nombre al archipiélago que se designaba también por el de Palaos y Buena Filipinas. En 1710 enviaron los Españoles una misión á las islas Sonora, y otra en 1712 á Anguag y Palatop del grupo Utoi, pero tanto estas expediciones como otras varias que se intraharon en esa época y que no llegaron á las islas que iban dirigidas, no dieron ningún resultado favorable.





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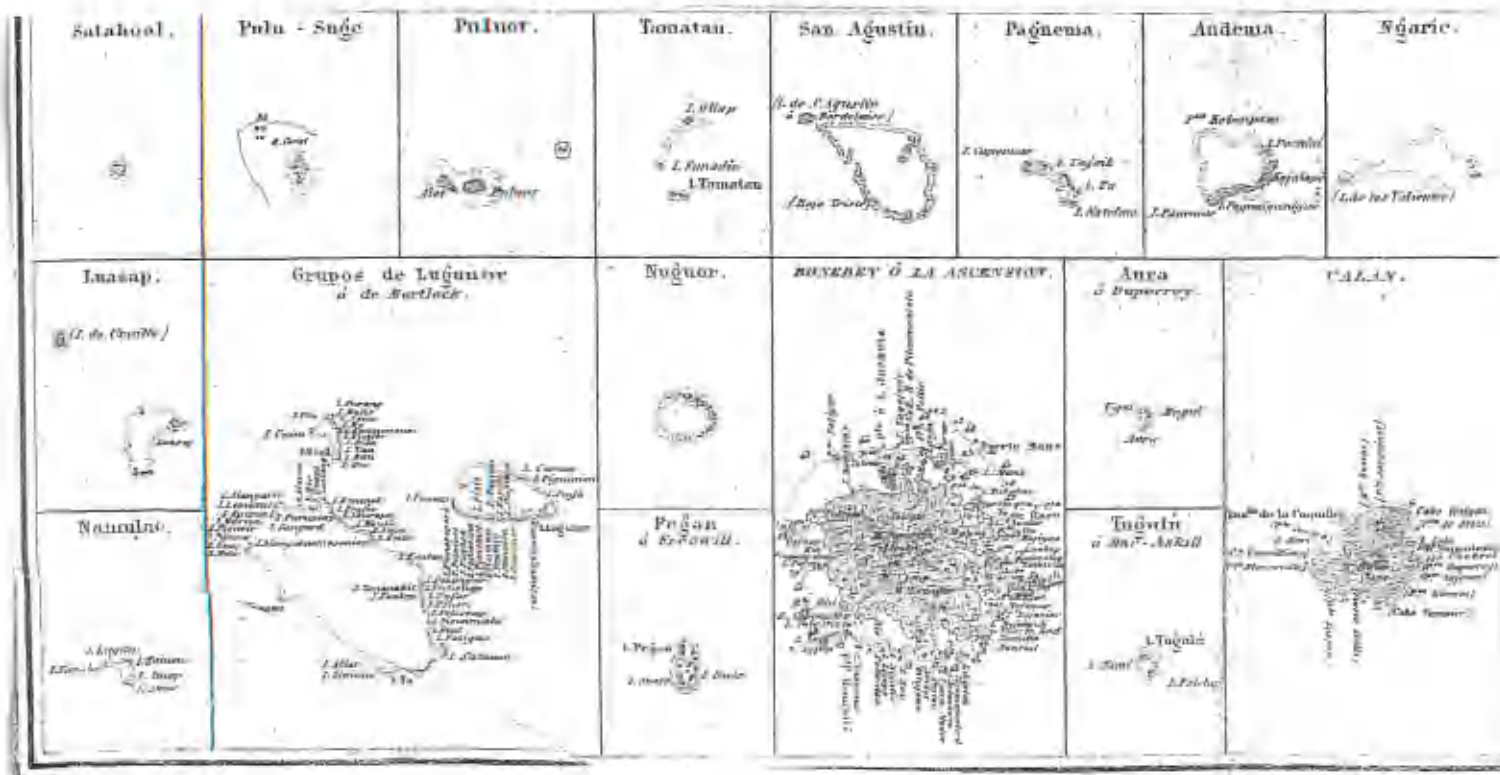
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Abstract

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CARMINAS ORIENTALES.

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GUIDE TO PLACE NAMES IN THE TRUST TERRITORY
OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

(the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana Islands)

Compiled by
E. H. Bryan, Jr.

for the
Trust Territory
of the Pacific Islands

Pacific Scientific Information Center
Bernice P. Bishop Museum
Honolulu, Hawaii

1971

Copyright 1971
by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

IN PRAISE OF EDWIN H. BRYAN

(1898-1985)

The only time I met Mr. Bryan was in 1983 where he worked at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. He was already officially retired from the Pacific Scientific Information Center but continued to work as the editor of the Atoll Research Bulletin. He gave me permission to reproduce his works on Micronesia and on the former American Polynesia. His scientific interests were far-reaching but he is mostly known for his work in geography and ethnobotany. He had dedicated his life to these since the 1930s. During the War in the Pacific, he produced, under the name of Captain Bryan, a useful map of the Pacific Islands, for use by servicemen.

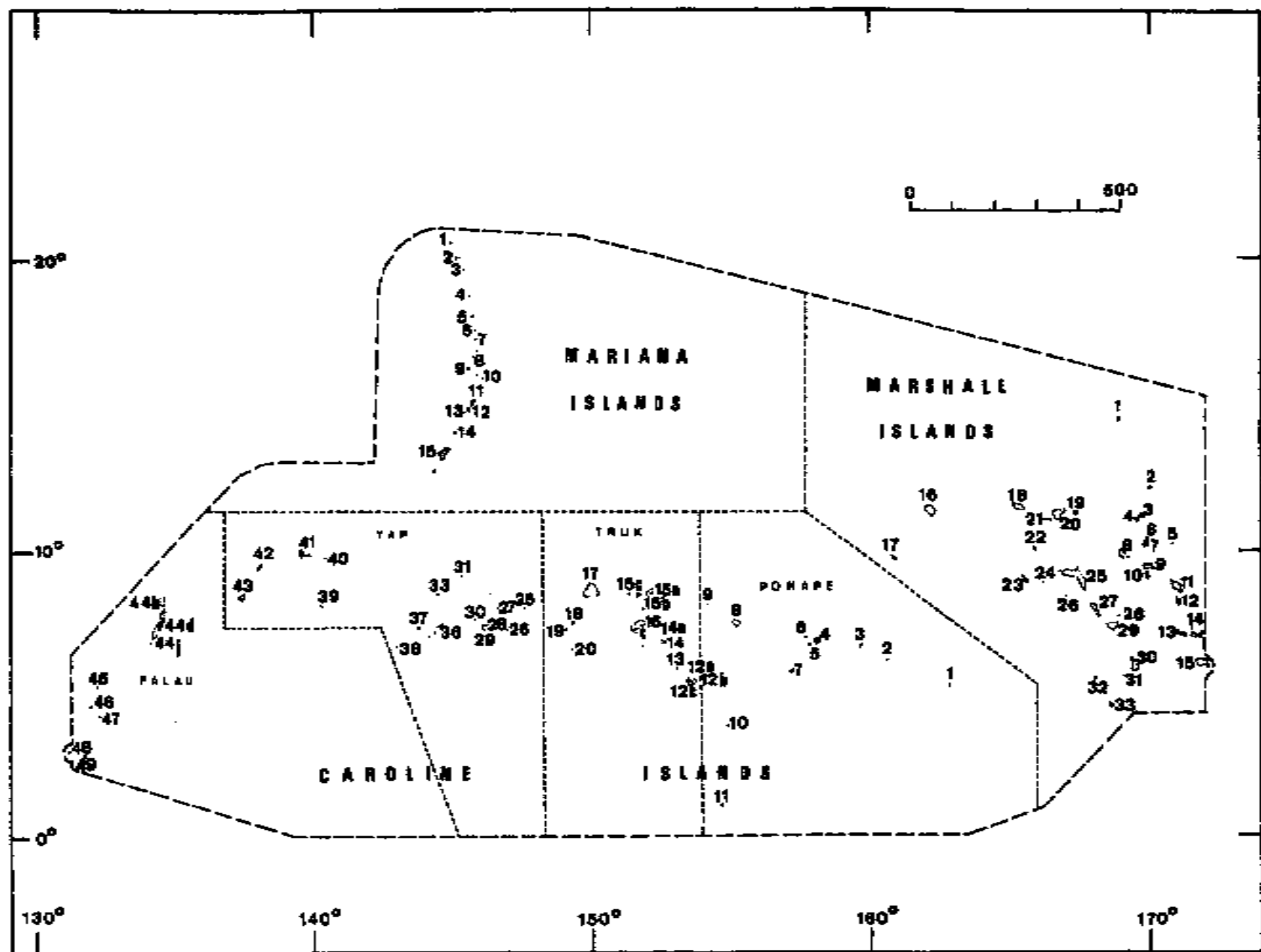
NOTES

I have chosen to present Mr. Bryan's maps by presenting the Marianas first, then the Carolines **from west to east**, and finally the Marshalls. Mr. Bryan's Guide did **not** cover the Micronesian islands outside of the former TTPI, not even Guam which is a U.S. Territory. I have also reduced the text to a minimum, but added some explanations of my own.

The original cost of Mr. Bryan's Guide was only US\$10.00. It has been out of print for a long time. This book has served me very well as a reference during the decades that I was producing my 48-volume history of Micronesia.

General statistics of the Islands

	Approx. number of islands	Dry land area in square miles
	-----	-----
Northern Marianas	21	184
Palau Islands	350	191
Yap District	149	46
Chuuk District	290	49
Pohnpei District	168	176
Marshall Islands	1,225	70
	-----	-----



MI = MARIANA ISLANDS

- Latitudes ranging from 13°14' to 20°32' N.
- Longitudes ranging from 144°38' to 146°05' E.
- Historical names: Islas de las Velas Latinas (Islands of Lateen Sails); Islas de los Ladrones (Thieves' Islands); Islas Marianas (Mariana Islands).¹

MI1 = URACAS ISLAND

- Position: 20°32' N and 144°54' E
- Historical names: Farallón de Pájaros (Bird Rock); Urracas (Magpie Island).

MI2 = MAUG ISLANDS

- Position: 20°01' N and 145°13' E
- Historical names: Native name for the group was Mao (first recorded by Espinosa in 1522); the native name for one of the three islands was Tinas, or Tunas;² Las Monjas (The Nuns); San Lorenzo Island.

MI3 = ASUNCION ISLAND

- Position: 19°40' N and 145°24' E
- Historical names: Assongsong (Songsong's Place); Asunción (Assumption).

MI4 = AGRIGAN ISLAND

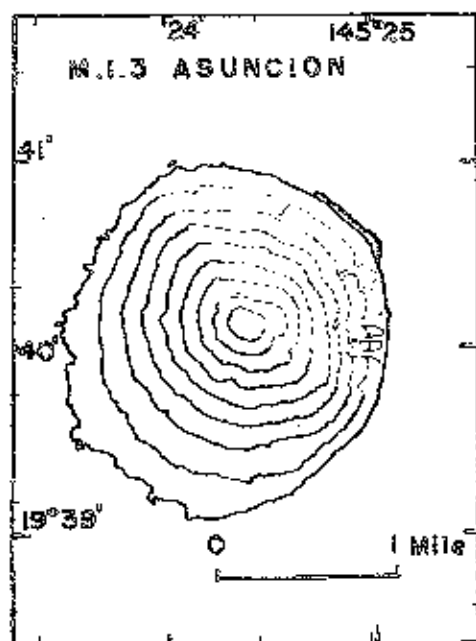
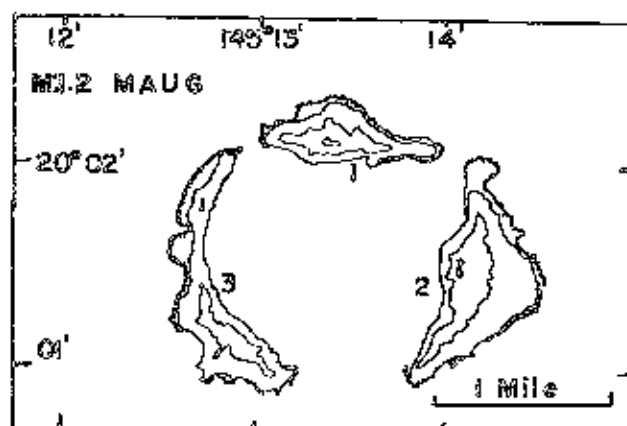
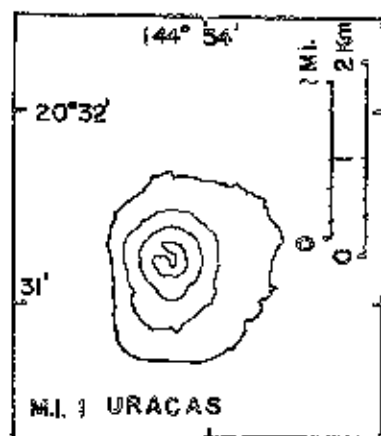
- Position: 18°46' N and 145°40' E
- Historical names: Agrihan; Agrijan; La Griega (Espinosa 1522); San Francisco Xavier; Grigan.
- Historical place names: Summarago and Oprao (villages).

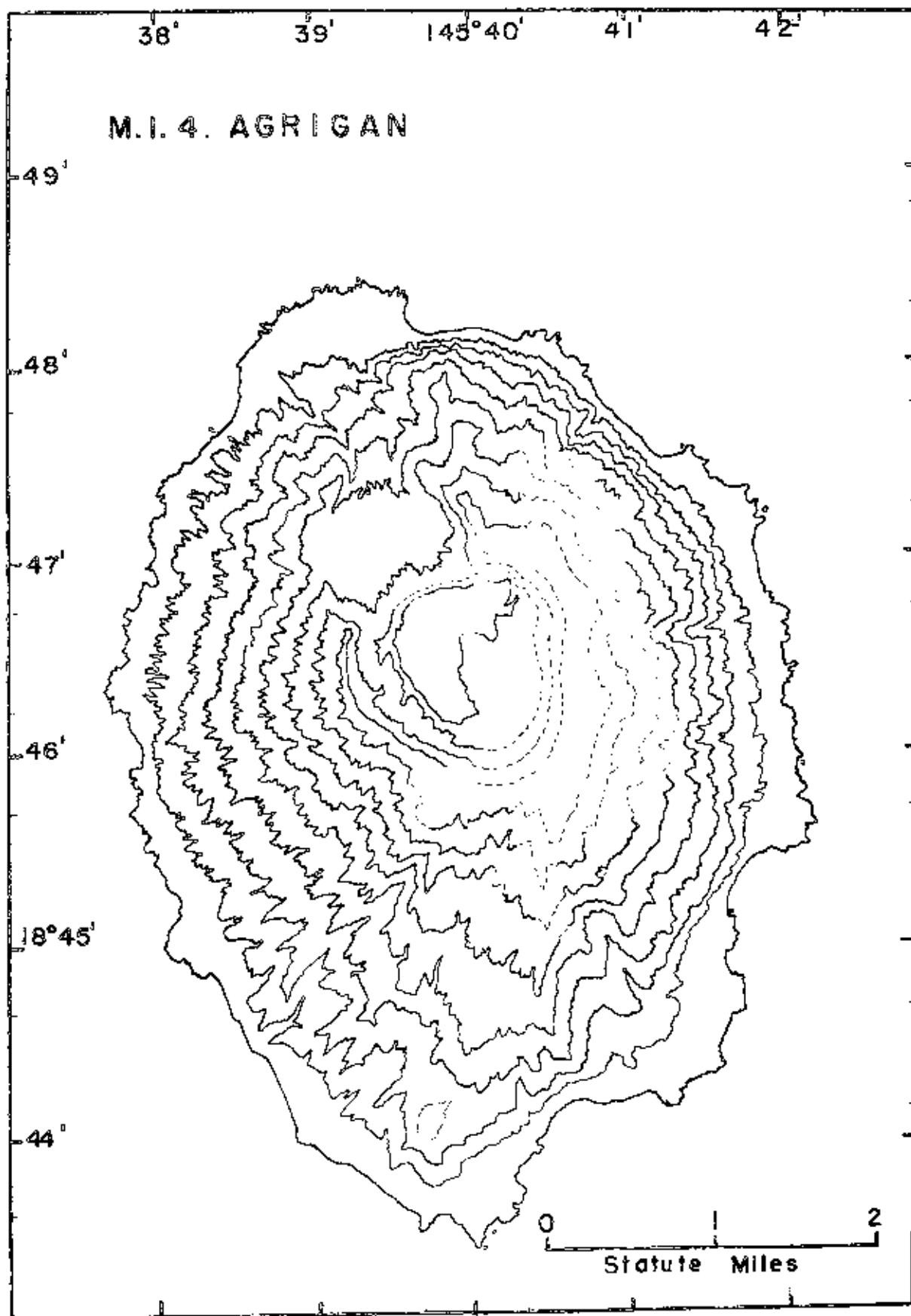
MI5 = PAGAN ISLAND

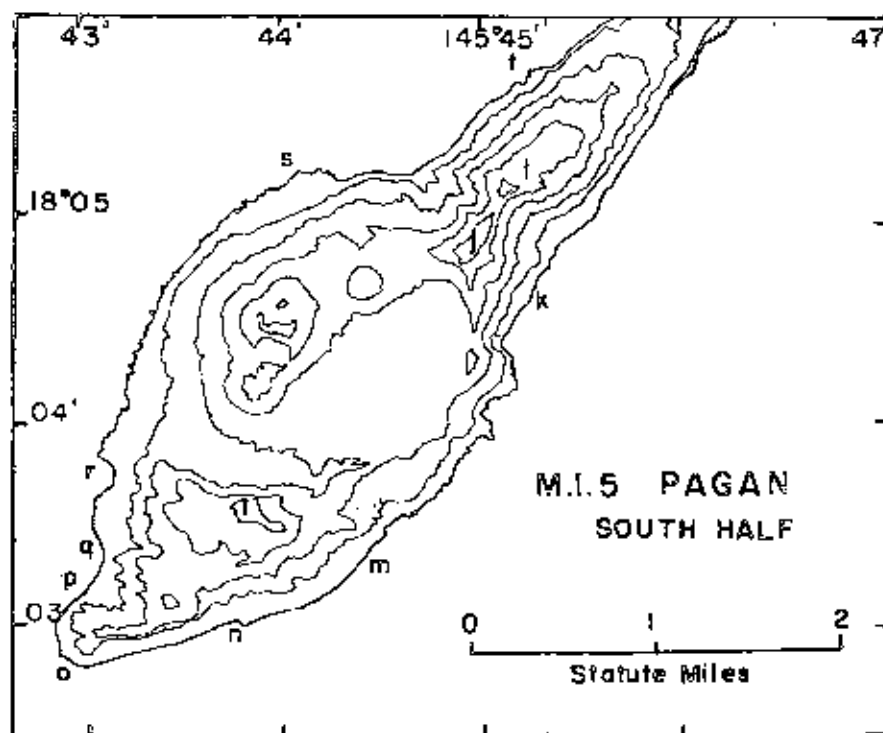
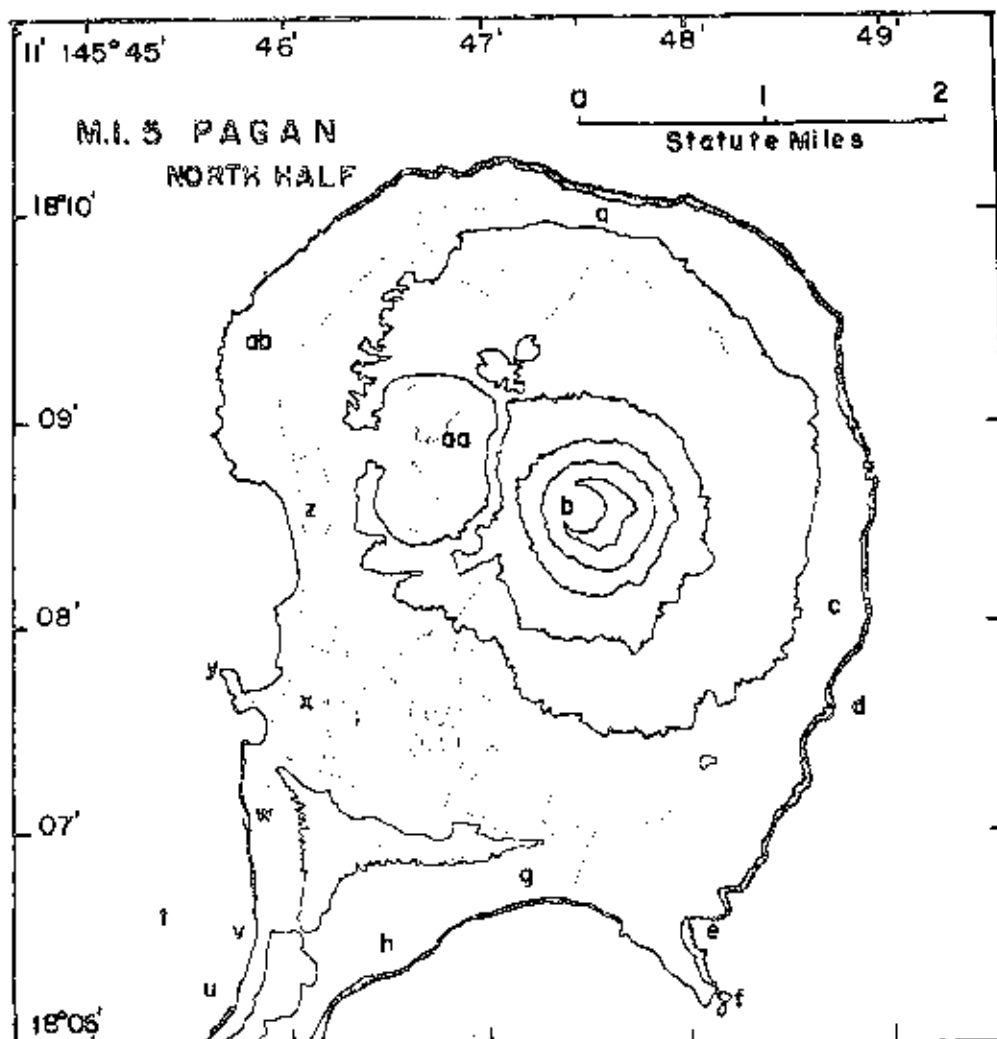
- Position: 18°06' N and 145°46' E
- Historical names: Pagon; Pegan; San Ignacio.
- Place names: a = Tarague (lcty); b = Mt. Pagan (volcano); c = Baranka (lcty); d = Hira Rock; e = Anairikiki (lcty); f = Togari Rock ("Pointed Rock," in Japanese); g = Degusa (lcty); h = Apansantate (lcty); i = Marui Yama ("Round Mtn"); j = Togari Mtn; k = Fuwaeboisu (lcty); l = Katakayushi (peak); n = Piarasu (lcty); o = South Point; p = Pariyaaru (lcty); q = Sarahai (lcty); r = Periiruu; (lcty); s = Pontanjaburo (lcty); t = Apa'an Bay; u = Sanmeina (rock); v = Dekairu (lcty); w = Apansanmeena (lcty); x =

1 Ed. note: The native name for the so-called Northern Northern Marianas is the Gani Islands. It refers to the fact that those islands have no proper shelter for canoes, which had to be "beached."

2 Ed. note: This is a reference to a bachelor's love stick (see Doc. 1682H).







Shomushon (settlement); y = Bandera Rock; z = Laguna (lake); aa = hot spring; ab = Malas.

MI6 = ALAMAGAN ISLAND

—Position: 17°36' N and 145°50' E

—Historical name: Concepción.¹

MI7 = GUGUAN ISLAND

—Position: 17°19' N and 145°51' E

—Historical name: San Felipe.²

MI8 = SARIGAN ISLAND

—Position: 16°42' N and 145°47' E

—Historical names: Las Dos Hermanas (Two Sisters, la Torre, 1543); San Carlos.³

MI9 = ANATAHAN ISLAND

—Position: 16°22' and 145°40' E

—Historical name: San Joachin.

MI10 = FARALLON DE MEDINILLA

—Position: 16°01' N and 146°05' E

—Historical note: Medinilla Rock was named by Captain Freycinet, after a Governor of the Marianas. Its native name may have been Noos, or Maasi (one being a misprint of the other).

MI11 = SAIPAN ISLAND

—Mid-position: 15°10' N and 145°45' E

—Historical names: Saypan; Zarpana (la Grande); San José.⁴

—Some modern place names: 1 = Banzai Cliff; 2 = Marpi Point; 11 = Calavera (Skull) District; 21 = Denni (district); 33 = Chacha (district); 35a = Hagman ("Eel" Point); 39 = Laulau (district);⁵ 41A = San Vicente Village; 42 = Dago (district); 45 = Dandan (district); 46 = Fadang (district); 49 = former airfield As Lito, hence Isley; 50c = Naftan (Grave) Point; 53 = Agingan (district); 54A = Kobler (former airfield); 55 =

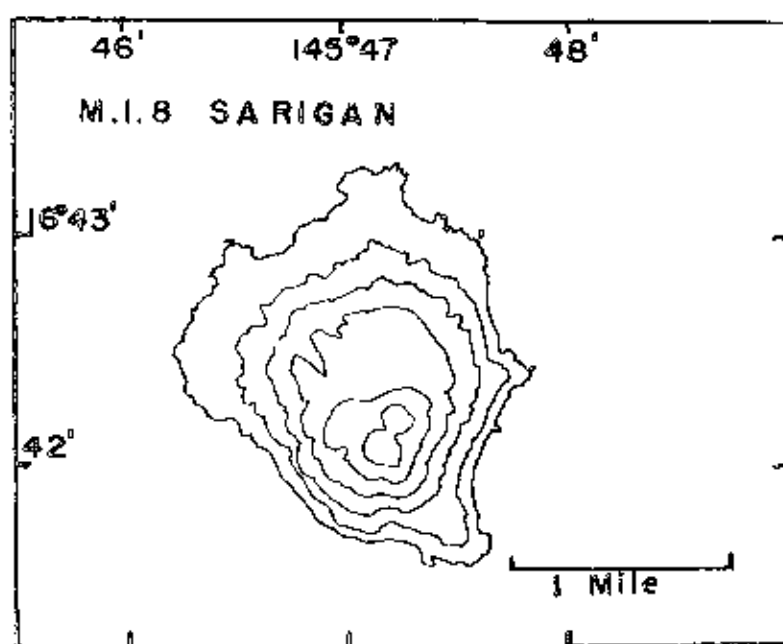
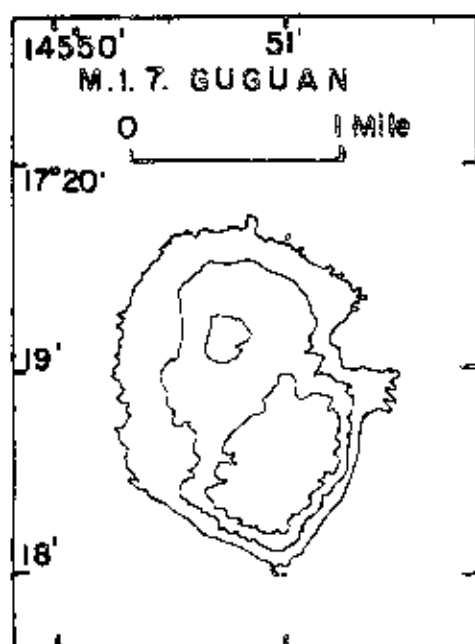
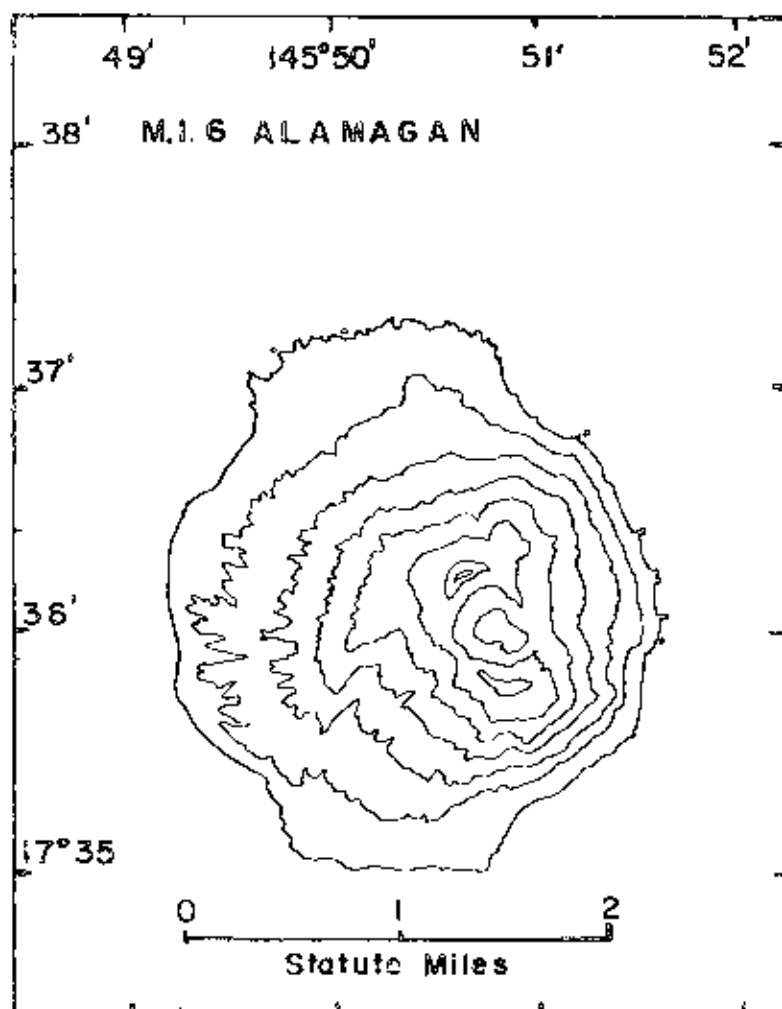
1 Ed. note: As usual, I do not list the many typographical errors for the native name.

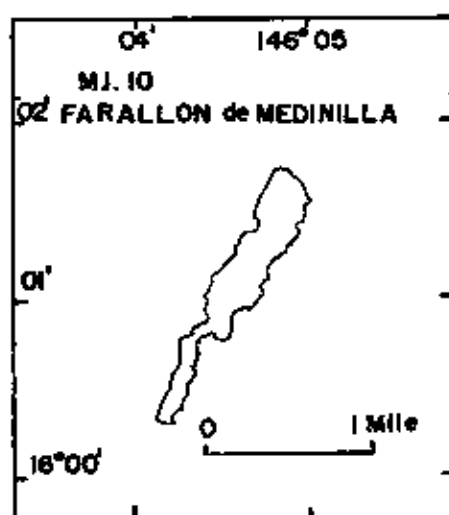
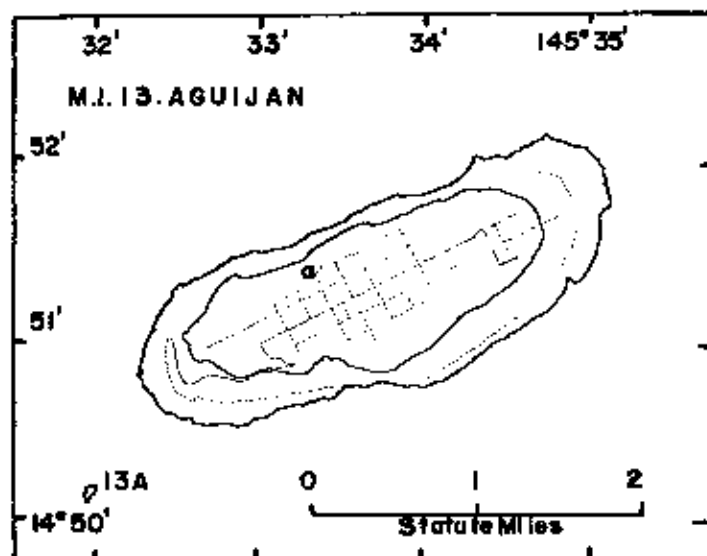
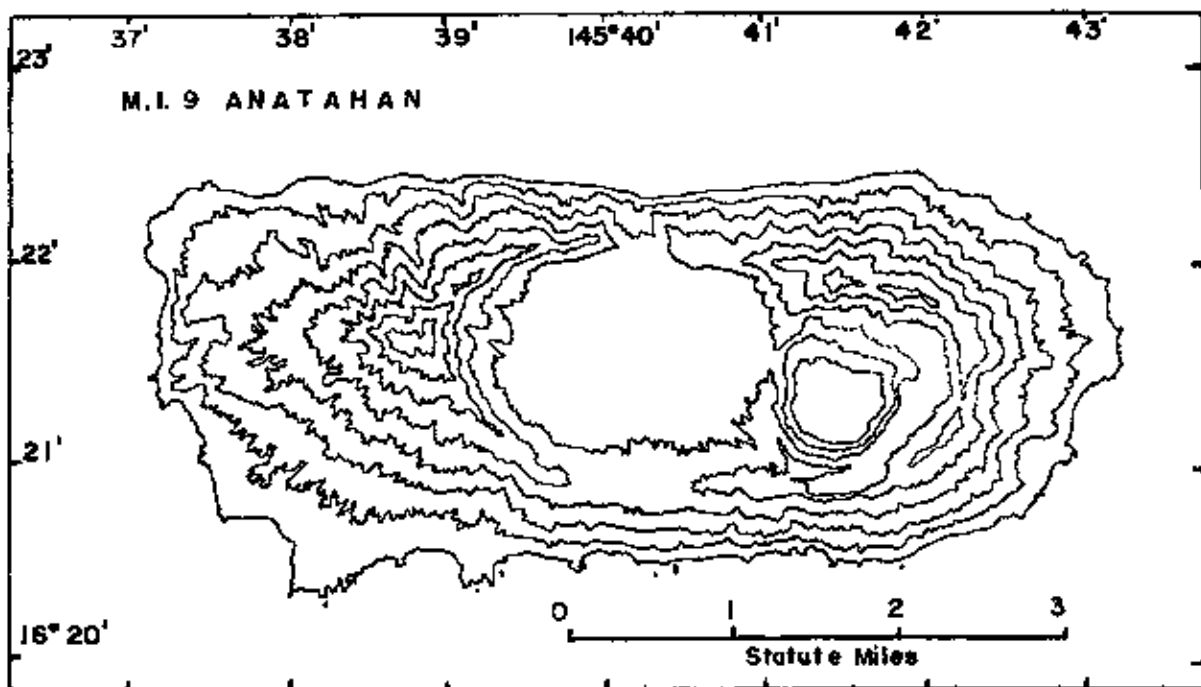
2 Ed. note: A wildlife sanctuary since 1984.

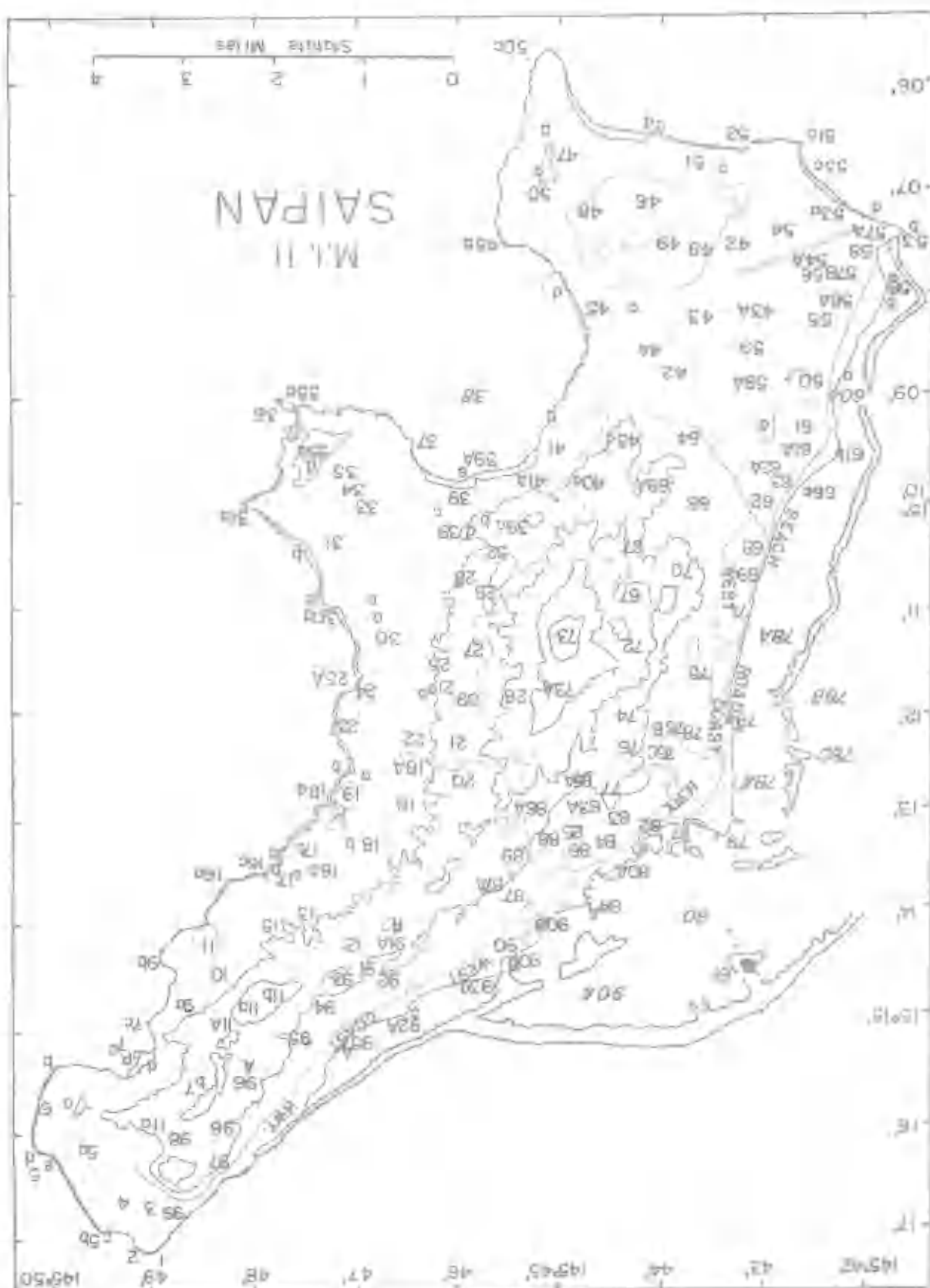
3 Ed. note: The settlement was called Sogua in 1668 (see Doc. 1683Q).

4 Ed. note: See my study of old place names (ref. Cumulative Index, HM20, p. 751).

5 Ed. note: Laulau means "trembling" but also "rice gruel" (see Doc. 1673L).







Chalan Piao (Bamboo Road); 56A = San Antonio (village); 58a = Afetña ("Belly") Point; 59a = Fina-susu ("Tit") Peak; 60 = Chalan Kanoa (Canoe Road) Village; 61 = Susupe (district); 62 = San José Village; 63 = Oleai (district); 73 = Tagpochau (district); 75 = Gualo Rai (district); 78 = Garapan (district); 79 = Muchot ("Pouting") Point; 80 = Tanapag Harbor;¹ 81 = Mañagaha Island;² 84 = Puerto Rico (district); 90 = Tanapag (district); 95 = Matanza (district); 95A = San Roque Village; 97 = Magpi, or Marpi (district).

MI12 = TINIAN ISLAND

- Mid-position: 15° N and 145°38' E
- Historical names: Tenian; Buenavista Mariana.
- Place names: 1 = Tagon Point, also Ushi or North Point; 2 = North Field (4 strips during WWII); 4 = Asiga Point;³ 5 = Mount Lasso; 3b = Marpo (lcty); 9 = Marpo Point; 10 = Lalo (Lion) Peak; 12b = Called Tipúan in 1797-8, and Tachuñ in 1888; 13 = Sunharon, or Tinian, Harbor; 14 = Sunharon, or Tinian, Town; 15 = Gurguan Point; 16A = Pilinum (1772 map).

MI13 = AGULAN ISLAND

- Mid-position: 14°51' N and 145°34' E
- Historical name: Santo Angel.
- Place names: a = Alutom (hill); 13A = Naftan Rock.

MI14 = ROTA ISLAND

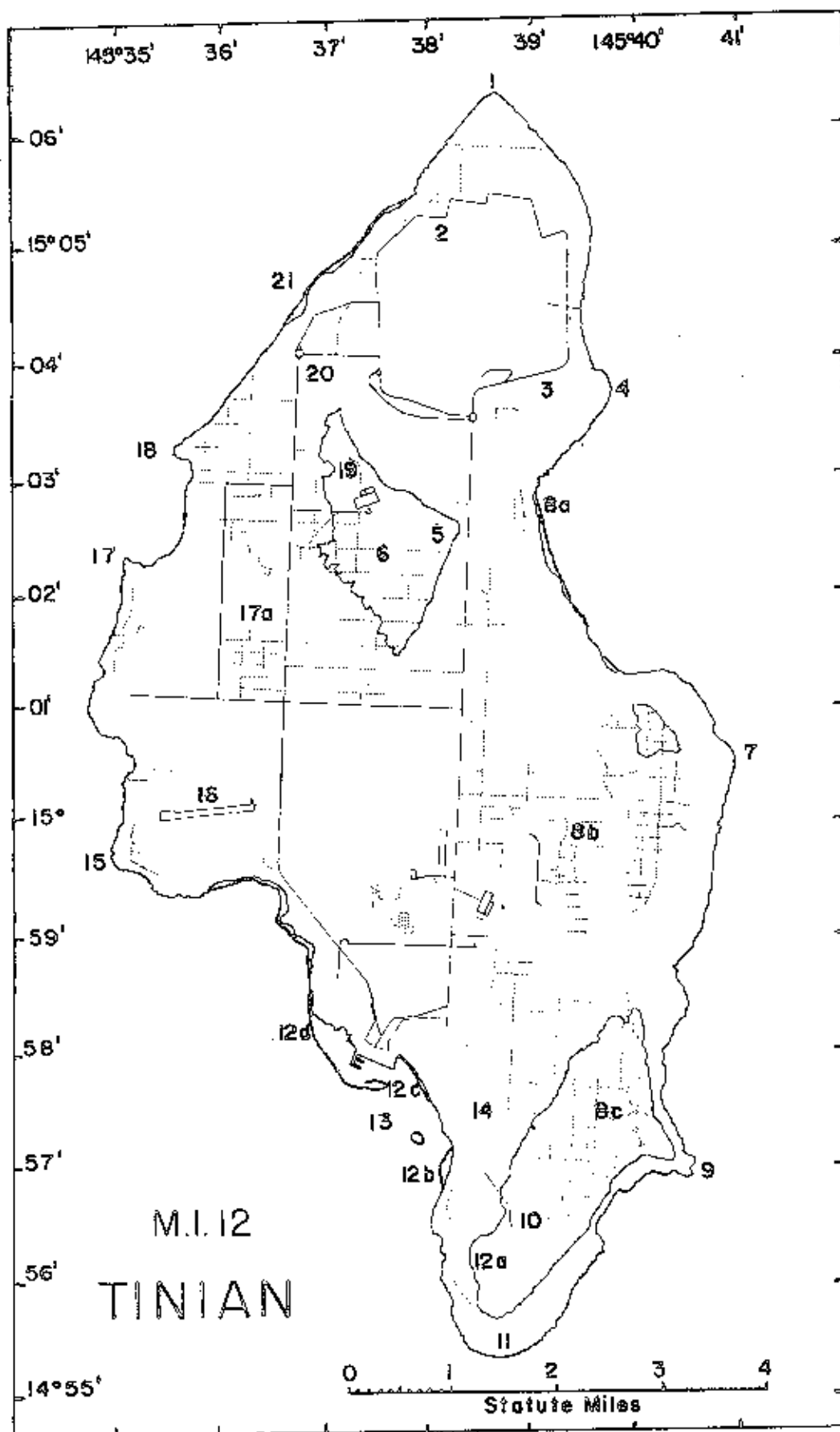
- Mid-position: 14°09' N and 145°12' E
- Historical names: Zarpana, or Sarpana; Rota, or Luta; Santa Ana.
- Historical place names: 4 = Muchong Point, formerly Asugan, and Maleza (Brush); 6 = Matmos Point; 8 = Dodo, or As Dudo; 10 = Fanihe (Bat) Point; 12 = Funiya, or Maillog, Point; 13 = Aratsu Bay; 21 = Haina, or Haniya, Point; 16 = Sinapalo (district); 22A = Talakaya (district); 23 = Maillog Point; 25 = Afetña (Belly) Point; 27 = Haofina River; 30 = Poniya Point; 31 = Sosanhaya (bay and former village); 36 = Songsong, or Rota Village; 37 = Taipinot Peninsula; 39 = Sosanlago (bay and former village); 41 = Tatachong (district); 43 = Tatacho Point; 44 = Inayan (district), including Guato, Teletto, and Tatgua (former villages in 1600); 45 = Igua (district); 46 = Taruga (district).

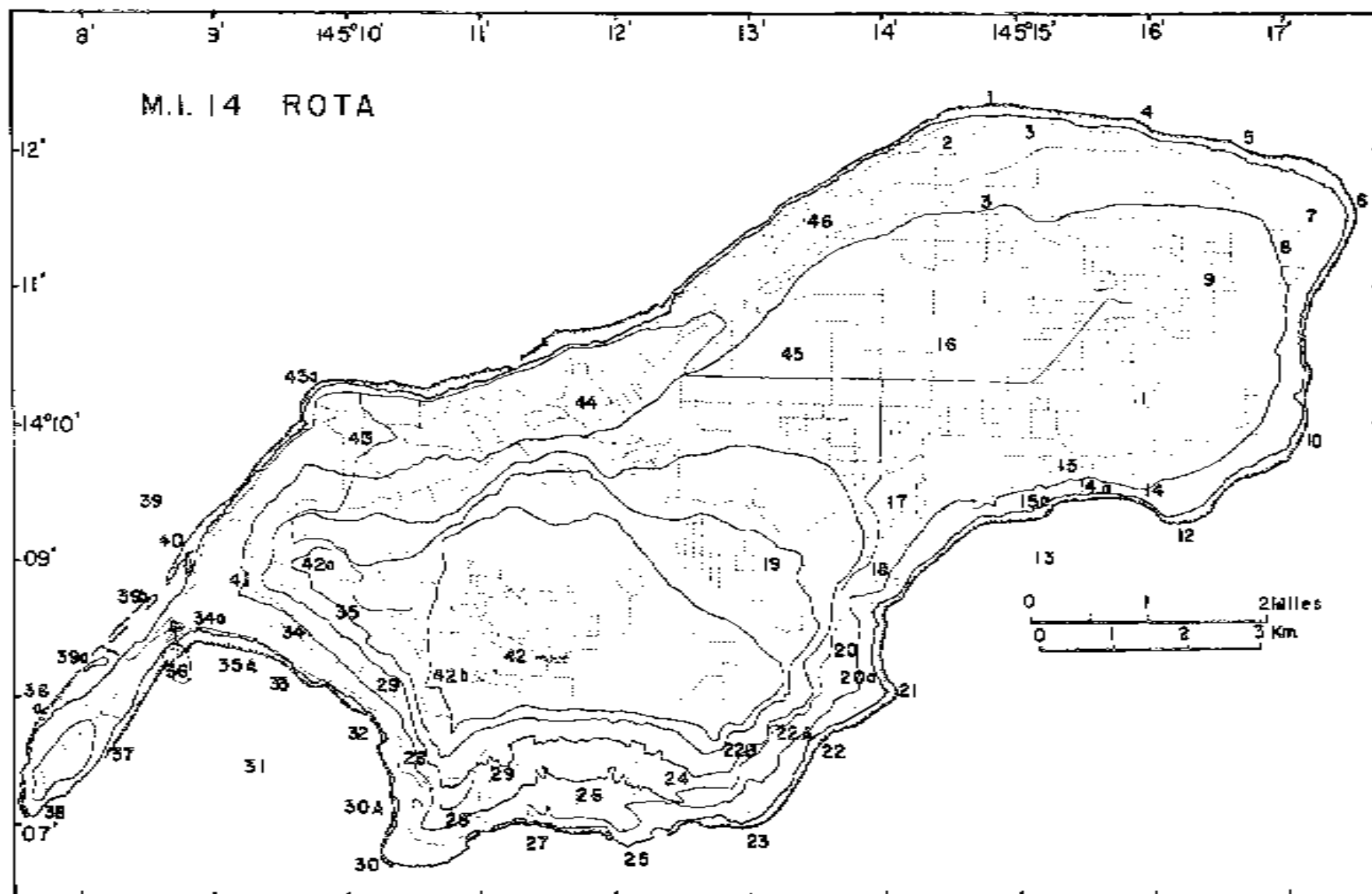
[Guam was not covered by Bryan, as it was not part of TTPI. The Japanese called Guam Omiya, or Great Shrine, Island. The shoal located between Rota and Guam was recorded as being called Atupis in 1819.]

1 Ed. note: The natives had called it Anaguan Bay originally.

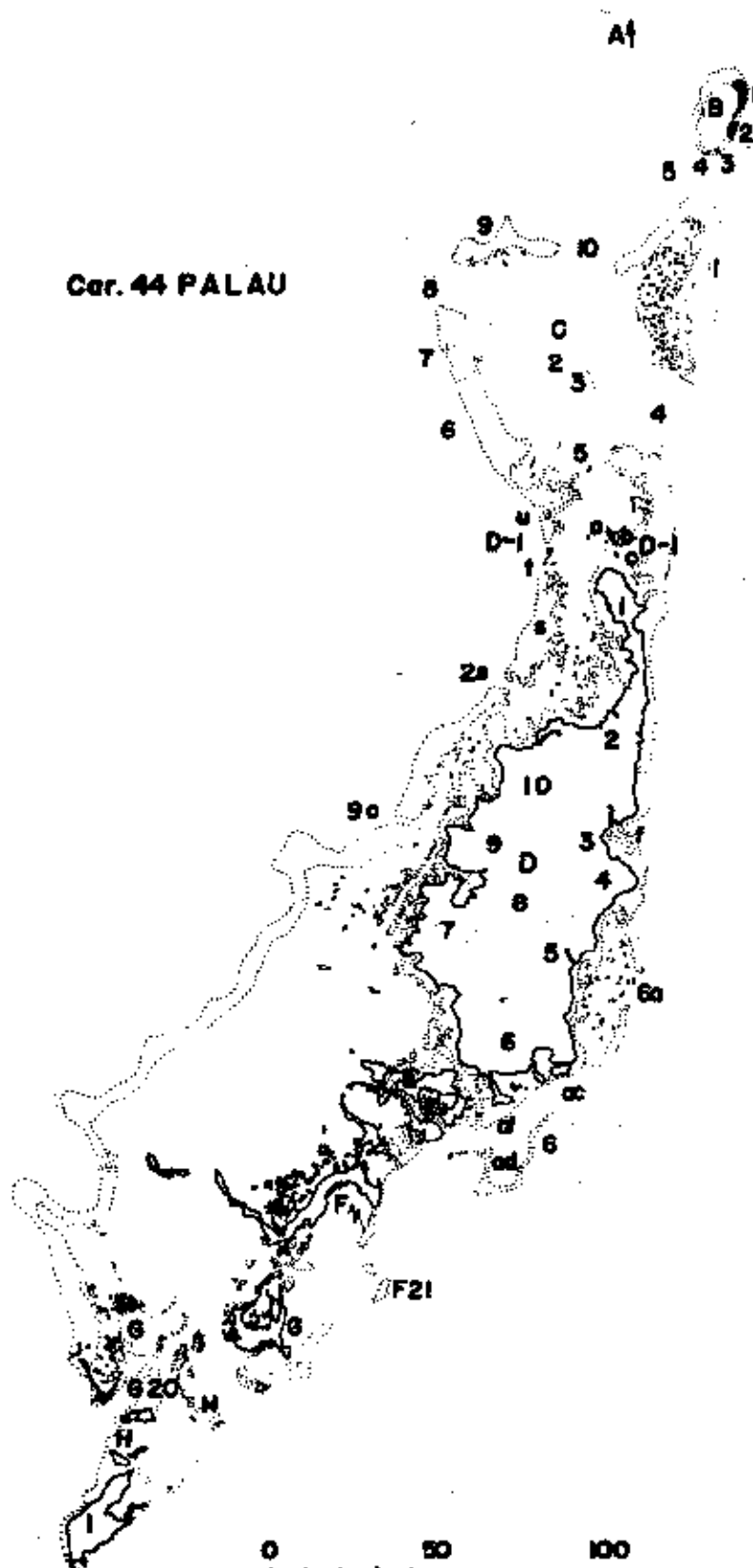
2 Ed. note: The origin of this name is the Spanish word "maña" which means 'wile', hence, the "isle of wily ones", i.e. the place for wild parties.

3 Ed. note: I think that Asiga is a corruption of the original name, Segua.





Cor. 44 PALAU



Car44 = PALAU ISLANDS

- Latitudes from 6°54' to 8°12' N
- Longitudes from 134°08' to 134°44' E
- Historical names: Palaos, Panlog, Pellew, Belau.
- Ten geographical districts or islands in the group:
 - A. Velasco Reef;
 - B. Kayangel Islands (a small atoll);
 - C. Reefs between Kayangel and Babelthuap;
 - D. Babelthuap Island (with 10 small districts);
 - E. Koror and nearby islands;
 - F. Urukthapel and nearby islands;
 - G. Eil Malk and nearby islands.
 - H. Small islands in the lagoon west of Eil Malk;
 - I. Peleliu Island;
 - J. Angaur Island.

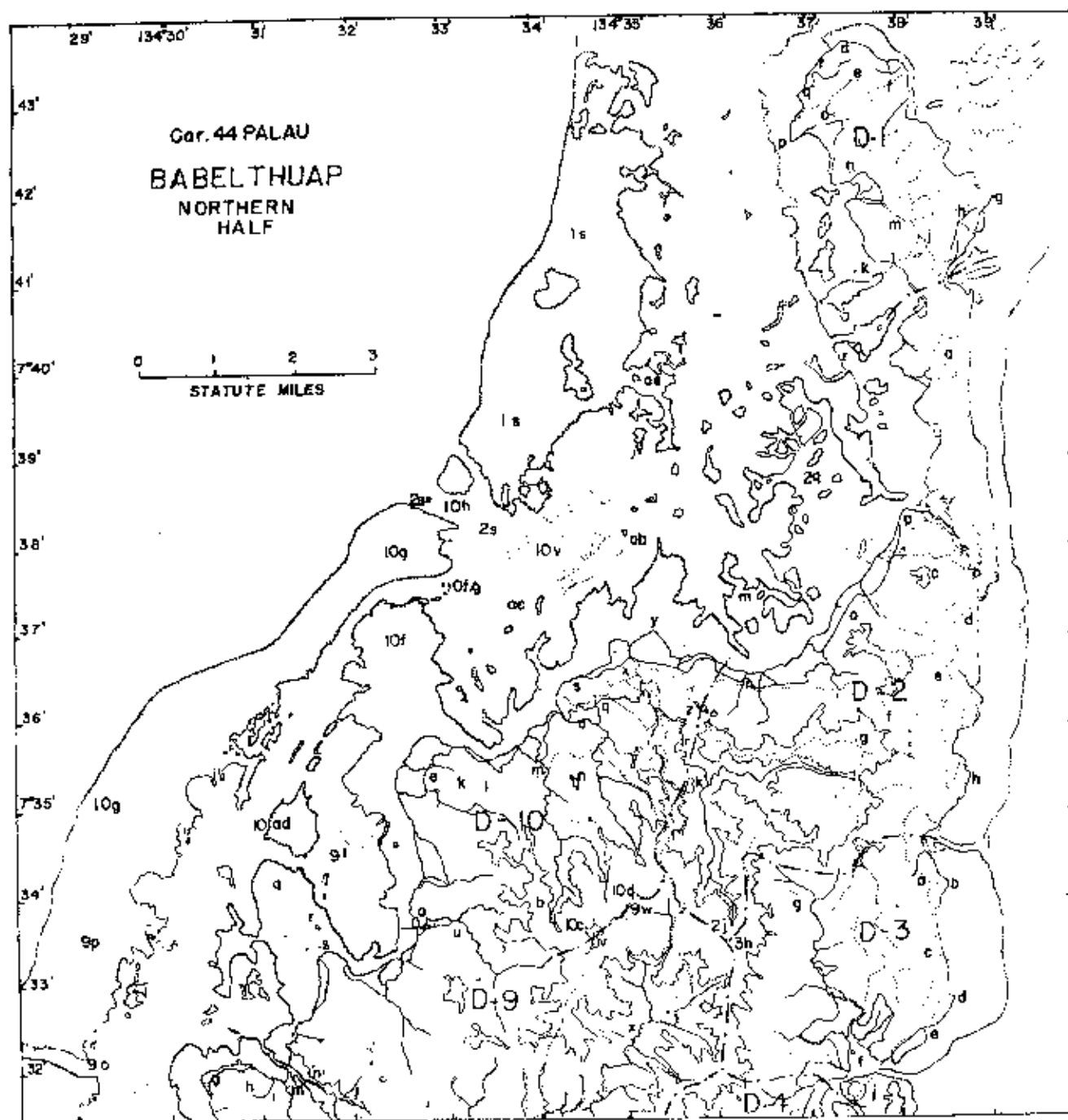
Car44B = KAYANGEL ISLANDS

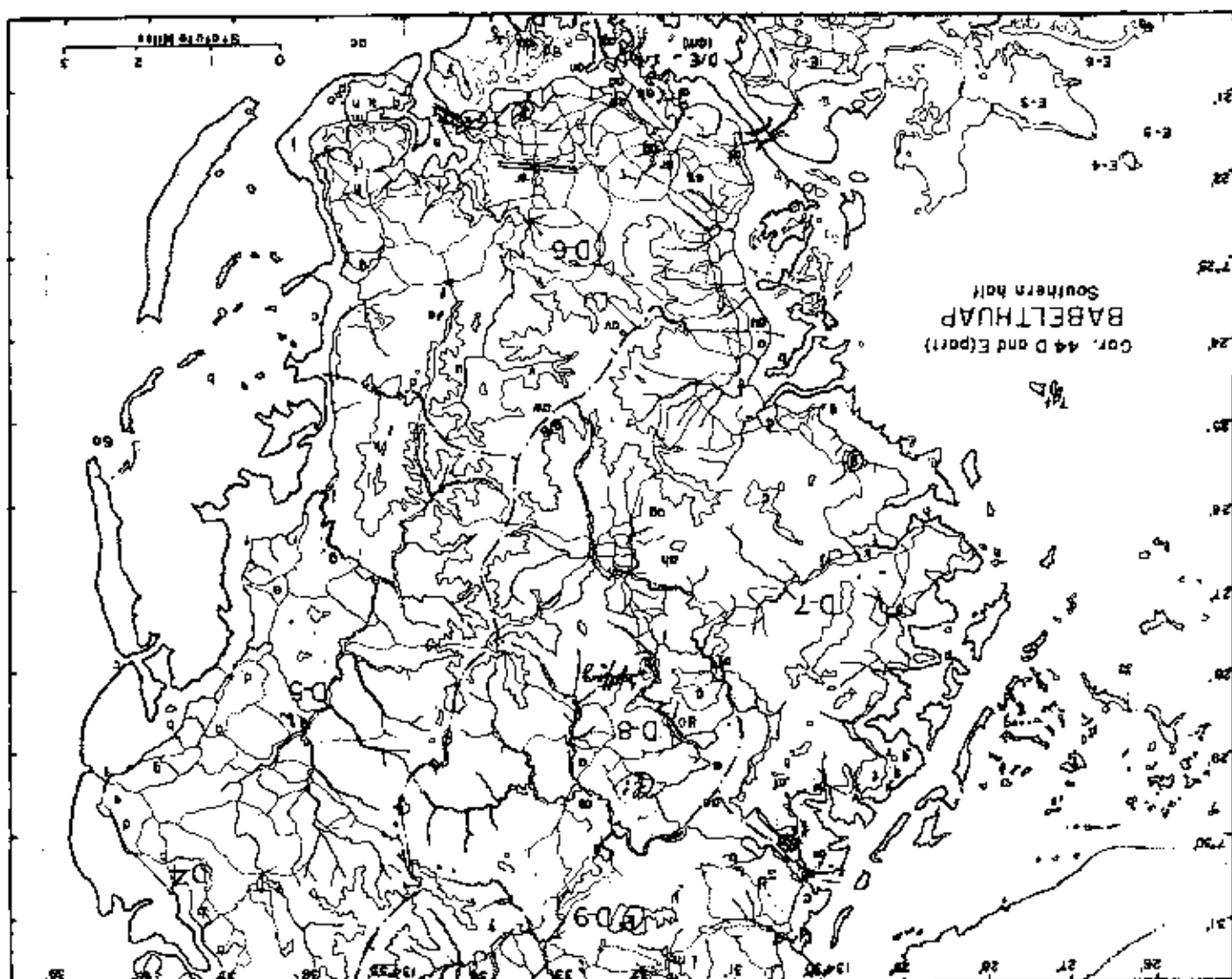
- Place names: B1 = Kayangel Island proper; B2 = Ngariungs Island; B3 = Ngaarapalas Island.

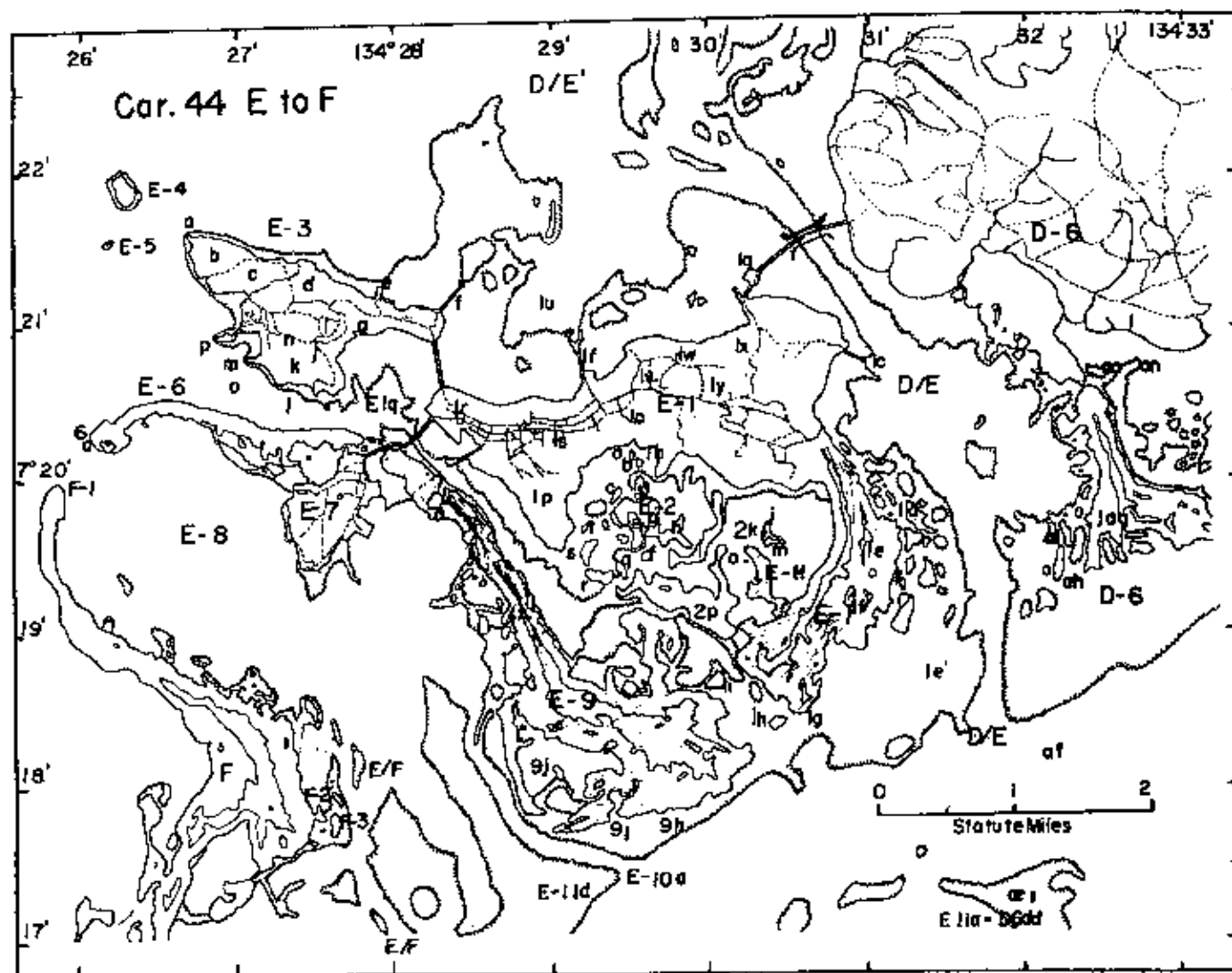
Car44D = BABELTHUAP ISLAND

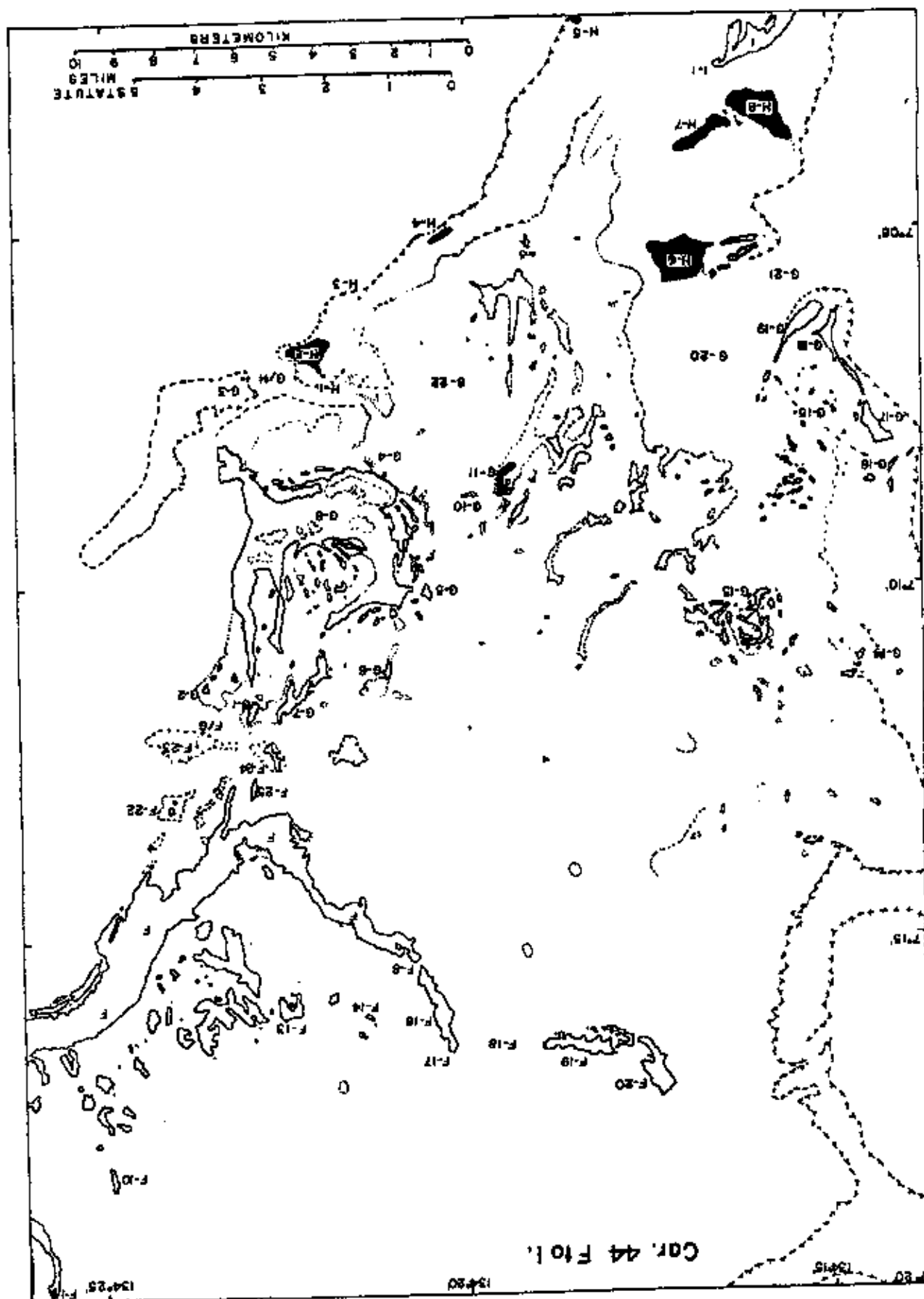
- Place names:
 - D1 = Arekalong, or Ngarechelong (district): 1f = Gatomel; 1j = Agol; 1m = Kayungur; 1n = Mangalang.
 - D2 = Galalud or Ngarard (district): 2b = Galap; 2h = Keklau;¹ 2p = Aulun or Ngeong, with Ngabuked (stream).
 - D3 = Ogiwal or Ngiwal (district): 3c = Ogiwal Village; 3f = Namai Bay.
 - D4 = Artingall or Melekeok (district): 44e = Melkiok or Melekeok Village.
 - D5 = Enkassar or Ngchesar (district): 5d = Enkassar Village; 5e = Garakasan; 5g = Kaldok or Gardok River; 5h = Gardok Lake.
 - D6 = Airai (district): 6i = Goikul; 6s = Airai Bay; 6x = Airai Village.
 - D7 = Aimelik or Aimeliik (district): 7a = Aimelik Village; 7g = Ngarekeai Village; 7j = Barrak River; 7o = Medorom.
 - D8 = Ngatpang or Ngedbang (district): 8a = Gabatouru River; 89b = Ngatpang Village.
 - D9 = Almongui or Ngeremlengui (district): 9f = Almongui Village; 9k = Katteluel Mount; 9n = Almongui River; 9y = Asahi Village (Japanese times); 9aa = Almiokan, or Garumisukan, River.

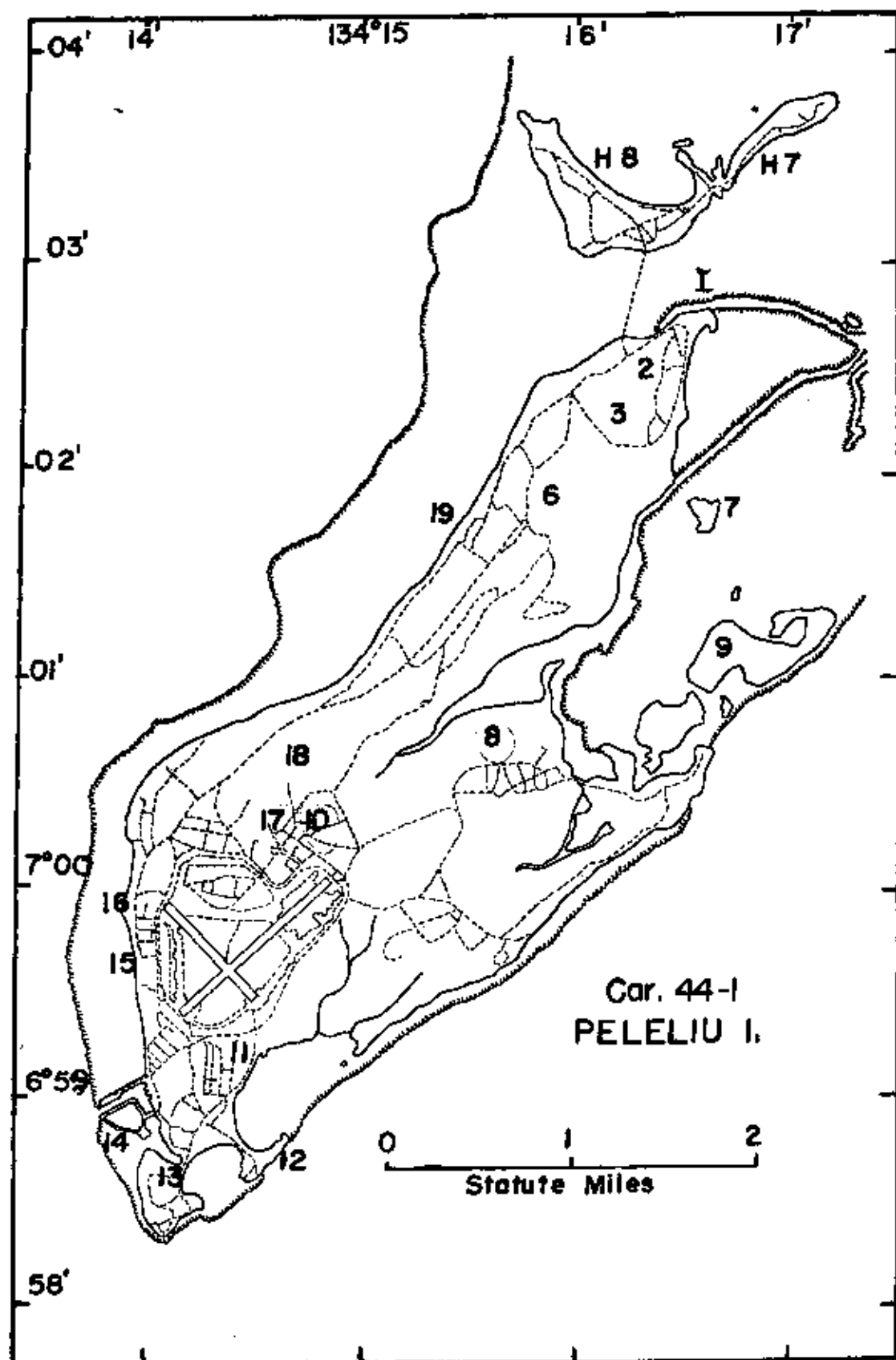
1 Ed. note: Captain Cheyne wrote Kucklau, Captain Woodin wrote Cuslow.











D10 = Ngardmau (district); 10a = Almaska Village; 10m = Ailol River; 10v = Ngardmau Bay; 10x = Ngardmau Village.

Car44E = ERKELTHOW OR NGARKLDEU ISLAND

—Place names:

E1 = **Koror Island**; 1m = Mgarmid; 1o = Aiekasol; 1p = Ngarbaged; 1r = Madalai; 1s = Koror Town; 1u = Koror Harbor; 1v = Aebukuru Village; 1w = Aragamaye Village; 1y = Arubodoru Village.

E2 = Iwayama Bay (mostly Japanese names for islets).

E3 = Arakabesan Island; 3g = Meiungs Village; 3n = Euakor Village; 3p = Ngardis Island; 3q = Arakabesan Village.

E4 = Ngurur or Goror Island.

E5 = Armegethou Island.

E6 = Ngargol Island.

E7 = Malakal Island.

E8 = Malakal Harbor.

E9 = Auhuptagel Island.

E10a = Ngall Channel.

Car44F = URUKTHAPEL ISLAND

—Place names:

F20 = Aulong, or Oroolong, Island (Wilson, 1793).

F/G = Sar Passage.

Car44G = EIL MALK ISLAND¹

—Place names:

G8 = Eil Malk; G12 = Eomogan Island; G15 = Ngemelis Island; G22 = Shonian Harbor.

G/H = Denges Passage.

Car44H = (Small islands)

—Place names:

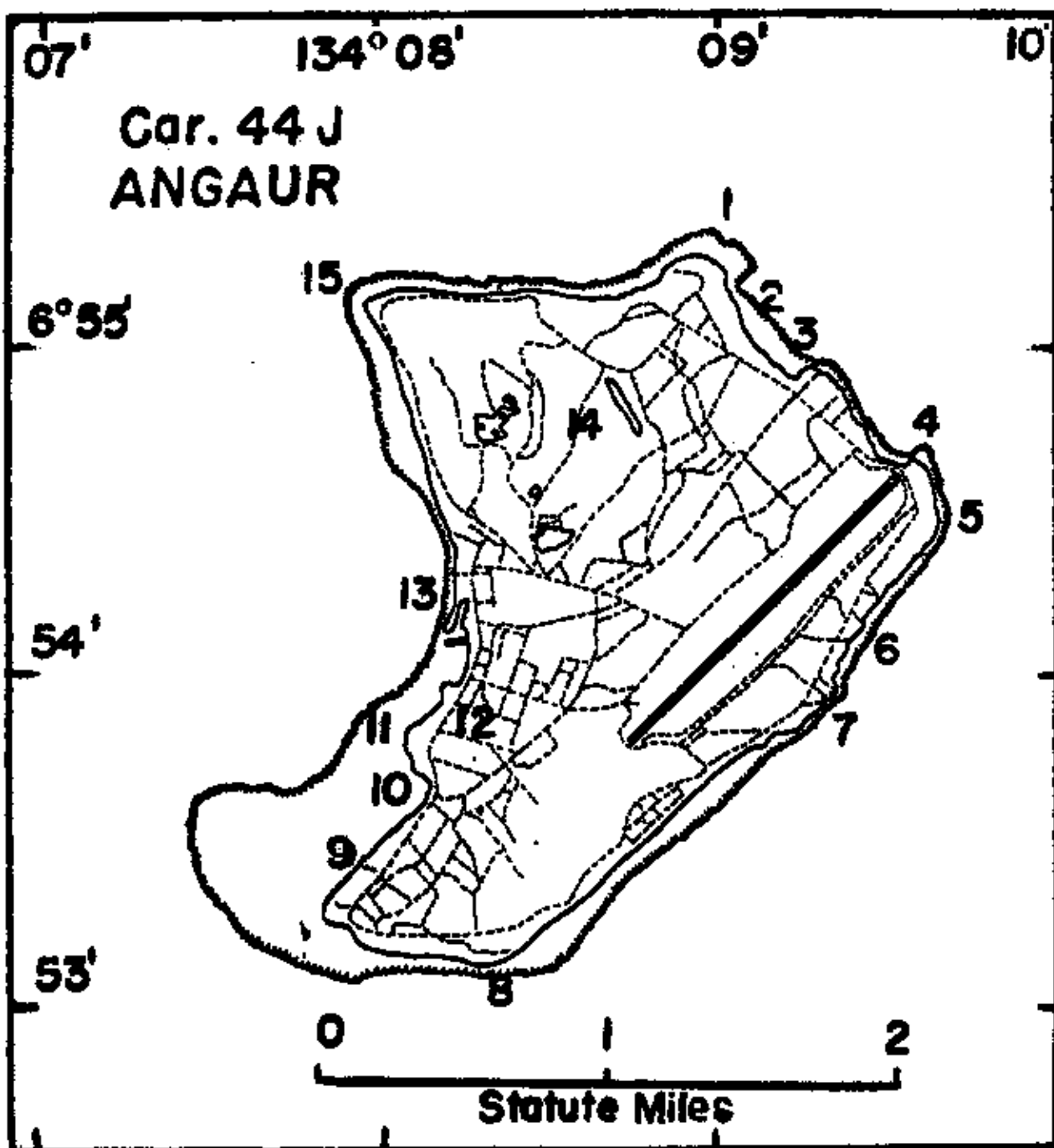
H2 = Ngeregong Island; H8 = Ngescbus Island.

Car44I = PELELIU ISLAND

—Place names:

I1 = Akalokul Point; I2 = Akalokul (former phosphate plant); I3 = Mount Amiungal; I7 = Rurid Island; I8 = Ngardololok Village; I10 & I17 = Ngasias village

¹ Ed. note: Captain McCluer wrote Kourakong.



sites; I18 = Umurbrogol Ridge (named Bloody Nose Ridge in WWII); I19 = Ngalkol.

I/J = Gangel-Makaep Passage.

Car44J = ANGAUR ISLAND

—Place names:

J1 = Cape Fkulamlagalp [sic]; J4 = Cape Ngatpokui.

Car45 = SONSOROL ISLANDS

—Position: 5°20' N and 132°13' E

—Historical names: Sonsorol; San Andrés, or St. Andrew, Islands. The northern island is Fana, or Pana; the southern one Sonsorol proper.

Car46 = PULO ANA ISLAND

—Position: 4°40' N and 131°58' E

—Historical names: Pul, Pulo, Anna, etc.; Current Island.

Car47 = MERIR ISLAND

—Position: 4°18' N and 132°19' E

—Historical names: Merierer, Pulo Meriere, etc.; Warren Hastings Island.

Car48 = TOBI ISLAND

—Position: 3°01' N and 131°10' E

—Historical names: Codocopuei; Lord North Island; Neville Island; Togobe (Jap.).

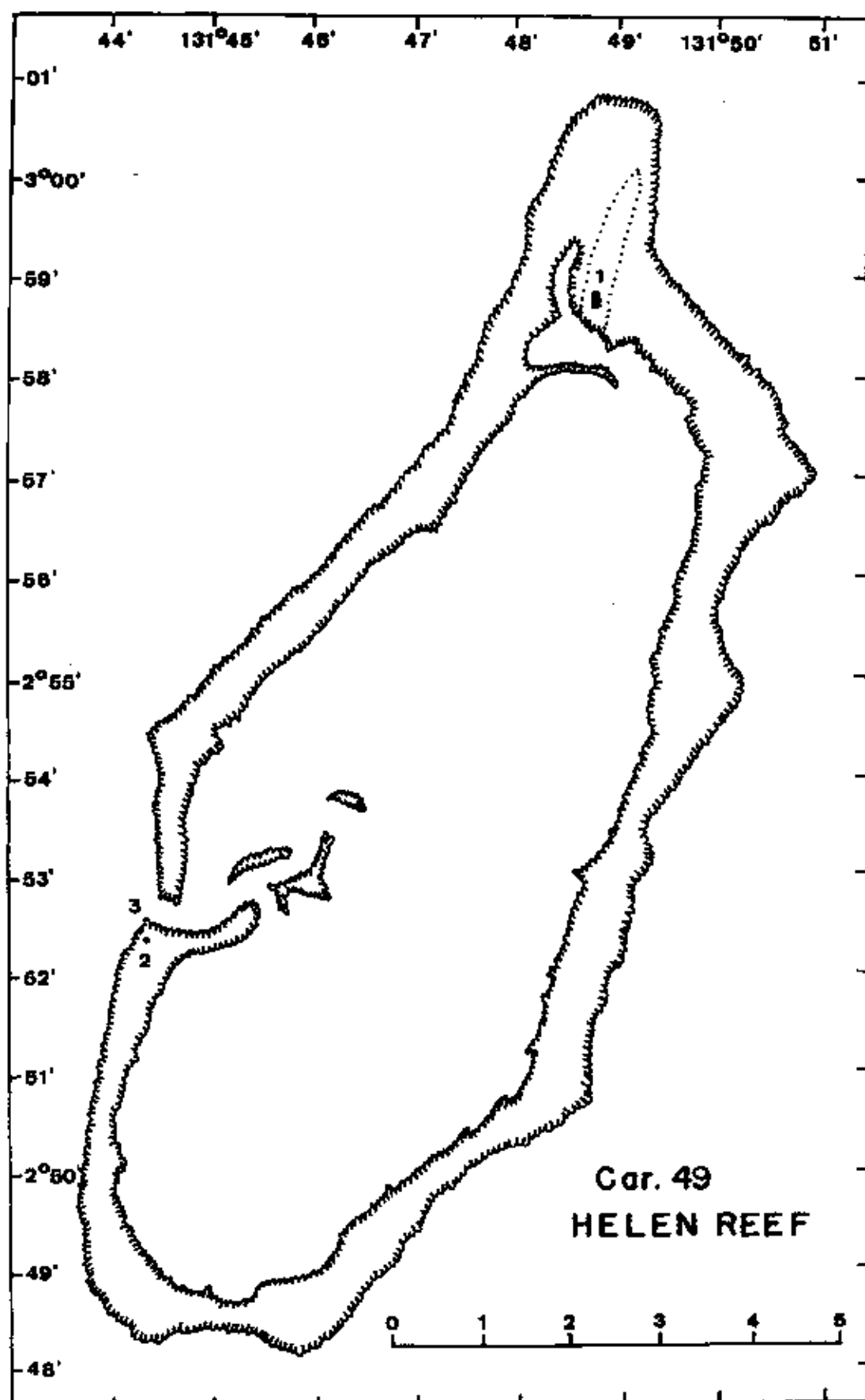
Car49 = HELEN REEF

—Actually an atoll with only 1 small shifting-sand island.

—Mid-position: 2°53' N and 131°48' E

—Place names: 1 = Helen Island; 2 = Round Rock; 3 = Helen Channel.¹

¹ Ed. note: The Mapia Islands, south of here, used to be part of Spanish Micronesia, until annexed by the Dutch.



YAP ISLANDS AND DISTRICT

Car43 = NGULU ATOLL

—Mid-position: 8°27' N and 137°30' E

—Historical note: Discovered by Arellano in 1565. Many wrong names assigned to it through the years. Father Cantova named it Laddo (see 13 below).

—Place names: 2 = North Island; 7 = Pigaras; 8 = Ngulu; 13 = Ladzogol.

Car44 = YAP ISLANDS

—Mid-position: 9°31' N and 138°07' E

—Historical names: Eap; Guap; Jap; Uap; Carolina.

—Place names:

A = Rumung Island; A5 = Fal Village; A8 = Mechol Village.

B = Map Island; B1 = Tilimal Island; B2 = Toru Village; B8 = Chol Village; B10 = Leloi Village; B12 = Faa Village; B13 = Prila Village; B17 = Omin Village; B18 = Bachel Village; B19 = Palau Island (so named by Captain O'Keefe, its owner).

C = Gagil-Tomil Island; C1-C17 = Gagil district; C18-C29 = Tomil district.

C1 = Maki Village; C2 = Lej Village;¹ C4 = Umung Village; C9 = Onean Village; C11 = Gachapar Village; C12 = Vinau Village; C17a = Tageren Channel.

C18 = Madalai Village (and former airfield); C19 = Thol Village; C20 = Ma Village; C25 = Tomil Village; C26 = Macrur or Mereur Village.

C/D = Tomil Harbor. Small islands around the harbor are: Obi (Spanish Island); Pekel; Tarang (O'Keefe Island); Denitsch.

[D to I = Yap Island proper]

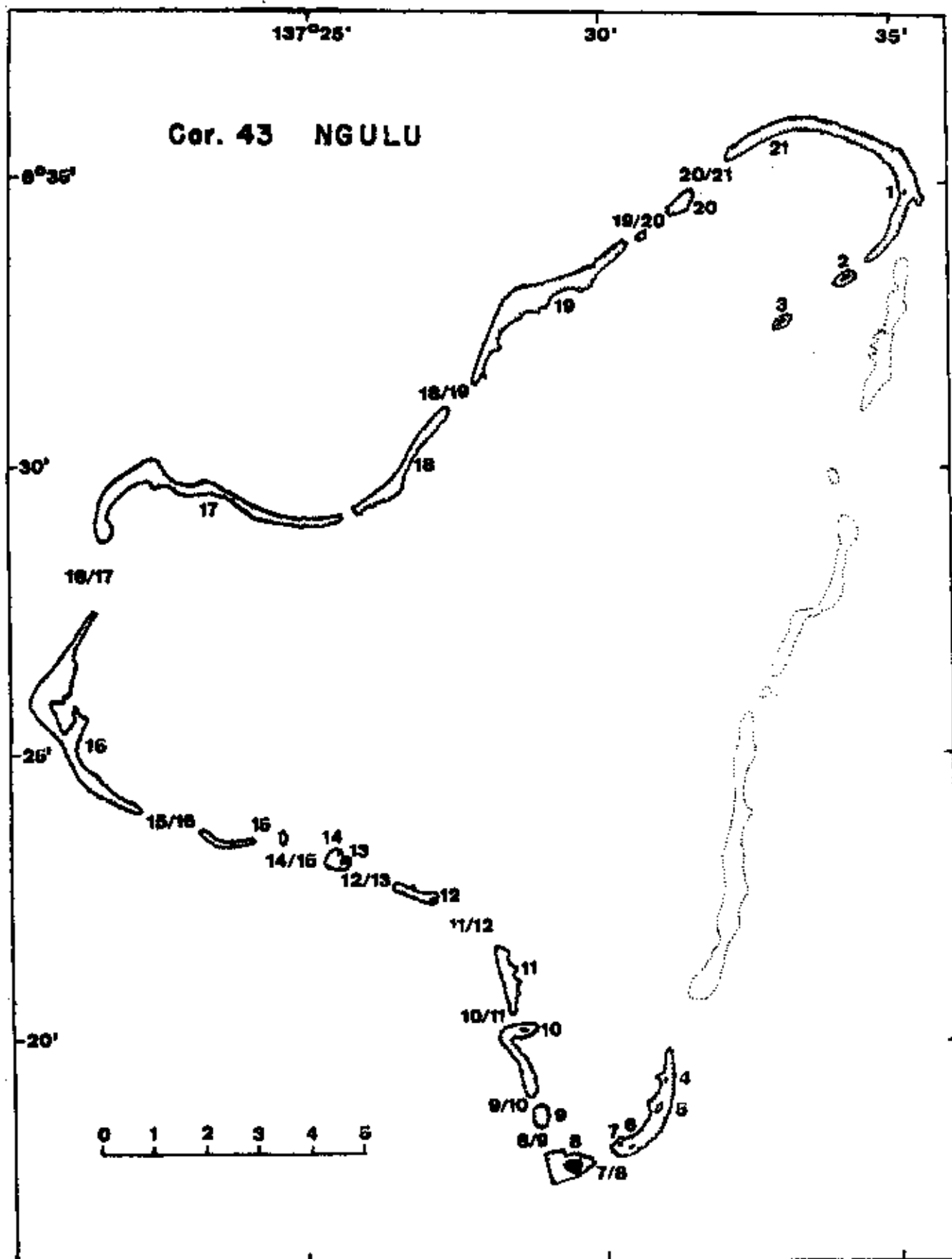
D = Gillifitz District; D1 = Runu Village; D2 = Unu Village; D3 = Moloai Village; D4 = Bulochang Village; D5 = Ramu Village; D6 = Mrenieu Village; D7 = Takiol Village; D8 = Atelu Village; D9 = Gurun Village; D10 = Tabelang Village; D11 = Ran Village; D12 = Gillifitz Village; D13 = Vunuknuk Village; D14 = Yin Village; D15 = Airetj Village.

E = Okau District; E1 = Makal Village; E2 = E2b = Mount Matade (575 ft); E3-4 = Yap Town, or Colonia; E4 = Nimar or Nemar Village; E12 = Okau Village.

F = Rull District; F1 = Talegu Village; F2 = Dinau Village; F4 = Nalok Village; F6 = Balabat Village; F9 = Gitam Village; F9 = Tora, or Dora, Village; F13 = Inuf Village; F15 = Airfield area; F16 = Lamer Village; F18 = Ngof Village; F20 = Tabunifi Village; F21 = Dulucan Village;² F22 = Naru Village; FX1 = Garim Island.

1 Ed. note: The Ile-Ile of Capt. Cheyne.

2 Ed. note: Site of Mr. Friedlander's Station in 1903.



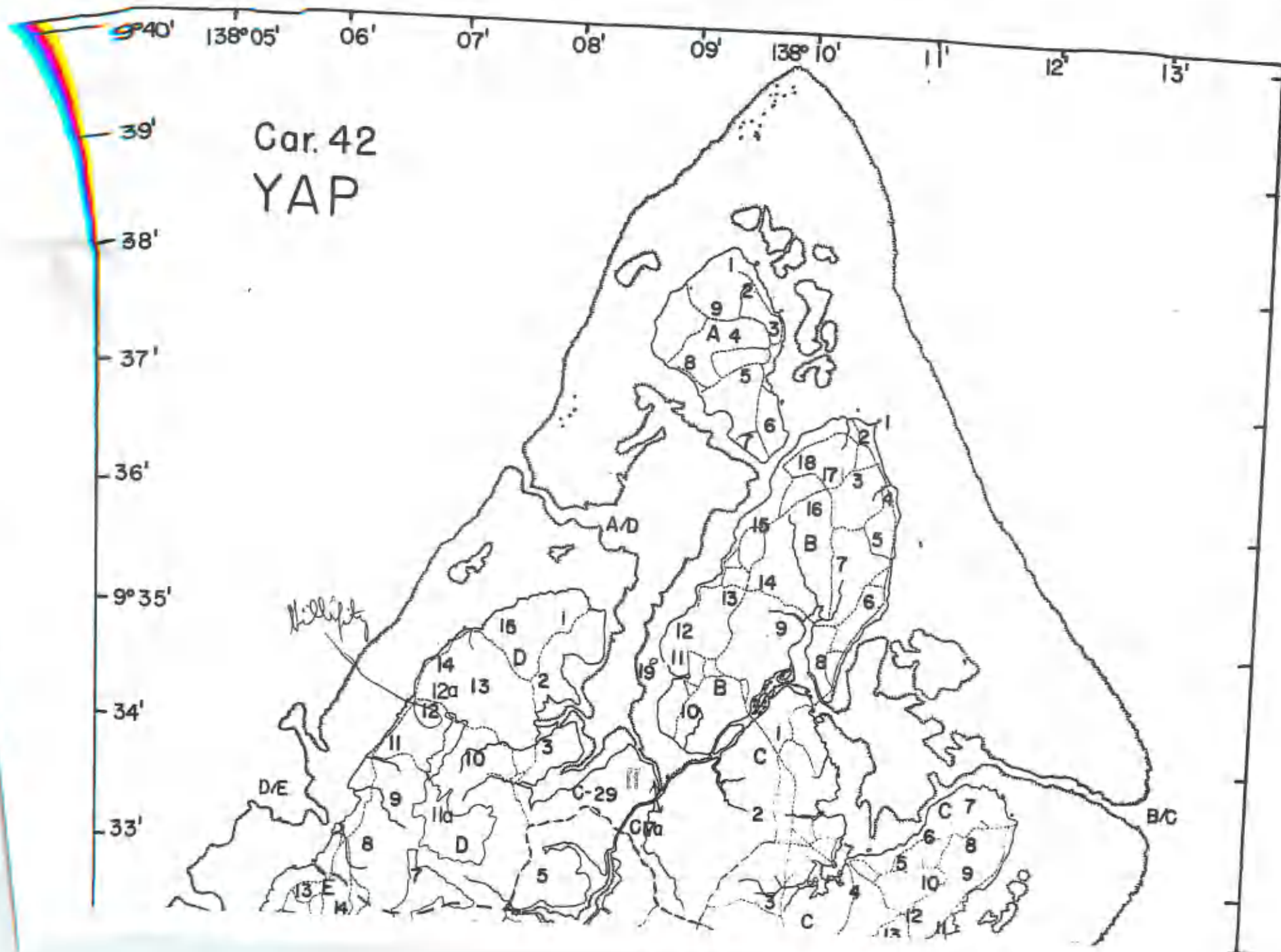
G = Goror or Guror District: G1 = Goror Village; G2 = Magachaguill Village; G3 = Anoth or Aneth Village; G4 = Toovai Village.

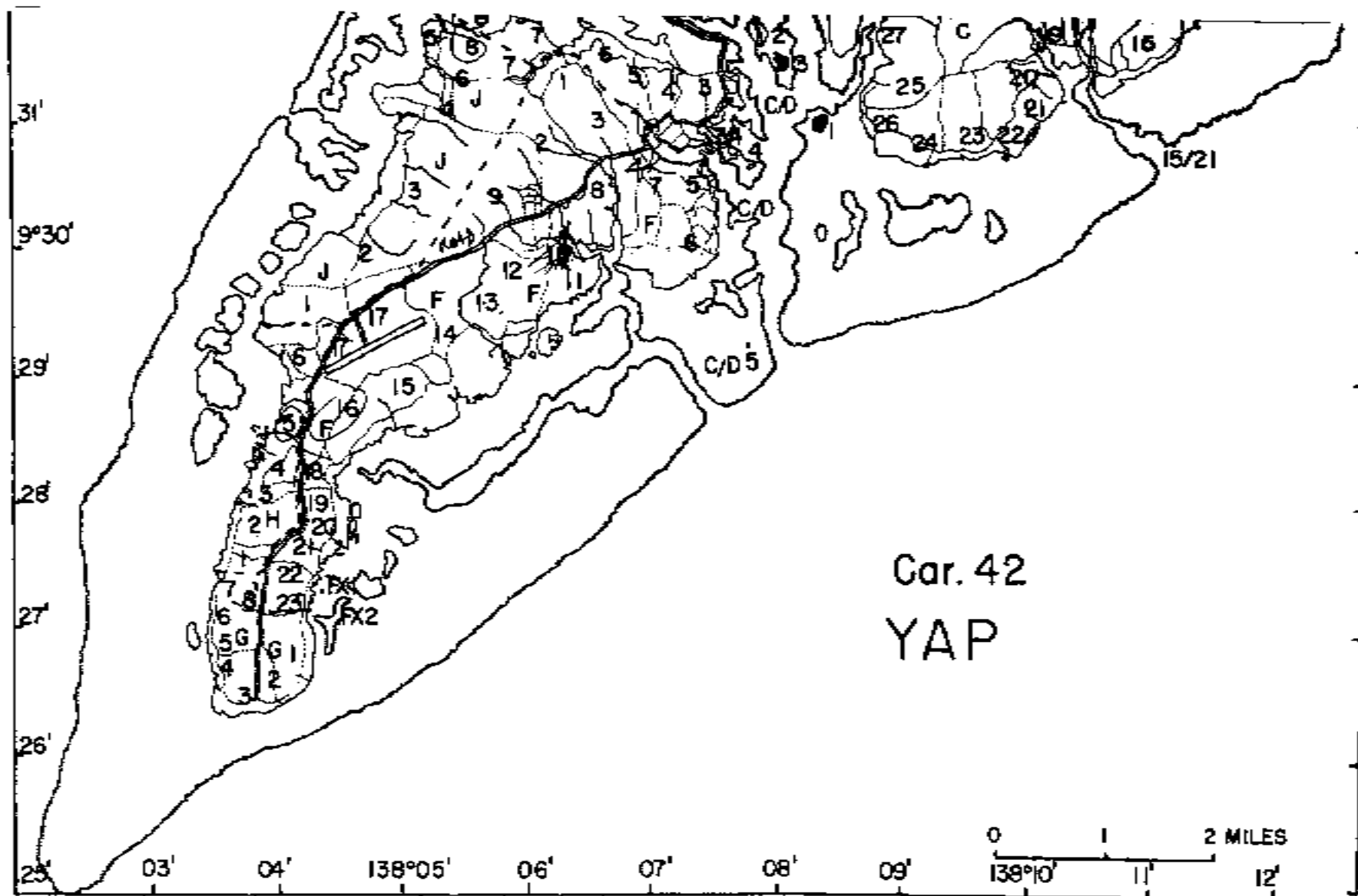
H = Nif District: H1 = Malai Village; H2 = Gal Village; H3 = Nif Village; H5 = Fra Village.¹

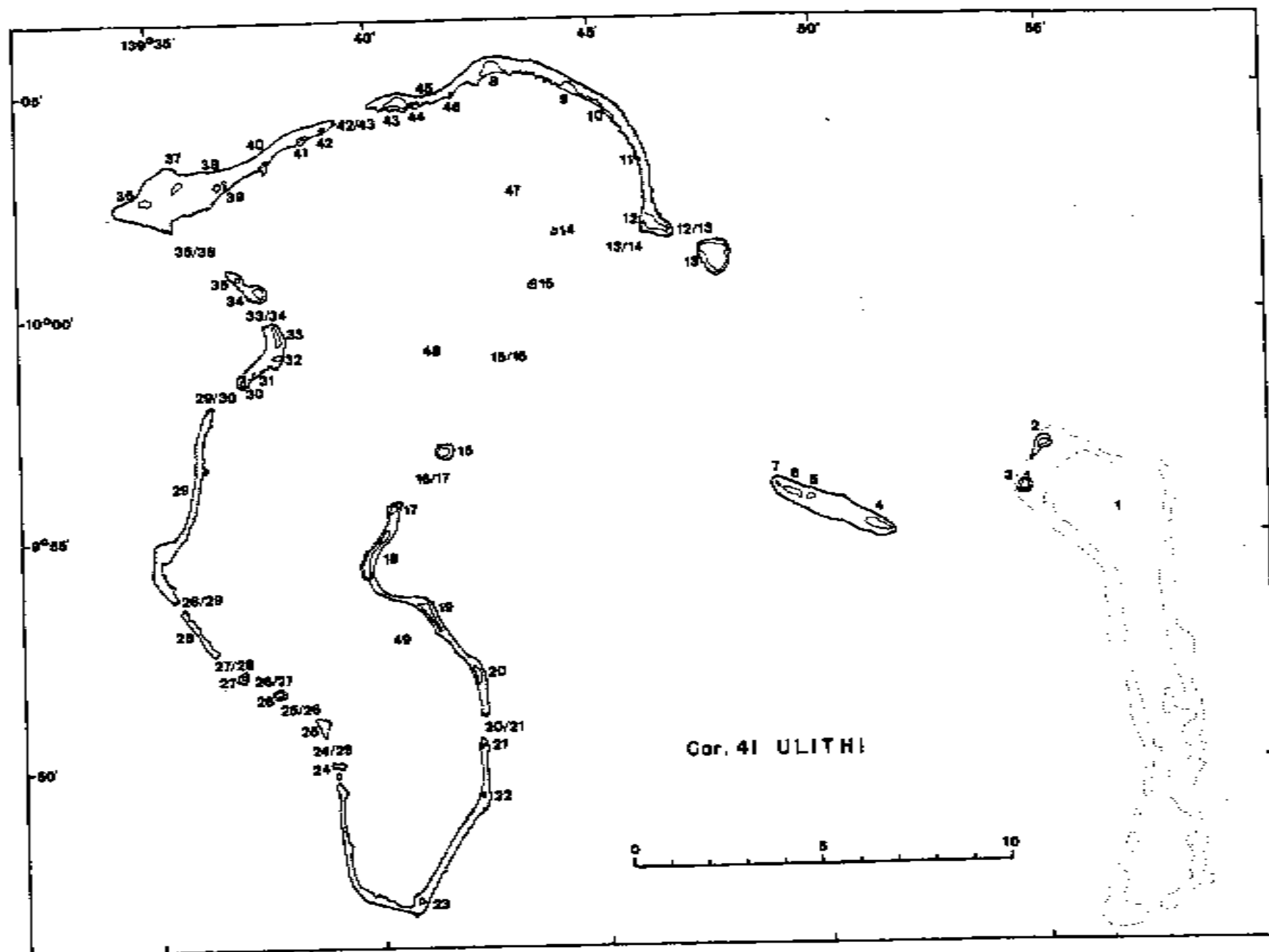
J = Kanif District: J2 = Fedior or Fedoru Village; J4 = Aringel or Arigiru Village; J5 = Vinau Village; J6 = Magaf Village; J8 = Kanif Village.²

1 Ed. note: Near this village and Lake Lepad was the site of a former Catholic Station.

2 Ed. notes: See also an article by Rosalind Hunter-Anderson in *ISLA*, 1996. Hunter Bank, 20 miles north of Map island, may have been the site of the legendary sunken island named Sepin.







Car41 = ULITHI ATOLL

—Mid-position: 9°56' N and 139°40' E

—Historical names: Los Reyes (of Saavedra); Arrecifes (of Villalobos); Egoi (western half); Lumulutup (eastern half); Mogemog or Mogmog (as per main island); Ulu-thi; Garbanzos (Chick-pea) Islands; Mackenzie Islands.

—Place names: 2 = Gielap; 3 = Yar; 4 = Losiep; 5 = Bulubul; 6 = Pau or Eu; 8 = Mogmog; 12 = Asor; 13 = Falalep; 16. Mangejang; 17 = Lolang; 18 = Fassarai; 19 = Lossau; 20 = Feitabul; 22 = Pugelug; 23 = Pig; 26 = Ealil; 27 = Eau; 30 = Songetigech; 32 = Elipig; 33 = Figelelel; 34 = Song (the So-on of Capt. Egui, 1712); 35 = Pogel; 36 = Sorenlel; 37 = Lam; 40 = Eleute; 41 = Desesag (the Yareru of the Japanese); 43 = Potangeras;

Car40 = FAIS ISLAND

—Position: 9°46' N and 140°31' E

—Historical names: San Ildefonso and also Matelotes (of Villalobos, 1543);¹ Feis; Pais; Astrolabe Island; Tromelin Island.

—Place names: 1 = Tadorowach (anchorage); 2 = Choichoi; 4? = Faliyi, or Faluy.²

Car39 = SOROL ATOLL

Position: 8°09' N and 140°23' E

—Historical names: (of Arellano, 1565); Sarol (of Father Miedes, 1664); Philip Island (1791).

—Place names: 1 = Bigelimol; 6 = Falewaidid; 8 = Birara; 12 = Sorol⁷e na-
eÀ2ð...>Car38 = EAURIPIK ATOLL

Car38 = EAURIPIK ATOLL

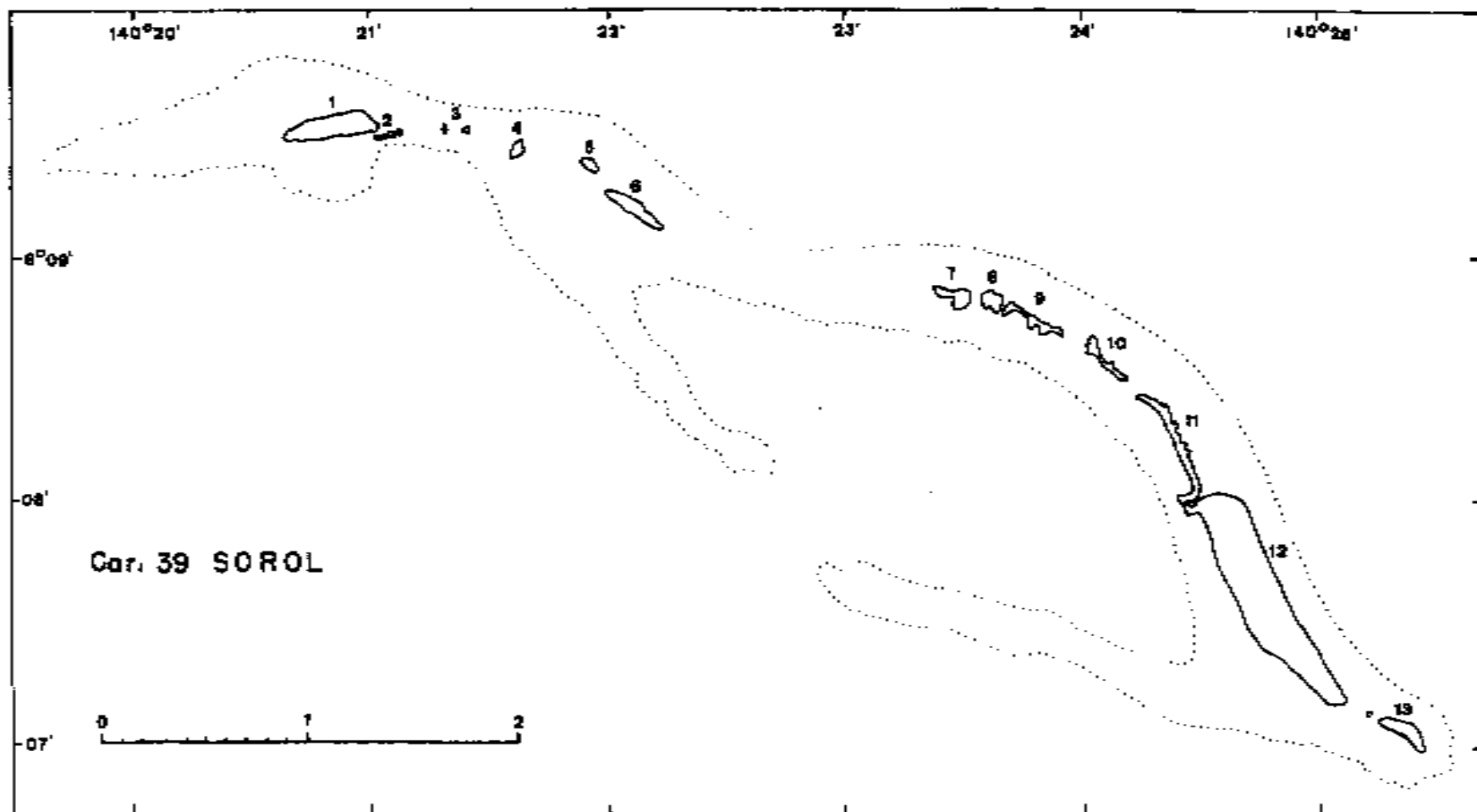
—Position: 6°42' N and 143°03' E

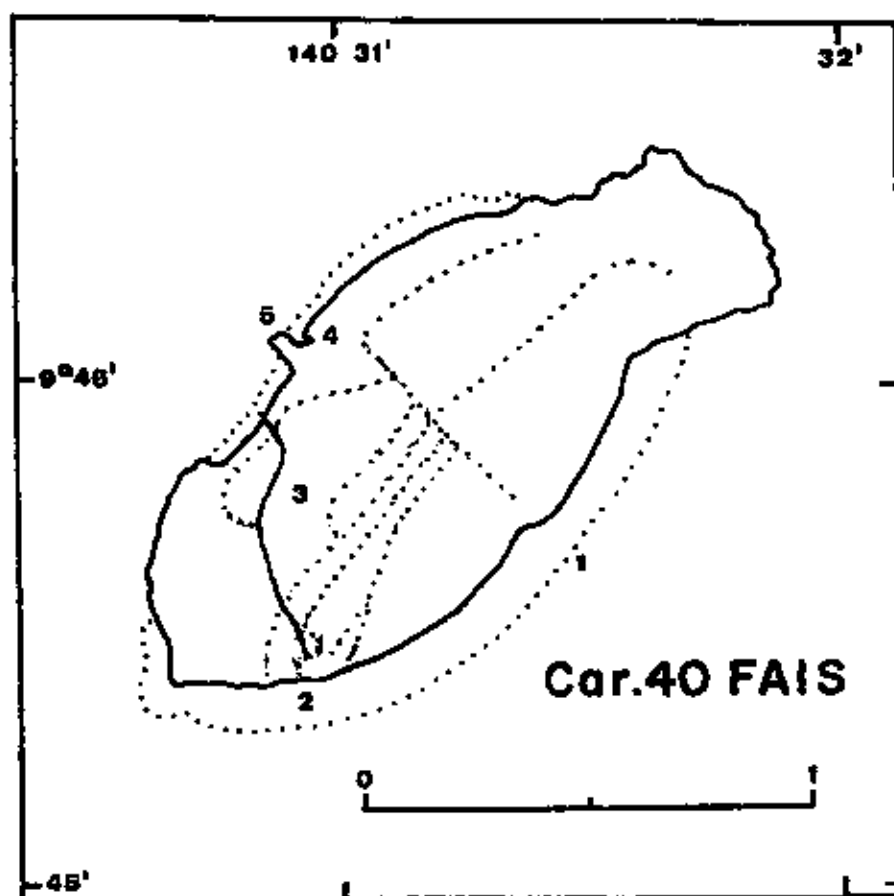
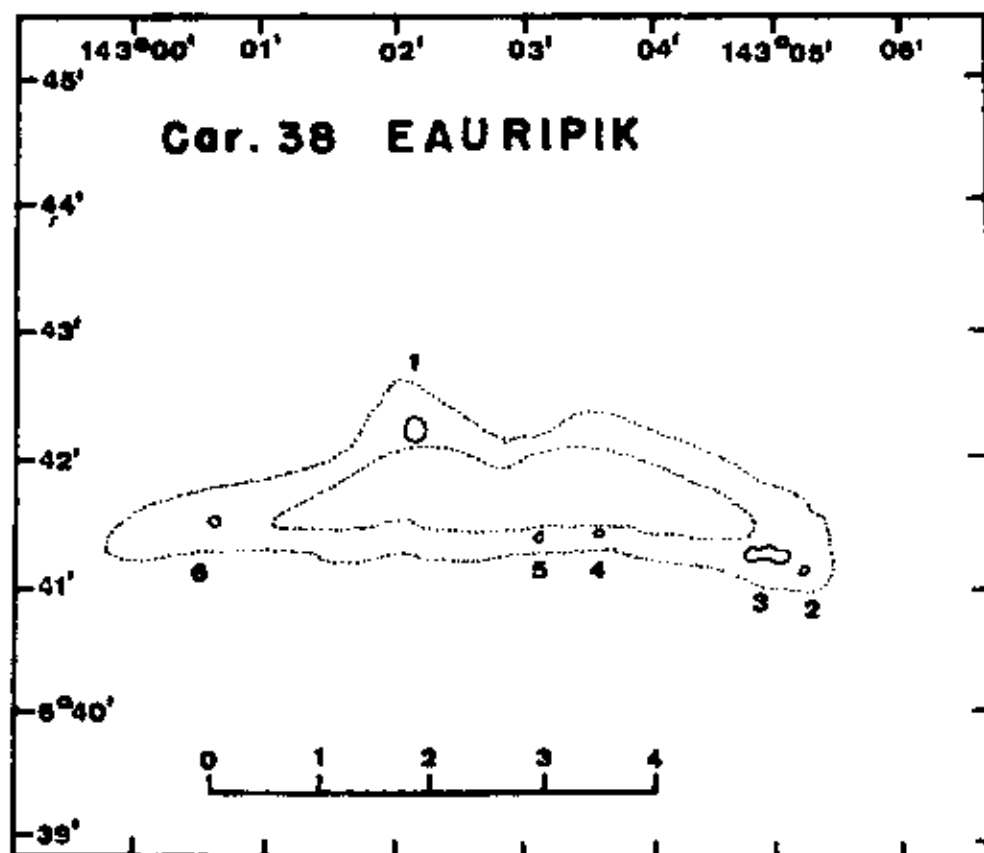
—Historical names: Eurupig; Auripik, etc.; Solomon Islands (1796); Kama Island.

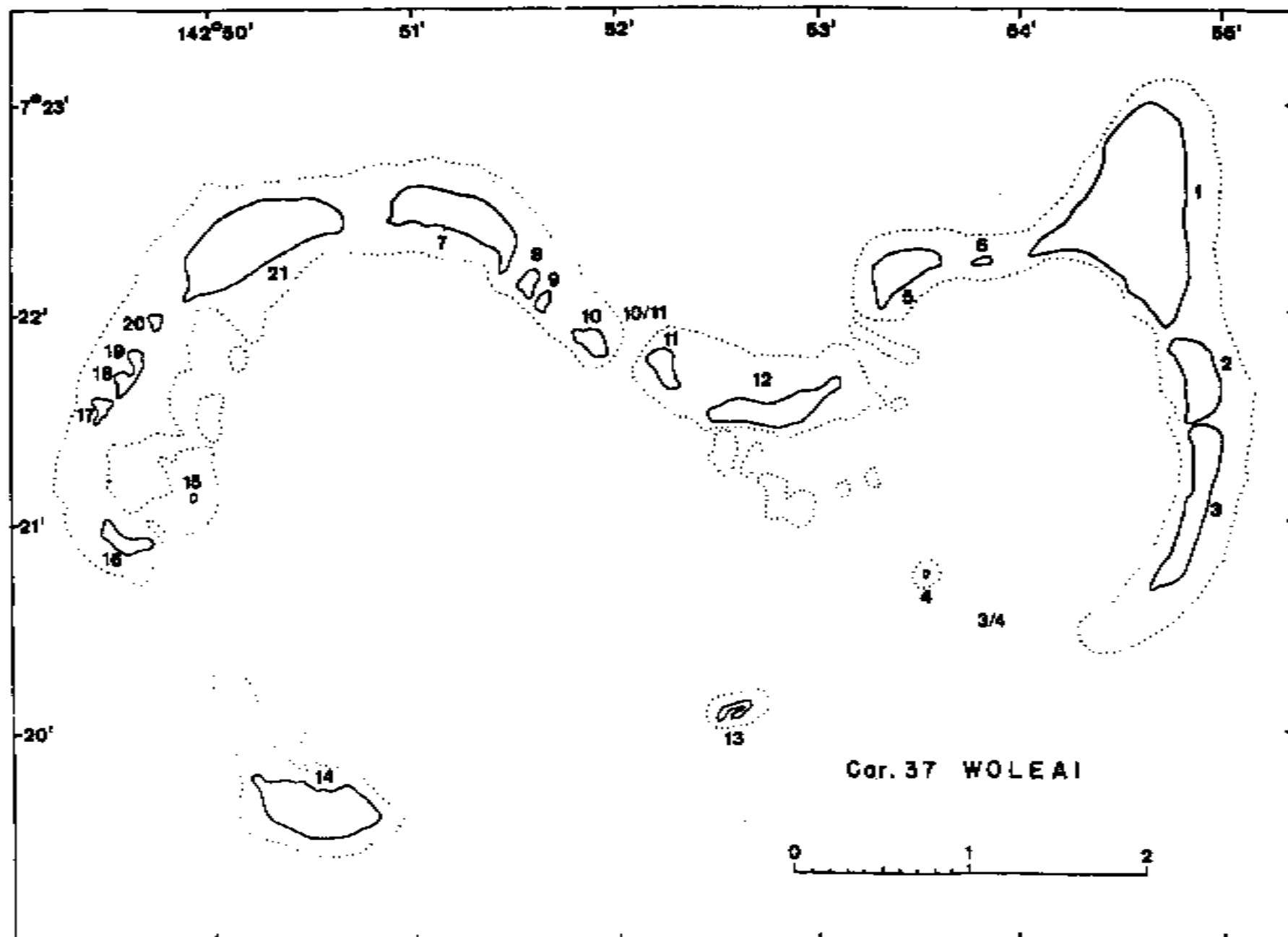
—Place names: 1 = Oao; 2 = Eauripik; 3 = Siteng; 4 to 6 crased by typhoon of 1970s.

1 Ed. note: Capt. Cheyne says that the natives called it Why-aye, pronounced something like Woo-ayay. The Hamburg South-Sea Expedition wrote it Ugei, but this seems to have been the name of the populated area on the west coast.

2 Ed. note: Fais is now pronounced like Faluy, according to Dr. Gajdusek.







Car37 = WOLEAI ATOLL

—Mid-position: 7°21' N and 142°32' E

—Historical names: Oleai; Ulea; Anangai (to the Yapese); Thirteen Islands; Merelon (to the Japanese).¹

—Place names: 1 = Woleai; 2 = Paliau; 3 = Raur; 5 = Mariaon; 7 = Saliap; 8 = Falamalok; 9 = Taramat; 10 = Farailes; 11 = Jalangigereil; 12 = Tagaulap; 14 = Falais,² or Felalis; 15 = Luisaga; 16 = Pial; 17 = Faluelemariete; 18 = Faluelepalape; 19 = Faluelegalao; 20 = Elingarik; 21 = Otagal, or Ulemarai.³

Car36 = IFALIK ATOLL

—Position: 7°15' N and 144°27' E

—Historical names: Ifaluk; Piguelap.⁴

—Note: Lütke (1828) reversed the sequence of island names at a time when Moay (Moai) was a separate island. It was united with Falatik by the typhoon of 1907, at which same time, Elanelap may have been formed.

—Place names: 1 = Ifalik; 2 = Fallap, or Falalap; 3 = Ella; 4 = Elanelap.

Car33 = FARAULEP ATOLL

—Position: 8°36' N and 144°33' E

—Historical names: Aulupu;⁵ Farroilep, etc.; Fachailap.⁶

—Place names: 3 = Piguc; 4 = Faraulep; 5 = Eate, or Ett.

1 Ed. note: The group was often called Falalep by the natives before 1900, but mostly Ulea, according to the Hamburg South-Sea Expedition.

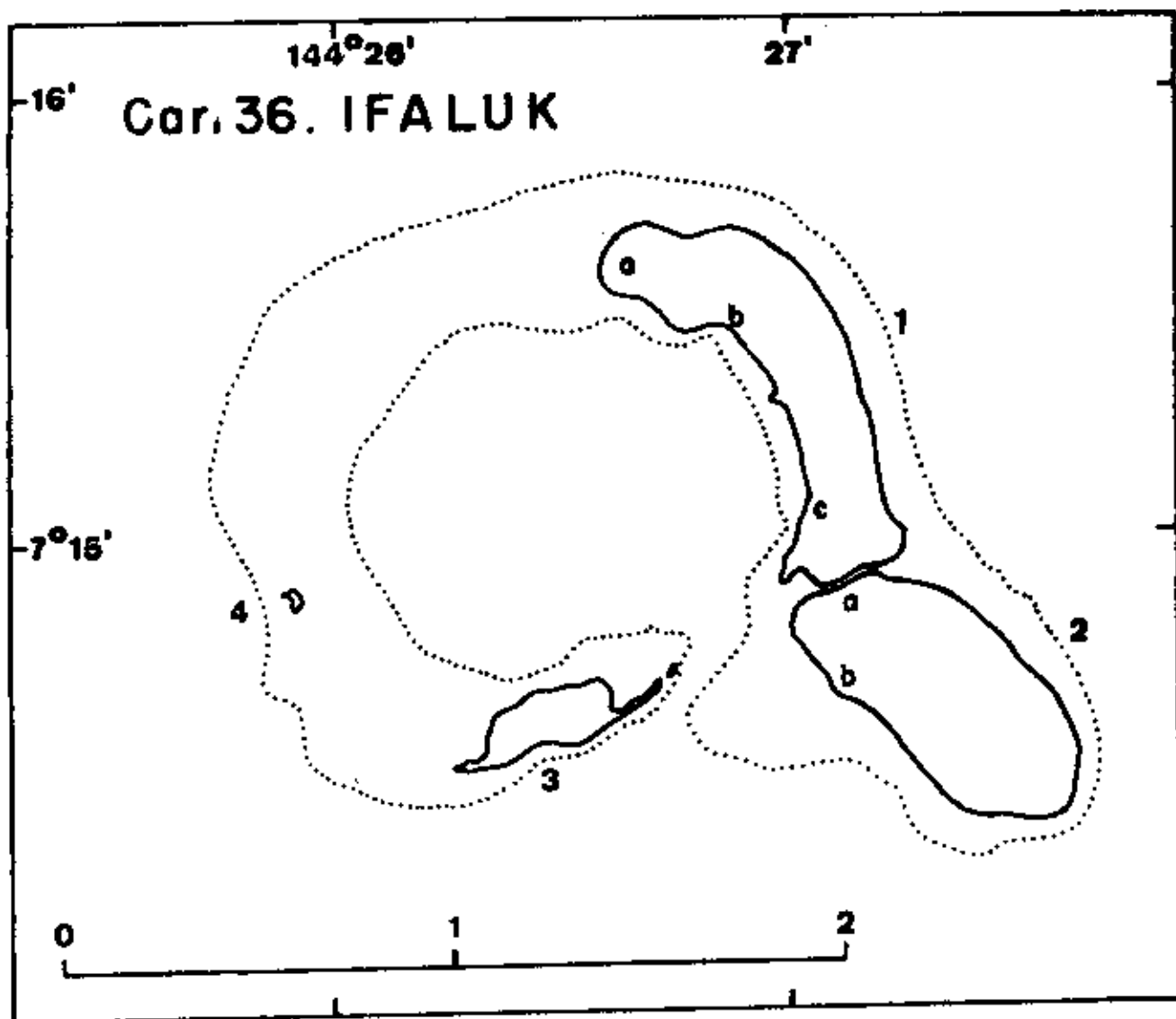
2 Ed. note: This was the name recorded by Father Miedes (see Doc. 1664D).

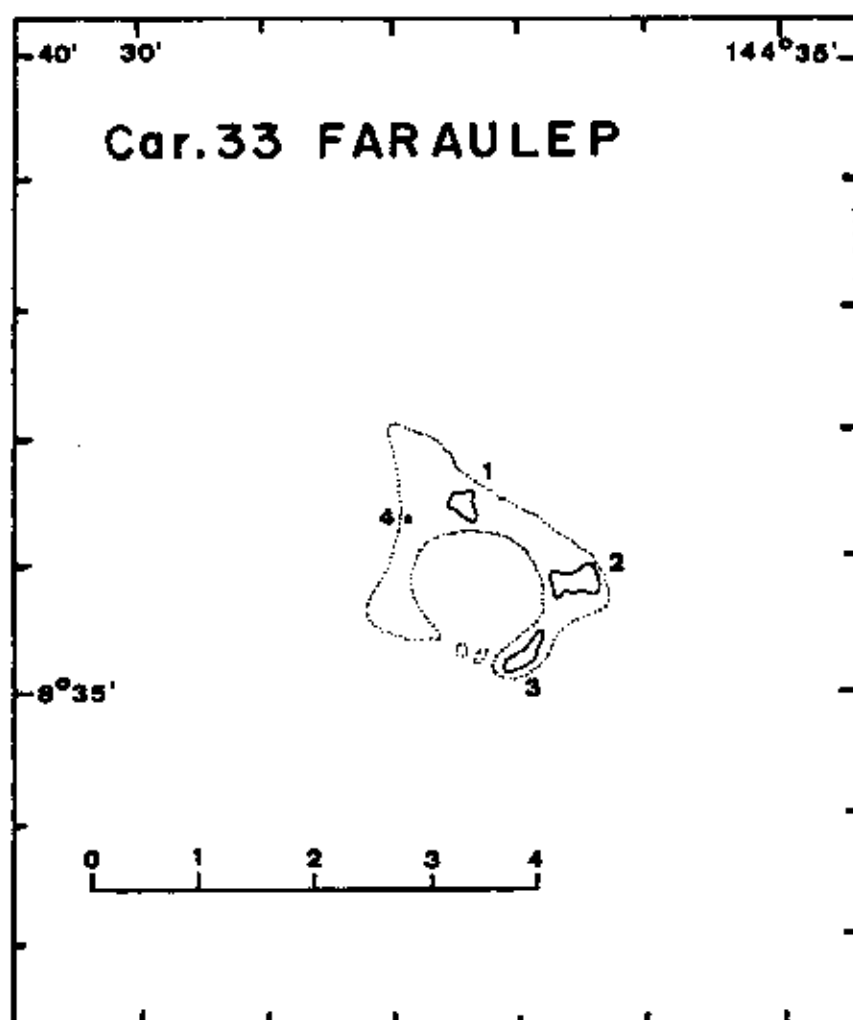
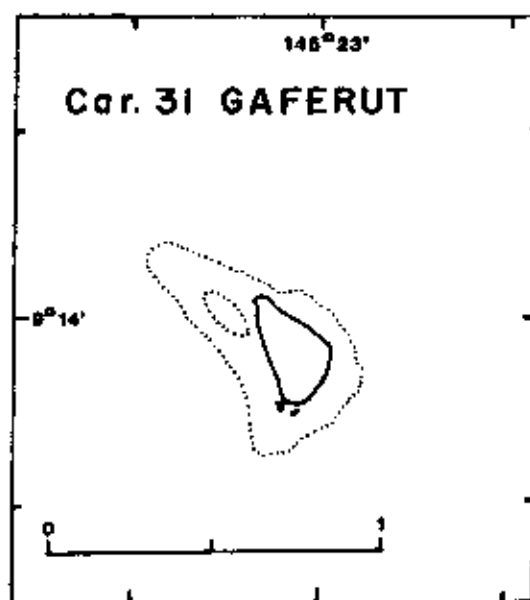
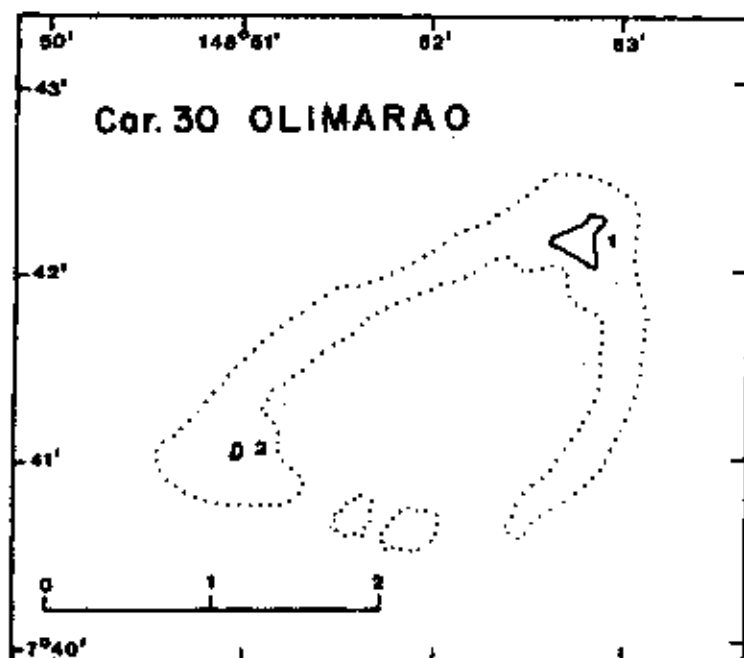
3 Ed. note: The native home of Kadu, according to Kotzebue.

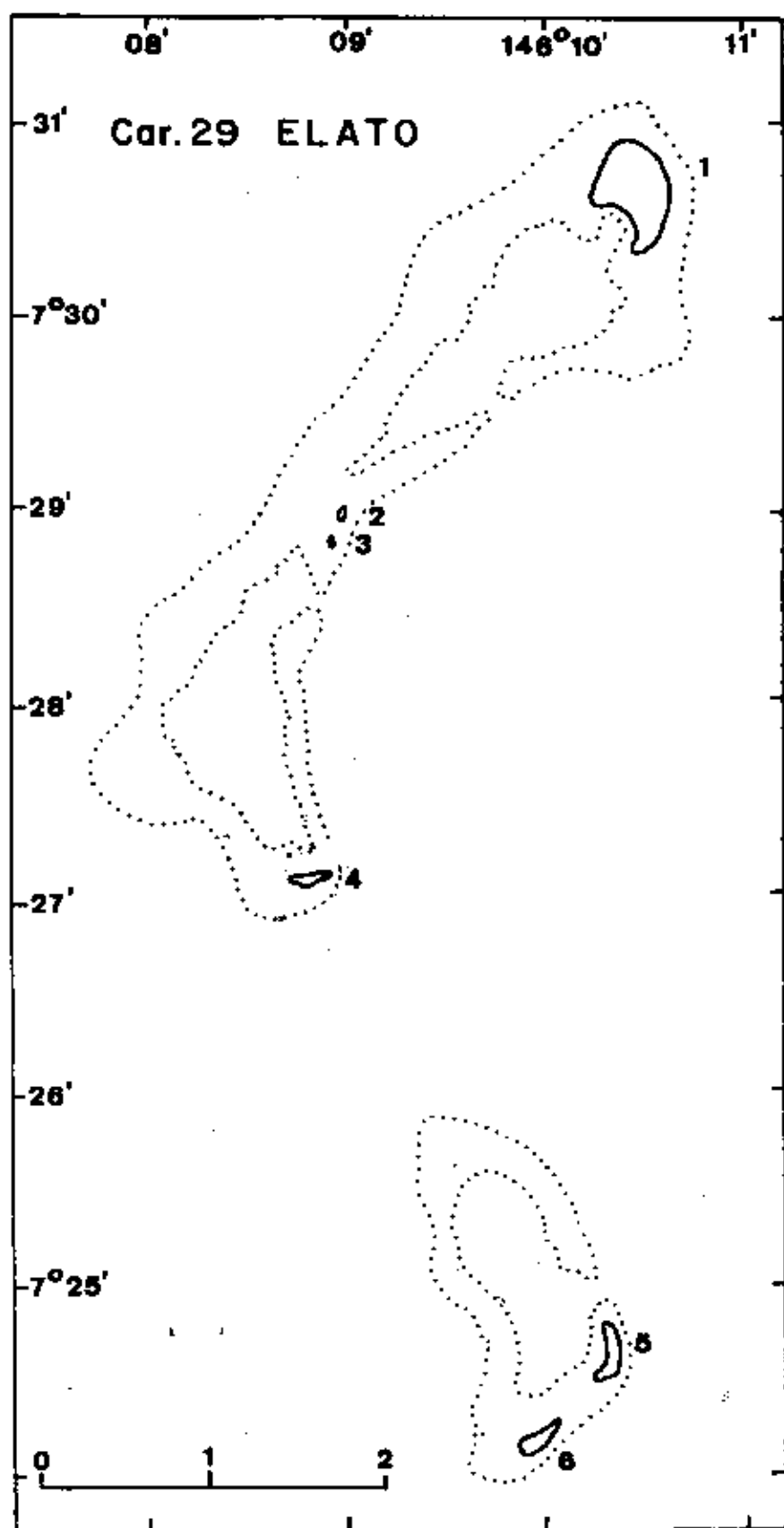
4 Ed. note: Native name recorded by Fr. Miedes.

5 Ed. note: As recorded by Fr. Miedes in 1664.

6 Ed. note: According to the native pronunciation in 1964, says Dr. Gadjusek. Definitely, the pronunciation and recording of the name of this island has caused problems to foreigners.







Car31 = GAFERUT ISLAND

—Position: 9°14' N and 145°23' E

—Historical names: Fayu is the true name of this uninhabited island; High Island; Grimes Island.

Car30 = OLIMARAO ATOLL

—Position: 7°) N and 145°52' E

—Place names: 1 = Olimarao; 2 = Falifi, or Faripi.

Car29 = ELATO ATOLL

—Mid-position: 9°29' N and 157°10' E

—Historical names: Flet, or Elauto; Swede Islands (with Car28, 1797).

—Place names: 1 = Elato; 2 = Oletel; 3 = Kari; 4 = Falipi; 5 = Lamolior.

Car28 = LAMOTREK ATOLL

—Mid-position: 7°29' N and 146°20' E

—Historical names: Lamosaq (Miedes, 1664); Swede Islands (with Car29): Muguak (Duperrey, 1827).

—Place names: 1 = Pague, or Puch; 2 = Lamotrek; 4 = Falaite (or Freit, Miedes 1664).¹

Car27 = WEST FAYU ISLAND

—Position: 8°05' N and 145°44' E

Editor's notes: This is a one-island atoll. The name Fayu was wrongly applied, since its native name is really Pikelot, but it is too late to argue with cartographers... The real Fayu is now called East Fayu (see Car15C).

Car26 = SATAWAL ISLAND

—Position: 7°21' N and 147°02' E

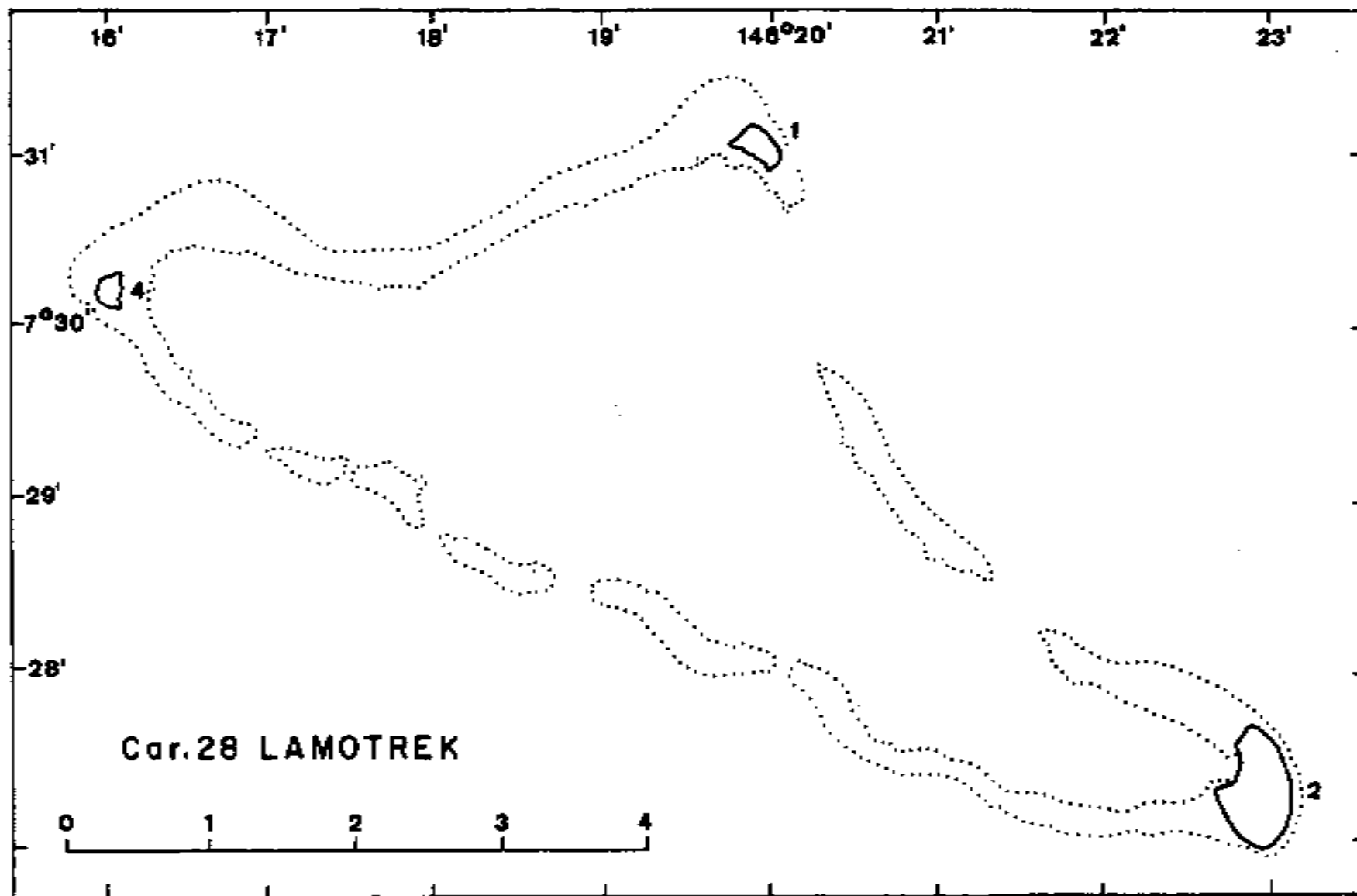
—Historical names: Sataoual; Satoan, etc.; Tucker Island; Satowanu (Jap.).

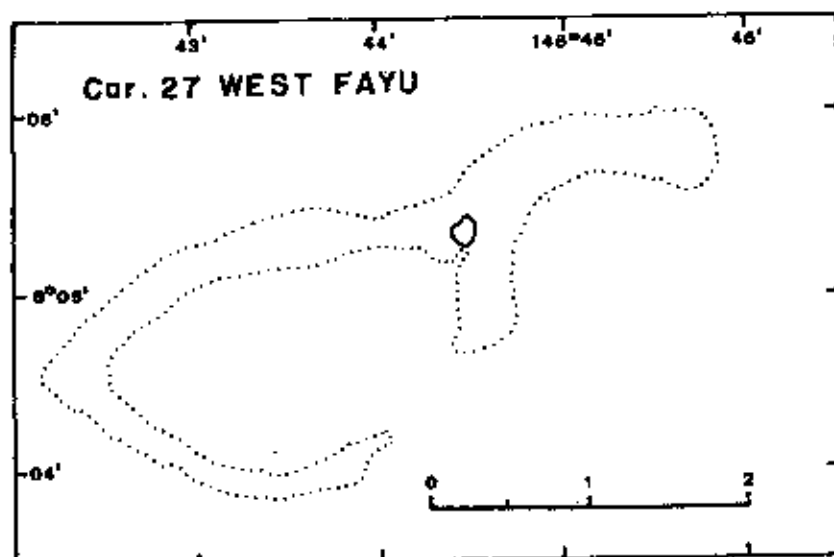
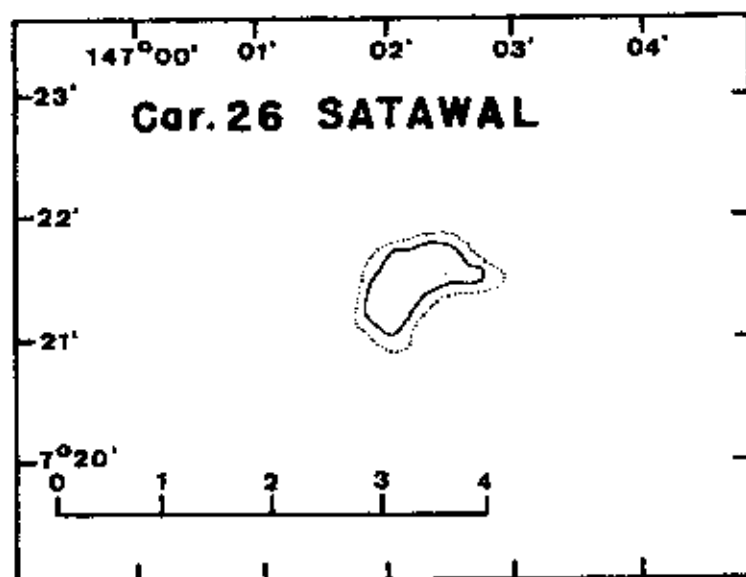
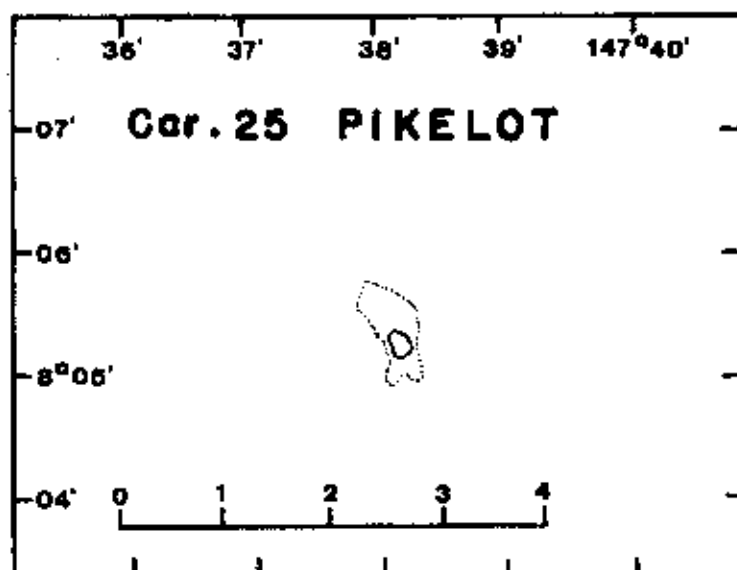
Car25 = PIKELOT ISLAND

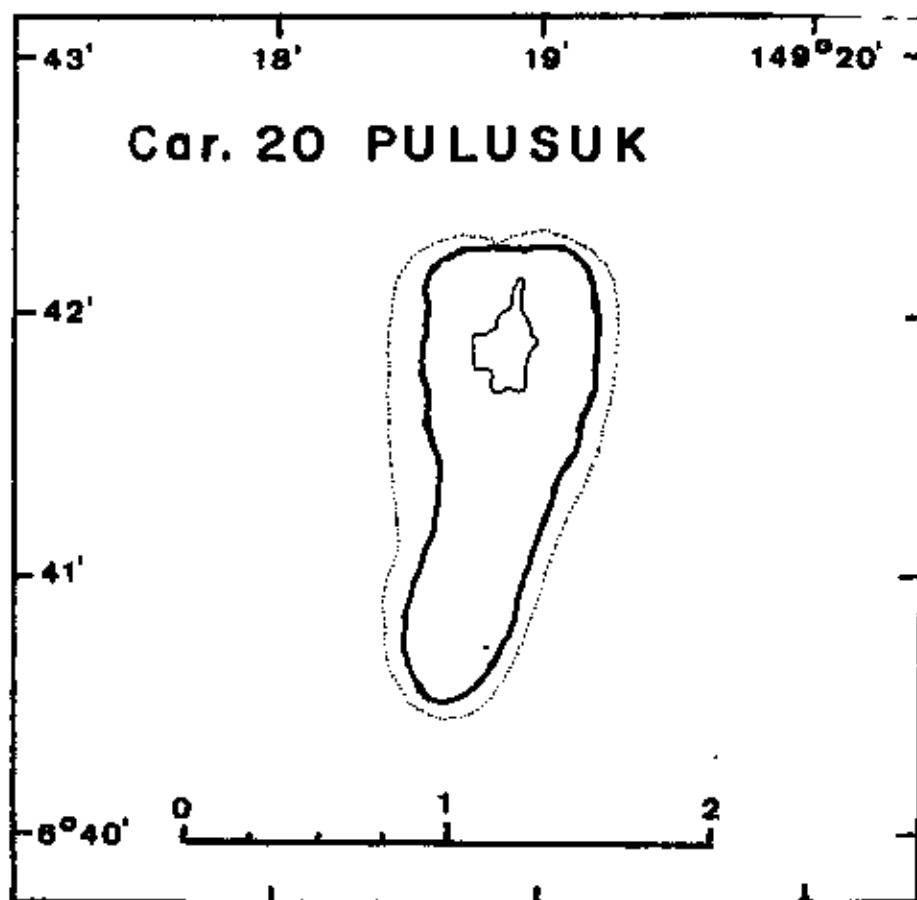
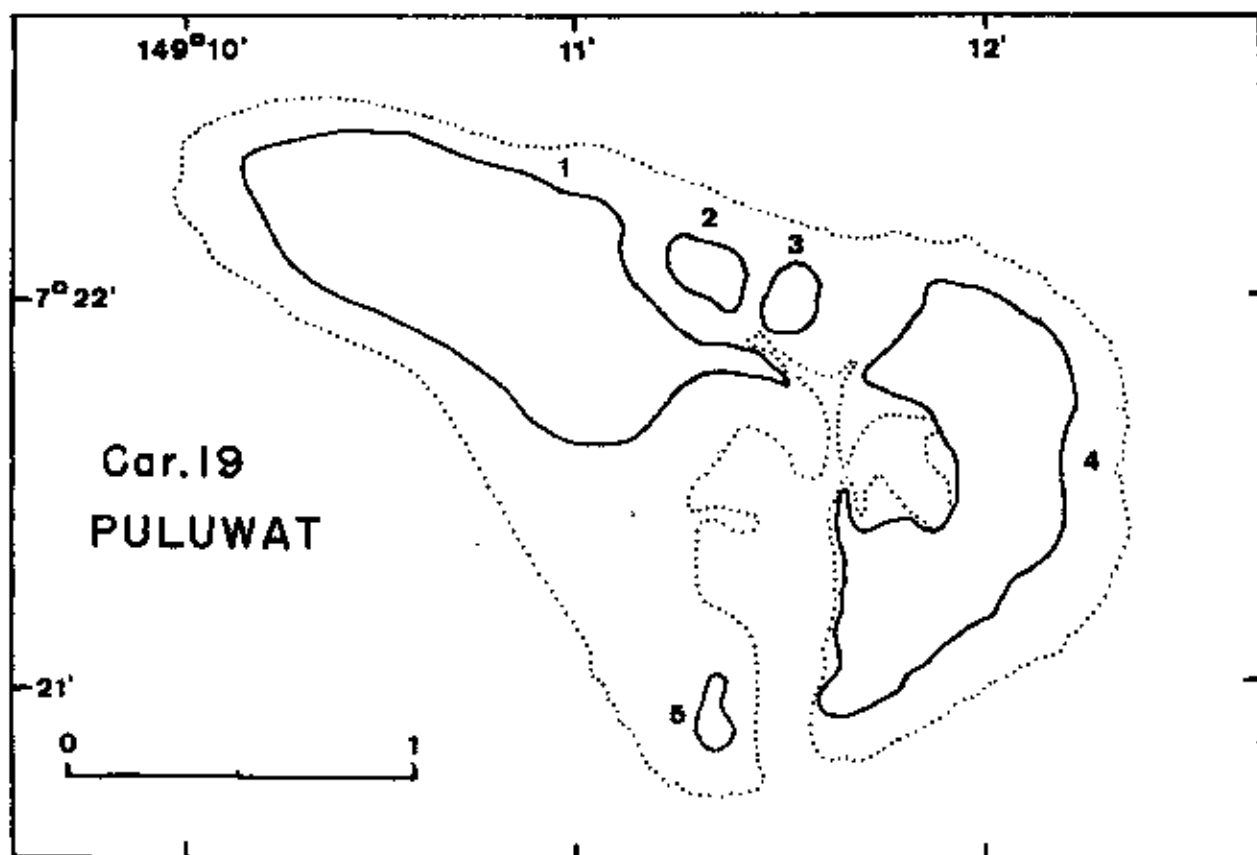
—Position: 8°05' N and 147—38' E

—Historical note: True native name was Piik, but Pikelot was wrongly applied on the charts; Pihg; Pij; Pikela, etc.; recorded as Pigilo by Fr. Miedes in 1664.

¹ Ed. note: The name Lamotrek means "lagoon, small."







Car20 = PULUSUK ISLAND

—Position: 6°41' N and 149°19' E

—Historical names: Suk, Schoug, and many variants of this sound; even Ifauk.

—Editor's notes: Not to forget that Pulu, or Pulo, means Island over a vast area. Cata and San Bartolomé (in error, see Car19). Note also that #18, 19 and 20 form a thin atoll known as Pattiw to the natives, and linked by Manila Reef.

Car19 = PULUWAT ATOLL

—Position: 7°21' N and 149°11' E

—Historical names: Catac (1696); Cata (1799); Polowat; Puluot, etc.; Enderby Island.

—Place names: 1 = Alct, or Allei (site of Jap. airfield); 2 = To;¹ 3 = Elangelab; 4 = Puluwat; 5 = Sau.²

Car18 = PULAP ATOLL

—Mid-position: 7°35' N and 149°25' E

—Historical names: Pulap, and also Tamatam; Los Martires (Arellano, 1565); Polet (Miedes, 1664).

—Place names: 1 = Pulap; 2 = Tamatam;³ 3 = Fanadik.⁴

Car17 = NAMONUITO ATOLL

—Mid-position: 8°40' N and 150°00' E

—Historical names: Ulul, Olol, or Onoun Group; Los Jardines and Las Hermanas (in error).⁵

—Place names: 1 = Magur, or Magir; 2 = Ono; 9 = Pissaras;⁶ 11 = Ulul, Anónima, Livingston.⁷

1 Ed. note: Was two islets in 1801 (Doc. 1800F).

2 Ed. note: This Sau name may have been recorded as Sawere by Fr. Miedes in 1664.

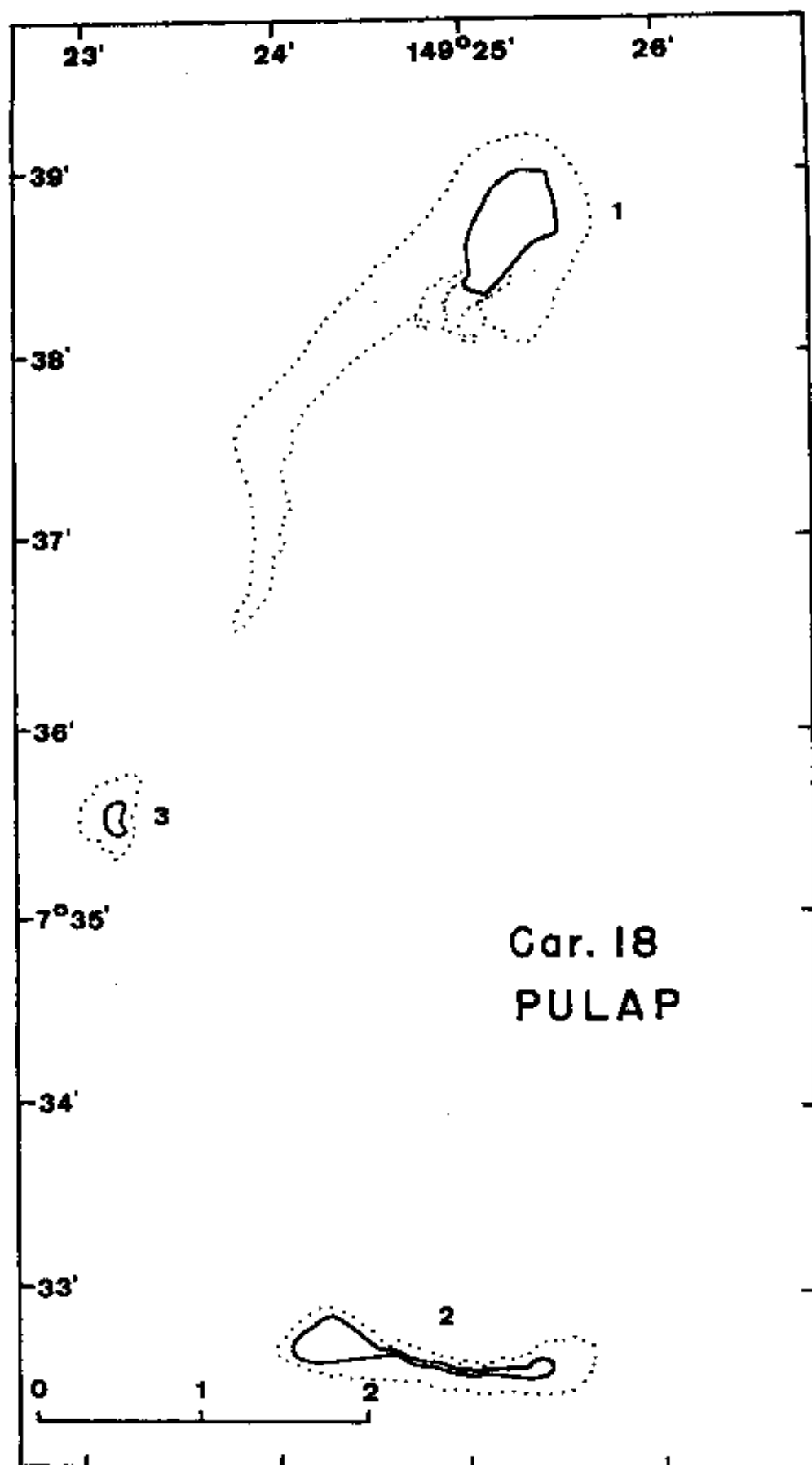
3 Ed. note: Formerly two islands, the smaller one, eastern end, being called Taviotan.

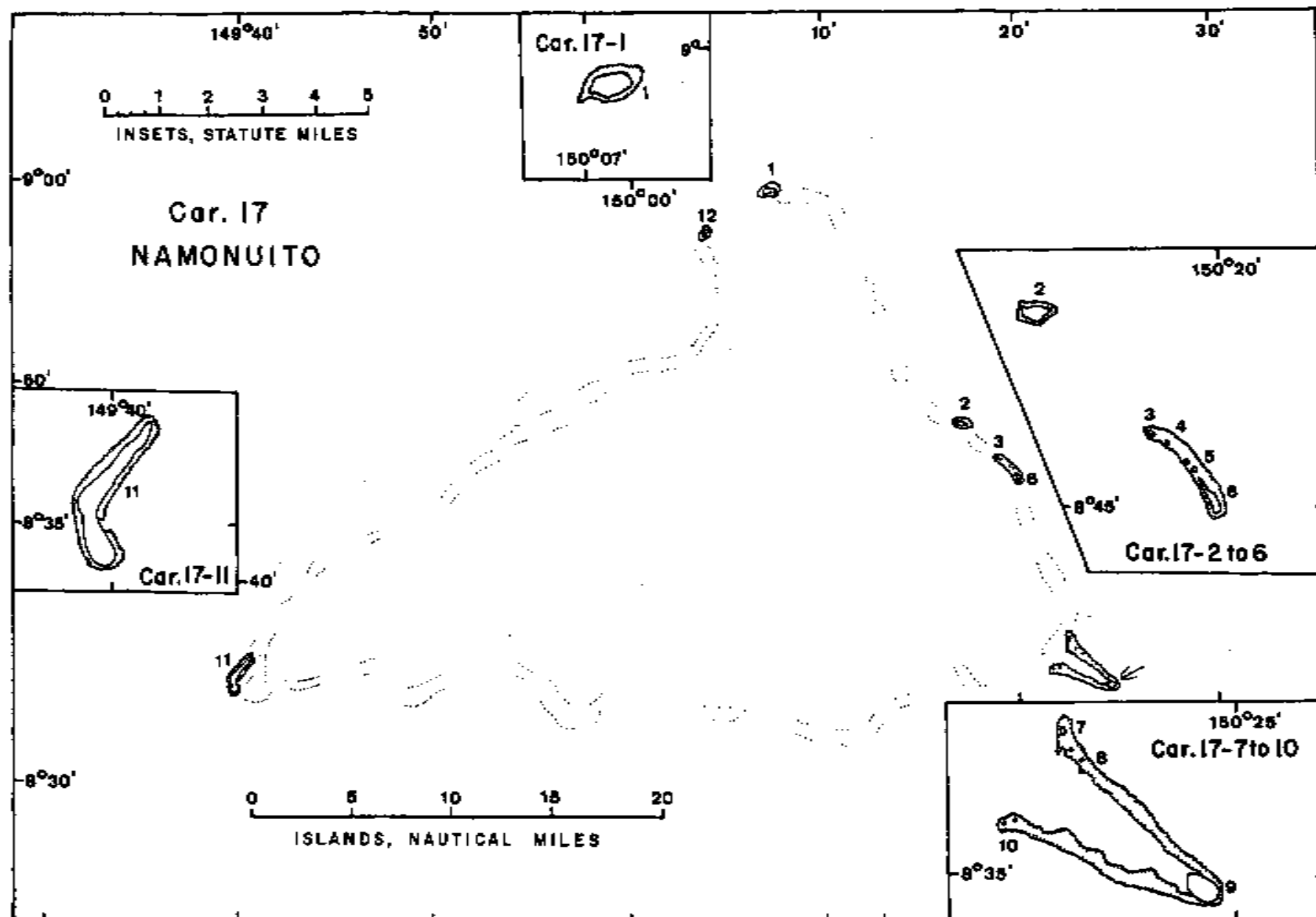
4 Ed. note: Capt. Freycinet had inverted the names for #1 and #3, said Capt. Duperrey in 1824.

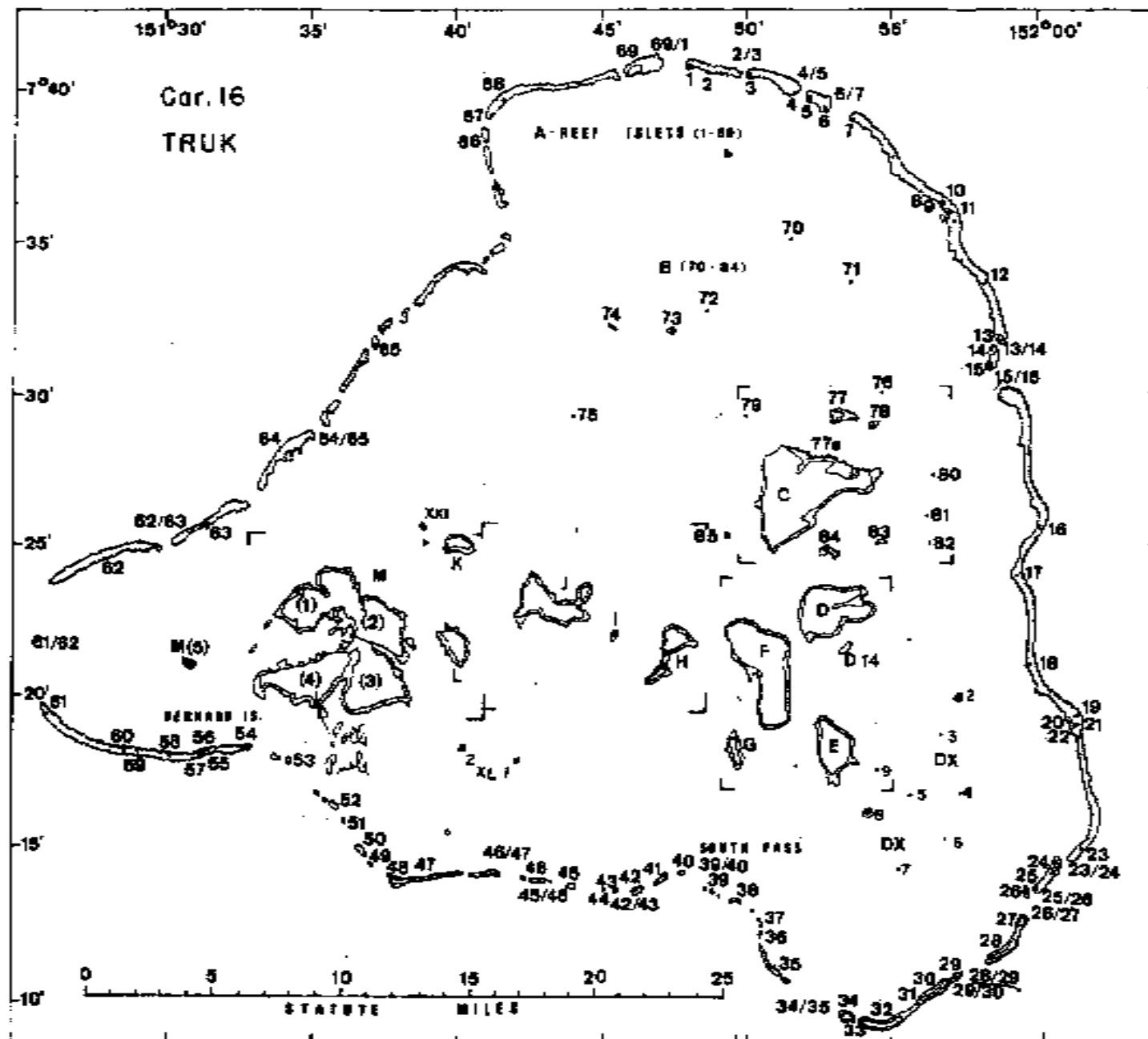
5 Ed. notes: Villalobos' Los Jardines correspond to Ujelang. The islets at opposite ends were often not seen to be connected to a group, or part of an atoll. Therefore, see variants applied to individual islands.

6 Ed. note: Also recorded as Abiutac by Ibargoitia, in 1800, but Pissaras by Rocquemaurel. Abiutac may have been some native word that was misinterpreted; perhaps it was the word *abwota* which means "don't like."

7 Ed. note: Reported at Guam as Oloul by Luito in 1787. Later Spaniards could not find out the name, so they named it Anonymous in 1801; Captain Morrell baptized it Livingston Island.







Car16 = TRUK, or CHUUK, ISLANDS

- Latitudes ranging from 7° to 7°40' N
- Longitudes ranging from 151°15' to 152°02' E
- Historical names: Hogoleu; Hogolu; Houg; Sough (and many variants thereof); Ruk, Ruc, etc.; Torres (in error); Tol (Miedes, 1664); Ohala (Luito, 1787, and Olla (Floyd, 1827) from Ulalu I.; Bergh (1830); Chuk, Cuuk, Chuuk.¹
- Place names in general: Goodenough has made a study of Truk place names that was published in *Micronesica* in June 1966.²
- Names of the passes: A-69/1 = **North Pass**; A-2/3 = Ushi I. Pass; A-6/7 = Tora I. Pass; A-15/16 = **Northeast Pass**; A-23/24 = Salat Pass; A-25/26 = Fein Pass; A-26/27 = Neurui Pass; A-28/29 = Uligar Pass; A-29/30 = Udidan Pass; A-32/33 = Unnugot Pass; A-33/34 = Nenna Pass; A-34/35 = **Otta Pass**; A-36/37 = Pispis Pass; A-37/38 = Aleon Pass; A-39/40 = **South Pass**; A-40/41 = Analap Pass; A-43/44 = Fanusamoz Pass; A-45/46 = Ulifauro Pass; A-61/62 = **Pialu or Pianu Pass**; A-62/63 = Lelom Pass; A-63/64 = Faleallej Pass; A-65/66 = **Taulap Pass**.

Japanese Names

Islands C to F within the lagoon were called Shiki-Shoto, or Seasons Islands or Group, during the Japanese era: Moen was called Haru-Shima, or Spring I.; Dublon was Natsu-Shima, or Summer I.; Uman was Fuyu-Shima, or Winter I.; and Fefan was Aki-Shima, or Autumn I.

Islands J to M were called the Shichiyo-Shoto, or Days-of-the-week Islands: Fala-lu was Nichiyo-To, or Sunday I.; Udot was Getsuyo-To, or Monday I.; Fala-Beguets was Kayo-To, or Tuesday I.; Tol proper was Shiyo-To, or Wednesday I.; Pata was Mokuyo-To, or Thursday I.; Polle was Kinyo-To, or Friday I.; and Onamue was Doyo-To, or Saturday Island. Other islands bore the names of flowers and other plants.

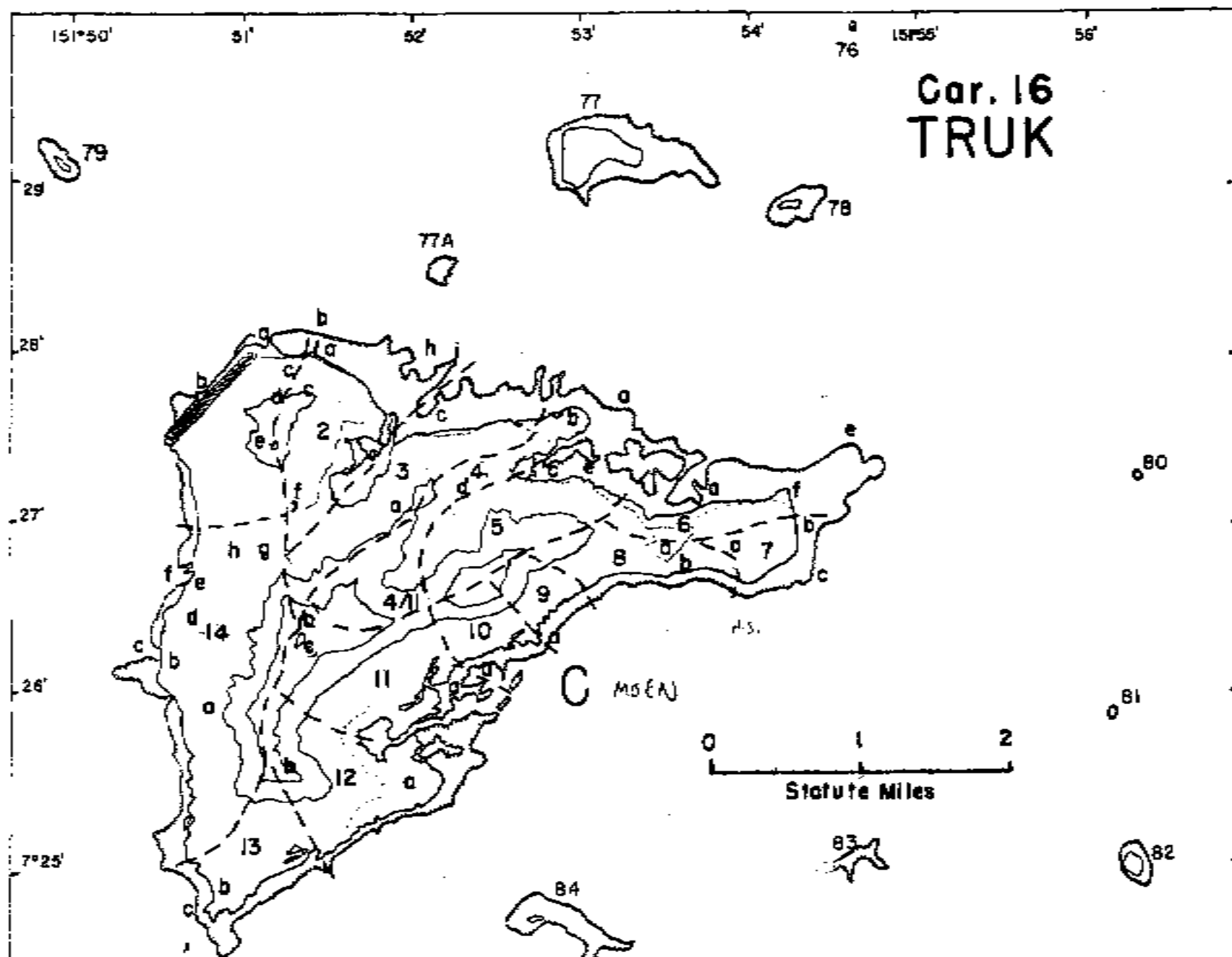
C = Moen Island

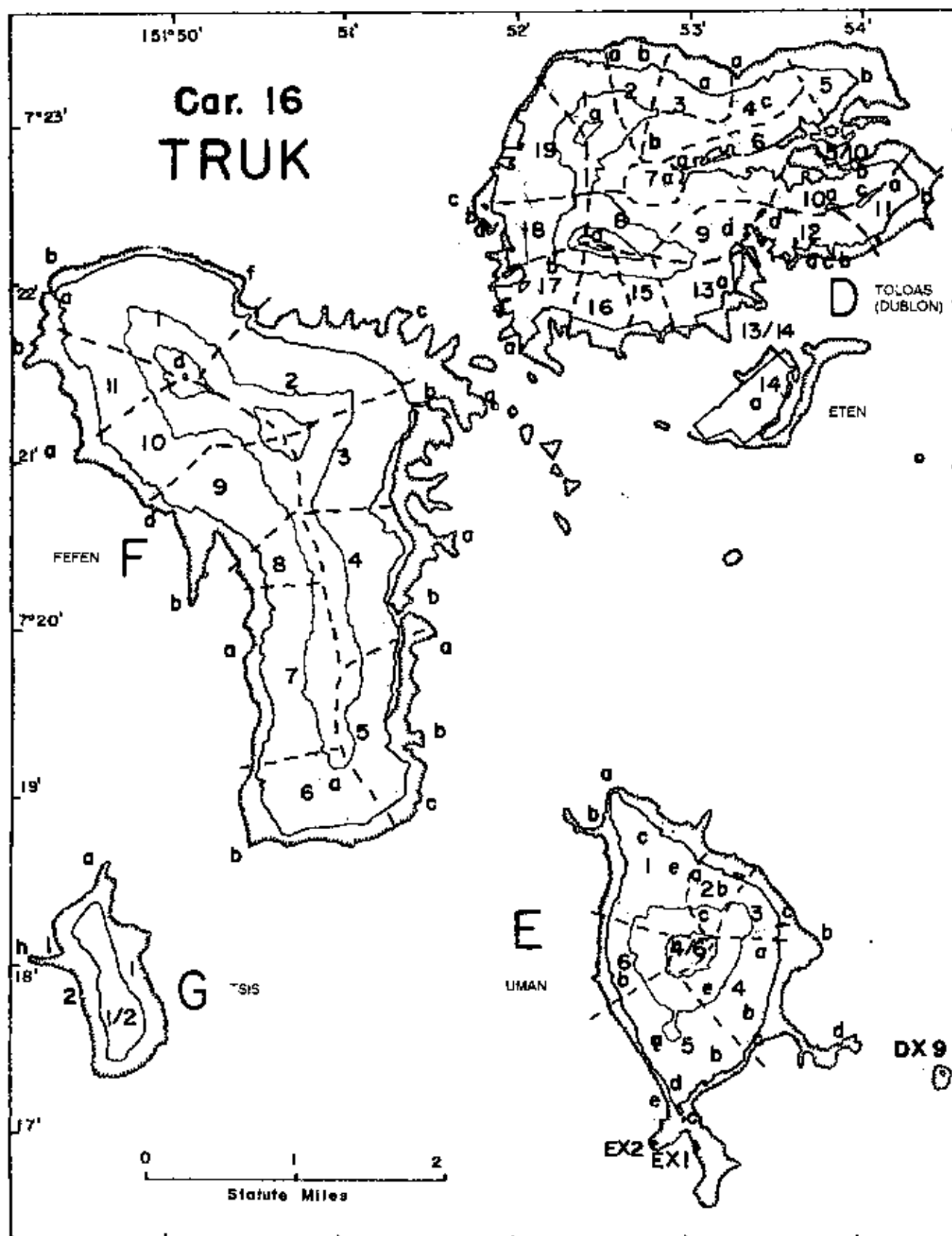
—Historical names: Iros; Uela, Uola, Wela, Wona, etc.; Olla Falaval (Chamisso); (Floyd, 1827); Haru.

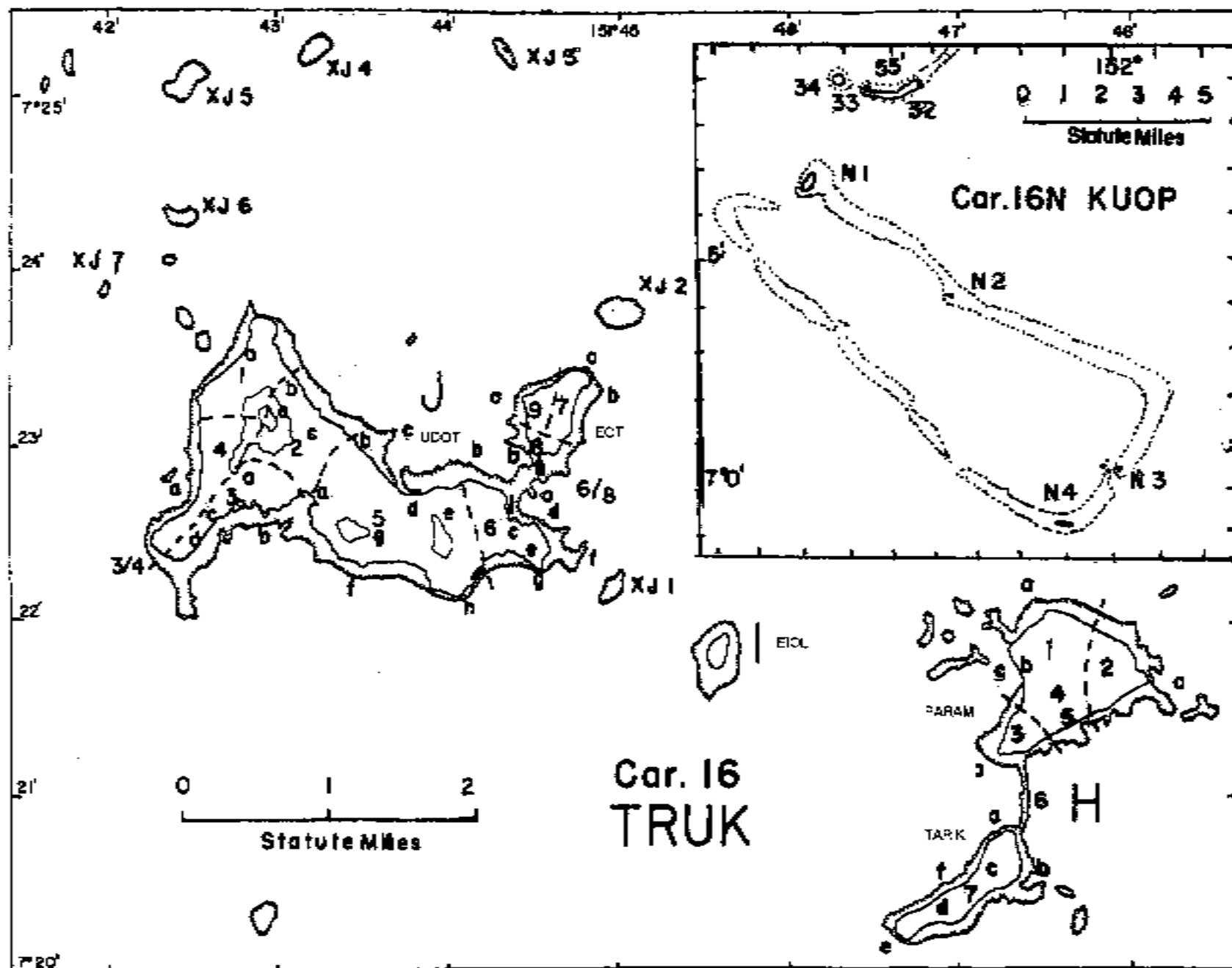
—Place names: C1 = Iras (district and village); C-1b = Airfield; C-13 = Mount Tolachau (meaning "Rock Mast" or "Rocky Peak"); C-3 = Tunuk (district and village); C-3a = Nanimo (ridge) or Neniman ("Place of Birds"); C-4 = Peniesene (district and village); C-5 = Penia (district and village); C-5a = Mount Vitipon, or Uitipen; C-6 =

1 Ed. note: Cuuk means mountain in Chuukese, whereas Tol means (mountain) peak. Chuuk is the spelling that was adopted in modern times. Chuuk is not an atoll but a group of islands surrounded by a reef barrier. Father Bollig says that Schug was the name by which the group was known to non-Trukese in the Central Carolines.

2 Ed. note: Please keep in mind that there are at least two dialects within the Truk lagoon which resulted in the letters 'l' and 'n' to be interchangeable in place names.







Nernwan (district and village); C-6 to 8 = Sopuk or Sabuk Peninsula; C-7 = Or (district and village); C-8 = Winipis (district and village); C-8a = St. Francis Xavier High School, and Mabuchi, the Japanese Communications Building of WWII; C-9 = Nukanap (district and village); C-10 = Petiu (district and village); C-11 = Epinup (district and village); C-12 = Wichap, Witap, Witep, etc. (district and village); C-13 = Leiaua (Rev. Logan), Neoua, or Newa (a = former air strip, hotel site); C-14 = Moen or Mwan (district and village); C-14a = Anapauo;¹ C-14e = Nebcos, Nebukos, or Lebukos; C-14g = Nofo or Nefo (waterfall and village).

D = Dublon Island

—Historical names: Toloas Tonoas; Torres; Natsu.

—Place names:² D-1 = Tonof; D-2 = Pata; D-3 = Wonpiepi; D-4 = Meseiren;³ D-5 = Sapou; D-5b = Katua Point;⁴ D-6 = Fankachau; D-7 = Rara or Rere; D-8 = Monon; D-9 = Saponong; D9a = Angomanau (hill named for R.C. mission); D-10 = Penior; D-11 = Nukanap; D-11b = Enin or Elin;⁵ D-12 = Penienuk; D-12d = Former Japanese port; D-13 = Sapun (site of temporary air strip); D- 12/14 = Eten Anchorage; D-14 = **Eten Island** (renamed Take-Shima (Bamboo I.); former WWII airfield.⁶

D-15 = Nukan; D-16 = Nukura; D-17 = Pone; D-18 = Chun (site of Japanese submarine base); D-19 = Nachap.

E = Uman Island

—Place names: E-1 = Machon; E-2 = Punitu; E-2b = Nukan; E-3 = Nukanap; E-3e = Nepononong; E-4 = Iluk; E-4a = Sapota; E-4b = Sapotiu; E-5 = Kechu; E-5b = Nepon; E-5d = Scpou; E-6 = Peken.

F = Fefan, or Fefen, Island

—Place names: F-1 = Ununo; F-1d = Mt. Iron; F-2 = Wininis (with one site called Sapisis); F-3 = Mesa; F-4 = Upen; F-5 = Sapota; F-6 = Sapotiu; F-7 = Kukuwu; F-8 = Saporanong; F-9 = Sanuk; F-10 = Onongoch; F-11 = Tine.

1 Ed. note: So named by Rev. Logan from the Greek meaning "rest", he says. Site of first Protestant mission station.

2 Ed. note: A total of 19 districts, all the size of villages at best.

3 Ed. note: Former Protestant mission site; it moved here from Anapauo in 1896.

4 Ed. note: Site of the first German Catholic Mission in 1912.

5 Ed. note: The Japanese military concentrated the Spanish Catholic priests here in 1942.

6 Ed. note: Consequently, the names of sites in German times disappeared when the island was entirely bulldozed by the Japanese. The airfield was abandoned after the war. Although a separate island, Eten was owned by people living on Dublon and considered part of it.

G = Tsis Island

- Historical note: The Japanese called this island Susuki, or Sweet-grass, Island.
- Place name: G2i = Tsis Anchorage.¹

H = Param and Tarik Islands

- Historical name: The Japanese called this island Kaide, or Maple Tree, Island.
- Place names: H1 = Neawachang; H-2 = Faut; H-4 = Opun; H-5 = former air strip. H7 = Tarik Island
- Historical names: The Japanese called it Fuyo, or Lotus, Island; Tarik, also spelled Tardieu, or Tadiu.²

I = Eiol Island

- Historical names: The Japanese called this island Hoshi, or Star, Island. Also known as Arthur's Island.³

J = Udot and Eot Islands

- Place names: J-1 = Penia; J-2 = Fanama; J-3 = Monowa; J-3c = Neomas; J-4 = Manitiu; J-4a = Fasafang; J-5 = Tunuk; J-6 = Onip.
- J-7 to 9 = Eot Island: J-7 = Peniamwan; J-8 = Sapo; J-9 = Fanip.

K = Ulalu or Ronomum Island

- Place names: K-1 = Chorong (eastern half of the island); K-2 = Winisi (western half of the island).

L = Fala-Beguets Island⁴

- Place names: L-1 = Sapotiu; L-2 = Peniamwan; L-2b = Sopa.

1 Ed. note: The population is dispersed among twenty or so house sites, or mere hamlets, none being mentioned in historical narratives.

2 Ed. note: This island was entirely owned by the Hartmann family, circa 1900. Hence, there are no populated place names recorded as such.

3 Ed. note: Was he Arthur Hartmann?

4 Ed. note: Alternate name, Fono-Penges, means "silent cross".

M = Tol Island(s)

—Historical notes: Alternate name is Faituk. This group is made up of four islands closely packed together and separated by swampy canals which have been dug for canoe navigation. Lemotol Bay (marked M) acts as a central lagoon.

Place names:

M(1) = **Pata** Island: M(1)a = Sapota; M(1)b = Etiemar; c = Poukechau; d = Epin; e = Nukaf or Lukaf.

M(2) = **Tol** Island proper: M(2)a = Wonei, Wolei or Olei (northern peninsula); a1 = Penieta; a2 = Nepos or Nebos; a4 = Tonokas; a5 = Nukanap; a6 = Sapitiu; b = Faup; c = Faupa; c1 = Tenion I.; d = Amachang; (2)/(3) = Tol Harbor, and further inland the Netutu or Ledudu Channel; channel dug by the Japanese and named after a former R.C. mission.

M(3) = **Okei** or Okai Island:¹ M(3)a = Wichukuna; b = Chukiono; c = Fason; c1 = Site of Boston Mission School (1896); c2 = Mount Unipot; d = Unifei; e = Faro; f = Nechocho and Lezaza Mission; g = Munien; h = Onip; 3/4 = Nom-en-Chun (bay) and Neaut (channel).

M(4) = **Polle** Island: M(4)a = Chukuram; b = Neirenem or Leirelom (site of R.C. chapel in 1918); c = Sapou; c1 = Ikie, Ilick, Iluk, or Inuk Harbor; c3 = Fengun or Fekun; d = Malaio or Meleio; e = Neton or Ledol; b/c/d/e = Neiamon (ridge).

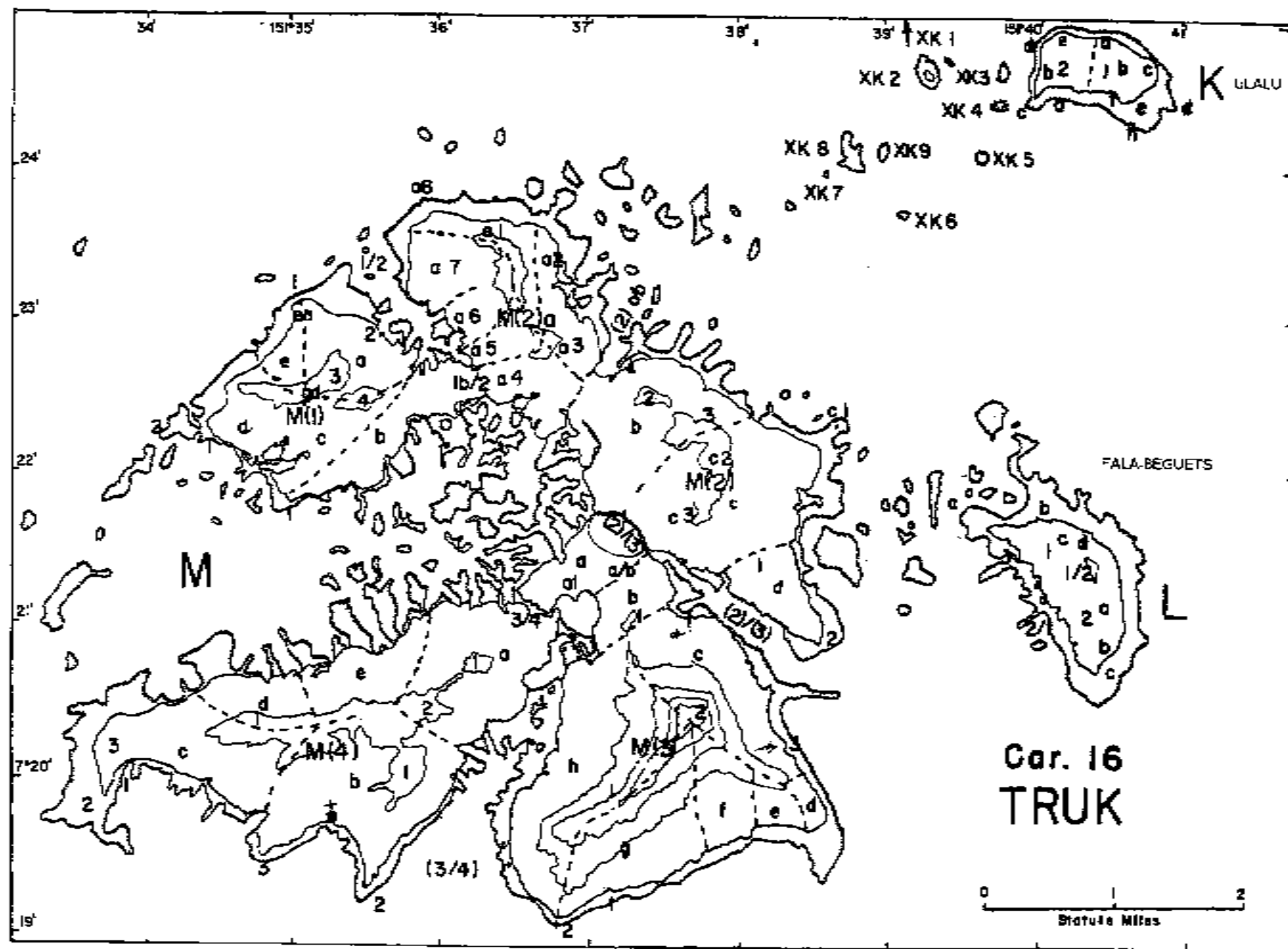
N = Kuop Atoll

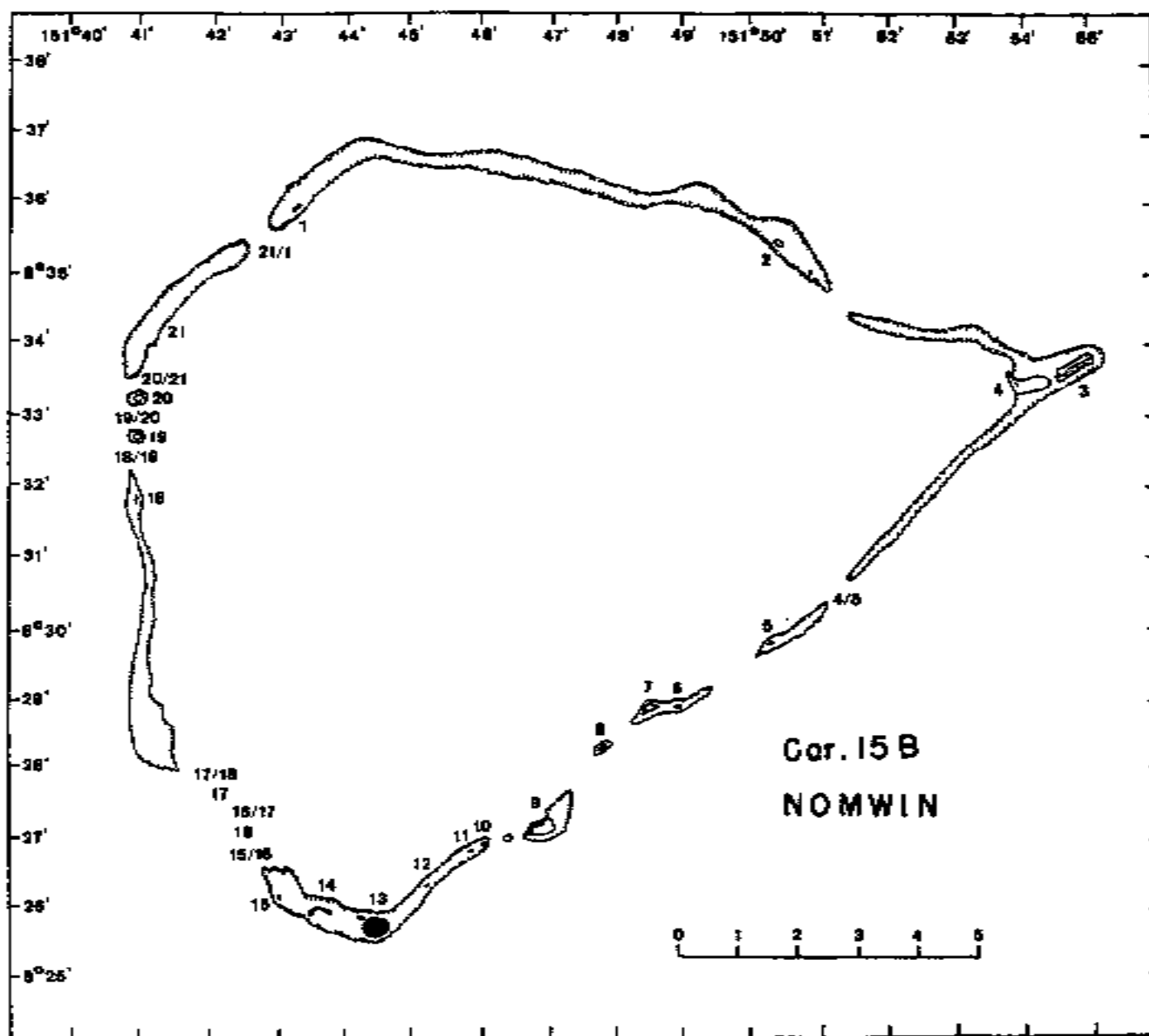
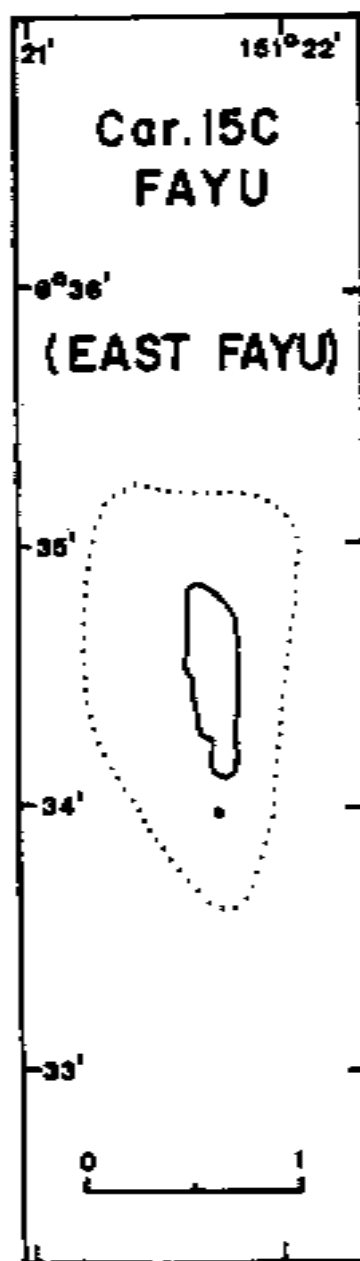
—Historical names: Cuop; Royalist (in error); Kisimi-Shima.²

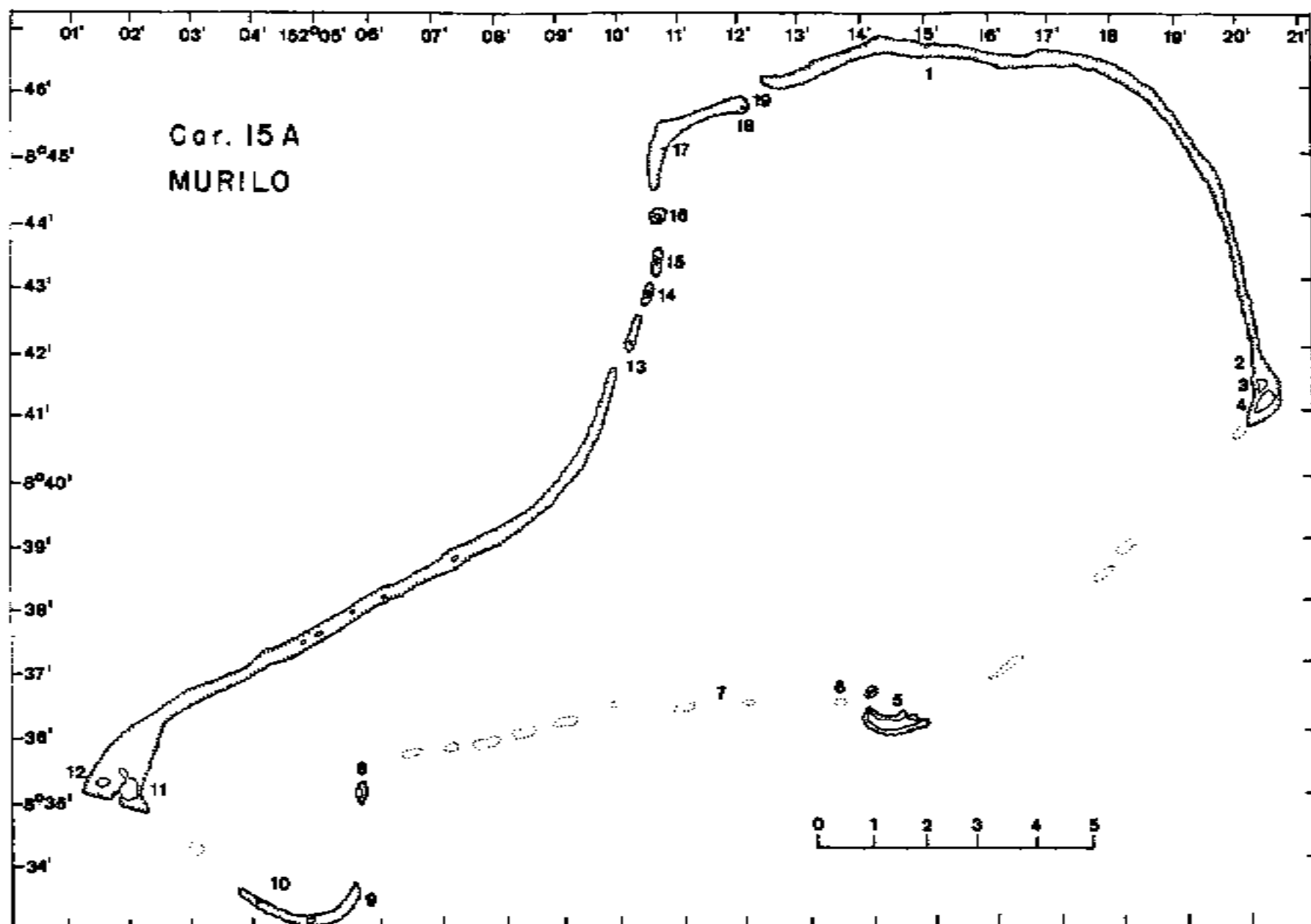
—Place names: N1 = Falapi or Givry or Tachibana; N2 = FAnanuk or Hecq or Fuji; N3 = Fanaik or Lauvergne or Taira; N4 = Epis or South or Minamoto.

¹ Ed. note: This information does not come from Bryan, but from Pelzer's visit in 1946.

² Ed. note: The atoll used to be owned by the head chief of Uman, whose old name was Kuop. The "correct" name of this atoll, according to Goodenough, is Newoc, or Neewoc.







Note: Car15 = Hall Islands = Nomwin and Muriolo atolls: So named in 1802 by ships Arthur and Coromandel. Also called Cook-Worth Islands. The corresponding native name may have been Lemarafat.

Car15B = NOMWIN ATOLL

—Mid-position: 8°32' N and 151°46' E

—Editor's notes: Nomwin simply means Archipelago. The first recorded name was Felalu (#4) by Father Miedes in 1664. The Spanish names Corral, Placeres and San Estevan belong to the Marshalls and were improperly applied here. Another recorded native name for the atoll is Namolipiafan, according to Governor Pidal of Guam and Capt. Cheyne quoting Raper quoting Lütke. They are the Hall Islands proper; also named Worth Islands by unknown navigator or cartographer.

—Place names: 1 = Eate; 2 = Pisira; 3 = Igup or Igop; 4 = Fananu or Felalu; 6 = Setoaneris; 7 = Setoanelap; 9 = Elin; 10 = Pissisin; 13 = Nomwin; 14 = Pisief; 15 = Pielau; 19 = Pisilemo(r); 20 = Oiman; 21 = Olap.

Car15A = MURILO ATOLL

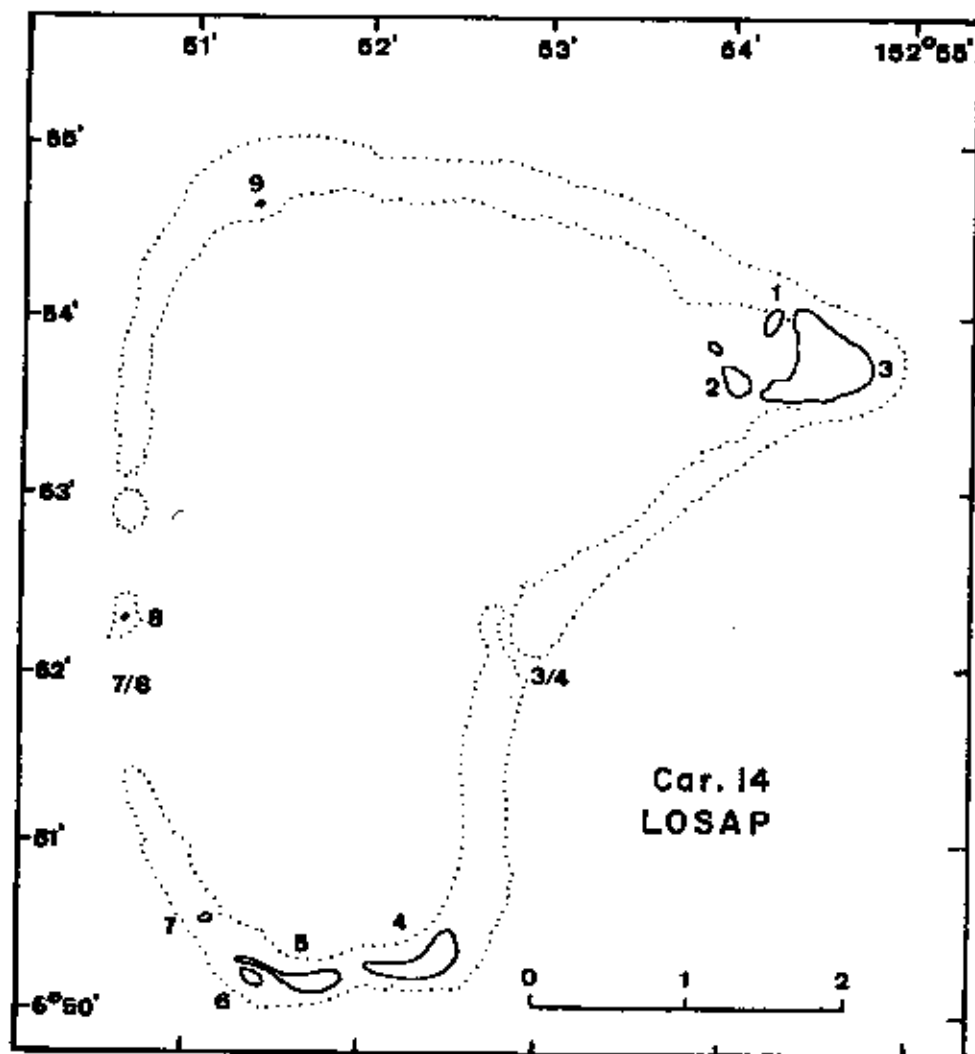
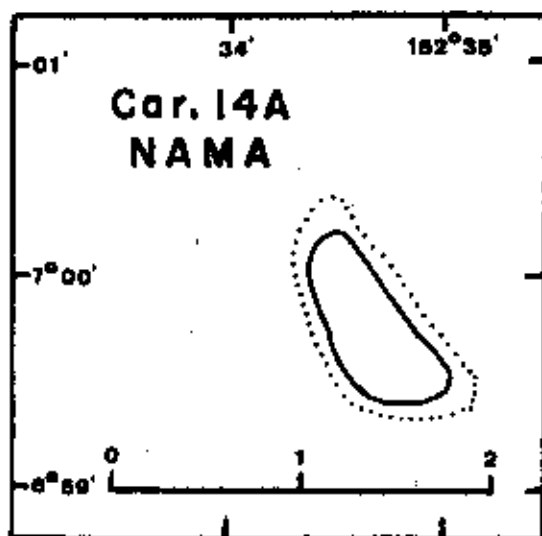
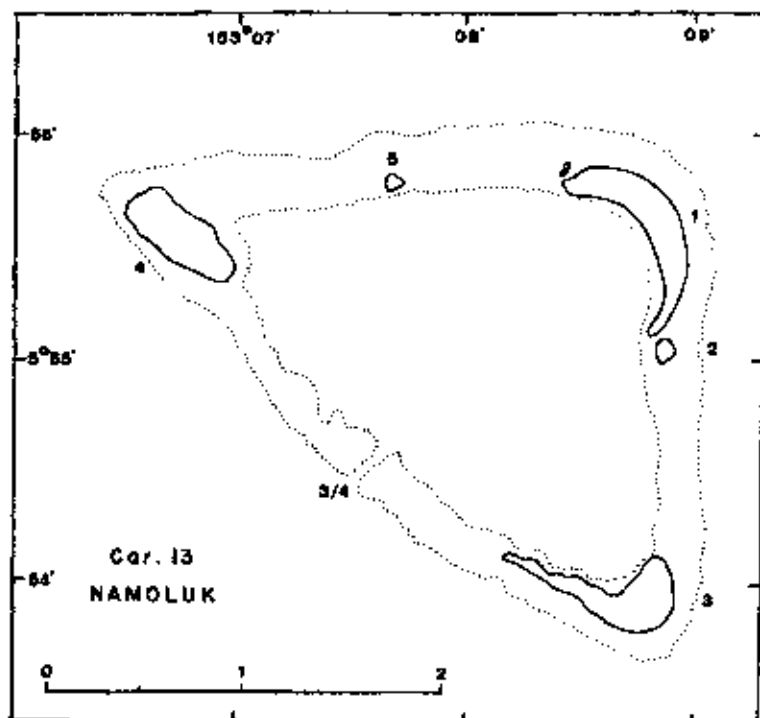
—Mid-position: 8°41' N and 152°13' E

—Historical names: Morileu, etc.; Barbudos and Los Reyes are Spanish names wrongly applied.

—Place names: 3 = Eor; 6 = Fanapi I.; 8 = Falalu or Fananu;¹ 11 = Numurus or Namorus; 12 = Pisamus or Pissamwe; 14 = Elinif; 15 = Eliluk; 16 = Elinies; 17 = Besela or Pisela; 18 = Sol; 19 = Lady Blackwood Passage.²

¹ Ed. note: See also note on Fr. Miedes ref. #4 in Nomwin.

² Ed. note: So named by Capt. Saliz (1827) after Capt. Hall and his ship, 1824.



Car14A = NAMA ISLAND

—Position: 7°00' N and 152°35' E

—Historical names: Nemo, Nema, Nema; San Rafael; D'Urville; Peace.¹

Car14 = LOSAP ATOLL

—Mid-position: 6°52' N and 152°53' E

—Historical names: Losop, Lossop, Louasap, etc.; Royalist; Duperrey; Westervelte.

—Place names: 1 = Sobuor; Lapur (Moya, 1895); 2 = Losap; 3 = Laol; 4 = Pis; 5 = Talap; 6 = Fanuanwin; 7 = Alagafanuanwin; 8 = Alanganunu; 9 = Alanmwasell.

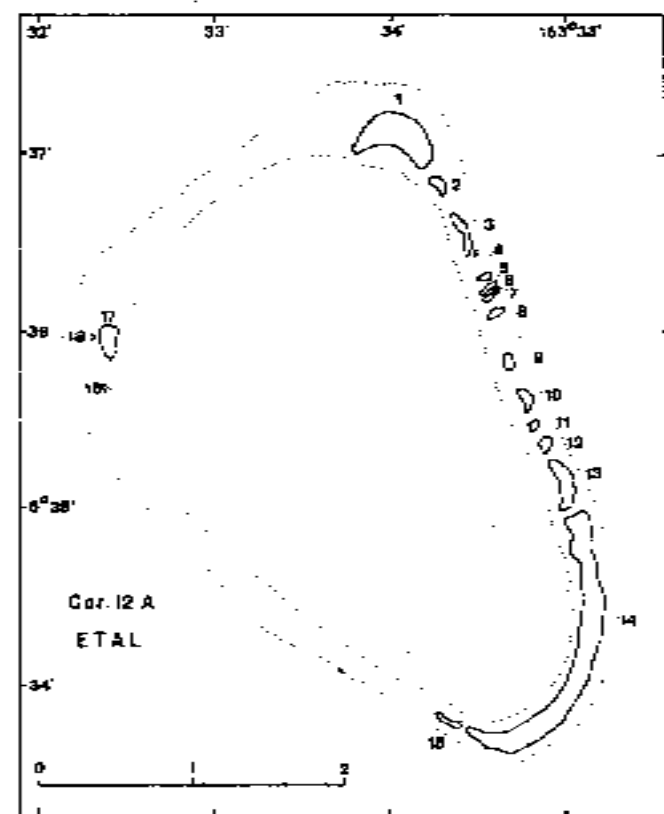
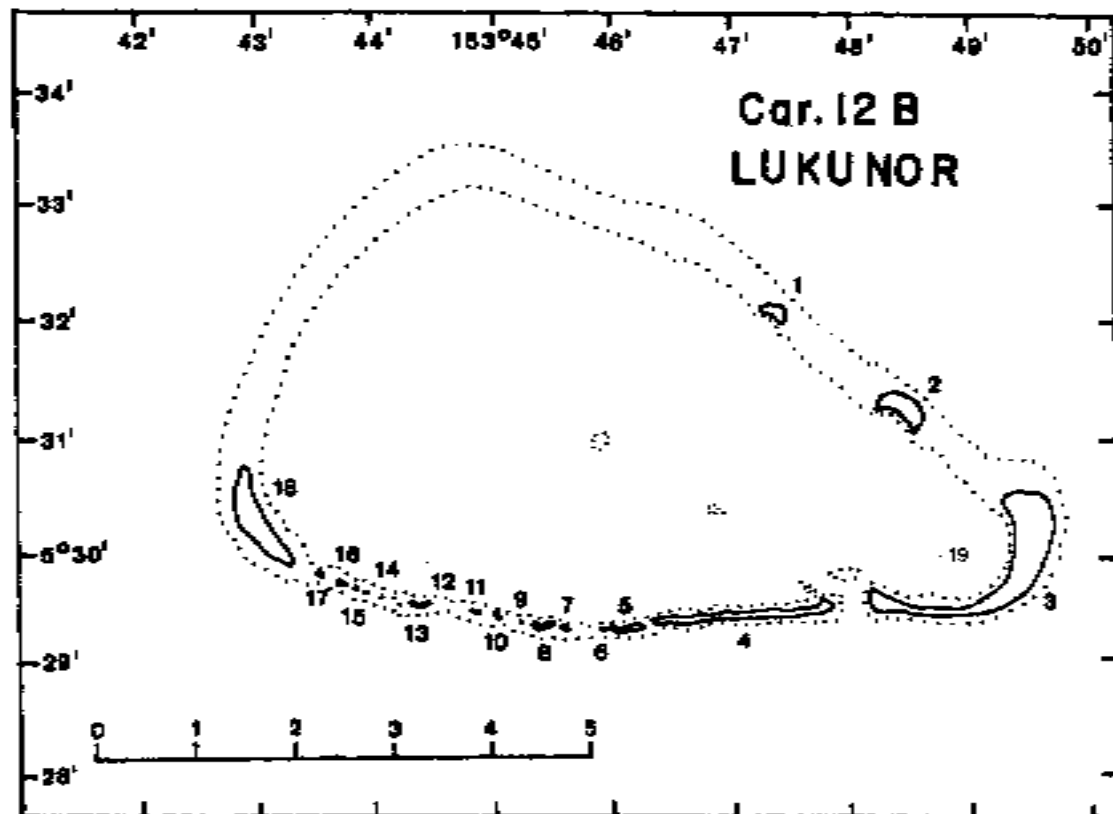
Car13 = NAMOLUK ATOLL

—Mid-position: 5°55' N and 153°08' E

—Historical names: Namonus (Miedes, 1664); Harvest; Hashmy; Skiddy.

—Place names: 1 = Toinom or Dainam; 2 = Umap; 3 = Amas or Ames; 4 = Namoluk; 5 = Lukan or Luken.

1 Ed. note: First seen by ship *Milius*, Capt. Jenks in August 1802.



Note: The Mortlock Islands, or simply the Mortlocks, refer to three atolls: Etal, Lukunor, and Satawan. It was also recorded as the Amenian Group by Fanning in 1809.

Car13A = ETAL ATOLL

—Mid-position: 5°35' N and 153°33' E

—Historical names: Mortlock; Naiad.

—Place names: 1 = Parang; 2 = Alanganimalis; 3 = Alangausou; 5 = Pis; 6 = Alananima; 8 = Eau; 9 = Fanualumaum; 10 = Neufos; 11 = Pien; 12 = Fanuaniman; 13 = Sen; 14 = Etal.

Car13B = LUKUNOR ATOLL

—Mid-position: 5°32' N and 153°45' E

—Historical names: Lugunor; Nugor (Chamisso); Namonefeng; Mortlock; Young William (Capt. Mortlock's ship); Lütke; Cheyne.

—Place names: 1 = Kurum; 2 = Piasa; 3 = Lukunor I. and Chamisso Harbor; 4 = Supunor; 5 = Sapwil; 6 = Manekapa; 7 = Fanamau; 8 = Fanofa; 9 = Pianemane; 10 = Fanueisane; 11 = Pukis; 12 = Pienemane; 13 = Pieissin; 14 = Pien-kesse; 15 = Pien-nimoe; 16 = Pien-nejo; 17 = Pien; 18 = Oneap.¹

Car12C = SATAWAN ATOLL

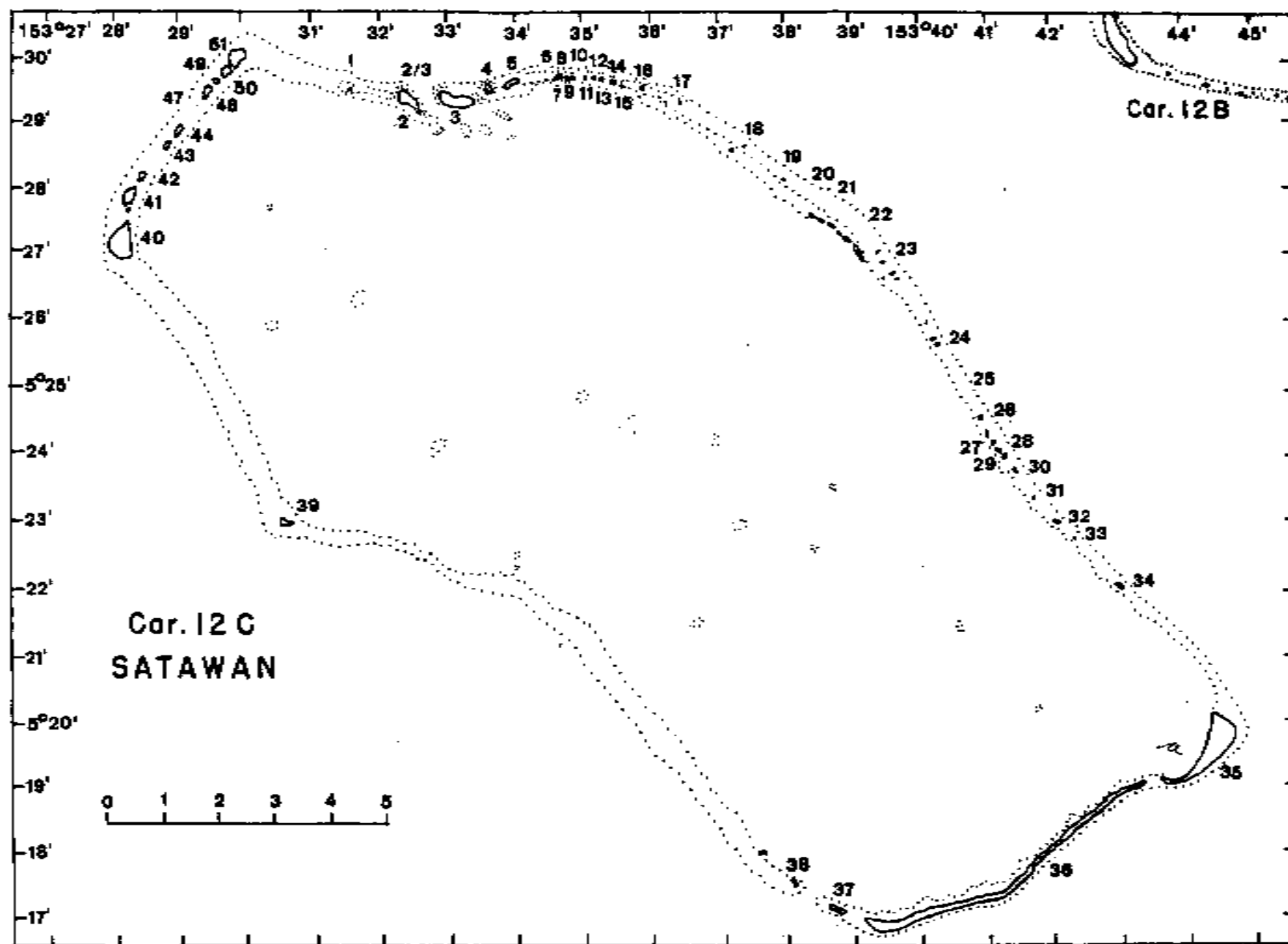
—Mid-position: 5°22' N and 153°36' E

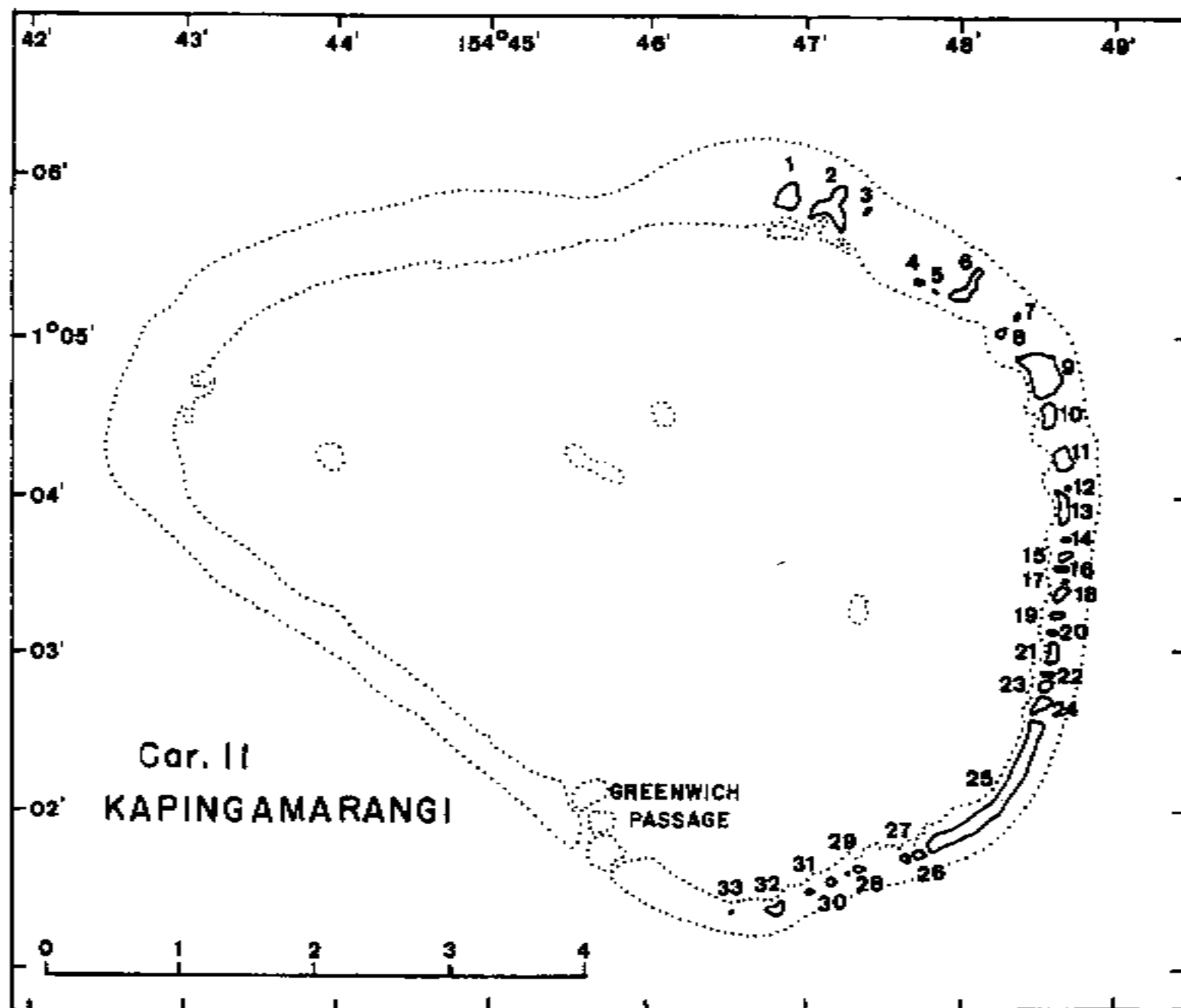
—Historical names: Setoan, Satoan, etc.; Mortlock; Young William.

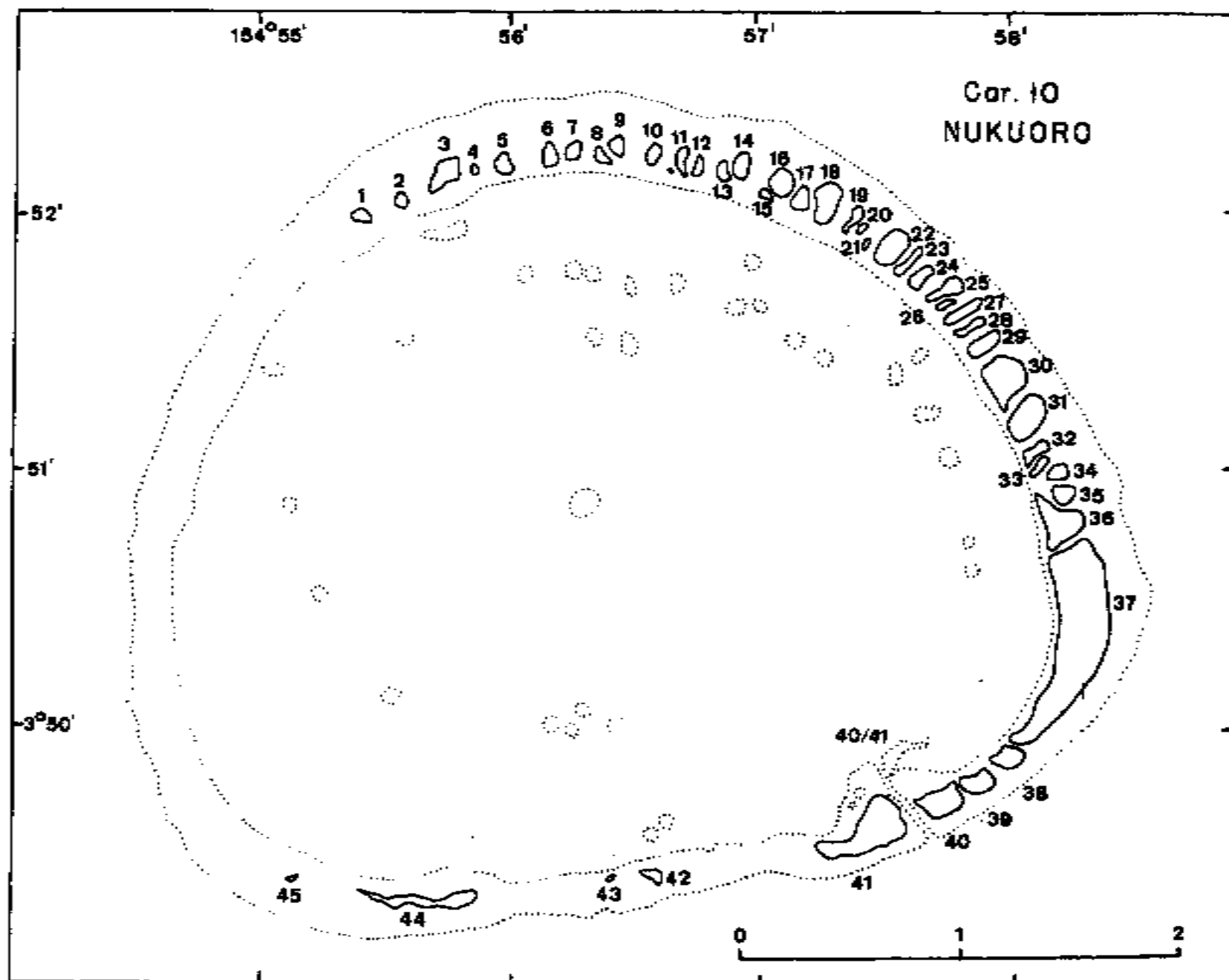
—Place names: 1 = Alanganome; 2 = Afarene; 3 = Mor; 4 = Oninuk; 5 = Lalang; 6 = Farafar; 34 = Fatikat; 35 = Satawan; 36 = Ta; 37 = Lipiapa; 38 = Aliare; 39 = Onupuku; 40 = Kutu;² 41 = Orin; 42 = Pien; 43 = Pike; 44 = Mariong; 45 = Pieirak; 49 = Fanuanpue; 50 = Lemasul; 51 = Alengarik.

1 Ed. note: First recorded in 1664, when it was the most important islet.

2 Ed. note: The Cutuq of Fr. Miedes, 1664.







Car11 = KAPINGAMARANGI ATOLL

—Mid-position: 1°04' N and 154°48' E

—Historical names: O-Acea;¹ Matador; Dos Pescadores(?); Kapen-Mailang (and other misprints); Pikiram (a contraction); Equator (Fanning, 1809); Greenwich; Constantine.

—Place names: 1 = Toronghai; 2 = Lingutor; 3 = Linguman; 4 = Turuain; 5 = Pepeio; 6 = Nunakit; 7 = Hukuniu; 8 = Paraka; 9 = Veilua; 10 = Touhou, Soho, or Souhou (king's residence, 1947); 11 = Taringa;² 12 = Pungupungu; 13 = Matiro; 14 = Matuke-tuke; 15 = Lamot; 16 = Tateng; 17 = Matabei; 18 = Hukuenua; 19 = Haleba; 20 = Tiba; 21 = Tetouo; 22 = Niguat; 23 = Takairong; 24 = Tanawaka; 25 = Hale; 32 = Pumatahat; 33+ = Greenwich Passage.

Car10 = NUKUORO ATOLL

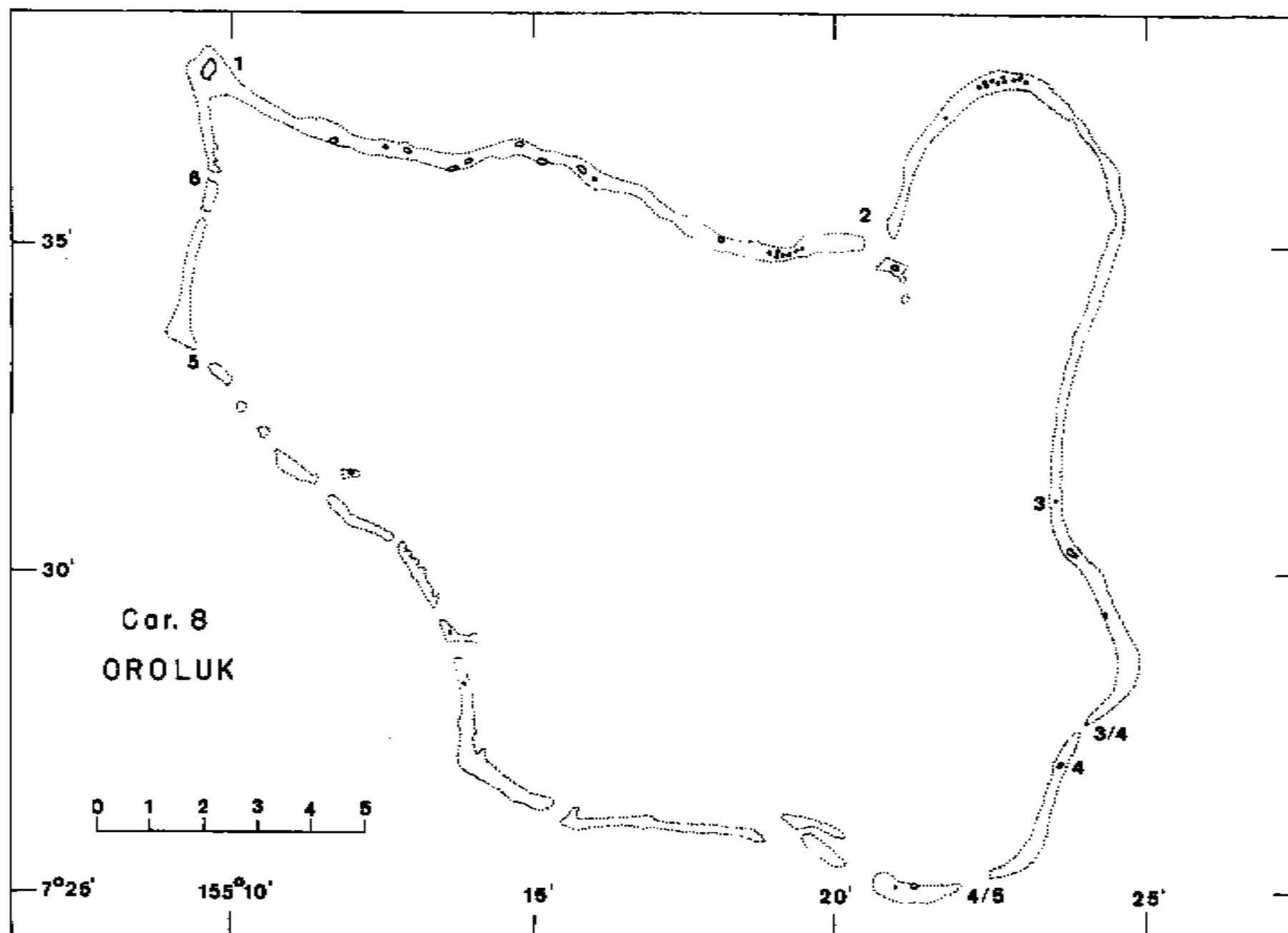
—Mid-position: 3°51' N and 154°57' E

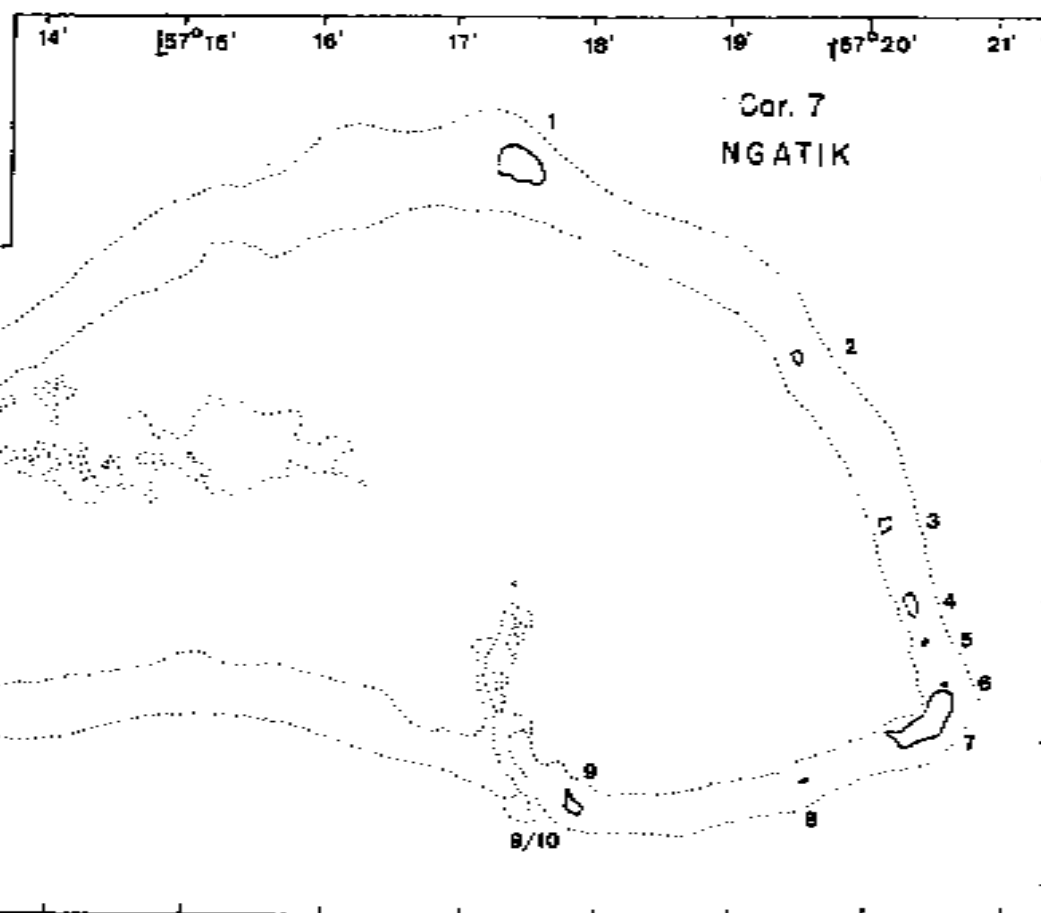
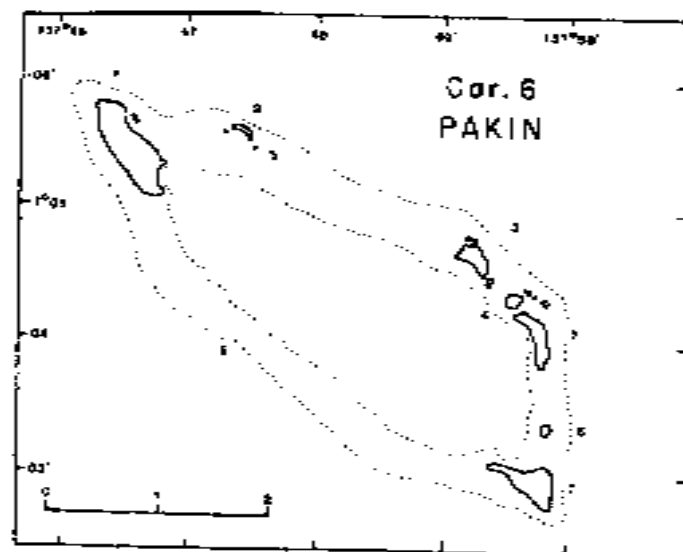
—Historical names: Nukuor, Luguor, etc; Indiana (1537); Togoo (misprint by Miedes, 1664); Monteverde (1806); Dunkin (a misprint by Navarrete).

—Place names: 1 = Tonga-kerikeri; 2 = Kapini-vere (rather-namu); 3 = Kapini-vere; 4 = Hau-o-siga; 5 = Namuiroto; 6 = Motonui; 7 = Moduia; 8 = Darakivao; 9 = Arukanui; 10 = Niurekita; 11 = Masa-komani; 12 = Ahurekareka; 13 = Tahanga-tabu; 14 = Tahanga-roto; 15 = Ahuirodo; 16 = Motuituo; 17 = Motubodai; 18 = Sapinimatok; 19 = Deahu; 20 = Tehu; 21 = Teahu; 22 = Motuwei; 23 = Ahuedoro; 24 = Moduodura; 25 = Ahuroroa; 26 = Banoga; 27 = Motuoveka; 28 = Baraiasi; 29 = Hadukanae; 30 = Tuila; 31 = Sungaurohu; 32 = Pa'kau; 33 = Haisisi; 34 = Demodu; 35 = Radi or Ladi; 36 = Takonran; 37 = **Nukuoro**; 38 = Masakomani; 39 = Masapu; 40 = Senugudai; 40/41 = Nukuoro Passage; 41 = Kausema; 42 = Motuiloto; 43 = Deahua; 44 = Oromange; 45 = Moduiraro.

1 Ed. note: First discovered by Capt. Castilla, ex-Grijalva, in 1537 (see Doc. 1537A). This name corresponds to O-Ale, #25. The true origin of the word Kapingamarangi has been lost.

2 Ed. note: This could be the origin of Kapinga, with Marangi being related to Marai, a religious site.





Car8 = OROLUK ATOLL

—Mid-position: 7°30' N and 155°15' E

—Historical names: Bajo Triste; San Agustín; Bordelaise; Larkins; Meaburn (by Norie); Jane (by Horsburg).

—Place names: 1 = Oroluk; 4 = Sand I.; 5 = West Pass; 6 = Pioneer Pass.

Car7 = NGATIK ATOLL

—Mid-position: 5°48' N and 157°15' E

—Historical names: Isla de la Pasión; Los Valientes; Raven; Seven Islands; Sap-wuahfik (modern spelling).¹

—Place names: 1 = Peina; 2 = Bigen (or Piken) Karakar; 3 = Jirup; 4 = Bigen Kelang; 5 = Bigen Mategan; 6 = Dekehnman; 7 = Wat; 8 = Pikenmetko; 9 = Uataluk; 9/10 = Kepdau (passage for small boats); 10 = Ngatik.

Car6 = PAKIN ATOLL

—Mid-position: 7°04' N and 157°48' E

—Historical names: Pakeen; Paguenema (Lütke, 1828);² New group.

—Place names: 1 = Nikalap, but Kapenoar (Lütke, 1828);³ 2 = Tomwena, but Tagat (Lütke); 3 = Peilepwil; 4 = Karot; 5 = Uyetik;⁴ 6 = Wolomwin; 7 = Mant, but Katelma (Lütke); 8 = Boat passage.

Car5 = ANT ATOLL

—Mid-position: 6°47' N and 157°57' E

—Historical names: Andema;⁵ Hand (O'Connell, 1828+); Mant (Rosamel, 1840); Fraser; William the Fourth Group.

—Place names: 1 = Wolauna; 2 = Patya (Pachiai of Rosamel); 4 = Kalap or Nikalap;⁶ 5 = Matenpita; 5/6 = Taucnai Channel; 6 = Nanpinapu; 7 = Imwinyap; 10. Pan-shanki Island and Village; 12 = Naron; 13 = Remba; 14 = Shikaoi; 15 = Renipua; 16 = Toronmorui; 17 = Panmuk; 18 = Niunmarai Point.

1 Ed. note: The island was re-settled by Pohnpeians.

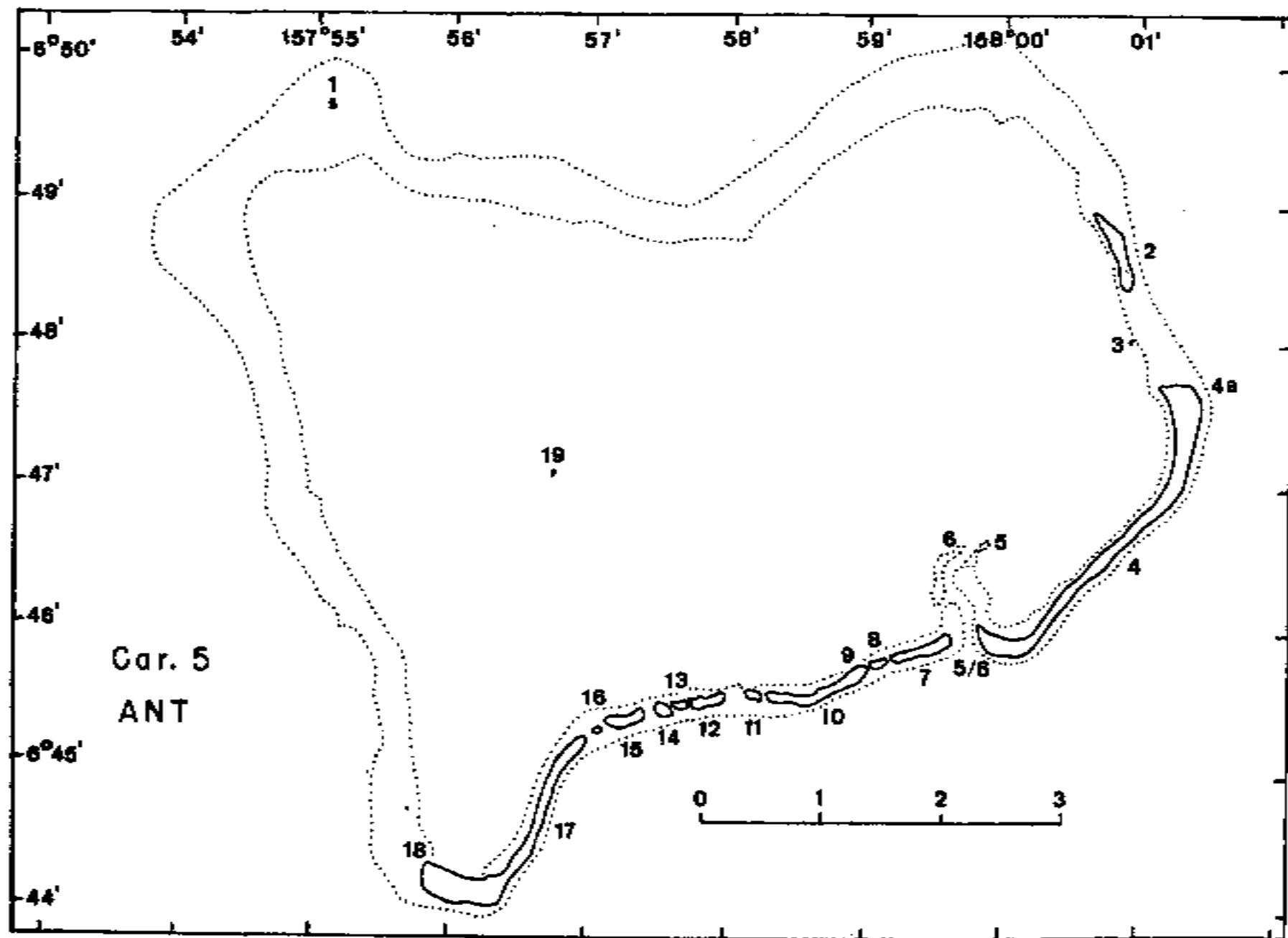
2 Ed. note: Misunderstanding, as the native informant said "Pakin mwo," meaning "Pakin there."

3 Ed. note: The differences in names may be due to later re-settlement by Pohnpeians.

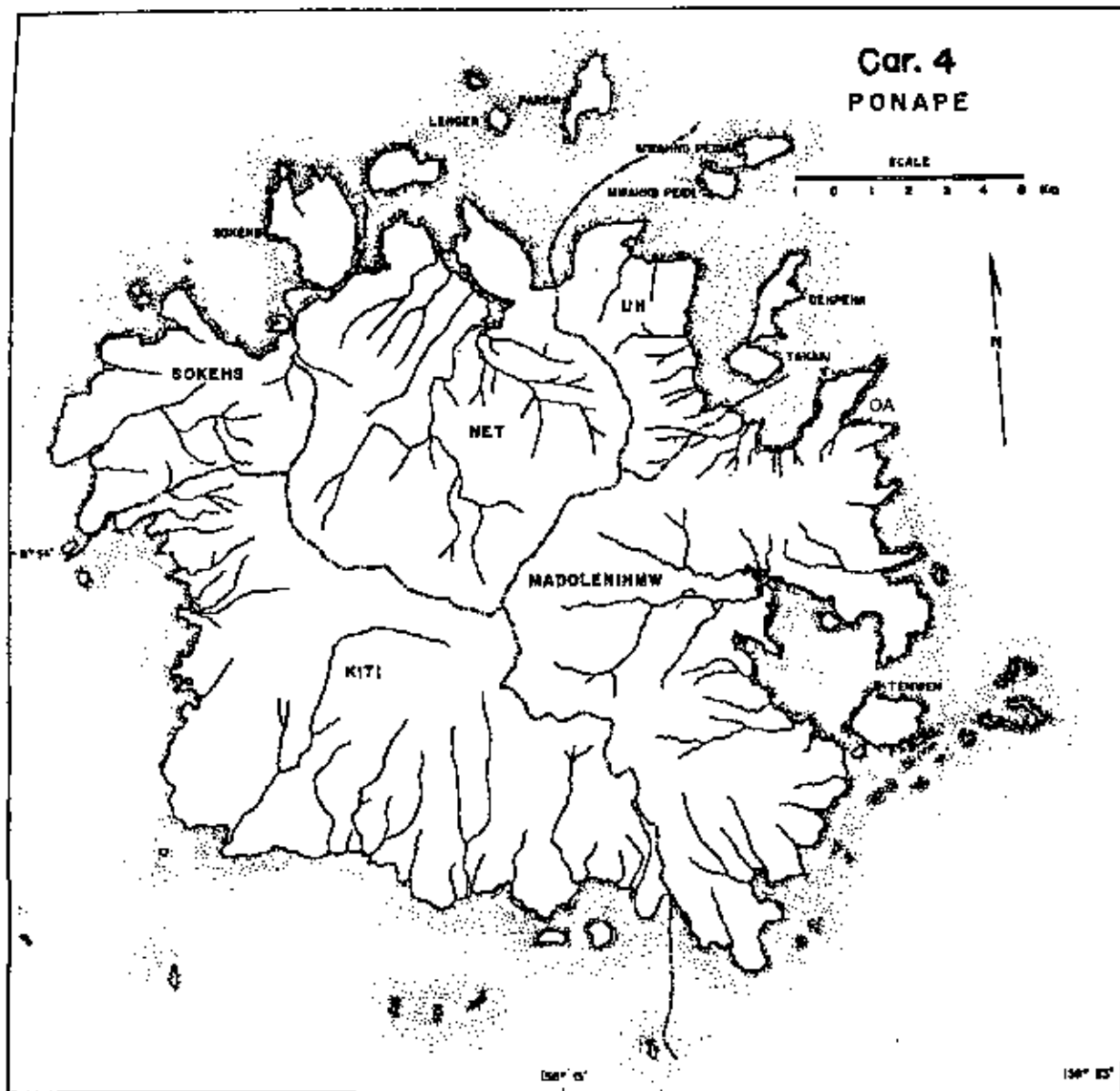
4 Ed. note: The Ta of Lütke is either #5 or #6.

5 Ed. note: See note 2 above.

6 Ed. note: Rosamel recorded Kahalap in 1840, and Velasco recorded Kalaparan in 1896.



Car. 4
PONAPE



MAP OF POHNPEI SHOWING FIVE DISTRICTS.

Note: The Seniavin Islands consist of group of three islands: Ponape, Pakin and Ant Islands.

Car4 = PONAPE or POHNPEI ISLAND

—Latitudes from 6°47' to 7°04' N

Longitudes from 158°05' to 158°22' E

—Historical names: Quirosa (after Spanish discovery of 1595); Falupe (Miedes, 1664, according to Central Carolinians); Pulupa (Duperrey, 1824, according to Mokil islanders); Ascension (by U.S. whalers); Puinipet or Painipet (Lütke, 1828); Bonebey, Ponepi, Pohnpei.

—Historical notes: It is claimed that the origin of the name Pohn-pei is "Stone altar." This type of stone, *pei* or *pai* is used around the house to pound *sakau* (kava) and in underground ovens. Altar is also *pehi*. The prefix *pohn* has various meanings, one of which indicates success, excellence, or skill in something; similarly, *sam-pei* is an island along the coast. Pohn-pe⁵ have been simply a place name, for a place with a great stone as a landmark. On the other hand, the Falapu of the Central Carolinians (1664) and the Falupe of the modern Mokilese simply refer to a Stony Island, much the same as Truk.

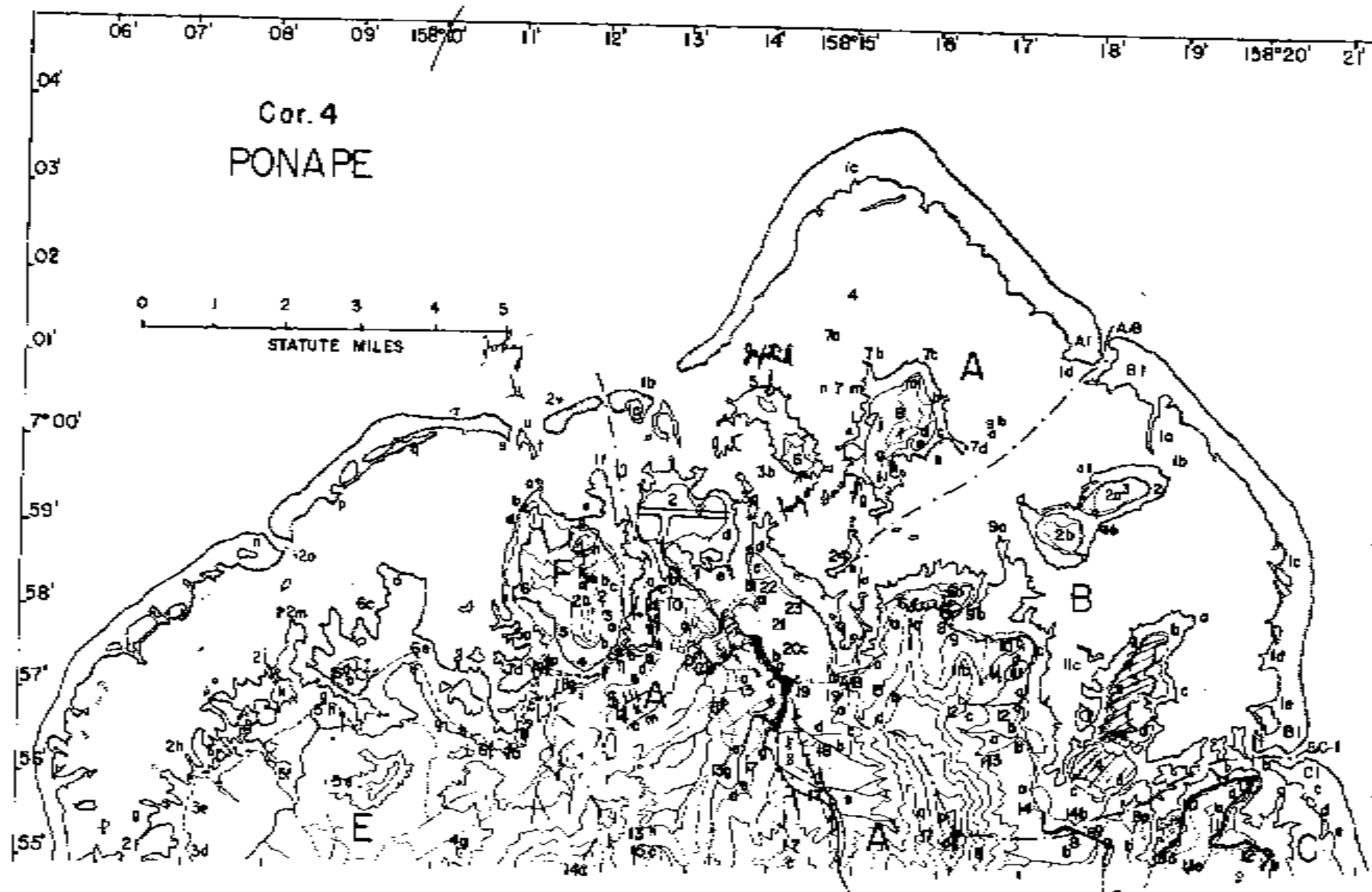
—Place names by district:¹

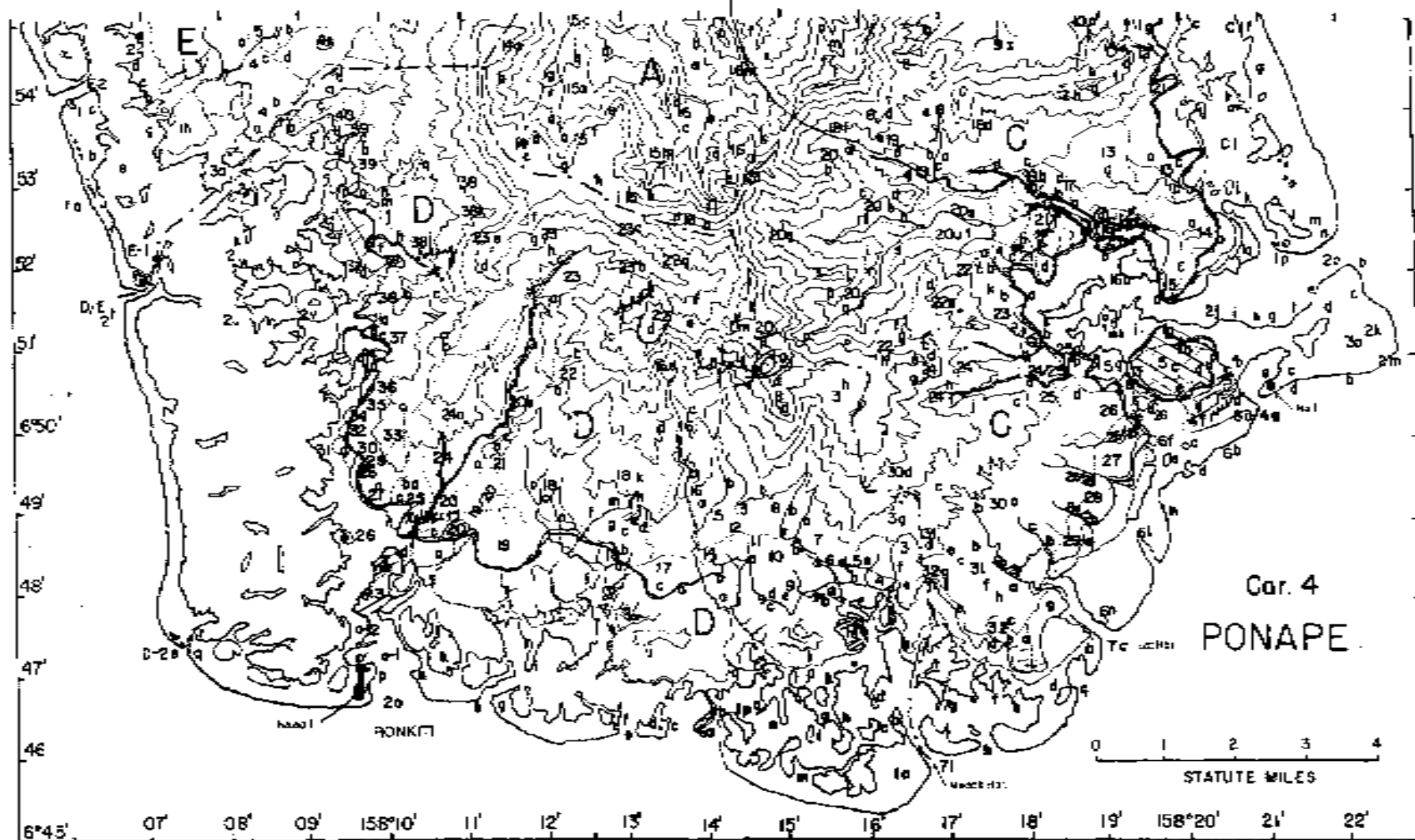
A = NOT or NET DISTRICT

A-1b = Ponape, or Jamestown, Harbor; A-2 = Takatik I. and airport; A-3a = Middle Ground; A-3b = Langar Road; A5 = Japutik, or Saputie, I.; A-6 = Langar I.; A-8 = Param I.; A-10 = Mesenieng, Santiago, then Colonia and Kolonia; A-11d = Tolen Kamar or Dolonier Hill; A-11g-k = site of former Japanese air strip; A-12c = Mpomp (former property of Kubary); A-12d = Lewi River; A13 = Kamar (section); A-13e = Tawenjokola River; A-15b = Nanpū River;² A-16h-j = site of Nankiop, last stand in 1910 rebellion; A-17l = Mt. Telemar; A-18 = Meitik (section); A-16a-d = Nan Lewetik valley, site of Japanese sugarcane plantation and railroad up the Sepei River; A-20 = Palais (section); A-20b = Asama Bridge; A-21 = Nanponjap (section, and site of Catholic school, 1897); A-22 = Ninsoksok (section); A-22d = Net Point.

1 Ed. note: Districts, called *wai* are divided into sections, or *-sapw, kousapw*. Native place names are often accompanied by words denoting certain land features, e.g. *tau* for a channel, *tolen* for a mountain peak, *pilen* for a river, etc.

2 Ed. note: Site of power dam before WWII.





B = U or UH DISTRICT

B-2 = Mant Islands; B-3 = Tapak I.; B-4 = Takaiu I.; B-4b = Takaiu Village (site of Catholic chapel, 1904); B-7 = Auak Village (site of Lebenes Protestant mission); B-10c = Cape U; B-11 = U village; B-13 = Jelatak; B-14 = Roi, or Rohi.

C = METALANIM or MADOLENIHMW DISTRICT

C-1a = Aru Passage and Harbor; C-1j = Mutukelej I.; C-2 = Metalanim Harbor; C-2d = Napali I.; C-3a = Na I.;¹ C-3e = Nakap I.; C-4 = Nanmatol (site of famous ruins); C-5 = Nanue or Tamuen (Temwen) I.; C-5b = Shalong (site of early Protestant mission, 1850s); C-5c = Tamon Village; C-6e = Mal or Mail I.; C-6m = Pikinekit I.; C-7a = Lot, Lōd or Lōhd Harbor, also known as Bonatik or Ponatik Harbor; ; C-7b = Ponatik Point;² C-8 = Alovak; C-9 = Iputek; C-10 = Kinakap; C-11 = Aru (section and village); C-12 = Oa, Oua or Owa Section and Village (site of Protestant versus Catholic conflict circa 1890); C-12c = Majijo; C-13 = Lukop; C-14 = Metip Section and Peninsula; C-15 = Tolopwail; C-16 = Kitan; C-16b-d = Takaiu I., village and peak (also known as Sugarloaf); C-17 = Etailang; C-17c = Chapalap River, also known as the Retau, Letau or Latwa River; C-20e = Manikaben Valley; C-20h = Sanipen River; C-20j-o = Various peaks, e.g. Mt. Tolokol, Mt. Tololom; C-21a = Metalanim Village; C-21c = Akalau or Alialui Village; C-21d = Teate or Tiati Village; C-22 = Ponaulang; C-24 = Shapolak, or Chapoarak (1890);³ C-25a = Danpairi River; C-26 = Tamerioi; C-27 = Anipas or Anipos; C-30 = Lotpa, later changed to Nanpalap after arrival of people from Losap; C-31 = Lotpoe; C-31e = Lot or Rollu River; C-32b = Ponatik Point; C-32c = Teuenpil.

D = KITI DISTRICT

D-1a = Panian, Penia or Peniao I.; D-1e = Mutok I.; D-1f = Mutok or Mudok Harbor; D-2b = Roj I.;⁴ D-2f = Laiap I.; D-2o = Ronkiti Harbor;⁵ D-2p = Nalap or Narlap I.; D-2s = Kepara Islands; D-3 Roi section; D-4a = Peile; D-5 = Shonkiron section; D-5d = Roi Hill; D-6 = Olapei; D-13 = Aleniāng (former site of Catholic mission and Spanish fort); D-14 & D-17 = Anipen; D-15 = Shamoe; D-16 (inland) Wone; D-189 = Pok;⁶ D-20 = Ronkiti;⁷ D-20c = Kipar or Kepar; D-22 = Pwoipwoi; D-22e = Nana Mountains (with Mt. Tololom in the vicinity, etc.); D-26a = Tolatik I.; D-38e = Palang Village; D-38h = Palang River; D-38n = Meilap.

1 Ed. note: Here was buried the French Piepus Father Bachelot, first Christian missionary to Ponape.

2 Ed. note: Named Point Tverdoj by Lütke in 1828. This Russian name fortunately did not stick.

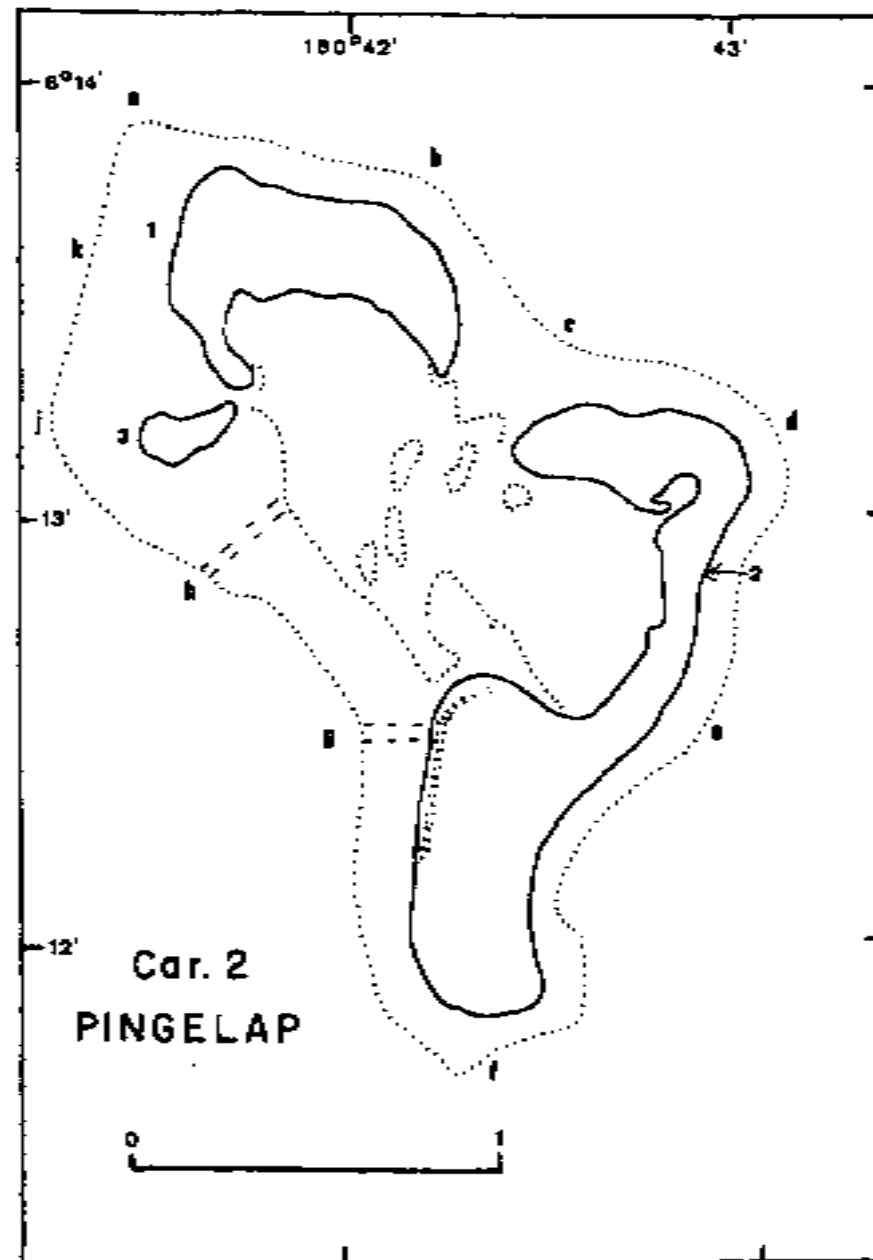
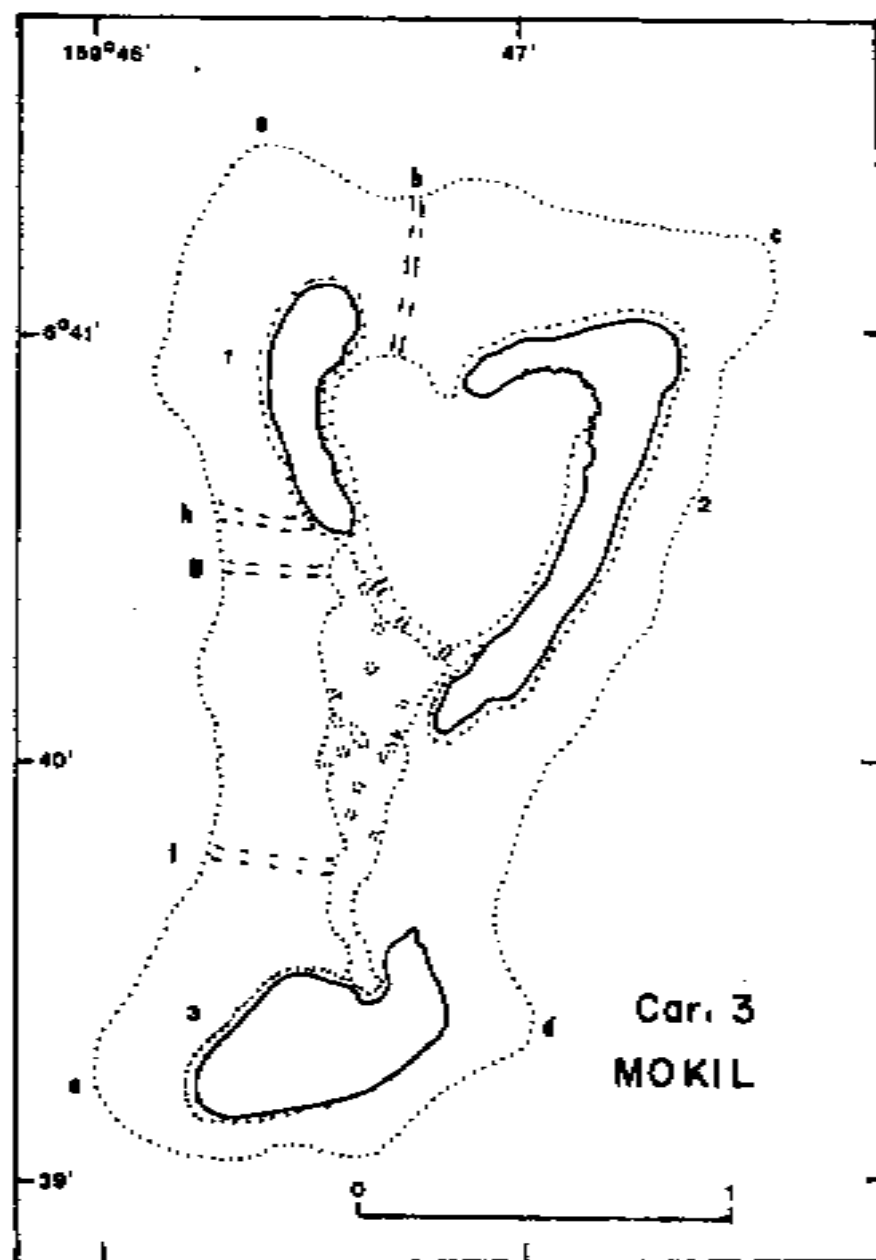
3 Ed. note: The word comes from the English word shipwreck.

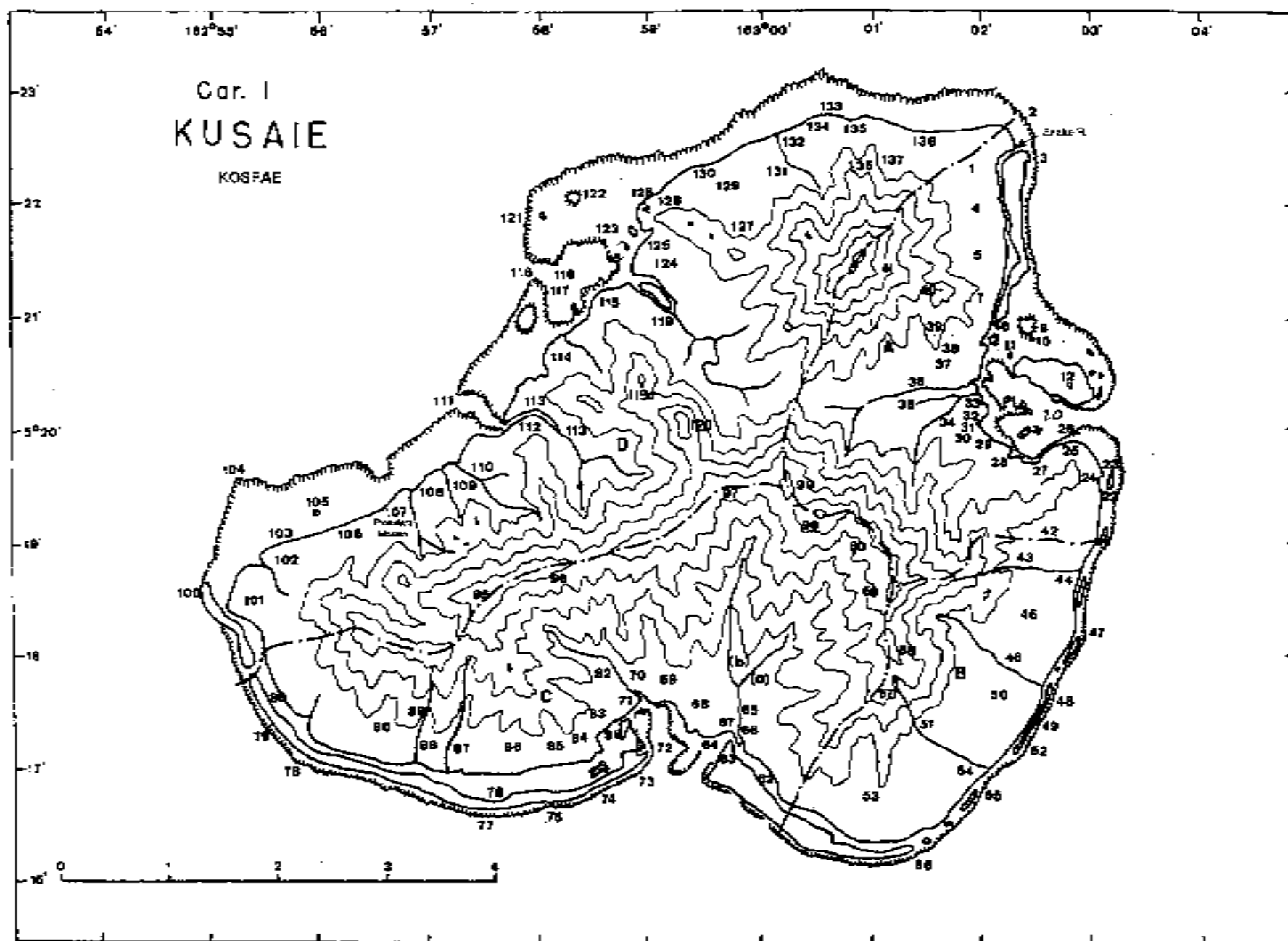
4 Ed. note: Known as Roach Harbor to 19th-century whalers.

5 Ed. note: Also known as Lec Hrbor to whalers.

6 Ed. note: Recorded as Box on Spanish chart of 1898.

7 d. note: Known as Roankiti to U.S. whalers.





E = JOKAJ or SOKEHS DISTRICT

E-1a = Peina Islands; E-1e = Tauak Bay; E-2 = Tauak Passage; E-2a = Tauak I.; E-2o = Palikir Passage; E-2t = Jokaj Passage and Harbor; E-4 = Tomara; E-4c = Palikir Plateau; E-5 = Palikir Section; E-6h = Aumar.

F = Jokaj Island: F-1c = Toletik Peak; F-1h = Tanepai; F-1i = Peipalap or Sokehs Rock; F-2a = Tolap Peak; F-3a = Uoten; F-4a = Loson; F-6 = Solete.

Car3 = MOKIL ATOLL

—Position: 6°40' N and 159°46' E

—Historical names: Duperrey; Wellington; Mwokil.

—Place names: 1 = Ugai or Manton; 2 = Mokil; 3 = Urak or Aura.

Car2 = PINGELAP ATOLL

—Position: 6°13' and 160°42' E

—Historical names: McAskill; Musgrave; Pingoulap, Pinguelap.¹

—Place names: 1 = Tugulu, Takai, Teke or Deke; 2 = Pelelap or Pingelap; 3 = Takai or Sukeru.

Car1 = KUSAIE or KOSRAE ISLAND

—Mid-position: 5°19' N and 162°58' E

—Historical names: Carrau (Miedes, 1664); Carao (of Luito); Oualan or Ualan;² Strong;³ Hope and Teyoa (its misprint); Kusaie; Kosrae (modern spelling).

—Place names:

A. Lele District: 1 = Sialat; 2 = Cape Halgan; 3 = Snake River mouth; 4 = Paguijik; 5 = Petak or Potak; 6 = Pointe De Blois; 7 = Limais; 8 = Finpukal; 10 = Yanas I.; 11 = Yenci I.; 12 = Lele Island, also Lela, Lelu, or Lölö; 14 = Mt. Finkol; 15 = D'Urville Point; 17 = Lele Point; 19 = Besin or Pesin Point; 20 = Lele or Chabrol Harbor and Pane Bay;⁴ 24 = Pok or Pauk; 25 = Matanluk; 26 = Yapan; 27 = Fenef; 28 = Sansik; 29 = Tafojat; 30 = Ka; 31 = Suos; 32 = Sa; 33 = Tofol; 34 = Tofol River; 35 = Jenal; 36 = Innem River (old trade route); 37 = Fomsang; 38 = Lukaf; 39 = Limais; 41 = Mt. Buache or Matante.

B. Malam District, or Mealem District: 42 = Piliul; 45 = Malam Village; 46 = Malam River; 47 = Lejeune Point; 50 = Jessing or Jesam; 52 = Garnot Point; 53 = Koplo; 54 = Matanfenang; 55 = Fimputa; 56 = Cape Tupinier.

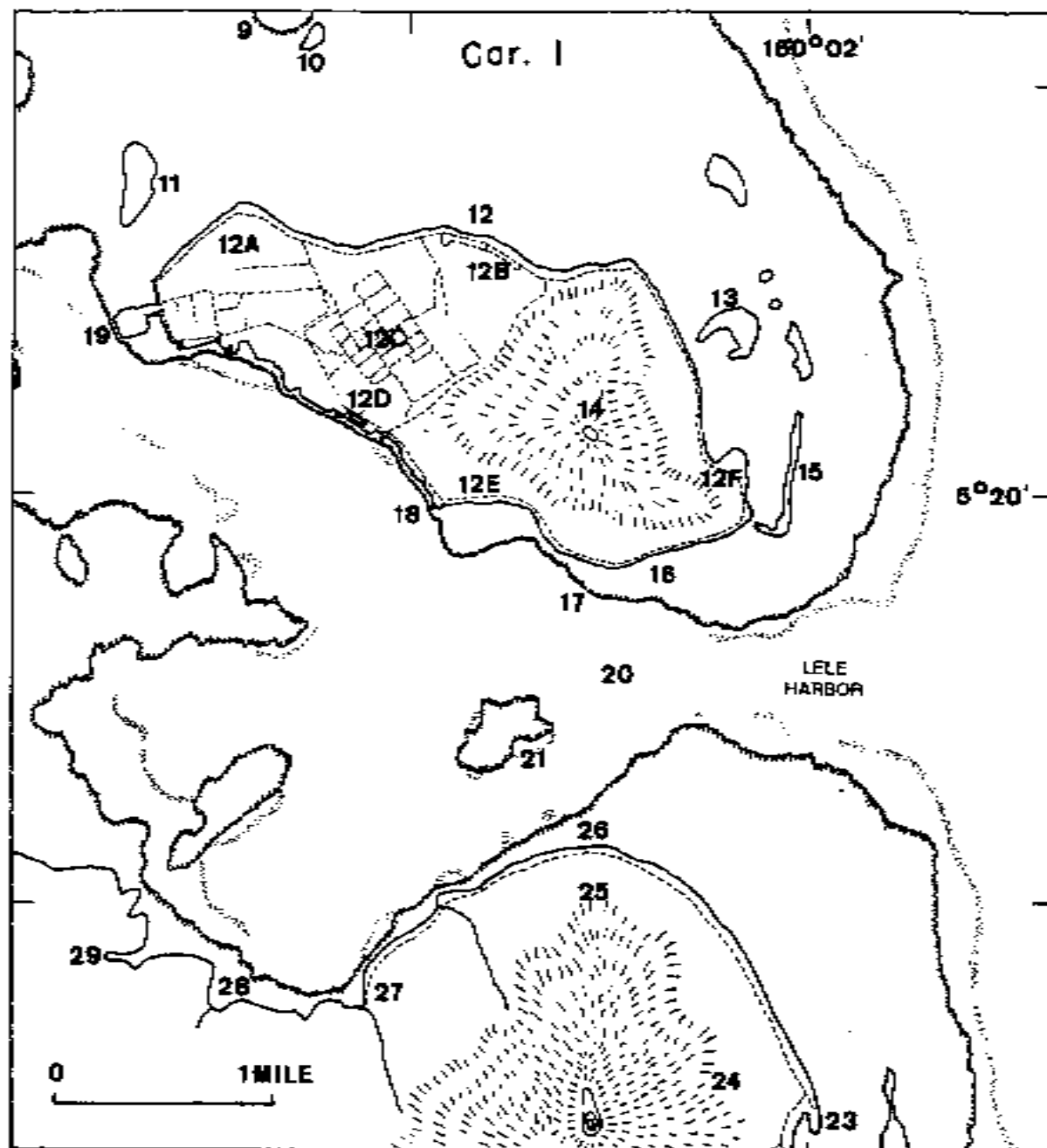
C. Utwa District, or Utwe District: 60 = Mt. Temsak; 63 = Taf Village; 64 = Jotam Harbor; 65 = Motasak River, Taf River and Fenkol River; 66 = Motonsak; 67 = Jamuel;

1 Ed. note: Pinguelap means "Big Gossip" in the local language, according to modern informants.

2 Ed. note: The French gave it the name of the big island in 1824.

3 Ed. note: Capt. Crocker (not Crozer) gave it the name of the Governor of Massachusetts at the same time.

4 Ed. note: Pane is the native name, says Duperrey (1824).



68 = Menke; 70 = Juson; 71 = Tafeut or Tafot; 72 = Lottin, South or Utwa Harbor; 73 = Utwa Village (formerly Malak, or Melak); 77 = Lesson or Nefalil Point; 78 = Blossville or Pa Point; 79 = Inmelal; 80 = Sak; 92 = Likinlilum River; 95 = Mt. Wakap; 98 = Mt. Crozer [rather Crocker] or Mt. Fenkol; 99 = Mt. Kilafwe; 100 = Vauvilliers Point and Sauksa Village.

D = Tafonsak District: 101 = Koas; 102 = Leap; 103 = Infonfak; 104 = Uio Cape; 105 = Hesi I. or Hesid I. (Capt. Bayo) and also Sawansak; 106 = Insiaf; 107 = Moat or Mwot; 108 = Lenmoat; 109 = Saksa; 110 = Uio or Wio River; 111 = Port Bérard or Yela or Yela Harbor, and also Snag Harbor (1883); 112 = Yela Village; 114 = Las; 115 = Fenolof or Finolas; 116 = Coquille Harbor, or Okat or Wokat Harbor; 119 = Wukat River; 120 = Mertens Peak or Mt. Fwinwokat; 121 = Gabert or Kiol I.; 123 = Molaneil or Matanial I.; 124 = Taigné (1824) or Melo; 125 = Feneupup; 126 = Lal or Lual; 127 = Mt. Inalmu; 128 = Potak; 129 = Topat; 130 = Pekekeo; 131 = Matante River; 132 = Tafonsak Village; 133 = Jacquinet or Malso Point; 137 = Wia; 138 = Potat.

MARSHALL ISLANDS
Mar.

160° 165° 170° 175°

15° 10° 5°

ENIWETOK 16

BIKINI 18

RONGELAP 20

RONGERIK 19

ALINGINAE 21

WOTHO 22

UJAE 23

KWAJALEIN 25

Lib 26

NAMU 27

AILIK 28

AILINGLAPLAP 29

JALUIT 30

NAMORIK 32

EBON 33

2. BIKAR

UTIRIK 3

TAKA 4

AILUK 6

Jemo 7

LIKIEP 8

WOTJE 9

ERIKUB 10

MALOELAP 11

AUR 12

MAJURO 13

ARNO 14

MILI 15

Mejit 5

ATAK 6

CHAIN

UJELANG 17

PINGELAP Car. 2

(CAROLINE ISLANDS)

KUSAIE Car. 1

0 100 200 300

STATUTE MILES

160° 165° 170°

5°

Mar.

1 9 TAONGI

ENIWETOK**BIKINI**

2. BIKAR

RONGELAP

RONGERIK

UTIRIK

ALINGINAE

TAKA

UJELANG
v. 17

WOTHO
22 7

AILUK

Mejit

LIKIEP

UJAE

KWADJALEIN

WOTJE

DTJE

ERIKUB

MALOE LAP

3. AUR

2

MAJURO

ARNO

MIL

JALUIT

NAMORIK

EBON

© 'K&I'

231

EBON

170°

(CAROLINE ISLANDS)

- PINGELAP
Cor. 2

• KUSAIE
Car.]

5.

5

160°

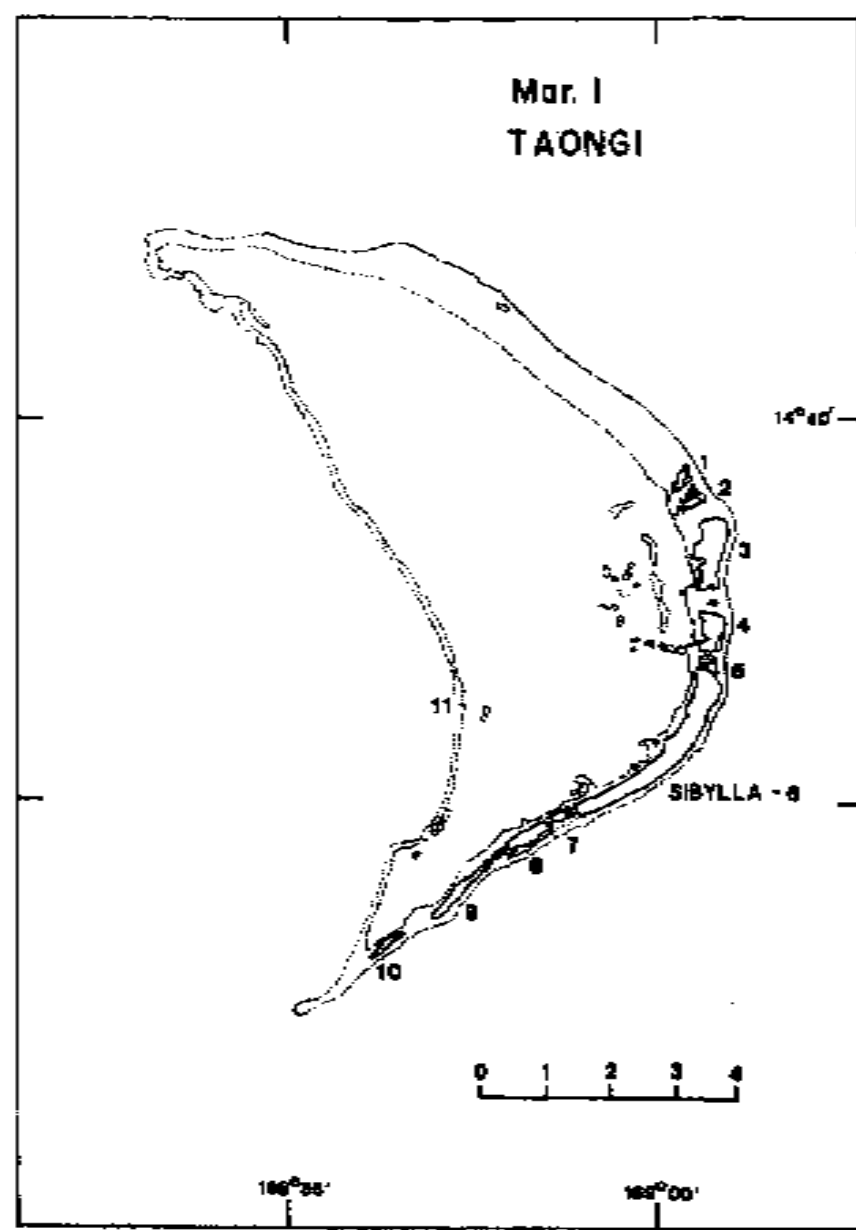
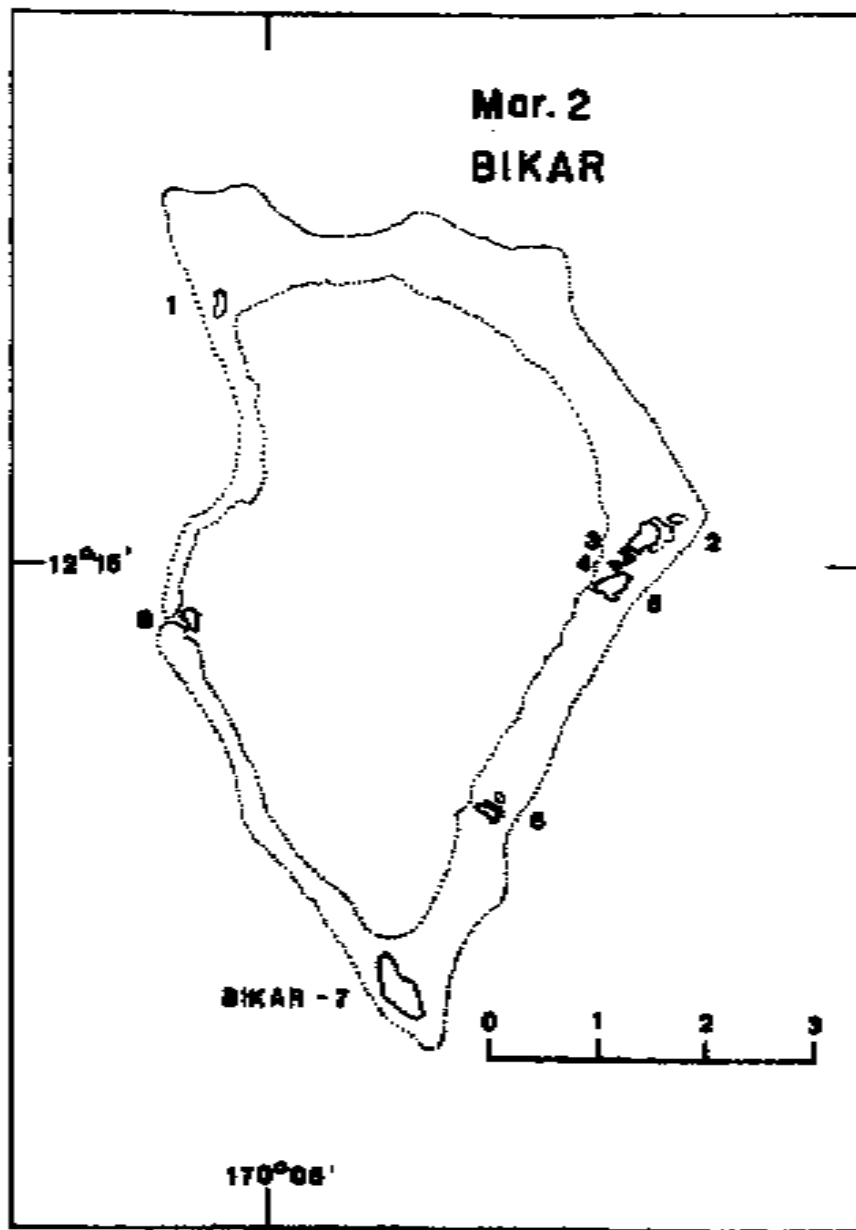
165°

170°

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Mar. Name No	Type	Islets	Dry land (sq. miles)	Population in 1970
Ratak chain:¹				
1. Taongi	atoll	10	1.25	0
2. Bikar	atoll	7	0.19	0
3. Utirik	atoll	10	0.94	214
4. Taka	atoll	6	0.22	0
5. Mejit	island	1	0.72	185
6. Ailuk	atoll	55	2.07	373
7. Jemo	island	1	0.06	0
8. Likiep	atoll	65	3.96	253
9. Wolje	atoll	75	3.16	357
10. Erikub	atoll	16	0.59	0
11. Maloelap	atoll	75	3.79	376
12. Aur	atoll	43	2.17	355
13. Majuro	atoll	64	3.54	7,165
14. Arno	atoll	103	5.00	697
15. Mili	atoll	110	6.15	374 (incl. Knox)
Ralik Chain:				
16. Eniwetok	atoll	44	2.26	0
17. Ujelang	atoll	30	0.67	281
18. Bikini	atoll	36	2.32	0
19. Rongerik	atoll	14	0.65	0
20. Rongelap	atoll	61	3.07	125
21. Ailinginae	atoll	25	1.08	0
22. Wotho	atoll	18	1.67	87
23. Ujae	atoll	15	0.72	193
24. Lae	atoll	20	0.56	194
25. Kwajalein	atoll	93	6.33	4,247 (Ebeye only)
26. Lib	island	1	0.36	167
27. Namu	atoll	54	2.42	967
28. Jabwot	island	1	0.22	93
29. Ailinglaplap	atoll	56	5.67	1,328
30. Jatuit	atoll	91	4.38	881
31. Kili	island	1	0.36	354
32. Namorik	atoll	2	1.07	440
33. Ebon	atoll	22	2.22	480
Totals:		1,225	69.84	20,206

1 Ed. note: Ratak means Sunrise (or East), and Ralik means Sunset (or West).



Mar1 = TAONGI ATOLL

—Mid-position: 14°37' N and 168°57' E

—Historical names: Bokaak, San Bartolomé (Salazar, 1526); Cornwallis; Danger; Farnham (Capt. Henderson, 1833); Fruitful; Petrel; Smyth (Brooke Exped., 1853); Sybil or Sybilla; Gaspar Rico (in error, for a reef to the east of it).

—Place names: 1 = North I.; 3 = Kamomwe; Bwdige; 6 = Sybilla; 9 = Bokaak; 10. Bokia or South I.; 11. Taongi I. Passage (for small boats only).

Mar2 = BIKAR ATOLL

—Mid-position: 12°14' N and 170°06' E

—Historical names: Bigar; Bikaar; Corales (Villalobos, 1542J); Dawson (1788).

—Place names: 1 = Northwest Point; 2 = Jabwalo or Janilklik; 5 = Almani; 6 = Jaboero; 7. Bikar; 8 = Bikar I. Passage.

Mar3 = UTIRIK ATOLL

—Mid-position: 11°16' N and 169°48' E

—Historical names: Uderik; Button Islands (with Taka, 1788); Kutusoff (Kotzebue, 1816);

—Place names: 1 = Bike or Piji; 2 = Elluk or Allok; 3 = Pikowak; 4 Nalab; 5 = Naja; 6 = Utirik; 7 = Ansaremej; 8 = Bokarnej; 9 = Menetoon or Ananen; 19 = Aon; 11 = Utirik Passage.

Mar4 = TAKA ATOLL

—Mid-position: 11°09' N and 169°37' E

—Historical names: Button (with Utirik, 1788); Suvarov (Kotzebue, 1816); Toke; Togai (Kotzebue, 1817).

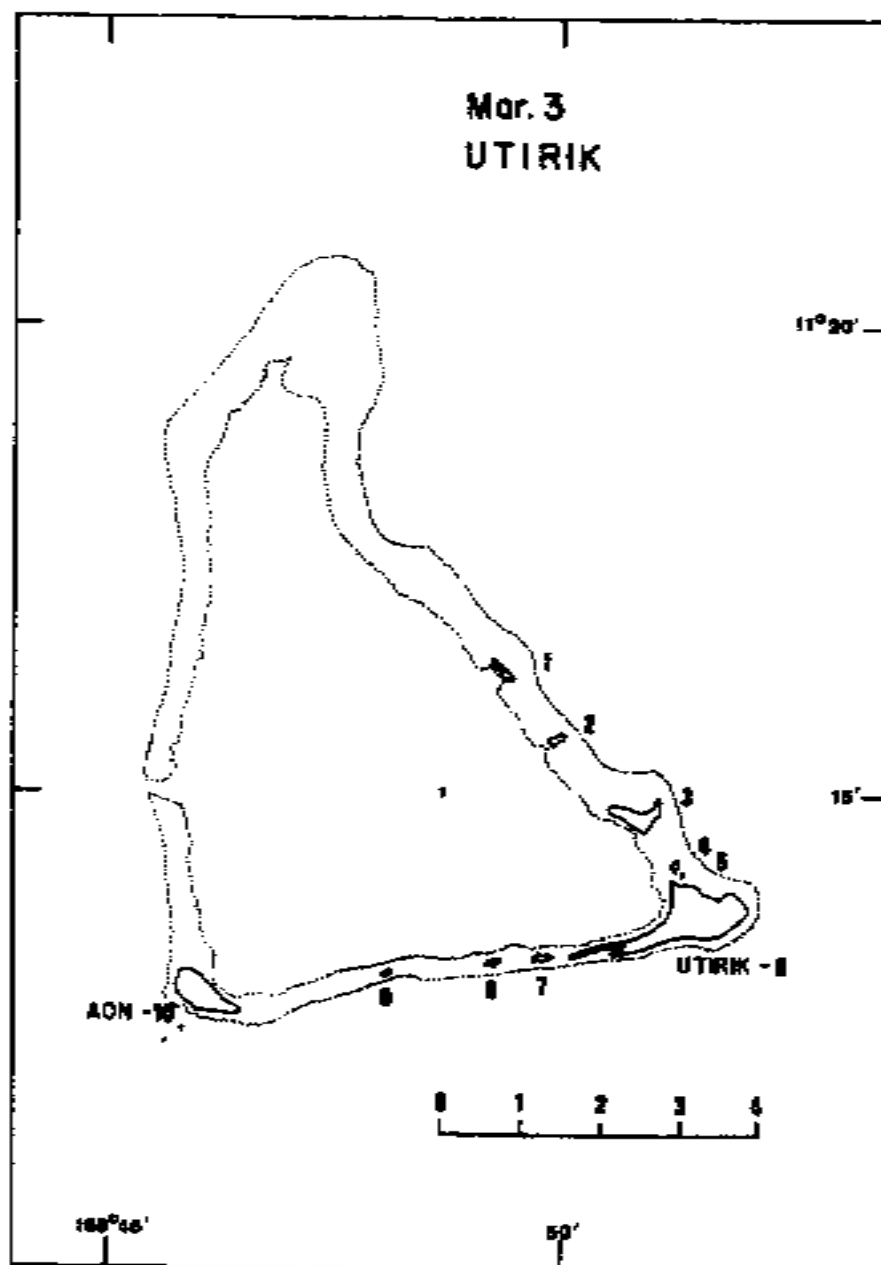
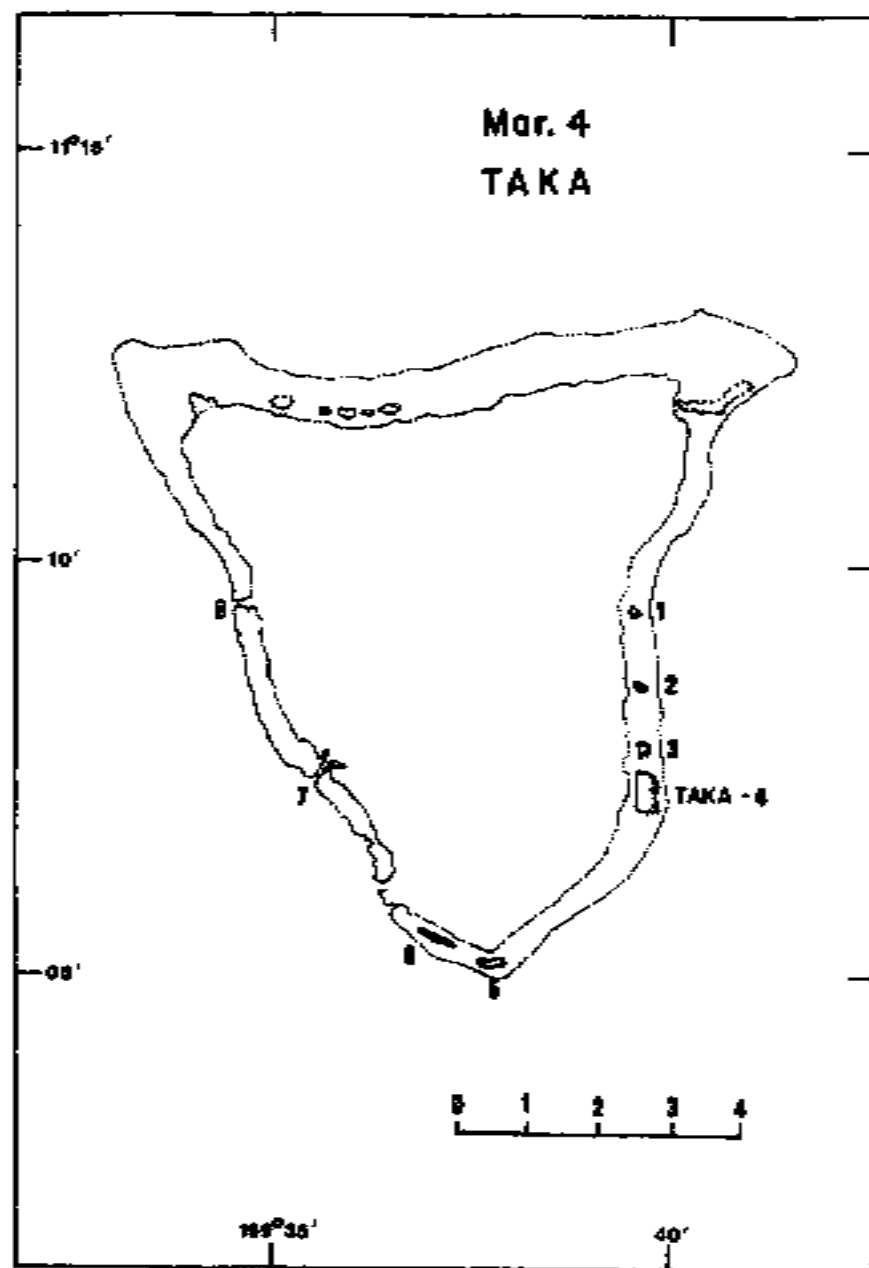
—Place names: 1 = Waatwerik or Elluk; 3 = Lojrang or Raajerun; 4 = Taka; 5 = Eluk or Elluk-Waitwerok; 6 = Boken or Bwokwen; 7 = Taka Passage.

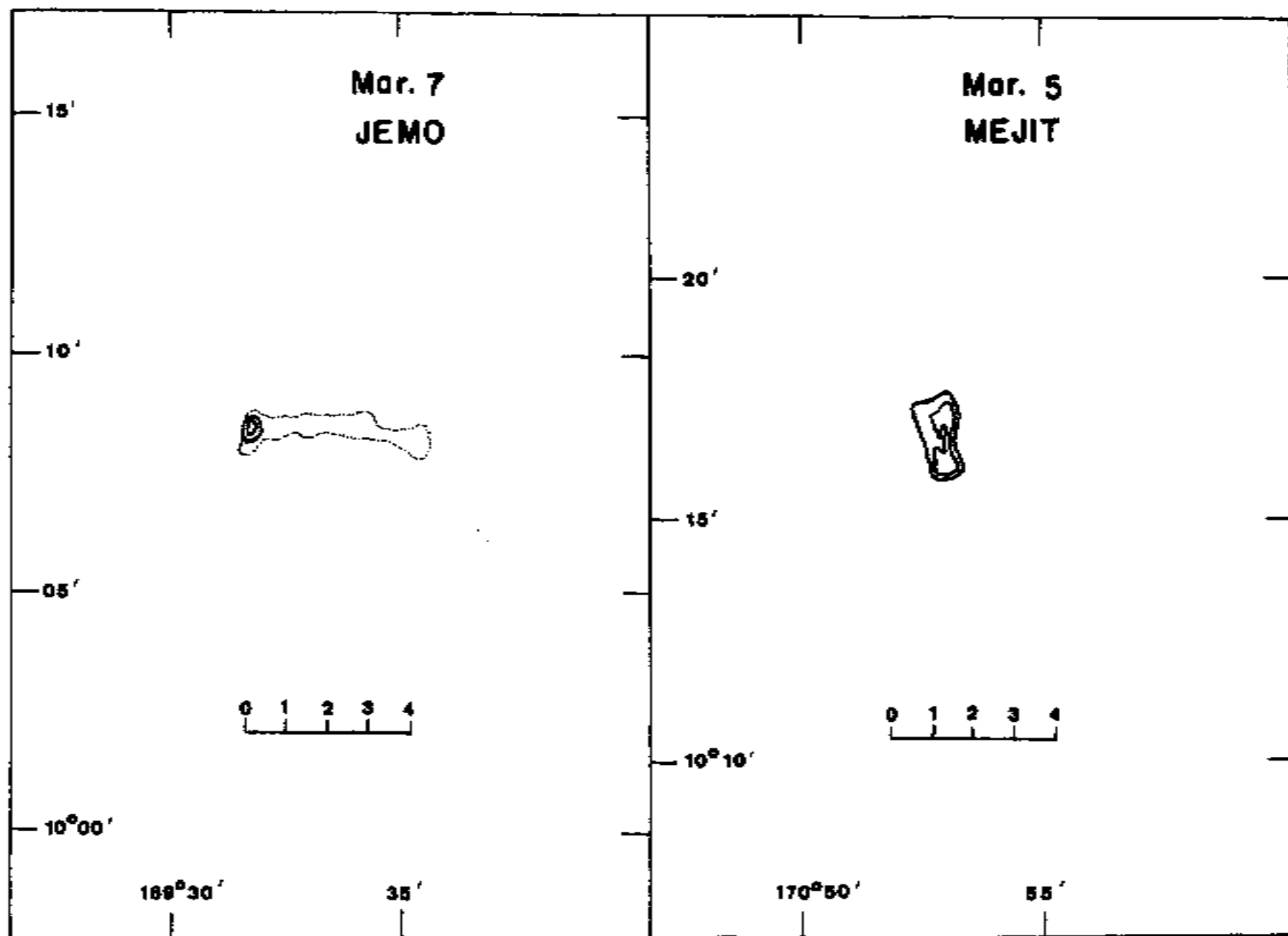
Mar5 = MEJIT ISLAND

—Position: 10°17' N and 170°53' E

—Historical names: Majej, Medjit, Miadi; Los Barbudos (Legazpi, 1565); Ostrov Novsho Goda (New Year Island).

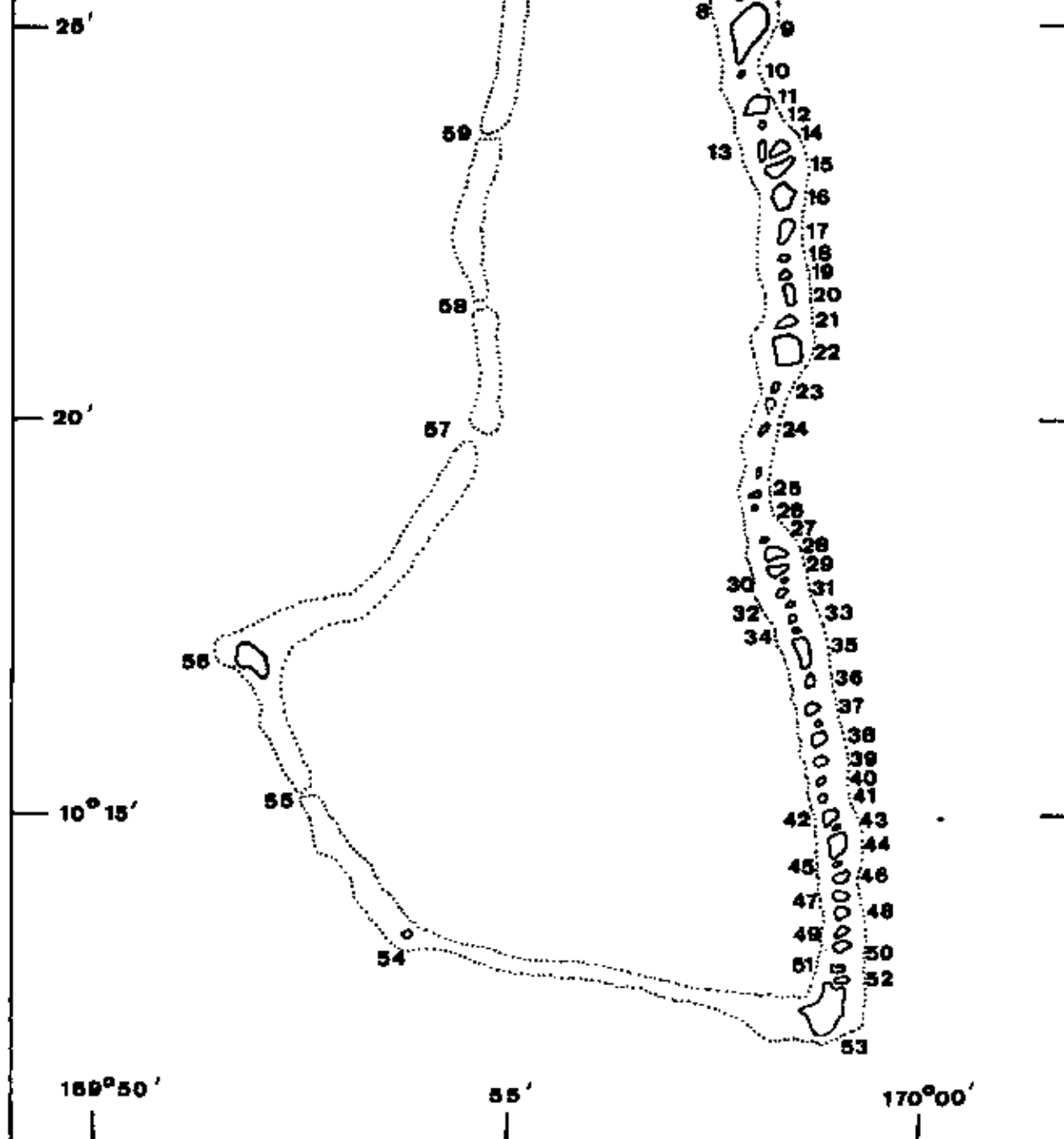
—Place names: 1 = Anen or Annen; 2 = Mejit.





Mar. 6

AILUK



Mar6 = AILUK ATOLL

—Mid-position: 10°20' N and 169°56' E

—Historical names: Aelok, Aluck, etc.; Los Placcres (Legazpi, 1565); San Pedro y San Pablo (Plin, 1565); Tindal and Watts (1788); Krusenstern (Kotzebue, 1817).

—Place names: 1 = Kapen, Kapan, or Capeniur (Kotzebue); 2 = Enijabro; 3 = Amo or Amwo; 4 = Anejalar; 5 = Jeloklap; 6 = Enenpao; 7 = Anekalik; 8 = Anejore; 9 = Piken or Bigen; 10 = Binejrak; 11 = Eneneman; 11/12 = Eneneman Channel; 13 = Ajetak; 14 = Ajelap; 15 = Ajiddik or Ajirik; 16 = Anearme; 17 = Anekinge; 18 = Jebta or Jebta; 19 = Abta or Ebta; 20 = Kabbok; 21 = Malok or Mwalok; 22 = Aliet; 23 = Allirit; 24 = Bwokwanmwiokan; 25 = Jerongkan; 26 = Aneanig; 27 = Anejamweden; 28 = Baojan; 29 = Lujirik; 30 = Bokrab; 31 = Biklab; 32 = Anine; 33 = Bio or Bieo; 34 = Jaao; 35 = Bererjan; 36 = Ni; 37 = Tabu; 38 = Koonon; 39 = Jobeik; 40 = Nge; 41 = Anenkora; 42 = Ulika; 43 = Jibangit; 44 = Maarib; 45 = Marme; 46 = Anenkinge; 47 = Aneaudik; 48 = Mienwa; 49 = Eneao; 50 = Anemwanmwan; 51 = Jabwe; 52 = Anenlik; 53 = **Ailuk**; 54 = Enije; 55 = Enije Pass; 56 = Agulue; 57 = Agulue Pass; 58 = Marok Pass; 59 = Eneneman Pass.

Mar7 = JEMO ISLAND

—Position: 10°07' N and 169°33' E

—Historical names: Los Pájaros (Legazpi, 1565); Steep-to I.; Temo or Timo.

—Note: a reef extends towards the east.

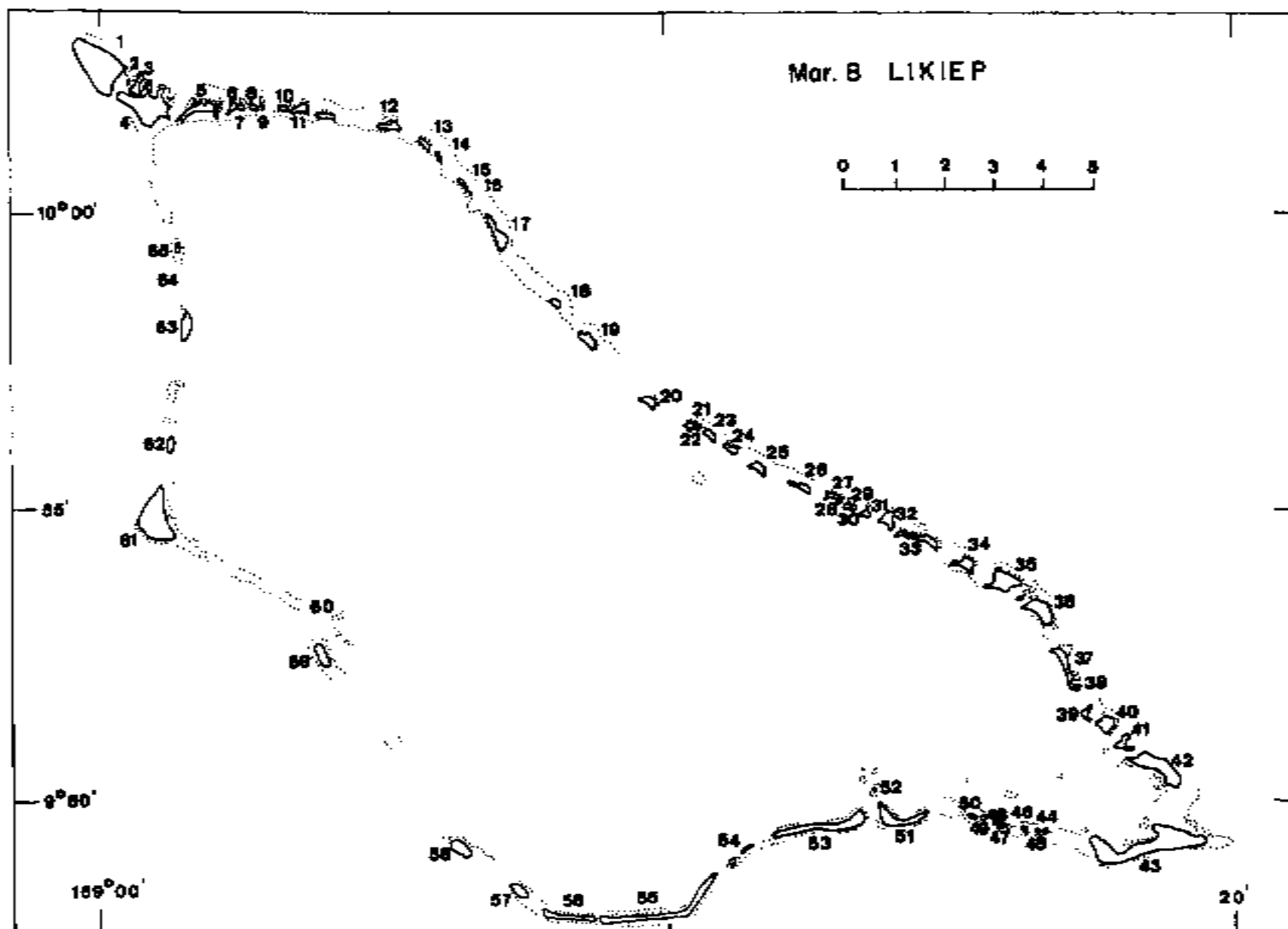
Mar8 = LIKIEP ATOLL

—Mid-position: 9°53' N and 169°10' E

—Historical names: Legiep; Corales (Villalobos, 1542); Count Hayden (Kotzebue, 1819).

—Editor's notes: Villalobos stayed 10 days here in 1542; they stayed on Likiep Island, which was re-named San Estevan in honor of Father Superior's patron saint on 20 December 1542. The atoll was not seen by Legazpi in 1565, but may have been seen by Arellano that same year.

—Place names: 1 = Mar or Mat; 2 = Jenokae; 3 = Malle or Melle; 4 = Emejwa or Emejiway; 5 = Leen; 6 = Bwokwanjaej; 7 = Ae; 8 = Kakeron; 9 = Kidenkan; 10 = Anenaan; 11 = Aapiran; 12 = Anejaej; 13 = Kaben = 14 = Anenenmwan; 15 = Kimwaki; 16 = Alook; 17 = Jeltonet; 18 = Bikinmimgjailing; 19 = Bikingmingjairil; 20 = Boguraburabu; 21 = Anerukkanjailing; 22 = Anerukkanjaairik; 23 = Kijien; 25 = Tamwol; 26 = Kabwolbwolkan; 27 = Didi; 28 = Bokwankowak; 32 = Najbwol; 33 = Enieoohi; 34 = Killomwar; 35 = Meron; 36 = Jibal; 37 = Kile; 38 = Anekira; 39 = Anearme; 40 = Biebe; 41 = Aujaroj; 42 = Lado; 43 = **Likiep** or San Estevan (see note above); 44 = Nalab; 45 = Nadik; 46 = Anenuaan; 47 = Anelokieb; 48 = Biketokeak; 49 = Biketolong; 50 = Atotak; 51 = Aiginii or Ageni, hence Agony Island; 52 = Entrance or Bird Island; 52/43 = South Pass; 53 = Etoile; 54-56 = Lukunor Islands; 57 = Anai; 58 = To-



kaen; 59 = Matten; 61 = Kapenor; 62 = Bokelan; 63 = Rongalab; 64 = Northwest Passage; 65 = Rongerik.

Mar9 = WOTJE ATOLL

—Mid-position: 9°27' N and 170°00' E

—Historical names: Wotja, Odia, Otdia, etc.; Los Reyes (Villalobos, 1542); Chatham (1788); Romanzoff (Kotzebue, 1817).

—Editor's note: In about 1800, a small group of people was pushed out of Wodje and they ended up at **Bikini**. However, there were no names transferred from one atoll to the other.

—Place names: 1 = Ormed; 2 = Didi or Riri; 3 = Anerein; 4 = Anearmej; 5 = Anekinnat; 6 = Bikanol; 7 = Toleej; 8 = Anebdo; 9 = Anekonno; 10 = Aneaul; 11 = Anebing; 12 = Bikenkolange; 13 = Anebwelejaiing; 14 = Anebwelejairik; 15 = Kejaiing; 16 = Kejaiirik; 17 = Bokiaikit; 18 = Bikoneangwod; 19 = Anea; 20 = Nabdan; 21 = Akmej; 22 = Wonmej; 23 = Ankekejaiing; 24 = Ankekejairik; 25 = Bwodao; 26 = Korong; 27 = Korondik; 28 = Bwokmokwak; 28a = Bwokwokda; **29 = Wotje**; 30 = Eonibje; 31 = Mwajaej; 32 = Bwu; 33 = Bikoot; 34 = Bikootdik; 35 = Bwokwajbung; 36 = Ane-noomw; 37 = Edmedio; 37a = Enekin; 38 = Enejeltak (southeast point); 39 = Rue; 39a = Bokedribit; 40 = Lagediak Pass; 41 = Eluk; 42 = Jolen; 43 = Bikeiai; 44 = Shishmarev Strait, or Toton Channel; 45 = Toton; 46 = Rurik Strait; 47 = Adjoken; 48 = Namen or Nanin; 49 = Pio; 50 = Ukon; 51 = Uwa; 53 = Meichen or Meijen; 54 = Meichen Pass;¹ 55 = Bwoklewij; 56 = Waatwerik; 57 = Anekomkwan; 58 = Anekotkot; 59 = Kidenkan;² 60 = Kojjuuj; 61 = Rurik Strait; 62 = Bwokwomwanuno; 63 = Christmas Harbor;³ 64 = Kaben; 65 = Anckaamw; 66 = Anekoble; 67 = Kaijen or Goat Island; 68 = Anewod; 69 = Anemwaan; 70 = Aumara; 71 = Anelijik; 72 = Nibwung; 73 = Anekio; 74 = Kimajo; 75 = Tibab; 76 = Bwokw; 77 = Bird Island; 78 = Akeo; 79 = Jolen; 80 = Anejobwa.

Mar10 = ERIKUB ATOLL

—Mid-position: 9°09' N and 170°00' E

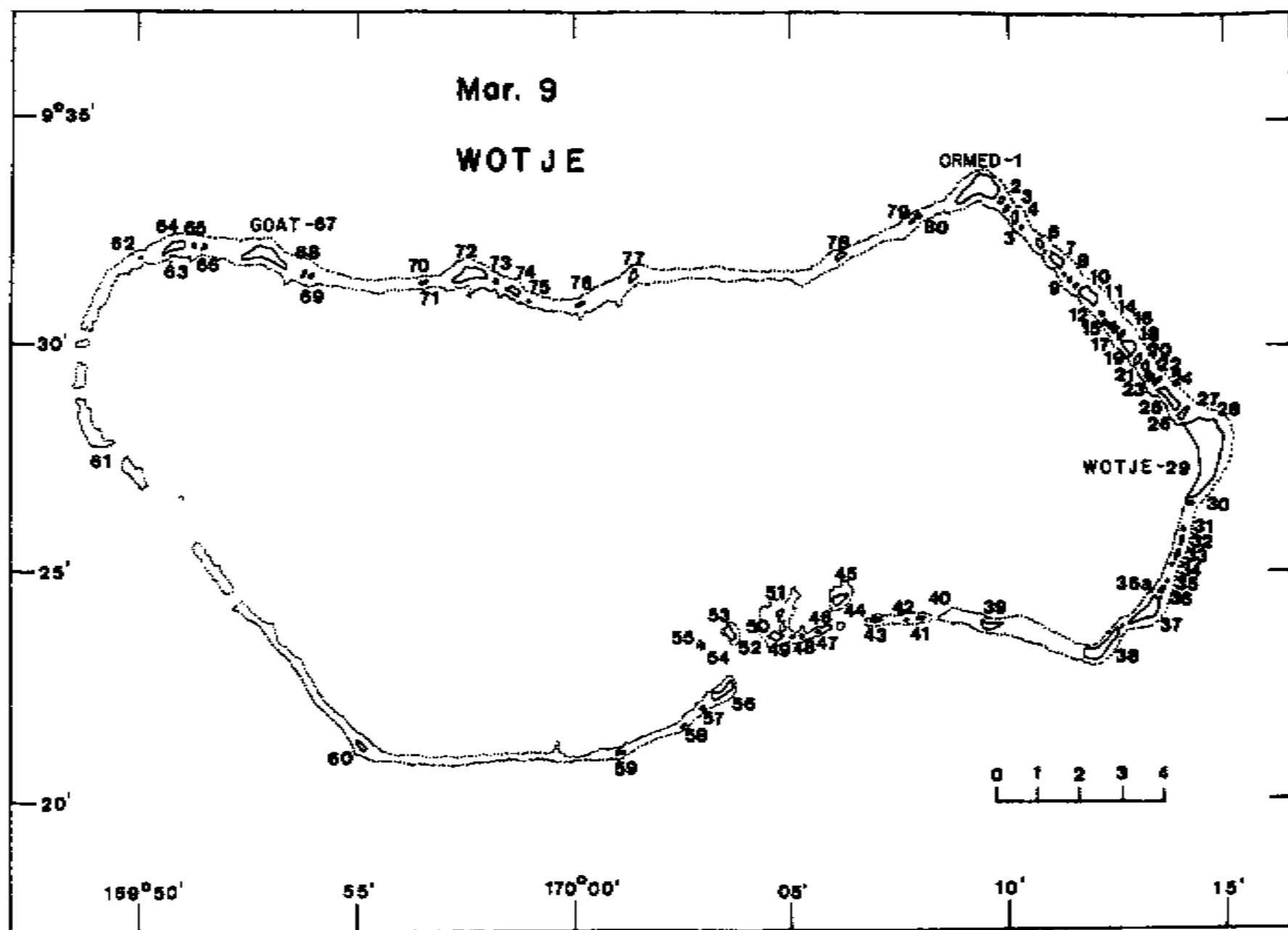
—Historical names: Erigub; Chatham (1788); Bishop; Chichagov (Kotzebue, 1817).

—Place names: 1 = Jabonwar; 2 = Aradojairin; 3 = Aradojairik; 3/4 = channel; 4 = Guro or Kodu; 5 = Jeldonej; 6 = Bogweido; 7 = Boguella; 8 = Jogan; 9 = Bokku (sand bank); 10 = Bogengoa; 11 = Bokankowak; 12 = Bokanaik; **13 = Erikub**; 14 = channel; 15 = Loj; 15/16 = entrance; 16 = Enego.

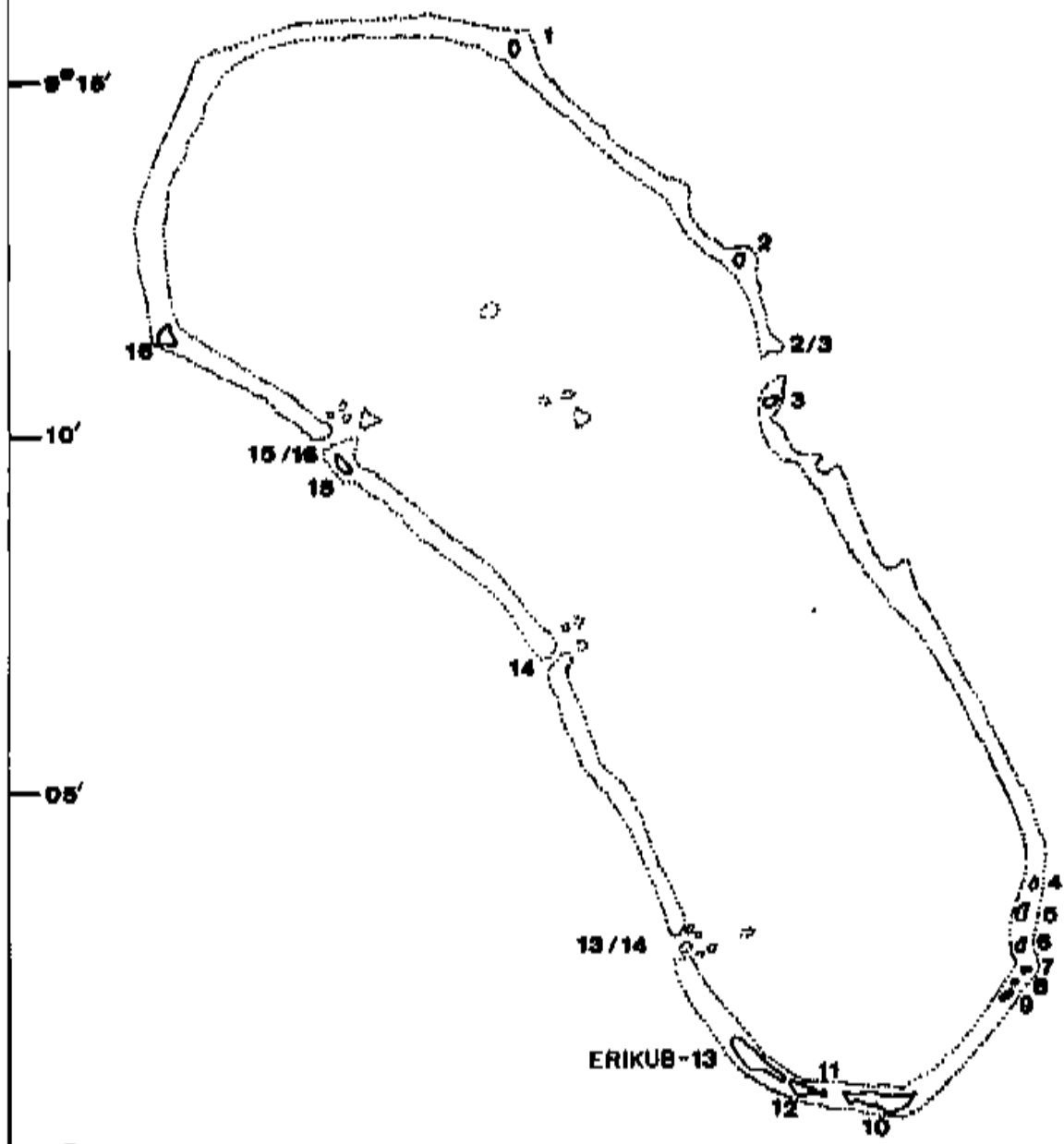
1 Ed. note: Surveyed by Lieut. Shishmarev for Kotzebue, 1817.

2 The suffix -kan means a long stretch of reef.

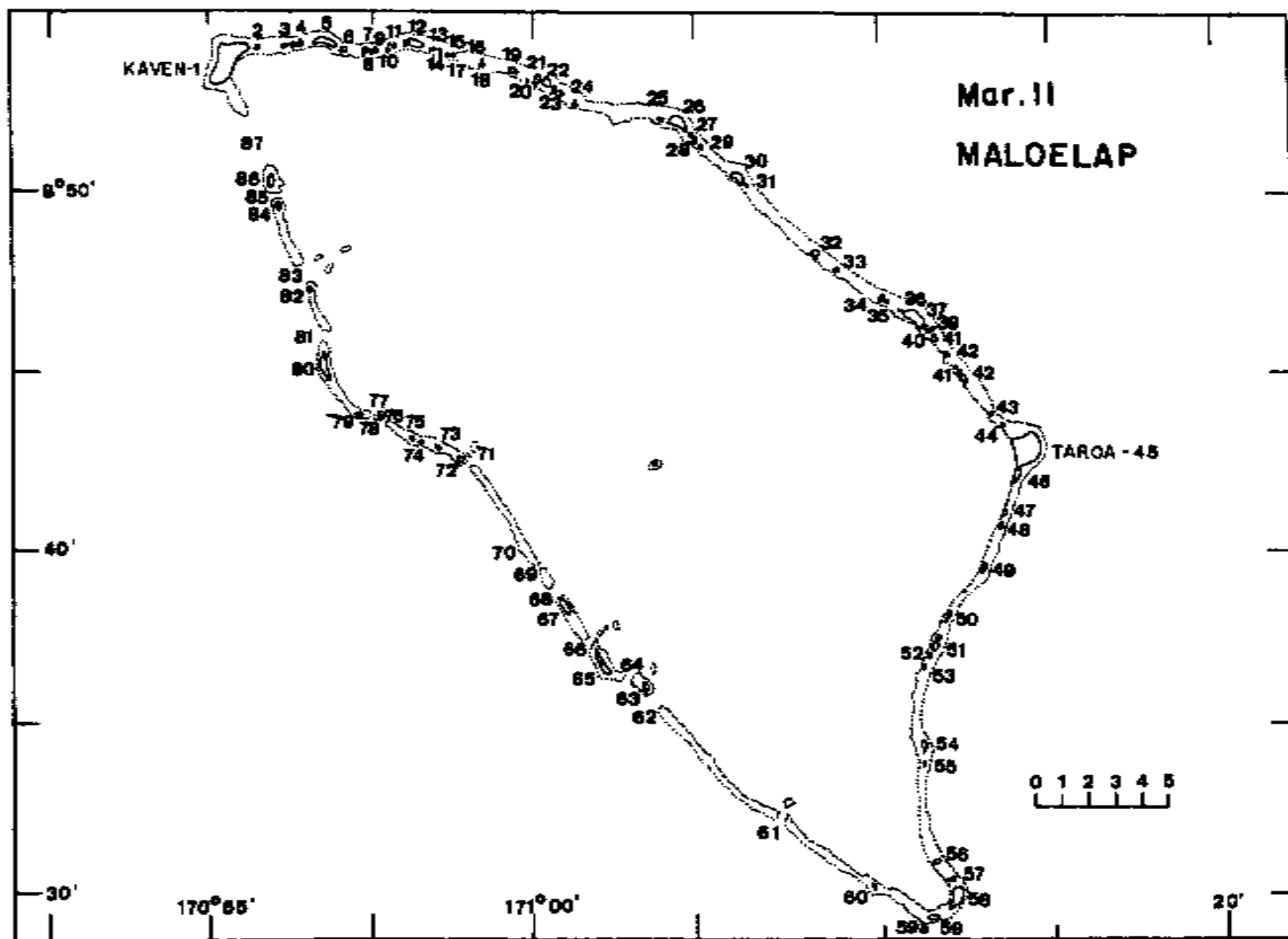
3 Ed. note: So named by Kotzebue in 1817 who assigned it #1 on his chart.



Mar. 10
ERIKUB



55' 170°00' 05'



Mar11 = MALOELAP ATOLL

—Mid-position: 8°45' N and 171°00' E

—Historical names: Kaben, Kapen or Kaven;¹ Calvert (1788); Arakchejev (Kotzebue, 1817).²

—Place names: Kaben; 2 = Boketarinae; 3 = Bokakulik; 4 = Keimmokan; 5 = Yara-baru; 6 = Bikinar; 7 = Boklaposa; 8 = Boka or Bokwalije; 9 = Anekailik; 10 = Enear or Bwoknauo; 11 = Bokejejen; 12 = Eniman or Onimak; 13 = Keinran; 14 = Kanaej; 15 = Anajaoeoe; 17 = Anemwaan; 18 = Marere; 19 = Enea or Enia; 20 = Enemejiken; 22 = Talto; 23 = Berage or Beraka; 24 = Edjaken; 25 = On or Ongw; 26 = Tjan or Djeng; 27 = Annejang or Annenchisen; 28 = Anekoklab; 29 = Alngaden; 30 = Tar, Tarr or Darr; 31 = Jedko or Jerok; 32 = Kedjebe or Kijbwa; 33 = Nawoj; 34 = Anedikjaiing; 35 = Anedikjairik; 36 = Laak; 37 = Olot or Ollot; 38 = Bwokonkwalleb; 39 = Bwokwanajdomw; 40 = Bokwanajbuirik; 42 = Bikat; 43 = Bernard Pier; 44 = Jemwaanlok; 45 = Taroa;³ 46 = Eonibje or Reuter; 47 = Ejiren or Adjilien; 48 = Boklaplap; 49 = Eien; 50 = Bokankin; 51 = Egeriben; 52 = Keimajro; 53 = Keinaerik; 54 = Kemar or Kimar; 55 = Bokanejrom; 56 = Boken or Bwokwang; 57 = Bokardrel or Bwokwaddel; 58 = Airik; 59 = Makar or Mokar; 60 = Boken or Bwokwen; 61 = 61/62 = South Pass; 63 = Enijun; 64 = Enijun Channel; 65 = Enibin; 66 = pass; 67 = Loa or Lowa; 68/69 = pass; 70 = Bulaklaktak; 71 = pass; 72 = Bogenagak; 73 = Bwokwanajowak; 75 = Bwokwankear; 76 = pass; 77 = Bwokwajinwir; 78 = pass; 80 = Bebi or Bwibwi; 81 = pass; 82 = Laroi; 83 = pass; 84 = Bogan or Bokena; 85 = pass; 85a = Bwokwana; 86 = Bok or Bwokw; 87 = Dollap Channel.

Mar12 = AUR ATOLL

—Mid-position: 8°15' N and 171°07' E

—Historical names: Aurh; Calvert; Ibbetson (1788); Traverscy (Kotzebue, 1817).

—Place names: 1 = Bigen or Pigen; 2 = Bikenrik; 3 = Pokonsen; 4 = Marere; 5 = Mareredik; 6 = Bokanejmandik; 7 = Bokanej; 8 = Ejru; 9 = Anedik; 10 = Bokankomteang; 11 = Bikadet; 12 = Tabal or the Stobual of Kotzebue, 1817; 13 = Bikec or Bokie; 14 = Bokanaitok; 18 = Kiendkan; 19 = Dobwakuten; 20 = Bwuwe; 21 = Piganman; 22 = Bwokw; 24 = Baojan; 25 = Bokat; 27 = Majruon; 28 = Arba or Erpa; 29 = Bwokwalojokdel; 30 = Tarep or Tareeb; 31 = Enop or Enob; 32 = Anebwubwu; 33 = Jelle or Jelle; 34 = Biklablab; 36 = Aje or Eje; 37 = Bikonbwar; 38 = Nanalle or Nellen; 40 = Anekailik; 41 = Aur; 42 = South Pass; 43 = Arjal or Argel; 44 = Memmet or Motmot; 45-48 = passes.

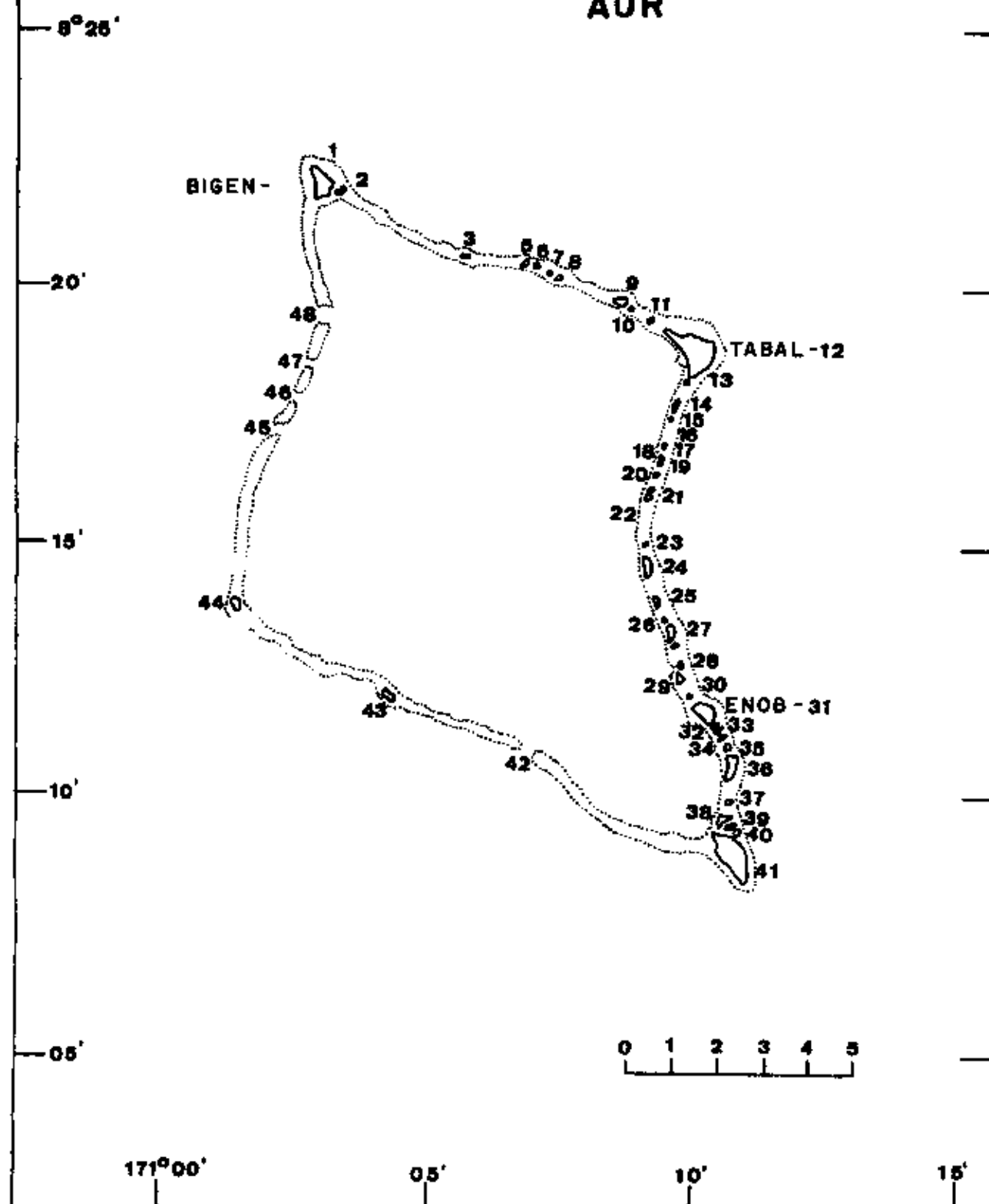
1 Ed. note: This was the original name of this atoll; it was changed to Maloelap after a paramount chief selected Ailinglaplap as his new residence. The suffix -lap means big, of course.

2 Ed. note: This was the name of a Russian General. Choris named it Saltikov wrongly. As an artist on board, he had no authority to name islands.

3 Ed. note: Kotzebue wrote it Torua. Site of anchorage and former Jap. airfield.

Mar. 12

AUR



Mar13 = MAJURO ATOLL

—Mid-position: 7°07' N and 171°15' E

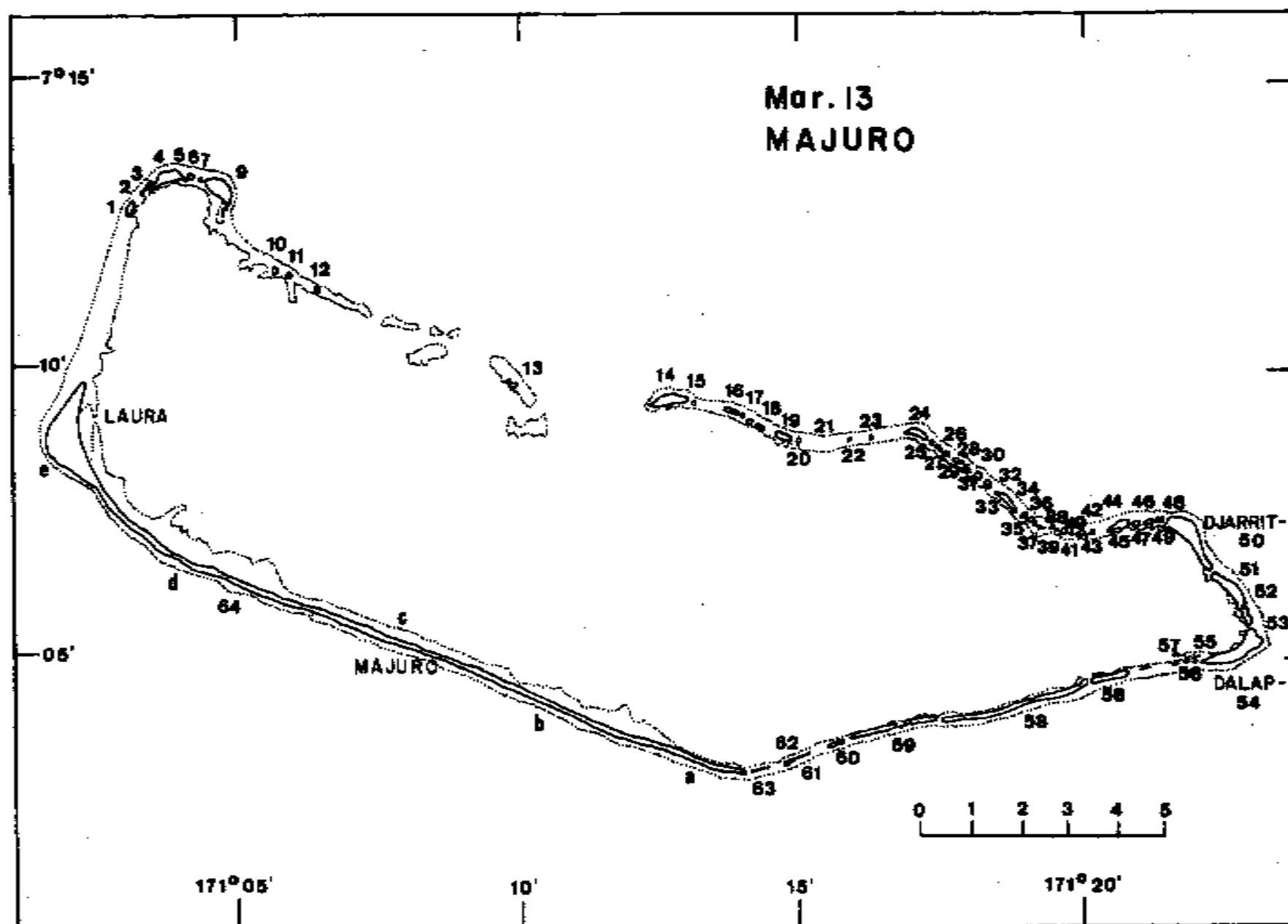
—Historical names: Majro, Madjuro; Arrowsmith (1788). Some English names applied to wartime only (see below).

—Place names:¹ 1 = Ajokolola, or Leona;² 2 = Bokarijiman, or Lena; 3 = Llenen, or Lillian; 4 = Jelte; 5 = Jeloklap; 6 = Anenbwubwu; 7 = Enerebakut, or Linda; 8 = Aneabwaru, or Lois; 9 = Roguron, or Lorraine; 10 = Aneju, or Loretta; 11 = Bokotona, or Lottie; 12 = Boka, or Lowena; 12/13 = Entrance, or Lucelle Pass; 13 = Eroj, or Lucille; 14 = Catalin, or Luella; 15 = Allokan; 16 = Anemakij, or Mabel; 16a = Bwokw, or Madeline; 17 = Anakotkot, or Mae; 18 = Robokaire, or Madge; 19 = Lobikaere, or Maggie; 20 = Eninuriji, or Marjorie; 21 = Kolok, or Marbella; 22 = Kideren, or Margaret; 23 = Bokelekojlo, or Marie; 24 = Aneko, or Marilyn; 25 = Bikendik, or Martha; 25a = Bikenlibw, or Martena; 26 = Buruon, or Mary; 27 = Bakajij, or Maureen; 28 = Leblon, or Mayme; 29 = Bokallab, or Midge; 30 = Leblan, or Minne; 31 = Enebaroro, or Mitzi; 32 = Bikirin, or Molly; 33 = Anemwanot, or Myrna; 34 = Enekelamur, or Nancy; 35 = Denmeo, or Nellie; 36 = Bokeril, or Nina; 37 = Bokenmak; 38 = Bokiur, or Norma; 39 = Blkmej, or Olive; 40 = Bokonboten, or Pamela; 41 = Bokelijekia, or Patsy; 42 = Kemman, or Poppy; 43 = Bokelijker; 44 = Bokelatule, or Paula; 45 = Arniel, or Peggy;³ 46 = Garra, or Phyllis; 47 = Ejit, or Priscilla; 48 = Anearmej, or Pryde; 49 = Pegerian, or Rhoda; 50 = Djarrit, or Rita; 50a = Djarrit Anchorage; 51 = Uliga, or Rosalie; 52 = Eneligere, or Ruby; 53 = Biggeriat, or Ruth; 54 = Dalap, or Salome (site of airfield); 55 = Utwe, or Sheila; 56 = Enirak, or Sherry; 57 = Bikielobo, or Simone; 58 = Rairik, and Sylvia, Tess, Tootsie, Teresa, Victoria; 59 = Anenelibw or En-elelip, and Vina, Virginia, Vivian; 60 = Lokojbar, or Zazu; 61 = Lejemwa, or Zeida; 63 = Limejokren; **64 = Majuro**, or Laura; 64e = Laura Village.

1 Islands #1 to #9 are called Enygain Islands and belonged to Kaben.

2 Ed. note: English girl names were applied by U.S. forces during the War in the Pacific. Their first letter follow an alphabetical order.

3 Ed. note: Herc used to live King Jibberik in 1881.



Mar14 = ARNO ATOLL

· Mid-position: 7°10' N and 171°45' E

—Historical names: = Arnho, Daniel and Pedder Is. (1788).

· Place names, mostly according to a special study done by Michael A. Rynkiewicz:

Jabenwor or northern part of atoll (#1 to #49):

—1 = Nami; 2 = Lajunguk; 3 = Bakankowak; 4 = Mokmok; 5 = Bikonmau; 6 = Mwetorik; 7 = Bokkan; 8 = Illielene; 9 = Illielaninate; 10 = Letiotok; 11 = Bokaniak; 12 = Bikonele; 12/13 = Pavona Channel; 13 = Libejin; 14 = Nalmarik; 15 = Rakijer; 16 = Bokelaj; 17 = Bikareij I. and village; 18 = Aneaitok; 19 = Ajmunal; 20 = Aneiman; 21 = Anekailik; 22 = Nal; 23 = Kidrenen; 24 = Boketarinae; 25 = Kirinin; 26 = Bokarik; 27 = Erjakan; 28 = Aneang; 29 = Enelanrarun; 30 = Anewato; 31 = Bokanbit; 32 = Kirenen; 33 = Bokankora; 34 = Jarakul; 35 = Muleo; 36 = Jbuna; 37 = Anelik; 38 = Anejar; 39 = Mwiang; 40 = Mwiangirik; 41 = Dodo or Tutu; 41/42 = Dodo Passage; 42 = Mareboin; 43 = Kaiibwe; 44 = Jilan; 45 = Kwarijilang; 45/46 = Enirik Passage; 46 = Enirik; 46/47 = Tagelib Passage; 47 = Takaliblal; 48 = Takelib; 49 = Taklibej; 49/50 = Lokawalle Passage (reef).

Rearlablab district, southern part of atoll (#50 to #101):

—50 = Namej; 51 = Biko; 52 = Bokwalijakan; 53 = Bikini; 54 = Arebon; 55 = Bokeini; 56 = Akatel; 57 = Bokarikrik; 58 = Najabake; 59 = Ancmo; 60 = Menoknokin; 61 = Anakejbar; 62 = Najaj; 63 = Nara; 64 = Naruiian; 65 = Reboiang; 66 = Kirinin; 67 = Anekutkut; 68 = Takul; 69 = Tae or Taie;¹ 72 = Aneran; 73 = Tinak; 74 = Kilange;² 75 = Malol, or Malalei (Westbrook); 76 = Ulir; 77 = Jimune; 78 = Ioeliin; 79 = Lotabat; 80 = Jinokame; 81 = Likarinij; 82 = Julian; 83 = Bwinnat; 84 = Bukienlajun; 85 = Munbina; 86 = Unearmij; 87 = Krunkan; 88 = Bukienkiru; 89 = Katelap; 90 = Leone; 91 = Utiate; 92 = Katutuin; 93 = Inland; 94 = Monukan; 95 = Lokijek; 96 = Kaleli; 97 = Bokankeo; 98 = Joanrik; 99 = Jabwor; 100 = Ijoen; 101 = Lobat; 101a = Kololen.

Ajeltokrok district (#102 to #113):

—102 = Kalibwok; 103 = Auoteli; 104 = Eonibiji; 105 = Mukun; 106 = Aneaitok; 107 = Jarrul; 108 = Anekuria; 109 = Jamoa; 110 = Matolen; 111 = Ine (village); 112 = Jebu; 113 = Kinejon.

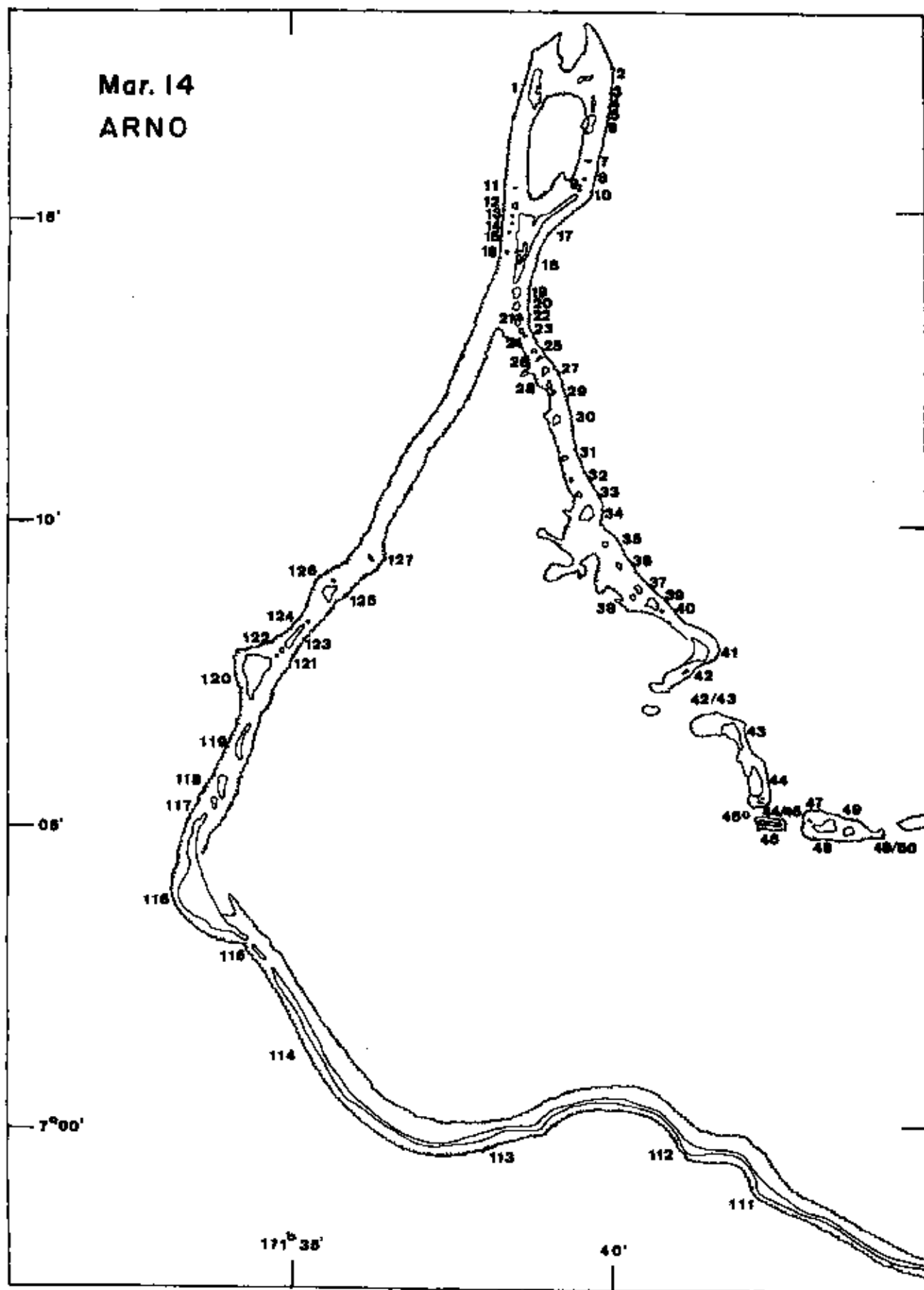
Kabjeltok district (#114 to #127):

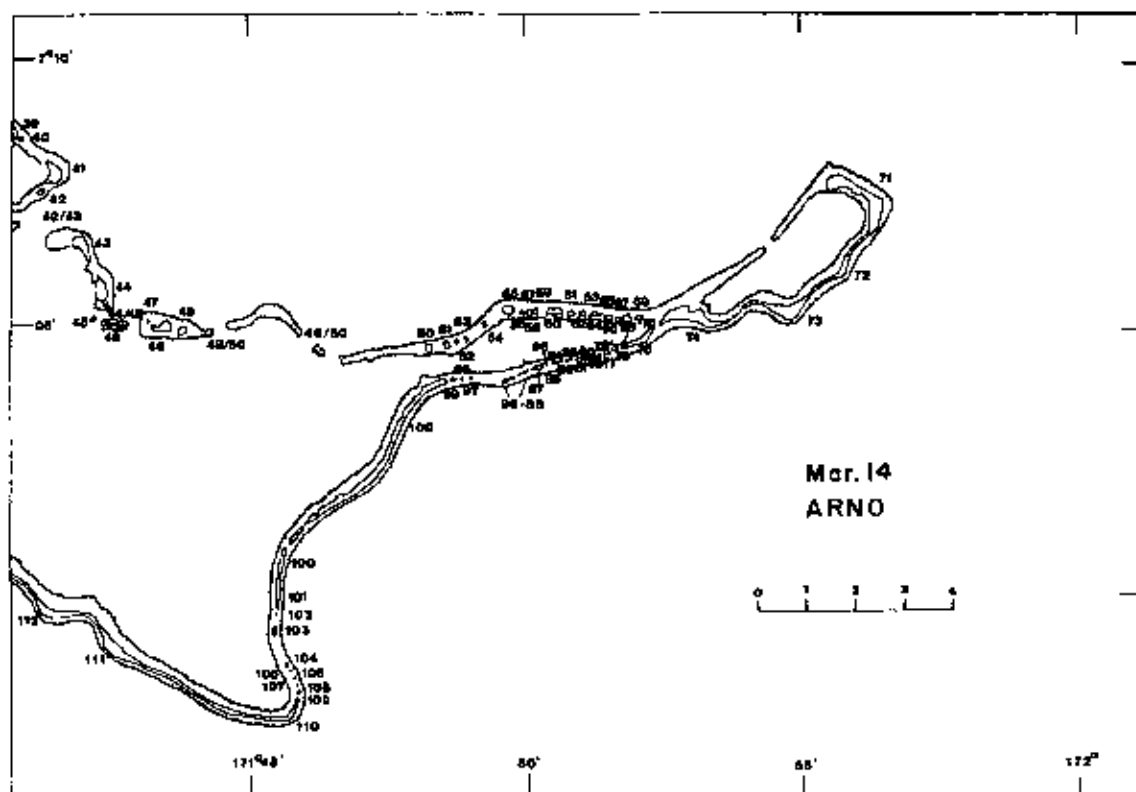
—114 = Lukwoj; 115 = Aninerik; 116 = **116 = Arno** (same as Pedder's Island); 117 = Aninlukan; 118 = Aneroul; 119 = Keman; 120 = Ulion (same as Daniel's Island); 121 = Bokelajeun; 122 = Larinkano; 123 = Anenirik; 124 = Bokanikkabwe; 125 = Kiloman; 126 = Bokankikarwe; 127 = Kirien.

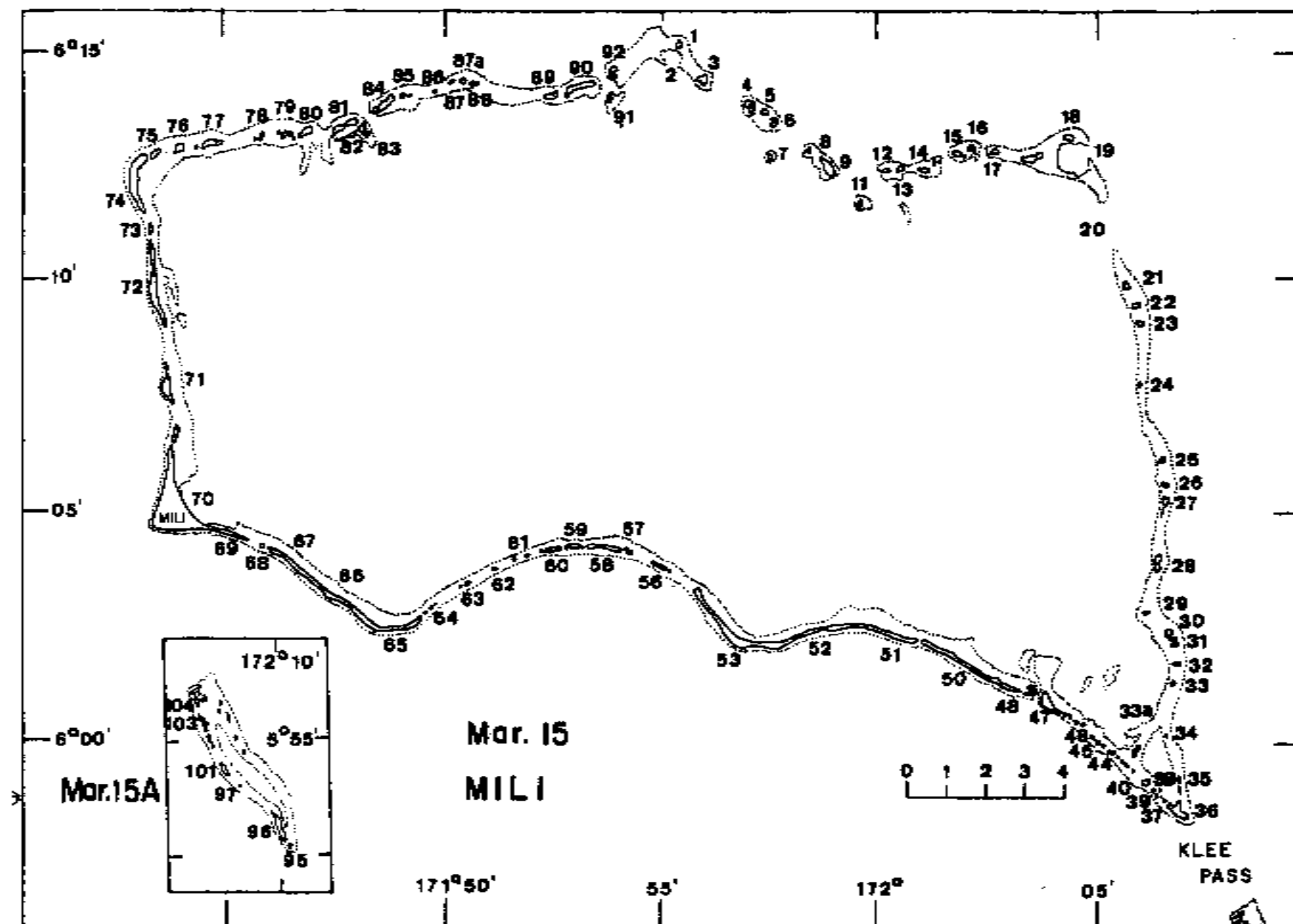
1 Ed. note: The Tye of Westbrook (1877).

2 Ed. note: Site of Black Tom's trading station (Westbrook, 1877).

Mar. 14
ARNO







Mar15 = MILI ATOLL

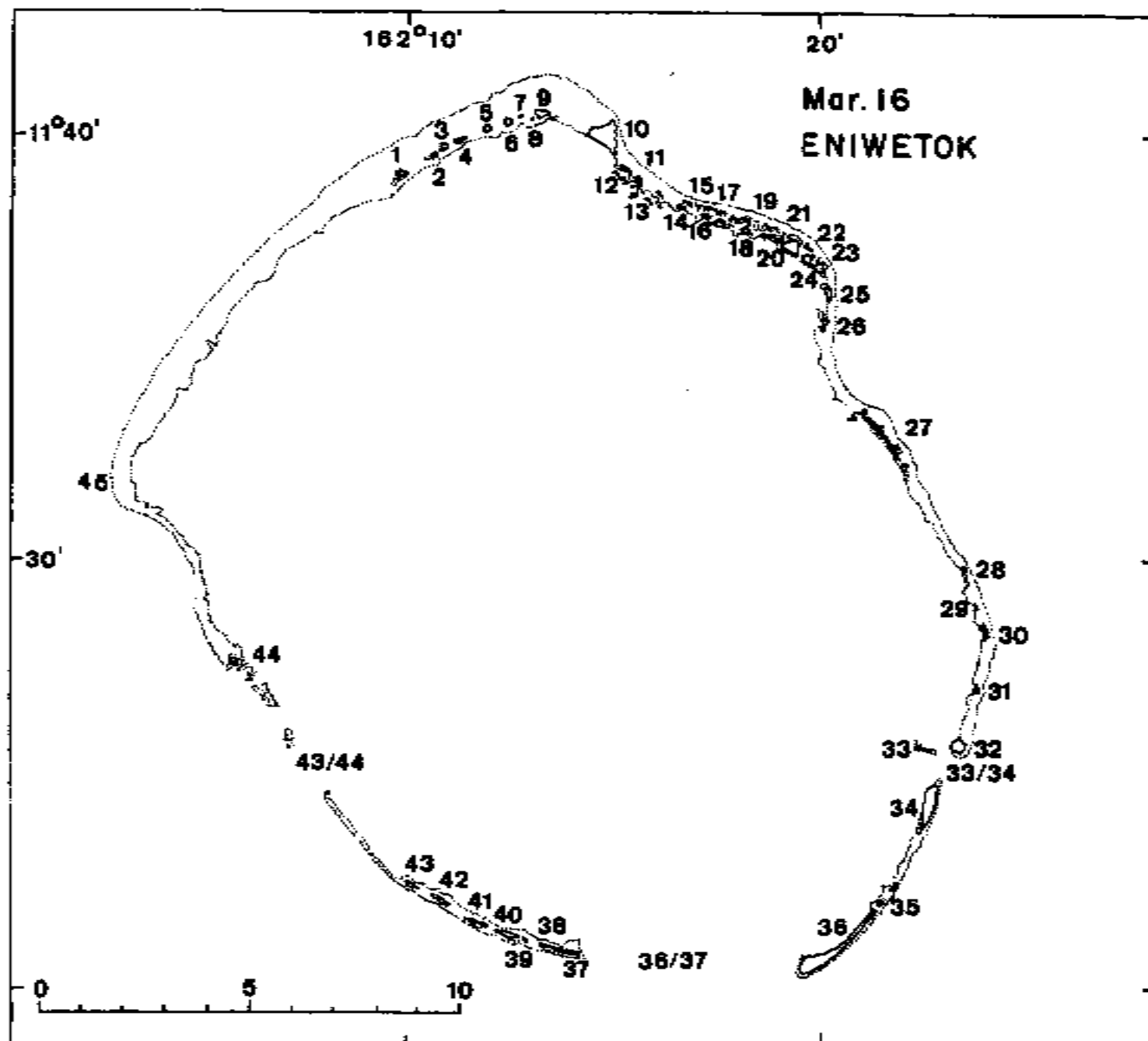
—Mid-position: 6°07' N and 171°57' E

—Historical names: Milli, Mille, Mile, Millie; (Lord) Mulgrave Island.

—Place names: 1 = Eden or Ereyan; 2 = Kidenkan; 3 = Nalab; 3/4 = Acharan Passage; 4 = Acharan; 5 = Larbab or Lerbeb; 6 = Bue or Buwe; 6/7 = Bue Passage; 7 = Medke or Medrike; 8 = Namo or Namwok; 9 = Ennanlik; 9/10 = Enenlik Channel; 12 = Nakanej; 13 = Ajikadkadewokbwok; 14 = Ilelkan; 15 = Atlongtonganebwokbwok; 16 = Attoto; 17 = Ajwen; 18 = Borokulik; 19 = Like; 20 = Northeast Passage; 21 = Jababon; 22 = Buruon; 23 = Bokankear; 24 = Mejisenbu; 25 = Nara; 26 = Wau; 27 = Ajean; 27a = Anearme (site of trading station, 1896); 28 = Namake or Nemaki; 29 = Anemaro; 30 = Jaltuej; 31 = Bwokwanlerro; 32 = Automw; 33 = Aneal or Bokonella; 34 = Anedoul; 36 = Chirubon or Jellbon; Mar15/15A = Klee Pass; 37 = Toen; 38 = Akadiken; 40 = Bwokwarobbwon; 40a = Alarar; 41 = Likilep; 42 = Mao; 43 = Dabdeben; 44 = Lejibwe; 45 = Bokejenmon; 46 = Uleejeen; 47 = Lukunor; 48 = Likiej; 49 = Oninayan; 50 = Ancwa; 51 = Enajet; 52 = Lolwe; 43 = Enajet (also, but Chiburimen of the Japanese); 54 = Ngongtaen; 55 = Anejet (also; 56 = Waitojaing; 57 = Aneneutejkaan; 58 = Lobweoen; 60 = Kinnnatkan; 61 = Jbein, Supein, or Spain; 62 = Tuaken or Tuwaaken; 63 = Jabein; 64 = Nasoyan; 65 = Arbar; 66 = Rubekij; 67 = Bokbar; 68 = Ewerok; 69 = Bokrikrik; **70 = Mili** (site of former air strip); 71 = Madagai; 72 = Garu; 73 = Bokariki; 74 = Alu or Nalu, Narlu, etc. (site King Buwujet's residence in 1824; also recorded as Maileup and Mailo in 1847-48); 75 = Autle or Galleleup (1844-45); 76 = Bikoro; 77 = Ejwa; 78 = Dobwakwitkan; 78a = Norwe; 79 = Jitni; 80 = Bwokwan-tarinac;¹ 81 = Anil; 82 = Takowa; 82/84 = Takowa Channel; 83 = Port Rhin (1845); 84 = Bar, Barr, or Burrh; 85 = Biktok; 86 = Kidenkan; 88 = Aniddik; 89 = Bokarebto; 90 = Jobenor; 90/92 = Jabenor Pass; 91 = Enkor; 92 = Enalik.

—**Knox or Narik** lagoon: 95 = Nake; 96 = Nadikdik; 97 = Didi; 98 = Bwok; 99 = Aneloklab; 100 = Aen; 101 = Naniktal; 102 = Nankotkot; 102a = Koabwil; 103 = Lolimwe; 104 = Aelingeo; 105 = Alenkan; 106 = Ilelkan; 107 = Nanmao; 108 = Mwonaken; 109 = Keats Bank.

1 Ed. note: The suffix part means Battle.



Mar16 = ENIWETOK LAGOON

—Mid-position: 11°30' N and 162°15' E

—Historical names: Boga(n);¹ Enewetak; Brown's Rang.;² Enewetak.

—Place names: 1 = Bogullua, or West Danger, or Alice or Peony;³ 2 = Bogomoogo, or Belle or Petunia; 3 = Eybiyae, or Clara or Pointsettia; 4 = Cochiti, or Daisy or Primrose; 5 = San Ildefonso in error;⁴ or Edna or Rambler; 6 = Elugelab, or Flora or Sagebrush; 7 = Lidibut, or Gene or Sunflower; 8 = Bokeirik, or Helen, or Violet; 9 = Bogan, or Irene or Zinnia; 10 = Engebi (former air strip), or Janet or Fragile; 11 = Muginkarik, or Kate or Arbutus; 12 = Billee, or Lucy or aster/Blossom; 14 = Bokonalap, or Mary or Bitter-root; 15 = (sandspit) Blue-bonnet; 16 = Yciri, or Nancy or Buttercup; 17 = Aiteu, or Olive or Camellia; 18 = Rujiyor, or Pearl or Canna; 20 = Eberir, or Ruby or Columbine; 21 = Aomon or Aranit, or Sally or Clover; 23 = Beijiri, or Tilda or Daisy; 24 = Rojoa, or Ursula or Delphinium; 25 = Arambiru, or Vira or Gardenia; 26 = Piirai, or Wilma or Goldenrod; 27 = Runit, or Yvonne or Hawthorn; 29 = Chinieero, or Alvin; 30 = Japtan (#1) or Aniyaanii, or Bruce or Jasmine; 31 = Chinimi, or Clyde or Lavander; 32 = Muti (Japtan #2), or Davis or Lady-slipper; 33 = Bogen, Boken, Began, or Rex or Lilac; 33/34 = East Channel; 34 = Parry,⁵ or Elmer or Hartstrings; **36 = Eniwetok** (former air strip), or Fred or Privilege; 36/37 = South Channel; 37 = Iguren, or Glen or Lantana; 40 = Buanegan or Mui, or Henry or Maypop/Mimosa; 41 = Bogan, or Irwin or Mistletoe; 42 = Libiron, or James or Oleander; 43 = Grinem, or Keith or Oca; 43/44 = Southwest Passage; 44 = Rigili, or Leroy or Posy; 45 = West Spit.

Mar17 = UJELANG ATOLL

—Mid-position: 9°49' N and 160°54' E

—Historical names: Udjelang, Udjelong, etc.; Buen Jardin;⁶ Providence (1811); Casobos, Casobis, or Casbocos (of unknown source); Kewley (1827); James or Morning Star (1850s).

—Place names: 1 = Pyokon; 7 = Seroko or Jerko; 8 = Bogan or Pokon;⁷ 9 = Bokanipop; 10 = Bokanibwiebirok; 12 = Kilagen; 13 = Bokañojo; 14 = Bokankemej; 15 = Bokanalap; 16 = Maronlik; 17 = Madron; 18 = Madrondik; 19 = Maron; 20 = Bok; 21 = Daisu or Raij; 22 = Bok; 23 = **Ujelang**; 24 = Aneken; 25 = Enerej; 26 = Bieto or

1 Ed. note: Famous as the site of the first mutiny in the Pacific, in 1566. The men marooned there were never heard from. The legendary name Bogan may also be applied to Ujelang and Bikini.

2 Ed. note: So named by Capt. Butler aboard the Walpole, 1794.

3 Ed. note: The last two sets of names are names of people and flowers from military charts.

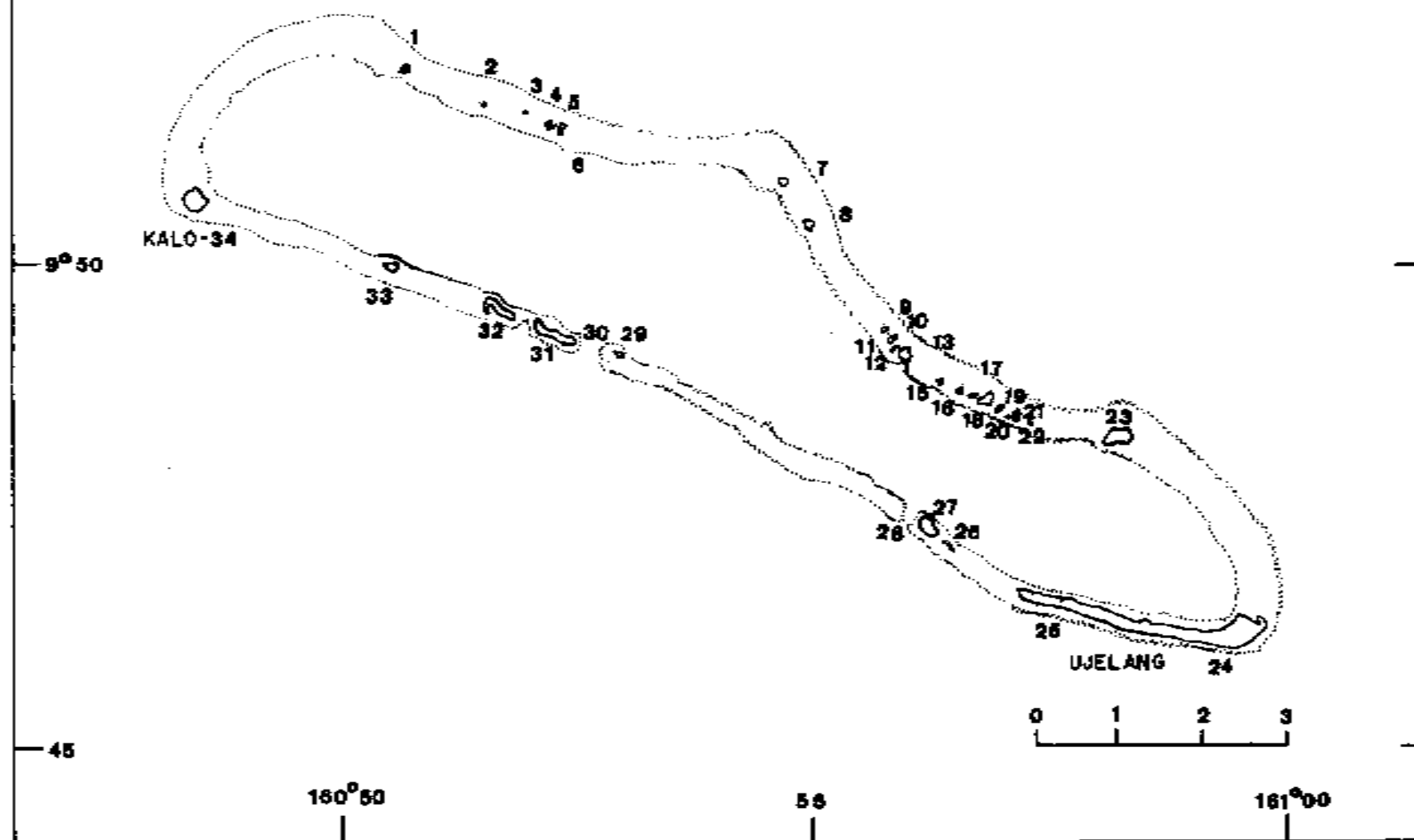
4 Ed. note: The name San Ildefonso properly belongs to Fais.

5 Ed. note: So named by Capt. Butler, 1794; the native name could be Igen or Meriren.

6 Ed. note: This name was applied by Saavedra to either Ujelang or Eniwetok. Neither Villalobos or Legazpi assigned any name. By the way, the name Arrecifes properly belongs to Wotho.

7 Ed. note: By now we can appreciate the fact that, in Marshallese, Bok or Bwok and Bogan or Boka are generic terms for islet, like Pik in Carolinian and Motu in Polynesian.

Mar. 17
UJELANG



Burle; 27 = Nelle or Romu;¹ 27/28 = Wide Passage; 28 = Enellap; 29 = Ennimenetto; 30 = Kiriniyan; 34 = Kalo.

Mar18 = BIKINI ATOLL

—Mid-position: 11°35' N and 165°23' E

—Historical names: Bigini; Eschscholtz (Kotzebue); Udia-Milai (Capt. Moore, 1857).

—Historical note: According to Capt. Karig (1947) Bikini means "You stink" in Marshallese.

—Place names: 1 = Namu, or Charlie;² 2 = Bukor or Yurochi, or Dog; 3 = Oruk, or Easy; 4 = Romuk or Lomwik, or Fox; 5 = Aomoan, or George; 6 = Bokideb; 7 = Bokanikare; 8 = Bokanwor; 9 = Bokonae; 10 = Belkan; 11 = Kalwa; 12 = **Bikini**, or How; 13 = Bokontusak, or Jig; 15 = Motrik; 16 = Eniairo, or King; 17 = Rockikari; 18 = Ionchebi, or Love; 19 = Enyu, or Nan; 19/20 = Enyu Channel; 20 = Airukiji, or Oboe; 21 = Airukiraru, or Peter; 22 = Biriren; 23 = Recre, or Rear; 24 = Eninman, or Tare; 24/25 = Enirik Pass; 25 = Enirik, or Uncle; 25/26 = Rukoji Pass; 26 = Rukoji, or Victor; 27 = Chieere, or William; 27/28 = Chieere Pass; 28 = Arrikan, or Yoke; 28/29 = Arrikan Pass; 29 = Ourukaen; or Zebra; 31 = Bokoaetoktok, or Alpha; 31/32 = Bokoaetoktok Pass; 32 = Bokororyuru, or Bravo; 33 = Loko; 34 = Toka; 35 = Bokobyadaa, or Able; 36 = Bokonejien, or Baker.

Mar19 = RONGERIK ATOLL

—Mid-position: 11°20' N and 167°27' E

—Historical names: Pescadores;³ Rimsk-i-Korsakoff (Kotzebue, 1817).

—Place names: 1 = Jedibberdib; 2 = Latoback; 3 = Bokalikan; 4 = Moterik; 5 = Mortlock, rather Mwotlap; 6 = Bigonattam; 8 = **Rongerik**; 9 = Bokenkemej; 10 = Bokentuak; 11 = Tarrowatt; 12 = Bokeredj; 13 = Eniwetak; 14 = Enivertok Pass; 17 = Bock Channel; 18 = Bock Island.

Mar20 = RONGELAP ATOLL

—Mid-position: 11°18' N and 166°50' E

—Historical names: Pescadores;⁴ Rimski Korsakoff.⁵

—Place names: 1 = Lomuila; 2 = Gejan; 3 = Lukuen; 4 = Ereirip; 5 = Giragoen; 6 = Anielap; 7 = Aniiru; 7a = Bokolok; 8 = Kabelle; 9 = Namwen; 10 = Mejetto; 11 =

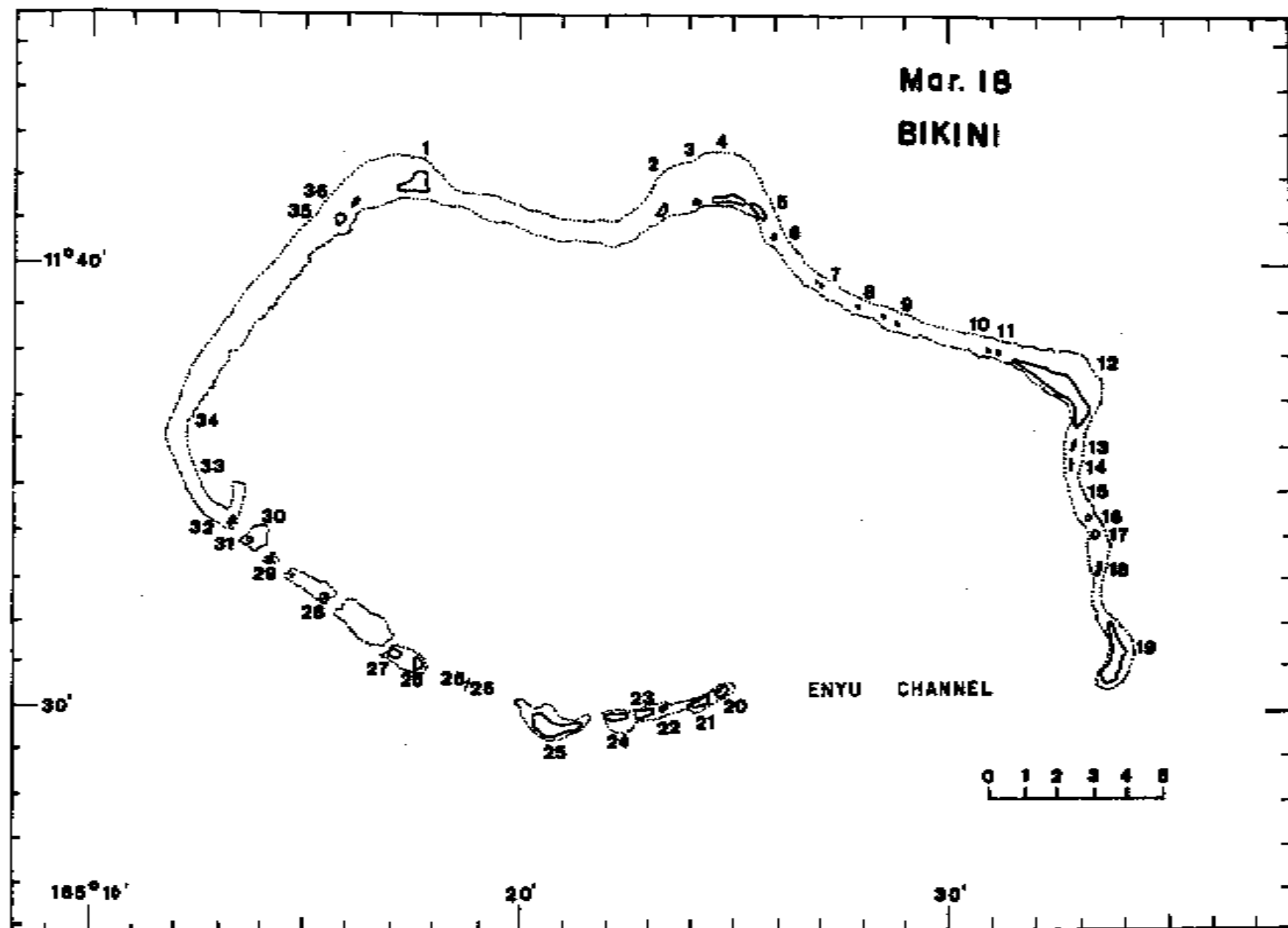
1 Ed. note: This may be the Kewley of the ship Dundonald.

2 Ed. note: Phonetic names belong to WWII.

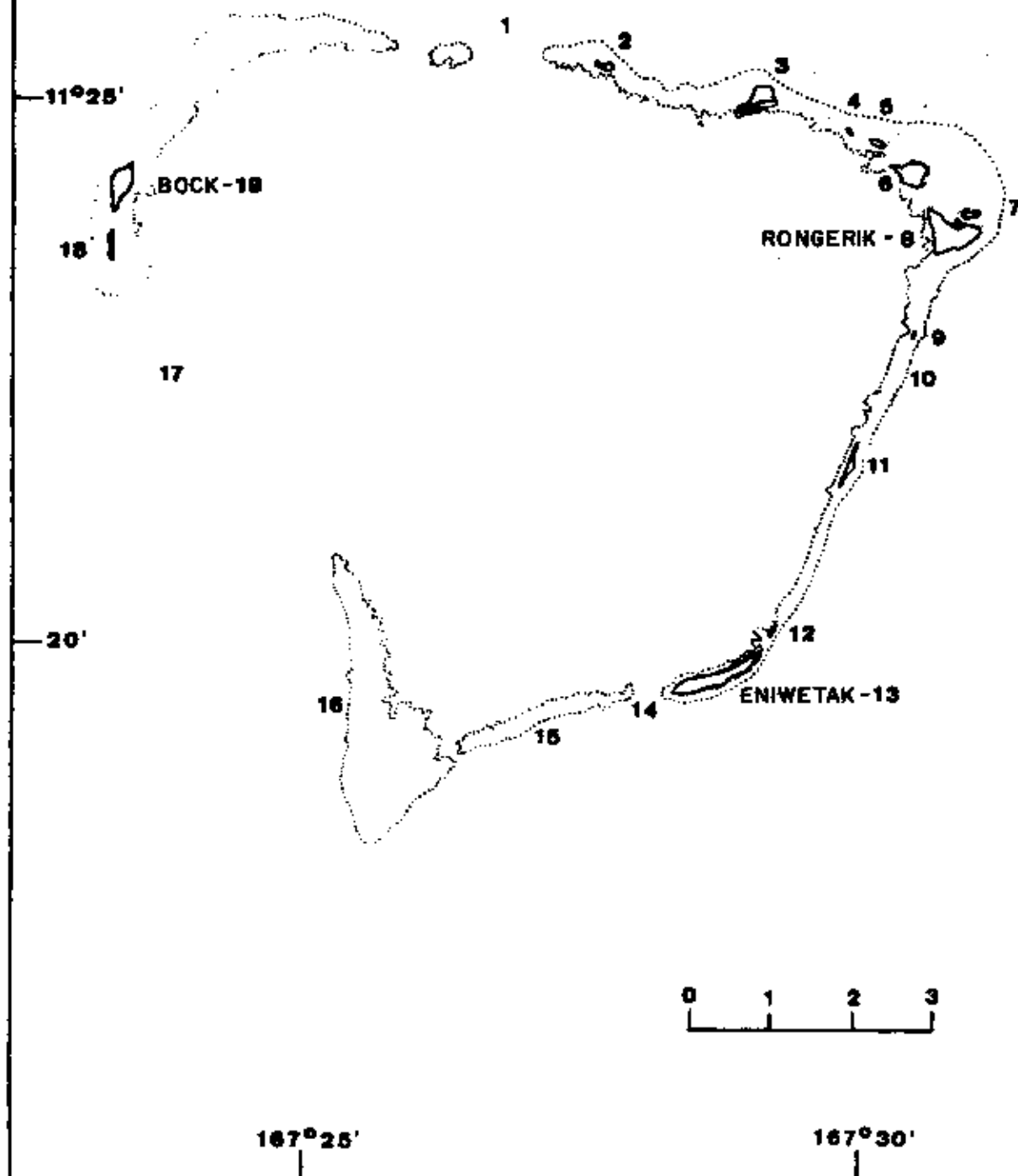
3 Ed. note: Which means Fishermen in Spanish, but this was assigned to it by Capt. Wallis in 1765 from a fanciful chart.

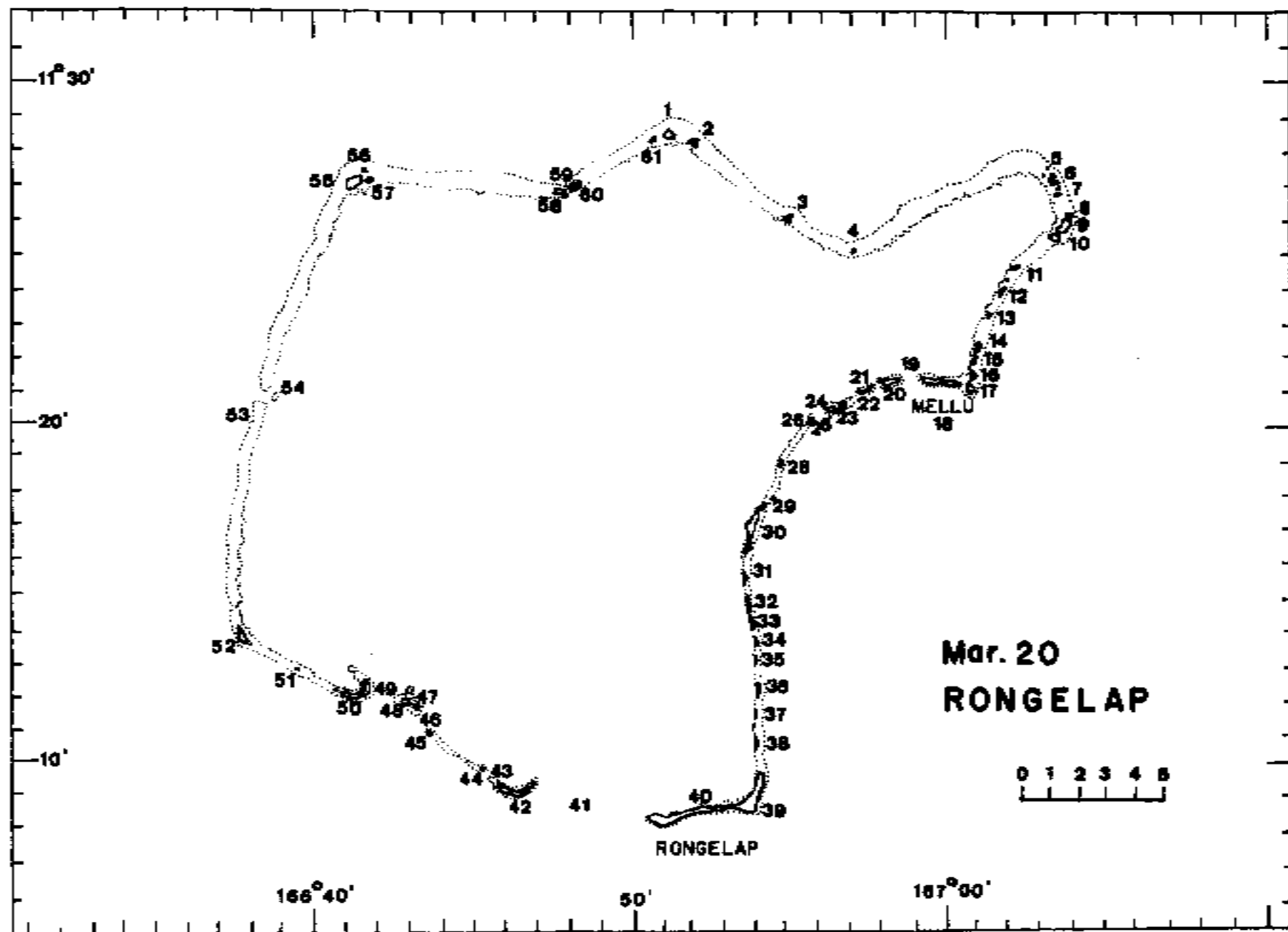
4 Ed. note: With #19, discovered by Wallis in 1765 and given a group name.

5 Ed. note: Similarly grouped with Rongerik by Kotzebue, Rongrik being the small Rong, and Rongelap the big one.



Mar. 19
RONGERIK





Taugenoban; 12 = Yuzugan; 13 = Ribiyurgan; 14 = Laberej; 15 = Aijjikan; 16 = Boken; 17 = abelle; 18 = Mellu; 19 = Northwest Pass; 20 = Anidjet; 21 = Gogan Pass; 22 = Gogan; 23 = Bokekke; 24 = Kiejej; 25 = Enybarbar Pass; 26 = Enybarbar; 27 = Bokalikmeltu; 28 = Bigannue; 29 = Erapuotau; 30 = Eniaetok; 31 = Bogontorinaai = 32 = Rochi or Lodj; 33 = Enialo; 34 = Rigonman; 35 = Weobiji; 36 = Busch I.; 37 = Bokenrekut; 38 = Bokjalto; **39 = Rongelap** island and airfield); 40 = Jaboan Village; 41 = South Pass; 42 = Arbwar; 43 = Bikien Pass; 44 = Bikien I.; 45 = Enirolul; 46 = Eniran Pass; 47 = Eniran I.; 48 = Kaeroga Pass; 49 = Kaeroga; 50 = Alngarin; 51 = Bokanetao; 52 = Burok; 53 = Bokelap; 54 = West Pass; 55 or 56 = Maen; 56 or 57 = Bokenkear; 57 or 58 = Yagui; 58 = Aerik; 60 = Ekaj; 61 = Bokankidudjet.

Mar21 = AILINGINAE ATOLL

—Mid-position: 11°08' N and 166°25' E

—Historical names: None other than Ailinginae.

—Place names: 1 = Najibuen; 2 = Bokankear; 3 = Jelaen; 4 = Bokarren; 6 = Majkorian; 7 = Bokrulen; 8 = Boken; 9 = Joreia or Know I.; 10 = Kungeaken; 12 = Bokajinre; 13 = Ujjuonen; 14 = Bigejairik; 15 = Kuobwen; 16 = Rubonwor; 17 = Airoken; 18 = Bikenhaen; 19 = Enewetak; 20 = Enibuk; 21 = Enibuk Pass; 22 = Mokil; 23 = Mokil Pass; 24 = Manjinkwan; 26 = Karwe.

Mar22 WOTHO ATOLL

—Mid-position: 10°05' N and 165°58' E

—Historical names: Woddo, Wottho, Otto; Los Jardines (Villalobos, 1543); Schantz (Hobbs).

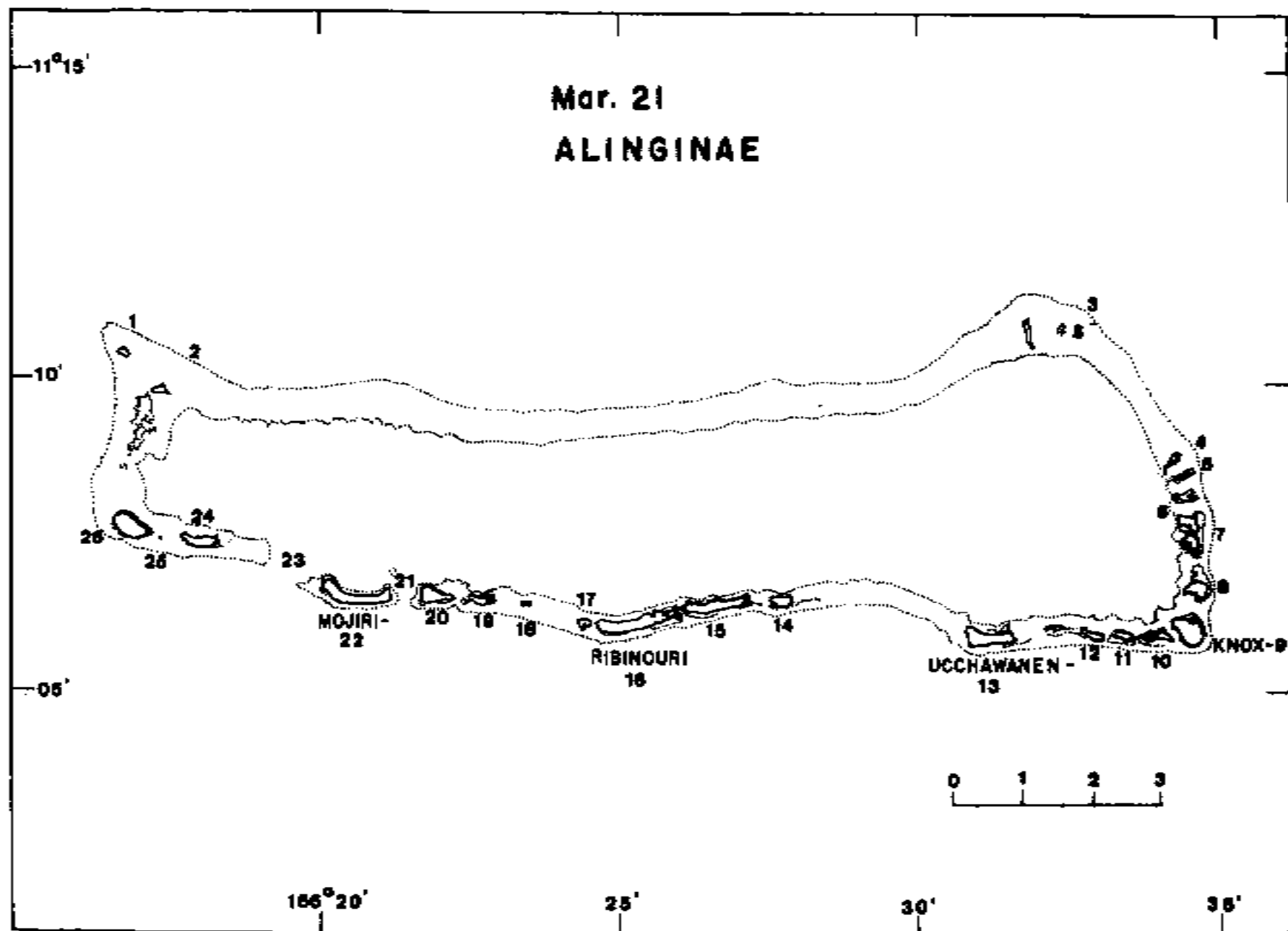
—Place names: 1 = Majwrwon; 2 = Enebarbar; 4 = Eneobnak; **5 = Wottho** (or Shanz I. and its northwest end was Kabahaia or other names); 6 = Bwokwed; 7 = Bokwabunlik; 8 = Lojan; 9 = Jebenau; 10 = Utiejj; 11 = Irojeman; 12 = Anejalto; 13 = Kaben; 14 = Eirek; 15 = Ambwilen Channel; 16 = Ambwilen; 17 = Biken Channel; 18 = Biken; 19 = Majwron Channel.

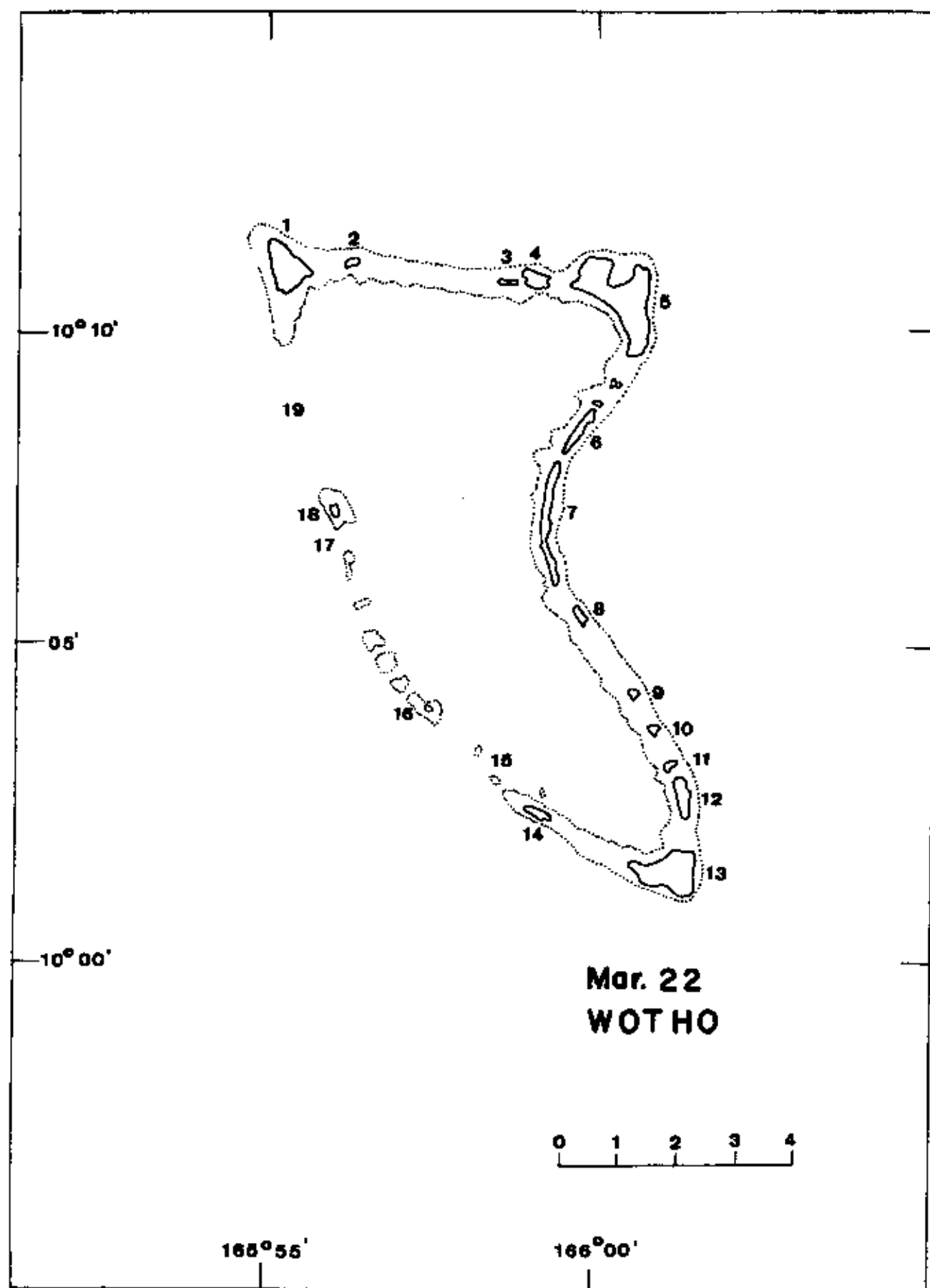
Mar23 = UJAE ATOLL

—Mid-position: 9°05' N and 165°40' E

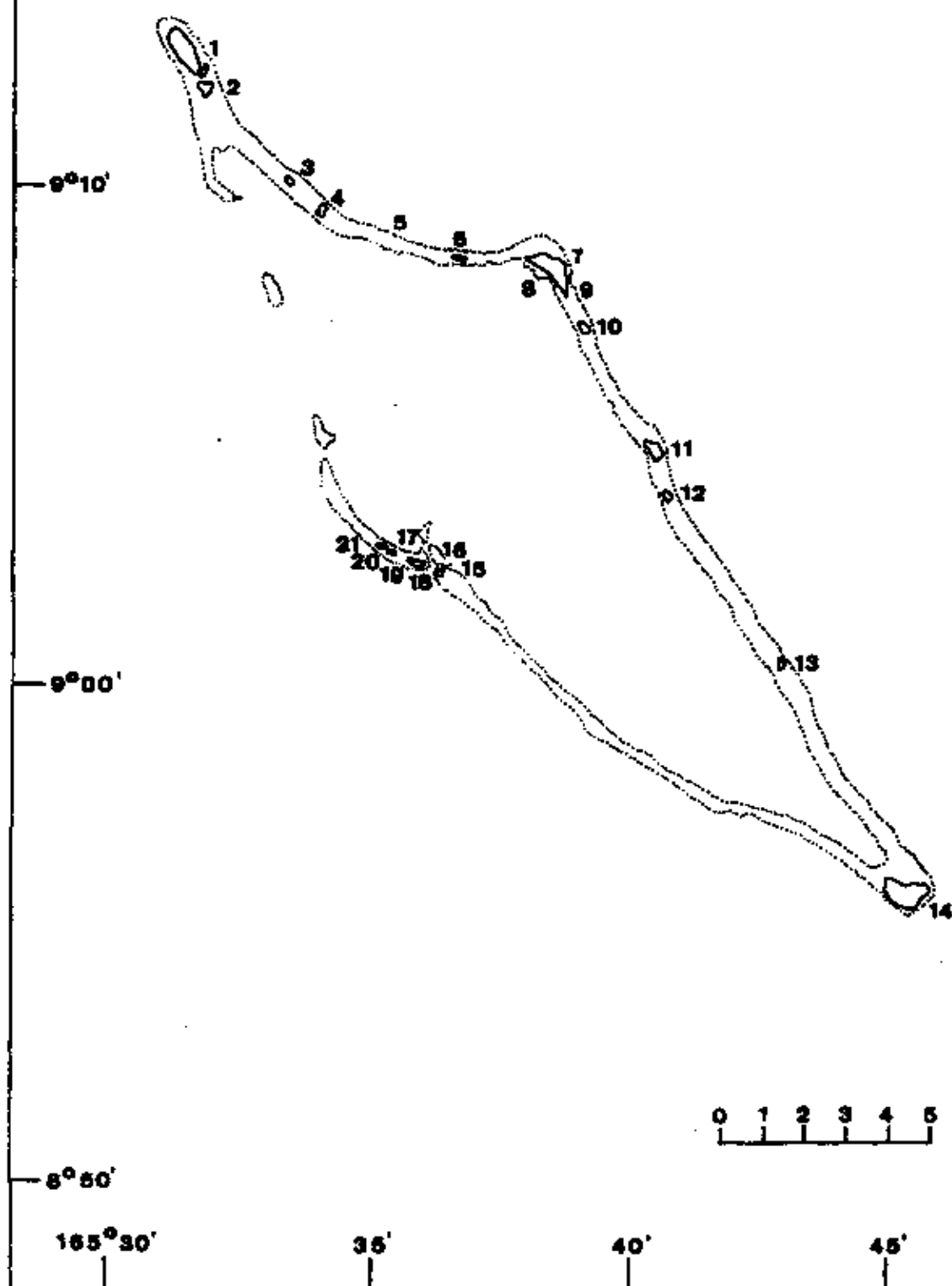
—Historical names: Udjae, Uyae; Catherine (Horsburg); Lydia; Margaret; Serpent (Hammet, 1853).

—Place names: 1 = Enelamwiji; 2 = Bikenkar; 3 = Bok; 4 = Alle; 6 = Bik; 7 = Ebej; 9 = Anuij; 10 = Ruot or Rwuot; 11 = Wotja or Wojjak; 12 = Longbwa; 13 = Naenlap; **14 = Ujae**; 15 = Lokelelkan; 16 = Bok or Bwokw; 17 = Book Channel; 18 = Book; 19 = Latarbon; 20 = Naanmera; 21 = Bwokwankidu; 22 = Todrik Pass; 23 = Tolap Pass; 24 = Tonjure Pass.





Mar. 23
UJAE



Mar24 = LAE ATOLL

—Mid-position: 8°56' N and 166°14' E

—Historical names: Lae, Laie, Rae, Rai.¹

—Place names: The atoll is divided into two parts: Islands 1-7 and 19-21 is referred to as JAPON WORKAN bukwon (or district), whereas Islands 9-18 are called KON FNE bukwon.

—1 = Ribong; 2 = Nabon; 3 = Bigilapij; 4 = Bwe; 5 = Laip or Iach; 6 = Bigenaj; 7 = Lwejap; 8 = Enejalto; 9 = Enemanit; 10 = Eonbij; 11 = Kebinle; 12 = Gibinrii; **14 = Lae**; 15 = Enerein (linked to Lae by sand); 16 = Rarme; 17 = Bokanaetok; 18 = Bokan-kircn; 19 = Blokimairek; 20 = Boklulu; 21 = Lotj; 22 = Lae Pass.

Mar25 = KWAJALEIN ATOLL

—Mid-position: 9°05' N and 167°20' E

—Historical names: Kuadelen, Kwajalin, etc. and other misprints, such as Cohan-nah; Dos Vecinos (Two natives, Arellano, 1565); Lydia (middle); Margaret or Patterson (southern part); Dove (Moore, 1858).²

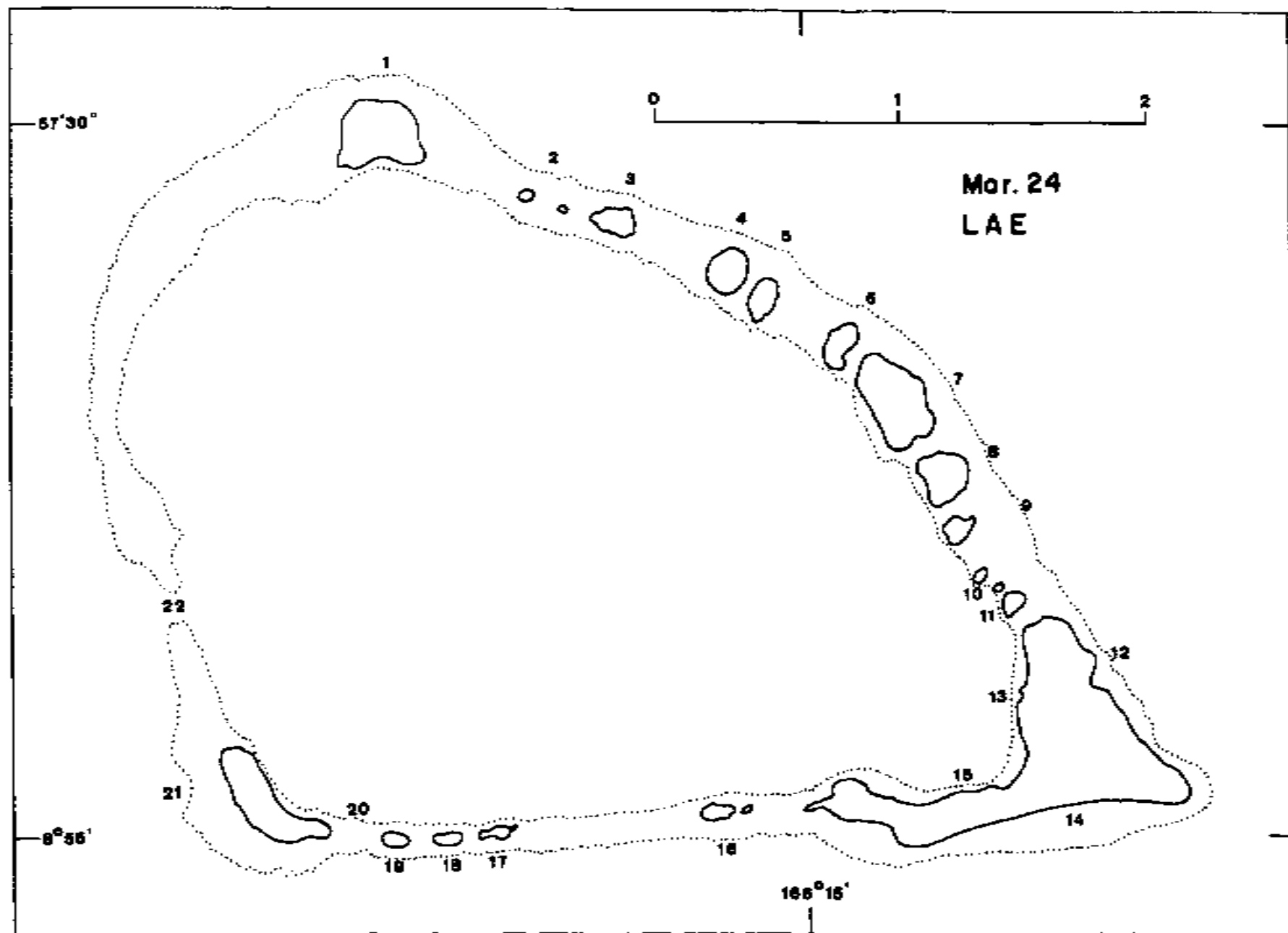
—Place names: The atoll has one district known as AILING JAPPEL = Islands 3-14.

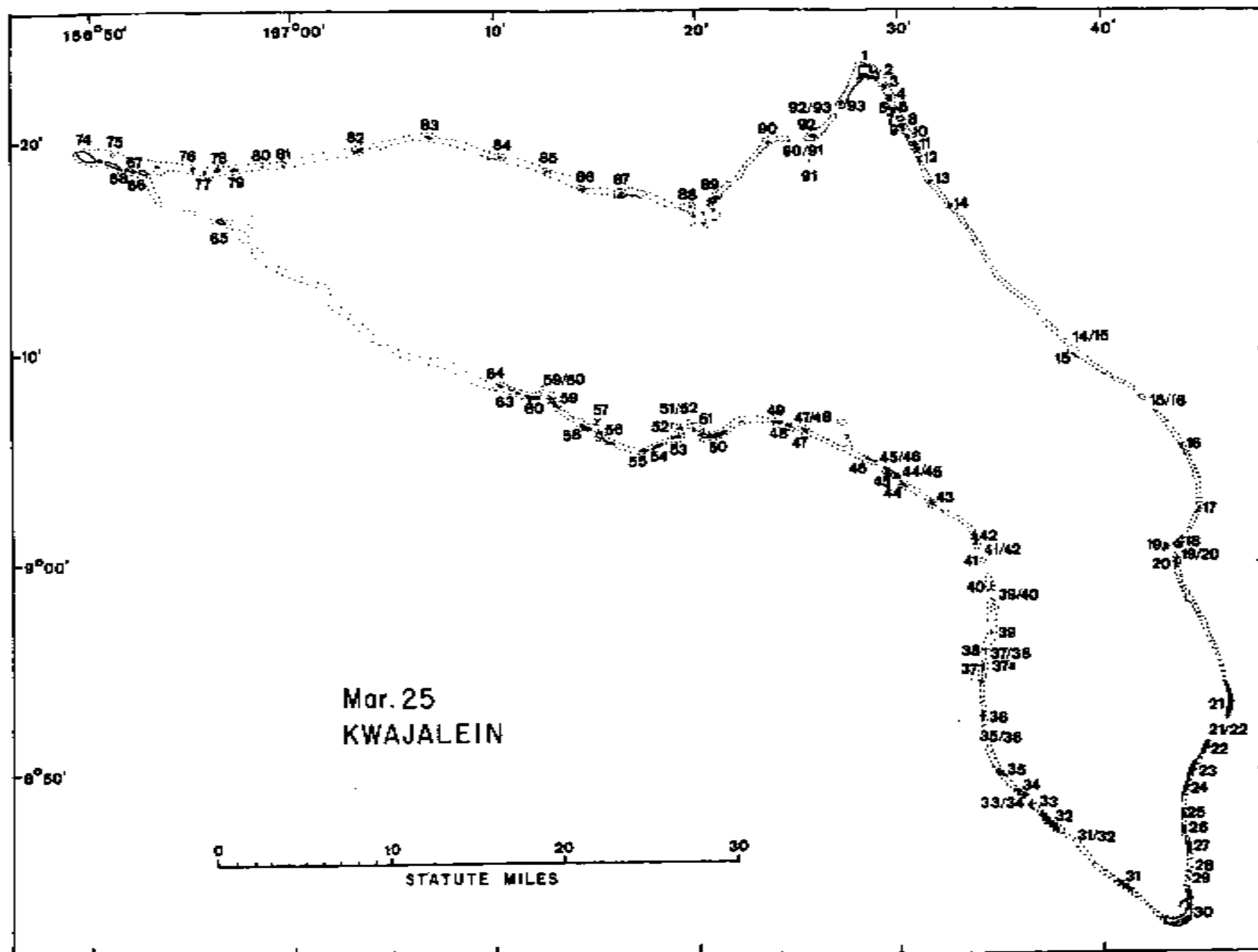
—1-2 = Roi-Namur group (famous for its WWII runway and other military installations); 3 = Enugarret; 3a = Enekoran; 4 = Ennumennet; 5 = Bikonwot; 6 = Anebwir; 7 = Boked; 8 = Bokan; 9 = Obella; 10 = Begeraburap; 11 = Edgigen; 12 = Tubwuj; 13 = Edjell; 14 = Kowakkan; 14/15 = Arnold Pass; 15 = Takamushikan; 16 = Gellinam; 17 = Omelek; 18 = Kwadak; 19 = Eniwetak; 19/20 = Eniwetak Passage; 20 = Meck; 21 = Bigej; 21/22 = Bigej Channel; 22-23 = Ningi and Gugenwe; 24 = Ebioaji; 25-26 = Loi; 27 = Ebeye; 28 = Ebjapik; 29 = Worban; **30 = Kwajalein** (pier, runway, etc.); 31 = Enubuj; 31/32 = South Pass; 32 = Ennylabegan; 33 = Gea; 33/34 = Gea Pass; 34 = Ninni; 35 = Gehh; 36 = Tonle; 36/37 = Chester Pass; 37 = Torrutj; 38 = Mann; 40/41 = South Ambo Channel; 41 = Legan; 41/42 = Ambo Channel; 42 = Eller; 42/43 = Eller Passage; 43 = Ennugenliggelap; 44 = Burle; 45 = Onemak (2 islets); 45/46 = Onemak West Passage; 46 = Illeginni; 47 = Wojejairok (4 islets); 47/48 = Wojejairok Channel; 48 = Ujaji (passage for boats); 49 = Jiee (with sandbanks); 50 = Neil; 51 = Bikennel (in lagoon); 51/52 = Neil Passage;³ 52 = Bukaluom; 52a = Eneruo; 53 = Ennumet; 54 = Jakrou; 55 = Gurur; 56 = Eru; 58 = Kuror; 59 = Bogenatjen; 60 = Ere; 61 = Bokanujfor (3 islets); 62 = Bikonwo; 63 = Lobon; 64 = Jabbenwor (long reef); 64/65 = Tabik Pass; 65 = Tabik; 66 = Mejatto; 67 = Tabata; 68 = Jein; 69 = Bikrik; 70 = Nennar; 71 = Enealo; 72 = Elenak; 73 = Bokan; 74 = Ebadon; 75 = Aojj; 76 = Keko; 77 = Oreba; 78 = Geiga; 79

1 Ed. note: No foreign name, except for Patterson which was wrongly applied to it on some chart, when Kwajalein was meant (see that atoll).

2 Ed. note: I have decided to omit the Japanese names and the U.S. military names as this would make the list too long and confusing. Even the native names have been reduced to a single spelling.

3 Entrance for ships bound for Ailing Jappel.





= Marsugalt; 80 = Bogerlap; 81 = Maj; 82 = Biggerann; 83 = Etonarai; 84 = Morenkul; 85 = Oniotto; 86 = Bigerann (also); 87 = Bigi; 87/88 = ErrobPass; 88 = Bokmaruij; 88/89 = Boggerik Passage; 89 = Boggerik; 90 = Boggerlap; 90/91 = Mellu Pass; 92 = Mellu; 92/93 = North Pass; 93 = Ennuebing.

Mar26 = LIB ISLAND

—Position: 8°21' N and 167°24' E

—Historical names: Lip, Lilleb, etc.; Nadadores (=Swimmers, Arellano, 1565); Princess (Capt. Moore, 1857).

—Place name: None, but there is a taro swamp in its center.

Mar27 = NAMU ATOLL

—Mid-position: 7°48' N and 168°10' E

—Historical names: Nama, Mamwo, etc.; San Mateo (Mendaña, 1568); Margareta; Musquillo (Bond, 1792); Patterson (in error); Lambert Is. (northern part); Ross Is. (southern part).

—Place names:¹ 1 = **Namu**; 2 = Mattamoj; 3 = Narrapu; 4 = Majkin; 5 = Bikon; 6 = Eneanij; 7 = Tepanen; 8 = Kirinen; 9 = Tutu; 10 = Ebunenin; 11 = Bokan Komarej; 12 = Bokaraj; 13 = Anerik; 14 = Roerik; 15 = Roelab; 17 = Enuroi; 18 = Eneroi; 19 = Bokon; 20 = Min-maren; 21 = Aujo; 22 = Tokrik; 23-24 = Toklip, and Bokalilela; 25 = Eneiek; 26 = Kabin-emal; 27 = Emal; 28 = Jeik; 29 = Bokan-wuthuk; 30 = Eo; 30a = Nanij; 31 = Enekoak; 32 = Barik; 33 = Balab; 34 = Enejaij; 35 = Janir; 36 = Neinie; 37 = Enemak; 38 = Nenomw; 39 = Anemwak; 40 = Worjeben; 41 = Enemelab-ea; 42 = Enemelab-rik; 43 = Mae; 44 = Maat; 48 = Lugaren or Rakien; 49 = Irojemman; 50 = Laucn or Leuen (anchorage); 51 = Kukwoj; 52 = Emer or Nemer; 52/53 = Anil Passage; 53 = Anil; 53/54 = Bok Channel; 54 = Bok I.

Mar28 = JABWOT ISLAND

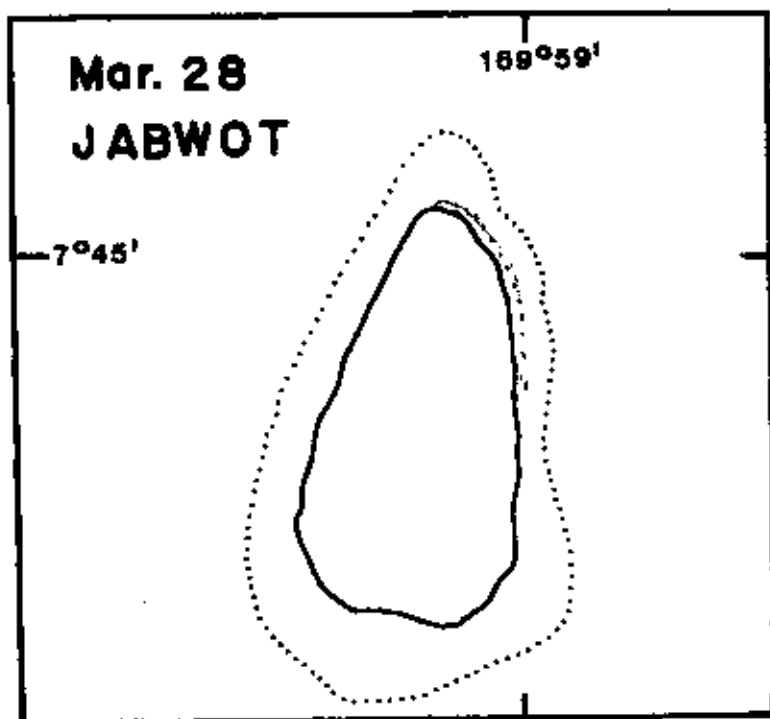
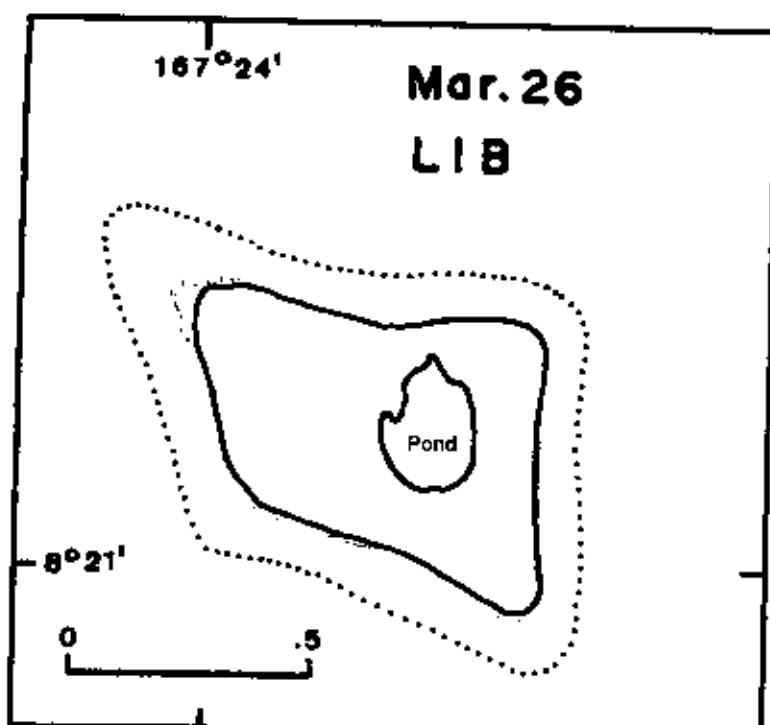
—Position: 7°45' N and 169°59' E

—Historical names: Jcbat, Janetto, Jabbroat, etc.²

—Place names: None.

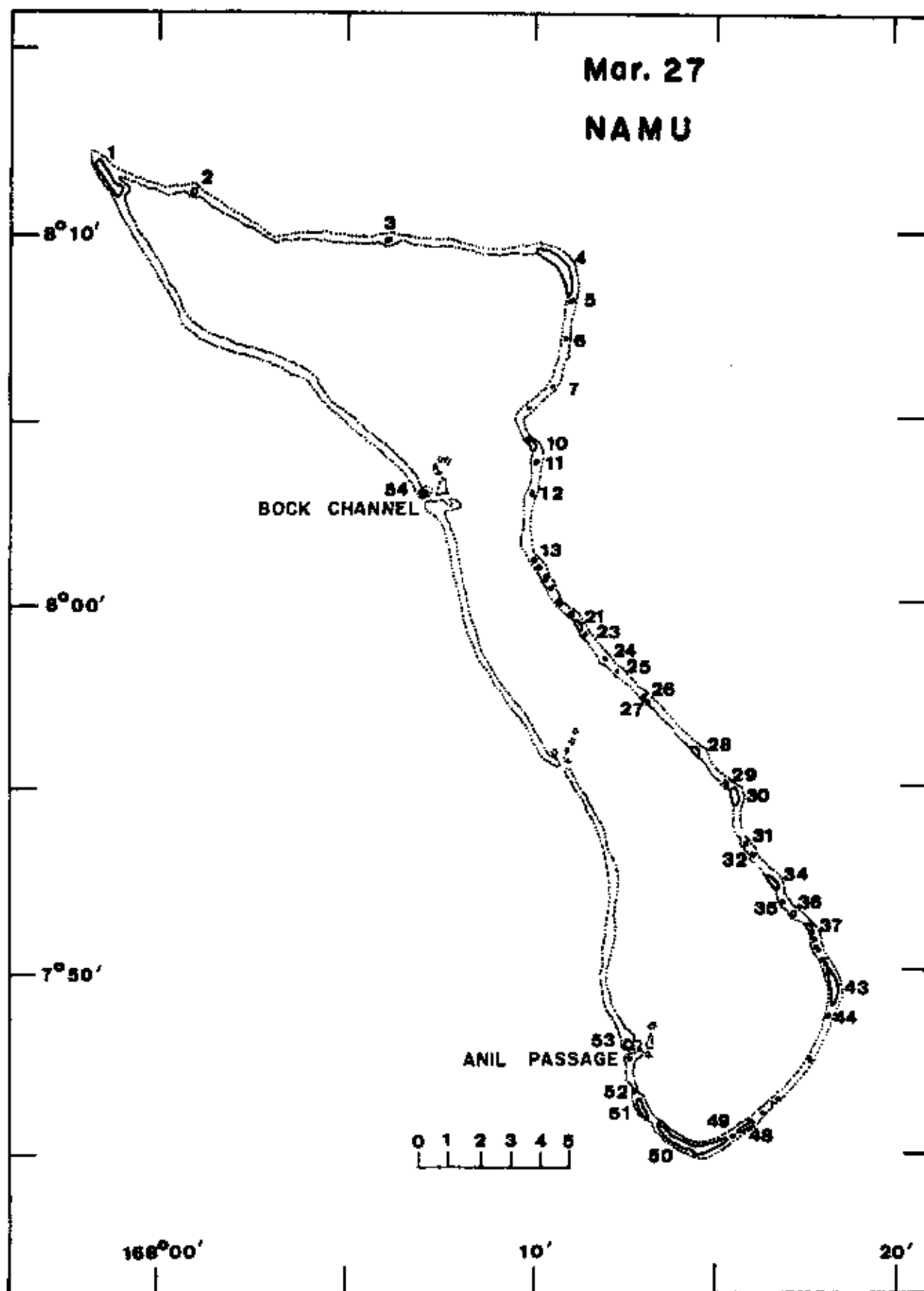
1 Special attention has been given to names collected by the Australian anthropologist Dr. Nancy Pollock.

2 Ed. note: No European names, except in error for other atolls.



Mar. 27

NAMU



Mar29 = AILINGLAPLAP ATOLL

—Mid-position: 7°25' N and 168°45' E

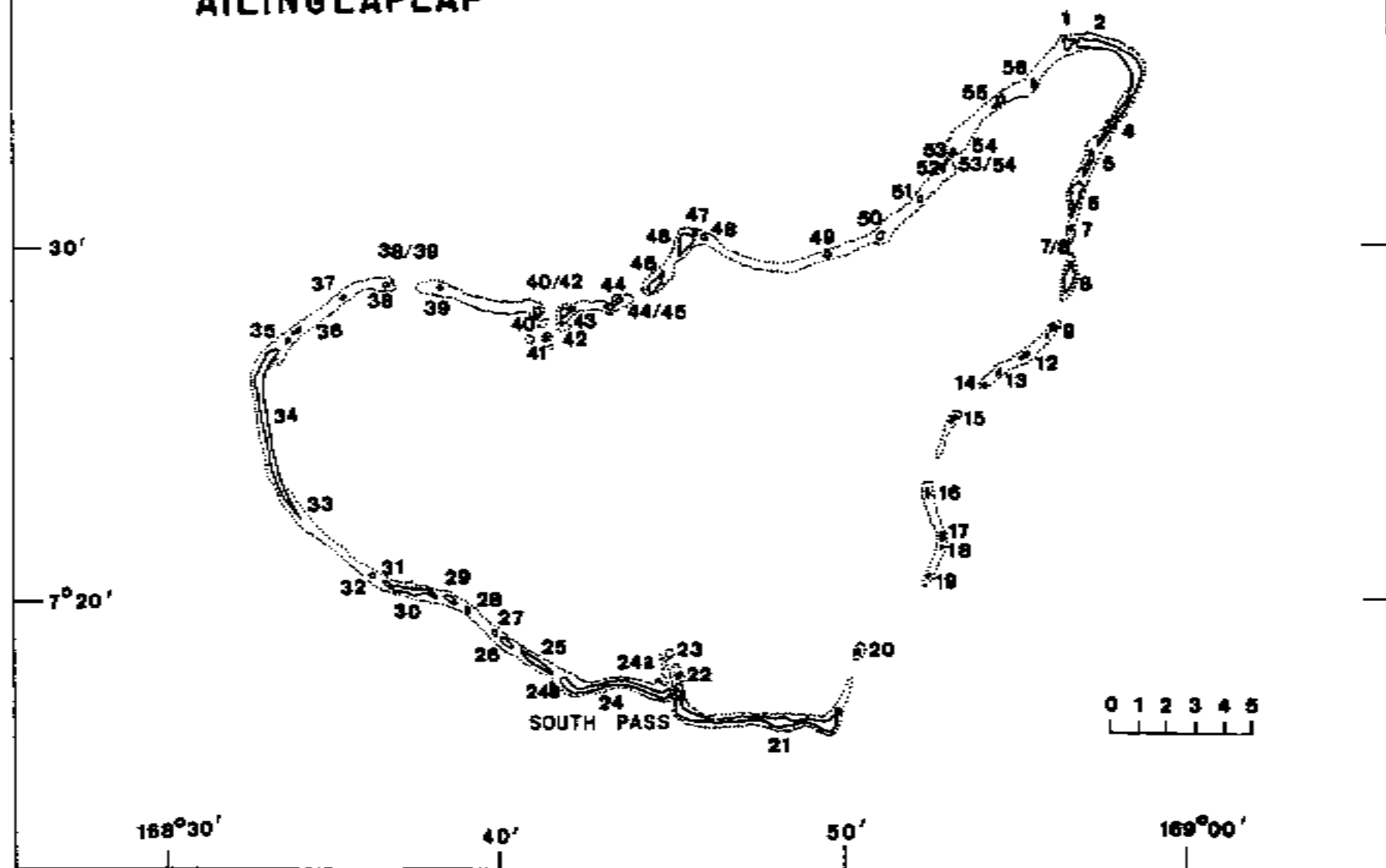
—Historical names: O(t)dia or Kromchenko (Kotzebue);¹ Elmore.

—Place names: 1 = Boklan; 2 = Jin; 3 = Tye or Chien; 4 = Keiluk; 5 = Kiloken; 6 = Mejil; 7 = Bokanbit; 7/8 = Jen Passage; 8 = Jen; 9 = Deudeu; 10 = Dobwoiakan; 12 = Lebuiuigan; 13 = Deoian; 14 = Bokanbit; 15 = Eridj; 15/16 = Rapurapu Passage; 17 = Enggain; 18 = Debu; 19 = Uruwadowan; 20 = Kubar; 20/21 = East Pass; **21 = Ailinglaplap** with parts called Aerik, Japwan, and Enuebing, and trading station; 21/22 = South Pass; 22 = Bokeron; 24 = Bigatjelang and anchorage; 25 = Daroyan; 26 = Niej; 27 = Jebu; 28 = Lebleb; 29 = Leb; 30 = Eniak; 31 = Eneak; 32 = Jenmaun; 34 = Wotja; 35 = Naoru; 36 = Eomo; 37 = Najutak; 38 = Nanjare; 38/39 = Nanjare Passage; 39 = Arejj; 40 = Berang; 40/41 = Berang Passage; 41 = Maraon; 42 = Boken; 43 = Katlej; 44 = Wolar; 44/45 = Mejejok Passage; 45 = Bigetjak; 46 = Biker; 49 = Unütur; 50 = Enok; 51 = Enojok; 52 = Namu; 52/53 = Namu Passage; 53 = Unitaa; 54 = Ngak; 55 = Bwok; 56 = Ramalim.

1 Ed. note: Kotzebue recognized the original native name of Odia which was the same as for Wotje, before this atoll was chosen by the paramount chief for his residence; the name Ailinglaplap means Bigger Ailing.

Mar. 29

AILINGLAPLAP



Mar30 = JALUIT ATOLL

—Mid-position: 600' N and 169°35' E

—Historical names: Djaluit; Bonham (OK); Bougham (error); Coquille (northern half, 1824); Elizabeth (south part, see #71).

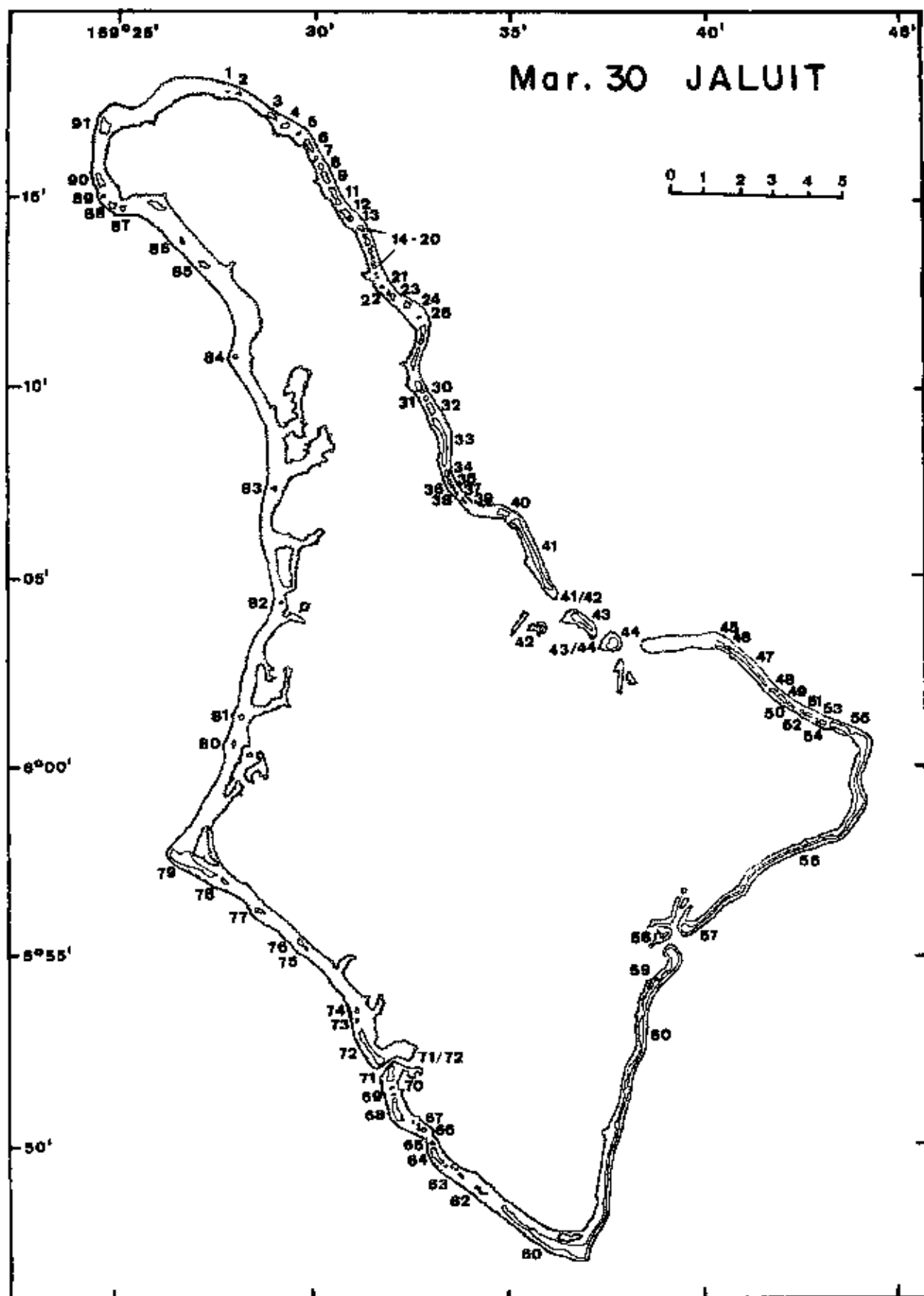
—Place names: 1 = Jidbokbokan; 2 = Bokennakid; 3 = Ren; 4 = Namoren; 5 = Boken; 6 = Urbaj; 7 = Do; 8 = Nircp; 9 = Kijen; 10 = Wotle; 11 = Longne; 12 = Narmidj; 13 = Bokantorak; 14 = Natauj; 15 = Nabbwe; 16 = Nanij; 17 = Non; 17a = Ulejen; 18 = Lieloj; 19 = Enejaion; 20 = Enetoul; 23 = Bekja; 25 = Jiloon; 26 = Labjer; 27 = Kiren; 28 = Jinbal; 29 = Kiikan; 30 = Ertok; 31 = Bokan; 32 = Pikigin; 33 = Medyai; 34 = Jebet; 35 = Jar; 36 = Bikenerjab; 37 = Nankojeje; 38 = Lam; 39 = Jabua; 40 = Boklaplap; 41 = Medyado; 41a = Debwong; 42 = Ribon; 43 = Imrodjj; 43/44 = Northeast Pass; 44 = Kinadyang; 45 = Anbor; 47 = Agidyen; 49 = Rere; 50 = Aniliep; 51 = Enemomu; 542 = Banak; 53 = Eli; 54 = Enibiro; 55 = Tmiet and/or Adman; 56 = Emidj (east point and anchorage); 57 = Enybor; 57/58 = Blind Passage; 57/59 = Southeast Pass (Breakfast Island); 58 = Kabenbok; 59 = 3 islets: Jadkkwil, Jerkwil and Bolto; 60 = Jaluit (anchorage, town, pier etc.); 62 = Eneeldak; 63 = Bokanbel; 65 = Oa; 66 = Anearnej; 67 = Jellong; 67a = Olbwe; 68 = Menge; 69 = Raroo; 71 = Elizabeth Is.; 71/72 = Southwest Pass; 72 = Ai; 73 = Pocolibia; 74 = Namnum; 76 = Arbwa; 77 = Bokaliiman; 79 = Pinglap; 80 = Takaya; 81 = Arlap; 83 = Rua; 84 = Lijeron; 85 = Ngain; 85a = Taruk; 86 = Aenemin; 87 = Kaijen; 88 = Namolar; 89 = Laniren; 90 = Jabnoren; 91 = Bokenaka.

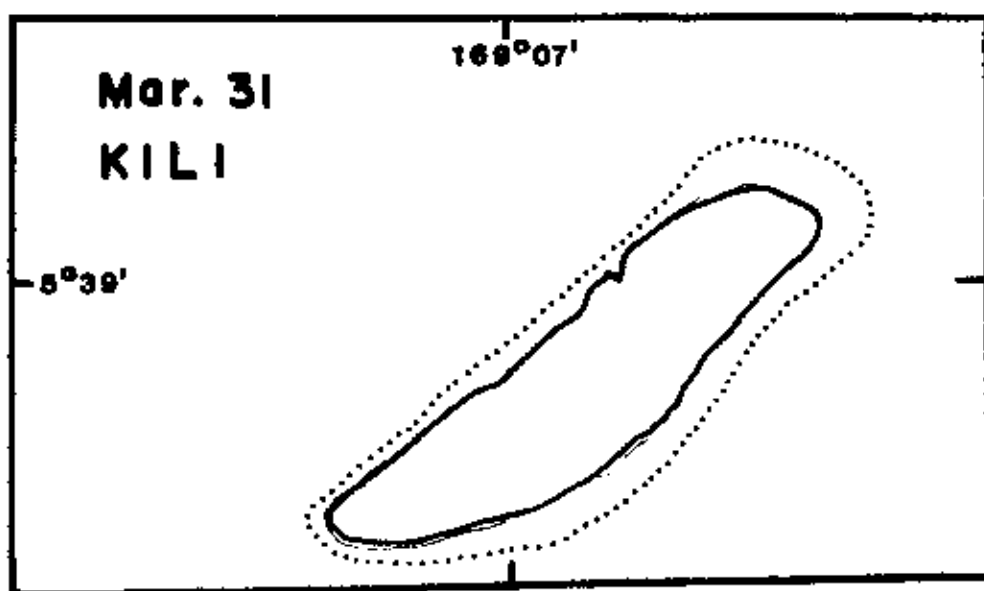
Mar31 = KILI ISLAND

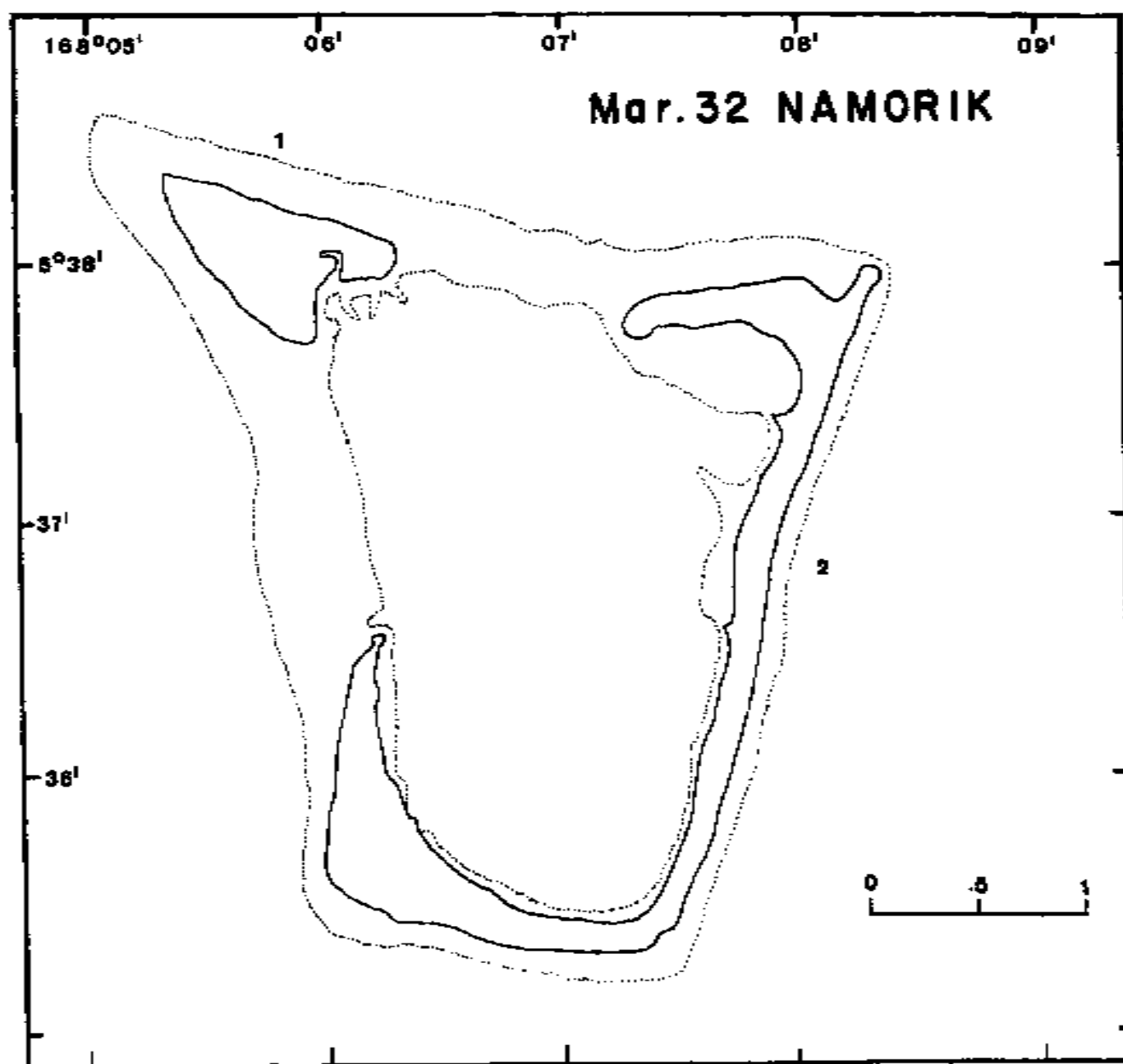
—Position: 5°39' N and 169°07' E

—Historical names: Kile; Hunter.

—Place names: None.







Mar32 = NAMORIK ATOLL

—Historical names: Namrik, Namurik; Baring; Herald (1805).¹

—Place names: 1 = Matanmad or Mwatmwad; 2 = **Namorik** with following points: Ajalto (northern hook), Taij (west side of NW portion), Namrik (southern part), and Elmon (western end of southern part).

Mar33 = EBON ATOLL

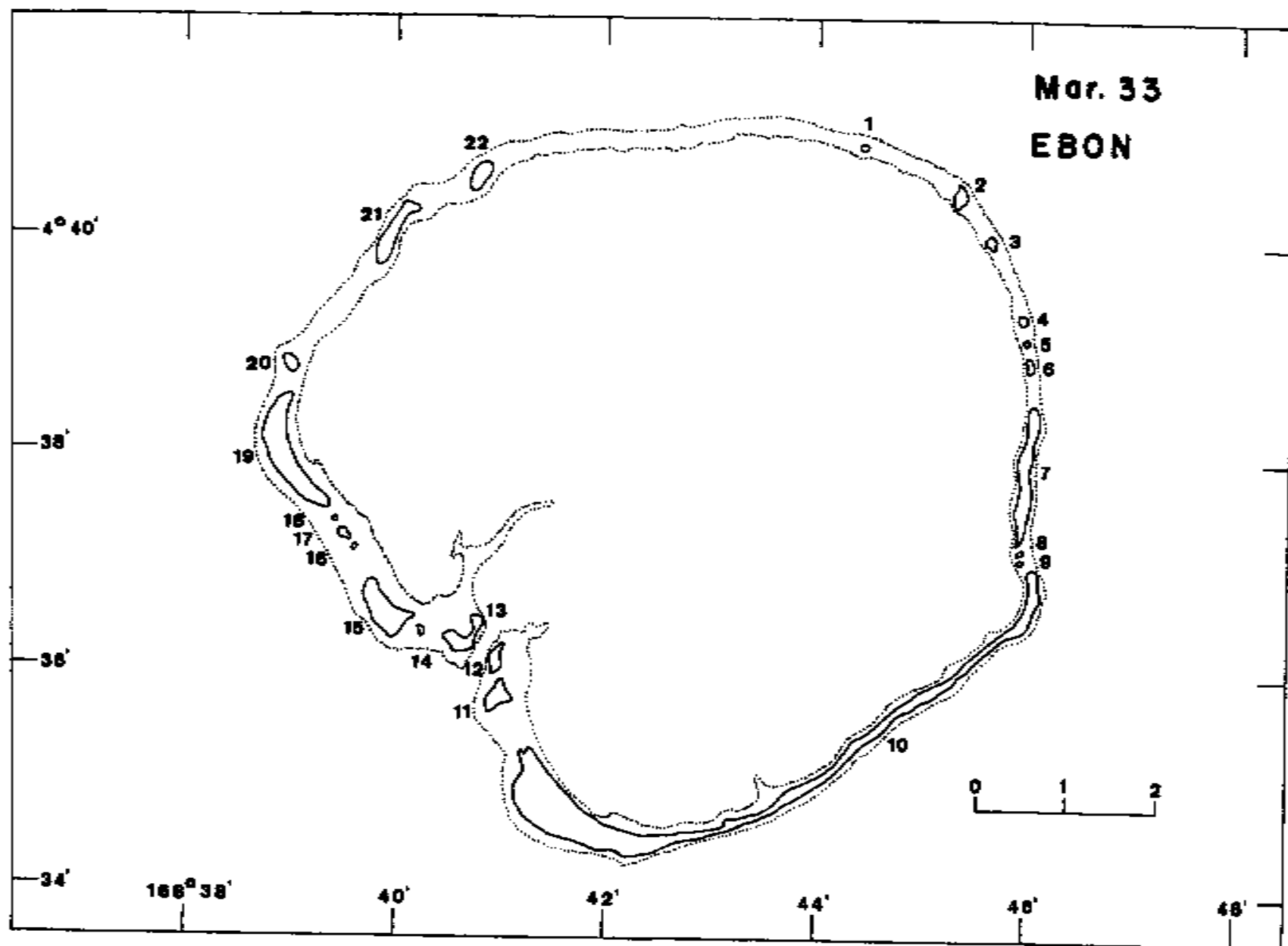
—Mid-position: 4°37' N and 168°42' E

—Historical names: Eboon; Boston (1824); Covell (1834); fourteen Islands; Linnez.

—Place names: 1 = Kurob (sand bank); 2 = Moniak or Miniak; 3 = Roa or Koie; 4 = REMrol; 5 = Enimon; 6 = Kermkumlab; 7 = Enenaitok; 8 = Dlle; 9 = Nakur; **10 = Ebon** with Jittooen (district and village); 11 = Enikaumij; 12 = Jiroij; 12/13 = Ebon Channel; 13 = Meidj; 14 = Leo or Iu; 15 = Enilok (village); 16 = Nanmen or Aneming; 17 = Bwilel; 18 = Bikre; 19 = Toka or Toke (village); 20 = Riri or Didi; 21 = Enekoion or Enikaiori; 22 = Enear or Eneor.

THE END

¹ Ed. note: This Herald name could have been meant for Kili instead. This atoll was discovered by Capt. Bond in 1792 and visited by Ann & Hope in 1794.



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