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Bibliography on Legazpi and Urdaneta

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Bibliography

*A Bibliography on Legazpi and Urdaneta and their Joint Expedition**

ISACIO R. RODRIGUEZ

1

LÓPEZ DE LEGAZPI, Miguel. [Letter to Philip II.] Port of Navidad: 18 November 1564.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar. Segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886) pp. 211/213. Blair-Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898, II* (Cleveland 1903) pp. 102/103 [abstract in English, and translation of some parts].

Begins: "Sacra Cathólica Magestad = En la flota . . ."

Ends: "de V. M. besa". With date and signature.

Stat.: AGI., 58-6-11. Original.

Miguel López de Legazpi reports to the King on his plans and intentions in that port, and that the following morning [19 November actually he left on the 21st of the month] he would depart en route for the western Isles. He lists the men and the ships that compose the expedition: Chief pilot of the *Capitana*, Esteban Rodríguez; Second mate, Pierre Plun [others refer to him as Pierres Plin], Frenchman; Supercargo, Martín de Ibarra, from Bilbao; Boatswain, Francisco de Astigabarribia; Boatswain's mate, Lucas Aragoces; Steward, Pedro de Oliva; Constable in charge of water, Santiago de Garnica. Captain of

* This is a portion of Father Rodríguez' book, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Vol. I: *Bibliografía* (Manila 1965), pp. 68-113. It is translated from the Spanish by the Staff of the Ateneo de Manila University Archives under the direction of Dr. Domingo Abella. (EDITORS' NOTE.)

The Editors acknowledge with gratitude a subsidy from the Asia Foundation to permit publication of this portion of Fr. Rodríguez' book.

the *Almirante* and Master of Camp, Mateo del Saz; Pilots, Jaime Fortún and Diego Martín, from Triana; Supercargo, Juan María; Boatswain, Pedro Juan; Boatswain's mate, Jorge; Steward, Cristóbal Martín; Constable in charge of water, Andrea Veneciano. Captain of the tender *San Juan*, Juan de la Isla; Pilot, Rodrigo de la Isla, brother of the former; Supercargo, Julián Felipe; Boatswain, Nicolás Rodríguez, from Huelva; Steward, Juan Martín, also from Huelva. Captain of the tender *San Lucas*, Alonso de Arellano; Pilot, Lope Martín de Ayamonte; Supercargo, Nicolás Griego; Boatswain, Moreto. Under the command of the Master of Camp, was a company of 100 soldiers, with Andrés de Ibarra as Chief Ensign; First Sergeant, Luís del Haya; Ensign of the company, Pedro de Herrera, and Sergeant, Juan de Morones. Martín de Goiti had under his command 90 soldiers, with Francisco Ramírez as Ensign and a certain Gutiérrez as Sergeant. Royal officials: Treasurer, Guido de Lavezares; Auditor, Andrés de Cauchela; Finance officer of the Royal Treasury, Andrés de Mirandaola, nephew of Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta.¹

The Augustinians were stationed in the following manner: in the vessel *Capitana*, together with Miguel López de Legazpi, Fathers Andrés de Urdaneta, Martín de Rada and Andrés Aguirre; and in the *Almirante*, Fathers Diego de Herrera and Pedro de Gamboa.²

2

URDANETA, Andrés de, OSA. [Letter to His Majesty by Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta already on board, on the eve of departure.] From the port of Navidad 20 November 1564.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar. Segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886) pp. 213/215. Medina J. T., Bibliografía española de las Islas Filipinas (Santiago de Chile 1897) pp. 32/33. Arteche, J. de, Urdaneta, el conquistador de los espacios (Madrid 1943) pp. 152/154. Blair-Robertson, The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, II (Cleveland 1903) pp. 103/104 [abstract with translation of some passages: English].

Begins: "S.C.R.M. Por cumplir lo que V. Mag.d..."

Ends: "y el fin de su gloria". With date and signature.

Stat.: AGI., 58-6-11. Original.

¹ M. Cuevas, S.J., *Monje y marino* (México 1943), p. 202, note 1.

² G. de San Agustín, OSA., *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas*, vol. I (Madrid 1698), p. 63; M. Merino, OSA., *Provincia agustiniana*, in *Arch. Hist. Hisp. Agust.*, LIV (Valladolid 1960), pp. 76/77.

It is not clear why Fr. Pastells should have put 19 November as the date of departure from the port of Navidad: "In the first detailed written report of the voyage and expedition made by His Majesty's fleet, from 19 November 1564, when it left the port of Navidad..."³ The Royal officials also wrote to the Royal Audiencia in Mexico, informing them of their departure from the port of Navidad on 20 November, 1564, and of their arrival in the Philippines on 13 February 1565.⁴ The letter of the officials is dated in Cebu, 28 May 1565. The testimony of Urdaneta, however, is quite clear, besides that of other witnesses present or who came shortly afterwards. According to these the expedition left the port on 21 November 1564. Perhaps the divergent statements of Urdaneta and the Royal officials can be reconciled, inasmuch as the ships set sail at around two or three o'clock in the morning of the 21st.

The letter of Urdaneta is very precise regarding details:

Our departure—he says—God willing, for the West, will be tomorrow. There will be two heavy ships, one, according to the merchants, of more than 500 tons and the other of more than 300 tons and small galleon of about 80 tons and one tender and one frigate... Accompanying this expedition would be around 300 or more men. We have as our General, Miguel López de Legazpi, a native of the province of Guipúzcoa, a man of great determination and sound judgment, with whom the whole Armada is very content... I leave with high hopes that God, Our Lord, and Your Majesty will be served well by this journey through the success of a venture that will result in the increase of your Majesty's possessions...⁵

3

LÓPEZ DE LEGAZPI, Miguel. [Order given on the High Seas as to the route to be followed on the voyage to the Islands of the West.] Gulf of the South Sea: 25 November 1564.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar. Segunda serie II (Madrid 1886) pp. 215/217. Blair-Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898, II (Cleveland 1903) p. 104 [abstract in English].

³ P. Pastells, S.J., *Historia general de Filipinas*, vol. I (Barcelona 1925), p. CCLXII.

⁴ AGI., 1-1-1/23, n. 24.

⁵ J. de Arteche, *Urdaneta, el conquistador de los espacios* (Madrid 1943), pp. 152/153.

Begins: "Yo Miguel López de Legazpi..."

Ends: "es hasta Filipinas". With date and signature "Miguel López de Legazpi—By order of His Lordship — Fernando Enriquez, Chief Clerk — corrected with the original — Fernando Enriquez, Chief Clerk".

Stat.: AGI., Patr.^o 1-2-1/19, n. 4 [together with the information of Juan de la Isla, of 14 November 1570].

The change of route was in accordance with the sealed orders which the Audiencia of Mexico had handed to López de Legazpi, with explicit instructions to open and obey them when they had reached a distance of 100 leagues from their point of departure [port of Navidad]. This event, with its resultant disquiet, among the crew and particularly among the religious, is related in the *Daily Report of the voyage* [cfr. n. 8]:

Saturday 25 November, St. Catherine's day, General Legazpi in the presence of Hernando Riquel, Chief Clerk for administrative matters, produced an order in his possession, signed and sealed by the Royal Audiencia of New Spain, which he was not to open until they were 100 leagues out on the High Seas; and since this commanded that, if the weather was favorable, he was to proceed directly to the Philippine Islands ... he called a conference in the Captain's flagship of the religious, captains, royal officials, Ensign, Sergeant, Chief Constable and of all the pilots of the Armada; and when all were present, he announced to them the instructions contained in the order and that in accordance therewith, the ship's course should be towards the Philippines.⁶

As to the reaction of Urdaneta and the rest of the religious who accompanied him the above-mentioned Report continues:

...this was regretted very much by the religious who accompanied the Armada, who declared that they had been deceived and that if they had known or understood before leaving that this course would be taken, they would not have joined the

⁶ *Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar*, Segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886), pp. 218/219. (Hereinafter referred to as CDU.)

expedition on account of the reasons and arguments set down by Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta in Mexico.⁷

4

VELASCO, Luis de. [Letter to Philip II.] México: 15 June 1564.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar. Segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886) pp. 144/145. Blair-Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898, II (Cleveland 1903) pp. 88/89 [abstract in English].

Begins: "Sacra Cathólica Real Magestad..."

Ends: "enarbolando los Navíos". With date and signature.

Stat.: AGI., 58-3-8. Original.

This deals with the expedition being fitted out for the Philippines, in which six Augustinians were to go. In this *Letter* is also mentioned, with reference to López de Legazpi: "...there could not have been chosen a person more suited and more to the satisfaction of Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, than the one who was to command and direct the voyage". Legazpi ends his account with the assurance that the routes had been thoroughly discussed with Urdaneta and other experts who had experience of this voyage.

5

Notarized declaration that the General, Miguel de López de Legazpi, ordered taken on the discovery of the Holy Infant of Zebu. Island of Cebú: 16 May 1565.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar. Segunda serie, III (Madrid 1887) pp. 277/284. Santa Inés, F., OFM., Crónica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de religiosos descalzos de N.P.S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japón, etc., vol. II (Manila 1892) pp. 585/589. Nuevo Heraldó. Iloilo-Filipinas, 17 de enero de 1909. Arch. Hist. Hisp. Agust., LIV (Valladolid 1960) pp. 80/81 [incomplete]. Pastells, P. S.J. Historia general de Filipinas, vol. I (Barcelona 1925) pp. CCLXXV/CCLXXVII.

Begins: "En la ysla de cubú..."

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

Ends: "mayor de gobernación". With date and signature.

Stat.: AGI., Patr.^o 1-1-1/23, n. 17. Original.

Copies of this document are available: ASNiño. Cebú. [Not yet catalogued]; it is the one reproduced in vol. V of *Arch. Hist. Hisp. Agust.*:⁸ the copy that appeared in vol. XVI of that *Journal*, was in *AVall.*; it is the copy of the notarized declaration which the then Rector of the convent of the Holy Infant of Cebú, Fr. Juan de Albarrán, had ordered; this was portrayed in colors, with allegorical vignettes of flora and fauna. According to Fr. Diez-Aguado there was also a legal copy of this document in the convent of Saint Francis in Manila.⁹ The authors who have reproduced this document have freely adapted both orthography and punctuation.

The notarized declaration relative to the findings of the Holy Infant of Cebú reads as follows:

...moreover, the day the Spaniards entered this island and town of Cubú which was on a Saturday, twenty eight of April of this present year [1565], after having routed the natives of this town, who abandoned it and fled to the interior, in one of the poorest, humblest, smallest and ill-furnished houses, Juan de Camus, a native of Bermeo, and seaman of the *Capitana* found an image of the Child Jesus in a box made of pine; it had a tassled cap of red wood, like those made in Flanders and with hanging petticoat, and the two fingers of the right hand raised as if in the act of blessing, and in the left hand a round ball without cross and his small collar of tin gilt in the neck, which little box and image of the Child Jesus was inserted in another box made of local wood and tied with a cord, and, having found it, he carried it with its box in his hands in order to show it...¹⁰

Having performed the act of solemn adoration the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus was founded, which was to be governed by the statutes of the same society in Mexico. The devotion of Legazpi at this time was deep-rooted and fervent. Various contemporary testimonies alike bear witness to this: "He embarked [Legazpi] entrusting himself to the Most Blessed name of Jesus to whom he was very

⁸ M. Merino, OSA., p. 81, note 37.

⁹ M. Diez-Aguado, *El verdadero pilar de Filipinas*, in *Arch. Hist. Hisp. Agust.*, XVI (El Escorial 1921), p. 134, note 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

much devoted...."¹¹ There is also other definite proof, e.g. the joint letter (dated 15 December 1573) of Miguel López de Legazpi, the Augustinians and the members of the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus, of Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. The *Letter* is signed by "Frater Nicolaus De Agreda, Praepositus, Provincialis; Fray Jerónimo Jiménez, Prior, Frater Alphonsus a Veracruce, Theologiae Magister, Frater Gregorius de Sancto Augustino; Francisco de Olmos; Licenciado Telléz; Luis Martín; Francisco Montaña; Miguel López de Legazpi".

The *Letter* was first published in: *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, XLI (Madrid 1884) pp. 145/148; M. Cuevas, S.J., *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México* (México 1914) pp. 86/88. The work of Fr. Cuevas is subsequent to that of the editors of the *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias*; hence, there is no force in Cueva's contention that this *Letter* was "discovered in the Archivo General de Indias".¹² Subsequently, it was edited by P. G. de Vela, OSA.¹³ Incidentally, Fr. Vela points out the difference in the signatures which appear in the list given by the editors of the *Colección* and that transcribed by Fr. Cuevas. The original is found in AGI., 60-2-16. In 1943, Fr. Cuevas delivered a second version of this interesting document, presenting an accurate list of the signatures.¹⁴

Charles V willingly agreed to the petition presented to him by the Confraternity or Brotherhood of the Name of Jesus of Mexico.

Complementary to the *Letter* is the *Reglamento de la confradía del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, de México*; also found in: AGI., 60-2-16; published in Cuevas, *op. cit.* (Mexico 1943). pp. 359/391, and which is what Legazpi and the Augustinians adopted on the founding of the Confraternity in the city of Cebú. The referred to *Reglamento* ends as follows:

I, Miguel López, Notary Public, and of the Cabildo, attest and truthfully testify that the articles and statutes of this other portion are agreed to by the Prior and community of the House and Monastery of Saint Augustine and confirmed by the Bishop of this city of Mexico, who granted license to the

¹¹ CDU, XVII (Madrid 1871), p. 283; F. Colin and P. Pastells, *Labor evangélica*, vol. I (Barcelona 1900), p. 119, note 2.

¹² Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 359, note 1.

¹³ *Un capítulo de historia agustiniana de Méjico*, in *Arch. Hist. Hisp. Agust.*, XIII (Madrid 1920), pp. 196/197.

¹⁴ Cuevas, *op. cit.* p. 356.

said Confraternity and in witness thereof, I hereby affix my signature.—Miguel López de Legazpi.¹⁵

The *Reglamento* also bears the date 15 December 1537; this is published, in part, in *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, XLI (Madrid 1884) pp. 149/150.

The notarized declaration ordered by López de Legazpi has removed all doubts about the finding of the image of the Holy Infant. But there is still doubt as to its origin, and as to how and when it came to be in the hands of the natives of Cebú. From the very beginning, Legazpi and the Augustinians attempted to ascertain its origin, but got no other information from the natives except that they had had the image for a long time.¹⁶

From the ignorance of the natives as to the provenance of the image, some historians have tended to believe that the natives already possessed it before the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in Cebú. Thus Fr. Medina:

It is thought that upon the defeat of Magellan, the natives found the Child among his spoils; they adored Him and in consequence they were richly rewarded: and they continued paying veneration to the image. But what is more likely is that this Most Holy Infant was ancient to these islands. For as Magellan had died only 40 years earlier one would expect them to have some knowledge of the business, and the fact that they had none, argues strongly in favor of the antiquity of the image.¹⁷

Fr. de la Concepción writes in the same vein:

In one [of the houses of the town] was an image of the Child Jesus in a pine box, tied with a hemp rope; it is presumed that it had remained there upon the tragedy of Magellan, but,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

¹⁶ J. de Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N.P.S. Agustín* (México 1624), f. 43; whose opinion is copied, with the addition of some few details of little importance, by G. San Agustín, O.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas*, vol. I (Madrid 1698), p. 121; E. Rodríguez, *Relación hecha por Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa, Piloto mayor desde viaje de descubrimiento de las yslas del poniente de la vuelta dellas para la nueva España*; in: AGI., Patr.o 1-1-1/23, n. 16, ff. 40/45; E. Salazar, O.S.A., *Veinte discursos sobre el Credo* (Granada 1577), ff. 57/59, as gathered from Fathers Andrés de Urdaneta and Andrés Aguirre.

¹⁷ J. de Medina, O.S.A., *Historia de los sucesos* (Manila 1893), p. 43.

judicial inquiry reveals that they owned this jewel, from which they had received continuous marvels, since time immemorial and they were quite ignorant as to its antiquity and origin; had it been recognized as coming from the fleet of Magellan, not so much time had elapse, as could have erased the memory of the fact. It is a valid conjecture, but its justification can only be sought in the inscrutable designs [of God].¹⁸

From the views of the two mentioned authors, Fr. Lorenzo Pérez, OFM., expressed a more concrete opinion, stating that the image of the Infant of Cebú, from a study of its features and appearance, must have come from China, and its coming to Cebú might have been due to the Franciscan missionaries:

In dealing—says Fr. Lorenzo Pérez—with the Franciscan missionaries in the Far East, we limit ourselves to their beginnings in the 16th century, without including the missions founded in the 13th century by the Franciscans, who, based in the Chinese empire until the middle of the 15th century, spread the gospel in China, Java, Sumatra and probably in Korea, Japan and the Philippines; at least in the Philippines the Spaniards found traces of the spread of Holy Gospel in the images of the Holy Infant found in Cebu in 1565, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, now known by the title of Our Lady of Guidance (*Nuestra Señora de la Guía*), found in the vicinity of Manila on 24 June 1571. Both images bear clear signs of having been sculptured in China, having slanted eyes like the Chinese, which indicate, whatever may be said, that they were not European for during that period, Chinese features were unknown in Europe and so it was not possible that sculptor could have produced them.¹⁹

There was a retort to this by M. Coco, OSA.²⁰ This questions came up once again, in a milder form, in 1937. On the occasion of the XXXIII International Eucharistic Congress in Manila, Fr. Gaudencio Castrillo, OSA.,²¹ collaborated with the work. At the bottom

¹⁸ J. de la Concepción, ORSA., *Historia general de Philipinas*, vol. I (Manila 1788), p. 364.

¹⁹ L. Perez, OFM., in *Arch. Iber. Amer.*, I (1914), pp. 160-161.

²⁰ M. Coco, OSA., *Cuestiones bizantinas*, in *Esp. y Amer.*, a. XII, vol. XLII (Madrid 1915), pp. 341/349; 531/538.

²¹ Gaudencio Castrillo, OSA., "The Augustinians, first apostles of the Philippines", in *Mis. Cat. de Filip.* [XXXIII Congreso Eucarístico Internacional]. Manila 1937.

of the second column on the first page, the editors added the following note: "Although according to well-founded in opinion, some Franciscan missionaries introduced the Gospel in the Philippines during the 14th century, nevertheless, their apostolate in this region was transitory and as a result, the Augustinians are considered to have been the first apostles of the archipelago. [The Editors]." This note was answered by [most probably Fr. Gaudencio Castrillo] in the newspaper *La Vanguardia* of Manila, 25 February 1937, with the article: "Light, More Light". Fr. Castrillo himself wrote another article afterwards "Letter in the form of a critical preface", dated in Shanghai, 28 August 1937, found in MS in the library of the Augustinian fathers in Manila; it consists of 7 typewritten folio leaves; we have not been able to find out if it was ever published.

In fact, the idea was not that of Fr. Lorenzo Pérez. Mr. Romanet had already affirmed in 1896 that it was to the Franciscan missions founded by John de Montecorvino, and more particularly that of Odoric, that the christianization of the Philippines should be attributed. Traces of this first step in christianization were the two venerable images referred to.²² An immediate reply came from Mr. Alfredo Gumma y Martí, of the Geographic Society of Madrid, containing the following conclusions: first, that the name of Luzón [*Dondiin*]²³, which Mr. Romanet in his work *Les voyages en Asie au XIV siècle*, took for original in the work of Bl. Odoric de Pordenone is due to the natives and not to the foreigners; secondly, that for Odoric the so-called islands of *Dondiin*, comprise Ceylon, a part of Sonda, probably Berneo and the Island Hainan, but by no means the Philippine Islands.²⁴ A very faulty exposition on some of these points and on the whole, over all that is said on the geography of the Philippines: Salmon C. *Die heutige Histoire, odor der Gegenwartige staat der Orientalischen Inseln und nahmentlich Ladronischen, Philippinischen und Molukischen*. Alton 1733; a translation from the English.

For the voyages and place visited by Odoric de Pordenone, cfr.: *The Eastern Parts of the World described by Friar Odoric the Bohe-*

²² M. Romanet, *Comptes rendus des séances de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (Paris 1896), pp. 117/118; 173/174.

²³ For the word *Dondiin*, cfr.: M. Buceta and F. Bravo, OSA *Diccionario geográfico*, II (Madrid 1850), p. 24; M. de Ribadeneyra, S.J., *Historia de las islas del archipiélago y reinos de la gran China, Tartaria, Conchinchina, Malaca, Siam, Camboxa y Japón* (Barcelona 1601), pp. 7/12; J. F. de San Antonio, OFM., *Crónicas de la apostólica provincia de religiosos descalzos de N.P.S. Francisco en las Islas Philipinas, China, Japón, etc.*, I (Sampaloc 1738), p. 9; J. de Grijalva, OSA, *op. cit.*, ff. 119/120.

²⁴ A. Gumma y Martí, in: *Bol. Real Soc. Geogr. Madrid*, vol. XXXIX (Madrid 1897), pp. 21/24; *Pol. Esp. en Filip.*, a VII n. 162 (Madrid 1897), pp. 269/270.

mian, of Friuli, in the Province of St. Anthony, translated by Col. [Sir] Henry Yule, in: *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1, Hakluyt Society, 36 (1866) pp. 1/162; 2nd ed. revised by Henry Cordier, Hakluyt Society, NS 33 (1913). There is a previous translation, but taken from a second ms. in: *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and discoveries of the English Nation*, by Richard Hakluyt, Preacher. London 1589. For other editions, cfr.: Teixeira, M., *Early Portuguese and Spanish contacts with Borneo*.²⁵ From an examination of these *Relaciones*, M. Teixeira, a Portuguese secular priest of the Singapore mission, infers that the route taken by Bl. Odoric de Pordenone:

The blessed Odoric of Pordenone travelled east by way of Taurus, through Armenia and Persia to Ormuz, on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf. There he boarded a ship and sailed to Tana; whence he went to Cannonore, Quilon, Ceylon and so to the church of St. Thomas at San Tome [near Meliapur]. Then from an unnamed port in south India, he sailed to Lamore (= Lambri, on the north coast of Sumatra, Borneo and Zampa (= Champa). Finally about A.D. 1342, he reached Ceuscalan (Canton) and later Zayton [= Chuan-chow in Fukien]. From Zayton he went inland thence to Khanbalig, where he remained for three-years before returning to Europe overland, across the northern borders of Tibet.²⁶

However, the strongest contention points to the expedition of Magellan as the source of the image of the Holy Infant. The first one to back this up is Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta:

In a house of this town [Cebú], in a box which the Indians kept for storing their clothes, was found a Child Jesus which was well preserved, of the type of those which come from Flanders. It seemed to us that it had been there from the time they killed some of the captains of Magellan.²⁷

In 1591, upon the petition of the Procurador General of the Augustinians in the Philippines Fr. Antonio Serrano, the Licenciado,

²⁵ M. Teixeira, "Early Portuguese and Spanish contacts with Borneo", in *International Association of Historians of Asia, Second Biennial Conference Proceedings* (Taipei 1962), pp. 485/486, note 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 486/487. See also *Cathay and the Way Thither*, preliminary essay on the intercourse of China and the Western Nations previous to the discovery of sea-route by Col. [Sir] Henry Yule [2nd ed., revised by Henry Cordier, 1], Hakluyt Society, NS 38, 1915.

²⁷ F. de Uncilla, OSA., *Urdaneta y la conquista de Filipinas* (San Sebastián 1907), p. 228, note 1.

Pedro de Rojas, Assessor and Deputy of the Governor of the Philippines, ordered an inquiry of the services which these religious priests had rendered to the country. Several witnesses testified many of the survivors of the expedition of López de Legazpi, or those who came to the Philippines immediately after. These were Captains Pedro de Sarmiento, Juan de Argumedo, Gaspar de Osorio de Moya, Juan Morones, Hernando Muñoz de Payatos, Francisco Pacheco and Juan Villegas y Rúa; Andrés Cauchela, accountant and citizen of Manila; Antonio de Cañedo, Councilor of Manila; Alonso Ligeró, also resident of Manila; Francisco de Ribera, councilor of the town of Arévalo, and Tomé de la Isla, Lieutenant General.²⁸

One of the questions brought out this fact, among other things:

And throughout the voyage, Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta served as chief pilot, through whose industry and guidance, they arrived in these island [Filipina] and they landed in the Island of Cebú, in the town now called the *Ciudad del Nombre de Jesus*, for they found there a statue of the Child Jesus which was left during the time of Magellan in the house of an Indian.

Upon being questioned what they knew on this subject, all the witnesses answered the same way as Captain Pedro Sarmiento the first witness:

...and that they landed in Cebú, and that they found in the house of an indian, a statue of the Child Jesus which was left during the time of Magellan and that for this reason they named this port Ciudad del Nombre de Jesus...²⁹

To their belief, in 1597, besides those previously mentioned, the Mariscal Gabriel de Ribera, Diego Diaz Marmolejo and Francisco de Ribera expressed identical views in the *Información* which at the request of Father Pablo de Trujillo, O.S.A., was ordered by Governor D. Francisco de Tello. With respect to the finds and other things about the Santo Niño of Cebú D. Gabriel de Ribera declared: "That he had heard that it had been there since the arrival of Magellan, which is of public knowledge and well-known."³⁰ Fr. Miguel Garcia Serrano, O.S.A., Archbishop of Manila, is not so categorical in his statement, although he says enough about this matter in his *Carta al Rey*, dated in Manila, the 25th of July 1626:

²⁸ M. Díez-Aguado, *op. cit.*, p. 312/313.

²⁹ *Rev. Agust.* II (Valladolid 1881), pp. 306/307.

³⁰ *Trabajos de los padres agustinos en Filipinas durante la época de la Conquista*, in *Pol. Esp. en Filip.*, a. VII, n. 168 (Madrid 1897, p. 401).

This convent [Cebú] has the Santo Niño de Jesus which was found on the day when the Adelantado, Miguel López de Legazpi, arrived there; it is believed this relic remained here from the time of Magellan and is a very precious relic and God has granted many favours to this city through its intercession.³¹

The doubt put forward by Father de la Concepción [cfr. *supra*] regarding the possession of the image of the Santo Niño from time immemorial, is solved this way by Father Ferrando and Fonseca:

It could not be verified positively how and when the Cebuanos obtained this gift of love [the Santo Niño]; but it is possible that the first Spaniards in the Magellan expedition brought it to this city [Cebu]. There is no force in the opinion of the Indios, who later affirmed their having possessed it since time immemorial; since the 44 years that had passed since then were enough to erase from their memory the time and the circumstances of its acquisition. It could also be that the Cebuanos purposely related these same details so they would not be deprived of a treasure which they appreciated without realizing it.³²

Moreno Donoso went a step further in the investigation, convinced that the image of the Child Jesus was given to the people of Cebú by the chaplain of Magellan.

...then on 28 April [López de Legazpi] founded the city of Cebú, now Ciudad del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, which title was also given to his fleet for having found among the inhabi-

³¹ AGI, 68-1-34; P. Pastells, S.J., *Historia general de Filipinas* vol. IX (Barcelona 1931), p. XCIV. The same opinion is frequent in J. M. de Zuñiga, OSA., W. E. Retana, *Estadismo*, vol. II (Madrid 1893), p. 59; M. de Ribadeneyra, *op. cit.*, p. 9; M. Buceta and F. Bravo, *op. cit.*, p. 84; F. Uncilla, *op. cit.*, p. 229; J. J. Delgado, S.J., *Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del Poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila 1892), p. 189; F. M. Govantes, *Compendio de la historia de Filipinas* (Manila 1877), p. 44; González Fernández and F. Moreno Jerez, *Manual del viajero en Filipinas* (Manila 1875), p. 27; A. Cavada, *Historia geográfica, geológica y estadística de Filipinas II* (Manila 1876), p. 159.

³² J. Ferrando, J. Fonseca, O.P., *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas*, vol. I (Madrid 1870), p. 102.

tants the image of the Child Jesus, an obvious relic from the venerable chaplain of Magellan—which image the inhabitants love so much that they appealed to it for all their necessities; and when there was draught, they would take it with much reverence to the sea where they would bathe it, praying for water, and then later it would rain. It has performed other wonders and is still doing so. It is highly revered in the convent of the Augustinians of that city.³³

Inserted at the end of this work, is an anonymous treatise ((pp. 220/234) which agrees with Moreno Donoso as to the origin of the Santo Niño. Its title is *Teatre eclesiástico de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Manila, Arzobispo de las Islas Filipinas*, in which, one would think, not even intentionally could so many historical errors have been committed, as for example, to fix the arrival of the expedition of López de Legazpi at Cebu on 8 April 1565 [p. 222]; the arrival of the Franciscans in the Philippines in 1526 [p. 225]; the founding of Manila, 18 May 1572 [p. 227] and finally, the attack of Limahong against this city, in 1575 [p. 229].

Scholars have debated on the subjects with more or less intelligence without arriving at a definitive solution in their arguments. There was, however, a *Relación* of Magellan's expedition, written by Pigafetta apparently not so well known, and which later settled all disagreements. We have seen only one of the older historians who has cited it in this connection, namely, Fr. Juan Delgado, S.J., who writes:

The miraculous image of the Santo Niño de Jesús, was found on the day that Cebu was taken. It had been given by Pigafetta to the queen of Cebu during the Magellan expedition.³⁴

Pigafetta writes:

The King [of Cebu] having promised the general [Magellan] that he would embrace the Christian religion, the date for the ceremony was fixed at Sunday, 14 April. For this ceremony, a raised platform was built, covered with tapestry and branches of palm trees in the place which he had assigned, about 40 of us landed with the royal flag carried by two fully armed men. A gun salute announced our landing. The King

³³ F. Moreno Donoso, *Historia de la santa iglesia metropolitana en Filipina* (Manila 1877), p. 225.

³⁴ Delgado, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

and the General embraced each other and went up the platform where two chairs covered with the blue velvet were placed for them. The important people of the island sat on cushions and the others on mats. In the middle of the plaza was erected a big cross, and [Magellan], showing it to all those who had previously expressed a wish to be Christians, said it was imperative that they destroy their idols and replace them with a cross like the one raised, and adore it daily, in the morning and at noon, and he taught them how to make the sign of the cross, adding that these acts should be supported by good deeds. The Captain General who was dressed in white, explained that this color was a symbol of love which he felt for them; those who heard these words were visibly touched; but they did not know what to reply. Then taking the King by the hand, he conducted him to the platform where he was baptized, together with those who accompanied him. The sovereign, who up to then was called Raja Humabón received the name of D. Carlos, the Emperor's name; to the prince was given the name Fernando; to the King of Massan [Limasawa] the name Juan; on of the Chiefs was called Fernando, and so on. 500 other people of the island received the holy sacrament. Following this a mass was said, after which the captain invited the King and some of the chiefs to eat with him. The latter excused themselves, but they accompanied us to the beach and asked permission to go home. After the retinue had gone aboard, a general gun salute was fired. After the chaplain and most of us had finished eating, we went ashore to baptize the queen; when we arrived, she was on the platform, seated on a cushion, and around her, seated on mats, were many women . . . While the priest was preparing for the ceremony, I showed her an image of our Lord, a small sculpture representing the Child Jesus [Niño Jesús] and a cross; at seeing these, she experienced a feeling of contrition and weeping she asked for baptism. . . She was administered the sacrament together with the women of her retinue. She received the name of Juana, name of the Emperor's mother; the prince's wife was given the name of Catalina; the queen of Massan [Limasawa] that of Isabel, and to the others different names were given. On that day 800 persons, men, wom-

en and children were baptized. The queen asked me for the Niño [Child] to replace her idols and I gave it to her.³⁵

The image of the Santo Niño of Cebu, therefore, which was found by the companions of López de Legazpi, did not get there before nor after the arrival of Magellan to that city, but was a gift of Pigafetta, one of the members of the Spanish expedition, to the queen of Cebu on her baptism by the chaplain of the Armada D. Pedro de Valderama.

About the decisive influence of the Santo Niño of Cebu on the conversion of the Philippines, we cannot be dogmatic, but neither can that influence be completely discounted especially when we face the historic psychological reality of the event and consider what it meant for the first missionaries of the island:

It was a symbol of all the enchantments, beauty and splendor which are distributed in the world; a symbol of the tenderness of God's love for man. The venerable image of Niño Jesús found by the first missionaries of the Legazpi expedition in the Bisayan capital dates back from the first moments of the incorporation of these islands to the Crown of Castille, and was the corner stone of the great social structure created by the Christian spirit in these regions. There, in the presence of the Divine Child the foundations of Philippine nationality were laid and there, for the first time, the feelings and affection of the Spaniards and the natives were fused into one, directed as a prayer to a common Father who is in heaven in order to attract to these lands blessings from above; there began to shine for the Filipinos the day of their religious redemption, beginning and fount of their political redemption. There with the baptism of Isabel and her households, we inaugurated the series of successes which were to obtain grace for thousands and thousands of hearts who were ignorant of the wealth of God's love; there, by means of the sacrament of marriage between Isabel and one of the members of the expedition, race prejudice were overcome, differences

³⁵ A. de Pigafetta, *Primer viaje alrededor del mundo*. A direct translation of the Italian edition of Mr. Carlos Amoretti and annotated by Manuel Wals y Merino (Madrid 1889), pp. 46/47; Another more popular Spanish edition of the work of Pigafetta is the *Primer viaje en torno del globo*. Colección Austral. (Buenos Aires 1946); the above quotation is at pp. 98/100. For more information [cfr.] Díez-Aguado, *op. cit.*, pp. 309/318, which we used for this historical synthesis.

between blood and races were eliminated and the Filipino woman ceased to be the slave of the man, and became his companion; finally, under the protection of the Sacred Name of Jesus [Santísimo Nombre de Jesús], the first Christian city in this archipelago was founded, the first temple, to the God of truth and love established, and the first school of civilization and progress was opened for the inhabitants of the islands, who then moving forward in the light and splendor of the principles of the faith can today proudly show to foreign nations the stamp of a moral culture, superior to that of all the neighboring religions.³⁶

A problem closely linked to the finding of the Santo Niño is one which has long been discussed, namely, who were the first evangelists of the Philippines. Moreno Donoso affirms without doubt that it was Pedro de Balderrama:

The first rays of the Faith in that Island [of Cebu] was spread by a venerable priest, the chaplain of Magellan, and so this metropolitan church owes its first light to a priest, a true son of the foundation-stone of the universal church, St. Peter, and, like him, the first to open the people's eyes to their blind infidelity of so many years, the first to lay the foundations of the church by his preaching, the chief corner stone on this region, leaving, as an earnest of the future conquest of these uncivilized islanders, a figure of Niño Jesús [Child Jesus], reliable proof that the religious who came after many years were not the first, for there they found the proof which they mention.³⁷

Other historians wrote of various priests who arrived in Cebu with Magellan. Thus F. del Pan³⁸ mentions seven priests without giving their names, or any evidence for his statement. Father Pastells³⁹ reduced the number to four, he gives their names as, Pedro de Valderama, Bernardo Calmet, Pedro Sánchez de Reina and the Licenciado Morales. These names are also repeated in *Historia general de Filipinas*, vol. I (Barcelona 1925) pp. LXVI/LXVII. But Father Pastells, in relating the important events of that expedition, recounts that Juan

³⁶ Díez-Aguado, *op. cit.*, XVI, p. 5/6.

³⁷ Moreno Donoso, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

³⁸ F. del Pan, in *Rev. de Filip.* I (Manila 1876), p. 553.

³⁹ P. Pastells, S.J., "Magallanes", in *Pol. Esp. en Filip.*, VII, n. 173 (Madrid 1897), pp. 495/496.

de Cartagena and Pedro Sánchez de Reina were punished by Magellan in 11 August 1520 before leaving the port of San Julián and were left behind "with a bag of biscuits and a bottle of wine each."⁴⁰ Bernardo Calmet, a Frenchman, and possibly also the Licenciado Morales, returned to Spain from the Straits of Magellan (as they were later called) which they reached on 8 May 1521 in the ship *San Antonio*.⁴¹ What we can definitely assert is that only Pedro de Valderrama reached the Philippines. We say this because he alone appears in Pigafetta's *Relación*; in the lists of those who perished in Cebu on 27 April 1521, and 1 May 1521,⁴² or among the thirteen imprisoned by the Portuguese in the Island of Santiago del Cabo Verde,⁴³ or those who arrived in Spain and presented themselves to the Emperor in Valladolid.⁴⁴ The names of the other two priests do not appear except that of Balderrama, which is mentioned in the first line in the list of those who died on 1 May 1521. Our statement can be proven with almost complete certainty by what is said in *La Colección general de documentales relativas a las Islas Filipinas, existentes en el Archivo de Sevilla*, vol. II (Barcelona, 1919), pp. 332/335.

We believe, therefore, that the assertion of Father Manuel Ares, O.S.A., is unlikely and too categorical when he says:

These four [the Augustinians of the Villalobos expedition] were the first religious who circumnavigated the world, but not the first priests, for in the expedition of Magellan there were two priests—Pedro de Balderrama and Bernardo Calmeto de Latoyra—and in this same expedition were three other priests, two of whom returned to Europe — Juan Delgado and Martín de Lasso — the other three staying in the Orient.⁴⁵

Excepting Moreno Donoso and certain historians of lesser importance, nobody has considered Pedro de Balderrama's work as one of evangelization. Magellan and his chaplain had arrived at Cebu on 7 April 1521; on the 27th of the same month, the first was murdered, and four days later [1 May], the later suffered the same fate. This very brief period was spent rather in political maneuvering and on trying to avoid skirmishes than in preaching the gospel. Pedro de Balderrama did not know the language, and in Pigafetta's *Relación* nothing

⁴⁰ Pastells, *op. cit.*, I (Barcelona 1925), p. LXXII.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. LXXV/LXXVI.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. LXXXIII/LXXXIV.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. LXXXVIII.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. LXXXIX.

⁴⁵ M. Ares, O.S.A., "Las misiones agustinianas en China," in *Arch. Hist. Hisp. Agust.*, LI (Madrid 1957), p. 152, note 2.

is mentioned about religious teaching. For this reason, the baptism of the King and Queen of Cebú, of the chiefs and townspeople, could never be considered as the beginning of the evangelization of the Philippines. To preach, to evangelize, is not the same as to administer baptism hastily, nor can one in this case have valid and easy recourse to the traditional testimony of the charisms of the primitive Church. For this reason, some early historians of the Islands have doubted the reality of these baptisms: "[Magellan], moved by less enlightened zeal, persuaded the chief to be baptized that same morning, before hearing mass. In effect, the King with 500 indians were baptized, and in the afternoon the queen, her sons and 800 persons more."⁴⁶ The traditional belief drawn from Pigafetta as an ocular witness, was that about 800 persons were baptized. Father Pastell's confirmation might have been from the reading of MS. 5.650.⁴⁷

However, historians continue to discuss whether the first evangelization of the Philippines is due to St. Francis Xavier or to the four Augustinians, who formed part of the expedition of Ruy López de Villalobos. Retana raised the problem for the first time in the long *Prólogo* of the edition which, together with F. Pablo Pastells, S.J., was written for the work of F. Francisco Combés, S.J.⁴⁸ Prof. Blumentritt wrote on this *Prólogo* of Retana:

The commentary is especially valuable in giving information on the history of those islands, derived from unprinted sources. The preface contains Combés' biography, the history of Mindanao, and ethnographical, linguistic, and bibliographical notices. As Retana is an excellent bibliographer, he is at his best here, while in history his point of view is very partisan.⁴⁹

Retana offers as his only proof in favor of the apostolate of Saint Francis Xavier in Mindanao the text of the papal bull of canonization:

ipse primus. . . Mindanais. . . Evangelium Christi nuntiaverat; [and Retana comments]: a text which ecclesiastics will know how to appreciate in all its value, since they understand that

⁴⁶ G. de San Agustín, OSA., *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas*, Vol. I (Madrid 1698), pp. 14/15; Pastells, *op. cit.*, p. LXXXII. In the same way, this was previously stated by Colin-Pastells, *Labor evangelica*, vol. II (Barcelona 1900), p. 586.

⁴⁷ Blair-Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. XXIII (Cleveland 1905), pp. 159; 336. Hereinafter referred to as BR.

⁴⁸ F. Francisco Combés, S.J., *Historia de Mindanao y Joló* (Madrid 1897).

⁴⁹ A. P. C. Griffin, *List of books* (Washington 1903), pp. 130; 135.

before it [the papal bull] is written, it would be fully subjected to the test of contrary opinions.⁵⁰

Father Vela proves Retana's lack of consistency on this occasion and criticizes him by using his own words, for a little later Retana said that the first claims of evangelization in Mindanao belonged to a Portuguese gentleman, D. Francisco de Castro "a secular—of all people", who from the data supplied by Retana himself would have preceded Saint Francis by some eight years.⁵¹

To the arguments of Father Vela specifically, we wish to add another which has psychological importance. In 1894, Retana, in one article vehemently wrote against an outstanding Hispanic-Philippine man of letters as can be deduced from the bare text of the dedication.⁵² Here *Desengaños* [Retana] strongly criticized Sr. Gutiérrez and "strengthened" the thesis of Father Miguel Coco, O.S.A., when the latter denied certain assertions of Father Juan de Medina, O.S.A., *Historia de los sucesos de la Orden de N.P. San Agustín* (Manila 1893). At this time, Retana wrote:

as for the theory that the Augustinians were not the first evangelists in the Philippines but were preceded by a priest who reached the Visayas with Magellan, and also because St. Francis Xavier, the most precious ornament of the Society of Jesus had been in Mindanao before Legazpi... note first; that if the priest who arrived with Magellan baptized a few natives, such baptisms meant nothing in the end, for the special reason that the baptized have gone back to their old state of uncivilized paganisms. Secondly, according to the earliest biographers of Saint Francis, those who agreed that he went to Mindanao say it was by chance, for the ship was driven there by a storm. After the ship was repaired, he lacked the time to go to foreign places where his apostolic zeal, consciously or unconsciously, would have taken him. He would have made converts, yes, but mention is not made in any history, including those written by the Jesuits, that these con-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 74/76.

⁵¹ B. de Vela, O.S.A., *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, VII (El Escorial 1925), pp. 410/411; Father Merino goes further in his assertions, and in their corresponding proofs: M. Merino, O.S.A., *Provincia agustiniana*, in *Arch. Hist. Hisp. Agust.*, LIX (Valladolid 1960), p. 75.

⁵² *Cartas al Exmo. Ilmo y, si lo desea, archieminentísimo señor D. Jose Gutiérrez de la Vega*, in *Pol. Esp. en Filip.*, a IV, n. 84 (Madrid 1894), p. 120.

versions were positive contributions to the great work of Christianity, since at the beginning of the colonization of Mindanao there was not even one Christian native. You very well know, Sr. Gutiérrez, that when an important historical fact is misrepresented, falsified or distorted, it is the duty of the writer to clarify as much as possible the point at issue and so you should not wonder that I have strengthened the arguments of Father Coco.⁵³

The radical change in Retana within the short space of three years is striking. And here is the *psychological reason*. But in order not to hurt Retana's feelings, and rather than judge his ungenerous attitude in this matter we prefer to quote Jesuit opinions. Father Colín writes:

The Philippines having been discovered in 1521 by way of the Occident and her conquest begun in the '64's [65] by the Adelantado Miguel López de Legazpi, and the city of Manila founded in '71 as capital, and seat of government of the Islands, the light and splendor of the gospel also began to spread from her [Manila] to the other places, and provinces of the Archipelago, through the fervor and zeal of the religious of St. Agustin, who were the first to arrive by way of New Spain to these parts in the Company of Ruy López de Villalobos in 1542, and with Miguel López de Legazpi in the said year of '64 [65].⁵⁴

Father Pastells in an extensive note to Father Colín, tried to disprove the latter's reasoning, looking for proofs and arguments which up to now are not convincing.⁵⁵ Father Pio Pí, another Jesuit, analyzing with impartiality the proofs of Father Pastells says that the conclusion of the latter is debatable: "[His view] is not impossible; but I think it more reasonable to deny it."⁵⁶ For the negative side also, is Father Astrain when he says:

It is probable that Saint Francis landed in Manila and was the first apostle of the Philippines... Until now, however, I

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵⁴ Colín-Pastells, *Labor evangélica*, vol. I (Barcelona 1925), p. 260.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 253/256.

⁵⁶ Pio Pí, S.J., *Disertación sobre la venida de San Francisco Javier a Filipinas* (Manila 1910), pp. 27/28.

have not seen any conclusive proof which shows that Xavier was the first apostle of the Philippines.⁵⁷

That both Pastells and Retana, were not convinced of their affirmations is shown by the uncertainty and mixed state of their opinions, although they would not abandon the premise of their discussion: the first evangelization of Mindanao by St. Francis Xavier. Retana in concluding his dissertation, writes finally:

In recapitulation, therefore, what has been written sums up to this: that the first Catholic priest who reached Mindanao was the chaplain of Magellan; that the first religious missionaries who went there (without deciding definitely whether or not they exercised their apostolate) were the four Augustinian priests mentioned before (together with four secular priests), and lastly, that the first religious who is positively known to have exercised the apostolate there was St. Francis Xavier, distinguished member of the Society of Jesus.⁵⁸

Finally Father Vela concludes his study drily with these words:

That Retana and the Jesuits would not have written so much in favor of the apostolate of St. Francis, if they had but one argument as conclusive as the Augustinians have in defending the primacy of the fathers previously cited.⁵⁹

Even before Father Vela, D. Alfredo Gummá y Martí had defended the same belief, affirming that the evangelization of the Philippines goes back to the settlement of the Spaniards here with the Augustinians as their first missionaries, and that neither Odoric de Pordenone, nor any other Christian was in the Islands previous to the Spaniards.⁶⁰

In 1597, question number 15 in the *Información* which we have previously mentioned asks who were the first evangelists in the Philippines.

⁵⁷ A. Astrain, S.J., in *RyF.*, LXII (Madrid 1922), pp. 209/210; lately this opinion was reproduced by Pastells, *op. cit.*, pp. CCIX/CCXII.

⁵⁸ P. Pastells, S.J., W. E. Retana, *op. cit.* (Madrid 1897), cols. XCVIII/XCIX.

⁵⁹ G. de S. Vela, O.S.A., *op. cit.*, p. 413.

⁶⁰ A. Gummá y Martí; M. Romanet Du Gaillud, *El archipiélago Dondiin, el nombre de Luzón, y los orígenes del cristianismo en Filipinas*, in *Bol. Real Soc. Georg. de Madrid*, XXXIX (1897), pp. 21/46; the same in *Pol. Esp. en Filip.*, a VII, n. I (Madrid 1897), pp. 169/271, 287/290, 305, 309; ID., *Le Dondiin et les Philippines. Lettres a M. le président, de la "Société géographique de Paris"* (Barcelona: Massó, Casas and Elias, 1897), 122 pp.

And the witness does nothing but express the common feeling of the people in the Philippines:

to the 15th question he said that all he knows is that from the time that he was in the Islands he heard from old soldiers that long before he was there which was since its discovery, there were religious of the Order of St. Augustin who worked regularly and on all occasions and enterprises offered themselves with much diligence and charity, attending to everything that was necessary as in the case of Fray de Peñalosa and Father Juan Gallego, and in the province of Pangasinan, of Father Diego de Roxas and in Zambales, of Father Mateo Peralta.⁶¹

This was the conviction of the religious of the different orders who did missionary work in the Archipelago. Father Pastells writes:

Fray Salvador de Contreras, O.P., in the name of the religious of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine, the Society of Jesus and Augustinian Recollects in the Philippines presented to his Majesty a memorial in defense of their right to enjoy the privileges which they had been granted by the Popes [with respect to religious exemptions]. In it, the said Orders explained that the Philippines having been discovered in 1521, and its material conquest begun in 1565, the Religious started the spiritual conquest in the same year. First came the Augustinians followed by the Franciscans in 1578, the Jesuits in 1580 [1581] and in 1587 the Dominicans.⁶²

We conclude this long study with the testimony of Father Andrés de Urdaneta, who told Philip II in his letter of 20 November 1564: "The religious of our Father St. Augustine were the first to have taken up this work and they labor zealously to serve God and your Majesty" [cfr. n. 2.]. With the discovery of the return route [cfr. n. 9] it can be said that the evangelization of the Philippines became a reality so that it should not only be considered as begun, but as already established. This opinion is joyfully expressed in the first *Relación impresa* which deals with the Legazpi-Urdaneta expedition:

And those in Mexico are very proud of their discovery, for they understand that they will be the center of the world...

⁶¹ *Trabajos de los padres agustinos en Filipinas*, in *Pol. Esp. en Filip.*, a. VII, n. 167 (Madrid 1897), p. 382.

⁶² Pastells, *op. cit.*, vol. VI (Barcelona 1930), pp. CCCIII/CCCIV.

And although they did not bring [the precious spices] it was enough that they had discovered and found the sea route to those parts, which is a very great accomplishment. [cfr. n. 10]

6

LÓPEZ DE LEGAZPI, Miguel [and others]. Ynformación de varios descubridores de los que acompañaron a Miguel López de Legazpi a Filipinas. Cebú: 29 de mayo de 1565.

In: *Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar*. Primera serie, XIII (Madrid 1870), pp. 527/528; *Esp. y Amér.*, a. I, Tom. I (Madrid 1903), pp. 232/234 [on p. 235 are the original signatures in facsimile].

Begins: "S.C.M. Por la que el general. . ."

Ends: "serv.o de V. mag.d" With date and signature of Miguel López de Legazpi and 13 others.

Stat.: AGI., 67-6-6. Original.

The *Letter* was signed by: Miguel López de Legazpi, Mateo del Saz, Fr. Diego de Herrera, Fr. Martín de Rada, Martín de Goñi, Fr. Pedro de Gamboa, Guido de Lavezares, Andrés Cabchela, Andrés de Mirandaola, Andrés de Ibarra, Juan Maldonado de Berrocal, Luis de la Haya, Juan de la Isla and Gabriel de Ribera.

They refer to the success of the voyage from New Spain to Cebu. Father Andrés de Urdaneta is making arrangements for the return voyage as ordered by His Majesty, and he will bring letters giving detailed information to the King. They ask for help. López de Legazpi as well as the royal officials earnestly request His Majesty to send immediately religious

for the preaching of the Holy Gospel and the conversion of the inhabitants of these realms, there being only three who are left here: Father Diego de Herrera, Father Martín de Herrada and Father Pedro de Gamboa, and they alone cannot even attend to the spiritual needs of the Spaniards.⁶³

⁶³ Almost the same ideas in A. Mirandaola, *Carta escrita al Rey, dándole cuenta del suceso y navegación de las Islas*, Cebú, 28 May 1565, in CDU., segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886), pp. 365/372; in BR., II, pp. 123/124 [excerpt in English translation of some paragraphs]. Original: AGI., 67-6-34.

7

LÓPEZ DE LEGAZPI, Miguel [and others] [Letter to Philip II eulogizing Father Andres de Urdaneta, O.S.A., requesting favors for him and his return to the Philippines.] From Cebu, 1 June 1565.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos. Primera serie XIII (Madrid 1870), pp. 529/531.⁶⁴

Begins: "Sacra Católica Majestad = Por la antes..."

Ends: "Vuestra Majestad es deseado". With date and signature of Miguel López de Legazpi and others.

Stat.: AGI., Papeles por agregar, Filipinas, leg. 1.º 108-7; Patr.º 1-1-1/23. r.º 23. Original.

Letter signed by Legazpi and 36 other persons, not sixty as asserted by M. Merino, O.S.A.⁶⁵ Signers: "Your Catholic Majesty's loyal servants and vassals who humbly kiss Your Royal Majesty's feet"—Miguel López de Legazpi, Mateo del Saz, Martín de Goiti, Guido de Lavezares, Andrés de Ibarra, Andrés de Cabchela, Andrés de Mirandaola, Luis de la Haya, Fernando Riquel, *escribano de gobernación*; Anibal de Arrián, Juan Maldonado de Berrocal, Gabriel de Rivera, Geronimo de Monzón, Hernando López, Don Pedro de Herrera, Francisco de León, Marcos de Herrera, Juan Pacheco Maldonado, Diego López Pilo, Cristóbal de Angulo, Luis Antonio Bañuelos, García de Padilla, Martín de la Rea, Lope Ramos, García Ramírez, Lloreynte Machado, Pedro de Rivera, Pablo Hernández, *cabo de escuadra*; Francisco López, Bartolomé Rodríguez, Diego Fernández de Montemayor, Antonio Flores, Juan Jurado, Antón Alvarez de Grado, Francisco de Herrera, Hernando de Monroy.

As the *letter* was an eulogy of Urdaneta, signatures of the Augustinians do not appear. Hence its great interest and value. They wrote to His Majesty about the talents, merits and services of the Guipúzcoan priest:

The great service rendered to Our Divine Lord and to Your Majesty by the Reverend Father Andrés de Urdaneta is worthy of praise and endless favors, for he has been a source of wisdom on everything, spiritual or temporal, that has occurred in this

⁶⁴ [Also in] Uncilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 245/246, note 1; Cuevas, *op. cit.*, pp. 264/268; Merino, *op. cit.*, pp. 226/227; Colin-Pastells, *op. cit.*, pp. 152/153 [incomplete]; Pastells, *op. cit.*, p. CCXC [incomplete]; BR., II, pp. 176/182 [English version].

⁶⁵ Merino, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

voyage, there being no one in the fleet but he who could give us enlightenment, wherefore, we, your faithful servants, agents of Your Majesty in these realms and in general Your Majesty's vassals, with all humility implore and ask Your Majesty to deal with him in accordance with his great services and merits. . . And as soon as he has accomplished for Your Majesty all that is necessary regarding the present, may it please Your Majesty to order and command him to return to carry on the work which means so much to the service of Our Divine Lord and Your Majesty, as it is expedient for the future, that one like him who is so well informed as to the eventualities in these places that he should be here, so as to bring forth in them the fruits wholly desired by Your Majesty. . .⁶⁶

There are other contemporary documents⁶⁷ which, incidentally or purposely, enumerate the qualities acquired by Urdaneta and the services he rendered to the expedition until it reached Cebu.

8

Relación diaria de la navegación hecha por el General Miguel López de Legazpi del Puerto de la Navidad a las Islas Filipinas, en el año 1564/1565.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar. Segunda serie. II (Madrid 1886), pp. 217/351; Blair-Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. II (Cleveland 1903), pp. 104/123 [synopsis in English translation of some of the most important portions].

Begins: "El dicho General se despachó. . ."

Ends: "de venir de Nueva España". [No date or signature.]

Stat: AGI., 67-6-29 [with geographical map].

⁶⁶ Cuevas, *op. cit.*, pp. 267/268.

⁶⁷ Such as: Letter of López de Legazpi to H.M.: Cebú, 27 May 1565: AGI., 67-6-6; *Patro* 1-1-1/23, r.o 23; Letter of the Royal officials of the Philippines to the King: Cebu, 28 May 1565: AGI., 67-6-29; Letter of the same to the Royal Audiencia of Mexico: Cebu, 28 May 1565: AGI., *Patro* 1-1-1/23. n. 24; Letter of Guido de Lavezares to H.M.: Cebu, 30 May 1565: AGI., 67-6-4; and Letter of Mateo del Saz to the King: Cebu, 31 May 1565: AGI., 67-6-34.

We note only what refers to the Augustinians: 1. The opening by López de Legazpi on 25 November 1565 of the *Instructions* given by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico regarding the destination of the expedition, and the adverse reaction of the Augustinians (cfr. n. 9); 2. The skill of Urdaneta as a navigator, which almost certainly prevented another catastrophe in the imperial voyages to the Far East. On 17 January 1565 some of the pilots had a conference with Legazpi regarding the location of the fleet. The opinion of Father Andrés de Urdaneta, the really accurate one, evoked hilarity among them. Had Legazpi followed the insistent prodings of those pilots, the arrival in the Philippines would not have been a reality on this occasion either. Father Uncilla writes thus:

If Urdaneta, out of self-respect [by reason of the order of the Audiencia of Mexico on the high sea] had refused to guide the expedition, not only would the main objective have again failed, which was to find a return route to Mexico, as we have repeatedly stated, but so also would the outgoing voyage itself, as can be inferred from the demonstrations of truly incredible ignorance, which the pilots of the fleet gave. Urdaneta took charge of everything, and not only did he submit to the orders of the Audiencia, but also placed all his zeal, his great talents and his experience at the service of the expedition.⁶⁸

Basis for these words of Fr. Uncilla are the interesting testimonies that we read in the *Relación diaria*: "and the pilots laughed at it... and some of them affirmed that they were near the Filipinas, others, with the Matalotes..."⁶⁹ This caused great consternation among the expeditioners; thus López de Legazpi:

the following Wednesday, seeing that all the pilots, according to their calculations, were already among the Filipinas Islands and some of them even beyond [they were still more than 500 leagues away], and all were of the belief that we had passed the Islands of Matalotes and Arrefices whence we were bound, and that now we would not find them, the general called a meeting in the *Capitana*, of the Religious, the Captains, the Officials and the Pilots, and to them he presented what the Pilots were saying that if it were true that we were far beyond the Matalotes, it was advisable that we go in search of Filipinas; and that, if possible, he did not want to get to the

⁶⁸ Uncilla, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁶⁹ CDU., segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886), p. 230.

island of *Bindanao* at such a low latitude as that taken by Villalobos, to avoid what had happened to him, that of being unable to go around a headland of the same island to reach the Filipinas, as a result of which he suffered hunger and hardship; and so, as all were in the Filipinas and some even beyond, they should see if it would be convenient to go up ten degrees from where they were. [All of this López de Legazpi declared inspired by Father Urdaneta.] This accord [the *Relación diaria* continues], Father Urdaneta thought well taken, saying that if the last islands and the reefs were the *Jardines* which Villalobos discovered, as he had already stated, then we surely would run into the Ladrone Islands, which are at the latitude of thirteen degrees.⁷⁰

On 15 January they had seen the last islands; on the 17th they resolved to place themselves at the latitude indicated by Urdaneta, and on the 21st the latter told Miguel de Legazpi that, according to his calculation, it would not be long before they would see the Ladrone Islands. "The pilots persisted", the *Relación diaria* continues, "in their contrary view that it was none other than the land of Filipinas, and they laughed at Urdaneta's imagining that they were Islands of Ladrone."⁷¹ If the ideas of the pilots had been accepted, the harm that would have followed, may be imagined for, the Filipinas Islands having been passed, it would have been absolutely necessary to go back in search of them, a mistake which would have brought them to the Marshall Archipelago, more than 1,000 leagues away from the Magellanic Islands.⁷²

Father Urdaneta's proposals having been accepted, the fleet safely proceeded to its goal, as attested to by subsequent events. López de Legazpi arrives at Guam on 23 January and on the 26th takes possession of the Island in the name of the King of Spain. Witnesses were: Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta, prior; the Master of Camp, Mateo del Saz; the accountant, Andrés de Mirandaola; Andrés de Ibarra; Geronimo de Monzon and many others.⁷³ In the *Archivo General de Indias* of Se-

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁷² On this very important point, cfr. Uncilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 199/200; Merino, *op. cit.*, LVI (1962), p. 13, note 11.

⁷³ CDU., segunda serie, III (Madrid 1887), pp. 79/81: original, AGI., 1-1-1/23, n. 17; P. Torres y Lanzas, *Catálogo*, tom. 1 (Barcelona 1925), n. 1.519.

villa are to be found the *Actas* of the taking possession of the Islands⁷⁴ at which the fleet touched, and in almost all the name of Urdaneta figures most prominently.

In Guam, according to the *Relación diaria*, mass was said (the *Relación* says that various masses were said); the first mass celebrated by one of the Augustinians whose name is not mentioned, but we can affirm as certain that it was Father Urdaneta who was vouchsafed that honor. He was the Superior of the Augustinians, and in the same way that he was in the place of honor in the *Actas* of taking possession, he was also the one who gave glory to God with the Divine Sacrifice. This same year the Bishop of the diocese, the Most Reverend D. Apolonaris W. Baumgarner, O.F.M., Cap., will commemorate solemnly the fourth centenary of this first mass with religious, cultural and social acts. We take note of this fact with utmost satisfaction because it means honoring one of the most illustrious of our brothers.

The *Relación diaria* stresses the point that Urdaneta intended to go back from the island of Guam to Nueva España, after having requested that the island be colonized. He proposed to embark on the ship that was to go back to Mexico, with the intention of tracing thereby the return route. López de Legazpi firmly opposed and instead ordered him to proceed to Filipinas as prearranged.⁷⁵ And Father Cuevas concludes:

In this attitude of Urdaneta we discern his old, and legitimate scruple: that of taking possession of the Islands which he knew and proved to be in the area prohibited by the agreement concluded by his King and the King of Portugal. However, he had to yield and so carry on such arduous task.⁷⁶

The third important point of the *Relación diaria* deals with the taking possession of Cebu and the finding of the Holy Child, with other important details for the Augustinians. [cfr. n. 5]

⁷⁴ Thus, for example the taking possession of Cibabao [15 February 1565]: AGI., 1-1-1/23, r.o 18, n. 17 [with a copy on the 20th of the same month]; of the bay of San Pedro, Tandaya Island [23 February 1565]: AGI., 1-1-1/23, n. 17; of Baletic Bay [8 March 1565]: AGI., 1-1-1/23, n. 17; of Camiguin Island [14 March 1565]: AGI., 1-1-1/23, n. 17; of the island of Bohol [15 April 1565]: AGI., 1-1-1/23, n. 17; of the island of Cebu [8 May 1565]: AGI., 1-1-1/23, n. 17.

⁷⁵ Colin-Pastells, *op. cit.*, I, p. 119, note 4.

⁷⁶ Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

ESPINOSA, Rodrigo de. Derrotero de la navegación de las Islas del Poniente para la Nueva España, 1565.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar. Segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886), pp. 427/456; Blair-Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898, II (Cleveland 1903), pp. 129/131 [synopsis with English translation of some parts].

Begins: "En el nombre de Jesús. . ."

Ends: "que traía toda la Gente". [With date and signature.]

Stats AGI., Patr.º 1-1-1/23, n. 16, ff. 45/54.

The *Route* of Rodrigo de Espinosa forms part of a volume containing 58 paged leaves and one unpagged leaf.⁷⁷ Other contemporary accounts and which in some points complete the former, with copious information on the Augustinians are: I. "Relación hecha por Esteban Rodríguez, Piloto mayor de este viaje y descubrimiento de las yslas del poniente de la vuelta de ellas para la Nueva España."⁷⁸ From the 1st of June to the 8th October. II. "Relación hecha por Esteban Rodríguez, Piloto mayor de la Armada que fué al descubrimiento de las Islas del Poniente y del regreso a Nueva España."⁷⁹ This is more exhaustive and differs greatly with the previous *Relación*. Includes from 24 November 1564 to 8 October 1565.

M. Fernández de Navarrete⁸⁰ mentions four *Relaciones*, kept in the *Archivo General de Indias*, of Seville, and which he entitles: "Cuatro relaciones y derroteros de la navegación de dicha armada desde el puerto de la Navidad hasta las Filipinas: por Esteban Rodríguez, y los pilotos Pierres Plien, francés, de la nao capitana; Jaime Martínez Fortún y Diego Martín, de la nao almirante; y Rodrigo de Espinosa, del patax San Juan." Fernández de Navarrete confuses *Relaciones* with *maps* or *itineraries*.⁸¹ The *Relación* [Route] of Esteban Rodríguez is indi-

⁷⁷ P. Torres y Lanzas, *Catálogo*, vol. I (Barcelona 1925), n. 1.150.

⁷⁸ AGI., 1-1-1/23, n. 16, ff. 40/45.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; Cf. Torres y Lanzas, *op. cit.*, n. 1.551.

⁸⁰ M. Fernández de Navarrete, *Biblioteca marítima española*, I (Madrid 1852), p. 405.

⁸¹ BR., LIII, p. 245; Merino, *op. cit.*, LV, p. 78, note 34; P. Torres y Lanzas, *Relación descriptiva de los mapas, planos, etc. de Filipinas* (Madrid 1897), p. 6; C. Quirino, *Philippine cartography (1320-1899)* (Manila 1959), p. 76.

cated above, and that of Pierres Plí or Plun carries as inscription: "Relación de la navegación que se ha fecho del puerto de la Navidad a estas yslas del poniente en el año de mil e quinientos y sesenta y quatro años a los veinte de noviembre de dicho año general Miguel López de Legazpi 1564-1565".⁸²

The return trip from Cebu-Acapulco had started on 1 June 1565. Wednesday, 26 September of that same year, they sighted the tip of California where they experienced the greatest suffering, a large number of the company were dying of scurvy amongst them the Chief Pilot and Boatswain, Esteban Rodríguez:

Sunday [Espinosa says], the morning of 30 September, we sighted the coast, and I was unfamiliar with the land, not having been there, later I found that we were between the Port of Navidad and the Cape of Currents. The entire sea-coast near the ocean is white sand and above Chamela are two or three cliffs near the land and there they say are located the fisheries. Monday, morning of 1 October, year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1565, at dawn we were along the port of Navidad and at this time I looked at my chart and saw that there were 1892 leagues from the port of Cebu to the port of Navidad. And at this moment, I went to the Captain and asked him where he wanted the ship to head for and he ordered that I head for the port of Acapulco and I complied with his order, even if there were now only 18 men present on board who could work since the rest were sick and the other sixteen had perished. We reached this port of Acapulco, Monday, 8th of the present month of October with much hardship on the part of everyone.⁸³

The *Relación* of Esteban Rodríguez varies greatly in the calculation of distances between Cebu and New Spain.⁸⁴ For similar conclusions concerning these calculation see "Declaraciones dadas en la mar a 9 de julio y 18 de setiembre de 1565 de orden del Capitán de dicha nao Felipe de Salcedo, nieto del general Legazpi, por Esteban Rodríguez y el piloto Rodrigo de Espinosa, del camino que había desde el puerto de la Navidad a la isla de Zubú; y del habían andado desde esta hasta

⁸² Original: AGI., 67-6-29; Cfr. Torres y Lanzas, *Catálogo*, I, n. 1.529.

⁸³ CDU., Segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886), pp. 455/460.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 457/460.

dicho 18 de setiembre que vieron tierra de las Californias a los 33 1/4 N. 1565.”⁸⁵

This Cebú-Acapulco voyage had been the cherished ambition of Philip II [of Spain], and was to have been the achievement of Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta, as provided for in the *Instrucciones* given to Legazpi by the Royal Audiencia of México. In the *Instruccion* n. 60 the following is specified:

And since, as you know Fr. Fray Andrés de Urdaneta goes in this journey by order of His Majesty, you will provide that, on returning to New Spain with some ship or ships. . . or supposing you were to remain here, and were to send another person, see that the said Fray Andrés de Urdaneta returns in one of the ships sent by you to discover the return route, since under God, our hope is that on account of his experience and familiarity with the weather and other conditions of those areas, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta will surely find the return route to New Spain, for which reason it is necessary that the said Fray Andrés de Urdaneta should embark in any of the ships that you may send back, and should be in the ship and with the Captain that he will indicate and petition for, and in this there should be no argument, because in this way our Lord and His Majesty will be served and you for your part will be immediately reinforced with men and all that may be necessary.⁸⁶

The feat of discovering the return route had a great impact since after so many previous failures success was reached at last:

Although there were properly five expeditions [led respectively by Magellan, Laoisa, Saavedra, Grijalva and Villalobos] there had been six attempts to cross the Pacific, to wit: Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, in 1522; Alvaro de Saavedra, twice in 1528 and 1529; Grijalva, in 1537; Bernardo de la Torre, in 1543, and Iñigo Ortíz de Retes, in 1545.⁸⁷

Urdaneta's triumph has been variously treated:

⁸⁵ Original: AGI., 1-1-2/24. Another copy is also kept in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* of Madrid, vol. 17; Cfr. Fernandez de Navarrete, *op. cit.*, p. 405; BR., LIII, p. 245.

⁸⁶ AGI., 1-1-1/23, r.o 12; cf. also Merino, *op. cit.*, in *Arch. Hist. Agust.*, LV, p. 224.

⁸⁷ Uncilla, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

I. *Ignored.* For instance by others in the Collections of voyages which we shall enumerate in chronological order: 1) F. Pretty, "The admirable and prosperous voyage of the worshipful Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the countie of Soffolke, esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the year of our Lord 1586, and finished in 1588,"⁸⁸—mentions the Philippines (pp. 817-820). 2) L. Hulsius, *Kurtze unnd Warhafftige beschreibung der wunderbaren damals unerhoerten Schiffahrten Ferninandi Magellani... den gantzen Erdtkreiss umb gesegelt hat*,⁸⁹—mentions the Ladrone Islands (p. 16); there is also a not very good map. 3) L. Hulsius, *Kurtze unnd Warhafftige beschreibung der Schiffart so Thomas Candish... umb das gantze Erdtreich welcher der dritte ist so solche Schiffart fuergenommen und was sich zugetragen hat*,⁹⁰—deals with Ladrone Islands (pp. 32), of the Philippines (pp. 32/35), with various maps all unsatisfactory. 4) Hulsius *Kurtz unnd Wahrhafftige beschreider Wunderbaren Schiffart Olivarii von Noort, Niederlanders welcher der vierte gewesen so den gantzen Erdkreiss umbfahren hat*,⁹¹—Ladrone Islands (pp. 46/47), Philippines (pp. 47/50). 5) J. A. von Mandelslo, *Des Johan Albrechts von Mandelslo Morgenlaendische Reyse-Beschreibung. Herausgegeben durch Adam Olearium. Mit desselben unterschiedlichen Notis oder Aumereckungen wie auch mit vielen Kupffer Platen gezieret.* Schleswig: Gedruckt durch Johan Holwein, im Jahr MDCLVIII. Philippine Islands (pp. 232/233). 6) J. A. Mandelslo, *The voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo into the East-Indies. Begun in the year M.DC.XXXVIII and finished in M.DC.XL.* Containing a particular description of the great Mogul's empire... the Moluccas, Philippine and other islands... In three books. Illustrated with maps and figures. Rendered into English by John Davies. The second edition corrected (London 1669), Philippines (pp. 114/115). This is a translation of the former edition, but includes some ideas and details which are not found therein. 7) W. Dampier, *A Collection of voyages*.⁹² The first volume which contains a description of the Philippine Islands and that of the Ladrone, bears the inscription: "A new Voyage round the world." Describing particularly the Isthmus of America, several coasts and islands into West Indies... the Isle of Guam, one of the Ladrone, Mindanao, and the other Philippine and East-India islands... Their soil, rivers, harbours, plants, fruits, animals, and

⁸⁸ Written by Master Francis Pretty, lately of Ey in Suffolke, a gentleman employed in the same action, in *Hakluyt's voyages*, col. III (London 1598), pp. 803/825.

⁸⁹ L. Hulsius, *Collection of voyages*, 5te. Theil (Noribergae 1603), pp. 1/8.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 21/36.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37/53.

⁹² W. Dampier, *A Collection of voyages*. 4v. (London 1729). Volume I illustrated with maps and draughts. Seventh edition, printed for James and John Knapton, M.DCC.XXIX.

inhabitants. 8) *Historia general/de los Viages/o nueva colección/de todas las relaciones/de los que se han decho por Mar, y Tierra, y se han publicado hasta ahora endiferentes Lenguas de todas/las Naciones conocidas/donde se contiene/lo más notable, útil, y más cierto de los países/adonde han penetrado los viajeros, con las Costumbres, Religión, Usos,/Artes, Ciencias, Comercio, y Manufacturas de sus Habitantes,/ Obra traducida del Inglés al Francés/por el Abate Antonio Francisco Prevost;/ Y al Castellano/por Don Miguel Terracina./Aumentada con las Relaciones de los últimos Viages, que/ se han hecho en este Siglo./ Madrid/ Años de 1763... 1779. The work has a total of 36 volumes and an atlas. Deals with the Philippine Islands (vol. XVII (Madrid 1777), pp. 181/262), and recounts the voyages of Magellan, Oliver van Nort; description of the Marianas Islands; description of the Philippine Islands and the voyage of Lemaire. Voyages of Drake, Pedro Sarmiento, Narborough, Froger, Woodes Rogers, Wood Freizer and Anson (vol. XVIII (Madrid 1778).*

Not one word is said about the voyage of Urdaneta, neither the geographic, ethnographic and linguistic description which he left in his best two *Relaciones*.⁹³

II. *Denials*. Melchor de Legazpi, son of Miguel López de Legazpi, in a *Memorial* to the Royal Council of the Indies, attributes the merit of the Philippines-Mexico return voyage to his father and his nephew, Felipe de Salcedo; no doubt, much on the merit is due to these people, but not to the extent and as exclusively as the writer intends.

... [Legazpi] sent Felipe de Salcedo, his grandson, as Captain for the discovery and return to New Spain, as one capable and worthy, and who in everything had served His Majesty well; and he [Felipe de Salcedo] came, discovered and found the return route and thank God he returned safely to New Spain and to the city of Mexico, where there was rejoicing and merrymaking because of his arrival, and his having found the return route which was so much desired, as convenient to the service of God, Our Lord and of His Majesty and the good of all those kingdoms and of these; there had been many attempts made and large sums of money spent, from which until now no benefits had been produced, so now through the hand of the said Miguel López de Legazpi Our Lord has granted a very great and universal favor.⁹⁴

⁹³ J. T. Medina, *Bibliografía española de las Islas Filipinas* (Santiago de Chile 1897), n. 501; Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 30, 115.

⁹⁴ CDU., Segunda serie. II, pp. 350/351.

And Captain Juan de la Islas, writing to His Majesty from Mexico [15 January 1570] said in connection with the merits of Felipe de Salcedo:

Captain Felipe de Salcedo, grandson of Governor Miguel López de Legazpi has served in this voyage from the very beginning and it was he who by order of the Governor came to New Spain and discovered that return route and returned with two ships dispatched from New Spain by the Viceroy Gastón de Peralta. . . ⁹⁵

Juan Pablo Carrión takes the credit to himself, implying that both in going and coming back, the Armada led by Legazpi and Urdaneta, simply followed the route submitted to them by him. Urdaneta's achievement is thus eclipsed and the confidence placed in him by Philip II and the Audiencia of Mexico becomes mere formality. In the *Parecer* to Philip II [Mexico, September 1564], Juan Pablo Carrión confuses together the subject of the return from the Philippines to Mexico, for he says nothing concerning the route itself:

...they [the Philippine Islands] are in a better position for the return, being in the northern altitude on the northern side through which the return must, consequently be made. . . may Your Majesty please order this to be looked into, and in case you decide what is best for Your Service, even though your reply will not benefit this fleet, because it is on the point of departing (and I think will set sail within two months), it will be useful for the good management of future voyages. If it is the will of God that this attempt be successful, or, if, God forbid, it fail or get lost, the next subsequent fleets dispatched by Your Majesty will profit from the experience; because, where the great and prosperous empire of Spain is involved, (but unprofitably since the way is not open), Your Majesty should not entrust the venture to two ships alone, but should order that one attempt after another should follow close behind until God is pleased that *the return route is made clear*. ⁹⁶

To appraise the explanation of Juan Pablo Carrión, we would like to observe that the *Instrucciones* which were given to López de Legazpi

⁹⁵ AGL., Patr.o 1-1-2/24, r.o 4; cf. for this document: Torres y Larraz, *op. cit.*, I, n. 1.694.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[cfr. *supra*], the only document which contained charts, does not mention the itinerary of the return trip, Urdaneta having followed his own plans.⁹⁷

Recently, Mr. Wagner came to the rescue of Pablo de Carrión to which Fr. Cuevas replies:

Juan Carrión *could* have given the data of his route to Urdaneta. The principal retort is that *nemo dat quod non habet*. Carrión knew, by chance, how to reach the Philippines. But it is not known that he knew the return route. What we do indeed know is that *after* Urdaneta's return with his real and brilliant triumph, Juan Pablo Carrión became envious and claimed that this route was his discovery and not the friar's, but we do not know whether he ever faced to test it, and if he had at any time solved this problem, it is certain that the last person he would have confided in was Fr. Urdaneta the very sight of whom he could not bear as we have already observed in the previous chapter.⁹⁸

Mr. Wagner continues "proving" the idea that the return trip was not originally Urdaneta's but that of the officials who went with the expedition of Villalobos, namely, Bernardo de la Torre and Alonso Hernández. His basis for such a conclusion were the words of Bernardo de la Torre to Villalobos:

I have pilots and some seamen who offer themselves as servants of Your Lordship, to make this voyage [that of the return to New Spain] in that ship. That such voyage can be made is common knowledge and well known and Your Honor [Villalobos] has said so repeatedly and the pilot who wants to go, acknowledges the same and is ready to attempt for he went there before with Captain Bernardo de la Torre in the discovery of this voyage. And as the one who has the experience, says that he wants to make it. Last year it was not possible due to the bad weather having arrived and [now] the time to sail has already come. And Captain Bernardo de la Torre, volunteers and says that, even if he had to go [as a ship boy] he would make that trip, inasmuch as he knows that what he has discovered he can put to use in the said ship.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Uncilla, *op. cit.*, p. 190, note 1.

⁹⁸ Cuevas, *op. cit.*, pp. 274/275.

⁹⁹ CDU., Primera serie, V, p. 177.

Mr. Wagner, who on the other hand gives a jumbled version of the text here transcribed, does not indicate (nor did Bernardo de la Torre or Alonso Hernández) where the ideas arrived at by them, and developed by Urdaneta in his navigation route are to be found. Besides, both Bernardo de la Torre and his companion failed in the attempt, alleging in their defense that the winds during that period of the year were against them: which speaks badly of their capabilities and their chances of success in attaining so difficult a goal, as was the course of the return trip.¹⁰⁰

Nor do we believe in the validity of the arguments advanced by Mr. Wagner in favor of Escalante de Alvarado, and the remote possibility that Urdaneta received lessons from such teachers as Fr. Jerónimo de Santisteban, O.S.A., and Ortiz de Retes; inasmuch as the former (Escalante) admits only the failure of Bernardo de la Torre and Alonso Hernández, and the latter (Santisteban and Ortiz) illustrate the failure of their ship's course through ignorance of the maritime currents and the period in which the voyage should have been undertaken.¹⁰¹

Mr. Wagner's other arguments are mere conjectures or guarded statements aimed at denying Urdaneta his triumph. Bernardo de la Torre and Alonso Hernández served the Augustinian friar *negatively*, that is to say, they taught him to avoid their errors and to take paths different from the ones they had taken.

Mr. Wagner concludes that Alonso de Arellano achieved the return journey prior to Urdaneta; of course, he did. Arellano had returned to Mexico earlier; but did he utilize an acceptable and logical rutter for this trip, which could be used in future with complete assurances of success? No, Arellano neither had nor did he leave any chart. Its haphazard method was simply to direct the prow eastwards, and to submit himself to the decision of fate. And Fr. Cuevas concludes: "and if [the authors mentioned by Mr. Wagner] made any contribution to nautical science, it was information as to how not to make the return trip".¹⁰²

III. *Exaggerations.* S. Vidal y Soler¹⁰³ referring to the work of G. Anson,¹⁰⁴ says that Anson captured a Manila galleon in which he found an interesting map. It is not a map that Anson reproduces but a chart of the Acapulco-Philippines route, and vice versa, just as was

¹⁰⁰ Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 273/274.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹⁰³ S. Vidal y Soler, *Memoria sobre el ramo de montes en las Filipinas* (Madrid 1874), n. 48.

¹⁰⁴ G. Anson, *Voyage autour du monde, fait dans les années MD.CCXLI.II.III.IV, tiré de journaux par Richard Walter, traduit de l'anglais* (Amsterdam-Leipzig 1759).

planned by Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta.¹⁰⁵ Vidal y Soler is correct in what he says about Urdaneta's accuracy but we do not agree with what he adds, namely that for 250 years this was the only and the best chart used on that route.

Similarly, A. Herrera¹⁰⁶ makes the mistake of attributing to Fr. Martín de Rada, O.S.A., the discovery of the return route to New Spain.

Lately, a contemporary writer [Mr. L. G. Miranda], has repeated these exaggerations in an article, which this apart, merits consideration and congratulations:

The route paved by Fray Urdaneta was the one used for more than 200 years in the voyages to the "Islands of the West", for the trade between our country [Mexico] and the countries in Asia [through Cavite and Manila], with the famous "China ships" [or galleons of Manila], whose point of arrival and departure was the port of Acapulco.¹⁰⁷

Mr. Miranda accepts this thesis of Fr. Mariano Cuevas *separately* without taking into account Cuevas' later statements. Fr. Cuevas does not deny the opinion of those who believe that the route discovered by Urdaneta benefitted navigation for 200 years. But neither does he maintain that this was the *only or even the main route* used during that period. To arrive at this conclusion Fr. Cuevas made use of "a very acceptable map", which he found in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lima in March 1935, among the papers belonging to Mr. Melchor Portacarrero de Vega, Count of Moncloa, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain.¹⁰⁸

Finally and in answer to Melchor de Legazpi's opinion (denying credit to Urdaneta) we would like to present here the controversial question as to *who commanded the Mexico-Philippines expedition* in 1564/1565, taking the term *command* in the technical maritime meaning. The following authors, Murillo Velarde, Colin, and Cornish,¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ T. H. Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca filipina* (Washington 1903), n. 85.

¹⁰⁶ A. Herrera, *Historia general*, vol. II, déc. 1, lib. IX (Madrid 1601), p. 319.

¹⁰⁷ L. G. Miranda, "Primer documento impreso sobre la historia de las Filipinas," in *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Manila 1960), p. 56.

¹⁰⁸ Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 332/334.

¹⁰⁹ P. Murillo Velarde, S.J., *Geographia historica de las Philipinas*, in *Geographia general*, VIII (Madrid 1752); F. Colin, S.J., *India sacra*, also omits the name of Urdaneta; L. C. Cornish, *The Philippines Calling* (Philadelphia 1946), p. 25.

completely omit the name of Urdaneta. Writing of Fr. Murillo Velarde, Retana criticized, perhaps too sharply, this omission or silence.¹¹⁰

Philip II put the entire business of the expedition in the hands of Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain, and Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta. In 24 September 1559, the King of Spain was writing to the Viceroy:

In order to make the said discoveries, I command you to send two ships, of the type, tonnage and crew that would be capable of undertaking the discovery of the Islands of the West towards the Moluccas, that they should try to bring some spices for the purpose of experiment and they shall return to New Spain in order to verify whether the return route is certain.

Urdaneta had been requested to head the expedition "on account of his experience and knowledge of the Islands". Philip II was pleased with the choice and by Royal warrant of 24 September 1559, enjoined Urdaneta to join in the expedition and to take charge "of what is necessary for it." The Augustinian accepted the invitation, and replied on 28 May 1560, enclosing his *Parecer* on the manner in which the voyage should be conducted. To this *Carta* the King replied on 4 March 1561, attempted to remove certain scruples which Urdaneta had regarding jurisdiction, and commanding him to follow all that the Viceroy in Mexico would order him. Urdaneta returned to the subject in a second *Parecer*, pointing out what should be prepared, and proposing three routes to follow, in accordance with the season of the year that the voyag would start. From this period also [1561] is the *Tabla geográfica del Sur, con todos los viajes y rumbos descubiertos hasta entonces*, which was a collection of small maps, now lost, and which Fathers Jorde and Pérez-Güemes mistakenly thought was the one published in the *Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar*, Segunda serie, II (Madrid 1886), pp. 119/138.¹¹²

Considering the historical value of all the contemporary documents regarding the course of the Mexico-Philippines voyage, we find there is none more accurate than Luis de Velasco's letter, dated Mexico, 9 February 1561, in which he says to the King:

...as head and leader of the men who would accompany them
...I have designated Miguel López de Legazpi, a native of

¹¹⁰ W. E. Retana, *Catálogo de la biblioteca filipina* (Madrid 1898), p. 21.

¹¹¹ CDU., Segunda serie, II. p. 97.

¹¹² E. P. Jorde, OSA., *Catálogo bio-bibliográfico* (Manila 1901), p. 3; A. Pérez, C. Güemes, *Adiciones y continuación* (Manila 1904), p. 526; for this see BR., LIII, p. 242.

the province of Guipuzcoa, a worthy son of the house of Lezcano, 50 years of age, and with more than 29 years in New Spain and who has done well all the duties and positions of importance he has been entrusted with; and as to his faith and goodness, no one better, more fitting and more to the great satisfaction of Fray Andrés de Urdaneta could have been chosen than the one who is to command and direct the voyage, because they are countrymen and kindred and friends and are willing.¹¹³

Juan Pablo Carrión begins his struggle with Andrés de Urdaneta who is the adviser and knows "that Legazpi does not understand a word about the sea and navigation". And in a letter to Philip II he declared:

...Fray Andrés says that the Armada having left the Port [Navidad] it should steer to the southwest until it passes the Equinox at the south latitude and should follow the same route until it reaches 20° of the same southern latitude and if in this spot they do not sight land, they should steer toward the northwest until they reach 5°...¹¹⁴

After the death of the Viceroy of Mexico, Luís de Velasco in 31 July 1564, the Inspector Valderrama and the Audiencia of New Spain agreed with Philip II to cancel the original plans of the Augustinian cosmographer. Finally, it was Urdaneta who decided the election of Miguel López de Legazpi as the General of the voyage. In answer to the opinion of Melchor de Legazpi, we should take note that the person who selected the ship, captains and pilots to accompany him [Urdaneta] from Cebu to Mexico, as decreed in no. 60 of the *Instrucción*, was no other than Urdaneta, though we believe that in this case he would have done it with the consent of López de Legazpi.

10

ARELLANO, Alfonso [Alonso] de. *Relación muy singular y circunstanciada de los alimentos y suceso del viaje que hizo la Armada de S.M., de que fue por General el muy illustre señor Miguel de Lepazpi, en el descubrimiento de las islas de Poniente, desde 19 de Noviembre de 1564, que partio del puerto de Navidad, hasta fin de mayo del siguiente año que salio del puerto de Zebu para Nueva España con el aviso del arribo de*

¹¹³ Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.*, p. 118, note 1.

¹¹⁴ Cuevas, *op. cit.*, pp. 193/194.



Monument to Miguel López de Legazpi
in his native town, Zumárraga,
Province of Guipúzcoa, Spain
(From the Abella Collection, Ateneo de Manila)



Monument to Andrés de Urdaneta
in his native town, Villafranca de Oria,
Province of Guipúzcoa, Spain
(From the Abella Collection, Ateneo de Manila)

la Capitana "San Pablo", a cargo del Capitan Felipe de Salcedo, llevando consigo al Piloto Mayor Esteban Rodriguez de Espinosa, Piloto que era del Galeon de la Propia Armada, nombrado "San Juan"—9 de agosto de 1565.

In: Colección de documentos inéditos de Ultramar. Segunda serie, II (Madrid 1887), pp. 1/76; M. Cuevas, S.J., Monje y marino (Mexico 1943), pp. 213/234 [incomplete].

Begins: "En el nombre de Dios..."

Ends: "dixieron que saben" With date and signature certified by the Royal Army of Mexico.

Stat.: AGI., Patr.º 1-1-1/23. r.º 19. Original [there is a duplicate].

This *Relación* forms part of the proceedings taken in Mexico in November 1565, against Alonso de Arellano for his having failed to carry out the instructions given him by Legazpi; Legazpi's information against Arellano is also included.

Arellano and his companions were accused of consciously and voluntarily leaving the fleet commanded by Legazpi. On 7 November 1565, Gabriel Díaz, Treasurer of the Mexico Mint and Attorney of Miguel López de Legazpi, presented the latter's complaints to the Audiencia of Mexico, stating that Arellano "a gentleman and loyal subject in what was ordered in the name of Your Majesty, in a calm sea and with fine weather, on a certain dark night, separated and fled from the said fleet."¹¹⁵ Díaz took these complaints from the papers which Urdaneta gave to him on his arrival in Mexico. In spite of the petitions made, no action was taken against Arellano, perhaps because of his high position and his being related to very influential persons in Mexico and others in Spain.

Arellano's *Relación* is accurate although it lacks the competence of an Urdaneta in several passages. An interesting contribution in the document of this paper is the continued presence of the Virgin of Guadalupe in the tender "San Lucas" which should lead to further studies on that very Mexican cult which soon spread to the Philippine Islands.

¹¹⁵ CDU., Segunda serie, III, p. 23; Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 235.