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Legazpi 1564-1572*

NICHOLAS P. CUSHNER

MORE than thirteen years separated the expedition of Villalobos from the next attempt to establish the Spanish standard in the Philippines. Certainly, a partial reason for the gap, supposing that Spain's interest in the islands was both serious and permanent, can be found in the contemporary European political scene. War between Spain and France was carried on through the greater part of Charles V's reign, and not even his abdication in 1556 ended the fighting. War raged from 1552 until the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559.¹ Here the struggle was brought to a momentary end, thus releasing Spanish energy for undertakings in other fields. Besides, the religious wars now shifted to France, freeing the Empire from 1559 to 1572, when interest was turned to Lepanto. It was this momentary freedom from war which established a sense of security in the commercial markets of Seville. New exploits and financial ventures could get a ready hearing.²

*The following article is a chapter from a forthcoming book by Fr. Cushner, *The Isles of the West: Early Spanish Voyages to the Philippines, 1521-1564*. It is published here by arrangement with the Ateneo de Manila University Press.

¹ C. Hayes and M. H. Baldwin, *History of Europe*, New York 1957, I, 454-55.

² Cf. Pierre and Huguette Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique*, Paris 1959, VIII, (2), 426-36. — Excepting the expeditions of Magellan and Loaysa, all others were financed by private enterprise either by traders or speculators like Cortés, Alvarado and Mendoza. The king did not lack requests to provision and sail fleets to the Moluccas.

Ever since the voyage of Magellan, Spanish kings had shown a lively interest in establishing a foothold in the Far East. From the time of the great captain's death in Cebu in 1521 up to Legazpi's expedition in 1564, no less than eight expeditions had the islands of the Mar del Sur for their objective. All except Legazpi's were frustrated in one way or another. The reason for this continued interest is not hard to find. Spain wished a slice of the coveted spice market and, if possible, a direct link with that legendary and elusive wealth of the Orient. When Charles V pawned his claim to the Moluccas in 1529, he committed his interests to the Islas del Poniente, the Western Islands, the Philippines. When Philip became king, interest in the islands which bore his name by no means flagged. In fact, it was greatly heightened. One stimulus may have been the gradual rise in pepper prices which spans the 1560's. In New Castile, for example, an ounce of pepper in the 1550's sold for about 10 maravedis. In 1561, however, the price rose to 13.5 maravedis; in 1562 to 15.9; in 1563 to 19.8; in 1564 to 21.5, until in 1565 pepper reached the record price of 23.9 maravedis an ounce. Immediately afterwards the price declines. It goes from 16.0 in 1566 to 10 maravedis in 1572, and the crisis is passed.³ Can a definite cause-effect relationship be established between pepper prices in Spain and the expedition of Legazpi to the Philippines? It is difficult, if not impossible, to say in the present state of our knowledge. It is certainly true that the religious motive of retaining the Philippines for the Catholic Church was uppermost in Philip II's mind when proposals were later and repeatedly made for abandoning the unproductive colony. But was this the principal motive for the initial steps taken to occupy the islands, as is so often said. The words *canela* (cinnamon) and

Diego López de Salcedo, March 8, 1528, Juan Pacheco Cabellero in 1535, as well as Diego de Cobarrubias and Juan de Mota, all offered to organize expeditions.

³ Chaunu, *op. cit.*, 430-31. It seems that Earle J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and Price Revolution in Spain*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1934, p. 233, note 2, was the first to note the possible influence of spice prices on the voyage of Legazpi. He was followed by Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Paris 1949, pp. 430-31; and also Chaunu.

specie (spice) are so often repeated both in the instructions of the Audiencia to Legazpi and in the king's own correspondence on the expedition, that we strongly suspect that Philip II expected, or at least hoped to find, in the Philippines a spice-producer to rival the Moluccas and the Portuguese.

PREPARATION

On September 24, 1559, Philip II wrote to his Viceroy in New Spain, Luis de Velasco, concerning a future enterprise to the South Seas.⁴ Three points were emphasized by the king. First, that the two vessels which were to be sent to the Philippines were to bring back samples of the spices grown there; second, this with the added intention of ascertaining the return route to New Spain; and third, the expedition was under no circumstances to touch at the Moluccas, since this would be contrary to the agreement made with the King of Portugal in 1529. On the same day a letter was sent to Fray Andrés de Urdaneta requesting his participation in the intended expedition.⁵ The answer which Philip II received from both of these letters must have come as something of a bombshell. Both Velasco and Urdaneta replied that inasmuch as the Philippines fell within the jurisdiction of Portugal, an expedition of discovery could not be undertaken without breaking the agreement made with the Portuguese king. Urdaneta, the former pilot but now an Augustinian friar, wrote that:

It is evident and clear that not only is the Island of Filipina (Leyte) within the Portuguese zone, but the eastern tip of the island is in the very meridian of the Islands of Maluco, and the greater part of Samar is more west of the meridian than Maluco. Therefore, it seems that

⁴ *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar* (hereinafter cited as CDU) Madrid 1885-1920, II, 94-95.

⁵ *Ibid.* 98-9. Urdaneta, who took part in the Loaysa expedition, remained in the Moluccas for eight years, serving as soldier and officer. He returned to Spain in 1536 and subsequently became a friar. In 1560 he was in New Spain when he accepted the invitation to accompany Legazpi. Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la orden de N.P.S. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España*... Mexico 1924, (1624) p. 343, says the Urdaneta was appointed to head the expedition which Villalobos eventually led. Later he was ordered under Holy Obedience, by virtue of his religious vow, to accompany Legazpi.

some trouble could develop if Your Majesty order that vessels and people go to Samar without showing some legitimate or pious cause for doing so.⁶

Urdaneta, seconded by Velasco, accepted the invitation to participate and suggested that the motive for the voyage should rather be the searching for members of the Villalobos expedition who were known to be still somewhere in the Philippines, probably held as captives. Only with a motive, or excuse, such as this could the enterprise be legitimized. The old seaman in Urdaneta then breaks out and he recommends that the best pilots available should be sent on the trip in order that an accurate charting of the navigation could be recorded. The king answered Urdaneta on March 4, 1561, thanking him for his acceptance. Regarding the advice on motivation, Philip simply repeated that time-honored official phrase, "It has been passed on to the Viceroy so that he may take necessary measures in conformity with what has already been ordered." In other words, Philip II at this stage did not particularly care whether the islands were on the Portuguese side of the line of demarcation, as they actually were. That the expedition be made and the Philippines occupied was his only concern. He would take possession of the islands first, and with this initial advantage, then discuss the legitimacy of his act.⁸ He would present the King of Portugal with a *fait accompli*.

⁶ CDU (segunda serie) II, 109-10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 118-19.

⁸ It must be said, however, that a number of Spanish cosmographers argued that the Philippines fell within the Spanish zone. It was probably because of the uncertainty of the question that Philip II determined to occupy the Philippines and argue from the point of *primi possessoris*. Fr. Pablo Pastells, S.J., has a number of articles on the question, "Competencias entre castellanos y portugueses del siglo XVI. Sobre las regiones situadas fuera del empeño," *Razón y Fe*, XV, 1906, 60-70; XVII, 1907, 67-79, 192-201; also "Descubrimientos y conquistas de los castellanos en el Extremo Oriente y competencias habidas con los portugueses..." in *II Congreso de historia y geografía*, Sevilla 1921, 357-408. —In 1586 Philip II was still in doubt over his rightful ownership of the Philippines. He sent a cosmographer, Jaime Juan, to the Philippines to determine their longitude, but he died before reaching there. Gonzalo Menéndez-Pidal, *Imagen del mundo hacia 1570*, Madrid 1944, p. 23.

Interest in the proposed expedition ran high. Andrés de Urdaneta wrote a rather lengthy memorial to the king on how the whole *jornada*, or enterprise, should proceed.⁹ First, he recommended that the vessels leave from Acapulco, not Navidad. The latter was in a poor location, causing prices of necessary articles to rise, while Acapulco had one of the best ports in the Indies, large, safe and healthy.¹⁰ The surrounding woods provided large deposits of timber for ship construction. Nevertheless, a large quantity of supplies had to be brought from Spain. Artillery, arms, thread for sails, compasses and sailing charts were all on his list. One difficulty he speaks of is finding capable men to act as ship's officers. Both ordinary deckhands and skilled seamen simply refused to sail to the South Pacific. Urdaneta's solution is rather extreme; force them to go, but pay them a just salary.

Of the actual navigation, the Augustinian wrote that it could probably get under way by the beginning of October, 1561. If it did, then they would follow the ordinary southern course through the *Mar de Damas*, the South Pacific. If the expedition was delayed beyond November 10, they would head southwest, directly for New Guinea, then north northwest to the Philippines. The third alternative of Urdaneta, and most interesting of all, was to go into operation if sailing was delayed until February. Then they would not depart until March, in which case they would strike a west west-northwest course, in the path of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, to 34° or more where they would try to hit land along the North American coast.¹¹ What Cabrillo's untimely death left un-

⁹ "Derrotero muy special para dirigir a S.M., hecho por Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta, Mexico, 1561," CDU (segunda serie) III, 119-38.

¹⁰ Two centuries later the Englishman, George Anson, one of the few who succeeded in capturing a Spanish galleon, thought much differently about Acapulco. He considered the town extremely wretched and unhealthy, "for the air is so pent up, that it has scarcely any circulation." The port, however, was thought to be one of the finest in the Pacific.

¹¹ Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo sailed from Navidad on June 27, 1542, with two vessels, hoping to find a route to the east by striking northwards. He died on January 3, 1543, and his two ships, *San Salvador* and *La Victoria*, arrived back in Navidad three months later.

done, Urdaneta intended to complete, by exploring the great bay which Cabrillo's chronicler described. After this slight diversion the fleet would then head west at 36° or 35°, exploring what lies between California and China. At this point Urdaneta's calculations go a bit awry, for he says that in case they could not follow the northern coast of New Spain, then they would climb to 36°, head west and put into the Isla de Botana, one of the Ladrones. From there they would move south to the Philippines.¹² Urdaneta concludes his memorial by mentioning that rumors had been circulating in New Spain to the effect that the French had discovered the long sought Northwest Passage to the Pacific.¹³ This was an added stimulus to get the Philippine project underway as quickly as possible.

About the same time Urdaneta was composing his memorial to the king, Viceroy Velasco was busy choosing a man to head the expedition. On February 9, 1561, he recommended that Miguel López de Legazpi lead the second attempt to plant a Spanish settlement in the Philippines.¹⁴ The king approved.

¹² It seems evident that Urdaneta was unaware that the prevailing westerlies in the northern latitudes would rule out a westward crossing. How then could he later suggest the same route for a return trip to Acapulco?

¹³ Urdaneta had probably heard reports of Jacques Cartier's expedition which sailed to Canada in 1541. In 1534 Cartier had been given command of 162 men and two ships to undertake the discovery of a Northwest Passage. —Oddly enough, around ten years later, in 1576, an Englishman, Sir Humphry Gilbert, wrote in a pamphlet that Urdaneta "came from the Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northwest Passage..." "A Discourse Written by Sir Humphrey Gylberte, Knight, to prove a passage by the Northwest to Cataia and East India," in *Sir Humphrey Gylberte and His Enterprise of Colonization in America*, (ed. Rev. Carlos Slafter) Boston 1903, pp. 78-79.

¹⁴ Velasco wrote that "as commander and leader of the 250-300 soldiers and sailors of the expedition, I have appointed Miguel López de Legazpi of the Province of Lepúzcoa, an outstanding hidalgo of the house of Lezcano. He is fifty years old and has spent more than twenty-nine of them in New Spain. He has given a good account of himself in the position he has held and the important affairs he handled, as well as showing himself up to now a good and upright Christian. As far as Fray Andrés de Urdaneta is concerned, a bet-

The choice of Legazpi must have delighted Urdaneta since both were from the province of Guipúzcoa, and the friendship of two Basques separated from their native land is almost as intimate as a blood relationship. Final preparations for the undertaking, however, took much longer than anticipated, even by Spanish standards. Only in June, 1564, did the timber arrive for the ships' masts. It took two weeks to put them in place, but it was still five months before the vessels were sufficiently provisioned to depart.

Exactly two months before Legazpi's fleet lifted anchor in Navidad, the Audiencia of Mexico issued a detailed instruction on the object of the expedition and the manner in which it was to proceed.¹⁵ The instruction is deeply significant since it embodies in its clauses and recommendations almost a century of experience in New World conquests. We can roughly divide the instruction into three sections. The first deals with preparations for the expedition, the second with the voyage, and the third, conduct in the Philippines.

Three hundred to 350 soldiers and sailors were to make

ter choice of one to guide and govern the expedition could not have been made. For they are compatriots, relatives and close friends." CDU (segunda serie) III, 116-17.

In the crew which made up the Legazpi expedition was a large group of non-Spaniards. Later, Legazpi was to write that he had sent ten or twelve Portuguese back to New Spain, and there remained several more. Perhaps he was suspicious of them in view of Portuguese attempts to capture Cebu. Legazpi also mentions the presence of other foreigners, Flemings, Italians, Venetians, Greeks and Frenchmen. He found it difficult to send these men back to New Spain, since they were desperately needed carpenters and artillery men. See Legazpi to Philip II, Panay, 25, julio 1570. *Documentos Manuscritos de las historia de Filipinas* (Transcripts of Archivo General de Indias material, now in the Jesuit Province of Tarragona Archives. San ugat del Vallés, Barcelona, Spain; hereinafter cited as DM) X, 198-99.

¹⁵ Since the Viceroy of Mexico, Luis de Mendoza, had died in 1564, the sending of the expedition was in the hands of a Licenciado Valderrama, a member of the Council of the Indies. He was in New Spain at the time as Visitor General of the audiencia. The instruction to Legazpi is dated September 1, 1564. CDU, II, 145-200.

up the expedition which was to depart from Navidad.¹⁶ Legazpi was to go to the port to receive the fleet in the presence of the Royal Officials, Guido de Lavezaris (Treasurer), Andrés Cauchela (Auditor) and Andrés de Mirandola (Agent or factor). The official transfer of the *capitana*, or flagship, *San Pedro*, the *almiranta*, *San Pablo*, and the two pinnaces, *San Juan de Letran* and *San Lucas*, was to be performed by Bachiller Martínez, the Alcalde Mayor of Michoacan, and also chief buyer for the fleet. Pilots were then to be approved by Legazpi and all armaments and provisions checked. Among the stores was included ship's biscuit, bacon, wine, cooking oil, vinegar, fish, cheese, fowl and beans.¹⁷ The Master-of-Camp, Mateo de Saz, was to sail in the *capitana*. The larger pinnacle was under the command of Juan de la Isla, while Hernán Sánchez Muñón was to captain the smaller one. However, Sánchez was unable to go, and he was replaced by Alonso de Arelano. Forbidden to go on the expedition were Indians, male or female, and negro women, either married or single. However, a dozen negro males could be brought as servants. Religious of the Order of Saint Augustine were to accompany the expedition and they were "to bring the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith to the natives of those parts." The Augustinians were to travel in the *San Pedro* and the *San Pablo*, the larger and safer vessels. In order that God might give them, a prosperous and safe crossing, all were to confess their sins

¹⁶ The actual number that sailed was 379. See Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, (ed. W. Retana) Madrid 1909, (1609) p. 373, note 19. —Besides soldiers and sailors, and Urdaneta, five other Augustinians were along, Martin de Rada, Diego de Herrera, Andrés de Aguierre, Lorenzo Jiménez and Pedro de Gamboa. See *Misioneros Agustinos en el Extremo Oriente*, 1565-1780, (ed. Manuel Merino, O.S.A.) Madrid 1954, for biographical data.

¹⁷ When the colony was already established in Cebu, the Royal Officials wrote a complaint to the king about the poor provisioning of the fleet. They had departed Mexico lacking the necessary armament and supplies. Foodstuffs had been stored on board the ships weeks before they departed with the result that much was already putrid when the expedition got underway. Cf "Provanza hecha por los oficiales de la Hacienda Real de las Islas del Poniente, Cebu, 23 mayo 1565." CDU (segunda serie) II, 305-18. —The total cost of provisioning the fleet was 382,468 pesos, 7 tomines, 5 granos of common gold. *Ibid.*, 461-63.

and receive Communion. The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was to be said and all were to attend. Also in the religious vein, Legazpi was exhorted to take special care that all blasphemies and public sins were punished with the utmost rigor. Their conduct as Christians was to be exemplary if they were to give an example of their Christianity to the natives.

After treating the preparations for the expedition, the Audiencia turned to the voyage itself. First and foremost, Legazpi was forbidden to enter the Moluccas. He was to make for the Philippines and deal only with those islands "which they say also contain spices." In one of the most important passages of the instruction, the Audiencia says that the object of the expedition was twofold: to bring the natives of those parts to the knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith, and to discover the return route to New Spain. And in the same sentence the Audiencia prescribes that native spices and other riches be brought back to New Spain. It was this undiscovered return route that had been the downfall of Loaysa and Villalobos. It was easy enough getting to the Philippines, but how to return, that was the problem.

Once the expedition arrived in the Islands of the West, Legazpi was to examine the ports and to learn of settlements and their wealth, the nature and mode of life of the natives, trade and barter procedures used among them, and with what nations they trade, the value and prices of spices, the different varieties of the same and their exchange value with merchandise and articles. The instruction continued:

And you may exchange the articles of barter and the merchandise you carry, for spice, drugs, gold and other articles of value and esteem. And if, in your judgment the land is so rich and of such quality that you should colonize therein, you shall establish a colony in that part and district that appears suitable to you, and where the firmest friendship shall have been made with you, and you shall affirm and observe inviolably this friendship. After you have made this settlement, if you should deem it advantageous to the service of God, our Lord, and of His Majesty, to remain in those districts where you have this settled, together with some of your people and religious, until you have given advice of it to His Majesty and his Royal Audiencia in his name, you shall send immediately to this Nueva

España, one or more trustworthy persons...with the news and relation of what you have accomplished and where you have halted.¹⁸

News of Villalobos' expedition was to be sought. Possession of all lands or islands discovered was to be taken in the king's name. Pilots were to make careful logs. If any Portuguese were met, the Spaniards were to try to see their sea charts. If necessary, they were to buy the charts from them, an unlikely eventuality. Also, as much information as could possibly be obtained about Portuguese activity in the area was to be gotten.

Trading was strictly regulated and was to be exclusively in the hands of the Royal Officials. Only native weights were to be used. Merchandise worth fifty thousand pesos belonging to the king was to be traded first, then ten thousand pesos for private individuals, then another fifty thousand for the king, and so on. However, all drugs and spices were the king's alone and no one without his special permission was to trade for them. The king was also to receive 1/20 of the profits of all return cargo belonging to private individuals. Merchandise belonging to individuals who did not sail with the fleet was to be traded last of all, and 7% of the returns was to go to the King.

In any settlement made, a fortress, or at least walls, was to be put up with two houses within, one for Legazpi, and the other a storehouse for munitions and supplies. A church was to be erected near the fort. Soldiers were forbidden to enter native villages or houses or to take anything by force. Legazpi was to seek the advice of the religious, especially Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, whenever important decisions were to be made. But Urdaneta was to return with the ship or ships sent back to discover the return route. Finally, Legazpi is informed that he would be presented with a small, locked box, in which would be found a sealed paper containing the name of his successor. Another box would contain the name of his successor's successor. For, as the Audiencia rather melancholyly reminds the General, "we are all subject to death."

¹⁸ "Instrucción..." *Ibid.*, 163-64. Translation from Emma Blair and James Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, II, 92-93.

THE VOYAGE

By Monday, November 20, 1564, the fleet was ready to sail. On this same night, two hours after midnight, with a crowd of well-wishers, relatives and robed religious looking on and waving farewell, Legazpi shouted the order to raise anchors. The four vessels pushed out into the still Pacific. At the lead was the flagship, *San Pedro*, carrying besides Legazpi a brigantine on her poop deck. The *almiranta*, *San Pablo*, captained by Mateo de Saz, and piloted by Jaime Martínez Fort, followed next. Then came the two pinnaces, the *San Juan* and *San Lucas*, piloted by Rodríguez de Espinosa and Lope Martín respectively. The *San Lucas*, later involved in a daring escapade, was commanded by the adventurous Alonso de Arellano.¹⁹

The eastward crossing was admittedly the least difficult part of the expedition. By Saturday, November 25, the fleet was three hundred miles out of Navidad. Here, in the presence of the notary, Hernando Riquel, Legazpi opened more sealed instructions of the Audiencia. They stipulated that the fleet was to sail directly to the Philippines, touching at the Islas Nubladas, Rocapartida, Recifes and Matalotes. In other words, Legazpi was to follow the exact route of Villalobos. Urdaneta and the Augustinians were taken aback at the apparent change of plans, for they were under the impression that they would make for New Guinea.²⁰ They said that if

¹⁹ Esteban Rodríguez wrote that the fleet was composed of two naos, one galliot and one pinnace. The nao, *San Pedro*, was 500 toneladas, with seventy-five aboard. The *Almiranta*, *San Pablo* was 400 toneladas, the galliot, *San Juan*, eighty and the pinnace, *San Lucas*, forty. Rodríguez says that in the whole fleet went 150 sailors and 200 soldiers. "Año de 1565. Relación muy circunstanciada de la navegación que hizo la armada de S.M. a cargo del General Miguel López de Legazpi..." CDU (segunda serie) II, 373-74. — For the following account of the voyage, I have used both the detailed report of Rodríguez, mentioned above, and also Legazpi's own account, translated in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, II, 196-216.

²⁰ Urdaneta had proposed that the expedition first go to New Guinea, then work up through Ternate to the Philippine. Grijalva, *Crónica*, p. 347, says that the Audiencia was principally interested in the return route which would be extremely difficult from New Guinea, as experience showed.

they had known of this beforehand, they would not have embarked, apparently for the reasons Urdaneta had advanced in Mexico. However, they all came round to make the best of a situation entirely out of their hands.

The ships were to sail west-southwest until they were at 9°, then sail due east. This they did without difficulty. However, Legazpi noticed that each evening the *San Lucas* would unexplicably lie ahead, and some mornings the little ship was more than six miles to the front. Legazpi called the pilot, Lope Martín, to task for this odd behavior and ordered him to stay half a league ahead of the *San Pedro*. On the evening of November 30, the *San Lucas* was in proper position, but on the morning of December 1, it was nowhere to be seen. Legazpi suspected that either by mischance or deliberately the *San Lucas* had separated from the fleet, but since it was the iastest and easiest to handle he thought for certain that it was ahead of the fleet and would rendezvous with it in the Philippines. With this hope the other three ships continued on.

On December 18, the fleet, reduced by one, was at 9°, and there experienced three days of Pacific calms, interspersed with showers. Once they reached this position, they headed due east. Rodríguez' log runs monotonously the same; they had fallen in with the steady easterlies and were carried by it for thousands of miles. On December 11 the run was 105 miles, 90 the next day, 44 on December 13. But on the 15th they covered only 24 miles. The wind soon picked up and on December 19 they had a run of 105 miles. When by December 28 no land had been sighted, several pilots thought that the fleet had already passed the Corales and the Reyes of the Marshalls. So Legazpi ordered that they go up to 10° to meet the Matalotes. On January 8, 1565, the *almiranta*, *San Pablo*, fired its cannon, the signal that land had been sighted. The other two ships hove to but it proved to be a false alarm. They resumed their former positions. The next day, Tuesday, January 9, the *San Pedro* did sight land. Artillery was discharged and the three ships turned towards a tiny atoll. They could find no suitable place to dock, so

a landing party went ashore, composed of thirty men with Martín de Goyti and Mateo de Saz from the *almirante*, and Urdaneta and Salcedo from the *capitana*. At the approach of the bearded whites, the natives who had been watching from the shore fled inland, with the sole exception of an old man and his wife who showed no fear. De Goyti tarried long enough to leave a few knives and nicknacks, while Salcedo, the grandson of Legazpi, took possession of the island in the name of Philip II. The natives had beards, so the island was fittingly called, Los Barbudos, The Isles of Bearded Men. Next day, Wednesday, January 10, two more islands were sighted. These were named Islas Placeres and San Pablo respectively. The fleet spent the following days sailing through the archipelago and occasionally giving names to the islands. By January 17, all the pilots thought that they should already be past the Matalotes and close by the Philippines. This threw a scare into Legazpi, because if true, they would meet the Philippines approximately at Mindanao, just as Villalobos, and so encounter the same difficulty of trying to tack north against unfavorable winds. Only Urdaneta thought otherwise. He was of the opinion that they were in the Jardines de Villalobos, and that the Philippines were still a good ways west. As it proved, he was correct. He seconded Legazpi's suggestion that they go up to 12° or 13°, not for Legazpi's reason, to hit the Philippines, but to meet the Ladrones, which he said must be close by. Ten years in an Augustinian monastery had not dulled Urdaneta's reckoning, for on January 22, land was sighted. The pilots announced with a smile of satisfaction that the Philippines were on the horizon. But the robed friar simply shook his head and said no, they were the Ladrones. The closer the *San Pedro* approached the Island, the surer became the pilots that the landfall was the Islas del Poniente, and the surer Urdaneta was that they were the Ladrones, especially when he saw the lateen-rigged native boats. The professional pilots smiled, some even laughed, at Urdaneta. When the outriggers sailed out to meet the *San Pedro*, Urdaneta leaned over the side and shouted in their own language, "What is your island called?" They answered, "Goam." It was then Urdaneta's turn to smile.

On Tuesday, January 23, a great number of native outriggers, carrying upwards of 400 men, surrounded Legazpi's ships. The swift-moving, lateen-rigged proas made a favorable impression on Legazpi's sailors. They thought them the "lightest sailing vessels in the world."²¹ For rice and yams, the Spaniards traded nails, useful to the natives for their ships. No natives were allowed on board, all exchanges taking place by means of rope and pulley over the side of the ship. But the natives lived up to their reputation as thieves by putting sand underneath the top layers of the rice they exchanged. Someone even stole a piece of iron from the rudder of the *San Juan*, and a few light-fingered Guaminians were caught in the act of taking the nails out of the lower planking of the ships.

Later in the week Legazpi himself went ashore and took possession of the island in the name of the King of Spain, and Mass was celebrated with more than eighty natives present. The Spaniards, however, were constantly on their guard, never completely at ease. And with reason, for landing parties looking for water were frequently ambushed and stoned. Unfortunately, the eleven-day stopover in Guam ended on an unhappy note. One of the young apprentice seamen was accidentally left ashore by a landing party. As the group returned to the ship at dusk they heard shouts coming from the shore, but gave no heed. Only after they reached the *San Pedro* and discovered the absence of the apprentice did they hastily return to shore. It was then too late. They

²¹ The natives were described by Rodriguez as completely naked with their hair flowing down to their waists. "The proas which they use are the lightest sailing vessels in the world; neither galley nor brigantine can be compared with them. They are very long and narrow, with the bow shaped like the stern. A thick but light pole with a cross-shaft serves as an outrigger to prevent tipping over. The sails are lateen rigged, cut in a triangle, both lower and upper. They are on two yards, one above the other. The lower one is lengthened or drawn depending on the wind. The sails are made of palm, so delicately woven that they appear of linen. Eight or ten Indians ride in each proa, one always baling water because these boats are not one solid piece. They are neither calked nor nailed but the planks are fastened with reeds. A mixture of oil and bitumen is used for pitch." CDU (segunda serie) II, 387-88.

found the boy with thirty spear thrusts in his body, the skin torn off his face, his tongue ripped out and a sharp stick thrust clear through the mouth, protruding through the back of his neck. Vengeance was swift and brutal. That very night a hundred heavily armed soldiers landed in the area of the assault, which was apart from the main village.²² The natives had gotten wind of what was afoot and had fled. The following morning the soldiers set fire to the palm-thatched dwellings and the boats on shore. The four unlucky Guami-nians they did catch were hung on the exact spot where the boy was murdered. "In this way," said the chronicler of the expedition, "they will treat with more respect the next group of Spaniards that arrives, and learn to keep more faithfully their promises of friendship."²³

In spite of the desolate nature of the place and scant chance of safety, Urdaneta suggested that a settlement be made on the island. From it, he argued, a return route could be ascertained all the more easily, and the discovery of what lies between it and the Philippines could be undertaken. Legazpi answered that doing so would not be in accordance with his orders, and besides, the islands were too poor to support anyone. They would push on to the Philippines. The fleet lifted anchor in Guam on February 3, 1565, and headed east.

A bare eleven days after Legazpi's expedition left the Ladrones, or Marianas, as they are known today, they sighted the Philippines. On the afternoon of February 13, the fleet dropped anchor in Gamay Bay, Samar. Legazpi immediately dispatched two small boats to look for some good harbor or river which afforded better protection from the open sea. One boat coasted northwards, the other south. They met with no success and returned minus Francisco Gómez, who imprudently ventured ashore and was promptly killed for his trouble by suspicious natives.

While the expedition was still in a quandry as to what to do next, they did not lack for visitors. The curious Filipinos came rowing out to the giant ships, inspecting them at

²² In another account, 150 men went ashore. *Ibid.*, 391.

²³ *Ibid.*, 249.

closehand. Legazpi described his visitors as "crafty and treacherous, but they understand everything. They wear clothes, but go barefooted. They wear gold earrings, bracelets and necklaces." Just then the Spaniards were not looking for gold, but simply food, which, although promised by the visitors, never materialized. All the Spaniards were given was one chicken and one egg. And what is one chicken and one egg among so many! Seeing no remedy for the situation, the fleet put out to sea and turned southwards.

Two days after leaving Gamay Bay the expedition turned the southern extremity of Samar and put into Leyte Gulf, dropping anchor in the vicinity of Manicani Island. Legazpi sent off another landing party and this one beached near the town of Caniungo. The Spaniards were received indifferently by the natives but did receive food and drink. The few Castilian words the Filipinos spoke indicated that they had some contact with the Villalobos expedition. But when Legazpi wished to land his full force the next day, he was met with a show of hostility. Brandished crises and threatening gestures dissuaded the Spanish captain from putting ashore. Not that Legazpi was fearful of losing the day, but he was extremely careful of provoking the natives to hostility. Before he left, however, he sent Martín de Goyti and Esteban Rodríguez to scout the western coast of the island. Mistaking for a river the narrow channel which separates Samar from Leyte they coasted west along Samar and then south along the east coast of Leyte, until they hit the rather populated village of Cabalian which boasted 400 inhabitants. De Goyti then made all haste to report his find to the general, describing with equal enthusiasm "the gold which decorated the natives and the many hogs and chickens which roamed freely along the beach." Legazpi received the news with more than ordinary interest, and on March 5 turned the fleet southwards towards Cabalian. They reached there next day. At this stage fresh provisions were of the utmost importance, so the Spaniards petitioned the chief of the village for both friendship and food. But the disappointed Legazpi wrote that, "we received all the friendship we desired, but no food. In fact their attitude seems to be quite the contrary of what

those who had gone there had reported." Spanish suspicions were further aroused and hopes lowered when on the night of their arrival most of the natives fled in their boats with their wives, children and movable property. Legazpi ordered that no one should stop them from leaving.

After futile conversations and more promises of relief, the Spaniards finally resorted to the tried and true expedient so often practiced in Spanish expeditions of discovery. Legazpi called together a meeting of officers and religious to ask what course should be taken in view of the refusal of the natives to supply them. All agreed that in view of the grave necessity of the troops, supplies could forcibly be taken from the Filipinos. However, they must be paid a just price for what was to be taken and the Filipinos were to suffer no bodily harm. Having thus satisfied his conscience, the commander sent ashore a foraging party under Captain Martin. They captured forty-five hogs, "large and small," twenty cargas (four fanegas a carga) of sweet potatoes, rice and hens. That evening the hungry Spaniards enjoyed a "merry carnival." The next day Legazpi sent ashore articles of barter, caps, bells, and knives to complete his part of the deal, apparently oblivious of the fact that the caps, bells and knives could not be eaten by the natives in place of their yearly harvest.

Disappointed at the reception they received in Samar and Leyte, the future settlers pushed on to Limasawa Island on March 9, hoping for a better reception. They were disappointed again, however, for the Spaniards found a depopulated island of twenty inhabitants, and even those were hostile to a man. It was here in Limasawa that Legazpi began to suspect the reason for the fear and hostility. Could the Portuguese have had anything to do with it? Rejected again, the fleet moved south to the Island of Camiguin where they had been told cinnamon grew. This was March 11, 1565. But they encountered the same treatment. As soon as the ships pulled up to the beach, the natives fled to the hills. "Their fear of the Castilians was so great that they would not wait for us to give any explanation." Added to their discomfort was the discouraging report brought by those who went

looking for water, that there was neither cinnamon nor any signs of it. Spirits reached a low point.

On Wednesday, March 14, the fleet set sail for Butuan, on Mindanao's north coast. But contrary winds and tricky tides pushed them north to the coast of Bohol. Here Legazpi took advantage of the opportunity to make repairs on the flagship. Meanwhile, he dispatched his ever-faithful Martín de Goyti to reconnoitre the east coast of the island. Another party under Juan de la Isla was sent in the opposite direction. Isla reported finding an inlet sufficient for holding the ships and the land about gave promise of supplies. Legazpi then called another meeting of captains, religious and royal officials. They decided that the *capitana* and *almirante* should make for the inlet discovered by Isla, but the *San Juan* should be sent to Butuan to find out if any cinnamon or spices existed there, where it was reported to be cultivated. Samples were to be brought back, as well as any gold, wax, or local products which would be of value in New Spain. Captain Juan de la Isla, who was to lead the group, was to make peace with the king of Butuan and try to convince the king of the advantages that a Spanish spice-trading settlement would bring. Isla was also ordered to treat peaceably with any Moro traders he might happen upon, discreetly asking where they were from, with whom they traded, and in a practical vein, the current spice prices. Gerónimo Pacheco accompanied Isla as interpreter. If no cinnamon was found in Butuan then they were to coast along the north shore of Mindanao, to Cavite, where Bernaldo de la Torre (of the Villalobos expedition) reported quantities of cinnamon for the taking. Isla was given twenty-five days to complete his trip. Legazpi's instructions to Isla give evidence of a clear-cut knowledge of spice centers in Mindanao. The Spaniards knew exactly where they wanted to go and why. What was lacking was a permanent base of operations.

On the same day that Juan de la Isla set sail for Butuan, the Spaniards had their first taste of battle with Moros, the Mohammedans of the Southern Philippines. While coasting eastward in his pinnace on March 17, Mateo de Saz sighted a native proa at a distance. Thinking it to be a small type

proa, he sent six soldiers in a ship's boat to give chase. Saz returned to report to Legazpi. Realizing that six soldiers were insufficient to capture what was actually a large forty-five man proa, Legazpi hastily dispatched another boat loaded with soldiers. They arrived to find their companions exchanging fire with the Moros. Now reinforced, the Spaniards grappled, boarded and captured the Moro trading vessel, out of Borneo. In the scuffle fourteen or fifteen Moros escaped in an outrigger, eight or ten were captured and the rest were killed. The Moros fought with lances, arrows, muskets and a culverin to protect their cargo of colored blankets, damasks, almarzales of silk and cotton, iron, tin, sulphur, porcelain and gold. In a gesture of liberality and good politics, Legazpi returned the cargo to the captives, as well as its equivalent in articles of barter. At this the Moro traders evidently forgot what was originally an unprovoked attack. One man of the Bornean crew interested Legazpi, the pilot, and he remained with the Spaniards. His knowledge of the local languages and inter-island sea lanes would be invaluable. It was this pilot who confirmed Legazpi's previous suspicions. He told Legazpi that if the Filipinos should avoid his fleet, he should not be surprised, for they had great fear of the name Castilian. This was because two years previous some Portuguese from Moluco with eight large praus and many natives of Maluco visited the Philippines. Wherever they went they asked for peace and friendship, saying they were Castilians and vassals of the King of Spain. Then, when the natives felt secure in their friendship, the Portuguese assaulted and robbed them, killing and capturing all they could lay hands on. For this reason the island of Limasawa was depopulated and scarcely any inhabitants remained there. In Bohol more than a thousand were killed or captured. When the Moro pilot finished his rather grim tale, Legazpi had the answer to his puzzle. But it was not the last he would hear of the Portuguese.

In the meanwhile Juan de la Isla was busy bartering in Butuan. Two Moro junks were anchored the Butuan river and they traded freely in gold and wax, the Moros being highly pleased with the Spanish silver *tostones*. The Spaniards were

in turn pleased with the Moro products, in fact so much so that the Royal Treasurer, Guido de Lavezaris, did all he could do to keep the restless Spanish crew from plundering the junks. Their title to plunder, they argued with a refinement of irony, came from the fact that the Moros mixed dirt in cakes of wax, uttered slanders against the Spaniards, and even lied to them. Their arguments convinced neither Isla nor the Royal officials. By April 1, Isla's trading expedition was back in Bohol. His report was so favorable and the samples of spices and gold so convincing that a good many sailors wanted to sail to Butuan then and there. Legazpi had other ideas.

Just before Juan de la Isla returned from Mindanao, the chief pilot, Esteban Rodríguez, was sent with the Moro pilot on a reconaissance trip. Legazpi intended to send to the Vicery of New Spain a detailed account of the area, with names and descriptions of the various islands. The expedition would also touch at Cebu, renew friendships with the local chiefs, and also notice whether the port was suitable for entrance. Curiously, they were also to find out where the negroes dwelt. Apparently Legazpi was under impression that the negroes, who had been brought to the Moluccas by the Portugese, were in the Philippines as well. Or perhaps previous expeditions had mistaken the dark-skinned upland peoples for negroes. What may have been behind the order was future slave-trading plans. In any case no negroes were found. Nor did they get a chance to visit the main village of the island. Rodríguez' ship was caught by the tide and drifted past Cebu channel, sailing instead up between the west coast of Cebu and Negros. It was on Negros that the valuable Moro guide was killed by a lance thrust as he wandered about looking for water. Slaving raids had made the Moros unwelcome in the Visayan Islands. Although Rodríguez was given eight days to accomplish his mission, he took more than three weeks. But it was a thorough job of reconnoitering and it was to have a profound influence on the future of the Spanish colony.

It was Esteban Rodríguez and Juan de Aguirre's glowing report of populous towns and well-stocked food bins that

decided Legazpi to take the fleet to Cebu. The Captain intended to seek peace and friendship from the natives and buy what provisions he could. On the other hand he also intended making war on them if they refused his requests. He felt justified in this since it was these people who had received Magellan in 1521. Most of them had been baptized and likewise vassals of the King of Spain. If they refused Legazpi, they would, in a simple twist of logic, be considered rebels. The fleet reached Cebu on Friday, April 27, 1565. No sooner had they dropped anchor than a messenger came rowing out to tell Legazpi that Tupas, the village chief, along with ten other chiefs, would be out to see him. However, the son of Saripari, who inflicted so much damage on Magellan's crew, never appeared. Far from preparing to receive the Spaniards, the Filipinos were busy packing their belongings and heading for the hills, a sight now familiar to the Spaniards. In order to assuage their fears, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta and Mateo de Saz went ashore to explain Legazpi's mission. They spoke through an interpreter to make certain they were understood. Three times they went ashore. But to no avail. Legazpi described what followed:

But at length, seeing that all our good intentions were of no avail, and that all the natives had put on their wooden corselets and rope armor and armed themselves with their lances, shields, small cutlasses, and arrows, and that many plumes and varicolored head-dresses were waving; and that help of men had come in praus from the outside, so that their number must be almost two thousand warriors; and considering that now was the time for us to make a settlement and effect a colony, and that the present port and location were exactly suited to our needs, and that it was useless for us to wait any longer; and seeing that there was no hope for peace, and that they did not wish it, although we had offered it, the master-of-Camp said to the natives through an interpreter: "Since you do not desire our friendship, and will not receive us peacefully, but are anxious for war, wait until we have landed, and look to it that you act as men, and defend yourselves from us and guard your houses." The Indians answered boldly; "Be it so! Come on! We await you here."²⁴

However brave the Filipinos may have been, they fell into utter confusion at the sound of Legazpi's artillery, which

²⁴ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, II, 212-13.

he turned on the proas rather than on them. The spectacle of force worked for the natives hot-footed it into the woods at such speed that Legazpi thought them "the lightest and swiftest runners I had ever seen." Thus the Spaniards landed without any opposition, claimed the island again for Spain, and began a colonial rule which was to last more than three centuries. The future seemed bright. Legazpi imagined himself "at the gate in the vicinity of the most fortunate countries in the world . . . I hope that through God's protection there will be in these lands no slight result for his service and the increase of the royal crown, if this land is settled by Spaniards, as I believe it will be."²⁵

Smoldering ruins were about all that greeted the landing party that April 27. A stray artillery shell set fire to one of the nipa huts and the blaze spread to over a hundred houses. In the ruins one of Legazpi's men, Juan de Camuz, made what was considered a miraculous find. He came across an image of the Child Jesus, probably the one which Pigafetta had presented to the Queen of Cebu in 1521.²⁶ It was decided that the image should be placed in the first church they should build, which would be called in honor of the statue, Nombre de Jesús, the Name of Jesus. After four hundred years, the statue still looks down upon the faithful of Cebu from its niche in the Augustinian Church of the Holy Child.²⁷

The Spaniards wasted little time in establishing themselves. On May 8 ground was broken for a triangular shaped fort. Around it land was measured off for living quarters and a church. The settlement was to be called the Villa de San Miguel, for it was founded on the feast day of St. Michael's apparition. While the building was going on, the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 214.

²⁶ Testimony of the discovery was duly recorded by the Public Notary, Fernando Riquel. CDU (segunda serie) III, 277-84.

²⁷ The church, later founded in Cebu, was called by this name, and it still functions in Cebu City. The image of the Christ Child is still held in veneration by the faithful and on its feast day pilgrims come from all parts of the island to do it reverence. The practice of dancing in front of the image in the church is still carried on, one of the two churches in Christendom (the other, the cathedral of Seville) where the practice is allowed.

Cebuans were not entirely idle. They did what they could to harry the invaders, and their attacks were frequent, but always repulsed. Probably realizing the futility of opposing superior armament, a party of natives one day came suing for peace. Legazpi said that he would deal only with Chief Tupas. Although he had to wait several days, his insistence was rewarded with a visit from the chief, who came to the Spanish camp accompanied by an entourage of forty retainers. While waiting for Tupas, Legazpi took counsel with his officers and religious about whether he should pardon the Cebuans' past offenses against Magellan's men and their apostasy from the faith they had embraced. They thought it best to do so. So when the Filipino leader presented himself, Legazpi announced through Moro interpreters that what his people had done in the past to Magellan's soldiers was forgiven, and the Spaniards now only sought amiable relations. He proposed a treaty. The Filipinos were to recognize Spanish sovereignty, pay an annual nominal tribute in recognition of this sovereignty, and conduct trade with the Spaniards on a reciprocal basis. On their part the Spaniards would defend the Cebuans against their enemies and would permanently remain in their newly-erected settlement. The Filipinos were apparently pleased with the terms and announced they would return in three days to ratify the treaty. Next month representatives from both sides put their names to the agreement, which was slightly changed.²⁸ Added was an important clause which stipulated that the Filipinos would sell to the Spaniards all the food supplies they needed, and at local prices. In this way Legazpi hoped to put an end to the food shortage which was rapidly becoming serious.

It must have been about this time that the three Royal Officials assigned to the Philippines sent the king the first of several memorials written from Cebu.²⁹ What they needed most of all, they said, was missionaries. Urdaneta had left on the *San Pablo* and only three were left, Diego de Herrera, Martín de Rada and Pedro de Gamboa. Soldiers and arms

²⁸ The terms of the treaty are in CDU (segunda serie) III, 101-04.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 319-24.

were next on the list, "So that if the natives resist the true knowledge of our holy catholic faith, they may come to it by force of arms." Confirmation of titles, freedom from the *pecho* and *alcabala* taxes (taxes on sales and exchange), encomiendas and land grants, come next in the letter. Also requested by the Royal Officials was authorization to buy slaves in the local markets as well as the right to enslave Moros and take their land. Taking the land of the Moros and enslaving them was justified by the hindrance they offered to the preaching of the gospel and the fact that the Moros themselves preached the Mohammedan religion.³⁰ In an aside, the officials perhaps revealed their true motives when they wrote that the Moros prevented legitimate trade between natives and Spaniards.

About the same time Legazpi penned his own memorial in which he seemed principally concerned with the confirmation of titles and the benefits accruing from the expedition.³¹ He first of all asked for the royal mandate both to place the whole of the Philippines under Spanish domination and to populate the islands with settlers, with himself becoming the Governor and Captain General³² Legazpi also asked to be made *Alguacil Mayor*, or Chief Constable, in whatever territory was to be discovered and settled. In addition he wished possession of the haciendas attached to the fortress of Cebu and future fortresses to be erected. While he was at it, he also asked that they throw in the title of Adelantado of the

³⁰ At the time of the Spaniard's arrival, the Archipelago was subject to the Sultans of Borneo and Jolo. The Mohammedan chiefs of Luzon were either born in Borneo or descendants of invaders from that island. F. Blumentritt, "España y la isla de Borneo," *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica*, (Madrid) XX, 1886, 129 ff., cited in Morga, *Sucesos* (ed. W. Retana), p. 379. It seems, however, that the natives of the islands were not intellectually converted to Mohammedanism but simply adopted some of the external practices of Islam. Hence, the relative facility with which they were converted to Christianity.

³¹ CDU (segunda serie) III, 325-29.

³² The authority to subjugate the islands was not included in the original instructions of Legazpi. Only after exploring the archipelago and ascertaining the return route to New Spain did he receive the mandate to establish a permanent settlement.

Ladrones³³ for himself and the habit of Santiago for his grandson, Felipe de Salcedo. For Mateo de Saz, a simple *merced*, or reward, would do.

It was probably while Legazpi was writing his memorials that the *San Pablo* was readied for the return voyage. It was under the command of Legazpi's seventeen year old grandson, Felipe de Salcedo, but the veteran Urdaneta was along in the capacity of advisory pilot. The Augustinian probably provided the guiding spirit. The official pilots were Esteban Rodríguez and Rodrigo de la Isla Espinosa.³⁴ The ship cleared Cebu on June 1, 1565, well provisioned for nine months at sea. A week later it was in the San Bernardino Strait, and after hitting open sea and climbing north, was at 24° off the Marianas on July 1. When the *San Pedro* hit the higher Pacific latitudes it turned eastward, approached the North American coast and headed south to Acapulco. After 129 days of sailing, on September 8, 1565, with a crew decimated by scurvy, the *San Pedro* put into Acapulco. Sixteen of its forty-four men had died on the voyage, including the pilot, Esteban Rodríguez. The crew hardly realized it but they had inaugurated what was to develop into a two and a half century link between the Philippines and Mexico.³⁵ By sailing north from the Philippines and into the Japan Current which carried them over to and down the west coast of America, they had solved the riddle of the return route.

³³ See the memorial of Melchor de Legazpi, CDU (segunda serie) III, 330-38, in which the son of the conquistador again petitioned recompense for an expedition to the Marianas.

³⁴ The log of the return is in *Ibid.*, 427-56.

³⁵ Although Urdaneta is generally given credit for finding the return route to New Spain, Alonso de Arellano was probably the first to traverse it. See Charles E. Nowell, "Arellano versus Urdaneta," *The Pacific Historical Review*, XXXI, 2 (1962) 111-20. Whoever it may have been, once the return route was found the old question of ownership of the Philippines was revived. To cosmographers and Urdaneta, the king asked two questions: 1) Whether the Philippines and Cebu belonged to Portugal, and 2) Were both included in the agreement made with the king of Portugal in 1529. All answered, including Urdaneta, that they did belong to Spain, but were included in the agreement of 1529. See Urdaneta's answer in *Revista Agustiniiana* 3, 4, 1, 1882.

THE UNCERTAIN YEARS

The six years following Legazpi's initial landing in Cebu were the most critical in the early history of the colony. It was simply a fight for survival. The serious shortage of food drove the Spaniards to eating not only grass and palm leaves but also mice and rats. They were harassed by the Portuguese from without and from unfriendly tribes within. That the venture survived at all was due almost entirely to those rare qualities which were the hallmark of the sixteenth-century Spanish conquistador, an utter disregard for danger and an amazing capacity to endure physical trials. The early years in the Philippines provide an excellent example of what Jean Descola calls "Pride and Privation, that was the Spaniard of the sixteenth century."³⁶

For the sake of clarity we can distinguish three stages in the founding of the first permanent settlement in the Philippines. The first is from 1565 to 1568, when the expedition was settled in Cebu; the second from 1568 to 1570, when Portuguese attacks forced the garrison to Panay; and the third, the definitive translation to Manila in 1571. All three stages have the common denominator of a grave shortage of provisions and a constant search to alleviate their distress. What food the Spaniards did have was protected by an earthen works which they dignified with the name of fort. Palisades of dried palm leaves and wooden stakes surrounded the fort. For lack of stone, sand served to bolster the four corners. The enclosure was off-limits to natives. But neither Legazpi nor Tupas were able to prevent the rather free mixing of native women with Spanish soldiers. Severe punishments were meted out to the Spanish offenders, but the strictures proved rather ineffective.³⁷

³⁶ Jean Descola, *The Spanish Conquistadors*, New York 1957, p. 359.

³⁷ Miscegenation as such never occurred in the Philippines to the degree that it did in Mexico. Outside of Manila the Filipinos were separated from Spaniards and there were few Spaniards in the Provinces to begin with. In the Manila area Filipino women more often became mistresses than wives of Spaniards. See John L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, Milwaukee 1959, pp. 106, 158.

The first conversions to the faith came from the family of Chief Tupas.³⁸ One day he informed Legazpi that his wife wished to visit him. She came with an entourage of seventy women, two-by-two, chanting, carrying flowers and clothed with bright colored native sarongs. Legazpi distributed gifts, eight varas of linen to Tupas' wife, mirrors and trinkets to the others. When the wives of the other chiefs saw how profitably the affair went off, they too wished to visit Legazpi. The process was repeated several times, with the Spaniards happy to be able to satisfy their guests and thus further cement good relations. As an added good-will gesture, Tupas sent his young niece, along with her two servants, to act as Legazpi's servant. She was given instruction in the faith and expressed a desire to be baptized. The friars hesitated, but at length she was baptized along with a child of hers and two serving children. Isabel was the Christian name she chose. Soon after her baptism she married one of Legazpi's sailors, the Greek Chaulker, Andrés. The varied efficacy of Christianity was much in evidence for a number of eligible young ladies then presented themselves for the rite. Their motives, however, may have been slightly more than mixed.

Although intermarriage helped to cement relations with the natives around the settlement, the Spaniards still had to deal with hostile peoples in the interior and on the northern coast who were not so easily convinced of the benefits of Spanish rule. It did not take much argument on the part of Tupas to convince Legazpi that Spanish arms could help him subdue his own enemies. In fact, it fit rather nicely into the scheme of things. The island could be pacified in great part, and tribute in the form of rice could be collected to alleviate the food shortage. Martín de Goyti and Mateo de Saz led frequent forays into the interior of Cebu, Panay, Negros and Leyte, looking for rice and persuading the natives to recognize

³⁸ What follows is based mainly on the "Relación muy circunstanciada de lo ocurrido en el Real y Campo de Zubu de las Islas Philipinas desde 1 de junio de 1565... hasta el mes de junio de 1567..." CDU (segunda serie) III, 91-225.

Philip II as their sovereign.³⁹ The island of Panay proved to be the most fertile field, although on one expedition to Cabañan, the *San Juan* returned with 1000 fanegas of unhusked rice. It was divided equally between natives and Spaniards alike.

The reason for the food shortage in Cebu is not difficult to understand. The Filipinos lived on subsistence farming; they grew enough for themselves and none for barter. So with the descent of three hundred hungry Spaniards on the island the balance was thrown awry. It was out of this situation that the *entradas* began, of which the missionaries were none too proud or content. Diego de Herrera, an Augustinian who spoke forcefully and frankly of the early years of Spanish rule in the Philippines, said that when he arrived he found the land destroyed and the settlers shamelessly engaged in stealing and enslaving the natives.⁴⁰ He wrote bitterly of one Andrés de Ibarra who led several *entradas* in Ibalon (now Albay), and who gave the irreproachable Legazpi a chain of gold to overlook his misdeeds. In fact Legazpi fares very poorly in the writings of Fray Diego. The Augustinian said that he noticed a gradual change for the worse in the Captain General. When Legazpi was brought to task for the numerous abuses practiced by his soldiers, he was said to have replied, "What am I supposed to do, hang them all?"

Hang them all Legazpi did not do, but several malcontents did swing from hastily constructed gallows. Empty bellies provoked murmuring, and murmuring often develops into well thought out plots. The most serious was hatched by Pablo Hernández who talked the French pilot, Pierre Plin, into mak-

³⁹ *Entradas* were made not only for commandeering rice but also to barter with the natives. Several accounts mention the fact that the Spaniards brought with them articles to exchange.

⁴⁰ Herrera was one of the six Augustinians who came to the Islands with Legazpi in 1564. In 1569 he was sent to Mexico with Martín de Rada to ask for more missionaries, carry official dispatches and inform the Viceroy of New Spain of what was happening in the Philippines. Herrera was made superior of the Augustinians before his departure. He returned to the Philippines the following year. See Manuel Merino, O.S.A., "Semblanzas misioneras: Fr. Martín de Rada, Agustino," *Missionalia Hispánica*, 1 and 2, 1944, 191-93.

ing off with him and a group of followers in the *San Juan*. They would go to Butuan, pick up a load of spices, and from there return to New Spain or Europe. They were to make their escape on November 27, 1565, but somehow the news got to Martin de Goyti and the faithful lieutenant rounded up the ringleaders. Three were hung, Plin, Hernández and a Greek named George. To add to their disgrace and to discourage any future plotters, the head of Hernández was severed from his body and stuck on one of the stakes of the camp fence. A year later the leaders of another plot met the same fate. This time Juan Núñez de Carrión and Miguel Gómez intended to defect to the Portuguese. Perhaps it was because of these hangings that the Augustinians began to fall out with Legazpi. Their pleas of mercy for his half-starved men met with no avail. Herrera even characterized him as ruthless.

Although a supply ship, the *San Jerónimo*, arrived from New Spain on October 15, 1566, it did little to alleviate the food shortage.⁴¹ The number of expeditions sent to other islands in search of food reads like a litany. They usually returned with something but never with abundance. It probably never crossed Legazpi's mind to have his soldiers till the soil and earn their bread. After all, they were now hidalgos, no matter what they had been in Mexico and Spain, and hidalgos are for fighting and governing, not for manual labor. The situation got so bad at one point that the Augustinians shed their habits to provide clothing for naked soldiers, and even had several chalices melted down to buy rice. Somehow the Moros of Luzon found out about the plight of the Europeans. Sensing an opportunity for a killing, the Moros came down one day in early 1565, docked their boats out of sight of the Spaniards and offered to sell them rice. Their offer was gratefully welcomed, even though it did come from under the banner of the crescent. The Moros traded porcelain, cloth and large quantities of rice for Spanish *tostones*. When it came time for selling gold, however, the Moros haggled, demanding six *tostones* for

⁴¹ The ship had a long and eventful crossing, complete with rebellions and hangings. "Relación detallada de los sucesos ocurridos durante el viaje de la nao San Gerónimo... Cebu, 25 de junio de 1567." CDU (segunda serie) III, 371-475.

a peso of gold, the price, they said, which the Spaniards paid in Butuan. The Royal Officials offered five, but the Moros would not sell. To assure the continuance of this highly beneficial trade, Legazpi offered them a hut in the camp in which to store their goods. The Moros immediately began to see possibilities opening up. In secret they began to buy from the local natives and then re-sell to the Spaniards, realizing handsome profits. This seems to substantiate Rada's later contention that one of the reasons why the Spaniards suffered so much from food shortages was because most of the Filipinos had fled inland, out of fear, and what they had by way of food went with them.⁴² It was fairly simple for the Moros, professional traders, to buy from the natives. The only Filipinos who felt a pressing food shortage were those who stayed in the vicinity of the Spanish settlement. They may have feared moving inland since they had thrown in their lot with the new arrivals.

In November of 1566 Legazpi sent Mateo de Saz to Mindanao for a shipment of spices. Saz went to Cavite, near Caldera in Zamboanga, and there ran smack into a Portuguese *fusta* which was scouting the coast in advance of an armada under Gonzalo Pereira.⁴³ When the Portuguese asked who they were, Luís de la Haya, with fingers crossed, answered that they were lost Spaniards. Haya tried to continue the ruse by innocently asking what islands they were near. However, Antonio de Sequeira, the Portuguese captain, was not taken in, and he sent a message to Saz telling him that he was leading an advance party for the armada of Gonzalo Pereira who was going north to drive a Spaniard named Legazpi out of Portuguese territory. Sequeira invited Saz to board his ship and go speak with Pereira, for he well knew they belonged to Legazpi's party. He added that if he did not, the Spaniards themselves would be responsible for the injury they would

⁴² "Carta de Fr. Martín de Rada al Virrey de Nueva España... Panay, 1 julio 1570," in Colin-Pastells, *Labor evangélica*, 3 Vols., Barcelona 1900-02, II, 665.

⁴³ The Portuguese vessels were out of Borneo under the command of Antonio Rombo da Costa and Balthasar de Sousa. Their objective was to go to Cebu and see what Legazpi was up to.

suffer. Saz brushed off the threat by answering that words did not frighten him. But in this case, at least, they obviously did, for he beat a hasty retreat back to Cebu to inform Legazpi of the affair. On the way back he fell in with another Portuguese armada, this consisting of four men-of-war, refitting thirty leagues from Cebu after a storm. The roles were now reversed. When Saz asked them who they were, they replied, Castilians. Saz did not care to argue the point and continued on to Cebu. He ran into still two more Portuguese ships, these scouting the Cebu coastline. This time Saz did not stop.

The first thing Legazpi did upon hearing the news was to organize the land defenses. He placed the *almirante*, *San Pedro*, directly in front of the fort, with six pieces of artillery spread out along the beach. The *San Juan* and *San Jerónimo* took up positions southeast of the settlement. The captain, Goyti, set up several pieces of artillery in spots north and south of the settlement where they thought landings could be attempted. Three full days and nights the camp worked feverishly, preparing for battle. The Filipinos took their women and children inland and then presented themselves to Legazpi as volunteers for the fight. But the Captain General told them that it was a Spanish war and only Spaniards would die. The Filipinos served in another way, though, for their fishermen were invaluable in reporting any strange craft in the vicinity. In this way the Spaniards had ample notice of the approach of two Portuguese *fustas* which hove to in Cebu on November 19. The Portuguese identified themselves as part of an armada of four warships and four galliots, out of Goa bound for Molucca. The two *fustas* were separated from the fleet in a storm. Although suspecting that they were part of Pereira's advance force, Legazpi played the courteous host and obligingly sent the Portuguese a barrel of biscuit, olives and vinegar, as well as four casks of wine. With the gifts went the astute advice that they move on, or the monsoons would catch them.

On the evening of November 20 with the camp still tense with expectation, a comet was seen streaking across the night sky. It was interpreted as a sure omen of battle and death. But in spite of even nature's warning, the Portuguese did not

appear. Growing impatient, Legazpi dispatched Martín de Goyti in a frigate to try to locate their would-be adversaries. The Portuguese were nowhere to be found. In another vessel Juan de Morones went as far as Dapitan and in two weeks the sargeant came back with the news that the Portuguese had turned about and were heading for Maluco. The Spanish camp breathed a little easier.

Soon after the Portuguese scare, on August 2, 1567, two galleons from New Spain appeared in Cebu harbor, the answer to Legazpi's requests for men and supplies. More than two hundred men were aboard to reinforce the garrison, and they brought along supplies of cheese, dried fruits and salted bacon. It was this reinforcement which was to prove of inestimable value in the future battle against the Portuguese.

Although the supplies brought by the galleons helped somewhat, two hundred more mouths also added to the problem. The brief respite from the Portuguese gave the garrison time to construct a fairly large frigate which was sent almost immediately to Leyte for more rice. The expedition, again under the indefatigable Martín de Goyti, also touched at Masbate, and when it returned to Cebu, brought glowing reports of the gold mines in the island. This added another island to Legazpi's already long list of gold-producing islands. He had previously reported to Viceroy Mendoza in May of 1565 that the principal gold mines were found in Pangasinan, Ilocos, Bico, Camarines, Liondo (Luzon?), Catanduanes and Mindanao. Pearl fisheries were reported to be off Negros, near Leyte, Bohol and Jolo, while cinnamon was found in Cavite (Mindanao), Cagayan and Butuan.⁴⁴ To tap some of the sources of these luxury items Legazpi dispatched the Master-of-Camp, Mateo de Saz, in the frigate *San Juan*, to La Caldera in Mindanao to take on a load of cinnamon. It returned on April 28 with seventy-five quintals worth, but also with the sad news that the Master-of-Camp had died.⁴⁵ Goyti was ap-

⁴⁴ "Miguel López de Legazpi al Virrey de la Nueva España, Cebu. 30 de mayo 1565," DM IX, 145-47.

⁴⁵ Mateo de Saz died under suspicious circumstances, after having made several enemies by forbidding individuals to barter for cinnamon. See the account in CDU (*segunda serie*) III 217-18.

pointed to the position. It was also reported that some of the Moros in the vicinity were wearing Portuguese clothes. A bit of investigating revealed that a Portuguese armada docked there a year before and a group of sailors were ambushed while bathing in a river. Forty were killed and the others were sold in the slave markets of Jolo. Saz was all for going to Jolo to ransom those he could, but the Moros would not furnish adequate sailing directions.

The cinnamon collected by Saz in Cavite was shipped on July 1, 1568, aboard the *San Juan*. The ship carried 150 quintals of cinnamon registered on the king's account and more than 250 quintals for private individuals. It also carried silk and porcelain. Unfortunately, the ship never reached New Spain. It sunk in a storm near Guam, but the passengers and crew were saved. It was a bitter loss, not only because the Philippine settlement was deprived of a desperately needed ship, but also because it was hoped that the propaganda value of the spices would draw more settlers to the islands.

Legazpi wrote on June 26, 1568, that if the Spaniards were to settle permanently in the Philippines, it was absolutely necessary to move on to other islands and explore other possibilities. They could not sustain themselves by trade alone, for the merchandise of the Spaniards was considered worthless by the Filipinos. He said he needed a half dozen galleys to explore the islands as well as the coast of China. Legazpi also suggested that they begin working the mines. The bulk of the manpower could come from the native slaves who could be bought cheaply from the Filipinos.

Legazpi's other dispatches from Cebu reflect the same preoccupation with maintaining the settlement, but likewise a deep dissatisfaction with the situation in Cebu. On the other hand, he wrote with exuberant optimism of the trade in luxury items which could be started with the Philippines. No doubt, it was these initial reports which convinced the Spanish crown of holding on to the Philippine Islands, sending additional supplies, and encouraging settlers.

Just three months after Felipe de Salcedo sailed to New Spain with the ill-fated shipment of cinnamon, the long-awaited Portuguese armada appeared off Cebu. The main body

of the fleet was preceded by two caracoas, each with six Portuguese soldiers and sixty Moluccans, led by two captains. They brought letters for Legazpi, inviting him to bring his men to Maluco. Legazpi answered that as much as he would like to, he would have to be ordered to do so by Philip II, whose directives he was then awaiting. The caracoas sailed away. On October 2, 1568, the main Portuguese fleet appeared, four galleons, four galliots and two *fustas*. The Portuguese captain politely asked permission to drop anchor and Legazpi obligingly granted it, sending an Augustinian friar to greet the visitors.⁴⁶ Hostages were exchanged. Once the formalities were over, Pereira and Legazpi exchanged a series of rather wordy letters which resulted in nothing. Pereira said leave. Legazpi answered no. In his replies Legazpi repeated what Fray Andrés de Urdaneta had suggested should be said in such a predicament.

I have come by order of His Majesty, King Philip, with his royal fleet to the Islands of the East which are within his zone, in order to teach christian doctrine and the gospels, and thereby add to the christian communities in communion with our holy Catholic Faith, which is what His Majesty principally intends. On my voyage, I arrived at those islands where I was forced to take on necessary supplies. I sailed many days among the islands without getting the provisions I needed until finally I arrived at this port of Cebu where I was forced to winter. From here I sent our capitana to New Spain with the report of what has happened, and I wrote to His Majesty that I would wait here for his answer.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Cf. "Cartas sobre los portugueses, Chinos y japones," Archivo General de Indias, Patronato 24, 12; "Testimonio dado en el pueblo de Cebu como los portugueses rompieron la guerra con los españoles. Cebu, 21 octubre 1568," DM X, 64-67. The original documents of the negotiations between Legazpi and the Portuguese are in "Requerimientos y contestaciones que hubo entre el Gobernador y Capitán General, Miguel López de Legazpi y Gonzalo Pereira, Capitán Mayor de una armada portuguesa . . .," AGI, Patronato 24, 6, 7, and 9. They are translated in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, II, 244-329.

⁴⁷ Legazpi offered to leave the islands if Pereira would provide him with two ships. He probably never intended to do so, however. The correspondence which passed between Spaniard and Portuguese was so considerable that Pereira said he was "weary with so many papers." Legazpi-the-lawyer was in his element as he adroitly fenced with his opponent.

Pereira was not at all fooled by the Spaniard's protestations of innocence. Legazpi had not crossed the ocean with four ships and a force of four hundred men simply to teach catechism. So what Pereira could not do by persuasion, he attempted to do by force of arms. He first blockaded the port to cut off native supply boats and then began to bombard the settlement. Not only the wooden fort fell, but all the native homes on the shore went up in flames. Landing parties put nearby rice fields to the torch. The siege continued for three long months, but the the Spaniards did not give in. It was just when the garrison was on the point of collapsing that Pereira suddenly left, as suddenly as he had come. This was January 1, 1569. But the Portuguese managed to leave word that they would shortly return to finish what they had begun. They never did.

Almost simultaneously, news of what had occurred was sent to Lisbon by way of Goa, and Madrid by way of New Spain. In a letter of July 24, 1570, Philip II was told by his ambassador in Rome that the arrival of the Castilians in the Philippines had caused much concern in India and Portugal. For not only had Spain found a suitable route for their ships, but the Islands were in the best location to dominate the spice trade in the Orient.⁴⁸ Another letter of the ambassador spoke of the Philippines as being "the best location in the world to put the brake on Portuguese trade with India." He spoke of a single Man-of-War leaving Lisbon for the Orient, ostensibly for India, but probably to drive the Spaniards from the Philippines. He urged immediately aid for Legazpi.⁴⁹ While the Portuguese prepared, Philip took immediate action. On hearing of Legazpi's situation he wrote nothing less than a royal cedula to Captain Diego de Artieda on the sending of a supply ship to Legazpi. Artieda was to go to Santander and draw supplies from the corregidores in Guipúzcoa, sail to New Spain, have his cargo inventoried, then changed to another vessel and continue on to the Philippines. He was also instructed to take with him from New Spain three or four master carpenters for making the galleys which Legazpi

⁴⁸ Cited in Pastells, *Historia General de Filipinas*, I. 288.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 288-89.

had requested. Trouble with the Portuguese was to be avoided. Absolute secrecy about the nature of his trip was to be strictly kept, and if anyone asked him, Artieda was to say he was bringing supplies to Menéndez Avilés in Florida.⁵⁰

In the meanwhile, Legazpi had moved his bedraggled colony to the island of Panay, northwest of Cebu.⁵¹ There were two reasons for the move; one, a better food supply, and two, better protection from future Portuguese attacks. In a letter of July 25, 1570, Legazpi wrote to the king from Panay that he did not think that the Portuguese would return, for they had been well punished. The move to Panay was taken out of caution, but it was not looked upon favorably by Viceroy Velasco who ordered Legazpi to return to Cebu as soon as possible. Velasco feared that the Portuguese would gain control of the island, forcing the Spaniards out. Legazpi answered that he would return in October or November of 1569, the time of the rice harvests in Panay.⁵² Earlier, on June 22, Juan de la Isla with another supply ship dropped anchor in Panay. He brought with him more than fifty married couples⁵³ and also the long-awaited royal orders to par-

⁵⁰ "Documentos acerca de la compra de armas y provisiones... que debía hacer y conducir el Capitán Diego de Artieda Cherriño." AGI, Patronato, 24, 18.

⁵¹ The settlement was near present day Iloilo. At the same time Legazpi sent a number of non-Spaniards in his contingent, mostly Portuguese, back to New Spain. He did not want to send all back since they were needed as carpenters and gunners. He probably doubted their loyalty although he affirmed that they all, including Portuguese, served the king well in his fight against Pereira.

⁵² In a letter to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated July 1570, Herrera described his reaction on seeing the new settlement at Panay... "It grieved me deeply to see such a sad looking and despicable settlement as this, a marshland with huts built on the river's edge. The river water is bad because swampy, and when the river rises canoes are needed to go from one house to another. The place is hot and unhealthy and it rains almost day and night. Food is scarce but it was abundant before the Spaniards came. And with all this, so great is the fear of the Portuguese that if they found another spot, more hidden, although much worse than this, they would flee to it..." In Colín-Pastells, *Labor evangélica*, I, 663.

⁵³ Levazaris wrote that the Filipinos were relieved to see women come since they had been suspicious of the Spaniards who had come

tition the land into encomiendas. Legazpi was also given the power to found a town in Cebu. So by November Legazpi was back in Cebu and with the fifty married couples founded the town of the Most Holy Name of Jesus.⁵⁴ Guido de Lavezaris was left in charge of the new town and Legazpi, now Governor and Captain General, returned to Panay.⁵⁵

FOUNDING OF MANILA

The new Captain General wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain that if King Philip was primarily interested in the spices of the Moluccas, then the settlement of Cebu should be made the center of Spanish activity in the Philippines. But if they were to go on to China, then an island to the north, called Luzon, which had an ideal bay and a thriving town called Maynila, would be better. Legazpi had heard tales from Moro merchants of the great city on Luzon, but it was not until Martín de Goyti returned with a firsthand report did Legazpi seriously start thinking of moving north. Goyti left for a reconnaissance trip to the north on May 3, 1570. He had with him two *navíos*, the *San Miguel* and the *Tortuga*, and fifteen native proas. When he returned, he brought back the first Spanish accounts of the future capital of the islands.⁵⁶

without their wives. In his letter of July 23, 1567, Legazpi had asked the king to send married couples to the Philippines. DM, X, 17-20.

⁵⁴ The Filipinos in Cebu were divided among the settlers in encomiendas, a process which caused a good deal of complaining among Spaniards since the exact number of Filipinos in Cebu was unknown. Legazpi wrote that in some places not a sixth part of the supposed population of a town could be found. Either the original figures had been exaggerated or the inhabitants had fled inland. —The *cabildo* of Cebu was formed of two *Alcaldes Ordinarios*, six Aldermen, a Public Notary and two constables. The customary ceremonies in founding a town were most likely carried out in Cebu as well. See John Preston Moore, *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs*, Durham 1954 esp. Chapter 3, "The Founding of the Town"; also José María Ots Capdequí, *Instituciones, Barcelona* 1958, pp. 270-87, and the pertinent *Leyes de Indias* therein cited.

⁵⁵ In his new position of Governor and Captain General of Cebu, and whatever lands he was to populate, Legazpi received a salary of 2000 ducats yearly, to be taken from the taxes collected in the islands.

⁵⁶ "Carta en (y?) relación de Juan de Maldonado tocante al viaje y población de la Isla de Luzón en Filipinas que emprendió Mar-

The port, about a league and a half from Maynila, was small, but sufficiently large to accommodate a half-dozen warships. The populated area was called Maynila, and it had a large concourse of natives, the largest thus far seen gathered in one town. What surprised the Spaniards most of all was the fact that the Maynilans defended their settlement with artillery. They even had a foundry, complete with casts. Goyti brought back as specimens ten bronze culverins of small bore and four mortars.⁵⁷ It was also reported that gold mines were in the vicinity, and most important of all, the food supply was plentiful. This was enough to convince Legazpi that a move to Maynila would be to the colony's benefit.⁵⁸ So in virtue of his newly-acquired appointment as Governor and Captain General, Legazpi assembled a force of 230 men, and with a pinnace, frigate and twenty three proas, left Panay on April 20, 1571. Only a token force remained at Panay.

Good sailing weather brought the fleet to Mindoro by May 2.⁵⁹ Two weeks later the twenty-five vessels stood off Cavite harbor. The town, which had been rebuilt after the fire occasioned by Goyti's visit a year before, was situated on the tip of a promontory running east and west between a river called the Pasig. A wooden, palm branch fort guarded the

tín de Goyti, Manila 1570," AGI, Patronato, 24,14; also "Relación de la conquista de la Isla de Luzón, Manila, 20 Abril 1572," in *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino* (ed. W. Reana) 5 vols. Madrid 1895-1905, IV, 4-37.

⁵⁷ The weapons could have been brought from Borneo or cast in Manila under Bornean supervision. F. Blumentritt, cited in Morga-Retana, *Sucesos*, p. 406, thinks that Portuguese deserters taught the Manilans the use and construction of artillery. —Goyti's troops sacked and burned Manila, leaving it in ruins. Herrera claimed that the Filipinos there had good reason to break the peace they made with Goyti, and he further claimed that 1500 homes were burned and more than 500 Filipinos killed. Both figures are probably exaggerated. He was not exaggerating, however, when he said that Goyti left the town destroyed and in a turmoil. Colín-Pastells, *Labor evangélica*, I, 664.

⁵⁸ Herrera was also influential in having Legazpi move to Manila. In each of his daily sermons he pleaded with Legazpi to lead his men out of the misery they were suffering in Panay. "Relación" in *Archivo del Bibliófilo*, IV, 15-16. He also spoke to him in private about the move.

⁵⁹ The expedition spent two weeks in Mindoro.

entrance of the river and also the town itself, which was but one of many in Maynila Bay. The ruler of Maynila was called Soliman. Across the river, the village of Tondo was under the leadership of Lakandula. Both were Mohammedans.

Once Legazpi arrived, he was in no particular hurry to put ashore. He wisely decided to wait, since the Maynilans were still bitter over Goyti's sack of their village a year previous. Besides, several proas had been unable to keep up with the main fleet and he decided to wait for them. The Filipinos on shore must certainly have felt they were in for a repetition of what happened the year before. And they prepared for it. The first day in the bay an outrigger came paddling out from shore to view the new arrivals, but it kept out of hailing distance. On the next day another came. This approached the flagship and Legazpi recognized the lone Filipino as one he had known in Panay. The Filipino told Legazpi that Rajah Soliman wanted peace, but that the Rajah of Tondo, still smarting over Goyti's raid, was eager for another crack at the Spaniards. Legazpi showered trinkets and gifts on his friend and sent him on his way with the assurance that the Spaniards wanted peace with all and war with no one. The next move was Legazpi's.

Boarding a caracoa and accompanied by Martín de Goyti in another boat, the Spanish Captain General headed for his first landing on Luzon soil. But when the Filipinos saw him approaching they began putting their houses to the torch and crossing the river to Tondo. Goyti went ahead to stop them but it was too late. The town was turned into a charred ruins for the second time in as many years. The burning of the town was probably a mass reaction, out of fear of the Spaniards, for Legazpi managed to convince a number of chiefs that he came with peaceful intentions. His repeated assurances of this and his unwillingness to have his soldiers attack persuaded the Maynila rajahs of his non-belligerency. So what he did not wish to gain by arms, he gained by diplomacy. Legazpi and another Rajah came out to the ship for peace talks. The guests were showered with gifts and repeatedly told of Spanish desires for peace. He was convincing. The only Filipino who held out

was Soliman, and he did so, said the Filipinos, because of what had happened the previous year. The Spaniards, however, were content to let bygones be bygones, and told the Rajahs as much. Soliman eventually led an armed resistance, but in a brief skirmish he and his men were routed. Thus assured of non-resistance from the local peoples, Legazpi landed and took possession of what remained of Maynila. It was May 18, 1571.

On the same day that Legazpi took possession he concluded a peace treaty with Rajah Soliman and Lakandula. It took place in the presence of the Public Notary, Fernando Riquel, and five principal witnesses, Diego de Herrera, Martín de Goyti, Juan de Salcedo, Luís de Haya, and Andrés de Ibarra. All negotiations were carried on through interpreters. Legazpi offered peace and protection in return for vassalage to Philip II. The only reason the Spaniards had come to the islands, Legazpi said, was to bring to the Filipinos the knowledge of the Catholic Faith, and since that could be done only if they recognized the King of Spain as their sovereign, it was necessary that they submit. With their town already in ashes and the artillery of Legazpi's twenty-odd vessels staring down at them, the Filipinos had little for it but to welcome their protectors. When the chiefs, in the name of their subjects in Luzon and Cebu, acknowledged their desire for vassalage, the Spaniards went through the ceremony of cutting the branches off a tree to symbolize the taking possession of the land. Instead of a mutual blood pact, however, the Filipinos preferred to have the Public Notary witness their submission.

What might be termed as Legazpi's first official act as Governor and Captain General of Spain's newly acquired possession had a rather ominous ring to it. The governor ordered that the Filipinos should finish the fort which they had begun to construct at the mouth of the river. Then they were to erect a house and a large storage bin within the fort. Outside the walls of the fort a convento for the religious and a church were to be built, as well as a house for the governor. The convento and the governor's house were to be

large, but the 50 houses they were to erect for the soldiers could be much smaller. The Filipinos agreed to do the construction work. A nipa and palm thatched house in the Philippines took a matter of days to construct. They also promised to bring enough food for three hundred Spaniards, after Legazpi suggested that they tell him how to keep his soldiers from raiding their farms.⁶⁰

On June 3 of the same year, the governor gave the title of City to the settlement, and on June 24 he appointed two *alcaldes*, twelve alderman, a secretary for the Town Council, two Public Notaries and a constable. Such was the formation of the first municipal government in the province of *New Castile*.⁶¹

The Spaniards had no sooner begun to settle down in their newly-won town when the governor organized a band of soldiers and native auxiliaries to "pacify" the region of Laguna de Bay. The inhabitants had refused friendship with the Spaniards, so following a long established custom Legazpi was going to force them into accepting a new sovereign. One hundred Spaniards and an equal number of Filipinos were organized for the expedition under Juan de Salcedo, the brother of Felipe.⁶² They were to sail up the Pasig to Cainta where the rebels held out in a flimsily constructed fort but which was protected by four pieces of heavy artillery. Salcedo left Manila on August 15, 1571. He sailed in a galliot and brought with him three pieces of heavy artillery to use against the fort. In three days they sighted their objective. Salcedo went through the usual formalities of announcing his presence and requiring their obedience to the King of Spain. The Filipinos refused, and added that in the day of battle they shall see whose god was the more powerful, theirs or the Castilians! Salcedo waited three days and then attacked on foot, leaving behind for the time being his ships and artillery. His soldiers surrounded the fort and it was soon captured. Not, however, before the

⁶⁰ DM, XIV, 16-18v.

⁶¹ "Testimonio del título de la ciudad" *ibid.* 19.

⁶² The account of the expedition is in *Archivo del Bibliófilo*, IV, 22-26.

culverin-fire of the defenders took the lives of two soldiers, and another stabbed with a lance. An anonymous account of the battle says that there were four hundred defenders in the fort, probably an exaggeration, and all died in battle. Many others fled.

The region of the Lake of Bay is one of the most beautiful in the Philippines. The Spaniards had heard that the area was thickly populated, but they found that it had scarcely a tenth of the population it was reputed to have. Salcedo found from 24,000 to 26,000 inhabitants in the whole area and he and his soldiers went over it thoroughly. Their interest was quickened by reports of gold mines. And they were found, the mines of Paracali, just west of Laguna de Bay. Some were as deep as thirty or forty *estados*. Salcedo, however, did not dally. The troops were tired and sick, so he began the return march to Manila. On the way four of his soldiers died of fatigue and hunger, and some of his native guides fled. The Spaniards arrived in Spanish Manila rather bedraggled looking, but still the expedition was considered a success. About the mines, Legazpi suggested to the Viceroy that they should not be worked until the land was more peaceful. Salcedo's conquering days were not over. On May 20, 1572, accompanied by eighty Spanish soldiers, the young captain of twenty-three years headed north, this time to "pacify" the Ilocos region. He sailed up as far as Bolinas, explored Pangasinan and Ilocos, rounded Cape Bojeador, sailed up and down the Cagayan river and then coasted along the eastern shore of Luzon, all the while rounding up more subjects for the King of Spain. He put into Polillo Island, crossed over to Tayabas, then returned overland to Manila. It was a daring feat of exploration and ranks with the best of the American conquistadors. And it took him only four months!⁶³

By 1572 Legazpi had a fairly good idea of what his

⁶³ Fray Francisco de Ortega al Virrey de Nueva España, Manila, 6 junio 1573," DM, XIV, 76-82 v. — After his conquering days were over, Salcedo settled down on his Northern Luzon property. He died at the early age of twenty-seven and in his will left his entire estate to the Filipinos of his encomienda.

efforts of seven years had brought him. He wrote, in what proved to be his last letter, that the islands were well populated on the coasts and river banks. The land was fertile and abundant and, if food were lacking, it was because the land was not being cultivated. Luxury items were also there, gold and pearls. "In brief, it is a magnificent place to develop if Your Majesty is thinking of advancing in the East. We are close to Japan, China, the Moluccas and Borneo. Ports are good, there is plenty of timber and material for making sails." The people he found easy to get along with, tractable and easy to convert. They were gentiles, not Mohammedans, with no temples or Gods or sacrifices, just a bit superstitious.⁶⁴

However, the development of the Colony he founded was left to other hands. Legazpi died suddenly on August 20, 1572, poor but well respected.

The forty-three years which separated Magallen from Legazpi was a period of intense activity in Spain's effort to span the Pacific Ocean. It ended with the founding of a new colony. And, as our perspective now reveals, it was Spain's last great effort in its movement of expansion. The following decades brought an era of decline, the descending arch of the movement which began with Christopher Columbus.

The Spanish conquerors of the Philippines, however, were aware of no such descending arch. For them the Philippines were to be simply a stepping-stone to the greener pastures of China and Japan. But both natural barriers and a lack of energy prevented them from moving into the Asian mainland. The islands remained a simple appendage to New Spain, and the Spanish colonists were distracted from further advance by the rich returns of the galleon trade with Mexico. The cargo brought to New Spain, however, was not spices, as Cortés had envisioned, but the silks and handiwork of China. The return route which so long remained a puzzle was used to transport cargoes which neither Cortés nor Philip II had ever thought of. For this reason, the efforts of Spain to tap the

⁶⁴ "Legazpi to the Viceroy of New Spain, Manila, 11 agosto 1572," DM, XIV, 27-36; 56-60.

spice-sources in Southeast Asia were not a complete failure. As it turned out, spices did not exist in any great quantity in the *Islas del Poniente*, but a portion of the Orient's exotic wealth did trickle through the Philippines to Mexico. Yet the price was heavy. Economists continually argued that the harm produced by the loss of Mexican silver and the imports of Chinese silks was far greater than the scanty benefits which resulted. However, Philip II had committed Spain to the Philippines and in the Philippines Spain would stay. The loss of prestige would be too great if Spain withdrew from the Orient in the face of Dutch advances. And what is more, the crown felt itself obliged to complete the work of converting the Philippines to Catholicism. It was probably this latter religious motive more than any other which tipped the balance in favor of retaining the colony. But unknown to Spain, it would be the concepts of justice and equality, basic to Christianity, which would awaken Filipino patriots centuries later and put an end to colonial rule of more than three hundred years.