

University of Miami
Hispanic-American Studies

EDITED BY

R. S. Boggs, Ph. D.

Voyages of
Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón
1527 - 1529

BY

Ione Stuessy Wright, Ph. D.

Number Eleven

CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA

DECEMBER, 1951

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI PRESS

Copyright December, 1951

By The UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI PRESS

FOREWORD

The account of the Pacific voyages of Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón forms a chapter in the story of the European search for a new route to the East, the story that began with Prince Henry and continued on through Columbus, Da Gama, Magellan and Loaysa. It may quite honestly be called the first American chapter in this story, as Saavedra undertook the first voyage across the Pacific Ocean that was made from American shores, in American-built ships, manned by crews recruited in the New World, for the purpose of establishing trading relations between the American continent and the East Indies, and planned and provisioned from an American base.

These voyages have always been recognized in the annals of transpacific navigation. Nearly all sixteenth and seventeenth century maps and charts of the Pacific Ocean show islands believed to have been those discovered by Saavedra. Early Spanish navigators knew of, and profited by, his experiences and failures.

So far, attention has been centered on the practical achievements of Saavedra's voyages, and these being comparatively negligible, the story has been dismissed with a sentence, a paragraph or a line on the map, but it has seemed to me that it has a further significance. The daily experiences, successes, hardships met by Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón and his men in cutting their new track through the Pacific waters tell a story of high adventure, courage and supreme devotion to duty that forms an attractive part of the New World's heritage of pioneer heroism.

It has been the purpose of this work to discover that story and to present it truly and clearly without robbing it of its natural interest.

My interest in the Pacific dates back to the time when my husband was a member of the crew engaged in trying to establish the first regular air line across that ocean. Those of us who experienced the apparently insuperable difficulties, the myriad minor annoyances and obstacles of those pioneer days marveled to see how quickly transpacific flights became casual routine. Neither time nor thought could be spared — nor was it expected — for those who had laid the foundations so successfully.

When, in the classes of Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton at the

University of California in Berkeley, I first heard of the fabulous trade of the Manila Galleons and learned that it had required some forty years of preparations to make it possible I was at once attracted to those unsung heroes who had been responsible for blazing that new trail. I wanted to know more about them, what their difficulties had been, what important discoveries they had made which led to the ultimate success of the first trade between the Americas and the Orient. This detailed account of Saavedra Cerón's voyage, the first of those preliminary expeditions, grew out of that interest and inquiry.


I am profoundly grateful to Dr. Bolton who inspired this work and under whose supervision most of it was done and to the "Knights of the Round Table" constituting his famous seminars who contributed their interest and suggestions. Most of the work was done in Bancroft Library at the University of California and I want to express my appreciation to the members of its staff. My thanks are also due to Dr. Lewis Hanke for assistance while he was Director of the Hispanic Foundation at the Library of Congress and to all of those who assisted me so generously in a search for further material at the *Archivo General de la Nación* in Mexico as well as to the American Council of Learned Societies for the grant-in-aid which facilitated my search there.

Ione Stuessy Wright

University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida
December, 1951

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FRONTISPIECE. Map. Voyages of Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón. 1527-1529.....	I
FOREWORD.	II
CHAPTER	
I. Plans, Preparations and Preliminary Voyage	1
II. Saavedra's Voyage from New Spain to the Philippines	17
III. From the Philippines to the Moluccas	29
IV. First Attempt to Return to New Spain	43
V. Second Attempt to Return and Conclusion	55
APPENDIX A. Daily Chart of Voyage of Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón from New Spain to the Philippines	67
APPENDIX B. Documents Relating to the Voyage of Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón.....	71
BIBLIOGRAPHY	123



CHAPTER II
SAAVEDRA'S VOYAGE FROM NEW SPAIN
TO THE PHILIPPINES

On Thursday, October 31, 1527, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty the Emperor Charles V, Cortés dispatched his little fleet of three ships from Zihuatanejo under the command of Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón, to discover a new route to the Moluccas.

The date set for their departure may have been determined by the completion of preparations for the voyage or it may have resulted from lucky deduction from the few facts at their disposal. Whichever the reason, Saavedra undertook his voyage across the Pacific Ocean at the very time of the year when weather conditions would prove most favorable for such a voyage.¹ He not only had the strong northeast tradewinds to push him across, but he also arrived in the Philippine waters at the season of the year during which the terrific typhoons of that area were least likely to menace his ships.

Their port of departure was Zihuatanejo. This harbor, which is still known by the same name, lies a few miles south of Zacatula, just north of the Bay of Petatlán. Though small, it is well-protected, and provided ample anchorage for the three small ships.² It seems probable that they were brought here for safety's sake shortly after their return from their coasting voyage. The Portuguese historian, Galvano,³ writing in the sixteenth century, said that Saavedra departed from a port in 20° N. latitude named San Cristóbal. Very likely he had heard of the San Cristóbal which Saavedra's ships visited on their trial voyage.

From the time of the arrival of Guevara's ship, the pilots and captains had spent much time over their charts, trying to lay out the best course from New Spain to the Moluccas. Bernal Díaz del Castillo tells us that

... from this captain and the pilots who came in the tender Álvaro de Saavedra Zeron learned all that he

-
1. See the *Pilot Chart of the North Pacific Ocean*, published monthly by the Hydrographic Office, under the authority of the Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.
 2. Recently there has been some talk of developing this harbor.
 3. Galvano, *Discoveries of the World*, Hakluyt Society Publication, p. 174.

wished to know and he even carried off in his company a pilot and two sailors and paid them very well so that they might return again with him and he took notes of the whole voyage they had made and of the courses which must be followed⁴

This pilot who had come with Guevara and was to go on with Saavedra was "a native of the Portugalate,"⁵ named Ortuño de Alango.⁶ As a pilot on one of the ships of the carefully prepared Loaysa expedition, Ortuño de Alango had certainly seen, and may have had copies of, the charts which Sebastian del Cano brought back from Magellan's voyage. Del Cano, himself, had accompanied Loaysa's expedition. Thus Saavedra was provided with some knowledge of the Pacific in the southern hemisphere, but as yet, no one had attempted to cross it above the line.

The course decided upon was on a direct west southwestward line from that portion of New Spain to the Spice Islands, and on the last day of October, 1527, the "Florida" led her little convoy out to follow this course through the uncharted waters.

There have been discovered two accounts of this venture: the first, an anonymous, badly written, partially illegible, day-by-day account of the voyage, found in the book of the clerk of the expedition and written in the first person singular as though by the captain-general, himself. The other is the story told, after his arrival in Madrid, by one of the survivors of the expedition, Vincente de Nápoles.⁷ Meager though the material is, one may secure a remarkable vivid picture of Saavedra's voyage across the Pacific by filling in the outline of the daily log with the details remembered by Vicente de Nápoles, adding the color of a general knowledge of sailing customs and navigation practices of that day, and placing the entire design so formed upon the background of the weather

4. Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, V, Hakluyt Society Publication, p. 179.

5. Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, V, Hakluyt Society Publication, p. 179.

6. Cortés' letter to Sebastian Cabot.

7. These documents have been printed as Documents 36 and 37, respectively, in the Appendix to Navarrete's *Colección de las Viages y Descubrimientos*, V, pp. 440-486. A translation of these documents may be found in Appendix B of this work.

charts⁸ of the Pacific Ocean for the months of the year corresponding to those during which Saavedra sailed.

Departing⁹ from Zihuatanejo, his progress was impeded at first by the northern winds along the coast of Mexico, only fourteen leagues¹⁰ being made the first two days. On the very first day after leaving New Spain, Saavedra experienced a bit of the bad luck which was to pursue him henceforth to the end of his life. This misfortune was the death of the ship's surgeon, called *Maestre Francisco*, who was buried at sea on that day, November 1, 1527.

Saavedra was driven ten leagues to the south on Saturday, but the next day he was able to head back into the wind a little, and by November 5 he was once more on his course. On the fourteenth day of their voyage, when they figured that they had traversed one hundred and fifty-six leagues since leaving New Spain, the appalling discovery was made that the *capitana* was leaking badly. The water was pouring into the bread storeroom in the stern of the ship, in such quantities that the ship was settling rapidly. They hastened to lighten her by throwing overboard thirty *quintales*¹¹ of bread and meat and other foods,¹² and set to work to get rid of the water. The other ships stood by, and thirty¹³ times during that long night men were exchanged between the ships to relieve those exhausted by their frantic work at the pumps.

On the next day, the danger was over, and they continued their voyage. For twelve days they breezed briskly along toward the west.

8. *Pilot Chart for the North Pacific* for the months November, December, and January, Hydrographic Office, Washington, D. C.
9. A daily chart of the voyage from New Spain to the Philippines, showing the course, number of leagues sailed and outstanding events, has been compiled from the data in Doc. 36 and may be found in Appendix A of this work.
10. The Spanish marine league commonly used by the discoverers was about 3.5 English nautical miles, there being nearly 17 1-2 to a degree of latitude measured along the equator). For a discussion of the length of the marine league, see Bancroft, H. H., *History of Central America*, Vol. I, p. 190, footnote number 5; Lowery, Woodbury; *Spanish Settlements in U. S. 1513-1561*, Preface, p. 8; Wagner, H. R., *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast*, cartographical note to Chapter V.
11. This was a considerable loss of food-stuff. According to Haring, C. H., *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies*, p. 279, thirty *quintales* of bread would have been fifty days' rations for forty men.
12. See Haring's list of food supplies ordinarily carried, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
13. Doc. XXXVI.

averaging nearly forty leagues a day as the fresh northeast trade winds filled their sails.



The winds failed them on November 27, and they advanced a bare eight leagues on that day. Saavedra's men declared that they had seen land to the northwest, and, as Cortés was particularly interested in the discovery of new lands, the captain-general ordered the course changed to the northwest. For two days they sought the elusive land, sailing forty leagues in search of it without success. A glance at the map shows that there was no land within sight of their course at this time, so that they were probably deceived by a cloud on the horizon.

Disappointed, the ships turned once more to the west, and for eleven days pursued their monotonous course, covering a distance of three hundred and seventy-one leagues without any incident important enough to record.

Six weeks after leaving New Spain, on December 11, the pilot wished to have the course changed to the W. N. W., and this was done. No reason was assigned for this change, which would seem to be in direct contradiction to their avowed purpose of maintaining a W. S. W. course. It is possible that the pilot thought that they were closer to the Ladrões, (the Marianas) which Magellan had discovered and named, than they really were and did not want to miss them. A study of the weather chart discloses an interesting factor which may have had a bearing on his decision. At this time, according to the log of the voyage which enables us to establish their position with reasonable accuracy, the three ships had reached that place at which the winds veer around to the north, and the pilot may have feared being blown too far to the south.

This uneasiness is further reflected in the fact that on the day following the change in course the pilot took an altitude observation of the sun to determine their latitude. This was the first time since their departure from New Spain that the position of the sun was taken, and one of only two times on the entire voyage. The pilot placed their position in latitude N. $11^{\circ} 02'$. Navarrete¹⁴ corrects this to $14^{\circ} 21'$, a correction which has been used on the map accompanying this account. Considering the fact that the only instru-

14. Navarrete, *Colección*, V, p. 98, footnote 1.

ment which he had for determining the position of the sun was probably a rather crude astrolabe and that accurate readings were rendered the more difficult by the tossing of the little ships on the ocean, an error of two or three degrees was by no means unusual.

No attempt was made to determine their longitude, as no method was discovered until the eighteenth century whereby ships at sea might compute their longitude. They could merely estimate their position by the number of leagues that had been travelled in a given direction from a known point.¹⁵

Saavedra's ships had sailed one hundred and sixty-two leagues farther, when, on the night of December 15, tragedy overtook them. A storm blew up, in the course of which the "Florida" developed rudder trouble and had to lower her sails. As she rocked helplessly, her men saw the other two ships of her convoy, driven by the storm, pass on ahead into the night. These two ships were never seen again,¹⁶ nor was any wreckage of them ever found, so far as is known. Navarrete¹⁷ conjectures that the "Santiago" and "Espíritu Santo" were probably driven on the shoals and islands of Gaspar Rico¹⁸ and there wrecked, which is very likely what happened.

Hoping to overtake the other ships, and, if not, hoping to reach the Ladrone Islands, Saavedra's ship continued westward. On the third day, after sunset, the pilot once more changed the course, this time to the southwest to go in search of the archipelago, and on the next day, December 29, they glimpsed the island, the first land which they had seen since their departure from Zihuatanejo nearly two months before.

They sailed toward this island, which Saavedra's pilot identified as that one of the Ladrone Islands at which the natives had stolen Ma-

15. For information concerning the knowledge of navigation in the early 16th century, see Navarrete, *Disertación sobre la Historia de la Nautica*, pp. 55-83; Haring, C. H., *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 294-306; Morison, Samuel Eliot, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*. Boston, 1942, I: 240-263.

16. *Doc. XXXVII*.

17. Navarrete, *Colección*, V, p. 98, footnote 2.

18. The islands of Gaspar Rico have been located on Philips' *Centenary Mercantile Marine Atlas*, no. 24; and on Pinkerton's *Modern Geography*, Maps (1802), p. 33. They are apparently the most northern islands of the Marshall Group, lying almost directly south of Wake Island and east of Guam.

DAILY CHART OF VOYAGE

67

APPENDIX A

Daily Chart of Voyage of Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón
from New Spain to the Philippines

Compiled from Data in Doc. XXXVI*

Data	Course	Leagues	Events
Oct. 31, 1527	WSW	6	Departure from Zihuatanejo
Nov. 1	"	8	Death of surgeon
Nov. 2	S	10	
Nov. 3	SW	14	
Nov. 4	"	17	
Nov. 5	WSW	25	
Nov. 6	"	14	
Nov. 7	"	25	
Nov. 8	"	17	
Nov. 9	"	20	
Nov. 10	"	20	
Nov. 11	"	20	
Nov. 12	"	8	
Nov. 13	"	7	Leak in flagship
Nov. 14	W	42	
Nov. 15	"	37	
Nov. 16	"	40	
Nov. 17	"	40	
Nov. 18	"	35	
Nov. 19	W	40	
Nov. 20	"	45	
Nov. 21	"	30	
Nov. 22	"	35	
Nov. 23	"	25	
Nov. 24	"	35	
Nov. 25	"	40	
Nov. 26	"	28	
Nov. 27	"	8	
Nov. 28	NW	20	Search for land they thought they had seen
Nov. 29	"	20	
Nov. 30	W	20	Return to course
Dec. 1	"	20	
Dec. 2	"	40	

[continued]

*In one or two instances where there are obviously mistakes in the document itself, the data has been taken from Navarrete's account.

that they should live there to carry on trade, because in his kingdom there are not those kinds of spices that there are in those lands, and in every way that you can and that may be in your power, consider them as friends and favor them in the said trade, because thus they will serve you and will be your good friends whenever you have need of them. I shall be glad to see your letters and I know that His Majesty likewise will be pleased; for the reasons given I beg that you write to me and to His Majesty. Dated May 28, 1527. Hernando Cortés.

DOC. XXXVI¹⁰

Account of the voyage which Álvaro de Saavedra made from the western coast of New Spain to the Molucca Islands. This was taken from the book which Francisco Granado, the clerk of the fleet, carried.

The voyage which I made from New Spain to the Molucca Islands in the discovery of the Spice Islands, is as follows:

I departed from the port of Zaguatanejo, which is in New Spain, in the province of Zacatala, on Thursday, the eve of All Saints' Day, which made it the last day of October in the year 1527, with two ships and one brigantine. On this day I sailed toward the West Southwest six leagues.

On the next day, Friday, the first of November, we progressed along the same course eight leagues. On this day, the surgeon whom we were carrying and who was called Maestre Francisco, died and we cast his body into the sea.

On the next day, Saturday, the second of November, I sailed ten leagues to the south, because the wind would not permit us to go to the west southwest, which was our true course.

On Sunday, following, I sailed toward the southwest fourteen leagues.

On Monday, following, on the fifth of the said month, I sailed by the said course twenty-seven leagues.

On Tuesday, following, I made twenty-five leagues to the west southwest.

On Wednesday, following, by the said route, I made fourteen leagues.

10. Navarrete, *Colección*, V, p. 465.

On Thursday, following I made, along the same course, twenty-five leagues.

On Friday, following, I made seventeen leagues. (It is understood that the day includes the night also.)

On Saturday, following, twenty leagues.

On Sunday, following, twenty leagues.

On Monday, following, twenty leagues.

On Tuesday, following, eight leagues.

On Wednesday, following, I made seven leagues. On this day a large leak was discovered in the ship in which I was sailing under the bread supply which was carried aft in the storage space in the stern, and in no way could it be stopped.

I had to lighten the ship by throwing some of the bread into the sea, to the amount of thirty *quintales*, and some meat and other things. The leak was such that the ship was settling rapidly. During that night and day I had to pass men back and forth thirty times between the other ship and mine to help in getting rid of the water in the ship.

On Thursday, following, I sailed to the west forty-two leagues.

The Friday, following, I made thirty-seven leagues. On this day there appeared many land birds and other signs of land.

On Saturday, following, we sailed forty leagues.

The Sunday, following I sailed forty leagues.

Monday, following, I made thirty-five leagues.

Tuesday, following, I made forty leagues.

The Wednesday, following, I made forty-five leagues.

The Thursday, following, I made thirty leagues.

The Friday, following, I made thirty-five leagues.

The Saturday, following, I sailed twenty-five leagues.

The Sunday, following, I sailed thirty-five leagues.

The Monday, following, I sailed forty leagues.

The Tuesday, following, I sailed twenty-eight leagues.

The Wednesday, following, I covered eight leagues. From this day until Friday at midnight I was becalmed and I took a turn to the N. W. in search of land which the men of my ship told me that



they had seen on the day before. I went in search of it along this course as far as forty leagues.

Friday, at midnight, I turned my course to the West, and by Sunday I had gone forty leagues on my course.

Monday, which was the second of December, I sailed forty leagues.

Tuesday, I sailed thirty-eight leagues.

Wednesday, I sailed forty-seven leagues.

Thursday, I sailed forty leagues.

Friday, I sailed forty leagues.

Saturday, I sailed eighteen leagues.

Sunday, December 8th, I sailed thirty leagues.

Monday, I sailed thirty-eight leagues.

Tuesday, I sailed forty leagues.

Wednesday, our pilot wishing to go to the W. N. W., we went twenty-eight leagues.

Thursday, following the same course, thirty-eight leagues. On this day the pilot determined the latitude from the altitude of the sun and it was found to be $11^{\circ} 2' N$.

Friday, I covered eighteen leagues.

Saturday, December 21,¹¹ I made forty leagues.

Sunday, I sailed thirty-eight leagues. On this night I became separated from the other ships, and they from me, because of the storm.

Monday, without having seen the other ships, I sailed thirty leagues along a westward course, in search of the Ladrões.

Tuesday, I sailed thirty leagues.

Wednesday, we were becalmed from five o'clock at night until daylight. This same day I advanced fourteen leagues.

Thursday, we ran along the same course for eighteen leagues.

Friday, I advanced twenty-eight leagues. On this day frigate birds appeared.

Saturday, we sailed to the west twenty-eight leagues.

Sunday, December 22, I sailed to the west twenty leagues.

¹¹. Obviously an error in date, as this was December 14.

Tuesday, September 21, we made ten leagues to the westnorthwest with a southsoutheast wind. We were in a calm near three low islands.

Wednesday, September 22, we continued becalmed. We were in $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. latitude.

Thursday, September 23, we advanced in the calm twelve leagues to the north.

On Friday, September 24, we advanced to the eastnortheast and to the east eighteen leagues with north and northnorthwest winds and showers.

On Saturday, September 25, we advanced over twelve leagues to the eastnortheast and to the east and to the southeast, say, the whole direction to the eastsoutheast. We were becalmed all night with showers.

Sunday, September 26, we had a calm and made little headway.

Monday, September 27, we sailed to the eastnortheast and to the north and to the east ten leagues.

Tuesday, September 28, we went to the northeast. We made thirteen leagues toward the northeast.

Wednesday, September 29, the day of San Miguel, we had a calm and made no advance.

Thursday, the last of September, we were becalmed and made no progress.

Friday, October 1, we had sudden wind changes and calms, and we made little advance this day. We came upon three low lying islands, which are in $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. latitude, and I anchored in them.

DOC. XXXVII¹³

The account which Vincente de Nápoles gave in Madrid in the year 1534 concerning the events of the fleet of Saavedra which departed from the western shores of New Spain for the discovery of the Molucca Islands.

In the year 1526 from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, on the first of November, we departed from a port that is called Aguatanajo, which is in the country ruled by D. Hernando Cortés, by the command of His Majesty, a port which is on the shore of the South

13. Navarrete, *Colección*, V, p. 476.

Sea. We left in three ships which D. Hernando Cortés dispatched by the order of His Majesty to discover that passage to the Molucca Islands, and an *hidalgo* who was named Alvaro de Saavedra went as captain of the said fleet, and after about three hundred and fifty leagues, one day at mid-day we saw an island which is 11° to the north of the Equator. We went toward it, and could not reach it, and then we sailed on our way toward the Moluccas, and after about eight hundred leagues, one night at the quarter of the first watch the man who was at the helm steering, in the said ship which we had in the front, had the necessity to lower the sail, and during this time, the other ships passed on ahead, the captain of one of these ships being Luis de Cárdenas, and of the other, Pedro de Fuentes, and we never again saw those two ships nor were able to find them.

And continuing on our way, heading for the Molucca Islands, at the end of sixty days, one Sunday morning we came upon several low islands, which were located 11° north of the Equator. We called these islands *Las Islas de los Reyes* because we reached them on the day *De Los Reyes*. We sailed about them for three days, but never could approach them closely, although we had a great need of them because the ship was leaking badly and we had to pump constantly. From there, we continued our course directly toward the Moluccas. On another day at mid-day, we came upon some other islands, some of them inhabited, and others not, and we stayed on an uninhabited one for eight days; and never were we able to hold any conversation with the Indians of the said islands. The captain commanded the pilot that he should take the latitude and should let him know how far he was from the Molucca Islands. The pilot told him that he was two hundred and fifty leagues from the Moluccas, and from there we set sail for the Moluccas. After about one hundred leagues from land we saw an island which is called *La Mondaña* and which the Portuguese call *Mindanao*. About one hundred leagues from that island, our pilot died, and we were left without a pilot or any man who knew how to determine the latitude. And in the said island we made port and we were there more than twenty days while the winds were very strong. Here the Captain Saavedra determined to careen the ship because it was leaking so badly. As he was about to do it, a boat came out with about twenty-five men, including three kings. When the Captain



BIBLIOGRAPHY

The most important materials for the voyages of Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón are to be found in the documents relating to those voyages, those concerning the Loaysa expedition, the letters from Cortés to the Emperor and the accounts given by contemporary historians and by Herrera.

Navarrete has gathered all the known documents relating to Saavedra's voyage to the Moluccas and his two attempts to return to New Spain and has printed them in the Appendix of Tomo V of his *Colección*. There are eleven of them, and they are listed first in the bibliography below as they are considered the most important. For convenience, they have been listed under the same numbers as they appear in Navarrete, and the explanatory titles are his. In Appendix B I have included an English translation of these documents as they themselves are so much more interesting than any analysis of them. Two of these documents contain accounts of the voyages. Doc. XXXVI is taken from the book carried by Francisco Granado, the clerk of the expedition. It is unsigned, but is written in the first person singular, as though by Saavedra himself. H. R. Wagner, in his bibliographical note to Chapter V of his *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast*, names Saavedra as the possible author but considers Francisco Granado the more probable one. Whoever the author, Doc. XXXVI appears to be an authentic log of the voyage, and it is unfortunate that it is incomplete and has several pages missing. Doc. XXXVII is the report of the voyage given by Vicente de Nápoles, one of Saavedra's men, upon his arrival in Madrid in 1534. It is the story of an ignorant seaman, told several years after the events occurred, and his memory plays him false on dates and details, but it is a very interesting account.

The documents of the Loaysa expedition are also printed in the Appendix of Tomo V of Navarrete's *Colección*. Several of these proved helpful for reports of Saavedra's activities after his arrival in the Moluccas. Those which were most useful and judged to be the most reliable for this study were the reports made by Hernando de la Torre, Doc. XIV and XX, and those made by Andres de Urdaneta, Doc. XXII, XXIV and XVI. All of the Loaysa documents which were found useful are listed in the bibliography below

under the same numbers and explanatory titles as they appear in Navarrete.

The third group of documents listed is self-explanatory.

Of the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, Herrera and Galvano give the best and fullest accounts. Gómara and Bernal Díaz del Castillo are chiefly interested in the effect of the expedition on Cortés' fortunes and Oviedo stresses the events after the arrival of the armada in the Moluccas.

The best modern account of Saavedra's voyage is that given by Navarrete, who makes a concise analysis of Saavedra's voyage and the part he played in the Loaysa expedition. Another Spanish account, which follows closely that given by Navarrete, is the one by Don José March y Labores. Capt. James Burney's account is particularly good, considering the fact that he did not have the Saavedra documents. Markham has made a translation of a slightly different version of the story told by Vicente de Nápoles, taken from Doc. Inéd. V, pp. 68-96. Wagner gives a good brief summary and bibliography of the Saavedra expedition and Schurz describes its role in the story of the Manila Galleon.

The following bibliography lists those works which have been found useful in this study. No attempt has been made to include those books which merely mention the Saavedra voyages.



1. DOCUMENTS

A. THOSE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SAAVEDRA VOYAGE, printed in the Appendix of Navarrete's *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos*, Tomo V, Madrid, 1857.

- Doc. XXVII.* Cédula del Emperador á Hernan Cortés para despache desde los puertos de la costa occidental de Nueva-España algunas embarcaciones al Maluco para saber el paradero de las que fueron con Magallanes y Loaisa. (Copia en la Acad. de la Historia.)
- Doc. XXVIII.* Instruccion que dió Hernan Cortés á Alvaro de Saavedra, veedor de la armada que enviaba al Maluco, para el mejor desempeño de su encargo. (Copia coetanea en el Arch. de Ind. de Sevilla, leg. 6.º de Patronato Real.)
- Doc. XXIX.* Instruccion que dió Hernan Cortés á Antonio Guiral para desempeñar el cargo de Contador en la armada de Saavedra. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 6.º de Patronato Real.)
- Doc. XXX.* Instruccion que dió Hernan Cortés á Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron para el viage que habia de hacer con el armada á las islas de Maluco. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 6.º de Patronato Real.)

- Doc. XXXI. Carta de Hernan Cortés á los individuos de la armada de Sebastian Caboto, que habia salido de España para el Maluco, á fin de que le informasen de sus sucesos, y ofreciéndoles los auxilios que necesitasen. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 6° de Patronato Real.)
- Doc. XXXII. Carta que escribió Hernan Cortés á Sebastian Cabot y le remitió con Álvaro de Saavedra, informándole de las órdenes que tenia del Emperador para socorrer la armada que llevó al Maluco y la del Comendador Loaisa. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 6° de Patronato Real.)
- Doc. XXXIII. Carta que escribió Hernan Cortés y entregó á Álvaro de Saavedra para el Rey de la isla ó tierra adonde arribase con su armada. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, legajo 6° de Patronato Real.)
- Doc. XXXIV. Carta que escribió Hernan Cortés al Rey de Cebú, manifestándole el objeto de la expedicion que iba al Maluco mandado por Álvaro de Saavedra. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 6° de Patronato Real.)
- Doc. XXXV. Carta que escribió Hernan Cortés al Rey de Tidore, dándole gracias en nombre del Emperador por la buena acogida que hizo á la gente de la armada de Magailanes que quedó en aquella isla. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 6° de Patronato Real.)
- Doc. XXXVI. Relacion del viage que hizo Álvaro de Saavedra desde la costa Occidental de Nueva-España á las islas del Maluco. Está sacada del libro que trajo Francisco Granada, escribano de la armada. (Copia de aquel tiempo, pero defectuoso y de mala letra, en la Bibliot alta del Escorial, Co. en fol. de Miscelaneas 2 and 7. fol. 373 al 381.)
- Doc. XXXVII. Relacion que presentó en Madrid el año 1534 Vicente de Nápoles sobre los sucesos de la armada de Saavedra que salió de las costas Occidentales de Nueva-España al descubrimiento de las islas del Maluco. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 1° de papeles del Maluco desde 1519 á 1547.)

B. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE LOAYSA EXPEDITION, also printed in the Appendix of Navarrete's *Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, Tomo V. Madrid, 1837.

- Doc. IX. Relacion que dió Juan de Areizaga de la navegacion de la armada de Loaisa hasta desembocar el estrecho, y de los sucesos de la nao Santiago que se separó allí y aportó á Nueva-España. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, Leg. 6° de Patronato Real.)
- Doc. XIV. Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa desde su salida de la Coruña hasta 1° de Junio de 1526; sucesos de la nao Victoria despues de separada de la armada; y descripcion de las costas y mares por donde anduvo: dirigido todo al Rey por Hernando de la Torre. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, Leg. 1° papeles del Maluco desde 1519 á 1547.)
- Doc. XVI. Carta escrita al Emperador por Hernando de Bustamante y Diego de Salinas, informándole de varios sucesos ocurridos en el Maluco y en la India hasta el año 1529. (Colec. de Muñoz: orig. en la Torre do Tombo.)
- Doc. XIX. Carta de Pedro de Montemayor escrita desde Cochín al Rey de Portugal refiriéndole los sucesos ocurridos en el Maluco hasta el año 1533. (Colec. de Muñoz: orig. en la Torre do Tombo.)
- Doc. XX. Relacion de Hernando de la Torre de lo ocurrido en las Molucas contra los portugueses de la isla de Terrenate, desde su ingreso en aquellas islas hasta fin del año 1533. (Orig. en el arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 1°, papeles tocantes al Maluco desde 1519 á 1547.)

- Doc. XXI. Declaracion que dió Juan de Mazuecos sobre el viage del comendador Loaisa á las Molucas, y de lo ocurrido en aquellas islas. (Original en el Arch. de Indias en Sevilla, leg. 1° de papeles tocantes al Maluco desde 1519 á 1547.)
- Doc. XXII. Relacion sumaria del viage del comendador Loaisa que dieron Andres de Urdaneta y Macias del Poyo y de sus propios sucesos, desde el 24 de Julio de 1525 hasta 4 de Setiembre de 1536 (Archivo de Indias en Sevilla, papeles del Maluco desde 1519 á 1547.)
- Doc. XXIII. Declaracion de Francisco de Paris, marinero de la nao Victoria, sobre el viage de Loaisa y las ocurrencias que tuvieron los que iban en aquella nao con los portugueses durante su permanencia en las Molucas. (Orig. en el arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, Leg. 1°, papeles del Maluco de 1519 á 1547.)
- Doc. XXIV. Declaraciones dadas por Andres de Urdaneta y Macias del Poyo, en el interrogatorio que se les hizo por el Consejo de Indias sobre el viage de Loaisa. (Orig. en el Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 1° de papeles del Maluco de 1519 á 1547.)
- Doc. XXV. Noticia deducida de los declaraciones que dieron algunos testigos ante el Consejo de las Indias, sobre varios acontecimientos del viage de Loaisa. (Arch. de Ind. en Sevilla, leg. 1°, papeles del Maluco de 1519 á 1547.)
- Doc. XXVI. Relacion escrita y presentada al Emperador por Andres de Urdaneta de los sucesos de la armada del Comendador Loaisa, desde 24 del Julio de 1525 hasta el año 1535. (Orig. en el Arch. de Indias en Sevilla, Leg. 1° papeles del Maluco desde 1519 á 1547.) (Also printed in Documentos Inéditos, Vol. V.)

C. OTHER DOCUMENTS

Colección de Documentos Inéditos de Indias, edited by Joaquin Francisco Pacheco and Francisco de Cárdenas, Vol. XIV, Madrid, 1870.

Relacion ó derrotero de la navegacion que hizo el bergantin que salió de Zacatula en Nueva España, para descubrir la costa del Mar del Sur, de orden de Álvaro de Saavedra Ceron, capitan general, y de Hernando Cortés, gobernador del dicho reino. (Archivo de Indias. Patronato, Est. 1° Caj. 1.)

Colección de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida, edited by Buckingham Smith, Madrid, 1857.

Relacion de la derrota que hizo un bergantin que salió el 14 de Julio del año 1527 del puerto de Zacatula en Nueva España, juntamente con dos navios, á las órdenes de Alvaro Saavedra Ceron, á quien en cargo Cortés el descubrimiento de la Especeria, hasta el 24 del misnio mes, que entró en el puerto de Santiago en 19° y 14' de altura. (Copia del tiempo en Sevilla, sin expresion de autor, legajo 1°, Papeles tocautes á las Islas de Maluc y Filipinas, causados desde el año 1519 hasta el de 1547.)

Cortés, Hernando. *Cartas y Relaciones de Hernan Cortés al Emperador Carlos V*, colegidas y ilustradas por Don Pascual de Gavangos, Paris, 1866.

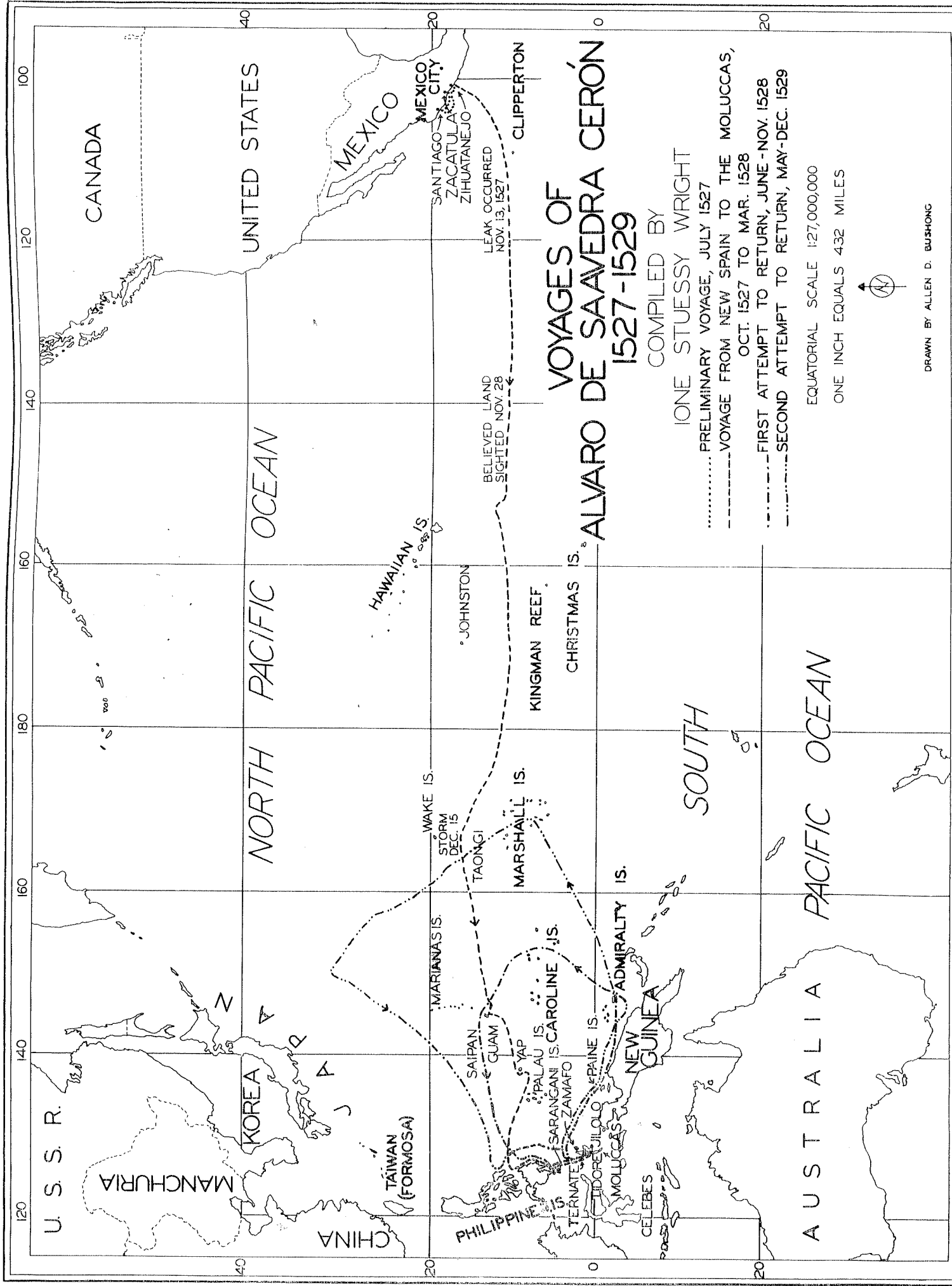
II. WORKS OF 16th AND 17th CENTURY WRITERS

- Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, translated by Alfred P. Mandslay, London, Hakluyt Society, 1908.
- Galvano, Antonio. *The Discoveries of the World*, corrected, quoted, and published in England, by Richard Hakluyt (1601); reprinted with the original Portuguese text and edited by Vice-Admiral Bethune, C.B. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1862.
- Gómara, Francisco López de, *La Historia General de las Indias*. En Anvers, En Casa de Ivan Steelsio, 1554.
La Historia de Mexico, En Anvers. Por Ivan Bellero, al Salmon, 1554.
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio de: *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano*, Madrid, 1601-1615.
- Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo Fernández de: *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*. Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1851-1855.

III. MODERN WORKS

- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *Works*, especially *History of Central America*. Vol. I, 1501-1530 (Vol. VI); *History of Mexico*. Vol. II, 1521-1600 (Vol. X); *The North Mexican States*, Vol. 1, 1531-1800 (Vol. XV), San Francisco, 1882-1890.
- Barrows, David P. *History of the Philippines*, Revised Edition, Chicago, 1924.
- Bennett, Ira E. *History of the Panama Canal*, Washington, D. C., 1915.
- Blair, Emma Helen, and Robertson, James Alexander. *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1803, Vol. II, 1521-1569, Cleveland, Ohio, 1903.
- Burney, James. *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, London, 1803.
- Fernández Duro, Cesare. *Armada Española desde la Unión de los Reinos de Castilla y de Leon*, Madrid, 1895.
- Haring, Clarence Henry. *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs*, Cambridge, 1918.
- March y Labores, José. *Historia de la Marina Real Española*, Madrid, 1854.
- Markham, Sir Clements Robert. *Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan*, printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1911.
- Merriman, Roger Bigelow. *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*, Vol. III, entitled *The Emperor*, New York, 1925.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, Boston, 1942.
- Navarrete, D. Martín Fernández de. *Colección de los Viages que Hicieron por mar los Españoles*, Tomo V, Madrid, 1837.
Disertación sobre la Historia de la Náutica y de las Ciencias Matemáticas que han contribuido a sus progresos entre los Españoles, Madrid, 1846.
- Schurz, William Lytle. *The Manila Galleon*, New York, 1939.
- Wagner, Henry Raup. *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, San Francisco, 1929.





VOYAGES OF ALVARO DE SAAVEDRA CERÓN 1527-1529

COMPILED BY

IONE STUESSY WRIGHT

..... PRELIMINARY VOYAGE, JULY 1527

----- VOYAGE FROM NEW SPAIN TO THE MOLUCCAS,
OCT. 1527 TO MAR. 1528

-.-.-.- FIRST ATTEMPT TO RETURN, JUNE - NOV. 1528

----- SECOND ATTEMPT TO RETURN, MAY-DEC. 1529

EQUATORIAL SCALE 1:27,000,000

ONE INCH EQUALS 432 MILES



DRAWN BY ALLEN D. BUSHONG