

THE SPANIARDS IN THE MOLUCCAS (1606-1663/1671-1677)

The history of the Spanish presence in the spice
islands

Written by Marco Ramerini

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*“Insule Molucce celebres ob maxima
aromatum copiam, quam per
totum terraru orbem trans
ferunt, 5 sunt, iuxta Gilolo
nempe, Tarenate, Tidore,
Motir, Machia et Bachia,”*

Abraham Ortelius “Theatrum Orbis Terrarum” (1570-1612)

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CHAPTER ONE: THE FIRST CONTACTS OF THE SPANIARDS WITH THE MOLUCCAS ISLANDS

INTRODUCTION

In the early 2000s I had started researching the Spanish presence in the Spice Islands. Some of my research was published during those years. The largest, however, remained unfinished in the files on my computer. Now after 15 years I've taken it back and I'm starting to publish it on my website www.colonialvoyage.com.

This study consists of 11 chapters in addition to the bibliography and was originally published in Italian (in October 2020) on my site dedicated to the history of geographical explorations and colonialism: www.colonialvoyage.com

The translation is done by me, and it's certainly not professional, but that's all I could do.

CLOVES

The islands formerly known as Moluccas or Spice Islands were five islands of volcanic origin (Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makian and Bacan) located west of the coast of the island of Halmahera, in the Indonesian archipelago.

These islands were the only ones in the world where, at the time of the Portuguese arrival, the clove plant grew naturally, a plant of the Myrtaceae family, whose botanical name is *Caryophyllus Aromaticus* (*Eugenia Caryophyllus*, *Syzygium Aromaticum*). This plant is a tree that reaches an average height of 10-15 meters. The unopened and dried flower buds of this plant are called cloves.

The clove plant produces fruit from the fifth to sixth year of growth and can live well beyond 70 years. On average, a tree annually produces 3 kg of dried flowers equal to 6 kg of fresh flowers, in particularly productive years, which is repeated on average every 4 years, a plant can produce up to over 30 kg of cloves. In the Moluccas the flowering season falls twice a year in the months of September and December. To thrive, the plant needs a humid climate, but also a well-drained soil, conditions that are found in the Moluccas islands. The plants grow along the slopes of the mountains, at mid-height.

This peculiarity made the Moluccas famous and mythical since ancient times. The

clove was a very important commercial product, in the past it was traded both in Asian markets (China, India and Arab countries) and in European ones; it was used in the form of oil for the treatment of food, as a perfume, as an essence to perfume the breath, as an anesthetic for toothaches and as an ingredient for various types of food (in medieval English cookbooks about 20% of recipes contained cloves as an ingredient).

The Moluccas had this great wealth, the clove, but they had to import from the other islands, the basic necessities such as mainly sago and rice which were imported from Halmahera, Ambon and Bacan; spices were instead exchanged with traders from all over Asia for clothes, silk, porcelain, gold, silver, knives, glass, etc.¹

VOLCANIC ISLANDS

Most of the islands of the Moluccas archipelago are dominated by high volcanoes, some of which are still active. On the island of Ternate there is the Gamalama volcano which is 1,715 meters high. This volcano from 1538 to today has had over 70 known eruptions. In the period 1538-1700 it had eruptions in: 1538, 1561, 1605, 1608, 1635, 1618 (?), 1643 (?), 1648, 1653, 1659, 1676, 1686, 1687). The neighboring island of Tidore is also dominated by an impressive volcano, Kiematubu, a stratovolcano with a height of 1,730 meters. This volcano has not had any documented historical eruptions, but it did erupt in the Holocene. Another active volcano is instead present in the island of Makian, 1,357 meters high, it is a destructive volcano. In the period 1550-1700 it had eruptions in 1550 and in 1646 when it had an explosive eruption which devastated several villages on the sides of the volcano.

In addition to the 5 main islands (Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makian and Bacan) there are the three small volcanic islands of Hiri (630 m., which had eruptions in the Holocene) located north of Ternate. Maitara (357 m.) in the arm of the sea that separates Ternate and Tidore. While to the south, between Tidore and Moti, is the island of Mare (308 m., with eruptions in the Holocene).

Of all the Moluccas, Makian Island was the one that produced far more cloves than any other in the seventeenth century. The cause of this greater production Governor

¹ (De Silva De Silva, C. R. "The Portuguese and the trade in cloves in Asia during the sixteenth century" In: *An expanding world* vol. 11, pp. 259-260) ("Letter by Acuña to Felipe III, Manila 1 July 1605" In: Blair, E. H. and Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 14, pp. 58-59 nota n°5. Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico UTET, 1967, vol. 4, p. 625) (Doc. Mal. I p. 5*) (Trinidade "Conquista espiritual do Oriente" vol. I p. 45)

D. Gerónimo de Silva attributes it to the better propensity of the inhabitants of Makian in the cultivation of the land, unlike the natives of Ternate and Tidore who were more inclined to make war than to cultivate the fields.² Makian was also the most densely populated.³

Due to the continuous commercial contacts between the Moluccas and Muslim merchants from Arabia and other parts of Asia, the Mohammedan faith entered the islands from 1430-1460. In those years several kings of the islands converted to Islam and at the arrival of the Portuguese despite the fact that the majority of the population was still animist, Islam represented an important and elitist element in the islands.⁴

THE SITUATION ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

Upon the arrival of the Portuguese in 1512, two main kingdoms vied for control of the islands: the Sultanate of Ternate and the Kingdom of Tidore. In addition to the island of Ternate, the Sultanate of Ternate also controlled half of the island of Moti, the northern part of the island of Halmahera called Moro, the island of Ambon, the eastern part of Ceram and the northeastern area of Sulawesi. As the Kingdom of Tidore, it controlled besides Tidore Island the other half of Moti Island, Makian Island, most of Halmahera Island and the western part of New Guinea. Control over these islands was exercised directly or through vassalage.

Then there were two other minor kingdoms: that of Bacan and that of Jailolo. The kingdom of Bacan, whose capital was on the island of Kasiruta, extended its influence over the archipelago of Bacan and the northern part of Ceram. Bacan was a major producer of sago, the staple food of the island peoples, but it was sparsely populated. The kingdom of Jailolo instead had once been the most important of the region but in 1500 it was in decline and controlled only the northwestern part of Halmahera, this kingdom will be practically annexed by Ternate and the Portuguese in 1551.

The sultan of Ternate managed to secure the Portuguese alliance and in 1522 asked and obtained the construction of a Portuguese fortress on his island. The first stone of the fortress was laid for the feast of St. John the Baptist, on June 24, 1522, and for this reason it was called "São João Baptista de Ternate". The alliance with the Portuguese unbalanced even more in favor of Ternate the power relations with

² ("Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to the king Felipe III, Ternate, 13 april 1612" In: Correspondencia p. 7)

³ The island of Tidore is described by Prado as densely populated. (Prado p. 23)

⁴ (Doc. Mal. I p. 6*) (Trinidade "Conquista espiritual do Oriente" vol. I p. 45)

Tidore, on the other hand Tidore at the arrival of the ships of the Magellan expedition promptly requested the assistance of the Spaniards.⁵

The Spaniards first made contact with the Maluku Islands during Magellan's expedition. In 1521 the ships of Magellan's expedition reached the Moluccas, where they stayed for about six weeks on the island of Tidore. They also founded a farm, which however was promptly destroyed by the Portuguese.

The Spaniards tried several times to take possession of the spice islands to the detriment of the Portuguese, with whom there were bitter differences, the Spanish established alliances with the kings of Tidore and Jailolo and Spanish troops were present in the islands during the years 1527-1534 and 1544-1545. But the failure to discover a return route across the Pacific prevented the Spanish from being able to compete with Portuguese naval power. In 1529 there was also the signing of a treaty between Spain and Portugal, concerning the Moluccas, the Treaty of Zaragoza, with this treaty the king of Spain abandoned any claim on the islands in exchange for 350,000 ducats.

The first period of interest of the Spanish in the Moluccas was characterized by the struggles against the Portuguese for control of the islands, it began with the arrival of Magellan's expedition in 1521 and ended in 1545 with the surrender of the men of the army to the Portuguese of Villalobos, between these two expeditions the Spaniards sent other fleets, those of Loaisa (1527) and Saavedra (1528) as well as the unfortunate adventure of the Grijalva expedition (1538). The Villalobos expedition was set up after the Treaty of Zaragoza and for this reason the expedition was directed to unspecified spice islands not yet occupied by Portugal. The center of all this Spanish activity remained throughout this period the island of Tidore.

THE EXPEDITION OF MAGELLAN

The Spaniards had the first contacts with the island of Tidore, during the expedition of Magellan. In 1521 the two surviving ships of the expedition, the 'Trinidad' and the 'Victoria', arrived in the Moluccas Islands. The Spanish vessels entered the port of Tidore on November 8, 1521, where they were well received by the king of the island. The vessel 'Victoria' remained at Tidore until 21 December 1521, whence she departed on the Indian Ocean route to Europe, which she successfully reached on 6 September 1522. The 'Trinidad' however, which needed to be repaired, sailed from Tidore on April 6, 1522 trying without success to cross the Pacific Ocean, she was

⁵ (Doc. Mal I pp. 3*-4*)(De Silva, C. R. "The Portuguese and the trade in cloves in Asia during the sixteenth century" In: An expanding world vol. 11, p. 261)

forced to return to the Moluccas in October 1522, where the crew was captured by the Portuguese, who in the meantime had settled in Ternate where they had built a fortress.⁶

The first contact with the Tidorese was purely commercial, even if the Spanish, following the request of the king of Gilolo, an ally of Tidore, supplied two pieces of artillery and some soldiers to participate in a punitive expedition against an enemy of the king. The kings of Gilolo and that of Tidore declared themselves subjects of the king of Spain, hoping in doing so to balance the overwhelming power of their bitter enemy, the sultan of Ternate, with Spanish help. This act of submission greatly angered the Portuguese, who had already had commercial relations with Ternate for some years and who considered the entire Moluccas archipelago as their own possession.

The Spaniards, upon their departure, promised the king of Tidore that with the subsequent expedition they would build a fortress in Tidore, and for this purpose, they left on their farm in addition to the merchandise and 5 men⁷ also 40 'bombardadas', many 'beftas' and 'espigardas' and several other weapons.⁸

THE LOAISA EXPEDITION

The promise of building a fort at Tidore was, in fact, fulfilled. In fact, the next expedition, under the command of which was originally Loaisa, built a fortress of stone, sand and crushed stone at Tidore. The small fort was built in January 1527 in the main city of the island.

⁶ The Portuguese fort was founded by Antonio de Brito in June 1522, the first stone of the fortress was laid for the feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1522, the fortress was called "Sao Joao Bautista de Ternate". The fortress was built by the Portuguese, where was the main city of the Ternate sultanate (south of the island), one league from the main port of the island, called Talangame, where the ships were anchored.

⁷ They were: Juan de Campos de Escribano, Luis del Molino, Alonso de Cota Ginoves, Diego Arias and Maestre Pedro Lombardero. See: (Fernandez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 4" p. 98) and also ("Declaraciones que dieron en Valladolid Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Ginés de Mafra, y Leon Pancaldo, sobre los acontecimientos de la nao Trinidad en las Malucas" Documento nº40 in: Fernandez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 4" (Madrid, 1837) p. 381). According to Castanheda the men who remained in Tidore were 10-12 men see: (Lopes de Castanheda "História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses" Livro VI, cap. 5, p. 160) While according to Antonio Galvao there were 4 men see: (Galvao "História das Molucas" p. 205)

⁸ (Lopes de Castanheda "História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses" Livro VI, cap. 10, 169; Fernandez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 4" p. 98)

Let's look in more detail at the events that led to the construction of the first Spanish fort at Tidore. After crossing the Pacific Ocean, the only surviving vessel of the Loaísa expedition, the ship 'Victoria', commanded by Captain Martín Iníiguez de Carquizano, arrived within sight of the Moluccas and stopped for a few days at Zamafo a village controlled by Tidore in the island of Halmahera. Following the request of the king of Tidore, the Spaniards moved to Tidore, which they sighted on December 31, 1526 at the first light of dawn, they then took the boat to the north-eastern part of the island of Tidore where they spent the night.⁹

The following morning, January 1, 1527, the Spaniards headed to the place where the main city of the island was, called 'Tidori'. The city was located in the eastern part of the island '...el pueblo principal que se llama Tidori está por la parte de leste...' ¹⁰, it had been completely destroyed and burned by the Portuguese in late 1526 during the previous war.¹¹ Here the Spaniards arrived at 10 in the morning and immediately met the young king of Tidore (Raja-Mirr) on board the ship, he confirmed his loyalty to the king of Spain and asked for the help of the Spaniards to counter the Portuguese and their allies from Ternate. The Spaniards helped by the Tidorese, on the very day of their arrival, began the construction of three bulwarks '...en este mismo día comenzamos hacer tres baluartes en tierra para poner artillería...' ¹² of stone, earth and wood in order to be able to defend itself against a certain imminent attack by the Portuguese.

The sources do not agree on what the fortifications built by the Spaniards must have been like. According to the testimonies, the construction of a bulwark entirely of stone is reported '...fizemos un baluarte a maneira de fortaleza de pedra soamente...' where the artillery was placed, while on a point the Spaniards had placed two large artillery pieces.¹³ Other sources speak of two bulwarks 'onde chegado & metida a nao dentro no arrecife, mandou fazer na entrada dele dous baluartes de pedra ensosa q artilhou muyto bé com algũa artilharia da nao' ¹⁴ and more '...e fez de pedra sequea

⁹ ("Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaísa..." Document n° 14 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 285)

¹⁰ ("Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaísa..." Document n°14 in: Martín Fernanadez deNavarrete "Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles, vol. 5" (Madrid, 1837) p. 286)

¹¹ According to a Portuguese slave who had fled to Zamafo, the destruction had taken place a few days before the arrival of the Spanish ships. For this episode see: (Castanheda "História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses" Livro VII, cap. 39, p. 438)

¹² ("Relacion escrita y presentada al el Emperador por Andres de Urdaneta ..." Document n°26 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 412)

¹³ ("Carta de Pedro de Montemayor escrita desde Cochín al Rey de Re del Portugal..., Cochín 14 Janeiro 1533" Document n°19 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 343)

¹⁴ (Lopes de Castanheda "História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses" Livro

dous baluartes sobre o arrecife em defesa da nao, e n'elles pôs artelharia, ...' ¹⁵

Still others talk about '...torre dos castelhanos, a que elles chamauão fortaleza, que tinha huma caua d'agoa derrador; ...'. ¹⁶ '...torre dos Castelhanos, a que chamauão fortaleza, que como disse era cercada de caua'. ¹⁷ Diogo do Couto tells us that the Spaniards began to build with great speed two 'baluartes de pedra ençossa' at the limits of the city, while another bastion was built to defend the port. ¹⁸ Other testimonies inform us that the bulwark was not only made of stone, but also of earth and wood '...y luego en la hora hecimos en tierra un reparo de piedra, y tierra, y madera para poner alguna artilleria para nos defender...' ¹⁹ 'se fortificó com fortes tramqueiras y artilleria con nombre de fortaleza'. ²⁰

From the descriptions it is clear in any case that the fortifications that the Spaniards built at the time of the landing in Tidore were two bulwarks, one probably the main one, the one that was called a fortress, was built inside the city of the King near the sea, the other in its vicinity, on a point. Furthermore, later, in June 1528, Hernando de la Torre probably had another defensive bulwark built on the north side of the city. What is certain of this first Spanish fortification in Tidore is that it must have been a work of little importance, given the haste with which it was built. The small fortification was also used as a shelter for goods transported by ships '... e ally desembarcaron el artillería, y sus mercaderías y comenzaron á hacer un baluarte para su defensa: y metiéronse en él con todas sus mercaderías y artillería, ...'. ²¹

The day following the arrival of the Spaniards, the artillery and goods that were on board the ship were landed. About half of the ship's occupants went ashore, while the other half remained aboard because the Spanish feared that the Portuguese would try to scuttle the ship. There were just over 100 ²² Spaniards who arrived in Tidore, and the ship 'Victoria' represented the only means at their disposal to attempt to return to

VII, cap. 42, p. 441)

¹⁵ (Gaspar Correa "Lendas da India" vol. III, p. 175)

¹⁶ (Gaspar Correa "Lendas da India" vol. III, p. 360)

¹⁷ (Lopes de Castanheda "História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses" Livro VIII, cap. 6, p. 569)

¹⁸ (Diogo do Couto "Da Asia" Decada IV, parte 1, p. 190)

¹⁹ ("Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa..." Document n°14 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 286)

²⁰ ("Al Rey de Portugal, Alfonso Mexia, Cochín 30 diciembre 1528" Document n°13 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 240)

²¹ ("Declaracion de Juan de Mazuecos" Document n°21 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 363)

²² They were 105, 115, 116, 117 (Galvao "Historia das Molucas" p. 215), 123, 133 depending on the testimonies.

Spain.

The Spaniards almost immediately had to repel an attack by the Portuguese, who also attacked Tidore several times in the following months. The Portuguese tried by all means to harm the Spanish, the Spanish captain Martin Iñiguez de Carquizano was poisoned by them and died on July 11, 1627²³, he was succeeded as leader of the Spaniards by Hernando de la Torre. The Spanish actively took part in the struggles between them, Tidore and Jailolo on one side and Ternate and the Portuguese on the other.

Meanwhile in New Spain a new expedition was being prepared for the Moluccas, this fleet, made up of three ships ('Florida', 'Santiago' and 'Espiritu Santo') with 30 cannons and 110 men, had left on 31 October 1527 from Mexican port of Zihuatanejo, the commander of the expedition was Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron. Of this expedition only the ship 'Florida' commanded by Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron arrived in Tidore on March 30, 1528, on board were 45 men who replenished the ranks of the scarce Spanish troops present in Tidore and Jailolo and strengthened the morale of the Spaniards.²⁴ But the failure to discover a return route across the Pacific despite many desperate attempts prevented the Spanish from receiving further aid and communicating with their bases, while on the other hand the Portuguese constantly received reinforcements from Malacca and Goa.

Upon the arrival of the new Spanish ship at Tidore, the fortress of the Castilians appeared as a fortress of stone, sand and rubble ('piedra, arena y cascajo') two arms high and six feet thick, it was armed with a cannon, a 'culebrina', two 'sacres' and many other pieces of iron artillery, a good quantity of 'escopetas' and 'ballestas', it appeared to be quite well stocked with artillery and the troops were well armed.²⁵

In addition, other defensive works were prepared by the Spaniards: In a report to the king of Spain written by Tidore on June 11, 1528, Hernando de la Torre, indicated that in order to better defend the city it was necessary to build a bulwark at an entrance to the city of Tidore for the purpose, he had placed 20 soldiers led by Diego de Ayala at that point and with 5 or 6 pieces of artillery.²⁶

²³ He was buried in the church of 'Nossa Senhora do Rozairo' evidently the name of the chapel erected by the Spaniards in Tidore. ("Carta de Pedro de Montemayor escrita desde Cochín al Rey de Re del Portugal..., Cochín 14 Janeiro 1533" Document nº19 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 345)

²⁴ (Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" pp. 94-113)

²⁵ ("Relacion que presentó en Madrid el Año 1534 Vicente de Nápoles sobre los sucesos de la armada de Saavedra ..." Document nº37 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" 486) (Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 113)

²⁶ ("Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa..." Document nº14 in: Fernanadez de

Despite the construction of these successive defense works, the Spanish fort was taken by the Portuguese in October 1529. The Portuguese could not have chosen a better moment for the attack, in fact, the Spanish had divided their forces by sending 18 soldiers along with the troops of Tidore for a punitive expedition in the northern part of Halmahera. A small garrison of 37 Spaniards remained in defense of the city of Tidore of which only 25 were able to take up arms, the number of Tidore troops remaining in defense of the city was also reduced.

The city of Tidore was attacked on 28 October 1529 by the Portuguese and their Ternate allies, here the Spanish initially attempted resistance along the city wall and along the bulwark that had been built at the entrance to the city, but then saw the superior number of the Portuguese and their allies, were forced to retreat within the walls of their fortress. The Portuguese burned the whole city of Tidore and laid siege to the Spanish fortress. The Portuguese asked for the surrender, under penalty of killing all the defenders of the fortress.

The Spaniards commanded by Hernando de la Torre after several discussions agreed to abandon the fortress on the condition of being transferred to the village of Zamafo on the island of Halmahera. The Portuguese also imposed a ban on them returning to the Moluccas '...no fuese en ninguna de las cinco islas de clavo'. Captain Hernando de la Torre left Tidore for Zamafo together with 23 Spanish soldiers, while another 12 remained with the Portuguese and entered their service.²⁷ In the fortress and in the farm that was inside the Spanish fortress, the Portuguese, in addition to various merchandise, confiscated many weapons including 6 large metal artillery pieces, 25 iron artillery pieces ('...versos y falcones...'), 4 large pieces, 4 'pasamuros', 8 'falcones' e altri 'tiros pequeños'.²⁸

After the Portuguese conquest of the Spanish fort of Tidore, it seems that some Portuguese soldiers remained to garrison the island '... habia quedado gente de portugueses en Tidori...' ²⁹ Castanheda also mentions that some Portuguese remained in Tidore to teach the Tidorese 'os nossos costumes' and to prevent an alliance

Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 308)

²⁷("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" Document n°20 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" pp. 353-360) (Gaspar Correia "Lendas da India" vol. III, p. 359)

²⁸ ("Declaracion de Francisco de Paris, marinero de la nao Victoria ..., 25 octubre 1536" Document n°23 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 375.) (Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 133)

²⁹ (Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 5" p. 356)

between Tidorese and Spaniards from happening again in the future. ³⁰

As we have seen this first fortress built by the Spanish at Tidore was a very simple construction of dry stone wall, probably just a small defensive bastion: ‘Los portugueses nos echaron por armas de Tidori, donde teniamos una fortaleza de piedra seca y toda l’artillería y hacienda que teniamos para nuestro mantenimientos, y dos fustas...’ ³¹ ‘...la fortaleza que tenian hecha los castellanos á manera de baluarte’ ³² The Spanish held the fort of Tidore for almost three years from 1 January 1527 to 28 October 1529. The few Spaniards who remained with Hernando de la Torre remained for a few more years in Jailolo, from where they were then embarked between 1534 and 1535 towards the ‘India and then to Spain. ³³

The survivors of the Grijalva expedition arrived in the Moluccas a few years later, in 1537, but they immediately surrendered to the Portuguese and had no influence on power relations in the Moluccas. ³⁴

THE VILLALOBOS EXPEDITION

The last Spanish contact with the Spice Islands before the union with Portugal was with the expedition led by Ruy López de Villalobos. The destination of the expedition, by virtue of the 1529 agreement, was the unspecified spice islands not yet occupied by the Portuguese. Villalobos left Mexico on November 1, 1542 with 4 ships, a galliot and a brig. After a failed attempt to colonize the island of Sarragan, the remnants of the expedition reached Gilolo where they were well received by the king, who offered them permission to build a fortress. Later the king of Tidore also went to Gilolo ³⁵ where he visited the Spanish and a contract of alliance was again made between Spain, Tidore and Gilolo. A group of 60 Spanish soldiers commanded by don Alonso Manrique was sent to Tidore. Later the other Spanish troops also moved to the island. ³⁶

³⁰ (Lopes de Castanheda “História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses” Livro VIII, cap. 7, p. 571)

³¹ (“Carta de Hernando de la Torre a D. Alvaro de Zuñiga, Gilolo, marzo 1532” Documento nº18 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete “Colección de los viajes, vol. 5” p. 337)

³² “Declaracion de Juan de Mazuecos” Documento nº21 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete “Colección de los viajes, vol. 5” 364

³³ (Fernanadez de Navarrete “Colección de los viajes, vol. 5” pp. 150-155)

³⁴ On the vicissitudes of this expedition see: (Galvão “História das Molucas” pp. 307-317)

³⁵ According to Couto, it was the Spaniards who asked the king of Tidore for permission to move to Tidore. (Diogo do Couto “Da Asia” Decada V, parte 2, pp. 406-407)

³⁶ (P. Pablo Pastells “Historia general de las islas Filipinas, 1493-1572” vol. I, clxxi In: D. Pedro Torres y Lanzas “Catalogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas existentes en el archivo de

The Spaniards of Villalobos helped their allies against their enemies in several battles, but always avoided fighting against the Portuguese, maintaining friendly relations with them, and exchanging visits, which made the king of Tidore suspicious, who in August 1545, to defend himself and protect himself, he had a dry stone fortress built on top of a hill ‘... hizo fortalecer un peñol y encima del hizo una fortaleza de piedra seca, para se recojer alli si neçessario fuese, ...’.³⁷

The Spanish repeatedly tried to establish contacts with New Spain, but all the ships sent were forced to return to the Moluccas without having found a return route to America, this caused deep discouragement in the Spanish, who began to desert and go over to the side of the Portuguese, the Spanish were forced to negotiate a surrender with the Portuguese and abandon Tidore, they had been in Tidore from March 1544 to November 1545.³⁸

In February 1546 the survivors of the Villalobos expedition left the Moluccas aboard Portuguese ships. Villalobos will die in Ambon on his return journey to Spain.³⁹

THE SPANISH EXPEDITIONS DURING THE UNION OF THE CROWNS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The first period of interest of the Spaniards in the Moluccas, i.e. the one concerning the years 1521-1606, can be divided into two distinct parts: the first part was that, to which we have already mentioned, of the struggles against the Portuguese for control of the islands, it began with the arrival of Magellan's expedition in 1521 and ended in 1545 with the surrender of the men of the Villalobos expedition to the Portuguese.

The second part of this first period, was instead that of the union between the crowns

Indias de Sevilla. Procedido de una História General de Filipinas, por el P. Pablo Pastells, S. J.” (Barcellona, 1925-1936)

³⁷ (“Relacion de Garcia de Escalante Alvarado” AGI: Patronato,23,R.10 in: Consuelo Varela “El viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las islas del Poniente, 1542-1548” (Milano, 1983) pp. 143-144) (Pastells “Historia general de las islas Filipinas, 1493-1572” vol. I, clxxvi)

³⁸ The agreement between the Spanish and the Portuguese was signed on November 4, 1545. (“Carta de fray Geronimo de Santisteban a don Antonio de Mendoza, de Cochín, en la India de Portugal a 22 de enero de 1547” AGI: Patronato,20,R.12 in: Consuelo Varela “El viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las islas del Poniente, 1542-1548” (Milano, 1983) p. 30)

³⁹ (Pastells “Historia general de las islas Filipinas, 1493-1572” vol. I, clxxxvi, cxciíi Ciríaco Pérez-Bustamante “La expedición de Ruy López de Villalobos a las Islas de Pacífico” In: AA. VV. “A viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a questão das Molucas. Actas do II colóquio Luso-Espanhol de História Ultramarina” (Lisbona, 1975) pp. 611-626)

of Spain and Portugal, during this time the Spanish expeditions departing from the base of Manila in the Philippines, were sent with the aim of helping the Portuguese troops against the enemies Ternatense, who had rebelled against the Portuguese and who had expelled them from the island of Ternate in 1575.⁴⁰

The main aim of these last expeditions was the reconquest of the Portuguese fortress of Ternate. None of the six subsequent expeditions attempted by the Spaniards achieved their intended purpose. They began in 1582 with that of Francisco Dueñas, this first expedition had a purely informative nature on the military situation of the islands, Francisco Dueñas remained in the Moluccas for about two months between March and April 1582. The next expedition was the one commanded by D. Juan Ronquillo it took place between 1582 and 1583, the Spaniards collaborated with the Portuguese by helping them in some punitive expeditions against the nearby islands.

In 1584 it was the turn of Pedro Sarmiento and then in 1585 of Juan de Morón also these two expeditions did not have the desired success, the fortress of Ternate was attacked, but without result. A larger and better assembled armada set out for the Moluccas in 1593 under the command of Philippine governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas himself, but a rebellion and assassination of the governor himself before reaching the Moluccas led to the cancellation of the whole operation. The last Spanish expedition of this period was the one sent from Manila to rescue the Portuguese admiral André Furtado de Mendonça's fleet, it was captained by Juan Juárez Gallinato, and departed from Manila in late 1602, a joint Spanish-Portuguese assault on the fortress of Ternate was unsuccessful.

Instead, the two attacks a few months apart, in 1605, by the sworn enemies of the Spaniards, the Dutch, led to the last forts still in Portuguese hands in the Moluccas: Ambon and Tidore.

Ambon fell without a fight on February 23, 1605, apparently due to the cowardly conduct of the fortress captain Gaspar de Melo and the personal interest of some Portuguese casados, who aimed at safeguarding their possessions. The Dutch rebuilt the Portuguese fort and left 130 soldiers as a garrison. The Dutch ships then set course for Tidore.

The Portuguese from the fortress of Tidore, commanded by Pedro Álvares de Abreu, did not surrender at the sight of the ships, but forced the Dutch to fight, but as we will see later, despite their courage, the fort was taken by the Dutch. The key episode was the explosion of the powder magazine of the fort, which caused the death of many

⁴⁰ The Portuguese, in 1578, to replace their fortress at Ternate had built a fort at Tidore.

defenders and a huge gash in the walls.⁴¹ Tidore was captured by the Dutch on May 19, 1605. The Dutch, not having enough men to garrison a fortress, left Tidore with only a few men on a farm. Once in the Moluccas, the Dutch allied themselves with the greatest power in the area, the Ternate sultanate.

The extension of the territory controlled by the Ternate sultanate after the rebellion against the Portuguese and the capture of the Portuguese fort of Ternate (December 26, 1575), is described to us in an interesting document most likely written by Pedro Sarmiento in 1584 and entitled "Relación de the force, power and artillery held by the King of Terrenate".

The dominion of Ternate extended not only on the island of Ternate but also to the strongholds of Jilolo, Çabubo (Sabugo), Ganconora (Gamkonora), Loloda all located along the western coast of the island of Halmahera, where there were other tributary villages of Ternate. At the north end of the island of Halmahera, the islands of Doi and of Morata (Morotai) were also tributaries as were many villages on the north coast of Halmahera, which years earlier had been Christianized by the Portuguese. South of Ternate they were under the control of the Ternatese Motel (Moti), Maquian, Cawa (Kayoa), Caxossa (?) etc. the influence of Ternate extended southwards to the surrounding islands Ambon and Buru, while towards the west the influence of Ternate reached the coasts of the island of Celebes.⁴²

⁴¹ ("Fr. Gaspar Fernandes, provincial of Goa, to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, general. Goa, 6 de novembro de 1606" Document n° 10 in: Hubert Jacobs, "Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682" (Roma, 1984) p. 49) (Francisco Colin, "Labor Evangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compania de Jesus, fundacion, y progresos de su provincia en las Islas Filipinas" Vol. 3 (Barcellona, 1900-1903 (prima edizione 1663)) pp. 20-22)

⁴² (Arch. Gen. de Indias, patronato 46, R 18 "Relación de la fuerza, poder y artilleria que tiene el Rey de Terrenate")

CHAPTER TWO: THE CONQUEST OF TERNATE

THE PREPARATION OF THE EXPEDITION BY D. PEDRO DE ACUÑA

The Spanish response, this time, was not long in coming. The governor of the Philippines, D. Pedro de Acuña, in a document⁴³, undated, present in the "General da Indias" archive of Seville, lists the reasons and benefits why the Spaniards should organize an expedition to recover the fortress of Ternate:

- a) The renewal of the Christian faith, both on the island of Ternate and on the nearby islands.
- b) The recovery of the old reputation, lost after the Portuguese were expelled from Ternate.
- c) The possibility of being able to control the trade in cloves, which only grow on these islands.⁴⁴
- d) The benefit of being able to receive the income of the island.
- e) Ternate can be an excellent base to be able to occupy the islands of Mindanao and Solo, which are located along the route between Manila and Ternate.

Acuña also indicates that the secrecy and brevity of the operation are essential for the success of the enterprise, in order to catch the enemy by surprise. He recommends using Manila as a basis for preparing the enterprise, Ternate being closer and more easily accessible from Spanish possessions than from Portuguese India. Acuña's proposal was favorably received by the King of Spain.⁴⁵

On June 19, 1604, the expedition led by Juan de Esquivel, sent by the King especially for the Ternate expedition, set sail from San Lucar de Barrameda to New Spain.⁴⁶

⁴³ (Audiencia das Filipinas, Secular Legajo nº1, Doc. 43 "Pontos que D. Pedro de Acuña assinala para que Sua Majestade mande fazer a jornada das ilhas Molucas e as causas que há para assim se fazer, como também o que é necessário para a execução delas, e a utilidade e beneficios que dela se obteriam.")

⁴⁴ One hundred years after the arrival of the Portuguese, the production of cloves had also spread to other islands, especially Ambon, the western part of Ceram and the island of Halmahera, so the 5 original islands no longer enjoyed the exclusive to this spice. (Prakash, Om "Restrictive trading regimes: VOC and the Asian spice trade in the seventeenth century" In: "An expanding world" vol. 11, p. 320)(De Silva, C. R. "The Portuguese and the trade in cloves in Asia during the sixteenth century" In: An expanding world vol. 11, p. 265)

⁴⁵ See: "Carta del Re ad Acuña, Valladolid, 20 June 1604" in which Acuña is ordered to make the shipment to Ternate. Cited in Esquivel's letter: (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

⁴⁶ (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey llegada a islas Molucas. Terrenate, 09-04-1606")

On February 25, 1605, a ship from New Spain arrived at the port of Cavite in the Philippines. This ship was the bearer of royal orders favorable to the expedition to be undertaken in the Moluccas, the patacco also brought information to the governor of the imminent arrival of troops from New Spain to carry out the undertaking. Two companies of soldiers also arrived in the same ship, about 200 infantry destined to participate in the expedition and sent by the Viceroy of New Spain.

The bulk of the expedition led by Juan de Esquivel had been sent directly from Spain and had departed from the port of San Lucas de Barrameda, from there it had arrived in New Spain, via Mexico City. The soldiers aboard two ships, departed from the port of Acapulco in New Spain on March 22, 1605, and arrived in the Philippines on June 9, 1605. forecasts and had also found bad weather, only one soldier died during the crossing. On board were 650 men forming part of 8 companies, 7 of which, on Acuña's orders, had been landed in the port of Ybalon and then the following day from there transported to the island of Panay to the Villa of Arevalo (Oton) where they had been prepare food for their sustenance.

On June 18, “mestre de campo” Juan de Esquivel arrived in Manila to meet Acuña. During the seven months that Esquivel spent in Manila together with Acuña, the command of the seven companies of soldiers who had come with him from Spain and who had been sent to the island of Panay was entrusted to Lucas de Vergara.⁴⁷

Shortly after the troops arrived, 4 melted down New Spain artillery pieces also arrived aboard ship. Although the number of soldiers sent (a total of about 850 soldiers arrived) was far less than the 1,500 soldiers Acuña had requested, he was favorably impressed by the high quality of the troops sent. These troops were then supplemented by some companies of soldiers from the garrison⁴⁸ and by pampangos soldiers. Acuña referring to pampangos soldiers, describes them as excellent soldiers (arquebusiers and musketeers) especially when side by side with Spanish soldiers. He also expresses his willingness to participate with his personal presence in the enterprise.

As for war material, of the 500 quintals of powder requested by Acuña, only 235 quintals of powder and 100 quintals of saltpeter were sent, Acuña complains about this, saying that he will be forced to use what is stored in the Manila warehouses. The

Patronato,47,R.2)

⁴⁷ (AGI: “Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey,llegada a Filipinas, 06-07-1605” Patronato,47,R.1) (AGI: “Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611” Filipinas,60,N.12)).

⁴⁸ There will be 250 soldiers from the Manila garrison who will take part in the expedition (Letter by Don Agustín de Arceo al Re, 10 July 1606 published in Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” tomo V, p. ccxvi)

complaints do not end there, in fact even the money sent (60,000 pesos) is a poor thing compared to the expenses to be incurred, in fact 120,000 pesos had been promised.

Knowing the favorable opinion of the king regarding the expedition he proposed in the Moluccas, Acuña immediately devoted himself to organizing the preparations, had galleys built in the shipyards of the Philippines (according to him the most effective form of defense of these islands), and at the beginning by July already 5 galleys were ready: the flagship galley had 22 seats, the "patron" galley i.e. the second in command and another galley had 19 seats each and the other two had 17 seats.

The galleys that were built were not very large and this was done mainly for two reasons, one was that of the presence of numerous coral reefs and rocks outcropping in the seas of the islands which made it difficult to use large ships, the other reason and perhaps the most important was to keep the operating costs of these ships low and therefore to do this it was decided to limit the number of rowers. The governor was very satisfied with these galleys, built thanks to the help of a skilled and experienced foreman, replaced on his death by another expert builder originally from Genoa (he had already built a galley in Cartagena).

In Manila, the capital of the Spanish possessions of the Philippines, there were also people who wanted to meddle in the organization of the expedition. In fact, Acuña criticizes the attitude held by the archbishop and by Don Antonio de Rivera Maldonado, auditor of the Audiencia, the criticism that the governor brings them is that of wanting to meddle with topics, such as those of war, of which they have no competence and which they are out of their duties.

According to the governor's intentions, the following were to take part in the expedition: 4 of the built galleys; a large vessel (of 700 tons) for the transport of troops and provisions; a medium-sized vessel (of 250 tons); 3 light vessels (of 150 or 130 tons); 7 brigantines; 5 "lorchas"; 5 junks (vessels built as they do in China and Japan) used to transport supplies. All these boats were the ones that Acuña planned to equip on behalf of the king, in addition to these, another 7 or 8 boats equipped by private citizens had to be added. All this fleet was collected in the port of Oton in the island of Panay.

Acuña decided to leave at the head of the expedition at the end of January or the beginning of February 1606, which are the most favorable months to sail from the Philippines to the Moluccas. The priority of the expedition had to be the conquest of the island of Ternate, the intention is to make Ternate the base for the conquest of all

the Moluccas and the Banda islands, in order to cut off the basis of Dutch trade at the source.⁴⁹

THE DUTCH CONQUEST OF AMBON AND TIDORE

Meanwhile, as we have already narrated in the first chapter, while the preparations for the expedition were taking place, the two fortresses that the Portuguese had at Tidore and Ambon were captured by the Dutch. Ambon fell without a fight on February 23, 1605 (Ash Wednesday), this seems to be mainly due to the cowardly conduct of the fortress captain Gaspar de Melo and to the personal interest of some Portuguese casados, who aimed to safeguard their assets. The Dutch rebuilt the Portuguese fort and left 130 soldiers as a garrison.

After the conquest of Ambon by the Dutch, they allowed the two Jesuits residing there (Lourenço Masonio and Gabriel Rengifo da Cruz) to remain on the island to continue their mission of evangelization. But after just over two months (“a mediado el mes de Mayo”), they changed their minds and forced the two Jesuits with 280 other people to embark on a “pequeña y mala embarcacion” for the Philippines where after thirty-nine days of navigation they landed in the island of Cebu. Father Antonio Pereira, on the other hand, continued to reside in Siao and father Jorge de Fonseca in Bachão.⁵⁰

Five of the Dutch ships which had captured Ambon then sailed to Tidore where they arrived on 5 May. The Portuguese from the fortress of Tidore, commanded by Pedro Álvares de Abreu, did not surrender at the sight of the ships, but forced the Dutch to fight, the fortress was bombarded for two days, on the third day the Dutch tried to enter the fort, but they repulsed after a hard fight, but at this point misfortune set upon the Portuguese. The key episode was the explosion of the fort's powder magazine, which resulted in the deaths of many defenders and a huge gash in the fort walls. The few Portuguese survivors took refuge in the city of the king of Tidore, where with the help of the king of Tidore they negotiated the surrender. The Dutch gave the survivors (among them also the Jesuit Luis Fernandes, superior of the Jesuit mission of the Moluccas) some boats with which they moved to Oton on the island of Panay.⁵¹ Tidore was conquered by the Dutch on 19 May 1605.

⁴⁹ (“Letter by Acuña a Felipe III, Manila 1 July 1605” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 14, pp. 53-63)

(AGI: “Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey, llegada a Filipinas, 06-07-1605” Patronato, 47, R.1)

⁵⁰ (Doc. Mal. III p. 51 Doc. n°11) (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 17-19)

⁵¹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 49 Doc. n°10) (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 20-22) (AGI: “Carta de Acuña sobre toma de Tidore por los holandeses, 06-01-1606” Filipinas, 7, R.1, N.29)

The Portuguese friars who had taken refuge in Manila returned to the Moluccas in 1606, with the Spanish army led by Governor D. Pedro de Acuña.⁵²

To better follow the preparations of the army, on October 29, 1605, Acuña arrived at the Villa de Arévalo.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE FLEET BY D. PEDRO DE ACUÑA

Acuña's fleet set sail on February 15, 1606⁵³ Acuña's fleet set sail on February 15, 1606 from the port of Iloilo (Oton, Arévalo) on the Philippine island of Panay. According to some documents, the Spanish fleet consisted of 37 boats⁵⁴, on board were 1015 (mil and quinze) Spanish and Portuguese soldiers, 353 indigenous soldiers as well as 450 officers, sailors and friars (Dominicans⁵⁵, Jesuits, four Franciscans and three Augustinians⁵⁶). Then there were 1,330 convicts for the 4 "galés"⁵⁷. The fleet also included 3 Portuguese "galiotas", two of which came from Malacca, with 100 Portuguese on board.⁵⁸

While Esquivel in one of his letters indicates that the following 32 boats took part in the expedition: 5 "naos" or "nauios", 4 "galés", 12 "fragatas", 2 "champanes", 2 brigantines, 4 "lorchas", 2 "lanchas", a boat to land artillery.⁵⁹

⁵² (Doc.Mal. III p. 53 Doc. n°12)

⁵³ (Doc.Mal III p. 2 Doc. n°1), ("Letter by Acuña al Re, 8 april 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxvii-ccxix), ("Letter by Juan de Esquivel al Re, 9 april 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxvii) (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey llegada a islas Molucas. Terrenate, 09-04-1606" Patronato,47,R.2). While erroneously, the departure date is January 15 according to: (Argensola p. 322) e (Pérez p.682)

⁵⁴ 36 boats according to: (Doc.Mal. III p. 15 Doc. n°3)

⁵⁵ As reported by friar Diego Aduarte in his "Historia..." the Dominicans who took part in the expedition were friar Andres de Santo Domingo and a lay religious. (Aduarte, Diego "Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 31, p. 247)

⁵⁶ The Augustinians were: friar Roque de Barrionuevo, friar Juan de Tapia and the lay friar Antonio Flores. Friar Roque de Barrionuevo was entrusted with the task of founding an Augustinian monastery in Ternate, he was also appointed prior of Ternate, a position he held until 1608. (Wessels "De Augustijnen in de Molukken" pp. 55-56)

⁵⁷ (Francisco de Romanico was "general" of one of these galleys (AGI: "Informaciones Fernando Centeno Maldonado, 1615" Filipinas,60,N.18))

⁵⁸ (Doc.Mal III pp. 2-3 Doc. n°1)

⁵⁹ (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey llegada a islas Molucas. Terrenate, 09-04-1606" Patronato,47,R.2)

According to the "Relación de la Contaduría de la dicha armada, fecha en Ilo-Ilo a 12 de enero de 1606", more precise and detailed than the other documents, the total number of men who participated in the expedition was 3,095, of which 1,423 were soldiers and Spanish sailors, 344 were Pampangos and Tagalo soldiers, 679 were Indians, 649 were rowers.⁶⁰

The Spanish soldiers were in 14 companies, 4 companies were raised in Andalusia, 8 companies were from New Spain and 2 were raised in Manila. The names of the captains of these companies were: Juan Tejo (captain of the company of the master of the field), Pascual de Alarçon, Pablo Garrucho de la Vega, Lucas de Guevara, Pedro Sevil de Grigua, Esteban de Alcazar, Martin de Esquivel, don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Pedro Delgado, Bernardino Alfonso, Cristobal de Villagra, Juan Guerra de Cervantes. The pampangos were organized into 4 companies with captains: don Guillermo, don Francisco Palaut, don Agustin Lonot and don Luis. While the Tagalos had a company of 36 men led by don Juan Lit. Again according to the same "Relación" the boats participating in the expedition were a total of 33.⁶¹

There were 5 ships (naos): Among these the "captain" ship was the Jesús Maria of 800 tons, captained by Juan de Urbina. Then there was the ship "almiranta", which was the 160-ton Nuestra Señora de la O., captained by D. Gil de Carranza. The other ships were the 160-ton Nuestra Señora de la Concepción captained by Nicolas de la Cueva and where Vergara had the title of chief of seafarers and war⁶². The 150-ton San Idelfonso captained by Antonio Carreño de Valdés. The 100-ton Santa Ana captained by Pedro de Irala.

There were 7 galleys and galliots participating in the expedition: the "capitana" where Governor Acuña was embarked, the "Patrona", the "Purificación", the "San Ramón", the "Napolitana", the galley "San Luis" and the brigantine "San Agustín".

Then there were 6 private boats: those of the ensign Coronilla, of Miguel de Gandia, of the "mestre de campo" of the pampangos, of the captain of the pampangos Indians don Luis Conti, of don Pedro Mendez and of the captain Juan de Gara. A lot of food had been loaded on these boats. Other ships loaded with provisions were the 5 frigates. The 2 English boats with which the Portuguese fled from Tidore had arrived in Cebú also took part in the expedition. There were 4 "funcas" (probably rushes): full of people and food. Then 3 Portuguese galliots: One was the one used by the commander of the fortress of Tidore, Pedro Alvarez de Abreu, to reach the

⁶⁰ ("Relación de la Contaduría de la dicha armada, fecha en Ilo-Ilo a 12 de enero de 1606")

⁶¹ ("Relación de la Contaduría de la dicha armada, fecha en Ilo-Ilo a 12 de enero de 1606")

⁶² (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

Philippines, the other two were those captained by Captain Major João Rodrigues Camelo which had been sent by General André Furtado de Mendonça to rescue the fortress of Tidore. Finally, there was a large barge which was to be used to land artillery. The entire fleet was armed with 75 artillery pieces.

The main assignments were as follows:

General Juan Xuarez Gallinato was "del Consejo".

Staff Sergeant Cristoval de Azcueta was Admiral of the Fleet.

The senior engineer Cristobal de Leon was captain of the honor guard of Acuña (Leon was also captain of the artillery, on his death he was appointed in his place as captain of artillery, Esteuan de Alcasar, who served in this position during the the conquest of Ternate ⁶³.

Juan Ortiz was the "contador" of the army.

Antonio de Ordaz was treasurer of the army.

Br. Juan de Tapia was the senior chaplain of the army.

Antonio de Oliveira was a senior pilot in the army.

José Naveda was scribe of the army.

Miguel de Estrada was a doctor and major surgeon. ⁶⁴

THE CROSSING AND ARRIVAL IN THE MOLUCCAS

On February 18, 1606, the fleet arrived in the port of the Caldera on the island of Mindanao, where it was stocked up on water and where an attempt was made to repair the large captain ship, the Jesús Maria, where the "mestre de campo" Juan de Esquivel was also embarked, which was in danger of sinking. But on February 21st, despite the attempts of the sailors, the leaks in the hull caused the ship to sink. However, all the artillery and ammunition it was carrying as well as all the crew were saved, the ship was burned and even the nails and bolts of the hull were recovered. Esquivel then embarked on the ship Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, which for this reason became the "captain" ship. On 26 February the fleet set sail again towards the Moluccas, with the order to gather in the port of Talangame in Ternate. ⁶⁵

⁶³ Vedi: (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57) (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Hagonoy, etc. Esteban de Alcazar. Manila, 21-10-1616" Filipinas,47,N.5) (AGI: "Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19" Indiferente,161,N.81))

⁶⁴ (Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxliii-ccxlv "Relación de la Contaduría de la dicha armada, fecha en Ilo-Ilo a 12 de enero de 1606")

⁶⁵ ("Letter by Juan de Esquivel al Re, 9 april 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxvii) ("Letter by Acuña al Re, 8 april 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxvii-ccxix) (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12 in particular the testimony of the Augustinian friar Antonio Flores) (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey

Due to the storms, the ships scattered during the crossing and arrived staggered in Tidore, only one landed by mistake in the island of Mayu, an island belonging to Ternate, and there, the Spaniards were almost all killed. In mid-March the first vessels of the fleet began arriving at Tidore.

SOME DUTCH ARE CAPTURED AT TIDORE

On the island of Tidore, the Dutch had founded a farm and left behind only a farmer and three sailors. They were captured by the Spanish without offering resistance. In the Dutch farm the Spaniards found 2,000 ducats, some merchandise and many weapons.⁶⁶

On March 16, 1606, the Spanish interrogated one of the Dutch who had been captured at the Dutch farm of Tidore. The interrogation was conducted by Christoval Azcueta Minchaca, sergeant major of the regiment of the "mestre de campo" Juan de Esquivel, who was the real commander of the fleet. The Dutchman was a sailor named Joan and was a native of the city of Amberes (Antwerp), the farm factor was instead called Jacome Joan ⁶⁷ and was a native of the city of Absterdaem (Amsterdam). The other two Dutchmen present were sailors, one named Pitri (Pedro Yanson, ship's boy "San Idelfonso"⁶⁸) was originally from Yncussa (Enkhuizen), the other by name (nickname) Costre ⁶⁹ (Cornieles Endrique, also from the ship "San Idelfonso"⁷⁰) was a native of Campem (Campen).

The interrogated, Joan, had arrived in the Moluccas with the expedition that had captured the Portuguese forts of Amboina and Tidore. He states that he had been residing in Tidore for 8 months. The factor of Tidore, Jacome Joan, on the other hand had lived in Ternate for 5 years. According to these declarations, the king of Tidore, the day after the capture of the Portuguese fort, had sworn allegiance to the Dutch

llegada a islas Molucas. Terrenate, 09-04-1606" Patronato,47,R.2).

⁶⁶ ("Letter by Acuña al Re, 8 april 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxvii-ccxix), (Montero y Vidal p. 151) and also (Turbolent times p. 132), according to Diego Aduarte there were two Dutchmen found on the Tidore farm (Aduarte, Diego "Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 31, p. 249).

⁶⁷ (Jácome Jolián in the version of the same interrogation given by Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxx)

⁶⁸ (Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxix)

⁶⁹ (or Postre in the version of the same interrogation given by Pastells ("Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxx)

⁷⁰ (Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxix)

and requested their protection, offering them the construction of a fort where he could station troops for the defense of the island, but since the commander⁷¹ of the Dutch fleet, which had captured the Portuguese fort did not have enough men to leave to garrison the island, at the specific request of the king it was decided to leave some Dutch in a farm to trade.

The king of Tidore, on that occasion, also undertook to defend the Dutch who remained on the island and to trade cloves exclusively with the Dutch. The Dutch then informed the Spaniards of the state of war between Tidore and Ternate. Finally, he described to the Spaniards the state of the defenses of the city of Ternate: The height of the city walls was 4 "estados", while the artillery was not inside the fort but had been stored in a house to protect it from the rain, also in defense of the city there were 2,000 warriors armed with arquebuses, muskets, "campilanes", "petos" and "morrones".⁷²

At Tidore the Spaniards witnessed a lunar eclipse.⁷³ There is a reference to this eclipse in Don Diego de Prado's manuscript "...on March 22 the Moon was eclipsed in a red tending to black color, the eclipse began at 8 in the evening and ended at three in the morning. Speaking later in Ternate about this eclipse with the "mestre de campo" Juan de Esquivel he said that our army was en route to Ternate when they saw the eclipse and after the conquest of the island the Sultan of Ternate said that the 'eclipse denoted and heralded the loss of his nation and that he was a man of great reputation in lunar matters.'⁷⁴

The governor D. Pedro de Acuña, with the "galés", was the last to arrive, his ships had lost their course due to a pilot error and had arrived in the island of Celebes, from here they had to fight against the currents and force of oars, arrived in Ternate on Easter day: 26 March 1606. The galleys stopped in Talangame (the port of Ternate), where they expected to find the rest of the fleet, and where instead they found a Dutch ship of 900 tons, the West-Vriesland (the captain of the vessel was a certain Gertiolfos⁷⁵, armed with 30 pieces of artillery, which was anchored in that port and with which they had a brief confrontation. Acuña was informed by some natives that

⁷¹ The name of the Dutch fleet commander is Corneiles Bastian

⁷² ("The Dutch factory at Tidore" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 14, pp. 112-118) (See also the version of the same document given by Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxx-ccxxi))

⁷³ (Aduarte, Diego "Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 31, p. 249)

⁷⁴ (Prado "The discovery of Australia" p. 7)

⁷⁵ ("The Dutch factory at Tidore" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 14, p. 114)

the Spanish fleet was anchored in port of Tidore, which Acuña says “el Maese de Campo was in the port of Tidore that is like two leguas y media”. On March 27 Acuña also anchored in Tidore, where he found the rest of the fleet, and where, however, the king of the island was absent.

THE SPANISH ATTACK IN TERNATE

Acuña at this point decided, wisely, after a council of war with his captains, that it was useless to waste time and strength with the Dutch ship, and it was better to launch a direct attack on the fortress. The Spaniards waited for the arrival of the king of Tidore for a few days, but then, not seeing him arrive, they decided to attack the fortress of Ternate without waiting any longer.

Acuña had decided to land his troops between the fort of Nuestra Señora and another that the Ternatese had, but a renegade's warning not to land at that point meant that the ensign Pedro de Heredia was sent by Acuña to study the place where the Spaniards planned to land and to spy on the forts that the enemy had on the island, in order to better understand the situation and devise an accurate plan to avoid as little damage as possible to the troops during the landing.⁷⁶

On March 31, while the Spanish ships were heading towards Ternate, they met the boats with the king of Tidore⁷⁷, he, eternal enemy of Ternate, promptly allied himself with the Spaniards. The Spanish troops were joined the following day by several soldiers of the king of Tidore.⁷⁸ On March 31, 1606, Acuña brought the entire fleet near the fortress of Ternate, within a cannon shot of the fort called Nuestra Señora.⁷⁹

THE LANDING IN TERNATE

The following day, 1 April 1606, half an hour after dawn, the Spaniards began to disembark. The Augustinian friar Fra Antonio Flores also took an active part in the landing, who helped the troops during the landing with a galley, shelling the enemies.

⁷⁶ (AGI: “Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Pedro de Heredia, 20-07-1612” Filipinas,20,R.6,N.50) (AGI: “Meritos Pedro de Heredia, 22-09-1628” Indiferente,111,N.78)

⁷⁷ (Pérez p. 683)

⁷⁸ (“Letter by Acuña to the king, 8 april 1606” in Pastells “Historia general de Filippines” tomo V, pp. ccxvii-ccxix)

⁷⁹ (“Letter by Juan de Esquivel to the king, 9 april 1606” in Pastells “Historia general de Filippines” tomo V, p. ccxvii) (AGI: “Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey Llegada a islas Molucas. Terrenate, 09-04-1606” Patronato,47,R.2)

The captain's galley, on which Pedro de Heredia was embarked, was to be used during the landing of the troops to keep the Dutch ship at bay with fire artifacts, but there was no need for this.⁸⁰ Heredia did not play an active role in the ensuing battle, being aboard the galley captain.

Due to the conformation of the land along the coast, which presented only a narrow strip of land that allowed only 5 soldiers to march at a time, Acuña intelligently decided to disembark the troops trying to avoid direct confrontation with the enemies, at the time himself sent some Indians to open a path in the interior "por un monte muy espeso" with the aim of forcing the inhabitants of Ternate to divide their troops, who were entrenched in a pass along the coast, they were therefore forced for fear of being surrounded to retreat to the fort without being able to fight, leaving the pass free, the conquest of which had instead cost a lot to the troops of Furtado de Mendoza who in 1603 had attempted the conquest of Ternate.

Less than an hour after the landing, at 9 in the morning, the Spaniards arrived with their vanguard troops, led by Captain Juan Juárez (Xuárez) Gallinato, and made up of 4⁸¹ infantry companies (one of the 4 captains of the vanguard was Vergara), a musket shot (or arquebus, according to Esquivel) from the walls of the fort of Ternate. Captain Lucas de Vergara together with some soldiers, took care of the delicate task of recognizing the enemy fortifications, which according to his observations were very low and made of stone without lime, therefore not very robust and easily conquered according to his opinion.⁸² Among those who took part in this recognition of enemy fortifications was also Pedro de Hermua, who was responsible for scouting the enemy defenses on the sea side especially those positioned on the Nuestra Señora baluarte.⁸³ The king of Tidore followed Acuña's side as the battle progressed.

THE CONQUEST OF TERNATE

Decisive for the development of the battle seems to have been the conquest by the Spaniards of four trees where the citizens of Ternate had positioned sentries, in fact once the enemy sentries had been dislodged and Spanish soldiers in turn positioned on the trees, the sentries were very useful for moving troops quickly during battle.

⁸⁰ (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Pedro de Heredia, 20-07-1612" Filipinas,20,R.6,N.50)

⁸¹ 5 companies made up the avant-garde according to the testimonies of Esquivel and Azqueta in: (AGI "Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619" Filipinas,47,N.28")

⁸² (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

⁸³ (AGI "Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619" Filipinas,47,N.28")

The soldiers in the trees with their good vision could easily warn the troops on the ground, engaged in battle, of any weaknesses in the enemy line.

Seeing that the inhabitants of Ternate were fortifying themselves on the "Cachil Tulo" baluarte, the Spaniards decided to disturb them with musketry charges and to do this better, they decided to take up an elevated position ("lugar elevado" or "sitio eminente" or "eminencia") which was located in the immediate vicinity of the bastion, to the right of the wall in front of the "Cachil Tulo" bastion, Captain Juan de Cubas was sent for this purpose with 30 musketeers and with great difficulty managed to reach the place. In the meantime a group of Ternatese who had come out of the fort and on the sea side had attacked the Spanish troops, became aware of the Spanish manoeuvre. Then the Ternate troops impetuously attacked the small detachment commanded by Cubas. Due to the difficulty the small detachment of musketeers was in, some Spanish troops (50 "picas", probably commanded by Vergara) rushed to the aid of the desperate captain, at this point a new sortie towards the sea was carried out by the defenders of the strong, but sentries in trees promptly warned of this move and the Spanish troops, which were probably led by Captain Cervantes, managed to halt their advance and even route them.

Other reinforcements commanded by Cristoval de Azcueta, including several arquebusier and 50 halberdiers, were then sent to reinforce Captain Juan de Cubas who continued with his men to desperately defend the conquered position. After a while the Ternatese were en route towards the city wall, so Acuña ordered his troops to attack the retreating troops and assault the walls, which the Spaniards did with great impetus, the walls were scaled and the first to reach them were the captains Juan de Cubas and Cervantes⁸⁴, on this occasion, Cervantes was hit by a spear and died 5 days later, while Cubas was also wounded twice while climbing the walls, once in the chest and once in the foot.⁸⁵

Luckily for the Spaniards, the inhabitants of Ternate did not even have the time to take refuge in the old Portuguese fort, which would have created many difficulties for the attackers, even if by the canons of the time the old Portuguese fort built in 1521 was already outdated. It is described by Argensola as "fuerza pequeña y edificada en tiempos menos maliciosos", while Acuña defines it "pequeña y vieja".⁸⁶ Probably the

⁸⁴ This according to Argensola, while according to the testimony of the governor Acuña, the first Spaniards who entered the fortress were the Spanish captains Juan Guerra de Cervantes and Cristóbal de Villagra. (Colin-Pastells III, pp. 46-47 citato in: Doc.Mal. III p. 88)

⁸⁵ ("Relación de méritos y servicios del Capitán Juan de Cubas" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxxv)

⁸⁶ For the narrative of the battle are useful sources: (Argensola pp. 326-329) ("Letter by Acuña to the king, 8 april 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxxi-ccxxiv) ("Letter

lack of resistance of the inhabitants of Ternate inside the fort was due to the impetus with which the Spaniards threw themselves inside the walls of the city after the conquest of the bastion of Cachil Tulo, in particular Lucas de Vergara was the first Spaniard to enter in the main fortress, which was the house of the King (i.e. the old Portuguese fort), making the enemies flee through the windows, and placing the Spanish flag there.

Inside the fortress, ammunition and weapons were found by the Spaniards. Thanks to Vergara's courageous conduct, even the Ternate's last chances of resistance were swept away. Vergara thanks to his courage and his conduct was appointed sergeant major of the Ternate camp, it seems that this assignment was initially for sergeant major Azcueta, but by choice of Acuña it was entrusted to Vergara.⁸⁷

The final battle, described above, lasted about half an hour, and an hour and a half after noon⁸⁸ the fortress and the city of Ternate fell into Spanish hands. The conquest of the fortress, considered very difficult given the results of the previous Spanish expeditions, caused the loss of only fifteen soldiers while 20 were wounded. The Spaniards didn't even land the artillery to take Ternate.⁸⁹

As regards the final conduct of the assault on the fortress of Ternate, there are two conflicting versions. The first is the one provided by the Spaniards and described above.

The second version, is the Portuguese version. According to the Portuguese, it was the Portuguese captain João Rodrigues Camelo who led the vanguard, he and the Portuguese soldiers following him captured the fortress by themselves.⁹⁰ There could be something true, Argensola tells us that Acuña gave the Portuguese captains gold chains for the value they showed in the taking of the city.⁹¹ This indicates that the contribution of the Portuguese in the conquest of the city was still important.

The small Portuguese company led by Camelo, after the conquest of Ternate, returned

by Esquivel to the king" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxiv-ccxxv) (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 320 nota n°1)

⁸⁷ See the testimony of the Augustinian Fra Rroque de Barrio Nuevo in: (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12))

⁸⁸ (Doc.Mal. III p. 11 Doc. n°2)

⁸⁹ ("Letter by Acuña to the king, 8 april 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxxiii) ("Lettera di Esquivel al Re" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxiv-ccxxv)

⁹⁰ (Doc.Mal. III p. 88-89 Doc. n°24)

⁹¹ (Argensola pp. 332)

to Malacca where it arrived in July 1606, however they found the city besieged by Dutch boats, so they were forced to attempt a landing in the bush near the city, but here most of the men were killed or captured by the Dutch, of the 52 returned from Ternate only 25 managed to reach Malacca.⁹²

Most probably it was Camelo and his Portuguese who brought to Malacca the letter written by Acuña to the King and dated Ternate, 8 April 1606: “y ofreciéndose unas galeotas para Malaca no he querido dexar de escribir en ellas estos renglones, para que Vuestra Magestad sepa este buen suceso”.

The Spaniards found in the fortress of Ternate, 43 “piezas grandes de bronce”⁹³ “peças de colher”, more than 20 “falcões” and a large number of “berços”. Much of the artillery found was of Portuguese origin, most likely that captured by the Ternatese in 1575, but there was also artillery of Dutch and Danish origin. The condition of the fortress was not the best in this regard and the Spanish planned to immediately improve its defenses.⁹⁴

The Spaniards, due to the rapid conquest of the fortress and the few dead among their soldiers, cried to the miracle by supporting the intervention of the hand of the Madonna in these events.⁹⁵

Also in Ternate the Dutch had established a farm which was occupied by the Spaniards. In this case two Dutchmen were captured.⁹⁶

The city was sacked by the Spaniards.

THE ESCAPE OF THE SULTAN OF TERNATE

The Sultan of Ternate, Said Berkat (his full name was as follows: Paduka Sri Sultan Said ud-din Barakat Shah), who was born in 1563, and had become the Sultan of Ternate upon the death of his father (Paduka Sri Sultan Babu 'llah ibni al-Marhum

⁹² (Boxer-Vasconcelos “André Furtado de Mendonça” p. 66)

⁹³ (Argensola p. 329) and also (“Letter by Acuña to the king, 8 april 1606” in Pastells “Historia general de Filippines” tomo V, p. ccxxiii) mentre in Doc.Mal. III p. 8 Doc. n°1: “40 peças de colher”, more than 20 “falcões” and a large number of “berços”.

⁹⁴ (Doc.Mal. III p. 8 Doc. n°1) (For a detailed list of the artillery found in Ternate see: Pastells “Historia general de Filippines” tomo V, pp. ccxxvii-ccxxviii)

⁹⁵ (For the miracles attributed to the Madonna in this battle see: Aduarte, Diego “Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 31, pp. 251-252)

⁹⁶ (Montero y Vidal p. 151) (“Letter by Acuña to the king, 8 april 1606” in Pastells “Historia general de Filippines” tomo V, p. ccxix) (Doc.Mal. III pp. 7-10 Doc. n°1)

Sultan Hairun) on May 25, 1583⁹⁷, he managed to escape, aboard a "caracoa", in the fort of Sabubú in Geilolo, on the island of Halmahera (Batachina). Even some Dutch (it seems 13 or 14) who had participated in the battle fled to safety. After the Spanish conquest the Dutch ship also fled.

Friar Antonio Flores, who with his galley had received the task of supervising the caracoas that the inhabitants of Ternate had protected from the coral reef in front of the city, was unable to stop the flight of the 4 caracoas where the king had taken refuge, who managed to escape thanks to the greater speed of the boats, and also due to the onset of night.⁹⁸

The remains of the Ternate troops took refuge in the fort of Tacome (Takome or Takomi) on the NW coast of Ternate, where they were joined, on April 3, by the Spanish troops led by Captain Cristobal de Villagr  and some "caracoras" of the king of Tidore, Kaicil Mole, ally of the Spanish. Here the Kaicil Hamja and other dignitaries of the Ternate court along with some Dutch submitted to the Spanish.

On April 2, an altar was erected and with a solemn religious demonstration the governor Acuña baptized the city of Ternate as Ciudad del Rosario (Nuestra Se ora del Rosario de Terrenate) and the main fort as fort of the Rosario, moreover it was established on that occasion the Brotherhood of the Rosary (Confrad a de Nuestra Se ora del Rosario). The promise made by Acuña, before the departure of the expedition from Ot n, to call the first city captured from the enemy "ciudad del Rosario" was thus kept.⁹⁹

THE SURRENDER OF THE SULTAN OF TERNATE

Acuña then sent Captain Cristobal de Villagr  with the Kaicil Hamja (Amuja) accompanied by Paulo de Lima, a Portuguese "natural destas islas" (native of Ternate), to Geilolo to negotiate with the sultan. They managed to convince Said Berkat (called by the Spaniards Sult n Zaide) to submit to the Spaniards and to present himself at the castle of Ternate, which he did on April 9, 1606, accompanied by his son and heir, and many of his dignitaries.

⁹⁷ Source: Christopher Buyers "Royal Arch"

⁹⁸ (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gavia, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

⁹⁹ (Doc.Mal. III p. 338 Doc. n 91 & nota 1) (Aduarte, Diego "Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 31, p. 251) ("Informaci n de Azcueta, 1609" in: Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo V, pp. ccxxx-ccxxxi)

On April 10 in the fortress of Ternate, the sultan of Ternate signed the capitulations¹⁰⁰ with which he handed over to the Spaniards the fortresses he possessed: Xilolo (Jilolo), Sabubú, Gamocanora, Tacome, the forts of Maquién, the forts of Sula "e las demás", the forts mentioned were to be handed over to the Spaniards with all the weapons and the ammunition. All the villages of Batachina del Moro (Halmahera) as well as the islands of Morotai (Marotay) and Herraio also passed to Spain. The sultan made an act of vassalage to the King of Spain. To put these capitulations into practice, the sultan undertook to send his cousin, the cachil Amuja, to the places indicated above, together with the Spanish troops. The capitulations were signed by Sultan Zaide, by captains Juan Xuárez Gallinato and Cristóbal de Villagra and by the Portuguese "natural destas yslas" Paulo de Lima who acted as interpreter.

In execution of these agreements, two galleys left Ternate with Captain Cristóbal de Villagrá and the soldiers of his company on board as well as part of the company of the deceased Cervantes together with the prince of Ternate cachil Amuja. The two galleys first went to the fortresses of Tacome (Tacame) and Sula on the island of Ternate and formally took possession of them on 13 April 1606¹⁰¹. Then they went to the island of Halmahera where, on April 14, the fortress of Xilolo was taken, on April 17, Sabubú was also taken and finally on April 19, Gamocanora.¹⁰²

After the fort of Ternate fell into Spanish hands, the kings of Tidore, Bacan and the sangace of Alabua (Labuha, vassal of the king of Bachan) stipulated vassalage treaties with the Spaniards, in these treaties favorable conditions were recognized to the Christian religion.¹⁰³

The Spaniards returned to those who had shown loyalty to them, namely the kings of Tidore, Bachan and Siao and also to Paulo de Lima (who had helped them in the negotiations with the sultan of Ternate), their possessions in the nearby islands.¹⁰⁴ In addition to the eight villages of Makian that had belonged to Tidore, the king of Tidore was also granted the 9 villages of the island of Maquién that belonged to

¹⁰⁰ See: Doc. 7027 Archivo de Indias di Siviglia "Capitulaciones que por disposición del general de esta armada Don Pedro de Acuña hicieron con el rey de Terrenate el General Juan Juárez Gallinato y el capitán Cristóbal de Villagra. Fortaleza de Terrenate, 10 de abril [1606]" . 1-2-1/14, r.^o 5 (fs. 109)

¹⁰¹ See: Doc. 7028 dell'Archivo de Indias di Siviglia "Posesión que en nombre de S. M. tomó el general Juan Juárez Gallinato de Terrenate, su fortaleza y otros pueblos sus anexos, cuya posesión tomó con todas las solemnidades en el pueblo de Tacame, por disposición del general de esta armada Don Pedro de Acuña. 13 de abril [1606]" . 1-2-1/14, r.^o 7. (fs. 109)

¹⁰² (Argensola pp. 337-342) (Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxxvii)

¹⁰³ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 117 Doc. n°35) (AGI: "Carta de Ruy Pereira Sangage al Rey de España, 2-05-1606" Patronato,47,R.16)

¹⁰⁴ (Argensola pp. 342-343)

Ternate. While the king of Bachán was granted the islands of Cayoa, Adoba and Bailora and places in the vicinity of Amboino (Lucobata, Palomata and others). The Christian sangage of Labua, Ruy Pereira, was given possession of the island and village of Gane, located in the vicinity of Labua and birthplace of the same sangage.¹⁰⁵ The sultan of Tidore offered submission to Spain and also promised to have a Spanish fortress built at Tidore. 100 men under the command of Captain Alarcón were left to garrison the island of Tidore.¹⁰⁶

The church that the Portuguese Jesuits had had in Ternate was returned to them, it was made of stone and lime and in good condition (even if it was roofless and full of earth and rubbish¹⁰⁷). This church was the old Portuguese church of São Paulo (San Pablo), which had been equipped with an embankment by the inhabitants of Ternate to better defend itself from the Spaniards.¹⁰⁸ While the Jesuit house is in very bad condition and according to the letter of Friar Lorenzo Masonio, it will have to be “rinnovata dai cementi”.¹⁰⁹ The church is described as large and capable, it will be equipped, in the following years, with a spacious choir decorated with a large and beautiful gilded shrine with a silver case.¹¹⁰

After the conquest, a Dominican friar, Andrés de Santo Domingo, remained in Ternate; two Franciscan friars, friar Alonso Guerrero and lay brother Diego de Santa Maria¹¹¹; four Jesuits and a lay friar (Luis Fernades, Gabriel Rengifo da Cruz, Jorge de Fonseca, Lorenzo Masonio and the layman Giampaolo Mafrida), while a fifth Jesuit, friar Antonio Pereira resides in Siau.¹¹² Two Augustinians also remained in Ternate, they were friar Juan de Tapia and the lay friar Antonio Flores.¹¹³ Among the Augustinians, friar Roque de Barrionuevo should also have remained in Ternate, who will hold the position of prior of Ternate until 1608, he also wrote a dictionary of the

¹⁰⁵ (Pastells “Historia general de Filippines” tomo V, p. ccxxviii) (AGI: “Carta de Ruy Pereira Sangage al Rey de España, 2-05-1606” Patronato,47,R.16. In questo documento è presente anche la carta firmata da Acuña che concede al Sangage il possesso dell’isola di Gane, datata: “Parecer de don Pedro de Acuña sobre la conducta y persona de Ruy Pereira Sangage, Terrenate, 2-05-1606”)

¹⁰⁶ (Montero y Vidal p. 151) e anche (Turbolent times p. 132)

¹⁰⁷ (Doc. Mal. III p. 218 Doc. n°59) (Pastells “Historia general de Filippines” tomo V, p. ccxxviii)

¹⁰⁸ (Argensola p. 329)

¹⁰⁹ (Doc.Mal. III p. 12 Doc. n°2)

¹¹⁰ (Doc. Mal. III p. 218-219 Doc. n°59)

¹¹¹ (Doc.Mal. III p. 23 Doc. n°3)

¹¹² (Doc.Mal. III pp. 8-9 Doc. n°1)

¹¹³ (Doc.Mal. III p. 23 Doc. n°3) (Concerning Juan de Tapia see also: Fr. Juan de Medina “History of the Agustinian order in the Filipinas Islands” 1630 (pubblicato: 1893, Manila) In: Blair vol. 24, p. 109; where the friar is described as being not only a very good friar but also a valiant soldier) (For the lay brother Antonio Flores, see Argensola pp. 299-300 and Wessels “De augustijnen in de Molukken” p. 56)

dialect of the Mardicas.¹¹⁴

The two Franciscan friars, one of whom, friar Alonso Guerrero is a surgeon, were entrusted with the hospital of Ternate which was installed in the main mosque of the city where the convent of the Franciscan friars was also founded. While a house of a sister of the king is used for the Augustinian convent, finally the Dominicans settle in a house of a rich cachil.¹¹⁵

The presence in Ternate of the Portuguese Jesuits, who had taken refuge in Manila after the last Portuguese fortresses of Tidore and Ambon fell into the hands of the Dutch, represents the only official link left with Portugal, in fact they were still subjects to the Padroado of the Portuguese crown.

Some of the Jesuits dedicated themselves to the conversion of the inhabitants and to the care of the Christians of the islands near Ternate. Friar Antonio Pereira takes care of the island of Siau where he resides; while friar Jorge de Fonseca resides in Labuha (Bachan). Friar Lorenzo Masonio visits the island of Moro, while Friar Gabriel Rengifo da Cruz is shipwrecked when he is on his way to Ambon. Only the superior Luis Fernandes remained in Ternate with his lay brother Giampaolo Mafrida..¹¹⁶

After the conquest Acuña decided, for greater security, to deport the sultan to Manila with the prince, his son, and all his dignitaries, a total of about thirty people.¹¹⁷ The governor's decision was communicated to the sultan (who was in jail the "Purificación") on May 1, 1606 by the Jesuit Luis Fernádes.¹¹⁸ The government of the sultanate was entrusted by the exiled sultan to two of his uncles (cachil Sugui and cachil Quipat) who were appointed governors.¹¹⁹

The sultan Said Berkat of Ternate, who, after the Spanish victory (1606) was

¹¹⁴ The Mardicas (in portuguese, mardicas; in dutch, Mardijker) were a community formed by Portuguese natives and mixed blood. They spoke a creole language of Portuguese origin. (Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 24 p. 41 nota 10)

¹¹⁵ (Argensola p. 343)

¹¹⁶ (Doc.Mal. III p. 23 Doc. n°3 & p. 27 Doc. n°4)

¹¹⁷ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 2-7 Doc. n°1) The following dignitaries were deported to Manila: the Sultan of Ternate, Cachil Sultan Zaide Burey; the son of the sultan and his heir, Cachil Sulamp; Cachil Tulo; the son of the Cachil Tulo, Cachil Cidase (?); Cachil Amura cousin of the sultan; Cachil Ale; Cachil Naya; Cachil Colanbabo; Cachil de Rebas; Cachil Pamua; Cachil Babada; Cachil Barcat; Cachil Suguir; Cachil Gugugu; Cachil Bulefe; the Sangage of Bachan, Bulila; Cachil Maleyto; the Sangage of Maquien; the Sangage of Lacomacnora; besides two other Cachis who were considered as priests and three servants. (AGI: "Capitulaciones con el rey de Terrenate, 1606" Patronato,47,R.11)

¹¹⁸ (Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxxviii)

¹¹⁹ (Argensola p. 344)

deported to Manila, returned to Ternate in 1611 together with the governor Juan de Silva, who hoped with his presence to convince the Ternatense to ally with Spain and thus eliminate the Dutch from the Moluccas. This did not happen and the sultan was again brought back, as we shall see, to Manila in 1615, where he will remain until his death in 1628.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ (Doc.Mal. III p. 5*)

CHAPTER THREE: THE GOVERNMENT OF JUAN DE ESQUIVEL, May 1606-March 1609

Governor Acuña, after conquering Ternate, left for Manila on May 3, 1606, where he arrived on June 2, 1606. Before leaving Ternate, he appointed the "mestre de campo" Juan de Esquivel as commander of the fortress of Ternate.¹ At his return, Acuña will be short-lived, in fact he will die on June 24, 1606, perhaps poisoned, a few days after his arrival in Manila.

A PRECARIOUS CONQUEST

Acuña's haste to return to Manila, and the sultan's deportation to Manila will be the main causes that will prevent the consolidation of Spanish power in the islands and therefore consequently will allow the Dutch to find fertile ground among the Ternatese natives. Esquivel also recognizes that Acuña left Ternate in a confused situation, without having completely subjected the population and especially the chiefs who had remained and who had retreated to the coast of Halmahera in the villages of Sabubo and Gilolo.¹²¹

NEW FORTIFICATIONS IN TERNATE AND TIDORE

In Ternate, where the old fortress was small and not very defensible, it was decided to build a new fortress in an "eminent part, mayor y más fuerte". Unlike what it tells us Argensola¹²² that is, that the new fort before Acuña's departure for Manila was already finished and equipped with embankments and that the old fort had been reduced to "a short sitio", it seems that the new fort was still to be built and that the old one was in bad condition, its walls according to Esquivel's judgment would not have resisted any artillery fire and moreover its position was dominated by a hill which made the fort practically indefensible "with a gran padraastro a la parte del volcán, de suerte que no servía al enemigo de más que de casa en que bivar", the only noteworthy defensive works of the city seem to have been the two walls that defended the two sides of the settlement, they each had two round ramparts to defend the entrance to the city.

¹²¹ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

¹²² (Argensola p. 345)

Since the city stretched along the sea, the two walls were more than 2,000 paces apart, the land along the sea between the two walls is defined by Esquivel as pestilential. The place where the new fort was to be built was located behind the old fortress, right on the "padraastro" (stony hill?, rocky eminence?) which dominated the city, here the conformation of the land and the dominant position was judged perfect for construction of the new fortress. According to Acuña's orders, the fort to be built had to be square in shape, "que tenga de centro 600 pies", and have three bulwarks.

Before his departure Acuña had also ordered the construction of a Spanish fort on the island of Tidore, according to his orders a captain with 50 Spanish soldiers was to reside there. The site chosen for the construction of this new fortress was located very close to the king's city ("lugar del Rey") and about a quarter of a league from where the fort stood, which was burned "cosa de un quarto de legua de donde antes estaba, la que se boló y en la misma parte que dicen que Hurtado de Mendoça quizo hacerla quando estuvo aquí"¹²³. The new fort had to be built on a hill above the sea, it was located in a highly defensible position, because it had two precipices on both sides, while behind it was the volcano, under the artillery fire of the fort they could repair 2 or 3 Galleons.¹²⁴

In garrison of the fort of Ternate and of the new fortress to be built in Tidore, they were left 600¹²⁵ Spanish soldiers, 100 Philippine soldiers, two "galeotas"¹²⁶ of 19 and 20 "bancos" and two or three other small boats with some sailors. The soldiers were divided into six companies, each consisting of 100 men, in command of each company was appointed a captain. Then there were 12 gunners. For the improvement and construction of the fortifications of Ternate and Tidore, 100 "gastadores herreros y carpinteros" from the Philippines were also left, of which 65 "gastadores" and 35 stonecutters.¹²⁷

In addition to the position of commander of the fortress of Ternate entrusted, as we have seen, to the "mestre de campo" Juan de Esquivel. Other important positions were entrusted to Pedro de Heredia, who was appointed infantry captain of the fortress of Ternate and in the absence of the governor Juan de Esquivel he also had to

¹²³ ("Letter by Equivel to the king, Ternate, 2 May 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxxix-ccxxx) The fortress "que se boló" was the old Portuguese fort, conquered by the Dutch on May 19, 1605, thanks to the explosion of the fort's powder magazine.

¹²⁴ ("Letter by Equivel to the king, Ternate, 2 May 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxxix-ccxxx)

¹²⁵ 700, according: (Doc.Mal. III pp. 119 Doc. n°35)

¹²⁶ "bergantines buenos" secondo: (Argensola p. 345)

¹²⁷ (Argensola p.345) (Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, p. ccxxix) (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

take care of the things of Tidore.¹²⁸ While Lucas de Vergara was appointed captain and sergeant major of Ternate.¹²⁹

Juan de Esquivel with the force at his disposal, had the order to fight against the remnants of the Ternate forces who had taken refuge in Halmahera (also called Batachina del Moro) and to proceed with the improvement of the fortifications of the Ternate fortress. But life in the islands is not simple: already in early May 1606, Esquivel complains of the unhealthy climate of the islands (about half of the Spaniards are feverish), the sterility of the soil and the lack of meat and food.¹³⁰

PROBLEMS WITH THE TERNATESE

Immediately after Acuña's departure, on May 4, 1606, Juan de Esquivel ordered the captains Martín de Esquivel and Pascual de Alarcón together with some Spaniards and the king of Tidore to leave for Sabubú, where the sultan's uncles had taken refuge. Kaicili Suki and Kaicili Kafati. These dignitaries had been designated by the sultan as governors in his stead. The purpose of the Spanish expedition was to quickly convince them to respect the will of the sultan and to go to Ternate where they would have to deal with the government of the state. But the two refused to follow the Spaniards and remained in Sabubú where the last rebels and followers of the sultan were holed up. On the contrary, the two governors gathered around them several other citizens of Ternate who had initially remained under Spanish protection. Practically most of the population of the island of Ternate moved to Halmahera, leaving Ternate depopulated. The Ternatese, according to Esquivel, also elected a new sultan, son of the exiled sultan in Manila.¹³¹

In 1606, the Spanish planned to send garrisons garrisoning the islands of Tidore and Makian, the Jesuits will have to take care of the spiritual care of these soldiers.¹³² In fact, a Spanish army was sent, in April 1606, to Makian with the aim of subjecting the island to the dominion of Tidore. In addition, Esquivel sent Spanish soldiers to

¹²⁸ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) p. clxv "Relacion de los servicios del Almirante Pedro de Heredia, 4-08-1634" AGI 67-6-8)

¹²⁹ ("Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco, Terrenate, 31 maggio 1619" AGI Patronato, 47, R. 37) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. clxvii-clxviii, here are some excerpts from Vergara's letter)

¹³⁰ ("Letter by Equivel to the king, Ternate, 2 May 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, pp. ccxxx)

¹³¹ (Argensola p. 346-347) (Malucas y Celebes p. 685) (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

¹³² (Doc.Mal. III p. 9 Doc. n°1) However, it seems that no Jesuit settled in Tidore before 1610.

Tacome and Malayo to protect the population from possible reprisals by the Tidorese.¹³³

THE RETURN OF THE DUTCH

In the meantime, two Dutch ships arrived in the waters of the Moluccas, one of which was the one that had fled from Ternate at the arrival of Acuña's armada. They anchored in the port of Talangame and then took refuge in the port of Xilolo (Geilolo) where most of the rebels were gathered.¹³⁴

The Spaniards also found various difficulties in completely subjugating the island of Ternate, only two villages (Takome and Wakayu) close to the fortress, swore allegiance to the king of Spain, and asked for the presence of a Spanish garrison for defence, but also the inhabitants of these two villages, having learned of the arrival of Dutch ships, broke their oath and took refuge with other rebels in Geilolo, in the island of Halmahera (Batachina) where they fortified themselves.¹³⁵

The arrival of the two Dutch ships reinvigorated the hopes of the Ternatense and to counteract this, the Spaniards organized several punitive expeditions.

THE SPANISH ATTACKS ON THE ISLAND OF HALMAHERA

By order of Esquivel, an army of galleys, at the head of which was Fra Antonio Flores, and caracoras, with 120 Spanish soldiers and troops of Tidore,¹³⁶ commanded by Vergara, and with the king and prince of Tidore was sent against the Ternatense rebels and the villages that remained loyal to them in the island of Halmahera. Unable to attack their stronghold of Geilolo due to the presence of Dutch ships¹³⁷, the Spanish launched a series of attacks on other villages in Halmahera.

The first attack was carried out against Gamocanora or Gran Bocanora or Ngamoconora (Gamkonorah, in the island of Halmahera) where after a bitter battle they managed to destroy the city, also capturing a good caracoa and to disperse the enemy troops. The village of Gamocanora is described as not inferior to Ternate in

¹³³ (Argensola p. 347)

¹³⁴ (Argensola p. 347)(Malucas y Celebes p. 685)

¹³⁵ (Doc.Mal. III p. 117 Doc. n°35)

¹³⁶ (Argensola p. 348)

¹³⁷ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 117 Doc. n°35)

size and population.¹³⁸ It was then the turn of the village of Loloda, which was however abandoned by its inhabitants and occupied and destroyed by the Spaniards. In the village of Bisoa¹³⁹ the inhabitants resisted the Spanish attack hard, but were then forced to give way, the battle ended without losses on the Spanish side even if there were many wounded. Even in the island of Doy the Spaniards conquered and destroyed the enemy fortress, after a fierce resistance.

The expedition was a great success, the villages were conquered and destroyed without losing even a single soldier, thanks to the aggressive and courageous temperament that Vergara instilled in the soldiers, who with him they said could also go to "conquistar el infierno". The expedition continued reaching San Juan de Tolo and Morotay these places submitted to the Spanish without a fight. The Spaniards also obtained the submission and the promise of conversion to Catholicism of the city of Tolo, capital of the province of Moro and of the villages of Chiava (Cawa or Tjawa) and Samafo (Camafo).¹⁴⁰ During the stop in Tolo an indigenous messenger was sent to the population of the Tabelos, who lived in the mountains six leagues inland, the messenger requested submission to the King of Spain, this population known as barbaric and warlike, recognized obedience to the King of Spain and declared himself a vassal of the Spaniards, as a sign of submission and obedience, some land was sent.¹⁴¹

The villages of the Laguna of Galela were then attacked, thanks also to the indications of the inhabitants of Tolo, who with a caracoa showed the way to the Spaniards, here in three days two fortresses were attacked and conquered, and this despite the valor with which the defenders fought. It was then the turn of the village of Mamuya, located halfway between San Juan de Tolo and Galela, this too was destroyed. The Spaniards returned to Tolo where a small garrison was placed with 25 Spanish soldiers and artillery, under the command of Juan Cortes, appointed captain of Tolo. Later, in August 1606, Juan Cortes was replaced as commander of the garrison of Tolo by Juan de la Torre, together with the new captain, the Jesuit father Gabriel Rengifo da Cruz also arrived in Tolo. Control of this area was very important for the livelihood of the Spanish troops in Ternate because it was an area that produced many foods, such as sago, rice, chickens, pigs and goats.

The city of Tolo was named San Juan de Tolo (São João do Tolo in Portuguese), because the Spaniards arrived at dawn on June 24, 1606, the day of Saint John the

¹³⁸ (Doc.Mal. III p. 118 Doc. n°35)

¹³⁹ Chiamata Visoa da (Argensola p. 348).

¹⁴⁰ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 61-69 Doc. n°16)

¹⁴¹ (On this episode see the declaration of the ensign Torralva, AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

Baptist, at the request of the Christians of the village, a cross was immediately erected. The Jesuit friar Lorenzo Masonio was also part of the expedition. The expedition returned to Ternate where it was received with great jubilation. The whole area of Moro had already given good results of conversion to Catholicism during the Portuguese presence.

In Tolo a church and a residence was built for the father and 500 people were soon baptized, given the promising beginnings of this mission, the superior of the Jesuits of Ternate, father Luís Fernandes, also sent a second friar to Tolo, Jorge de Fonseca, in the first nine months of his mission, 1,400 people were baptized. Meanwhile, the island of Morotai, which had over twenty villages, also submitted to the Spanish.¹⁴² The conversions were numerous especially in the villages of Tolo, Samafo and Chiava (Cawa), all located in the NE area of Halmahera. Also in Morotai the Jesuits obtained many conversions.¹⁴³

Juan de Esquivel, also in 1606, sent to the island of Mateo (Celebes) an expedition made up of a "galeota", a brigantine and some other small boats at the command of which he appoints the ensign Cristobal Suárez. The purpose of this expedition is to receive acts of vassalage towards the king of Spain from the peoples previously subject to the dominion of Ternate. The kings of Bool, Totoli and the queen of Cauripa submitted to Spain.¹⁴⁴

In August 1606, Esquivel sent a desperate plea for help to Manila, urgently asking for "comida, rropa, dineros y gente".¹⁴⁵

SUBMISSION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SULTAN OF TERNATE

Later, with another expedition (in which the Augustinian Fra Antonio Flores also took part), Vergara together with the king of Tidore and the prince reached the fortress of Sabugo, where the rebels had retreated. Here the cachil Quipart met him on the beach where they had landed (according to what Baltasar (Delgas?), together with this

¹⁴² (Doc.Mal. III pp. 118 Doc. n°35) (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12) (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12) (Doc.Mal. III pp. 61-69 Doc. n°16) (Doc.Mal. III pp. 118 nota 11) e (Doc.Mal. III pp. 122-125 Doc. n°35) (Doc.Mal. III pp. 117 Doc. n°35)

¹⁴³ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 125 Doc. n°35)

¹⁴⁴ (Argensola p. 349-350)

¹⁴⁵ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

cachil was also the cachil Suguil), uncle of the Sultan of Ternate and one of the governors whom the sultan had appointed to govern in his absence. The cachil followed in Ternate Vergara, where he signed the capitulations with Esquivel, then he returned to Sabugo. Thus it was that on 27 November 1606, as a consequence of the victories reported by the Spaniards at Halmahera, the capitulations were signed with the rebel leaders of Ternate. In them, the Ternatense recognized the king of Spain as their lord, and undertook in 15 points to submit to the Spanish requests.

Later, Vergara with another large army made up of caracoas, galleys and galliots, went to Jilolo, where he besieged the fortress, shelling it for three days both from the sea and from the land side, but failed to conquer it. However, the rebels, tired by the siege, made a promise of vassalage to the King of Spain and promised to eliminate all the artillery they had. Vergara, given the strength of the enemies and also because of the heavy losses he had suffered (25 or 26 Spaniards had died in the battle) accepted the promise, which however was not kept.¹⁴⁶

LUIS VAEZ DE TORRES ARRIVES IN TERNATE

It was in this period that a Spanish expedition arrived in Ternate. This was the expedition of Pedro Fernandez de Queiros. A ship of the expedition of Pedro Fernandez de Queiros, the one captained by Luis Vaez de Torres, received the first news of the capture of Ternate by Acuña from an emissary of the Cape of Biliato. This emissary who converses with the Spaniards in Portuguese, is met by the Spaniards when the Spanish expedition arrived in the land of the low Papua, located five days' journey from the kingdom of Bachan, where according to this emissary a Jesuit father was present.

The day following this meeting, the Spaniards had a visit from the village chief of Biliato and from a Moor who spoke Italian very well. A few days later the Spaniards arrived in Bachan, where they were well received and where they anchored in the port of Labua on 16 December 1606. From here the Spaniards sent a message to Ternate to the "mestre de campo" Juan de Esquivel, who replied with a letter carried by the Jesuit father Fonseca, who arrived in Labua on Christmas Eve. Esquivel asked to go to Ternate immediately to help him since almost the whole area was in open rebellion against the Spanish.

First, however, at the request of the king of Bachan it was decided to undertake a punitive expedition against a village, Cayoa (Kayoa), which had rebelled against his authority, and which was located halfway along the route to Ternate. The king of

¹⁴⁶ (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

Bachan participated in the punitive expedition with a force consisting of 4 carracks and 500 men. The sangace of Labua, who was a Christian and spoke Portuguese very well, also participated in the enterprise. The enemy fort, made of stone and square in shape, was surrounded by a moat full of water, and could easily resist the attack, but was quickly conquered thanks also to the disorderly flight of the defenders. The village was looted and burned. Prado tells us that the impression aroused by this victory in the region was so great that some kings of the island of Gilolo (Halmahera) who were on the point of allying themselves with the Ternatese rebels went over to the Spanish side.¹⁴⁷

After the conquest of Cayoa, the Spaniards stopped first in Maquien and then in Tidore, finally arriving in Ternate (about 8 months after the Spanish conquest, “el armada fue a dar a las yslas Malucas que auia ocho meses que se auian ganado las dihas fuerzas”)¹⁴⁸, where due to the shallowness of the port they were forced, on the advice of Esquivel, to anchor in the port of Rume on the island of Tidore.

At the express request made by the "mestre de campo" Juan de Equivel directly to Luis Vaez de Torres, don Juan de Espinosa y Zayas remained in Ternate, he was appointed adjutant to the sergeant major.¹⁴⁹ Torres' expedition probably arrived in Ternate in January 1607, in fact Esquivel tells us, on March 31, 1607, that “abra dos meses llego a estas yslas Luis Baez de Torres”.¹⁵⁰ The license given by Luis Vaez de Torres to Juan de Espinosa y Zayas to remain in Ternate is dated Terrenate, March 19, 1607. His appointment (dated March 20, 1607) is necessary since the position of adjutant to the sergeant major was vague, due to the death of the old aide, the ensign Luis Suazo y Serain.¹⁵¹

THE FIRST “SOCORRO” FROM MANILA

After the conquest of Ternate, the Spanish received no help from Manila for several months. This delay in sending help is certainly due to the sudden death of Acuña. Due to the sudden death of Acuña, in fact, the first ships of the first "socorro", sent by the Audiencia, arrived only in 1607. Prado's report informs us that the first

¹⁴⁷ (Prado “The discovery of Australia” p. 20-23)

¹⁴⁸ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III p. 571 nota n°1) Declaration of Juan de Silva in: (AGI: “Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618” Filipinas,47,N.11)

¹⁴⁹ (A.G.I. “Expediente: Juan de Espinosa y Zayas” Filipinas,47,N.11)

¹⁵⁰ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 “Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607”)

¹⁵¹ (AGI: “Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618” Filipinas,47,N.11)

reinforcements sent from Manila to Esquivel arrived on April 28, 1607, over a year after the taking of Ternate.¹⁵²

Other documents inform us that Esquivel had sent the Franciscan friar Alonso Guerrero on a small *champan* to Manila to urgently ask for reinforcements. He succeeded in his mission and returned, on April 28, 1607, to Ternate with 8 small boats captained by Juan Iñiguez, with food and ammunition, these were the first supplies that arrived in the Moluccas after the conquest of the city by the Spaniards.¹⁵³ Of this *socorro*, the Dutch were unable to capture a single vessel, but the Spaniards still lost to bad weather three frigates and a boat with material and food.¹⁵⁴

With this "*socorro*" insufficient aid arrived in Ternate: 5,700 baskets of rice (a quantity not even necessary for a year, greatly reducing the normal ration), a certain quantity of wine (less than half of that necessary for a year, giving a meager daily ration of "*medium quartillo*"), then meat arrived (this too was sufficient for only six months at meager rations of 4 ounces per day), furthermore even the clothes and shoes sent were insufficient for the needs of the troops. Esquivel requested the Audiencia to send new supplies for the month of October, which is the month in which the winds allow communications between the Philippines and the Moluccas to begin. Esquivel's letter clearly reveals the sense of unease, abandonment and isolation in which the Spanish garrisons of Ternate find themselves, which he defines as "*esta pobre gente en la parte mas rremota del mundo*".¹⁵⁵

To try to settle the issue with the rebels from Ternate, Esquivel had appealed to Manila requesting that the sultan, prisoner in Manila, send his own heir with letters and precise orders of submission to Spain for his uncles and other rebel leaders. Despite Esquivel's request that this person be neither a *cachil* nor a *sangaje*, the audiencia sent two important *sangajes* to Ternate with orders from the sultan.

Upon the arrival of the relief fleet with the two *sangajes* on board, Esquivel had to obey the orders of the audiencia and although he wanted to attack the rebels with the reinforcements he had received, he had to bow to the wishes of the audiencia and send one of the two *sangajes* to the rebels. However, the action of the *sangaje* was of a completely different nature than what the Spaniards had hoped for, in fact he rekindled the rebels' desire to fight and ordered absolutely not to surrender their

¹⁵² (Prado "The discovery of Australia" p. 20-23)

¹⁵³ (Pérez p. 686) (Prado "The discovery of Australia" p. 20-23) (AGI: "Carta de la Audiencia enviando la de Juan de Esquivel, 23-07-1607" Filipinas, 20, R.1, N.12)

¹⁵⁴ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) p. xliii AGI 67-6-7)

¹⁵⁵ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

weapons to the Spaniards, trusting in the help of the Dutch.

THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE REBELS ACCORDING TO ESQUIVEL

The two reasons that Esquivel judges as the main causes of this attitude on the part of the Ternatese. The first is the belief that once the arms were surrendered to the Spaniards, the latter would have made them tributaries and would have forced them to become Christians, taking as an example what the Spaniards themselves they had done in Peru, New Spain and the Philippines. Probably information, this, brought to the ears of the Ternatese from interested stories of the Dutch, although according to Esquivel they were rumors spread by Portuguese and mestiços residing in the Moluccas. The rebels also expected shortly the arrival of a large Dutch fleet, which in their intentions will allow them to drive the Spaniards out of Ternate. However, Esquivel shows confidence that if more help is sent to him, he will also be able to cope with the Dutch.¹⁵⁶

To try to solve once and for all the problem of the depopulation of the island of Ternate after the flight of its inhabitants to Halmahera, Esquivel proposed to elect the king of the island as the king of Tidore and to establish groups of the population of Tidore in the island of Ternate as well as resettle some Ternatese who after the Spanish conquest of Ternate had taken refuge and settled on the island of Tidore. Esquivel's purpose was to divide the rebellious Ternatese so that most of the common people who had fled to Halmahera (in the villages of Gilolo and Sabubo) returned to Ternate abandoning their leaders and swearing allegiance to the king of Tidore.

The idea was discussed by Esquivel with the Jesuit Luis Fernandes and with the Spanish captains and it was decided to propose the plan to the king in order to implement it. Probably if this had actually been done in time, the Dutch would not have had the opportunity to settle in Malayo, as we will see later. Another idea, proposed by the "mestre de campo" was to populate the islands (including Tidore) with Christian people from the Philippines, he thought that with about 1,000 Christian Indians for each island, the Dutch and rebels' chances of reconquering Ternate would be stay null.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

¹⁵⁷ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

THE RESULT OF THE FIRST YEAR OF SPANISH CONTROL IN TERNATE

About a year after the conquest of Ternate, the toll of human lives required by the unhealthy climate, the scarcity of food and the lack of aid not received from the Philippines is heavy for the Spaniards, in fact as of March 31, 1607, 220 soldiers had died and more than 70 slaves and convicts plus many other sick and infirm men.¹⁵⁸ Probably tired of the situation. In one of his letters from this period, Esquivel requested permission to return to Spain.¹⁵⁹

The construction work of the fortifications was slow due to the lack of money and men, in fact no more than 100 "gastadores" remained capable of the work, including carpenters, stonemasons and blacksmiths. Esquivel informs us that he had built and nearly completed a 20-foot-basis "tierra y fagina" wall with which the city of Ternate was enclosed. He urgently requests the sending of "gastadores" in order to complete the fortification works. Of the fortifications of the city of Ternate, Esquivel also sent a plan to the King of Spain "de esta tengo casi ya cerrado el lugar en la forma que V. M.d. mandara ver por una planta que va con esta"¹⁶⁰

Esquivel also gives news that eight days before, information had arrived through a Portuguese boat that had arrived from Malacca that the planned Portuguese expedition of the Viceroy to recover Ambon had not been completed due to the presence in Malacca of eleven Dutch ships and other vessels they had besieged the city. In order to find out what the Dutch were doing, Esquivel sent a caracoa with two Spaniards to Ambon at the end of March 1607, their task was to spy on the fortification works and find out about the quantity of troops and the relationship between the Dutch and the natives.¹⁶¹

The fortress of Ternate was surrounded, on the orders of Juan de Esquivel, by a wall of earth and fagots with well-distributed bulwarks. Interesting is the information that Esquivel provides us in his letter of 1608 on the houses present in the city of Ternate, they are all covered with "nipa" (probably straw) for which at great risk of fire, he expresses his concern particularly for the royal warehouses and for the powder magazine and requires the sending of tiles in order to at least cover these two

¹⁵⁸ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

¹⁵⁹ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

¹⁶⁰ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

¹⁶¹ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

important buildings with a solid roof.¹⁶² In April 1607, the island of Maquién (Makian), was still without a Spanish garrison¹⁶³ however, it seems that there are soldiers of the king of Tidore in charge of the island.

THE RETURN OF THE DUTCH AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FORT IN MALAYO

On May 13, 1607, a fleet of eight Dutch ships arrived in Ternate (Orange, Mauricio, Erasmo, Enchuisa, Delft, Pequeño Sol, Pichon and a yacht, with 531 men on board), commanded by Cornelis Matelief the younger. This fleet planned to attack Tidore. The Dutch despite the scarce reinforcements that arrived with the young sultans of Ternate and Jailolo, in all a boat with about 200 warriors, however, they decided to attack the island, which was defended by only thirty Spanish soldiers in addition to the Tidorese. The attempt ended miserably both due to the inexperience and lack of knowledge of the seabed by the Dutch, the boats risked running aground in the barrier, and because the governor Juan de Esquivel rescued the island with some Spanish soldiers '... con cierto golpe de españoles, ... '. So Matelief then fell back on Ternate, where the fort of Malayo was founded.¹⁶⁴

The entire Dutch fleet then proceeded to Ternate and landed on the east coast of the island, two and a half leagues¹⁶⁵ from the Spanish fortress; here the Dutch, helped by the locals and protected by the cannons of their ships, began the construction of a fortress. The site chosen was the seat of a small village, called Malaio¹⁶⁶, and which will become the current city of Ternate. They named the new fortress Fort Malayu (Maleye).¹⁶⁷ After the construction of the fort, the Dutch left a garrison of 50 soldiers in Ternate.¹⁶⁸

Shortly after the construction of the Dutch fort, on Esquivel's orders, a troop of 100 Spanish soldiers, led by Vergara, ventured to observe the fort the Dutch had made at Malayo. During this operation the Spaniards had a hard fight with the Dutch, which lasted more than an hour and a half, in this fight it seems that the captain of the

¹⁶² (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xxxviii-xxxix dove è riportata la "lettera di Esquivel all'Audiencia del 13 agosto 1608" AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 30)

¹⁶³ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 70-75 Doc. n°17)

¹⁶⁴ (Tiele "De Europeers in den Maleischen archipel, 1606-1610" pp. 70-72)

¹⁶⁵ Two leagues second: (Doc.Mal. III p. 119 Doc. n°35)

¹⁶⁶ The place chosen by the Dutch is called "Geilolo, duas legoas de Ternate" in the document: (Doc.Mal. III pp. 119 Doc. n°35)

¹⁶⁷ (Doc.Mal III p. 96) (Prevost "Historia General ..." vol. XIII p. 66-67)

¹⁶⁸ (ARA 1.04.02 inv. 466. Cited in: van Veen-Klijn "A guide to de sources of the history of Dutch-Portuguese relations in Asia, 1594-1797")

Malayo fort was killed, while the Spanish captain Vergara was wounded on the forehead by a pike blow, which luckily didn't kill him.¹⁶⁹ This is probably the reason why, starting from 1607 and up to 1609, when he governed Ternate, Vergara disappeared from the scene and other captains and sergeant majors were appointed in his place. Juan de la Umbria probably also took part in this battle, the battle lasted according to another document more than two hours.¹⁷⁰

A DUTCH DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF TIDORE

The voyage report of Admiral C. Matalief (1607), contains an interesting description of the Spanish fortifications of the city of Tidore: The Dutch fleet is anchored in front of the city of Tidore, on the east coast of the island. Along the beach the Spaniards have a stone rampart whose walls are as high as a man, and a few musket shots long in the north to south direction. In the southern part there is a mountain of round shape and difficult to access, on top of which there are Spanish soldiers and three cannons. Even on the north side the city is protected, in fact at the distance of a big cannon shot there is the old Portuguese fort. In front of the city in the sea there is a coral reef that can only be crossed at high tide, it starts from the south of the city and reaches the Portuguese fort.¹⁷¹

Fortunately for the Spaniards, upon the arrival of the Dutch fleet, the kings of Tidore, Bachan and Siao remained loyal to them, this loyalty seems to be essentially due to the good relations maintained with them by Juan de Esquivel.¹⁷²

FROM THE DOCUMENTS IT APPEARS THAT MORE HELP FROM MANILA HAS ARRIVED

Other documents seem to indicate that other Spanish ships reached Ternate from Manila carrying troops and aid. During the government of the Audiencia, after news had arrived that eight Dutch ships had arrived in Ternate, Esteuan de Alcasar was sent to Ternate as head of the ship "almiranta" of the "socorro" and captain of infantry, despite the attempt of two ships Dutch to capture the "socorro", the Spaniards

¹⁶⁹ (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

¹⁷⁰ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Marinduque, etc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1623" Filipinas,47,N.60)

¹⁷¹ (Commelin's "Begin ende voortganch" Vol. 2 page 63; Report of the voyage of Admiral C. Matelief, written in 1607)

¹⁷² (Doc.Mal. III pp. 95-97 Doc. n°29)

managed to reach Ternate.¹⁷³ A small "champan" owned by Alonso de Cisneros, arrived in Ternate on November 3, 1607. Still in 1607 other relief soldiers arrived in Ternate with the captain Juan (Joan) Baptista de Molina.¹⁷⁴

A royal decree dated October 29, 1607, orders that the Moluccas must remain under the jurisdiction of the governor of the Philippines and must not revert to Portuguese possession.¹⁷⁵ Another royal decree of November 17, 1607, establishes that the trade of cloves is done through Portuguese India, the Portuguese must buy the cloves of the Moluccas in Manila and from there transport them to Malacca.¹⁷⁶

THE BRITISH ARE COMING

In January 1608, an English vessel arrived in the port of Tidore. The Spaniards, due to the hardships in which they were recovering, decided, after a consultation held at the end of February, to trade with the English and, in exchange for cloves, artillery and ammunition were purchased. The English boat was the "Consent", a 115-ton "pinnace", commanded by David Middleton. David was the younger brother of Henry Middleton, who in 1605 commanded the first English ship to reach the Moluccas. David, had already visited the Moluccas together with his older brother in 1605.

For the occasion, Francisco de Uribe, "contador" of Ternate, was charged with the control of the exchange of goods, for this reason he went to Tidore, and then escorted with two galleys, on 18 March, the English boat out of the waters of the Moluccas. The Spanish were careful that no one could trade with the British. The British, who also apparently visited the new Dutch fort at Malayo, brought news of the imminent arrival of a large Dutch army and also of the possible arrival of an Iberian army from Malacca. Due to the danger of running into the Dutch armada, Esquivel issued a ban prohibiting the shipment of cloves to Manila.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57)

¹⁷⁴ It seems that he was not at the head of the relief that arrived in the spring of 1607 (in fact in another document Juan Iñiguez is indicated as the head of that "rescue"), another relief was probably sent later in the year (AGI: "Carta de Francisco de Uribe al Rey escasez ropas, socorros, 15-05-1608" Patronato,47,R.33)

¹⁷⁵ ("Memorial Grau y Montfalcon, 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27, p. 99)

¹⁷⁶ ("Memorial Grau y Montfalcon, 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 p. 100)

¹⁷⁷ (AGI: "Carta de Francisco de Uribe al Rey escasez ropas,socorros, 15-05-1608" Patronato,47,R.33) ("The voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606" p. xxxiii)

The Dutch supremacy on the seas is evident, the apprehension of the Spaniards and the Jesuits garrisoned in Ternate is great.¹⁷⁸

THE SITUATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE MOLUCCAS

As regards the situation of the religious in Ternate, we have some documents which inform us that the Jesuits, in March 1607, had only five fathers and one "hermano" for the mission of the Moluccas: Antonio Pereira in Siau, Gabriel Rengifo da Cruz and Jorge de Fonseca in Moro and Luís Fernandes, Lorenzo Masonio and the layman Giampaolo Mafrida in Ternate.¹⁷⁹ In 1607, Esquivel donated a house to the Franciscans in the immediate vicinity of the mosque (where the Franciscans had settled the year before), this donation allowed the use of the mosque as a church (consecrated to San José) and the transfer of the convent and hospital in the new house.¹⁸⁰ The bishop of Malacca appointed and sent a vicar to Ternate.¹⁸¹

According to the Jesuits' annual report, in 1608 missionaries established five churches in the Maluku Islands. The main headquarters of the mission is in Ternate, where two fathers (including Father Masonio) and a brother (Mafrida) reside, another missionary resides in Tolo, while the other three churches of Labuha, Siau and Morotai are without of missionaries, because the three other fathers who were part of the mission were recalled to Malacca in this year (1608) by order of the provincial father.

Towards the end of 1608, the Jesuit church of Ternate (built in brick in 1568 by friar Luís de Gois), was restored and enlarged with the construction of a chapel and a new stone sacristy. The altarpiece was also redone and new ornaments were also made.¹⁸² The patron saint of the Jesuit church of Ternate is São Paulo (San Pablo).¹⁸³ The Jesuit church of Tidore is dedicated to the Madre de Deus (Deos).¹⁸⁴

In Ternate, two brotherhoods were established by the Jesuits, one called "..do nome de Jesu", the other named "..das almas do purgatorio". Of the confraternity "confraria do nome de Jesu", the captain-mor is named "mordomo". The Jesuits translate the

¹⁷⁸ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 108-110 Doc. n°32)

¹⁷⁹ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 61-69 Doc. n°16)

¹⁸⁰ (Pérez p. 684 nota 1)

¹⁸¹ (AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22 "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607")

¹⁸² (Doc. Mal. III p. 138 Doc. n°38)

¹⁸³ (Doc.Mal. III p. 41 Doc. n°7)

¹⁸⁴ (Doc.Mal. III p. 85 Doc. n°22, nota 1)

catechism and some prayers into the Ternate language. In Ternate the Jesuits baptize 200 people in their church.¹⁸⁵

The church on the island of Labuha (Bachan), which had fallen into disrepair following the departure of the Jesuit father Jorge de Fonseca (end of 1606), was repaired thanks to the work of the village women, it was then decided to build a new church at the expense of the villagers.

Some Christians who arrived from Tidore after the surrender of the Portuguese fortress to the Dutch (1605) resided in Labuha. Among them were some orphans, daughters of Portuguese. After Father Jorge de Fonseca moved to Tolo at the end of 1606, the Christians who had fled from Tidore and settled in Labuha moved to Ternate, where they contributed to strengthening the Christian presence and helping the Spanish soldiers in the fight against the Ternate rebels.¹⁸⁶

The mission that seems to give the Jesuits the most satisfaction is the one established in S. João do Tollo (San Juan de Tolo), where the Spaniards maintain a garrison. While another Spanish fort is in Cawo (Chavo), a village located in the southern part of the western coast of the island of Morotai, at the mouth of the Cawo river. Here the Jesuits founded another mission which also seems to bear fruit. Thanks to the work carried out, starting from 1604, by Father Antonio Pereira, there are also many conversions on the island of Siau.

THE “SOCORRO” OF 1608 AND THE DUTCH FLEET OF VAN CAERDEN

With a document dated 1 April 1608, Pedro de Hermua was appointed captain of the ship San Pedro destined to bring relief to Ternate since in a previous expedition two frigates and a ship had been lost (according to Esquivel and also according to Vivero and Azqueta 3 frigates and a “nauió” or “nao”). Infantry troops were embarked on the ship.

The rescue departed from Cavite on April 13, arrived in Ternate on May 23, 1608, its arrival, Esquivel tells us, was unexpected, in fact many enemy boats had arrived a few days earlier, on May 18. On 18 May 1608, in fact, nine Dutch ships arrived in Ternate with a “pataxo” and two “galiottas”¹⁸⁷, this fleet was commanded by Admiral Paulus van Caerden. The Dutch had at anchor in Malayo, located two and a half leagues from Ternate, seven ships, two galliots and a patacco, for a total, Esquivel

¹⁸⁵ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 120 Doc. n°35)

¹⁸⁶ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 121-122 Doc. n°35)

¹⁸⁷ Two “pataxos” and a “galiotta” (Doc. Mal. III pp. 135 Doc. n°38)

always says, of 10 boats. On May 24, another large Dutch ship and a patach arrived. The Dutch with two ships and a galliot tried to prevent the arrival of help, but failed in their attempt thanks also to the intervention of the Spanish galley.¹⁸⁸

THE ABORTED DUTCH ATTACK ON TIDORE

The Dutch, after having discarded a direct attack on Gammalamma (the Spanish city of Ternate), decided at first to try to conquer the city of Tidore. 2 ships and a garrison of 65 men were left to defend the fortress of Malayo.

A “caracora” carrying the Malayo fort commander, Gerrit Gerritsz van der Buys, and Apollonius Schotte was sent to Tidore to get acquainted with the city's defences. They found that the Spaniards had barricaded themselves on a hill on the east coast, called Tahoeela, where they had placed two artillery positions, also they could not find a suitable place to land, the only place judged suitable was located in front of the old fort Portuguese, but the path leading to the city was narrow and blocked by bamboo palisades which made it difficult for the troops to advance. During the observation the Dutch had also witnessed the march of three platoons of soldiers, about 60 men, most likely Spanish due to their marching discipline.

After this first reconnaissance, on 15 June, the Dutch ships (according to Esquivel 7 ships, a patacco and a galliot participated in the attack) helped by a contingent of 26 boats and soldiers from Ternate, left for Tidore. Their intention was to attack the city, but they could not find a suitable place to land due to the coral reef that was present in front of the city. The only point where a landing was possible was in front of the old and dilapidated Portuguese fort which was located a "gootelincx shoot" (a cannon shot?) from the city, here in fact the coral reef ended and made the landing possible.

On the 16th they anchored in front of the old Portuguese fort. The old fort did not appear to be in a state of defence, it is in fact described as dilapidated, but the surrounding land was covered by dense bush which allowed the Spanish to attempt to repel the landing. Furthermore, the path to be followed along the beach to reach the city was practicable only at low tide, finally, various obstacles were positioned along the road from which the Spaniards and the Tidorese could slow down the march of the troops.

The city was also surrounded by a weak wall, but had a strong bulwark of wood and earth on the sea side, which the Dutch however judged possible to conquer. Finally,

¹⁸⁸ (AGI: “Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619” Filipinas,47,N.28)

dominating the city was the hill of Tahula where the Spanish troops were stationed (according to Dutch estimates at least 200 soldiers), this hill must have been very steep since the Dutch saw the Spanish climb on all fours. Further inland was the fort of the king of Tidore where the Tidorese troops were located which may have been formed of about 1,000 / 3,000 men. For all these reasons the Dutch gave up the operation.

THE DUTCH ATTACK ON MAQUIEN ISLAND

Van Caerden then proposed the construction of a fort on Makian Island. On 19 June 1608, the Dutch together with their allies from Ternate took the decision to attack the fortress of Tafsó (Tafasoho, called Tarasaua by Esquivel) on the island of Maquiem (Makian). According to their plans, once this fortress was taken, the whole island would have rebelled against the Spaniards. The Dutch from their ships anchored in Tidore continued, as a diversionary manoeuvre, to fire musketry charges to make it clear that they intended to land, in the late evening of 19 June they even put several launches into the water to make it clear that in the same night they would attempt a landing, but the whole thing was, as Esquivel well says, a stratagem to attack the island of Maquien.

In fact, in the dark of the night between June 19 and 20 part of the fleet¹⁸⁹ set sail for the island of Maquien. The Spaniards had the good fortune, on the morning of June 20, to see these boats in the distance before they reached Maquien. Captain Vidauia (Vidaña) immediately asked the King of Tidore to send 3 or 4 caracoas with 40 Spanish soldiers to reinforce the fort of Maquien, but the King, persuaded by his advisers that it was only a ploy by the Dutch to divide his forces, decided not to intervene.

However, the Dutch had taken precautions and to prevent the sending of help to Makian by the king of Tidore, they had left two ships in front of the city of Tidore. In the late evening of 20 June the Dutch fleet arrived in front of the fort of Tafasohoe and the following morning, 21 June 1608, with the help of a contingent of Ternatense from Ternate, the Dutch easily conquered Fort Tafasoho, despite what appears to be a timid attempt at resistance by the garrison.

After the fall of the fort the entire island of Makian, the richest in cloves and practically left unguarded by the Spaniards “que estava sem presido de espanhoes”,

¹⁸⁹ (According to Esquivel: a ship, a patacco, a galliot, some launches and 20 caracoras from Ternate. According to (Doc. Mal. III pp. 135 Doc. n°38): The Dutch expedition consisted of two "naos", a "galiotta", a "pataxo" and some "caracolas")

fell into the hands of the Dutch. Caerden's wildest hopes had come true.¹⁹⁰ This island was “la mas rica y prospera de clauo de toda aquella comarca”.¹⁹¹

However, the Tidorese do not seem to worry too much about the loss of Makian, also because they count on being able to reoccupy the island when reinforcements arrive from the Philippines. Esquivel, on the other hand, is concerned about the situation also because it is not certain that the aid will arrive in such abundance, instead it is certain that the following year important aid will arrive for the Dutch. The concern that Esquivel expresses is that of the risk of a change of front of the King of Tidore, he trusts the King, but has strong doubts regarding many of his advisers and leaders, moreover the large part of the population intimidated by the power of the Dutch press for an agreement to be made with the enemies. After the attempted attack on Tidore by the Dutch in June, the Spaniards were forced to reinforce the garrisons of the island, in August 1608 the actual Spaniards present in Tidore consisted of 140 soldiers and a galley with 40 other soldiers for a total of 180 men.¹⁹²

The king of Tidore, in July 1608 sent a letter to the Spanish governor of the Philippines Rodrigo Vivero, urgently requesting the sending of Spanish troops, food and ammunition to be able to face the large army that the Dutch are expecting for this year and which according to the information in the possession of the king of Tidore consisted of more than 1,000 Dutch soldiers.¹⁹³

THE SPANISH ATTACK IN JAILOLO

To disturb the Dutch who were busy fortifying themselves at Makian in the place of Tarasava (Tafasoho), the Spanish and the Tidorese organized an expedition against the fortress of Gilolo, in the late evening of 29 June 1608, 5 caracoras left from Ternate (3 supplied by the King of Tidore, one arrived by the King of Bachan and one of the Merdicas) and a galliot (the San Xpoval) with 70 soldiers on board, under the

¹⁹⁰ (“Informatie van den stant van de Molucques, door Jan Bruyn, 12 may 1609” In: “De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612” vol. II pp. 303-304) (de Booy “De derde reis van de VOC naar Oost-Indië onder het beleid van admiraal Paulus van Caerden uitgezeild in 1606” vol. I pp. 63-64) (Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xxxvi-xxxvii where the “letter of Esquivel to the Audiencia of 13 August 1608 is reported” AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 30) (Doc. Mal. III pp. 135 Doc. n°38) (Doc. Mal. III pp. 98-107 Doc. n°30)

¹⁹¹ (AGI: “Carta de Rodrigo de Vivero al Rey conquista de Maquén, 25-08-1608” Patronato, 47, R.27)

¹⁹² (Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xxxvii-xxxviii where the “letter of Esquivel to the Audiencia of 13 August 1608 is reported” AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 30)

¹⁹³ (AGI: “Carta del rey de Tidore a Rodrigo Vivero sobre el Maluco, 7-07-1608” Filipinas, 7, R.3, N.36)

command of Pedro de Heredia¹⁹⁴. During the night the expedition reached Jailolo and at dawn a group of 60 Spanish soldiers landed and attacked the fortress, in a short time the Spaniards defeated the resistance of the defenders, 30 people were killed and captured, among the dead there were also two Dutch soldiers, while most, largely women and children fled to the mountain. Among the Spaniards there was no loss. The village was burned as well as the mosque, the Spaniards did not maintain a garrison in the conquered fort but they took care to make as much destruction as possible and then the same evening they abandoned the village, arriving the next morning in Ternate. Jailolo was then fortified again by the people of Ternate with the help of some Dutch.¹⁹⁵

THE CONQUEST PLANS OF THE DUTCH

Thanks to these first successes, the Dutch also plan to attack other islands controlled by the Spanish and by the Tidorese, in particular: Bacham (Bachian), an island rich in sago, a very useful food for the maintenance of the troops. Then Payay (Payahi) village on the west coast of Batachina Island (Halmahera), located opposite Makian and belonging to Tidore and also rich in sago. Another of their objectives is the fort of Tafongo, the stronghold of the Sultan of Tidore, located on the westernmost point of Kau bay on the island of Halmahera, it was very important from a strategic point of view, because it was a collection point for supplies for Tidore originating from the island of Halmahera.¹⁹⁶

Precisely for fear of a Dutch attack, the kings of Tidore and Bacham asked for help from the Spanish, their allies, who sent Spanish soldiers to garrison the forts of Tafongo and Payay.¹⁹⁷ The sangaje of Cayoa (island between Makian and Bacan), which had rebelled with the arrival of the Dutch, was repeatedly defeated by the Spanish and Tidorese troops, who first conquered the village of Mava¹⁹⁸, and then the villages of Foya and Mafa (both located on the east coast of the southernmost peninsula of Halmahera, on Weda Bay). The sangaje, took refuge in Makian, where he died.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ In 1608, Pedro de Heredia was appointed head of the galleys. He attacked and burned twice the village of "Gran Bocanora" (Gamocanora).

¹⁹⁵ (Doc. Mal. III p. 135 Doc. n°38) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xxxvii-xxxviii where the "letter of Esquivel to the Audiencia of 13 August 1608 is reported" AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 30) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) p. clxv "Relacion de los servicios del Almirante Pedro de Heredia, 4-08-1634" AGI 67-6-8)

¹⁹⁶ (Doc. Mal. III p. 135-136-137 Doc. n°38)

¹⁹⁷ (Doc. Mal. III p. 147 Doc. n°38)

¹⁹⁸ Possibly located on the west coast of Halmahera, south of Payahi.

¹⁹⁹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 135-136-137 Doc. n°38)

Finally, another objective of the Dutch plans was the Moro area (an area that included the northern part of Halmahera and the island of Morotai), an area where the missionaries had been more successful and therefore potentially dangerous for the inhabitants of Ternate and the Dutch. However, the Dutch plans proved to be difficult to implement, and in July 1608, they lost two "naos" due to a storm"²⁰⁰, a "lancha" and a "pataxo". In another storm, which occurred between the first and second of August, the Spaniards lost a champan that had arrived shortly before from China, they also risked losing the galley San Cristóbal.²⁰¹ In an ambush made a few days later in front of the fort of Malayo, 8 enemies were captured by the Spaniards.²⁰²

According to information in the possession of Don Rodrigo Vivero, the new governor of the Philippines, 1,800 Spanish soldiers are present in all the Philippine islands, dispersed in the garrisons of Manila, Cavite, Cagayán, Cebú, Pintados and Maluco. He requires every year a reinforcement of at least 400 men because especially "el Maluco" consumes many men. The consumption of the fortified garrisons of Ternate is also enormous from an economic point of view, in fact 120,000 pesos are needed every year, compared to 130,000 for all of the Philippines.²⁰³

CRITICISM TO ESQUIVEL

The new governor of the Philippines Vivero receives rumors from Ternate of complaints against Esquivel. Furthermore, he is accused of not being the right man to manage the situation on the islands. Particularly harsh is the judgment expressed by the "oidor" Don Juan de la Vega, he judges Esquivel a little suitable man and of little experience for matters of war, furthermore he judges his conduct too little aggressive, especially he does not forgive him for the loss of Makian, island, which he defines as "la nata yema de todo el Maluco".

De la Vega also recalls that Esquivel had also allowed the Dutch to occupy and fortify Malayo without doing anything important to prevent it. Another concern of de la

²⁰⁰ The two vessels were the 420-ton "China" and the 700-ton "Walcheren". They were part of the Caerden fleet. (Dutch-Asiatic shipping II pp. 22-23)

²⁰¹ Francisco de Uribe, "contador" of Ternate, also gives us news of the arrival of a "Sanglei" boat from China, with which the Spaniards traded. Captain Joan Rrodriguez Vermeyo was in charge of the galley "San Xpoual". (AGI: "Carta de Francisco de Uribe al Rey escasez ropas, socorros, 15-05-1608" Patronato,47,R.33)

²⁰² (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xxxvii-xxxix where the "letter of Esquivel to the Audiencia of 13 August 1608 is reported" AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 30)

²⁰³ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xxvii-xxix in which passages of the document are reported: AGI 67-6-7)

Vega is the feared assault that the Dutch intend to lead to the Spanish city of Ternate, which according to information that he has "está tan mal prevenida por interno que si le planta 20 piezas de artilleria que dicen puede plantar, es tan flaca la muralla que la a de arrasar". The solution proposed by de la Vega is the replacement of Esquivel with a more worthy soldier and therefore he deems it necessary to immediately send Gallinato to Ternate with as many soldiers as possible.²⁰⁴

Shortly after D. Rodrigo de Vivero took possession of the office of governor of the Philippines, the new governor sent a "socorro" to Ternate, also this like the first of 1607 commanded by Iñiguez.²⁰⁵ This relief was actually sent on 19 August 1608 and included about 200 soldiers, however it seems that the soldiers were under the command of Gallinato. Vivero absolves Esquivel of the blame for the loss of Makian, in fact according to him Esquivel cannot be blamed for having been 12 leagues from the place where the enemy attacked and captured the fortress. However, Gallinato is also entrusted with the task of investigating the veracity of the rumors against Esquivel who accuse him of trading cloves on his own account and of not proceeding as due with the fortification works.²⁰⁶

The Spaniards still devoted themselves to improving the defenses of Ternate, but they were mowed down by disease and hunger, about 200 will die. But 140 soldiers²⁰⁷ arrived in 1608, from Manila as reinforcements, also many Portuguese casados who inhabited Tidore and Ambon, settled in Ternate. Also in 1608, a "nao e hum pataixo" called at Ternate. As we have seen, they were the ships commanded by Luis Vaez de Torres, which had an almost entirely Portuguese crew and which had left Peru to discover the South Pacific and New Guinea.²⁰⁸

THE DUTCH ATTACKS IN THE MORO AREA AND THE FIRST CAPTURE OF VAN CAERDEN

Again in 1608, the Dutch sent an expedition to the Moro area, under the command of Admiral van Caerden, they attacked and plundered the villages of Saquita and Mira, all on the west coast of the island of Morotai. The Spanish garrison of Chavo (Chao)

²⁰⁴ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xl-xli AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 27 and AGI 67-6-20)

²⁰⁵ (Pérez p. 686)

²⁰⁶ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) p. xliii "Lettera di Vivero al Re, 25 agosto 1608" AGI 67-6-7) (AGI: "Carta de Rodrigo de Vivero al Rey conquista de Maquén, 25-08-1608" Patronato,47,R.27) (AGI: "Carta de Vivero sobre socorro a Juarez Gallinato 25-08-1608 Filipinas,7,R.3,N.41)

²⁰⁷ 200 soldati secondo: (Doc. Mal. III p. 137 Doc. n°38)

²⁰⁸ (Doc.Mal. III pp. 119 Doc. n°35)

was then attacked, also in Morotai, where a new church had recently been built²⁰⁹, the Spanish garrison fought for two days and then surrendered, 8 (or 7 according to other sources) Spaniards were captured and about 400 indigenous Christians including the village sangaje, who were deported to Ternate, in this engagement three Spanish soldiers were killed.²¹⁰ In 1608, the Spaniards reinforce the defenses of the garrison of Tollo and thwart an attempt to betray by the sangaje of Tollo, aided by that of Gamoconora.²¹¹ Even in Mira, a village located in the southern part of the east coast of Morotai, the Spaniards, after the destruction of the garrison of Chavo, established a garrison, in a "sitio muy bom".²¹²

The Spaniards, having learned of van Caerden's raids, sent a galley led by Pedro de Heredia to the Moro area, which was to meet another Spanish galley, commanded by the sergeant major Juan de Tiejo (Texo)²¹³, already present in the area. The encounter between the two Spanish boats took place twenty leagues from Ternate, and luck would have it that shortly after (about 5 leagues away) the Dutch galliot was sighted on which the admiral and head of the fleet Paulus van Caerden was embarked Math over 70 Dutch crew²¹⁴, who had in tow more than a hundred ²¹⁵ small boats loaded with goods looted during his raids.

Heredia gave the order to the other galley to attack and disperse the small boats, while he with his boat attacked the Dutch galliot, the battle which took place on September 17, 1608, lasted for over two hours, but finally the Spaniards got the better of their enemies who surrendered. In the collision with the Dutch boat two Spaniards were wounded, while the Dutch had 8 dead and 20 wounded. The Dutch admiral was captured and transferred to Ternate, where he was held in custody.²¹⁶ 74 Dutch were captured with him. In addition, 22 pieces of artillery were captured on board the ship as well as many muskets, arquebuses and other types of weapons. Finally, many of the prisoners the Dutch had taken in their raids were freed.

The capture of their admiral was a severe blow to Dutch ambitions. Heredia visited the villages previously attacked by van Caerden bringing the good news of the

²⁰⁹ (Doc. Mal. III pp. 145 Doc. n°38 & Doc. Mal. III p. 171 Doc. n°44)

²¹⁰ (Doc. Mal. III pp. 139-140 & 145-146 Doc. n°38)

²¹¹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 153 Doc. n°38)

²¹² (Doc. Mal. III p. 141, 154 Doc. n°38)

²¹³ (AGI: "Meritos Pedro de Heredia, 22-09-1628" Indiferente,111,N.78)

²¹⁴ Probably 75 people in all including the admiral. (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 311 note n°1) Even if 74 prisoners plus the admiral and 8 dead would bring the total of the Dutch to 83.

²¹⁵ According to some letters from the Jesuits, the sources differ on the number of boats following van Caerden, the Dutch ship was escorted by 5 (or 4) "caracolas" from Ternate

²¹⁶ (Doc. Mal. III pp. 135-137 Doc. n°38) e (Doc. Mal. III pp. 140-141 Doc. n°38)

victory and showing the captured galliot.²¹⁷ Many of the prisoners taken by the Dutch in their attacks on the villages of the island of Morotai, including also the sangage of Chauo (Chavo, Chao), managed to escape from the Dutch fort of Ternate and took refuge in the Spanish fort.²¹⁸ The Dutch, who had 12 ships anchored in Malayo, repeatedly attempted to ransom their captured admiral from the Spanish with a sum of money, but the Spanish demand was the return of all fortresses captured by the Dutch, so initially, the two sides failed to come to an agreement.²¹⁹ Later, on March 16, 1610, the admiral will still be freed during an exchange of prisoners. After his release van Caerden was appointed governor of the Moluccas. A few months later, in July 1610, van Caerden was again captured by the Spanish, as we will see later.

Having heard of a shipwreck off the coast of Halmahera of a Dutch ship of about 600 tons, Pedro de Heredia was sent to see what might be of interest in the vessel, which had previously been deprived of artillery by the Dutch. Heredia reached the ship and managed to take about 33 quintals of "xareta" and cinnamon. Shortly after, due to the death of the captain and sergeant major Juan Texo (which occurred before Esquivel's death), Esquivel entrusted his company to Heredia, promoting him to captain and sergeant major, a position he held from December 1608.²²⁰ On this occasion, on December 13, 1608, Juan de Espinosa y Zayas was promoted to Heredia's post as head of the galleys. Later, on March 11, 1609, Esquivel entrusted the company that had been the Heredia company to Juan de Espinosa y Zayas, this because of the "dexaçion" of Pedro de Heredia.²²¹

THE DUTCH FORTRESSES IN THE MOLUCCAS

The Dutch were in possession, at the end of 1608, of four fortresses in the north of the Moluccas, "tem tres fortalezas muy boas e outra mediocre".²²² The main fortress is located on the island of Ternate, in the place called Malayo, at a distance from the fortress and the Spanish city of Ternate, which the sources indicate between two and three leagues. The other three fortresses of which two "boas and bem fortificadas" are

²¹⁷ (Letter of the Felipe III to de Silva, 20 november 1611; in Blair vol. 17 p. 179) (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Pedro de Heredia, 20-07-1612" Filipinas,20,R.6,N.50)

²¹⁸ (Doc. Mal. III pp. 146 Doc. n°38) (Robert Kerr "A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. VIII" "Third Voyage of the English East India Company, in 1607, by Captain William Keeling" Sec. 4. "Voyage of the Hector to Banda, with Occurrences there")

²¹⁹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 147 Doc. n°38)

²²⁰ (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Pedro de Heredia, 20-07-1612" Filipinas,20,R.6,N.50) (AGI: "Meritos Pedro de Heredia, 22-09-1628" Indiferente,111,N.78)

²²¹ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618" Filipinas,47,N.11)

²²² (Doc. Mal. III p. 148 Doc. n°38)

all located on the island of Maquien, an island conquered in June 1608 by the Dutch.

The first is the fortress of Tafso, the old fortress of the king of Tidore (“que os portugueses semper procurarão de defenderem entanto que esterirão en Tidore”), located in the south-eastern tip of the island. At Tafso, the Dutch greatly improve the defenses of the fort, they build four new great bastions (the fourth is still under construction in early 1609), and surround the place with walls of “entulho e faxina e algum de pedra e cal”.

The second is located in the north-eastern part of the island, in Mofaquea (Ngofakiaha), a fortress begun by André Furtado (“que André Furtado començou, de pedra e cal muy forte”). Halfway between these two fortresses “muy boas e bem fortificadas”, in the south-west area of the island, there is the third fortress defined as “mediocre”, called Tabilolo (Tabelolo, Tobalola).²²³

Despite the Dutch successes, the Spanish try to maintain their influence in the Moluccas, and are sometimes successful. The king of Bohol (Buol), a village located on the north coast of Sulawesi, arrives in Ternate in 1608, asking to be baptized.²²⁴ In 1608, in Labua, on the island of Bacan, the sangage dies, and due to the minor age of his son, his successor, Paulo de Lima, a Portuguese casado, is sent with the title of sangage and judge of the village, with him arrives also a garrison of Spaniards to garrison the village.²²⁵

THE DEATH OF ESQUIVEL

According to what is reported in Fernando Centeno Maldonado's “informaciones”, the date of Esquivel's death must be placed in March 1609, in fact, in this document there is a document signed by Juan de Esquivel dated March 10, 1609. Another document, signed by Esquivel it is dated March 11, 1609.²²⁶ The date of Esquivel's death is therefore to be placed after March 11 and before March 20, 1609, the date of a letter from the Jesuit Lorenzo Masonio in which Esquivel's death is mentioned.²²⁷

Already in November 1607, the King of Spain had nominated Esquivel's successor as

²²³ (Doc. Mal. III p. 148 Doc. n°38)

²²⁴ (Doc. Mal. III p. 142 Doc. n°38)

²²⁵ (Doc. Mal. III p. 138 Doc. n°38) e (Doc. Mal. III p. 152 Doc. n°38)

²²⁶ Present in: (AGI: “Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618” Filipinas,47,N.11)

²²⁷ (Doc. Mal. III Doc. 38: “Masonio a Acquaviva, Ternate, 20 March 1609” pp. 151-152) (AGI: “Informaciones Fernando Centeno Maldonado, 1615” Filipinas,60,N.18)

governor of Ternate, he was Mateo Ruiz de Lobera, who however died before reaching the Moluccas.²²⁸

²²⁸ (AGI “Nombramiento de sargento mayor a Mateo Ruiz de Lobera, 19-11-1607” “Real Provisión nombrando al capitán Mateo Ruiz de Lobera como capitán y sargento mayor de la gente que de España y México va a Filipinas con Juan de Silva, gobernador de esas islas. También estaba provisto como alcaide y gobernador de la gente de guerra del presidio de Terrenate en lugar de Juan de Esquivel” Filipinas,340,L.3,F.12v-14r) (AGI “Real Provisión al capitán Mateo Ruiz de Lobera, nombrándolo alcaide de la fortaleza de Terrenate y gobernador de la gente de guerra, 21-11-1607” Indiferente,449,L.A1,F.136v-137) (AGI “Bienes de difuntos: Mateo Ruiz de Lobera: Testamento de Mateo Ruiz de Lobera, gobernador de Terrenate otorgado en San Juan de Ulúa” Contratacion,5579,N.12) (Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” tomo VI (1608-1618) p. clxxi)

CHAPTER FOUR: THE GOVERNMENT OF LUCAS VERGARA GABIRIA (who performs the functions), March 1609-February 1610

THE APPOINTMENT OF LUCAS VERGARA GABIRIA AS GOVERNOR OF TERNATE

At the beginning of 1609, on the death of Juan de Esquivel, Lucas Vergara Gabiria became governor (who acts as) of Ternate, he had married, shortly before (the day before, according to the source), with an orphan, daughter of a captain who served with his company in Ternate.²²⁹ An interesting piece of information on the succession to captain after Esquivel's death is given to us by the testimony of Fra Roque de Barrio Nuevo, in fact he informs us that Acuña, in the event of the death of the "mestre de campo" Juan de Esquivel, had nominated as his successor firstly Alarçon and secondly Vergara. It seems that Alarçon renounced the position. Fernando Becerra provides us with some other details (also confirmed by Baltasar (De Ega)), informing us that there were two "provisiones" that indicated Esquivel's successor. One was from Acuña, and had been kept in the Jesuit headquarters, and the other from the Audiencia which governed the Philippines at Acuña's death, both of which stated that in the event of Esquivel's death, the government of Ternate was to be entrusted to Lucas de Vergara Gaviria.²³⁰

Lucas Vergara Gabiria was a Moluccan veteran having come from Spain to the Philippines in 1605. The expedition in which Vergara participated departed from the port of San Lucas de Barameda, together with Esquivel's troop. Vergara had participated in the conquest of Ternate in 1606. In Ternate he was chosen by Acuña among the 4 captains who first landed on the island. He was among the first soldiers to attack the bastion of Cachil Tulo, which was conquered, and the first to enter the main fortress, which was the house of the King (the old Portuguese fort), making enemies flee through the windows, and to place the Spanish flag there.

Thanks to his courageous conduct he was appointed sergeant major of the Ternate camp. He participated in several successful expeditions against the Ternatense in the island of Halmahera. He obtained the submission of San Juan de Tolo and Morotai. He was greatly respected and loved by his soldiers for his courage and dedication and feared by his enemies for his great aggressiveness.²³¹ In 1616, Vergara had been

²²⁹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 151 Doc. n°38) e (Doc. Mal. III p. 201 Doc. n°56, nota 4)

²³⁰ (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

²³¹ (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

serving the King of Spain for over 35 years. On January 26, 1616, Juan de Silva gave him the "encomienda" of the village of Araut in the Philippines. He took part in De Silva's expedition to Malacca as head of a galleon.²³²

The "oidor" Don Juan de la Vega, indicates that the only capable soldier who was present in Ternate was the sergeant major Vergara, he had never failed in the enterprises that had been assigned to him, moreover all that had been conquered by the Spaniards outside Ternate it was due to his work.²³³

THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR OF THE GOVERNMENT OF VERGARA

On 23 June 1609, other Dutch ships arrived in Ternate, “tres naos olandesas com hum patacho e duas lanchas” commanded by Vice Admiral François Wittert. Another Dutch "patacho", however, reported fragmentary news on the peace negotiations between Spain and Holland, which would later lead to the twelve-year truce (1609-1621).²³⁴ The Dutch also concluded a new commercial contract with the Ternatese in this period.²³⁵

In the year of Vergara's government, the Dutch had 14 ships in Ternate and the Ternatese 60 caracoas, with which they besieged the Spanish forts. Despite this enormous power fielded by the enemies, Vergara managed to improve the fortifications of the city of Ternate by replacing the walls of "fajina" with walls of "cal y canto". According to the testimony of Torralua, this large Dutch fleet seems to have attempted a siege of Tidore, but thanks to the moves of Vergara and the works to improve the defenses that he carried out with great diligence, the Dutch failed to carry out their plans, and this happened in a year when no help was sent to Vergara from Manila.²³⁶

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FORT OF SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO DE DON GIL

The Spaniards, given the enormous naval overwhelming power of the Dutch, feel

²³² (AGI: “Confirmación de encomienda de Araut, 25-06-1618” Filipinas,47,N.9)

²³³ (Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” tomo VI (1608-1618) p. xli AGI 67-6-20)

²³⁴ (Doc. Mal. III p. 159 Doc. n°41) Pastells says that Dutch ships arrived at Malayo at the end of May 1609 (Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” tomo VI (1608-1618) p. lxxxii)

²³⁵ (ARA 1.04.02 inv. 550, 551. In: van Veen-Klijn “A guide to the sources...” p. 120)

²³⁶ (AGI: “Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611” Filipinas,60,N.12)

surrounded, only Tidore remains their ally. The Dutch planned the construction of another fort in Ternate, almost halfway between the Spanish and Dutch fortresses, on the strait between Ternate and Metara (Maitara) “está o sitio no buquerão que faz esta ilha com otra de Metara pegada com a de Tidore”. The place was located one league from Ternate and was known, according to the testimony of Torralua, with the name of Don Gil “una legua de Terrenate en el sitio que decian de Don Gil”. But the Spanish governor Vergara, having learned of the Dutch intentions, played in advance, in fact, he immediately sent 80 soldiers with 200 “gastadores” to fortify the place. The Dutch attempted to prevent the fort from being built, some ships crossing near where the Spanish were building the fort, but were forced to flee after the Spanish had positioned a cannon overnight to guard the position.

The construction of the fort was soon completed (1609), it will be called “San Pedro y San Pablo en el sitio de Don Jil”²³⁷ and was about three-quarters of a league (or a league²³⁸) from the Spanish fortress of Ternate, its strategic position forced Dutch ships to avoid the stretch of sea between Ternate and Maitara. The fort then prevented direct attacks on the Spanish fortress of Ternate and also limited the attempts to escape, numerous in periods of food shortages, by slaves and soldiers to the enemy. With the construction of this outpost, the Spaniards also secured a strip of land free from the risk of attacks, and therefore where it was possible to trade and start small crops. The fort was equipped with a large-scale cannon.²³⁹

SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS IN THE OTHER ISLANDS

The fortification works of Vergara did not stop with the construction of San Pedro y San Pablo and the improvement of the walls of the city of Ternate. He fortified the post of Marieco and the fort on the island of Tidore, which the Dutch conquered from the Portuguese in 1605. These were places of great importance for the defense of the island of Tidore (“hiço de nuebo los fuertes de Marieco el fuerte vejo de portugueses”). He also fortified San Juan de Tolo, Payayo and Tafongo, all villages located on the island of Halmahera and from where the food for the islands of Ternate and Tidore came.

Vergara in his year of government developed and improved the fortifications considerably, which had not been done in the least by Esquivel in the previous three years. The ensign Torralua tells us that he was sent by Vergara to Payayo to fortify and defend the place, and that a fleet of 10 Caracoa from Ternate and the Dutch

²³⁷ (AGI: “Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611” Filipinas,60,N.12)

²³⁸ (AGI: “Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611” Filipinas,60,N.12)

²³⁹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 160-161 Doc. n°41)

attacked the place without success. The fort of Payayo was practically rebuilt again and together with that of Tafongo it allowed the regular flow of food to the Spanish garrisons of the islands of Ternate and Tidore.²⁴⁰

A NEW DUTCH FLEET

Another Dutch fleet arrived in Ternate on 25 September 1609, it was what remained of the expedition commanded by Admiral Pieter Willemisz. Verhoeff, who had suffered a serious reverse in the Banda Islands where Verhoeff himself had lost his life along with many of his soldiers.²⁴¹ The Dutch, after Verhoeff's death, were commanded by Vice Admiral François Wittert, who arrived with his fleet in Ternate. In 1609 they built a fort on Moti Island, located between Tidore and Maquiem (Machian), the island is rich in cloves.²⁴²

THE CONQUEST OF BACHAN BY THE DUTCH

On November 30, 1609, the Dutch commanded by Captain Simon Jansz Hoen occupied the island of Bachan, conquering the small Spanish fort of Labuha.²⁴³ In the fight for the fort, 16 Spanish soldiers were killed “sin otros naturales”.²⁴⁴ On this occasion the Dutch made a contract of mutual assistance with the king of Bachan against the Spanish and the Portuguese.²⁴⁵ It seems that the taking of Bachan was facilitated by the betrayal of the king of the island. 17 Spanish soldiers and some Portuguese casados who had settled on the island defended the fortification. When the Dutch arrived, they were invited to flee by the king who then helped the Dutch to capture them, some soldiers were killed, others were taken prisoner. The sangaje of Bocanora also submitted to the Dutch.²⁴⁶

Interesting details on a Spanish expedition to help Bachan are reported to us in a document present in the General de las Indias archive in Seville, according to this document (which does not indicate a precise date but most likely certainly refers to

²⁴⁰ (AGI: “Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611” Filipinas,60,N.12)

²⁴¹ Dutch Admiral Pieter Willemisz. Verhoeff died on an expedition to Banda where he and several of his crew were ambushed and murdered by natives of Banda Island while negotiating with them for the Dutch East India Company (ARA 1.04.02 inv. 552-555, 560-563 In: van Veen-Klijn “A guide to the sources...” p. 120)

²⁴² (Doc. Mal. III p. 161 Doc. n°41)

²⁴³ (Doc. Mal. III p. 8*) e (Doc. Mal. III p. 176 Doc. n°48, nota 7)

²⁴⁴ (Doc. Mal. III p. 180 Doc. n°48A)

²⁴⁵ (ARA 1.04.02 inv. 552-555, 560-563 In: van Veen-Klijn “A guide to the sources...” p. 120)

²⁴⁶ (Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii)

this episode) a Spanish expedition was sent to rescue the King of Bachan. The expedition was commanded by the captain don Juan de Espinosa y Sayas, at the head of a boat was Juan de Azevedo and Juan de la Umbria also took part in it. The expedition consisted of the galley captain with 70 soldiers on board and 5 caracoas. After landing on the island, the Spaniards were ambushed by Dutch and Ternatese troops, but the reaction of the Spaniards managed to put the enemies to flight, who also suffered losses.²⁴⁷

THE SITUATION IN THE MOLUCCAS IN 1610

At the beginning of 1610, when Vergara leaves the post of governor of Ternate to Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca, the Dutch have the following fortifications in the Moluccas:²⁴⁸

Makian (Maquién): 3 forts

Bacan (Bachán): 1 fort

Moti (Motel): 1 fort

Ternate: 2 forts

Taliabu, Sula Islands (Taliavo): 1 fort. Here it seems from other sources that the Dutch did not have a fort at the time, but only a resident merchant.

According to a letter from Adriaan Corsz, dated 1610, about 450 Dutch soldiers were stationed in the garrisons of the forts on the islands of Ternate, Bachian, Makian and Moti.²⁴⁹ In this period the Dutch tried, with attacks on the Spanish bases in the Philippines, to cut off the supplies for the Moluccas so that the Spanish garrisons of Ternate would be forced to surrender by starvation.²⁵⁰

In November 1609 (they arrived in Oton on 27 October) the Dutch attempted an attack against Ilo Ilo on Oton Island with 5 boats. The sergeant major Fernando de Ayala (appointed captain and sergeant major of the Ternate camp) arrived to relieve the port²⁵¹, with a company of soldiers who were en route to Ternate. The Dutch withdrew to Cavite and then to Playa Honda in Frayle Harbor where they blockaded the harbor and captured all incoming vessels. In April 1610 the Spanish counterattacked, on the 24th the decisive battle took place in Playa Honda in which the Dutch were severely defeated. Among others in the naval engagement at Playa

²⁴⁷ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1630" Filipinas,48,N.41) (AGI: "Meritos, Juan de Acevedo 1625" Indiferente,111,N.56)

²⁴⁸ (Doc. Mal. III p. 176-177 Doc. n°48)

²⁴⁹ (Van de Wall p. 257)

²⁵⁰ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) p. lxxx)

²⁵¹ (See: AGI: "Meritos, Fernando de Ayala, 27-07-1643 Indiferente,112,N.47)

Honda, Dutch Vice Admiral François Wittert was killed.²⁵²

In April 1611 Vergara was back in Ternate as shown by the "certificacion" present in the "informaciones" of Fernando Centeno Maldonado, dated Ternate, 9 April 1611. He probably had arrived in Ternate with the expedition of Juan de Silva.²⁵³ Later he will go to Manila where he will uselessly ask for permission to be able to return to Spain. In 1611 he will present a petition in which he will ask for the granting of a "terçio" of Spanish infantry in the governments of Cartgena or La Hauana (Havana) and a habit of Santiago as well as an annuity for his services. The opinion of the audience of July 1611 is that he is granted by one of the things he asks for.²⁵⁴

Vergara will return to Ternate in 1617 again with the position of governor.²⁵⁵

²⁵² (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. lxxix-lxxx e lxxxiii-xciii AGI 67-6-20)

²⁵³ (AGI: "Informaciones Fernando Centeno Maldonado, 1615" Filipinas,60,N.18) Even his statement dated Terrenate, April 3, 1611 confirms this: "Confirmación de encomienda de San Salvador de Palo, etc.Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de San Salvador de Palo, Sampoetan y Ormoc en Leyte a Hernando del Castillo. Resuelto, [f] 1623-08-11" FILIPINAS,47,N.58 Bl. 2 f. 7-8

²⁵⁴ (AGI: "Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" Filipinas,60,N.12)

²⁵⁵ ("Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco, Terrenate, 31 maggio 1619" AGI Patronato, 47, R. 37) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. clxvii-clxviii, here are some excerpts from Vergara's letter)

CHAPTER FIVE: THE GOVERNMENT OF CRISTÓBAL DE AZCUETA MENCHACA (who performs the functions), February 1610-March 1612

THE ARRIVAL OF CRISTÓBAL DE AZCUETA MENCHACA IN TERNATE

The new governor of Ternate, the "mestre de campo" Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca, was appointed by the governor of the Philippines Don Juan de Silva.²⁵⁶ On February 4, 1610 we find Azcueta still in Arevalo about to leave for Ternate.²⁵⁷ He arrived in Ternate in February 1610 in command of a small squadron of boats. 4 Franciscan friars were also part of the expedition. Probably the captain and sergeant major Fernando de Ayala also arrived with Azcueta.²⁵⁸

When they arrived in sight of the island of Ternate, only 6 leagues from the port of Ternate, the Spanish boats sighted an imposing Dutch squadron. The Spanish ships fled and most of them managed the same night under cover of darkness to reach Ternate, but the Dutch managed to capture a galley and a champan with their crews. On this occasion the Dutch captured about 60-70 people among whom was an infantry captain, a "contador" of the royal company, an ensign and two religious.²⁵⁹ In this period, on 2 February 1610 to be precise, the Jesuit father Gabriel Rengifo da Cruz died in Ternate. He had arrived in Ternate in 1606 and had preached among other things in the Moro area on the island of Halmahera.²⁶⁰

One of Azcueta's first actions at Ternate was an attack on a Dutch vessel. On Azcueta's orders, the sergeant major Fernando de Ayala, who had recently arrived in Ternate with the new "socorro", attacked with the galley San Xpoual (San Cristobal, i.e. the "captain" galley), together with 50 soldiers and Captain Juan de Espinosa y Sayas, a Dutch Patak, the Masambique (Maçanbique), armed with 20 pieces of artillery and loaded with provisions, which was anchored in the port of Malayo, the Dutch vessel, after a hard battle lasting an hour, was burnt and sank, everything

²⁵⁶ (AGI "Meritos: Diego de Azcueta y Menchaca, 1632" Indiferente, 111, N.134)

²⁵⁷ See: ("Informaciones: Jerónimo Enriquez Sotelo. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Jerónimo Enriquez Sotelo, general. Información con parecer. [f] 1640" Filipinas, 61, N.20 bl. 1 f. 97-98)

²⁵⁸ (AGI: "Méritos y servicios Fernando de Ayala Filipinas, 23-07-1622" Patronato 53 R.25)

²⁵⁹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 180 Doc. n°48A, note 2) (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" pp. 689-690) (AGI "Meritos: Diego de Azcueta y Menchaca, 1632" Indiferente, 111, N.134) (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Pedro de Heredia, 20-07-1612" Filipinas, 20, R.6, N.50) (AGI: "Meritos Pedro de Heredia, 22-09-1628" Indiferente, 111, N.78)

²⁶⁰ (Doc. Mal. III p. 175 Doc. n°48, note 3)

happened within sight of the walls of the Dutch fort of Malayo, some Dutch prisoners were also taken in the battle.²⁶¹ Juan de la Umbria also took part in this assault and was seriously wounded in the right thigh.²⁶²

Azqueta, shortly after his arrival in Ternate, became aware of the chronic lack of men and equipment. So he sent Pero de Hermua to Manila to ask for urgent help. Hermua returned to Ternate on August 3, 1610 with a ship loaded with food and ammunition.²⁶³

THE LIBERATION OF VAN CAERDEN

Another of the acts that the "mestre de campo" Christobal de Axqueta did as soon as he arrived in Ternate was to negotiate the release of Admiral van Caerden with the Dutch. The Dutch admiral was freed on March 16, 1610, in exchange for some Spanish prisoners (mostly the crews of the two boats captured upon Azcueta's arrival in Ternate, and also the men captured in the Bachian fort) and a sum of money.

There are conflicting testimonies as to the number of prisoners released and the amount of ransom paid by the Dutch for van Caerden, but according to Don Juan de Silva and also according to Heredia's "Meritos", there were 50 Spanish soldiers and sailors and 30 Indians, "gastadores" and officers released in the exchange, as well as 6,000 pesos in cash.²⁶⁴ According to other sources such as the report of Father Gregorio Lopez, for the admiral's ransom, the Dutch paid 80,000 pesos as an advance in 1609, then at the time of the ransom they paid another 6,000 pesos in addition to the frigate and all its cargo, and also freed 52 Spaniards and 100 native allies of the Spaniards.²⁶⁵

In one of his reports dated June 1610, van Caerden judged invincible the

²⁶¹ (AGI: "Meritos, Fernando de Ayala, 27-07-1643 Indiferente,112,N.47) (AGI: "Méritos y servicios Fernando de Ayala Filipinas, 23-07-1622" Patronato 53 R.25) (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618" Filipinas,47,N.11)

²⁶² (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Marinduque, etc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1623" Filipinas,47,N.60) (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1630" Filipinas,48,N.41)

²⁶³ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619" Filipinas,47,N.28)

²⁶⁴ (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Silva sobre los holandeses y el Maluco. Cavite, 05-09-1610" Filipinas,20,R.4,N.38). (AGI: "Meritos Pedro de Heredia, 22-09-1628" Indiferente,111,N.78)

²⁶⁵ See "Extract from the Relation of events in the Filipinas during the years 1609 and 1610, by father Gregorio Lopez, 1 luglio 1610" In Blair vol. 17 p. 140) (According Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban the ransom amount was only 5,000 pesos. (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" p. 690 nota 1))

fortifications of the Spanish city. Therefore the works undertaken by the Spaniards must have already been well advanced. He also informs us of the construction of the fort of Don Jil, which he strangely calls Nouckenorre, it had three stone bastions and was located between Malayo and the Spanish city.

In the same letter he informs the administrators of the VOC of the scarce knowledge that the Dutch had of the island of Tidore, in particular they had no information of the defenses of the capital of the island, while they were informed of a Spanish fort in Marieco and of three small posts fortified in the island of Halmahera: Solo (=Tolo), Payjay and Taffongo. The Spanish forces amounted, according to the Dutch admiral, to about 500 Spanish soldiers in addition to many natives of the Philippines who worked on the construction of the fortifications. For the connections between their garrisons the Spaniards maintained 2 boats, a 18-bank galley and a galliot. ²⁶⁶

VAN CAERDEN'S NEW CATCH

On 15²⁶⁷ July 1610, as already mentioned above, the Dutch admiral van Caerden was again captured by the Spaniards near the island of Tidore, in fact a Spanish galley, the San Christobal (San Xpoual), led by Captain Pedro de Avellaneda²⁶⁸ and on which there were 50 Spaniards, he had, for three hours, a hard naval clash with the "patacco"²⁶⁹ of van Caerden who embarked besides him 25 Dutch. The battle ended with the Spanish victory and with the new capture of the admiral.

Some Spaniards were injured in the clash, including Pedro de Avellaneda himself, "cauo superior de las ysla y fuezas de Tidore", who died a few days later due to the wounds suffered during this clash. On August 23, 1610, Pedro de Hermua, who had just arrived from Manila, was appointed by Azcueta, in place of the deceased Pedro de Avellaneda, in charge of the island and the fortresses of Tidore and the garrisons of Payáy and Tafongo. ²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ (de Booy "De derde reis van de VOC naar Oost-Indië onder het beleid van admiraal Paulus van Caerden uitgezeild in 1606" vol. II p. 239 "Copie van het schrijven van Paulus van Caerden aan de bewindhebbers dd. 17 juni 1610")

²⁶⁷ (More likely on the 13th?, see van Veen-Klijn "A guide to the sources..." p. 117)

²⁶⁸ According to Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban he was the captain "de las fuerzas" of Tidore. (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" p. 690 nota 1)

²⁶⁹ The "patacco" of Caerden was called "Buena Esperanza" ie "Goede Hoop". (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" p. 690 nota 1) (AGI "Trasunto de la relación de los papeles que se hallaron en el navio que se tomó al el enemigo..." In: "Cartas del Virrey Luis de Velasco (el hijo) 1607-1611" Mexico 28, N2

²⁷⁰ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619" Filipinas,47,N.28) (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Silva sobre los holandeses y el Maluco. Cavite, 05-09-

Paulus van Caerden (Pablos Brancaerden in the Spanish), was in command of all Dutch troops present in the Moluccas and Banda Islands. After his new capture the Dutch position, according to the enthusiastic reports of the Spaniards, seems to be weakening, in fact the Spaniards say that only a "nauio" and a patacco remain with the Dutch in all their possessions, from Banda to the Moluccas. Furthermore, there was little hope that reinforcements could reach the Dutch in the following months.

According to some papers found after the capture of van Caerden, the income that the possession of the Moluccas gave to the Dutch amounted to more than 4 million pesos a year. Despite the new capture of the admiral and the Spanish hopes, the Dutch position is still very solid, mainly thanks to the alliance with Ternate where a younger son of the old Said Berkat had been installed as sultan.

The Spaniards, on the other hand, had no allies among the Ternatese. Their only and faithful ally was the king of Tidore, where, however, the majority of the population was hostile to the Spaniards. To try to undermine the compactness of Ternate, the governor of the Philippines Juan de Silva thought of bringing the old sultan Said Berkat back to Ternate, on the occasion of the great expedition that he was planning to make in Ternate. This was supposed to contribute, according to his plans, to dividing the Ternatese and making at least part of the population pass over to the Spanish side.²⁷¹

The captured Dutch "patacco" with van Caerden was sent, on July 30, 1610, to Manila where he arrived in August 1610. In Ternate, Juan de Azevedo, received the task of guarding the Dutch general van Caerden.²⁷² In April 1612 Caerden was still a prisoner of the Spanish in the fortress of Ternate.²⁷³ Paulus van Caerden (Blancardo for the Spanish), was later taken to Manila where he remained until his death.²⁷⁴ Van Caerden appears to have left Ternate for Manila on May 24, 1612.²⁷⁵ The Spanish demanded for Caerden's ransom 40,000 reals from eight.²⁷⁶

The confirmation that Caerden died in Manila comes from a document written in Manila on September 17, 1618, which mentions the 'general Pablo Brancaerden que

1610" Filipinas,20,R.4,N.38)

²⁷¹ (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Silva sobre los holandeses y el Maluco. Cavite, 05-09-1610"

Filipinas,20,R.4,N.38) (See: "Letter by Don Juan de Silva to king Felipe III, 9 september 1610" in Blair vol. 17 p. 145-149) (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" p. 690 nota 1)

²⁷² (AGI: "Meritos, Juan de Acevedo 1625" Indiferente,111,N.56)

²⁷³ (Doc. Mal. III pp. 212-213 Doc. n°59)

²⁷⁴ (Montero y Vidal p. 155)

²⁷⁵ ("Generale Missiven" vol. I pp. 8-15)

²⁷⁶ (See van Veen "A guide to the sources..." p. 117)

murio en esta ciudad'.²⁷⁷

THE FRANCISCANS IN THE MOLUCCAS

In 1610 the Franciscans moved their convent outside the city walls. In fact, thanks to the interest of the new "mestre de campo" of Ternate, Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca, who bought a house ("buenas de tabla") at his own expense with a piece of land that belonged to a Spaniard. The house was located outside the walls of the city of Ternate, and here the Franciscans moved their convent, named S. Antonio de Padua, and built their church on the plot of land. After these improvements, in addition to the church and convent, all of wood, the friars also had a large vegetable garden and continued to take care of the old hospital. The Franciscans present in Ternate this year were six: Br. Diego de Santa Maria (who took care of the hospital), Fr. Juan del Caño (appointed president of the convent), Br. Antonio de Santa Ana, Br. Sebastian de S. José, Br. Cristobal Gomez and Br. Alonso Guerrero.²⁷⁸

The Franciscan friar Sebastián de San José had been nominated, in 1609, provincial commissioner for the Moluccas. In June 1610, he visited the island of Macasar (Manados), where he made many conversions. On the beach at the mouth of the Rio Cauripa, Fr. Sebastian founded a small wooden chapel and died, in fact he was killed on June 18, 1610 during an attack by the natives. His traveling companion, the lay brother friar Antonio de Santa Ana, was captured by the same natives, deported to the island of Tagolanda and killed a few days later, on 28 (24 according to Trinidad) June 1610.²⁷⁹

THE JESUITS IN THE MOLUCCAS

In October 1610 a group of 5 Jesuits arrived from Malacca (João Baptista, Andrea Simi, Giambattista Scalamonti, Manuel Leitão and Jorge da Fonseca) destined for the

²⁷⁷ "Confirmación de encomienda de Albay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Albay y Canaman en Camarines y Catanduanes, a Gregorio de Vidaña. Resuelto, [f] 1620-10-21" FILIPINAS, 47, N.38 blocco 2 foglio 26

²⁷⁸ (See: "Entrada de la seraphica religion de nuestro P. S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas" pp. 45-46, manuscript of 1649, published in: Rentana, W. E. "Archivo del bibliófilo filipino" Tomo 1) ("Early Franciscan Missions" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 306) (Pérez p. 684 nota 1 e pp. 691-692)

²⁷⁹ ("Early Franciscan missions" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 pp. 291-292 note 75 e 76) (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" pp. 692-694 e pp. 204-209) (Trinidad "Conquista espiritual do Oriente" vol. III pp. 484-486)

mission of the Moluccas, they were led by Fr. João Baptista.²⁸⁰ Father Jorge da Fonseca was immediately assigned to the spiritual care of the Spanish garrison of Tidore.²⁸¹ He describes the island of Tidore in his letter of April 8, 1612: “que hé huma ilha quatro legoas de Ternate, de mouros amigos nossos, onde há alguns christãos da terra, portuguezes casados e hum presidio de soldados hespanhoes, que todo este tempo atrás avia estado sem padre por falta de sarcedotes”.²⁸² The Jesuit mission of Tidore remained without a father until the end of 1610, in the continuation of his letter Fonseca again describes Tidore, this time making mention of two Spanish garrisons present on the island (according to Jacobs' note [Doc. Mal. III p 224 note 45] the two garrisons were the old Portuguese fort, near Soasio and the fort of Marieko on the west coast).²⁸³

In Ternate, thanks also to the goodwill of the governor Cristobal de Azcueta Menchaca, the Jesuits founded the “confraria do Santissimo Sacramento”.²⁸⁴ The Jesuits took care not only of the conversion of the natives but also of the spiritual care of the crews of the galleys and of the soldiers in the garrisons, regularly visiting the Spanish garrisons. Captain D. Juan de Castro Verde y Ayala bears witness to this, informing us that when he was captain of a fort on the “frontera de Malayo” (most likely Don Jil or San Pedro y San Pablo) the fathers came to say Mass every public holiday. Captain D. Diego de Quiñones y Arguelles (captain of the forts of San Pedro y San Pablo in Ternate and then of the “fuerça” of Tomañira in Tidore) also tells us in one of his testimonies that the fathers often visited the garrisons and sometimes stopped even many days to confess and say Mass.²⁸⁵

THE SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS AT TERNATE AND TIDORE IN 1610

A Dutch report written in 1610 gives us a description of the Spanish-held fortifications on the islands of Ternate and Tidore: On the island of Ternate, the Spaniards are in possession of the great city of Gammelama, which is called Nuestra Signora del Rosario. Between this city and Malaya, there is another fort called “Pedro ende Paulo”. On Tidore there are three places, the first is a large city where the king of the island resides it has a fortification on a high hill, called Taroula, this fortification has 10 cannons and a garrison consisting of 50 Spaniards and 8-10

²⁸⁰ (Doc. Mal. III p.216 Doc. n°59) e (Doc. Mal. III p. 27*)

²⁸¹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 192 Doc. 53) e (Doc. Mal. III p. 24*)

²⁸² (Doc. Mal. III p. 217-218 Doc. n°59)

²⁸³ (Doc. Mal. III p. 224 Doc. n°59)

²⁸⁴ (Doc. Mal. III p. 219 Doc. n°59) This brotherhood was already present in Ternate at the time of the Portuguese (Doc. Mal. I p. 382 Doc. 116 nota 3)

²⁸⁵ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 569-571 note n°1)

Filipinos . The second place is the old Portuguese fort, which in 1605 was conquered by Cornelis Bastiaensz, but which was now in the possession of the Spanish, 2 cannons were mounted in the fort and the garrison consisted of 13 Spanish soldiers. The third place is the small town of Marieco, which is located opposite the town of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, some Tidorese live here and the Spanish have surrounded the place with two bastions, where 14 Spanish soldiers and two cannons are stationed.²⁸⁶

According to some documents it was during the government of Azcueta that the fort of Don Gil was built about halfway between Ternate and Malayo. But as we saw in the fourth chapter, the construction of the fort is due to Lucas Vergara. Azcueta probably finished it. The fortress guarded the path and pass that connected the two enemy positions. Near the city of Ternate, Azcueta built the fort of S. Pablo on a hill (“padrastro”) which dominates it. Then he built the wall around the city of lime and stone, fortifying several bastions among which one called San Juan, which controlled the beach on one side and the hill on the other. Among his works is also the restoration of the hospital of the Franciscans.²⁸⁷

In 1611, Juan de Azevedo, had the task of commander of the troops of the king of Tidore, always in the same year he received the task of controlling the mouth of an enemy port so that no aid would reach the enemies during this assignment he fought with two boats from Ternate managing to capture one and run the other aground.²⁸⁸

THE EXPEDITION OF JUAN DE SILVA

The governor of the Philippines Don Juan de Silva had been preparing a large expedition for some time to eliminate the Dutch presence in the seas of Southeast Asia once and for all. For this purpose he had thought of building three large boats in the Philippines specially equipped for shipping to the Moluccas. The viceroy of Portuguese India, Ruy Lorenzo de Tavora, guaranteed his support for the planned expedition and offered the participation of 7 large galleons which had been sent, via Malacca, to Macao under the command of Don Diego de Vasconcellos. The commander of the galleon squadron Don Diego de Vasconcellos also wrote from Malacca to de Silva expressing his willingness to participate in the expedition,²⁸⁹ this

²⁸⁶ (Voyage of Admiral Pieter W. Verhoeven, written in 1610 p. 112)

²⁸⁷ (Gregorio de S. Esteban “Historia de las Malucas” p. 50 this passage is reported in: Perez “Malucas y Celebes” p. 214)

²⁸⁸ (AGI: “Meritos, Juan de Acevedo, 1625” Indiferente,111,N.56)

²⁸⁹ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III p. 301 nota n°1) (AGI: “Carta de Juan de Silva sobre los holandeses y el Maluco. Cavite, 05-09-1610” Filipinas,20,R.4,N.38)

offer from the Portuguese side rendered useless the construction of the three large boats designed by de Silva which then remained only in the projects.

Having received news that the Portuguese galleons promised by the Viceroy were anchored in the port of Macao, Don Juan de Silva sent a delegation to Macao (commanded by Juan Juarez Gallinato) to invite the flotilla commander, Don Diego de Vasconcellos, to join him and thus carry out the orders given by the viceroy. Gallinato set sail from Cavite in September 1610, reached Macao and had several meetings with Vasconcellos which the bishop of Macao also attended.

Vasconcellos initially showed himself willing to participate in the enterprise, but then when Gallinato proposed the immediate need to leave for the expedition, Vasconcellos, in defiance of the orders received from the Viceroy, despite repeated appeals from the Spaniards, and against the advice of the admiral of his fleet and of the soldiers embarked, he refused to take part in the expedition, preferring to use his army for personal gain by trading between Goa and Macao. De Silva had provided Gallinato with money to be able to ensure sufficient food for the Portuguese army and Gallinato also had *carte blanche* to use de Silva's personal money to soften the reluctant Portuguese commander. De Silva, who had also received a favorable report from the governor of the Moluccas, Azcueta, on the lack of consistency of the Dutch forces present in the islands, also sent this report to Macao hoping thus to move the Portuguese commander, but even this last attempt did not had the desired effects.²⁹⁰

De Silva's plans were to leave for Ternate, by the end of November 1610, once the Portuguese galleons had arrived, in order to reach Ternate at the beginning of January 1611 and therefore be able to close the matter with the Dutch by the beginning of May in order to anticipate a possible arrival of reinforcements for the Dutch troops. In addition to the galleons he hoped would arrive from Macao, he had in Manila, as "capitana" and "almiranta" 2 large ships captured from the Dutch, and then the ship "Espiritu Santo" and the ship "San Andres", as well as two "pataccos" and three galleys. A last project of de Silva was to bring the sultan of Ternate Said Berkat with him in the expedition together with a large part of his retinue, the governor's intentions were to bring the majority of the population of Ternate to the Spanish side, and once eliminated the Dutch leave the old sultan on the throne as a vassal of the king of Spain.

In 1611, D. Juan de Silva, having received the news of Vasconcellos' refusal,

²⁹⁰ For the entire course of the negotiations with Vasconcellos, see the testimonies reported in: (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 297-309 nota n°1) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. clviii-clxiii AGI 67-6-29) (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Silva sobre los holandeses y el Maluco. Cavite, 05-09-1610" Filipinas,20,R.4,N.38)

nevertheless decided to leave, trying to take advantage of the moment of relative weakness of the Dutch forces. De Silva's motivations are clearly indicated in one of his letters, in which he explains how this is the propitious year, even if by waiting a year the Spaniards could probably have had more forces for the expedition, but surely in the meantime the Dutch would have fortified themselves more.²⁹¹

THE OLD SULTAN OF TERNATE PARTICIPATES IN THE EXPEDITION

Also taking part in the Spanish expedition were the old sultan of Ternate, Said Berkat, held until then in exile in Manila, his son, Prince Sulampe together with the principal cachiles who were held with him in exile in Manila. The hope of the Spanish governor was to be able to balance the excessive Dutch power with the return of the old sultan, who had promised to help the Spanish and with his presence to bring the majority of the inhabitants of Ternate to the Spanish side. Taking part in the expedition were 2 large boats captured the year before from the Dutch, another ship (called Espiritu Santo), 3 old boats (San Elifonso, Santiago and San Pedro y San Pablo) and 2 galleys with about 2,000 soldiers on board and sailors.²⁹² With the position of admiral Pedro de Heredia also returned to Ternate with this expedition, he was appointed by Juan de Silva sergeant major of the garrisons of the Moluccas.²⁹³

Despite the unfavorable opinion of most of the Real Audiencia of Manila²⁹⁴, the governor wanted to captain the expedition himself. His direct participation was repeatedly requested expressly by the Sultan of Ternate, who said that without de Silva's presence he could not keep his promise. This seems to have been the main reason de Silva took a direct part in the expedition.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ (AGI: "Carta de Juan de Silva sobre los holandeses y el Maluco. Cavite, 05-09-1610" Filipinas,20,R.4,N.38)

²⁹² (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 299 nota n°1) There were instead 6 ships, 3 triremes, "celoces fere decem" and many sampams on these ships were embarked about 2,000 Spanish and Filipino soldiers, according to (Doc. Mal. III p. 194 Doc. n°54). According to Father Francisco Colin, the expedition included 6 ships, 2 galleys, 8 frigates and many other small boats on board which were over 2,000 Spaniards and Indians, with them, in addition to other religious, also the Jesuit Father Angelo Harmano (Armano), a native of Lucca in Tuscany. (Colin "Labor Evangelica" vol III pp. 262-263, 277-278)

²⁹³ (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Pedro de Heredia, 20-07-1612" Filipinas,20,R.6,N.50)

²⁹⁴ Those in favor of the expedition were only three or four "corregidores" all the others advised the governor, given the weakness of the army, not to expose himself directly, but to send soldiers and ammunition in large numbers to Azcueta so that in case of failure the Spaniards did not lose their reputation with the natives. (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 263 nota n°1)

²⁹⁵ This also according to the opinion of Cristobal de Sequeira: "...entiende este testigo por cierto

The expedition was a failure for the Spanish. The attempt to install the old sultan on the throne of Ternate soon foundered due to the aversion of the population, as a counter move the Dutch had installed on the throne of the sultanate, as early as 1610, another son of the old sultan, Modafar.²⁹⁶

However, the failure of the expedition is largely due to de Silva's renunciation, it seems that at the crucial moment, upon his arrival in Ternate, he stalled seeking agreements with the Ternatese, instead of immediately attacking the Dutch fortress of Malayo, which was in bad shape and with few men to defend it. Estaban de Alcazar was sent to Malayo and was commissioned by de Silva to deliver a letter (where the ransom of prisoners captured by the Spaniards in Manila was dealt with) to the Dutch in the fort of Malayo so as to have the opportunity to see and study from nearby the defenses set up in the fort by the Dutch.²⁹⁷

His indecision allowed the Dutch and their allies to improve the defenses of the fort and to receive soldiers and aid from the Dutch garrison of the fort "Jacome" on the island of Makian.²⁹⁸ When he decided to attack the fort, he judged it too well defended and did not dare to attack it. Instead, it was decided to send a caracoa of the King of Tidore to Ambon to observe the movements of the Dutch, and when the governor learned that 5 Dutch galleons were present in Ambon, he inexplicably ordered the ships that had accompanied him to return to Manila.²⁹⁹ The governor remained in Ternate with all the infantry troops, the "San Buenaventura" patrol and the two galleys.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SPANISH FORT AT TOLOCO

As the only activity of some weight, the place of Toloco was occupied, near Malayo, and the Spaniards built a fort of "faxina".³⁰⁰ According to Azcueta's testimony it

que si no fuera por la promessa que el rrey de Terrenate hizo a Su Señoria no fuera a el Maluco..." (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 301 nota n°1) Anche Juan Ronquillo da lo stesso parere (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 302 nota n°1)

²⁹⁶ (Doc. Mal. III p. 197 Doc. n°55)

²⁹⁷ (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57).

²⁹⁸ The soldiers sent from Makian were led by the same commander of the fortress "Jacome" of Makian, the captain "Escoto".

²⁹⁹ Even in his statement, Admiral Rodrigo de Guillestigui, increases the dose by saying that the departure of the ships was so hasty that they did not even finish unloading the goods and food they were carrying for the garrisons of the Moluccas. (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 263 nota n°1; AGI Filipinas: 67-6-20)

³⁰⁰ (AGI: "Informaciones Fernando Centeno Maldonado, 1615" Filipinas,60,N.18, foglio C36 (anche

seems that an attempt was made by occupying Toloco and building a fort there: “auiendo acordado el Señor D. Juan de Silva tomar y fortificar al puesto de Toloco serca de Malayo”), in 1611, the governor of the Philippines D. Juan de Silva, decided to occupy and fortify the post of Toloco near Malayo (“serca de Malayo”), for this he ordered that three companies were to occupy the place. At the head of the three companies was appointed Fernando Centeno Maldonado who with his company and together with those commanded by Andres Hinete and Pedro Çapata began to fortify the post “acudio ala fortificacion del por cauo de tres compañías de infanteria españolas”.

However, it seems that the Spanish did not complete the work and the occupation of the fort, but this attempt still served as an alarm bell for the Dutch who built the fort of Toloco a few months later. This testimony shifts the construction, or occupation, by the Dutch of the fort of Toloco, which is generally dated 1610, by one year.³⁰¹

Another interesting reference to the construction of a Spanish fort in Toloco is made in another Spanish document, the "Meritos" of Fernando de Ayala, where it is mentioned that this captain and sergeant major on the occasion of Juan de Silva's expedition to Ternate built the fort of San Juan de Toloco: “con mucho trauaxo y rriesgo hiço el fuerte de San Juan de Toloco”.³⁰²

A more detailed testimony of the effective construction of a fort, by the Spaniards, in Toloco is given to us in Fernando de Ayala's "Meritos y servicios", here in fact it is clearly indicated that Fernando de Ayala on the orders of the governor Don Juan de Silva built the fort called San Juan de Toloco in the vicinity of Malayo: “Por horden del diho Cap.n Gen.l (don Juan de Silva) paso de otra vanda de Malayo (que ?) llaman Toloco muy cerca dellas fuerças del enemigo que es a tiro de cañon y fabrico un fuerte de faxina con grandisimo trabajo e riesgo para tener mas oprimido y sitiado al diho enemigo” “hizo un fuerte llamado de San Juan de Toloco çerca del de Malayo” “por mandado del diho Gouer.or. (don Juan de Silva) hizo un fuerte llamado San Joan de Toloco que está a tiro de cañon della fuerça de Malayo”.

Don Fernando Centeno Maldonado, in his testimony specifies that the expedition led by Ayala was made up of 5 companies and he took part in the expedition himself. From Toloco then sailed the expedition of de Silva directed to Halmahera and with

foglio A 32)(AGI: “Meritos, Fernando de Ayala, 27-07-1643 Indiferente,112,N.47) (AGI: “Méritos y servicios Fernando de Ayala Filipinas, 23-07-1622” Patronato 53 R.25) (AGI: “Meritos Pedro de Heredia, 22-09-1628” Indiferente,111,N.78)

³⁰¹ (AGI: “Informaciones Fernando Centeno Maldonado, 1615” Filipinas,60,N.18, foglio C36 (anche foglio A 32)

³⁰² (AGI: “Meritos, Fernando de Ayala, 27-07-1643 Indiferente,112,N.47)

which the forts of Jailolo and Sabugo were captured.³⁰³

Another testimony in the "Meritos" of Pedro de Heredia, even if Toloco is not explicitly mentioned, most likely refers to this episode. Indeed here is cited an act performed by Heredia during Juan de Silva's expedition of 1611, on de Silva's orders, he landed at the head of 400 men a quarter of a league from the Dutch fort "tomo puerto e se fortifico alli".³⁰⁴ The Spanish probably abandoned the fort shortly after its construction, almost certainly as early as de Silva's departure for Halmahera.

THE ATTACK ON JAILOLO AND SABUGO

De Silva then decided to attack two secondary objectives such as the forts of Jailolo and Sabugo on the western coast of Halmahera.³⁰⁵ The two villages were conquered by Spanish troops. But in these battles the Spaniards apparently lost 300 men.³⁰⁶ The death toll that the Spaniards paid in the conquest of Sabugo was particularly heavy. The village of Jilolo, on the other hand, appears to have fallen under Spanish control almost without a fight after an agreement with the local population³⁰⁷, decisive, in this negotiation, seems to have been the presence of the prince of Ternate accompanied by Esteban de Alcazar "y fue a Gilolo con el Principe de Terrenate al trato que con el se tuuo, y por su medio se entregô".³⁰⁸

In the expedition that led to the conquest of Sabugo, 10 captains with their companies took part together with the "mestre de campo" Azcueta, who attacked the stronghold by land. Among these was also Captain Pedro de Hermua who distinguished himself, after observing the fortifications, at the head of a platoon of 50 "picas" with which he attacked and crossed the river which served as a moat. Thanks also to this action, the enemies were then forced to surrender, among the prisoners there were also some Dutch soldiers, Hermua was wounded in the thigh by a musket shot in the clash. After this episode Hermua returned to govern the Spanish forts of the island of Tidore.³⁰⁹

Another captain, Juan de Espinosa y Sayas, also distinguished himself in the assault on Sabugo. Sayas was entrusted with all the troops equipped with muskets and 25 pikes made up of reformed captains and ensigns with whom Governor Azcueta had

³⁰³ (AGI: "Méritos y servicios Fernando de Ayala Filipinas, 23-07-1622" Patronato 53 R.25)

³⁰⁴ (AGI: "Meritos Pedro de Heredia, 22-09-1628" Indiferente,111,N.78)

³⁰⁵ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 263 nota n°1)

³⁰⁶ (Montero y Vidal p. 159)

³⁰⁷ (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57)

³⁰⁸ (AGI: "Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19" Indiferente,161,N.81)

³⁰⁹ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619" Filipinas,47,N.28)

also arrived, who gave orders to Sayas to recognize and attack a "fuerte dificultoso" that they had found during the march towards Sabugo. Sayas succeeded well in his task, the Spaniards thanks to his action managed to cross a river that stood between them and Sabugo, and fighting they advanced up to the Dutch fort, conquering it together with the village of Sabugo.³¹⁰ Juan de Azevedo also participated in the conquest of Sabugo as a captain in command of 40 "picas".³¹¹

After the conquest of Sabugo, Azcueta appointed, on April 9, 1611, Juan de Espinosa y Zayas "cauo superior" of the "fuerza de Sabugo y su districto", his task was to fortify the village and establish good relations with the local population that he wanted to submit to the Spaniards.³¹² To garrison Sabugo and to proceed expeditiously with the improvement of its fortifications, three companies of Spanish infantry and two companies of Pampanga infantry were left under the command of Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. In addition to reinforcing the existing fortifications, the Spaniards built a new fort in Sabugo located at the "boca del rio".³¹³

THE RESULTS OF DE SILVA'S EXPEDITION

These were the only two successes of D. Juan de Silva's expedition which had aroused great hopes among the Spaniards present in Ternate.³¹⁴ The expedition, which had set itself the goal of eliminating the Dutch presence in the spice islands, ended in a colossal fiasco that cost the state's meager coffers over 200,000 pesos.³¹⁵

From a practical point of view, however, the conquest of the two strongholds was of great importance, because the possession of Sabugo and Jilolo ensured the Spaniards an important source of food for the garrisons and at the same time deprived the Dutch of this source of food.

Without a doubt, the non-arrival of the 7 galleons promised by the viceroy was the main cause of the failure of de Silva's expedition. Most likely de Silva began the adventure disheartened by the defection of the Portuguese galleons. Another reason was that the governor trusted the promises too much ("que nunca complio lo que

³¹⁰ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618" Filipinas,47,N.11)

³¹¹ (AGI: "Meritos, Juan de Acevedo, 1625" Indiferente,111,N.56)

³¹² ("Carta di Azcueta, Sabugo, 9 aprile 1611" in AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618" Filipinas,47,N.11)

³¹³ ("Carta di Fernando de Ayala, Terrenate, 1 maggio 1613" in AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618" Filipinas,47,N.11)

³¹⁴ (Doc. Mal. III p. 197-198 Doc. n°55)

³¹⁵ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 262-263 nota n°1)

prometio”³¹⁶) in the promises of the sultan of Ternate to bring the great majority of the local population to the Spanish side with his arrival, it seems in fact that the sultan played a double game and instead of favoring an agreement has stalled. Another cause was the reluctance to quick action shown by de Silva at the crucial moment of arrival, when the Malayo Dutch were not yet prepared for a siege. The whole thing seems to have been aggravated by the poor health of the governor.³¹⁷ All these causes led to the failure of the entire expedition.

Juan de Silva's expedition lasted only 4 months. Juan de Silva had probably arrived in Ternate in February 1611³¹⁸ and left again in May 1611.³¹⁹

THE DUTCH FLEET OF PIETER BOTH

A few months after the governor's departure for Manila, at the end of September 1611, a fleet of Dutch ships³²⁰ arrived in the waters of the Moluccas, it was the fleet of Pieter Both. These boats headed for the island of Halmahera where they tried to bring the inhabitants of Jailolo (Tyrol) and Sabugo to their side. The population of Jailolo (Geillollo) remained faithful to the Spanish, but that of Sabugo agreed with the Dutch and rebelled, but despite this, the Spanish did not abandon the “posto e forte de Sabugo”.³²¹ Sabugo, was important because sago was produced there, “que es el pan de aquella tierra”³²², very important food for the sustenance of the garrisons of Tidore and Ternate and of the local population.

The Dutch of this fleet, with the help of the inhabitants of Ternate, besieged the Spanish fort of Jailolo, which was commanded by Fernando Centeno Maldonado, but the prompt intervention of the Spanish rescue forces, a galley and some "caracoas", led by Fernando de Ayala with his company and that of Pedro Çapata (Zapata), managed, after a hard battle against the enemy "caracoas", to rout the Dutch and to bring reinforcements and ammunition to the fort.

³¹⁶ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 299-300 nota n°1 “Traslado de una informacion hecha por orden del Gobernador de Filipinas Don Juan de Silva..., 26-07-1611” AGI 67-6-29)

³¹⁷ (“Informaciones Juan de Silva, 1613” AGI:Filipinas,60,N.16”)

³¹⁸ (There is an order signed by him dated Terrenate, February 17, 1611 “Confirmación de encomienda de Masbate. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de la isla de Masbate en Ibalon (Albay) a Fernando [Hernando] Suárez. Resuelto, [f] 1623-11-22” FILIPINAS,47,N.65 blocco 2 foglio 11)

³¹⁹ (“Informaciones Juan de Silva, 1613” AGI:Filipinas,60,N.16”)

³²⁰ (5 ships according to G. de Silva (“Lettera di D. Gerónimo de Silva al re Felipe III, Ternate, 13 aprile 1612” In: Correspondencia p. 7))

³²¹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 213 Doc. n°59)

³²² (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III p. 264 nota n°1; AGI Filipinas: 67-6-37)

The Spanish troops then moved to the fort of Sabugo, which was commanded by don Juan de Espinosa y Sayas, and which was also under close siege by a fleet composed of two Dutch ships and many Ternatese "caracoas". Here, due to the tight siege, the Spaniards, with their boats, could not bring help to the besieged garrison, so the commander of the expedition Fernando de Ayala landed the troops at Jailolo and by land they reached Sabugo where they managed to bring the help of men and munitions, these two actions forced the Dutch to lift the siege on the two forts. The population of Sabugo later submitted again to the Spanish.³²³

In September 1611, the Dutch captured the only galley the Spanish had in Ternate, this loss was a serious blow to the Spanish.³²⁴ The galley was probably lost during the clashes that took place in Jilolo or Sabugo in September or October 1611, in fact Geronimo de Silva also indicates that in April 1612 the Dutch had captured the Spanish galley since more than 6 months.³²⁵

A TRADE FACTORY FOR THE SPICE TRADE

Pedro de Baeza, in November 1611, was appointed by the king, factor of Ternate, he had the task of developing the production of cloves and of administering the royal properties of Ternate. According to the King, the main purpose of this farm was to make the Philippines and the Moluccas financially independent, thus avoiding money remittances from New Spain to put the island's budgets back on track.³²⁶

³²³ (AGI: "Méritos y servicios Fernando de Ayala Filipinas, 23-07-1622" Patronato 53 R.25) ("Carta de Fernando de Ayala, Terrenate, 1 May 1613" in AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618" Filipinas,47,N.11)

³²⁴ ("Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to Don Juan de Silva, Ternate, 2 May 1612" In: Correspondencia pp. 17-18) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) p. clxix "Letter by Geronimo de Silva to Don Juan Ruiz Contreras, Terrenate 8-04-1612" AGI 1-2-1/14, r. 31)

³²⁵ (AGI: "Carta de Jerónimo de Silva a Juan Ruiz de Contreras. Terrenate, 8-04-1612" Patronato,47,R.35)

³²⁶ (AGI "Real Provisión a Pedro de Baeza, dándole título de factor de Terrenate, 12-11-1611" INDIFERENTE,449,L.A2,F.204v-206) (AGI "Orden de dar instrucciones al factor de Terrenate. Real Cédula a Juan de Silva, gobernador de Filipinas, avisándole de que se ha nombrado a Pedro de Baeza como factor de la real Hacienda de Terrenate y encargándole que le dé las instrucciones convenientes para el ejercicio de su cargo, 05-11-1611" Filipinas, S,329,L.2,F.128r-128v) (Lettera del Re Felipe III a de Silva, 12 novembre 1611; in Blair vol. 17 p. 176) (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 309 note n°1)

THE RIVALRY BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

In the years 1610-1611 there were several discussions in Spain as to which of the two crowns of Portugal and Spain should have rights to the Maluku Islands. The Portuguese demanded the return of the islands due to their past rule, while the Spanish argued that it was better to leave them under Spanish control because it was easier to send troops and supplies from the Philippines than from Malacca and Goa. However, the islands remained under Spanish control. As far as the trade in cloves was concerned, the Council of the Indies expressed the opinion that it should be managed by the Portuguese, because it was more economically convenient to sell the cloves in the Indies of Portugal, however to carry out the negotiation of the cloves had to be Spanish royal officers.³²⁷

Notes on Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca:

Azcueta served in the Philippine Islands and the Moluccas for 36 years, from 1575 until 1612, the year of his death during a shipwreck between Manila and Macao, when he was on his way to India where he had to negotiate with the viceroy the preparation of a joint expedition against the Dutch.

During his services in the Philippines he was appointed ensign, alcaide, galley captain, ship captain, army admiral, infantry captain, regidor of the city of Manila, sergeant major; he then participated in the great expedition of 1606 which led to the conquest of Ternate with the rank of senior sergeant and admiral of the Moluccan Army.

*He was familiar with things in Ternate as he had already been there twice before this expedition. During the attack on the fortress (1606) he was among the first to land, he was also responsible for the rapid ground movements of the Spanish troops, which in less than an hour after the landing were within sight of the enemy walls. He helped the advance troops to take possession of an eminence facing the Cachiltulo Bulwark, and was among those who attacked and captured the same Bulwark. In 1610 he was appointed governor of Ternate where he remained until 1612.*³²⁸

In the report on the merits of Diego de Azcueta y Menchaca, son of Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca, it is indicated that his father was appointed general of the

³²⁷ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. Cxvi-cxxxii)

³²⁸ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 319-320 note n°1) (AGI "Meritos: Diego de Azcueta y Menchaca, 1632" Indiferente, 111, N.134) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. clxxv-clxxvii)

*Ternate galleys and for a second time "mestre de campo" of the "gente de guerra della".*³²⁹

³²⁹ (AGI "Meritos: Diego de Azcueta y Menchaca, 1632" Indiferente, 111, N.134)

CHAPTER SIX: THE GOVERNMENT OF D. JERÓNIMO DE SILVA, March 1612-April 1617

THE ARRIVAL OF D. JERÓNIMO DE SILVA IN TERNATE

In the first months of 1612 several ships arrived in Ternate to reinforce the Spanish garrisons in the Moluccas. These boats were part of the fleet of the new governor of the Moluccas, D. Jerónimo de Silva. Da Silva arrived in Manila in June 1611 with the post of Governor of the Moluccas.

The vanguard of this fleet were the "patache" S. Buenaventura and the ship Santa Ana (almiranta) with Captain Rodrigo de Guillestigui and the Franciscans Br. Gregorio de S. Esteban and Br. Juan Montero on board. The two ships sailed from the Philippines and in the port of Otong two frigates and three large rushes (champanes) joined the expedition, the expedition then stopped in the port of the "caldera" in the island of Mindanao and for about two days in the island of Siao.

Here the ship "Almiranta" lost contact with the rest of the fleet and alone managed to reach Tidore, despite the presence of some Dutch ships. The ship managed to reach the port safely, thanks also to the help of 5 or 6 "caracolas" of the king of Tidore and the castellan of Tidore, Jerónimo (Gregorio) de Vidaña. It is almost certainly the rescue of this boat, called "Santana" (=Sant Ana) that is attributed to Esteban de Alcazar together with the Prince of Tidore.³³⁰

Three more vessels from the fleet arrived a few days later, but one of the three was sunk for fear that the Dutch would capture it. However, the Dutch captured the sailors of this vessel and also two of the "champanes" from Cebu.³³¹

The Dutch continued to have almost complete control of the sea, and the Spanish cried a miracle when the Spanish ship "almiranta" arrived safely in Tidore loaded with "mantimentos" and money for the soldiers' pay.³³² Juan Gutierrez Paramo also took part in this rescue as an infantry captain of the relief troops.³³³

³³⁰ (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57)

³³¹ (Pérez p. 218 e "Letter of D. Gerónimo de Silva to the king, Ternate" In: Correspondencia p. 109)

³³² (Pérez p. 217-218) (Doc. Mal. III p. 214 Doc. n°59)

³³³ (See his statement in: AGI "Informaciones Fernando Centeno Maldonado, 1615"

Filipinas,60,N.18)(AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Filipinas. Juan Gutierrez Paramo. 10-03-1625" Filipinas,48,N.1)

The patacco on which D. Jerónimo de Silva, the new governor, had embarked, set sail from Manila a few days after the departure of the ship “almiranta”. De Silva was on board the "capitana" ship on which were also two other Franciscan friars (one of them was the provincial commissioner and personal confessor of Jeronimo de Silva, Father Pedro de los Combos). The journey to the port of the Caldera was covered in just nine days, here the expedition stopped for three days. The subsequent journey, due to the calm wind, was instead covered in 19 days, and at dawn on 17 March 1612 (i.e. 4 days after the arrival of the ship "Almiranta"), the ship arrived in sight of Ternate.

However, here the problems began for the governor, in fact there were three Dutch ships at the mouth of the port. For fear of the Dutch ships, the governor attempted to disembark with the lifeboat together with the two Franciscan religious, some rowers (“seis hombres que remasen”) and with money (it seems 13,000 or 16,000 pesos) for the garrisons, but the attempt was not initially successful, in fact the currents pushed the small boat away from the coast of Ternate, in the direction of the island of Makian.

Only in the evening (at 9 pm) of the following day, March 18, 1612, and after running serious risks, the governor managed to set foot on the island of Ternate, did he land near the fort of Nuestra de Señora.³³⁴ According to the testimony of Captain Gregorio de Vidaña, the small boat on which de Silva had taken refuge managed to reach Ternate thanks to Azcueta's prompt dispatch of a galliot. Despite this help, the new governor reached Ternate 20 hours after the arrival of his "capitana" ship.³³⁵

On March 18, the "patache" S. Buenaventura and the frigate on which Juan Mexia was embarked also arrived. These ships were anchored outside the port due to the shallowness of the port itself.

A NAVAL BATTLE

On March 19, the Dutch, commanded by Captain "Escoto", with a galley (which was the one previously captured, in September 1611, from the Spanish) and 5 boats, attempted to capture the frigate in the port of Ternate, but they committed a serious mistake, in fact they got too close to the bulwarks of the Spanish city and were hit by Spanish artillery fire. The first damage was done by the artillery positioned in fort San Lorenzo, then it was the turn of that of fort San Felipe and finally that of the fort

³³⁴ (Doc. Mal. III p. 201 Doc. n°56, nota 4) e (Doc. Mal. III p. 214 Doc. n°59) (Correspondencia pp. 15-17) e (Pérez p. 218)

³³⁵ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 265-266 nota n°3)

Nuestra Señora³³⁶.

In an attempt to get away from artillery fire, the Dutch galley approached the Spanish frigate anchored outside the port. This allowed the Spanish soldiers defending the frigate to storm the galley, also aided by some soldiers who had embarked on the boats managed to capture the Dutch galley. The battle ended after more than two hours with an important Spanish victory, the losses among the Dutch were serious, many dead (more than fifty) and 43 prisoners, among the Spanish there were 5 dead and some wounded.

This victory, in which the sergeant major Esteban de Alcazar also played an important role, served to raise the Spanish prestige in the islands, the king of Tidore and his son visited the new governor in the castle of Ternate to congratulate him on the victory. The galley captured from the Dutch, however, proved useless due to the damage it had suffered.³³⁷

THE DUTCH MAINTAIN NAVAL CONTROL

The arrival of the new governor and of the other boats, in addition to the victory and the capture of the galley, brought some relief to the Spanish population of the city and to the various garrisons, in fact for about six months, that is, from when the Spanish galley had been captured by the Dutch, the Dutch and Ternatese had established a sort of naval blockade on the city of Rosario, preventing the arrival of goods and supplies from the other islands.

The joy for the victory did not last long, in fact the day after the Dutch sank the frigate San Nicolas which was carrying rice for the garrisons, with it 50 Spaniards were captured and the commander of the ship Juan García.³³⁸

According to the new governor himself, upon his arrival, the Dutch had 9 "naos grandes de armada" in Ternate as well as many small local boats, thanks to this naval superiority the Dutch managed to capture more than half of the relief that arrived

³³⁶ This description is interesting because it allows us to know the names of the bastions of the city of Ternate which faced the sea.

³³⁷ (Doc. Mal. III p. 216 Doc. n°59) (Pérez p. 218-219) (Correspondencia pp. 18-20 e p. 119) (AGI: "Carta de Jerónimo de Silva a Juan Ruiz de Contreras. Terrenate, 8-04-1612" Patronato,47,R.35) (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57) (AGI: "Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19" Indiferente,161,N.81)

³³⁸ ("Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to Don Juan de Silva, Ternate, 2 May 1612" In: Correspondencia p. 21)

with Gerónimo de Silva from the Philippines, this was also attributed by the new governor to the fact that the Spanish ships arrived in Ternate in a scattered and unarmed way, confident in the peace stipulated in Europe.³³⁹

As for the religious. In April 1612, three fathers and a brother were present in the Jesuit residence of Ternate.³⁴⁰ While the Franciscan friar Xpoval (Cristóbal) de la Copcecion (de la Concepción) was in Tidore in 1612.³⁴¹

THE CHRISTIAN INDIGENOUS THE “MERDICAS”

As Governor Gerónimo de Silva tells us, all the natives of the island of Ternate are allies of the Dutch, the Spaniards have with them a few Christian natives, called "merdicas" or free people, who took refuge in Ternate coming mainly from nearby islands, who fled with the Spanish as the Dutch occupied their islands. Of these natives de Silva highlights the high prolificacy: “mas estos serán poderosos, si hay paces, á poblar estos dos lugares, porque multiplican mucho.”³⁴²

Gregorio de Vidaña informs us of the governor's misconduct also towards the indigenous Christian population, loyal to the Spaniards, they were considerably penalized by de Silva's decision to prevent them from selling captured slaves to the enemy, this decision is also penalizing against the Spaniards because it is the cause of a notable decrease in the number of raids (usually 2 or 3 per week) made by the "merdicas" against the Dutch fortress in search of slaves, moreover these raids, in addition to damaging the Dutch economically, allowed the Spaniards to know through the testimonies of prisoners the situation in the enemy fortress.³⁴³

The part of Ternate in Spanish hands is practically unproductive, only small gardens in the vicinity of the city are maintained for their livelihood by some indigenous families.

THE PRODUCTION OF THE CLOVE AND THE SPANISH

³³⁹ (“Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to the king Felipe III, Ternate, 13 April 1612” In: Correspondencia p. 8)

³⁴⁰ (Doc. Mal. III p. 218 Doc. n°59)

³⁴¹ (AGI: “Carta del rey de Tidore al Rey de España, 20-04-1612” Patronato,47,R.36)

³⁴² (“Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to the king Felipe III, Ternate, 13 April 1612” In: Correspondencia p. 6)

³⁴³ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 266 nota n°3)

The production of cloves from Ternate is zero (“...porque de esta isla no se coge hasta agora ninguno”), only from the island of Tidore the Spaniards get a certain amount (“...y Tidore da un año con otro cuatrocientos bases” i.e. 2,400 quintals) of cloves, compared to a total production in the Moluccas Islands, estimated by de Silva at 9,000 quintals “mil y quinientos bases de clavo que son nueve mil quintales”.

According to de Silva, another flaw of the Spanish government is the marketing of cloves. This quantity, albeit minimal, could, if traded, as the Dutch do, through a farm controlled by the King, yield 30,000 ducats if traded in India, while even more if traded directly in Europe, while with the current system often controlled by private individuals, no income came to the Spanish crown. If the Spaniards could have entirely in their hands the clove production of these islands which is about 1,500 "bases de clavo" or nine thousand quintals a year, they could obtain 150,000 ducats a year if sold directly on the European market..³⁴⁴

For the supply of food, the Spaniards of Ternate depend a lot on the aid that sporadically arrives from the Philippines, something also arrives from nearby islands such as Tidore (“Tidore....el sustento de las viandas de pescado y gallinas, y otras vituallas que de allá se traen”), Halmahera (“Sabugo....Es rio e lugar de mucha sagú, bastimento que sirve de pan á los naturales y extranjeros y al enemigo, y á V.M. muy importante para el sustento de la gente que tiene estas islas....”) and Celebes.³⁴⁵

In May 1612, the Spanish captured the Dutch ship "Gouda", in this clash, in which Estaban de Alcazar also took part, Juan de la Umbria was wounded by an arquebus shot in the right knee.³⁴⁶ He probably refers to this episode even if the document mentions the year 1613: In 1613 Juan de Azevedo, as head of the "patrona" galley, fought with a Dutch boat and managed to capture it.³⁴⁷

It seems that the Dutch admiral van Caerden left Ternate for Manila on May 24, 1612. The Dutch tried to negotiate with the Spaniards the exchange of some prisoners, in Dutch hands there are 25 Spaniards, 5 or 6 Portuguese, 20 Filipinos and many Christian Chinese. The Dutch complained that among their troops there are many Catholic soldiers who refuse to fight against the Spanish. Some Dutch reports

³⁴⁴ (“Letter from D. Gerónimo de Silva to King Felipe III, Ternate, April 13, 1612” In: Correspondencia p. 13))

³⁴⁵ (“Letter from D. Gerónimo de Silva to King Felipe III, Ternate, April 13, 1612” In: Correspondencia pp. 6-8)

³⁴⁶ (AGI: “Confirmación de encomienda de Marinduque, etc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1623” Filipinas,47,N.60) (AGI: “Confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1630” Filipinas,48,N.41) (AGI: “Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19” Indiferente,161,N.81)

³⁴⁷ (AGI: “Meritos, Juan de Acevedo 1625” Indiferente,111,N.56)

also describe signs of discontent on the part of the Tidorese towards the Spanish.³⁴⁸

In 1612, Fernando de Ayala was sent to Manila to inform the governor don Juan de Silva of the state of the “presidios” of the Moluccas. Shortly thereafter he successfully led the new relief for Ternate bringing ammunition and new soldiers to the garrisons.³⁴⁹ Governor Geronimo de Silva appointed, probably in 1612 (in any case after the March 1612 date of arrival of Geronimo de Silva and before the date of this letter, May 1, 1613) Juan de Espinosa y Zayas, head of the garrisons of Tidore, Payaje, Marieco, and of the Portuguese fort.³⁵⁰ In July 1612, the ensign Juan Centeno was head of the garrison of Maxico el Grande.³⁵¹

THE SITUATION IN THE MOLUCCAS IN 1613

At the beginning of 1613, the situation of the forces in the Moluccas is as follows: The Spaniards in the island of Ternate are in possession of the city of Gammalamma or Ciudad de Nuestra Señora del Rosario as it is called by them. This is the main Spanish base in the islands, the city is surrounded by stone walls and bulwarks, guarded by a garrison of 200 Spanish soldiers and 90 pampangos, and with 33 iron cannons. Thirty Portuguese families, 60 or 80 Chinese merchant families and 50 or 60 local Christian families live in the Spanish city.

Also in Ternate the Spanish have another fort called San Pedro y Pablo, it is located a league from the Spanish city of Ternate on a hill on the road that leads to the Dutch fort of Malayo, its position controls the passage of boats between Ternate and Tidore. The artillery of this fort consists of six cannons, while the garrison includes 27 Spaniards, 20 Pampangos and a few other Filipinos.

On the island of Tidore, which is entirely in their possession, the Spaniards have three fortresses, the most important being the fortress of Taroula, it is situated on a hill in the great city where the king of Tidore resides. This fort is equipped with 10 large iron cannons, and a garrison of 50 Spanish soldiers and 8 or 10 pampangos. The second fort in Spanish hands is the old castle of the Portuguese which is armed with 2 cannons and has a garrison of 13 Spaniards and several natives. The third fort is

³⁴⁸ (“Generale Missiven” vol. I pp. 8-15)

³⁴⁹ (AGI: “Meritos, Fernando de Ayala, 27-07-1643 Indiferente,112,N.47) (AGI: “Méritos y servicios Fernando de Ayala Filipinas, 23-07-1622” Patronato 53 R.25)

³⁵⁰ (“Paper by Fernando de Ayala, Terrenate, 1 May 1613” in AGI: “Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618” Filipinas,47,N.11)

³⁵¹ (“Lettera of the ensign Juan Centeno a D. Gerónimo de Silva, Maxico, 20 July 1612” In: Correspondencia p. 34).

called Marieco, it is located in front of the city of Gammalamma, it is also armed with two cannons and has 14 Spaniards and some pampangos as a garrison.

On the island of Gilolo (Halmahera), the Spaniards have forts at Sabougo, Gilolo and Aquilamo. In all these forts the Spanish have small garrisons. On the island of Moro³⁵² there are Spanish garrisons in the forts of Jolo (perhaps Tolo ?), Isiau and Joffougho.

This is the situation of the Spanish garrisons, now we see the Dutch forts: On the island of Ternate they have three forts, the most important is the fort called Malayo or Orange, where the king of Ternate lives; half a league N. of Malayo, on a hillock is the fort of Toluco or Hollandia; finally the third fort called Tacomma or Willemstad, is located in the northwestern part of the island and was built by Admiral Simon Jansz Hoen. Two more Dutch forts (de Silva gives us more plausibly three places fortified by the Dutch, a fourth being "tan fuerte de suyo" does not need to have defenses and garrison) are found on the island of Maquian: Taffalo and Tabillola. This island is the most populous and the most clove-rich of all the Moluccas and is controlled entirely by the Dutch. Finally on the island of Bachian the Dutch have the fort of Gammedource. On the island of Motiel, which is largely depopulated as the inhabitants fled to Tidore, the Dutch maintain a fort.³⁵³

With the Real Cedula of January 8, 1613, the King communicated to Don Juan de Silva his intention to send by the Cape of Good Hope a rescue for the Moluccas made up of 6 caravels with 400 Portuguese soldiers divided into three companies, at the command of the expedition as captain general was Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyra. The King's idea was to send them by February of the same year so that they would arrive in Manila between the end of July and the beginning of August 1613.³⁵⁴

On January 1, 1613, a small Spanish expedition, consisting of a galliot and 2 praos, attacked the Dutch fort of Tacome, in the short skirmish 4 enemies died and 5 were taken prisoner.³⁵⁵

On the orders of Geronimo de Silva, Esteban de Alcazar was sent (probably in 1613, because mention is made of 14 Dutch ships and 70 caracoras from Ternate that

³⁵² Moro was not a real island, but with this name the northern area of the island of Halmahera and the entire island of Morotai was indicated.

³⁵³ (Appendix B "Early years of the Dutch in the East Indies" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 15 p. 324-326) e anche ("Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to the King Felipe III, Ternate, 13 aprile 1612" In: Correspondencia pp. 6-7)

³⁵⁴ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" Tomo VI (1608-1618) p. cccxxvii, AGI 105-2-1, lib. 2, f. 151 v.)

³⁵⁵ (Pérez pp. 220-221)

attacked Tidore, but thanks to his advice the Dutch were unable to do any damage) to Tidore to arrange the island's defenses against the Dutch and to advise the king and prince.³⁵⁶ In fact Juan de Azevedo, perhaps in 1613, was appointed head of the Spanish fortresses of Tidore and two other fortified garrisons, during this assignment he rescued a Spanish boat, loaded with foodstuffs, which had been attacked by enemies, managing to save it.³⁵⁷

THE DUTCH ATTACK ON MARIECO

At the end of January 1613, a new Dutch fleet arrived in the waters of the Moluccas, it consisted of 5 vessels and was commanded by Adriaan Blocq Martensz. One of the ships of this fleet, on its way, also visited the island of Makian.

Five Dutch ships, carrying more than 800 European and native men, attacked a small fortified post, called Marieco, on the island of Tidore, which was defended by only 12 Spanish soldiers and one insign. According to Gerónimo de Silva, the Dutch attack on Marieco took place on 9 February 1613 “á el cuarto del alba” the Dutch shelled the fort so intensely “de suerte que despues de haberlo disparado mas de 160 balas” that they leveled all the embankments and part of the wall, the Spanish fought to the death and in the battle practically all of the small Spanish garrison of the fort was killed, only the gunner was taken prisoner and taken to the fortress of Malayo.

The Dutch, who according to the testimony of Gerónimo de Silva, had attacked the small fort with over 500 Dutch soldiers and many from Ternate, lost 6 soldiers in the battle, a ship captain and the lieutenant of the Malayo fort as well as 12 wounded. In this episode de Silva's letters highlight the cowardice of the natives, in fact they all fled and only one of them fought until his death, a letter from de Silva also brings us the name of this brave: Rubaongue.³⁵⁸

Some Dutch sources place this attack on February 8, 1613. On this day Pieter Both's Dutch armada, reinforced by Blocq's ships, attacked the small Spanish fort of Marisco (Marieko) on the island of Tidore, located on the arm of the sea in front of the Spanish fortress of Ternate. The fort was bombarded by the Dutch with 5 ships, the village was burned in the attack and 12 Spaniards and 12 Pampangos were killed,

³⁵⁶ (AGI: “Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615” Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57) (AGI: “Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19” Indiferente,161,N.81)

³⁵⁷ (AGI: “Meritos, Juan de Acevedo 1625” Indiferente,111,N.56)

³⁵⁸ (“Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to the king of Tidore, Ternate, 14 February 1613” e “Lettera di D. Gerónimo de Silva a Don Juan de Silva, Ternate, 1613” In: In: Correspondencia p. 88, 98)

the attack lasted three hours.³⁵⁹ After this victory Both rebuilt the fort of Marieko and then proceeded to the Banda Islands.

Shortly after the Dutch conquest of Marieco, an English ship arrived in the waters of the Moluccas in April 1613. The vessel commanded by John Saris came within sight of Tidore and the Spanish fort, located on the eastern side of the island,³⁶⁰ cannon shots were fired at the English ship. Then the Spaniards, by order of the captain of Tidore Don Fernando de Becerra, sent a boat with a flag of truce. In the conversation between the Spanish and the English, the Spanish explained why they had welcomed them with cannon shots, in fact the Dutch had often displayed British banners on their ships to confuse the Spanish. The British in their report also make a description of the Spanish fort, it is on the east side of Tidore where it is a stretch of deep sea close to the shore. For the night the English ship was anchored on the advice of Francisco Gomez, pilot major of the galleys, a league and a half from the fort. But on waking up in the morning the British realize they are under fire from a battery of 8 cannons.³⁶¹ The British then decided to move a league further south. The Spanish trade a certain amount of cloves with the English. The British also mention the new Dutch fort of Marieco where two newly arrived Dutch boats are anchored.³⁶²

In their report, the British tell of an ambush made by the prince of Tidore on the son of the sultan of Ternate. The Sultan's son had been sent to Machian by the Dutch to prevent the islanders from trading cloves with the English ship. But on the way back the Ternatese had been surprised by the Prince of Tidore who with his troops had overwhelmed the Ternatese killing a hundred including the sultan's son, Key Chilly Sadang, who was the brother of the wife of the Prince of Tidore. Together with the prince of Ternate, one of his younger brothers and the king of Gilolo were also killed.³⁶³ After a couple of days in Tidore, the British set sail again to continue towards Japan. The English report also mentions the production of cloves in the Moluccas. The British indicate the quantity of cloves produced in Ternate as 1,000 bahar, while the island of Machian produces 1,090, Tidore 900, Bachian 300, Motir 600, Mare 50, Battachina (Halmahera) 35. In total, 3,975 bahar of cloves are produced in the Moluccas every year, equal to 1,175 tons. Furthermore, every three

³⁵⁹ (Wessels "De katholieke missie in de Molukken.." pp. 50-51) (Pérez pp. 221-222)

³⁶⁰ The fort of the city of Tidore: Santiago de los Caballeros.

³⁶¹ In all probability this battery is the fort of the Portuguese.

³⁶² (A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. VIII" SECTION XV. "Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in_ 1611, _by Captain John Saris" "The Voyage of Captain Saris, in the Clove, towards Japan, with Observations respecting the Dutch and Spaniards at the Molucca Islands")

³⁶³ (A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. IX" SECTION XV. "Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in_ 1611, _by Captain John Saris" "Farther Observations respecting the Moluccas, and the Completion of the Voyage to Japan")

years there is a much more fruitful year than the previous two, this year is called the great one monsoon.³⁶⁴

In their brief stop, however, the British note the destruction that has been caused in these islands by the civil wars between the kings of Ternate and Tidore. The civil wars have so devastated the population of these islands, that large quantities of cloves remain abandoned on the plants without being harvested due to lack of people to collect them.³⁶⁵

The English report also indicates which forts are in Dutch hands in the islands. On the island of Ternate the Dutch have a fort called: Malayou, which has three bulwarks or bastions, another Dutch fort is called Tolouco, and has two bastions and a round tower, another fort in the island of Ternate is that of Tacome, with four bastions. On the island of Tidore the Dutch have a fort called Marieka, with four bastions. On Machian, in Tufasoa, the capital of the island, there is a fort with four large bastions with sixteen cannon pieces. The island is inhabited by about 1,000 natives. At Nofakia, another Machian town, the Dutch have two forts or redoubts and a third fort atop a high hill with five or six guns, commanding the road on the other side. Similarly at Tabalola, another Machian town, they have two forts with eight guns. The natives of all these places are under their command. The inhabitants of Nofakia are not considered good soldiers, and it is said that they usually always side with the strongest. But the inhabitants of Tabalola, who formerly resided at Cayoa, are considered the best soldiers of the Moluccas. In these fortified Machian stations, the Dutch had 120 European soldiers, of which eighty were at Tafasoa, thirty at Nofakia and ten at Tabalola. Machian Island is the richest in cloves of all the Maluku Islands. This island alone produces 1,800 bahar during the great monsoon. The Dutch have a large fort on Bachian Island and four redoubts on Motir Island.³⁶⁶

A NEW DUTCH ATTACK ON TIDORE

Pieter Both was back in Ternate waters again in July 1613, and with a fleet of 13 ships and in command of 700-800 soldiers, including 50 Japanese mercenaries hired by

³⁶⁴ (A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. IX" SECTION XV. "Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in_ 1611, _by Captain John Saris" "Farther Observations respecting the Moluccas, and the Completion of the Voyage to Japan")

³⁶⁵ (A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. IX" SECTION XV. "Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in_ 1611, _by Captain John Saris" "Farther Observations respecting the Moluccas, and the Completion of the Voyage to Japan")

³⁶⁶ (A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. IX" SECTION XV. "Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in_ 1611, _by Captain John Saris" "Farther Observations respecting the Moluccas, and the Completion of the Voyage to Japan")

Hendrick Brouwer. In agreement with the inhabitants of Ternate, who contributed a fleet of 40 "caracoas" and about 2,000 men, it was again decided to attack the Spanish at Tidore. Tomás Maldonado, a Spaniard who had fled from the fort of Malayo, had warned de Silva of the imminent attack that the Dutch wanted to carry out on the city of Tidore. On July 7, at 5 pm, 13 Dutch ships sailed from Malayo to Tidore, one vessel guarding the fort of Marieco el Grande. The others brought themselves within sight of the great city of the king. The main objective was now the large city of Tahula, but due to the lack of a suitable place where to anchor the fleet, it was decided to attack first the old Portuguese fort, located about ½ hour from the city and in front of which the anchorage closest to the city was located.

THE ATTACK ON THE PORTUGUESE FORT

On the evening of July 8³⁶⁷ 1613, 12 Dutch ships moored in front of the old Portuguese fort, the Spanish garrison, which on the same day had been reinforced by 40 soldiers, opened fire and bombarded the enemy boats incessantly in order to force them to abandon their anchorage but the Dutch held firm, the next day (July 9, 1613) early in the morning 8 companies of soldiers were landed who immediately assaulted the fort, after 1 hour and a half of continuous assaults, the Dutch troops managed to enter the fort, the Spaniards fought fiercely to the death, despite this fierce resistance of the Spanish the fort was conquered by the Dutch, the losses for the Spanish were very serious, in fact, 63 (50 according to Spanish sources) of their best soldiers were killed in this battle "me mató en el fuerte de los portugueses la gente ... que era de la mejor y mas briosa que abia en estas islas"³⁶⁸ of which 46 are Spaniards and the remaining mestiços and papangers. On the Dutch side the dead were 8 (Coen more precisely speaks of 9 Dutch, 2 Japanese and 1 Indian) as well as 12-14 wounded.

THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST DE SILVA

As we will see later, de Silva was accused by many for his conduct during his

³⁶⁷ According to Pérez, the attack began on July 7, 1613, the fort attacked was the one called "de los portugueses", which was bombarded for 4 hours by 6 ships, at the end of these bombardments the fort was completely destroyed and 50 Spanish soldiers died in the battle. The next day, 8 July 1613, two Dutch ships and some "caracoas" headed towards Sakanosa (Sakanora), the Dutch immediately conquered a hill overlooking the Spanish fort, the Spanish, however, reacted promptly and headed by the ensign Pedro de la Fuente managed to dislodge the Dutch and to put them to rout with heavy losses. The following day the Dutch again attempted to take the fort, but again they were repulsed. (Pérez p. 222)

³⁶⁸ ("Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to Don Juan de Silva, Ternate, 18 July 1613" In: Correspondencia p. 148)

government in Ternate. In defense of the accusations against him, de Silva tells us about the behavior of Don Fernando de Becerra, who commanded the Spanish forces on the island of Tidore at the time of the Dutch attack on the old Portuguese fort. He had been instructed to reinforce the defenses of the old fort and to disturb the Dutch if they attempted to land, but he did not respect the orders received, on the contrary he dispersed his troops and at the crucial moment of the Dutch landing he retired to the fortress to change his clothes ("... á mudar una camisa..."), so that the enemy troops did not find obstacles during the landing and were able to attack and occupy the fort, de Silva then increases the dose by saying that it is known that Don Fernando did not know which way the enemy had landed.³⁶⁹

In an interesting letter written by the King of Tidore on July 9, 1613,³⁷⁰ he presents to Gerónimo de Silva all his concern for the desperate situation of the Spanish and Tidorese troops in Tidore also due to the shortage of food and supplies, the king requests the immediate sending of other Spanish reinforcement troops, he comes to envisage also the abandonment of the island and the withdrawal to Ternate "ó send aquí mas españoles, ó que nos vamos todos á Terrenate". The king was also concerned about the danger that the Dutch would carry out a naval blockade by placing ships in the Socanora area in order to prevent the arrival of relief from Ternate. The king is very harsh towards Gerónimo de Silva who is accused of being partly responsible for the death of the defenders of the fort de los Portugueses because he had not allowed its dismantling.

Da Silva, on the other hand, defends his orders to maintain and fortify the Portuguese fort. Unfortunately, however, all his efforts were not enough. He also complains about the attitude of the Tidorese who, according to him, have not done everything in their power to help the Spanish.³⁷¹

According to Captain Gregorio de Vidaña, an important cause that led to the loss of the fort by the Portuguese was the fact that they did not have a captain of proven experience, either in the fort or in the city of Tidore ("lugar grande del Rey di Tidore"), as it had always been the custom in the past. In fact, to better look after his own interests, de Silva had put the ensign Don Fernando de Becerra in charge of the defenses of the city, an inexperienced man who was only useful for taking care of de Silva's affairs. Three of the most experienced Spanish captains present had even been imprisoned by de Silva, due to disagreements with the governor, the three were Diego

³⁶⁹ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 318 nota n°1)

³⁷⁰ ("Letter by the king of Tidore to D. Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 9 July 1613" In: publicada nella "Correspondencia" p. 138)

³⁷¹ ("Letter from D. Gerónimo de Silva to the governor of the Philippines, Ternate, January 20, 1614" In: Correspondencia pp. 184-191)

de Quiñones, Juan de Acebedo (Azevedo) and Gregorio de Vidaña himself.³⁷² The king also demands that de Silva order Captain Don Juan (de Zayas, captain of Tomanira) to retreat with his men to the king's city. Even the Tidorese "de los pueblos chicos" are ordered to retreat to the king's city..

THE DUTCH ATTACK ON THE TOWN OF TIDORE

On the wave of enthusiasm for this victory, the Dutch therefore decided to also attack the new fort of Tahula, (located on a hill in the southern part of the capital), but here the Dutch had problems and could not land due to the strong currents, which swept the ships further south in front of the fortified village ("fuertecillo") of Sokanora, located about ½ mile (or half a league) south of the city, in an attempt to break through to the city, the 11 July 1613, Sokanora was attacked twice (three times according to Spanish sources) by Dutch and Ternatese, but the resistance of the Spanish and the inexperience of the Dutch troops and commanders was such that the attackers had to retreat with heavy losses (15-16 Dutch and 25 from Ternate killed as well as many wounded).

On 12 July (Geronimo de Silva in his "Correspondencia" speaks of 13 July 1613) another attack, this time directly against the city was attempted by Dutch troops, 2 companies of soldiers were sent. But the Dutch troops now demoralized by the two defeats suffered at Socanora, fled at the sight of a squad of 36 (or 30) Tidorese leaving 11 (other sources 10-13) Dutch dead on the field, the losses among the Tidorese were only 4 people. Following this new defeat the Dutch decided to desist in their intent and withdrew.³⁷³ In the following weeks the Dutch dismantled and abandoned the old fort of the Portuguese, a letter from Geronimo de Silva of November 17, 1613 informs us of this.³⁷⁴

The miracle of St. Francis Xavier described by Father Colin in his book "Labor Evangelica" is most likely to be located in this period (between 1613 and 1614 and probably concerns the episode of the Dutch assault on Sokanora). Witness of the miraculous event is a Spanish soldier, who was in charge of a small "furtecillo" fort

³⁷² (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 266-267 note n°3 "Declaración jurada del capitán Gregorio de Vidaña, 4-08-1618")

³⁷³ ("De eerste landvoogd Pieter Both, 1568-1615" In: "Verhaal Both" vol. II, pp. 349-352 e "Brief 15" vol. II, pp. 284-286) (Correspondencia pp. 138-179) (Jan Pietersz. Coen pp.16-21) (Wessels "De katholieke missie in de Molukken.." pp. 50-51) (Pérez pp. 221-222)

³⁷⁴ ("Letter from D. Gerónimo de Silva to the King of Tidore, Ternate, November 17, 1613" In: Correspondencia pp. 178-179)

with a garrison of 14 Spanish soldiers, who learned that the Dutch and Ternatense were preparing to attack it and being the small and indefensible fort of faced with so many enemies, he decided together with his soldiers to meet the enemy troops in the open, realizing the desperate situation they were in, the soldier placed himself in the hands of the Lord through St. Francis Xavier. The clash began and in the bloodiest moment of the battle, some Spanish soldiers noticed a Jesuit who was chasing the Dutch from the walls of the small fort, according to the witness it was St. Francis Xavier, thanks to this miraculous intervention, the enemy troops were forced to flee.³⁷⁵ A letter from Both, dated 1 January 1614, to the VOC council in Holland reports the sending of 5 paintings of the captured forts with the exception of the Portuguese fort of Tidore.³⁷⁶

SPANIARDS ABANDON THEIR FORTIFICATIONS AT HALMAHERA

At this point, in July 1613, the Spanish governor of Ternate, D. Jerónimo de Silva, made the decision to withdraw the Spanish garrisons from the Moro area (the fortresses of Tolo and Sabugo were dismantled), to concentrate all his forces on the defense of Ternate and Tidore.³⁷⁷ The effective abandonment of San Juan de Tolo is completed in August 1613.³⁷⁸

In one of his letters de Silva indicates the decision to abandon Sabugo as a decision taken in agreement with the captains and the religious. It was decided to dismantle Sabugo because it was the one that cost the most and gave the least fruit and due to the lack of time all the artillery was abandoned.³⁷⁹

The abandonment of the two fortresses of Sabugo (“dos fuerças que su magestad tenia en el Rio de Sabugo una en la boca del y otra arriba en el puerto”) and the garrison of San Juan de Tolo caused serious damage to the reputation of the Spaniards in the islands. With Sabugo, an important center for the supply of food for the garrisons was lost, moreover, due to the hasty abandonment of the forts, all the artillery, ammunition and food was abandoned “... que se auian metido para un año”. According to Don Fernando de Becerra, it would have been possible to transfer most of the artillery and supplies to the nearby fortress of Jailolo in a short time. Furthermore, according to the opinion of Captain Gregorio de Vidaña, in order to be able to control Sabugo and its vital trade, it could have been enough to have kept the

³⁷⁵ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III p. 569)

³⁷⁶ (“Generale Missiven” vol. I p. 26)

³⁷⁷ (Doc.Mal. III p. 16*)(Wessels “De katholieke missie in de Molukken..” p. 51)

³⁷⁸ (Doc.Mal. III p. 255 Doc. n° 66 & p. 297 Doc. n° 78)

³⁷⁹ (“Letter from D. Gerónimo de Silva to the governor of the Philippines, Ternate, January 20, 1614” In: Correspondencia pp. 184-191)

only fort at the mouth of the river occupied.

As regards the importance of San Juan de Tolo, it must be said that with this garrison the Spaniards controlled the whole province of Moro, which included the north coast of the island of Halmahera and the entire island of Morotai, the area, where missionaries had worked since the time of the Portuguese, was rich in Christians (Vidaña estimates their number at 3,000, while Francisco Ribera y Aragon tells us that there are almost 2,000) and their abandonment was a serious setback for the Spaniards. all the more considering the fact that only 20 Spanish soldiers were enough to garrison it. The abandonment of such a large number of Christians caused little trust in the other natives towards the promises of the Spaniards and certainly did not favor other conversions.³⁸⁰ When they left Tolo, the Jesuits transferred 16 boys, sons of the leaders of the area, to Ternate to educate them in the Catholic faith. For this purpose, they lodged them in their house where they opened a small seminary..³⁸¹

The effective abandonment of San Juan de Tolo was completed in August 1613. The ensign Francisco Ribera y Aragón, who governed the forces of Tolo and Morotay twice and for a total period of over three years, with a letter written by him from San Juan de Tolo on August 1, 1613 proves without a shadow of a doubt that up to that date Tolo was still occupied by the Spaniards.³⁸²

THE “SOCORROS” OF 1613 , 1614 AND 1615

On October 7, 1613, a relief expedition left the Philippines for the Moluccas, it was made up of 2 galleys and 5 frigates and was commanded by Don Fernando de Ayala, one of the 2 galleys was headed by Pedro Tellez de Almazan (he had been appointed head of the Ternate galleys).³⁸³ However, some vessels and a galley were shipwrecked in Calabite, on the coast of the island of Mindoro, the shipwrecked were all killed by the natives. None of the boats sent with this expedition managed to reach Ternate.³⁸⁴

Due to the non-arrival of the October “socorro”, a new fleet was sent in late

³⁸⁰ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 266-267 nota n°3; p. 315 note n°1; p. 571 nota n°1) (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 266 note n°3 “Declaración jurada del capitan Gregorio de Vidaña, 4-08-1618”)

³⁸¹ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III p. 570 note n°1)

³⁸² (Doc.Mal. III p. 255 Doc. n° 66 & p.297 Doc. n° 78) (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III p. 569 nota n°1; pp. 571-572 note n°1)

³⁸³ (AGI: “Informaciones, Pedro Téllez de Almazán, 1620” Mexico,235,N.6)

³⁸⁴ (Aduarte, Diego “Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. (“The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 30, pp. 144-145) (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 287-289 nota n°1)

November 1613 from Manila to Ternate, it arrived in January 1614. In command of the fleet was Sergeant Major Zapata. Among the boats that arrived in Ternate were the Santa Margarita galley, a patacco and two small frigates. Friar Pedro de los Cobos must have also arrived with the "socorro" ships.³⁸⁵

On January 1, 1614, Pedro de Hermua was ordered to leave the command of the fort of San Pedro y San Pablo, to replace him Geronimo de Silva sent the sergeant major Juan Gutierrez Paramo. Hermua is ordered to report to de Silva for orders, leaving his company in the fort.³⁸⁶ The orders to which de Silva refers are revealed in another letter sent to Fernando Centeno Maldonado in which he relieves Maldonado of his post as head of Jilolo and in his place is appointed "cauo superior en la dha fuerza de Xilolo y Cufaza (Bufaza?)" Pedro de Hermua.³⁸⁷

In May 1614, a new "socorro" was sent to Ternate, at first Don Fernando Centeno had been designated under his command, but then Captain Don Pedro Tellez was preferred. The boats did not reach Ternate because they met a Dutch fleet thirty leagues from Ternate and were forced to take refuge in the port of the Caldera. From this port one of the galleys was sent to Manila, where it arrived in July 1614, to inform the governor of the failure of the expedition. Pedro Tellez also informed de Silva that the Dutch controlled, with their fleet, every passage to Ternate making it impossible for Spanish boats to pass, however he would have done the impossible to be able to reach Ternate. And it seems that he managed to reach Ternate.³⁸⁸ Governor of the Philippines, Juan de Silva, despairs of being able to send new relief before the end of September 1614.³⁸⁹

On August 19, 1614, Juan Gutierrez Paramo was sent to Manila by Geronimo de Silva to inform the governor of the state of the "presidios" of the Moluccas.³⁹⁰ The sergeant major Esteban de Alcazar³⁹¹ after being recalled, in 1614, from Ternate to

³⁸⁵ ("Letter from D. Gerónimo de Silva to the governor of the Philippines, Ternate, January 20, 1614" In: Correspondencia pp. 184-191)

³⁸⁶ (Letter of Geronimo de Silva Ternate, January 1, 1614 in: AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619" Filipinas,47,N.28)

³⁸⁷ (Charter of Geronimo de Silva Ternate, January 5, 1614 in: AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619" Filipinas,47,N.28)

³⁸⁸ Vedi (AGI: "Informaciones, Pedro Téllez de Almazán, 1620" Mexico,235,N.6)

³⁸⁹ (AGI: "Carta de Silva sobre mala situación en Terrenate. Manila, 19-07-1614" Filipinas,7,R.4,N.51) (AGI: "Informaciones, Pedro Téllez de Almazán, 1620" Mexico,235,N.6)

³⁹⁰ ("Letter by D. Gerónimo de Silva to the Archbishop of Manila, Ternate, September 15, 1614" In: Correspondencia p. 251)(AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Filipinas. Juan Gutierrez Paramo. 10-03-1625" Filipinas,48,N.1)

³⁹¹ Esteban de Alcázar had arrived in Ternate with the expedition of Don Juan de Silva in 1611 and for the following three years he had remained in the Moluccas, so he was a good connoisseur of

give an account to the governor of the situation in the Moluccas islands, was commissioned to command the new rescue expedition set up in September 1614, the new fleet was composed of 2 galleys, 3 patacos and 1 frigate (Nuestra Señora de los Remedios)³⁹² two ships took part in the expedition, a "hurca", a frigate and two galleys³⁹³ they were "quatro nabios dos galeras" on which three companies of Spanish infantry were embarked.

The expedition set sail in October 1614 (according to the instructions, the day of departure was to be October 4), reached Cebu, where Father Colin tells us of a curious episode: Here lacking a chaplain for the army and having asked the rector of the college that answered negatively, the commander of the expedition Esteban de Alcazar, practically "kidnapped" Father Pedro Martinez, who had boarded a galley to confess the soldiers, suddenly setting sail the boat with the Jesuit on board.³⁹⁴

The journey took place without incident, and despite the danger posed by the Dutch ships (there are talks of 10 Dutch galleons chasing the Spanish rescue), all the boats arrived safely in Ternate after only 14 days of navigation. The orders were to leave the two galleys in Ternate and to immediately send the other rescue ships back to the Philippines. Father Martinez arrived in Ternate had the pleasure of confessing many Indians of the Bisayas islands whose language he knew, he returned to Cebu with the same boats in March 1615 after a return journey of 64 days, in all his journey lasted 5 months.³⁹⁵ The good success of this expedition was important for the Spaniards also by virtue of the fact that the previous "socorros" had been completely lost or had reached Ternate only minimally.³⁹⁶

To indicate the importance that the Spaniards gave to Tidore is also the fact that on the precise order of Juan de Silva also the governor of Ternate, Gerónimo de Silva, in the last months of 1614 moved to Tidore, he will reside on the island, in the new fortress built by the Spanish, for long periods in the years 1615 and 1616.³⁹⁷ In the

the situation of the islands.

³⁹² (Segundo: (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57)

³⁹³ (Segundo: (AGI: "Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19" Indiferente,161,N.81)

³⁹⁴ (AGI: "Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19" Indiferente,161,N.81)

³⁹⁵ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 289-290 nota n°1 e pp. 328-329) (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57) (AGI: "Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19" Indiferente,161,N.81)

³⁹⁶ (AGI: "Meritos Esteban de Alcázar, 1623-07-19" Indiferente,161,N.81)

³⁹⁷ The orders for Geronimo de Silva were clear, he was to move to Tidore with as many soldiers as possible, while still leaving a good garrison in Ternate. "Tanto de carta quel señor don Juan de Silva escribió á el señor don Geronimo de Silva en 20 de setiembre de 1614" In: AA. VV.

"Correspondencia" of Geronimo de Silva, the letters written from Tidore are dated: 5 May 1612, 12 December 1614, 12 May 1615, 13 July 1615, 19 August 1615, 8 March 1616, 1 April 1616, 17 April 1616, 17 June 1616, 25 June 1616, 8 August 1616, 20 August 1616 and 12 March 1617.

In 1614 the viceroy of Portuguese India responded to Juan de Silva's urgent requests for a Portuguese army to be sent to the Moluccas to aid the troops the governor of the Philippines was preparing to fight the Dutch. The viceroy points out that the request for help came too late to be able to send the relief army during this year, but promises that with the new year he will certainly do so.³⁹⁸

On 15 February 1615, 8 Portuguese "galeotas" arrived in Ternate commanded by Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa (Ruy González de Sequeira??). The day these galliots arrived, Ternate was besieged by 11 Dutch ships, despite this the Portuguese managed to arrive safely and safe in the port of Ternate. The arrival of the Portuguese galliots forced the Dutch to abandon the siege.³⁹⁹ De Silva gives us different information with respect to this rescue, in fact he tells us that the Portuguese arrived on February 16th and there were not 8 of them but only 4 "galeotas".⁴⁰⁰ In another letter he instead indicates the date of February 17th. The galliots had 150 Portuguese foot soldiers on board.⁴⁰¹

In April 1615, on the orders of Geronimo de Silva, Maldonado was in Jilolo, where Pedro de Hermua was chief, who was given orders to surrender his company to Maldonado and the license to go to Manila. Captain Francisco de Bera remained in Jilolo as head of the garrison. Hermua is licensed to go to Manila. When Maldonado returned from Manila as sergeant major and commanding a company of arquebusiers, the company was that of Pedro de Hermua, so Hermua's rule at Jilolo ended about April/May 1615.⁴⁰² Confirming this is the letter of Geronimo de Silva dated April 12, 1615 letter in which Fernando Centeno Maldonado goes to Jilolo to replace, as head of Xilolo, Hermua with Captain Francisco de Vera y Aragon. Hermua receives the order to embark with all his company.⁴⁰³

The continuous state of war with the Dutch creates immense financial problems for the Spaniards, who spend a large part of their money to maintain the garrisons of the

"Correspondence" 255

³⁹⁸ (Bocarro "Decada 13" vol. I pp. 279-280)

³⁹⁹ (Bocarro "Decada 13" vol. II pp. 401-404)

⁴⁰⁰ (Correspondencia pp. 289-292)

⁴⁰¹ (Correspondencia p. 302)

⁴⁰² (AGI: "Informaciones Fernando Centeno Maldonado, 1615" Filipinas,60,N.18)

⁴⁰³ (Carta di Geronimo de Silva Ternate, 12 aprile 1615 in: AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619" Filipinas,47,N.28)

Moluccas, furthermore the war prevents the Spaniards from receiving commercial benefits from their possessions of Ternate and Tidore, in fact the great part of the clove trade is in the hands of the Dutch, who control the seas and have in their possession the islands where the best cloves grow. Another serious problem that Gerónimo de Silva found himself facing was that of the rebellion of the Prince of Tidore, he fell madly in love with the wife of the deceased sultan of Gilolo and daughter of the sultan of Ternate.

THE FORCES IN THE FIELD

To get an idea of the disparity of the forces in the field. In a memorial dated 1640, the forts owned by the Dutch in the year 1616 are listed: Malayo, Toloco, Tacubo, Malaca, Tacome, Marieco, Motir, Nofagia, Tafacen, Tabelole, Bermevelt, Tabori, Gilolo, Amboino, Lagu, Maruco, Mozovia, Belgio, Bantan. In 1616, 3,000 soldiers were present in these 19 garrisons. While the forts were armed with 193 bronze cannons, 310 iron cannons and 300 stone mortars (pedreros) in addition the Dutch had a force of 30 war galleons.⁴⁰⁴

In mid-1616 there were just over 200 Spanish soldiers garrisoning the forts of Tidore, i.e. the forts of Santiago, del Príncipe, Tomanira and Socanora.⁴⁰⁵ “...por las pocas fuerzas que hoy tiene el rey de Tidore, por ser muy solo y no tener en su isla lo que tenia hasta aqui, por lo que me conviene tener siempre en esta isla sobre ducientos hombres en la plaza de Santiago y en el fuerte del Principe, Tomanira y Socanora.”⁴⁰⁶ Another 200 soldiers are garrisoning the city of Ternate. The Spanish soldiers present in the Moluccas rarely exceed 600 units. At the naval level, the comparison is unthinkable; the Spaniards often have only one galley, but sometimes not even that. The disparity of forces in the field is evident.

THE EXPEDITION OF DON JUAN DE SILVA

In the intentions of the governor of the Philippines Don Juan de Silva, a large joint expedition between the Spanish and Portuguese was to succeed in routing once and

⁴⁰⁴ (“Commerce between the Filipinas and Nueva España” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 30 p. 39)

⁴⁰⁵ (Rios Coronel, Hernando de los “Memorial y relacion...” 1621, Madrid, Spagna. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 19 (1620-1621), p. 214 Estratto della lettera di Jeronimo de Silva al governatore D. Juan de Silva, 29 luglio 1616)

⁴⁰⁶ (“Letter from Gerónimo de Silva to D. Juan de Silva, Tidore, August 8, 1616” In: Correspondencia pp. 387-388)

for all the Dutch forces present in the Indonesian islands. Even the Dutch were fearful of such an expedition.⁴⁰⁷

In 1612, in order to reach an agreement with the viceroy of Portuguese India, de Silva had sent the former governor of Ternate Cristobal de Azcueta to India but the entire expedition disappeared in a shipwreck between Manila and Macao. The governor of the Philippines did not lose heart and this time he entrusted the task of reaching Goa to two Jesuits, they were Father Pedro Gomes, rector of the company in Ternate and Father Juan de Ribera, head of the Manila college. The two Jesuits left at the end of 1614 (Ribera left on 21 November 1614 from the port of Cavite) in two different fleets for Goa, where they arrived without problems in 1615. The agreement that the two fathers reached with the viceroy brought the Portuguese to contribute with 4 large galleons which were sent to Malacca. Father Pedro Gomez returned to Manila in July 1615 to warn the governor of the results of the expedition and to point out that the 4 galleons would soon leave for the Philippines.

De Silva was preparing a large fleet. In order to procure artillery for this expedition, he weakened the defenses of the city of Manila with serious risks in the event of an attack on the city by the Dutch. Not seeing the Portuguese galleons, he thought of going to meet them. Despite the negative opinion of many of his subordinates, he decided to leave in February 1616 for Malacca, instead of heading immediately towards the Moluccas where it seems that Jeronimo de Silva had already concluded agreements with the natives of the islands of Maquien and Motiel who, in case of arrival of this great expedition they would have rebelled against the Dutch and would have helped the Spanish.⁴⁰⁸

At the time of departure for Malacca, the governor was in ill health, it seems that the disease had already manifested itself before leaving Manila. There are testimonies of the poor health of the governor since the first expedition to the Moluccas in 1611. He had already several times sent petitions to the King to be replaced in his position and to be able to return to his homeland.

On February 9, 1616, however, the governor of the Philippines left Manila at the head of a large expedition consisting of 10 large galleons, 4 galleys, a patacco and other minor vessels. The galleons were the capitania "Salvadora" of 2000 tonnage, the almiranta "San Marcos" of 1700 tons, the two galleons "San Juan Bautista" and "Espiritu Santo" each of 1300 tons, and then the smaller galleons "San Miguel" (800 tons), "San Felipe" (800 tons), "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe" (700 tons), "Santiago" (700 tons), "San Andres" (500 tons), "San Lorenço" (400 tons). 5,000

⁴⁰⁷ ("Generale Missiven" vol. I pp. 37-38)

⁴⁰⁸ (Correspondencia pp. 284-285)

men including soldiers and sailors were embarked on this fleet, of whom just under 2,000 were Spaniards, there was also an infantry unit of Japanese soldiers (commanded by Captain Francisco Moreno Donosso)⁴⁰⁹, finally there were about three hundred pieces of artillery embarked on the ships. Six Jesuits also took part in the expedition.

The fleet was the largest army seen in the islands, Father Colin tells us, who marvels that "en tierra tan recién conquistada, y poblada de Españoles, y la mas remota, y distante de toda su monarchia, pudiesse llegar a quaxarse una tal maquina". De Silva headed for the Strait of Malacca, where he intended to join forces with a Portuguese army and together attack first the Dutch farm in Java and then the Dutch bases in the Maluku Islands. But the Portuguese fleet sent by the Viceroy from Goa, had already been completely destroyed in the vicinity of Malacca, it was attacked by Dutch ships and the Portuguese to prevent the capture by the Dutch of the large galleons were forced to burn them. The Spanish armada entered the Singapore Strait on February 25, 1616. From the Singapore Strait, de Silva sent Juan Gutierrez Paramo with a "socorro" to Ternate, with the post of sergeant major again.⁴¹⁰ Juan de la Umbria was probably also sent to Ternate together with Paramo.⁴¹¹

De Silva's health worsened and on April 19, 1616, after eleven days of suffering, he died in the city of Malacca. The whole enterprise ended in a colossal fiasco, nothing was done against the Dutch and the death of de Silva in Malacca, which occurred shortly after his arrival, caused the inglorious end of this expedition. The armada returned to Manila in early June 1616.⁴¹² Furthermore, due to fevers and diseases that struck the fleet during its stay in Malacca and in the Singapore Strait, most of the men of the fleet died, the ships returned to Manila "sin jente".⁴¹³

De Silva's decision to go first to Malacca instead of going directly to the Moluccas is somewhat strange, also considering that the Portuguese galleons were according to the agreements to reach the Philippines to join the Spanish fleet. At the time of de Silva's departure from Manila they must have arrived long ago if they had not been

⁴⁰⁹ See: "Confirmación de encomienda de San Salvador de Palo, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de San Salvador de Palo, Sampoetan y Ormoc en Leyte a Hernando del Castillo. Resuelto, [f] 1623-08-11" FILIPINAS,47,N.58 Blocco 2 fogli 14-15)

⁴¹⁰ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Filipinas. Juan Gutierrez Paramo. 10-03-1625" Filipinas,48,N.1)

⁴¹¹ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Marinduque, etc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1623" Filipinas,47,N.60)

⁴¹² For more information on this expedition see the extensive report given in: (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 581-646)

⁴¹³ (AGI: "Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco. Terrenate, 31 maggio 1619" Patronato, 47, R. 37)

intercepted by the Dutch. Oddly enough, de Silva still wanted to try to join his forces with the Portuguese, although this time he had a large and important naval force under his command and the situation of the Dutch in the Moluccas was very precarious as several witnesses inform us, "el enemigo estua flaco en aquella saçon". According to Vergara he was certain that if the Spanish fleet had gone straight to the Moluccas without delay, most of the islands would have been captured by the Spanish.⁴¹⁴ This was probably the decisive mistake of the Spanish in this part of the world, if de Silva had acted differently it could have changed the course of the history of the spice islands.

DEFECTIONS AMONG THE DUTCH

In April 1616, a Dutch sergeant, Arnaut de Capeu, fled from the fortress of Malayo and took refuge with the Spaniards, there is an affidavit of this Dutchman issued in Ternate on April 28, 1616. He had arrived in Malayo about a month ago, arriving by the route of the Strait of Magellan, with the fleet of Jorge de Spielberg with which 6 boats with 550 men, including soldiers and sailors, had reached the Moluccas. He informs the Spaniards that the Dutch were feverishly fortifying the walls of Malayo in preparation for the arrival of the army of Don Juan de Silva, an army which, as we have seen, never materialized in the waters of the Moluccas.

In Malayo there was a rumor that as soon as more reinforcements reached the Dutch they would be sent to Tidore to take what the prince had promised to the governor Lorenzo Real, namely the submission of the kingdom of Tidore to the Dutch and the cession of the fortress of Samafo (Gamafo, the fort of the King of Tidore, located above the "Lugar Grande"), all this in exchange for the hand of the queen of Jailolo with whom he was madly in love. The Dutch, according to information gathered at Malayo, appear to have had thirty or forty vessels throughout the Moluccas.⁴¹⁵ On September 30, 1616, the Dutch were severely defeated at Oton in the Philippines..⁴¹⁶

The news of Juan de Silva's death took a long time to arrive in Ternate, the dispatch informing of the death of the governor was sent by the captain general of Manila the "licenziado" Andrés de Alcazar and was dated November 3, 1616, arrived in Ternate on December 26 1616.⁴¹⁷ The news of Juan de Silva's death was brought by a fleet of 6 "champanes" (one of which was owned by Francisco Melendez), which had

⁴¹⁴ (AGI: "Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco. Terrenate, 31 maggio 1619" Patronato, 47, R. 37)

⁴¹⁵ (AGI 67-6-37) (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 628-631 nota n°1 e pp. 328-329) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" Tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. ccclxxix-ccclxxxiv, AGI 67-6-37)

⁴¹⁶ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" Tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. ccclxxxiv-cccxc)

⁴¹⁷ (Correspondencia p. 406)

departed in December 1616 from the Philippines. This fleet had already been ready for some months (it must have been the first months of 1616), but due to the presence of 9 Dutch ships in Manila Bay, its departure had been postponed. The ships carrying an infantry company under the command of Captain Juan de la Umbria, who also commanded the entire fleet, were loaded with rice and other foodstuffs at the Villa di Arevalo and then left for Ternate which it was reached without difficulty on 26 December 1616.⁴¹⁸

Eight champans were sent to Ternate (in 1616?) with supplies, of these only six reached their destination, the supplies sent however were of great help to the Spanish troops. This should be the "socorro" fleet commanded by Juan de Azebedo (Azevedo) which according to what is reported in his "Meritos" was made up of "cinco nauios, dos galeras" and two companies of soldiers.⁴¹⁹ In 1616, Juan de Azevedo was in charge of the relief that was sent to Ternate consisting of 5 ships, 2 galleys and two companies of soldiers.⁴²⁰

After the death of the governor of the Philippines, Don Juan de Silva, the governor of Maluku, Don Jeronimo de Silva, was appointed Captain General of the Philippine Islands pending a new governor to be appointed by the king. Geronimo de Silva, when leaving Ternate for Manila to take charge of the government of the Philippines, nominated Juan Gutierrez Paramo, as his successor, but a few days after de Silva's departure, the successor designated by the Audiencia, Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, arrived.⁴²¹ Probably the departure of de Silva from Ternate is to be dated in the night between 13 and 14 April 1617.⁴²²

THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST DE SILVA

During his government, Gerónimo de Silva was accused by several sides of trading and smuggling for his own interests to the detriment of the interests of the King and of promoting only those associated with him to important positions. Gregorio de Vidaña, captain of a company of Spanish infantry arquebusiers, informs us that already three days after de Silva took possession of the government of the Moluccas,

⁴¹⁸ (Correspondencia p. 417, 419) (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Marinduque, etc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1623" Filipinas,47,N.60) (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1630" Filipinas,48,N.41)

⁴¹⁹ (A.G.I. "Meritos: Juan de Azevedo, 1625" Indiferente, 111, N.56)

⁴²⁰ (AGI: "Meritos, Juan de Acevedo 1625" Indiferente,111,N.56)

⁴²¹ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Filipinas. Juan Gutierrez Paramo. 10-03-1625" Filipinas,48,N.1)

⁴²² ("Letter from Geronimo de Silva to the Prince of Tidore, Terrenate 13 April 1617" In: Correspondencia p. 439)

a frigate commanded by Antonio Gomez, owned by Gerónimo de Silva himself, it was loaded with provisions (rice, wine, sardines, coconut vinegar, meat, etc.) which were landed in the port of Tidore (“que será cinco leguas de Terrenate”), where a “casa y tienda” was erected for this purpose where the goods described were then sold on behalf of de Silva. The same journey was also repeated in the following years, 1613 and 1614. Antonio Gomez, for his services to the governor, Vidaña says, was promoted to captain of infantry and head of the galleys. The same policy was pursued with another assistant of the governor, San Juan, who was promoted sergeant, ensign, adjutant to sergeant major, and finally captain of infantry.

Another accusation brought against de Silva was that of having abolished the custom which allowed natives who converted to Christianity to sell the slaves (prisoners?) they captured to the enemy and with whose income they enriched themselves. This custom had allowed a notable increase in the number of natives who were baptized and who passed under Spanish protection, settling in the city of Ternate where their neighborhood had rapidly grown, outside the city walls. These natives were called “Merdicas” which means free people. Thanks to this possibility that was offered to them, the Mardicas generally carried out spontaneous raids against the Ternatese two or three times a week, causing great apprehension and damage in the enemies, furthermore these actions allowed the Spaniards to be constantly informed of what was happening in Malayo.⁴²³

On the work of Gerónimo de Silva during his government of Ternate (and then of the Philippines) in the year 1618 an “información” was opened at the request of Don Juan Ronquillo (Alguacil mayor of the Audiencia of Manila). The accusations brought against the governor were many and brought by many witnesses, they ranged from the accusation of maladministration of real things, to smuggling goods on their own account, to the subtraction of cloves from the royal warehouses, to the dismantling without a just reason of the fortresses of Sabugo and Tolo on the island of Halmahera, the loss of the fort of Marieco and that of the Portuguese, nepotism, up to the bad relationship with the soldiers (it seems that during his government over one hundred soldiers went over to the enemy), with the local population and with the Jesuits.

Even some witnesses (Pedro de Heredia according to his own testimony and then the Prince of Tidore according to the testimony of D. Antonio de Arceo) went so far as to say that if he had been in the pay of the Dutch he could not have done a better service to their cause. Pedro de Heredia also testifies that de Silva upon his arrival in Ternate clearly said in public that anyone who wanted to be his friend should not speak to him about matters of war because he had not come to the Moluccas to wage war, but

⁴²³ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 266-267 note n°3 “Declaración jurada del capitan Gregorio de Vidaña, 4-08-1618”)

to earn money.⁴²⁴

In his defense, de Silva wrote a petition to Governor Don Alonso Fajardo de Tenza. With which he accuses many of his accusers of incompetence. For example, Don Fernando de Becerra is accused of having committed acts of piracy against vassals of the king of Macassar (Celebes, Manado), a faithful ally of the Spaniards. Again Becerra, when was head of the fort of San Pedro y San Pablo, was arrested precisely because he had left the fort to come to Ternate without a license. Also according to de Silva at the time when he was captain of the fort of Tidore, Becerra also had major problems with the king and prince of Tidore.

Almost funny is the behavior of Becerra described by de Silva during the Dutch attack on the old Portuguese fort, he withdrew to the fortress at the crucial moment of the Dutch landing to change his clothes (“... á mudar una camisa... ”), so that the enemy troops did not find obstacles during the landing and were able to attack and occupy the fort, de Silva then increases the dose by saying that it is known that Don Fernando did not know which side the enemy had landed on.⁴²⁵

Don Jeronimo de Silva will reach the port of Cavite in the Philippines on May 7, 1617. Don Jeronimo's disposition is judged too harsh and severe and many soldiers had complained of his bad character and his bad treatment of the soldiers both in deeds and in words. He was also accused of placing his relatives and friends in key positions.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 312-319 note n°1; p. 315 nota n°1) (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 266 nota n°3 “Declaración jurada del capitan Gregorio de Vidaña, 4-08-1618”)

⁴²⁵ (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 317-318 nota n°1)

⁴²⁶ (Letter by Licentiate Andres de Alcaraz to the King Felipe III, 10 August 1617; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 42-45)

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GOVERNMENT OF LUCAS VERGARA GABIRIA, April 1617-February 1620

THE ARRIVAL OF LUCAS VERGARA GABIRIA IN TERNATE

In April 1617 a galley was sent from Manila to warn Don Jeronimo of the new events⁴²⁷ and to inform him of the need for his presence in Manila. The sent galley was loaded with provisions and material for the garrisons, in fact there were 10,000 pesos, 4,500 pieces of cloth, a good quantity of rice and wine as well as a few jars of gunpowder. Perhaps reference is made to this in the document Meritos of Juan de Acevedo when it speaks that in 1617, Juan de Acevedo was in charge of the rescue that was sent to Ternate consisting of a single ship.⁴²⁸

Twenty days later three "pataches" were also sent, they carried more than 3,000 baskets of rice, with wine and meat, a quantity of clothes, 6,000 pesos, 4 pieces of 18 (pieces of artillery), several jars of gunpowder, cannonballs, and several other things necessary for the forts. This new shipment of material is described in Moluccas documents as the largest shipment of aid and material for several years. The new governor of Ternate Lucas de Vergara Gabiria also embarked with these ships. He was a veteran of the Moluccas, who had already served as governor of the islands for about a year (see chapter 4).⁴²⁹

Vergara Gabiria arrived in Ternate on 26 April 1617 with three boats that brought reinforcements for the garrisons of the islands. With him came 30 soldiers. The new governor immediately took care of the conditions of the troops, giving them clothes and pay, these attentions of Vergara Gabiria towards the soldiers of the garrisons led the Jesuit Manuel Ribeiro to declare in one of his letters that the new governor "el año pasado con su ida a Terrenate resucitó aquella tierra"⁴³⁰ The new governor of

⁴²⁷ In April 1617, the Dutch were soundly defeated by the Spanish in the famous naval battle of Playa Honda. (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" Tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. cccxcii-)

⁴²⁸ (AGI: "Meritos, Juan de Acevedo 1625" Indiferente,111,N.56)

⁴²⁹ (Lettera di Licentiate Andres de Alcaraz al re Felipe III, 10 agosto 1617; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 42-45)

⁴³⁰ (Doc. Mal. III p. 378 Lettera di Manuel Ribeiro a Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, Cavite 10 agosto 1618) (Rios Coronel, Hernando de los "Memorial y relacion..." 1621, Madrid, Spain. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 19 (1620-1621), p. 274, Lettera di Lucas Vergara Gaviria a D. Francisco Gomes de Arellano, 5 luglio 1617) (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 p. 143 where the letter from Governor Vergara dated 30 June 1618 is reported) (AGI "Copia de carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, gobernador de Terrenate, al gobernador de Filipinas, sobre las dificultades que encuentra para la compra de

Ternate was considered a good soldier but with a severe disposition.⁴³¹

SPANISH EXPEDITION TO CELEBES (SULAWESI)

The new governor immediately tried to mitigate the chronic problem of food supplies. In order to secure the influx of provisions from the island of Celebes, the Spaniards decided to build a fortress in Manados, for this purpose an expedition made up of 10 soldiers was probably sent in May 1617 by Vergara Gaviria under the orders of Francisco Melendez and two Jesuits (the two Jesuits were Gianbattista Scalamonti and Cosme Pinto). The Spanish built a small fortified post.⁴³² In 1618 the Spaniards established cordial relations with the king of Macasar (Manado?).⁴³³ Good successes are had in the evangelization of the kingdom of Manados (northern area of the island of Sulawesi-Celebes), the king and almost all the princes are converted, Father Cosme Prieto takes care of this mission.

THE DUTCH IN DIFFICULTY, BUT THE SPANIARDS DOESN'T TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT

During 1617 and 1618, the Dutch are faced with various revolts in the Moluccas and other islands of the archipelago. They managed to quell a revolt in the bud on Machian Island, by hanging the rebel leader, but in other islands they failed to anticipate events. On the island of Siao, the local population had revolted killing all the Dutch present with the exception of three men who they handed over to the Spanish governor of the Moluccas for service in the galleys.

There were also revolts in the Banda islands and in Ambon. The Dutch then also had to face the threat posed by the British, who established a fort on the Banda Islands. According to Governor Gaviria, if the Spaniards could have sent a large army to the

clavo; las conversaciones con el rey de Tidore que le comunicó que los naturales de Vanda junto con los ingleses habían dado ponzoña a los holandeses causando muchos muertos; el estado de las fuerzas; la falta de cirujano, y de la presencia de tres naos del enemigo, Tidore 30 de junio 1618" In: "Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-08-1618" Filipinas, 7, R.5, N.53) (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" p. 428) (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" pp. 587-588 nota n°1)

⁴³¹ (Lettera di Fajardo al Re Felipe III, 1620 in Blair vol. 19 pp. 112) (Letter by Fajardo to the King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 pp. 121)

⁴³² (Perez "Malucas Y Celebes" p. 428) (Doc. Mal III p. 412 nota 3) (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 572 nota n°1)

⁴³³ ("Memorial Grau y Montfalcon, 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 p. 113)

Moluccas during this period of revolt in the other islands, the Dutch would perhaps have been expelled definitively from Ternate.⁴³⁴

In October 1617, Spanish documents mention a fire that spread rapidly from a bastion of the Dutch fortress of Malayo to the whole city, destroying the houses and warehouses of the settlement.⁴³⁵

THE SITUATION OF THE DUTCH IN THE MOLUCCAS

A Spanish document from 1618, probably drawn up by Pedro de Heredia, informs us of the situation of the Dutch possessions in the Moluccas. Much of the information cited in the Spanish document is the result of information obtained from the Dutch admiral van Caerden who had been a prisoner of the Spaniards in Ternate for some time.⁴³⁶

The situation of the Dutch possessions in the Moluccas in these years is as follows: In the island of Bachan they have a fortress. While in the most important clove-rich Maquian Island, the Dutch control the entire island with three fortresses. In Mutiel Island they have a fortress. The island of Tidore is largely under Spanish control, but the Dutch have a fortress along the west coast (while the Spanish have a fortress on the east coast). The island of Ternate is divided between the two powers. The Dutch control the east and north of the island and have their main base here at Fort Orange and another fort in the north of the island. The Spanish have their fortified city in the south of the island. But most importantly, the Dutch hold much of the archipelago's clove and other spice trade.⁴³⁷

The Dutch governor lives on the island of Ternate, he resides in the fort of Malayo, called by the Dutch Granoya (probably a distortion for Fort Oranje). The garrison of the fort is normally composed of 850 soldiers (but in the period described there are only 150). A quarter of a league from Malayo is the fort of Toloco (Tolokko) in which resides a garrison consisting of an ensign and 20 soldiers. Another fort called Tacubo, is located in the vicinity of Malayo. The fort of Tacome located three leagues from Toloco is a large fort and is garrisoned by a company of soldiers, this fort is called by

⁴³⁴ ("Events in the Filipinas Islands, June 1617-1618"; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 65-66) (Rios Coronel, Hernando de los "Memorial y relacion..." 1621, Madrid, Spagna. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 19 (1620-1621), p. 276, Letter by Lucas Vergara Gaviria to D. Francisco Gomes de Arellano, 5 July 1617)

⁴³⁵ (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" p. 428)

⁴³⁶ ("Dutch factories and posts in Orient", June 1618; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 107-111)

⁴³⁷ ("Dutch factories and posts in Orient", June 1618; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 107-111)

the Dutch Vuillemistat (Willemstadt).

On the island of Tidore the Dutch had never had a fortress since the time of the Acuña expedition. Then in early 1613 they captured a small bastion where the Spanish held a garrison of an ensign and 14 soldiers. Here the Dutch built the fort of Marieco the Great, which was manned by a captain and 60 soldiers.

On the island of Moti, which is located between Tidore and Maquien, the Dutch have a fort (Fort Nassau) located in the northern part with a garrison of 50 soldiers commanded by a captain. The island was depopulated, but was repopulated by inhabitants of the island of Gilolo.

The island of Maquian, the most important from a commercial point of view, located one league from Motir has three Dutch forts: Nofagia (Ngofakiaha), located in the north of the island has a garrison of an ensign and 40 married soldiers. Tafazen (Tafasoho), on the west coast, with a garrison of 100 soldiers commanded by a lieutenant governor. While on the south coast was the third fort called Tabelole (Tabelolo), a small fort of little importance with a sergeant and 20 soldiers.

In Bachian Island the Dutch have a fort called Bernevelt (Barneveld) with a captain and 60 soldiers. In the island of Gilolo, about three leagues from the fort that the Spaniards have on this island, the Dutch have the fort of Tabori with an ensign and 50 soldiers. Three leagues further on is another fort with a lieutenant and 12 soldiers.

On the island of Amboino, also very important for the production of cloves, the Dutch have another large fort with a large moat. Its garrison consists of a commander and 100 soldiers. On the island of Siao in 1614 the Spaniards had a garrison of an ensign with 5 soldiers, they were attacked by the Dutch who, after defeating them, built in the same place, called Sagu Maruco, a small fort in which resides a sergeant and 16 soldiers. In the Banda Islands the Dutch have two forts called Moçovia and Belgium each with a garrison of 120 soldiers.

In the island of Java they have three farms in Bantan, Jacava and Japara. Bantan is the main Dutch settlement in all of the East, the governor of the company resides here, the Dutch have a force here consisting of two galleys, thirty armed "barks" which they use to travel to Jakatra, a place located at one day of travel, where is the Dutch arsenal and shipyard. Other Dutch forts or farms are in the island of Formosa, Cambodia, Sumatra, Japan, Cochinchina etc....

According to a report by Joris Spilberg, in 1616 the Dutch had in their forts in the east about 3,000 regular soldiers, 193 bronze pieces, 310 iron cannons, 300 swivel

cannons, 30 war galleons in addition to the galleons that arrive every year from Holland.

The Dutch obtain the following quantities of cloves annually from the Moluccas⁴³⁸:

Ternate 600 bares or 384,000 pounds of cloves.

Motir 700 bares or 468,000 pounds.

Maquiem 1,400 bares or 896,000 pounds.

Bachian 400 bares or 256,000 pounds.

Amboyno 1,800 bares or 1,152,000 pounds.

SKIRMISHES BETWEEN SPANISH AND DUTCH

In late 1617 there were some minor skirmishes between the Spanish and the Dutch. The rapprochement of relations between Tidore and the Dutch was cooled, fortunately for the Spanish, due to the behavior of the Dutch, who hanged a Tidorese and drowned 4 of them. This action led the prince, son of the king of Tidore, who until that moment he had been very friendly with the Dutch, completely reviewing his own positions. In another clash 4 Spaniards were killed. The Spaniards in December 1617 led by Captain Salinas attacked Takome in retaliation where they managed to capture two "champanes" loaded with rice. Alonso Martin Quirante, "castellano de la fortaleza de Tamarina"⁴³⁹ he killed 21 Dutch in an ambush and captured 4.⁴⁴⁰ There were also many deserters who went over to the Spanish, including 25 Dutch and many Indians.⁴⁴¹

VERGARA IMPROVES SPANISH FORTIFICATIONS

The new Spanish governor immediately devoted himself to the maintenance and improvement of the forts in Spanish hands on the islands of Ternate, Tidore and Halmahera (Gilolo, Tafongo and Payagi), a work which he completed with excellent results. In fact, those fortifications that were still made of wood and earth were rebuilt in solid stone, says the Jesuit Ribeiro: "no ay al presente caballero ninguno en

⁴³⁸ ("Memorial Grau y Montfalcon, 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 pp. 104-109)

⁴³⁹ Tamarina or Tomarina was a place in Tidore Island near Marieko.

⁴⁴⁰ According to Perez, 3 Dutchmen were killed and only one prisoner was taken. The ambush was set up for the Dutch soldiers garrisoned at Marisco (Marieko) who had come out of the fort to hunt wild pigs. See: "Malucas y Celebes" p. 429

⁴⁴¹ ("Events in the Filipinas Islands, June 1617-1618; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 89-91) (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" pp. 428-429)

Maluco que no sea de cal y canto”.

The stronghold of Socanora in Tidore was fortified, which was located in a very strategic point, and which had repeatedly been attacked by the Dutch. The two cities of Ternate and Tidore were also surrounded by solid walls. A weak point of the Spanish defenses in the islands was the lack of long-range cannons, which would have allowed, if placed in the forts of Tomanira, Don Gil and Tidore, to control the passage of enemy ships in the three channels used by Dutch vessels to reach the their fortress of Ternate (Malayo).

The Spanish troops then complained of the shortage of food and clothing and had been waiting for the pay to arrive for some years. An annual replacement of a couple of companies of soldiers is also suggested, and the sending of better selected captains is requested as well as the importance of having at least one galley in charge of the islands.⁴⁴² Even the king of Tidore is fortifying his city as best he can.⁴⁴³ The governor of the Philippines Fajardo, following the requests that reach him from Ternate, expresses his intention to send a couple of galleys with the next relief supplies destined for Ternate.⁴⁴⁴

In January 1618 several small boats were sent from Ternate to Jilolo with a galliot to supply the Spanish garrison with food, the Dutch and the inhabitants of Sabugo attempted to intercept the convoy, but failed in the enterprise, losing in the skirmish 8 dead and several wounded.⁴⁴⁵

Luckily for the Spaniards, supplies arrived from other routes, in fact towards the middle of 1618, an English boat arrived in Tidore where it exchanged munitions and rice with the Spaniards in exchange for cloves, furthermore the viceroy sent 6 "galeotas" from India laden with provisions.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴² (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 pp. 137-140 where the letter of the Jesuit Manuel Ribeyra is reported. Also in: Doc. Mal. III Doc. n° 106 pp. 375-378) (AGI "Carta de Manuel Ribeiro a Fajardo de Tenza sobre Terrenate, 10-08-1618" Filipinas,7,R.5,N.54)

⁴⁴³ (AGI "Traslado de una carta del rey de Tidore, al gobernador de Filipinas, comunicando lo que supone para estas islas la pérdida de la armada y pidiendo le envíen algunas galeras para no interrumpir la comunicación entre las islas del Maluco, Tidore 17 de mayo de 1618" In: "Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-08-1618" Filipinas,7,R.5,N.53)

⁴⁴⁴ (Letter by Fajardo to the King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 pp. 121)

⁴⁴⁵ (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" p. 429)

⁴⁴⁶ ("Events in the Filipinas Islands, June 1617-1618; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 89-91) (Tiele "De Europeërs in den Maleischen archipel" 1887 pp. 223-224)

Vergara established a farm in Ternate where to conserve cloves.⁴⁴⁷ This was done to try to bring some income to the royal coffers, given that the occupation of the Moluccas costs the royal treasury 220,000 pesos annually and does not bring any economic benefit, while on the other hand the Dutch receive immense gains from the spice trade. The king asked the governor of the Philippines Fajardo to also consider reducing the number of soldiers stationed on the islands, which amount to 600 Spanish soldiers and 200 pampangos and finally to abandon all the forts deemed unnecessary.⁴⁴⁸

On March 5, 1618, the Ternate volcano began to erupt, one day it erupted three times, and this lasted for eight/ten days.⁴⁴⁹

THE RESCUE OF 1618

The aid sent from Manila in 1618 all arrived at their destination, they consisted of (5 ?) ships loaded with provisions and money for 15,000 pesos for troop wages. However, there is still a shortage in the number of soldiers, many of them being ill and several having died from illnesses.⁴⁵⁰

The "socorro" for the Moluccas that reached Ternate in the middle of March 1618 was made up of 4 boats, the Spanish ships were attacked by two Dutch ships in sight of Ternate, at the first attempt the Spanish boats managed to escape, but after a few days, when the Spanish again tried to reach the port of Ternate, they were again attacked by the Dutch, and this time forced to give battle.

The Spanish managed to break the Dutch naval blockade, but one of the ships, the ship almiranta captained by sergeant major Pedro de Cuenca, ran aground on the coast of the island of Tidore. Most of the crew made it to safety, but some drowned and others were killed by the Dutch. The captain of the fort of Tidore, Alonso Martin Quirante, arrived in a hurry and managed to prevent the Dutch from picking up part of the ship's cargo, however much of the cargo was lost. The loss of this vessel was attributed to the lack of galleys. The other three ships managed to arrive safely in the

⁴⁴⁷ (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 p. 141 where the letter from Governor Vergara dated 30 June 1618 is reported)

⁴⁴⁸ (Letter from King Felipe III to Governor Fajardo 19 December 1618 in Blair vol. 18 pp. 151-152)

⁴⁴⁹ (Gregorio de S. Esteban "Memoria y relacion..." Archivo Franciscano Ibero Oriental 21/12)
("Copia de un papel antiguo que està con estos manuscritos" Archivo Franciscano Ibero Oriental)

⁴⁵⁰ ("Events in the Filipinas Islands, luglio 1618-1619, datato 12 luglio 1619; in Blair vol. 18 p. 222)

port of Ternate. With this relief came two companies totaling 46 soldiers.⁴⁵¹

In a letter dated June 30, 1618, the governor reiterated the shortage of soldiers and supplies, informing us that in 1617 the only soldiers received were the 30 who arrived with him, while in 1618 two companies arrived for a total of 46 soldiers, just as many sick soldiers were sent back to Manila.

THE SPANISH LACKS GALLEYS, CLOTHES AND FOOD, BUT THE DUTCH HAVE PROBLEMS TOO

Vergara succeeds with the few means he has at his disposal to considerably improve the situation of his troops and fortifications, but he complains of the lack of galleys, in fact he only has one galliot in bad condition (“marcia”). Many provisions are received from the island of Celebes, which proves to be an excellent source of supply. The necessity and importance of the galleys is reiterated several times in many letters even in the following years by many captains, they are an excellent tool for maintaining contacts between the various garrisons located on several different islands and are also an excellent means of attacking the enemies, even the king of Tidore insistently asks for them to be sent. Another shortage often denounced by the captains of Ternate is that of clothes for the soldiers.

An interesting reference is made in the same letter to the situation of the Dutch, which is seen in a different way compared to the past, in fact Vergara informs us that they too have a shortage of soldiers and do not expect important arrivals as in the past, furthermore there are also some problems with indigenous people who appear to be in rebellion. Vergara identifies in the English, increasingly strong and present in those seas, a possible excellent support and ally for the Spanish. He also spoke of this with the captain of the English ship present in Tidore.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 p. 138 where the letter of the Jesuit Manuel Ribeyra is reported) (AGI “Carta de Manuel Ribeiro a Fajardo de Tenza sobre Terrenate, 10-08-1618” Filipinas,7,R.5,N.54) (Perez “Malucas y Celebes” p. 429) (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 p. 143 where the letter from Governor Vergara dated 30 June 1618 is reported) (AGI “Copia de carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, gobernador de Terrenate, al gobernador de Filipinas, sobre las dificultades que encuentra para la compra de clavo; las conversaciones con el rey de Tidore que le comunicó que los naturales de Vanda junto con los ingleses habían dado ponzoña a los holandeses causando muchos muertos; el estado de las fuerzas; la falta de cirujano, y de la presencia de tres naos del enemigo, Tídore 30 de junio 1618” In: “Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-08-1618” Filipinas,7,R.5,N.53)

⁴⁵² (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 p. 143 where the letter from Governor Vergara dated 30 June 1618 is reported) (AGI “Copia de carta de Lucas de

VERGARA ASKS TO WITHDRAW PART OF THE GARRISONS FROM HALMAHERA

The three Spanish presidios located on the island of Halmahera (Batachina), namely Gilolo, Tafongo and Payagi, are of great tribulation, because due to the unhealthiness of the places many soldiers fall ill and die.⁴⁵³

Vergara requests permission to withdraw the Spanish garrisons from the two forts of Jailolo, which have a total garrison of 80 men including 60 Spaniards. This is required in order to increase the strength of the Ternate and Tidore garrisons. In his letter, he asked for a decision to be made regarding the garrison of Jailolo which in his opinion was useless: “Las dos fortalezas q.e su Mag.d tiene en Jilolo como Vs.A sabe no sieruen sino de tener alli ocupados ochenta soldados los sesenta españoles y cada dia ttraen muertos y enfermos ...”. Already in 1618, Gaviria asked the governor of the Philippines, Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, for a decision on this matter.⁴⁵⁴

Vergara Gaviria, gobernador de Terrenate, al gobernador de Filipinas, sobre las dificultades que encuentra para la compra de clavo; las conversaciones con el rey de Tidore que le comunicó que los naturales de Vanda junto con los ingleses habían dado ponzoña a los holandeses causando muchos muertos; el estado de las fuerzas; la falta de cirujano, y de la presencia de tres naos del enemigo, Tídore 30 de junio 1618” In: “Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-08-1618” Filipinas,7,R.5,N.53) (AGI “Traslado de una carta del rey de Tidore, al gobernador de Filipinas, comunicando lo que supone para estas islas la pérdida de la armada y pidiendo le envíen algunas galeras para no interrumpir la comunicación entre las islas del Maluco, Tidore 17 de mayo de 1618” In: “Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-08-1618” Filipinas,7,R.5,N.53)

⁴⁵³ (Rios Coronel, Hernando de los “Memorial y relacion...” 1621, Madrid, Spain. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 19 (1620-1621), p. 277, Letter from Lucas Vergara Gaviria to D. Francisco Gomes de Arellano, Tidore 5 July 1617)

⁴⁵⁴ (AGI; Filipinas,7,R.5,N.53 In: “Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 p. 145 where the letter from Governor Vergara dated 30 June 1618 is reported) (AGI “Copia de carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, gobernador de Terrenate, al gobernador de Filipinas, sobre las dificultades que encuentra para la compra de clavo; las conversaciones con el rey de Tidore que le comunicó que los naturales de Vanda junto con los ingleses habían dado ponzoña a los holandeses causando muchos muertos; el estado de las fuerzas; la falta de cirujano, y de la presencia de tres naos del enemigo, Tídore 30 de junio 1618” In: “Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-08-1618” Filipinas,7,R.5,N.53)

THE SPANISH FORTS IN THE MOLUCCAS IN 1618

An interesting description of the Spanish and Dutch forts of Ternate and Tidore is given to us by an anonymous report written in Malacca at the end of 1619, which describes the Spanish forts and garrisons in the Moluccas around 1618.⁴⁵⁵

The Spanish city of Ternate (“do Rossario”) has a Spanish garrison of three hundred casados and soldiers. The city is all walled with six bulwarks that the Spanish call “cavaleiros” which have 20 very good bronze artillery pieces. Outside the walls there are other bulwarks to defend the native quarter where about 150 Pampangos soldiers and more than 100 native Christian men of Ternate live, in total the population of the city between men and women reaches 2,000 units, all Christians. The city has 4 churches, one is the “matrix” church where a “vigairo da vara” resides, the others are the convents of the Franciscans, the Jesuits and the Augustinians.⁴⁵⁶ At the end of 1618, the Jesuit Francisco de Otazo estimated the Christians of the Moluccas at 160,000. Certainly an exaggerated figure.⁴⁵⁷

The city also has a hospital. It is always the Franciscans who take care of the care of the sick and wounded, in fact the lay friar Juan de Santa Maria takes care of the hospital. A surgeon sent by the governor of the Philippines to take care of the hospital is returned to the sender by Vergara because he was deemed unsuitable for the need.⁴⁵⁸

To complete the defensive system, the Spanish have another fort called Dom Gil, it is located about half a league from the Dutch fortifications and has a garrison of 60 soldiers with their captain, the fort has three bulwarks with 4 artillery pieces. The fort is located near a lagoon, which is located near the sea and which is deep enough to allow boats to navigate, it seems that the Portuguese in the past had tried to join the lagoon to the sea with a canal so as to be able to use the lagoon as a port for their boats, but they did not complete the enterprise.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ (Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa vol. I, “Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tidore e mais ilhas Malucas..... Malacca, 28 novembre 1619” pp. 163-170)

⁴⁵⁶ (Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa vol. I, “Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tidore e mais ilhas Malucas..... Malacca, 28 novembre 1619” pp. 163-170)

⁴⁵⁷ (Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” Tomo VI (1608-1618) p. cccxx, AGI 68-1-31)

⁴⁵⁸ (AGI “Copia de carta de Lucas de Vergara Gavia, gobernador de Terrenate, al gobernador de Filipinas, sobre las dificultades que encuentra para la compra de clavo; las conversaciones con el rey de Tidore que le comunicó que los naturales de Vanda junto con los ingleses habían dado ponzoña a los holandeses causando muchos muertos; el estado de las fuerzas; la falta de cirujano, y de la presencia de tres naos del enemigo, Tímore 30 de junio 1618” In: “Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-08-1618” Filipinas, 7, R.5, N.53)

⁴⁵⁹ (Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa vol. I, “Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tidore e mais ilhas

The main Dutch fortress is that of Malaio, it is described as so well fortified as to frighten those who see it (“esta em demasia fortificada e fortalecida que mete pavor e espanto a quem a ve”), it has three bulwarks, the first is called “Orange” and has 17 very large bronze artillery pieces, next to this is another bulwark called “Ponta Real”, it has 10 artillery pieces, while the third bulwark has 8 artillery pieces. The garrison consists of 200 Dutch, 150 Japanese and 200 Chinese. Next to Malaio is another Dutch fort, it is called Tonloco, it has a bulwark and its garrison is made up of 20 soldiers with 4 artillery pieces. The Dutch have another fort, called Tacome, closer to the Spanish city of Ternate, the garrison of this fort consists of 30 soldiers with 6 large artillery pieces. It controls the passage of Spanish ships bound for Ternate and is very annoying for the Spaniards also because it is the base of some boats used by the Dutch to hinder the arrival of aid convoys in Ternate.⁴⁶⁰

In the island of Tidore the Dutch have a fort in Marisco, which they call "Marisco dos Portugueses", they conquered it by killing 50 men.⁴⁶¹ The Dutch fort has three bulwarks (“baluartes fechados”) with 17 artillery pieces including a very large one called “o Raymundo”. The fort is normally garrisoned by 60 men, the "roda" of the fort is then a wooden palisade inside which there are the homes of the natives and the "gente de serviço". The Spanish have near this Dutch fort, another fort.⁴⁶²

The Spanish have another fort, called Tomarina, it is located on a hill (“por estar situada em hum alto”) and is defended by 3 pieces of artillery and by a garrison made up of 40 Spaniards and more than 300 Tidorese with muskets and swords. In the island of Tidore the Spaniards also possess a small city (“cidade pequena”) where mostly Portuguese casados live, near this city there is the largest fortress in Spanish hands on the island, called Thaula, it is located on a hill (“estar muito alta”) in an impregnable place, it has a garrison of 40 soldiers commanded by a captain and is armed with 10 pieces of artillery. Furthermore, always in the vicinity of this fortress, the Spaniards have a bulwark, called "Principe", armed with 3 artillery pieces and where 10 soldiers are stationed with their ensign.⁴⁶³

Malucas..... Malacca, 28 novembre 1619” pp. 163-170)

⁴⁶⁰ (Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa vol. I, “Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tidore e mais ilhas Malucas..... Malacca, 28 novembre 1619” pp. 163-170)

⁴⁶¹ Here it seems that the author makes a little confusion between the conquest of Marieco and that of the Portuguese fort where 50 men were actually killed.

⁴⁶² Perhaps this fort could be the fort called San Lucas del Rume just built (November 1618) by the Spanish as we will see below. Marieco el Chico is only nominated for a few years and seems to correspond with Tomarina. Unless Marieco el Chico was an outpost between Tomarina and Marieco. (Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa vol. I, “Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tidore e mais ilhas Malucas..... Malacca, 28 novembre 1619” pp. 163-170)

⁴⁶³ (Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa vol. I, “Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tidore e mais ilhas

Opposite the Spanish fortress of Thaula, the king of Tidore, an ally of the Spanish, has his own fortress, also located on a hill (“esta no alto”) and armed with three pieces “de escolher” and 10-12 “falcões”. The troops available to the king of Tidore include 2,000 musketeers and 2,000 “campilão carrasca” fighters. Finally, on the island of Tidore the Spaniards have a church where a “clerigo vigairo” lives and another “casinha” where a religious of the company (Jesuit) says mass. This report also makes a small mention of the fortress that the Dutch have on the island of Moutiel, it has 20 artillery pieces and 70 garrison soldiers.⁴⁶⁴

THE DUTCH FORTRESSES IN THE MOLUCCAS

More or less of the same period (around 1620) is a more succinct report on Dutch and English fortresses and farms, in which the number of fortresses present on each island is described with the respective garrisons and armaments, but the names of the fortresses are not mentioned.

On the Moluccas (the part that interests us is that which is currently part of the province of North Maluku) the following data are listed: On the island of Ternate the Dutch have 4 fortresses, one with 32 artillery pieces and 200 Dutch soldiers, another with 8 pieces and 70 Dutch, another with 9 pieces and 20 Dutch, and finally the fourth with 3 artillery pieces and 20 Dutch. On the same island the Spaniards have 4 fortresses, the most important has 24 pieces of artillery and 80 Spanish soldiers, the second has 3 pieces and 30 soldiers, the other two both have 4 pieces and 20 soldiers. A note adds that the Dutch own most of the island and also own the best part.

On the island of Tidore the Dutch have a fortress with 17 artillery pieces and a garrison of 60 men. The Spanish have 3 fortresses and control most of the island. On the island of Motiel the Dutch have a fortress with 12 artillery pieces and 60 soldiers. The whole island is in their possession. In Maquien Island there are three Dutch fortresses, one with 20 pieces and 80 soldiers, another with 12 pieces and 90 soldiers, the third one with 7 pieces and 29 soldiers, this whole island is also completely controlled by the Dutch. On Bachian Island the Dutch have a fort with 16 artillery pieces and 60 Dutch. Finally, the island of Halmahera (Batachina) where the Dutch have two fortresses with 8 pieces and 60 Dutch and 9 pieces and 29 Dutch respectively, and also have garrison soldiers in two places where they get food for

Malucas..... Malacca, 28 novembre 1619” pp. 163-170)

⁴⁶⁴ (Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa vol. I, “Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tidore e mais ilhas Malucas..... Malacca, 28 novembre 1619” pp. 163-170)

their troops.⁴⁶⁵

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RUME FORT AT TIDORE

The fort of Rume was built following a letter from the king of Tidore sent to the governor Vergara and delivered to the same governor by the prince of Tidore Cachil Naro, in which the king asked the Spaniards to build a Spanish fortress in a place where the Portuguese had already established themselves, near the Dutch fort of Marisco (Marieko), in order to surround the Dutch and prevent them from harvesting the cloves which were produced in abundance in that area of the island.

Vergara at the head of 150 Spaniards and many Indian soldiers and accompanied by Cachil Naro and two Franciscans, Br. Pedro de los Cobos and Br. Gregorio de S. Esteban, on November 23, 1618, founded the fort of S. Lucas de el Rume, the fort was built on a high place, where Dutch artillery shots could not reach. In fact, during the construction of the fort, the Dutch attempted an attack, which however did not have any practical results. The fort was named S. Lucas in honor of the governor who had founded it: Lucas de Vergara Gabiria.⁴⁶⁶

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FORT OF SANTA LUCIA IN TERNATE

As a countermove to the construction of the Rume fort, the Dutch decided in December 1618 to build a fort in Calomata, it seems also at the request of the Ternatese, the position chosen was close to the Spanish fort of Don Gil (“como medio quarto de legua y mucho menos”) and was of great inconvenience to the Spanish fort especially if the Dutch, in addition to building the fort as they did, also occupied a nearby hill above the Spanish fort. To avoid this, Vergara decided to anticipate the Dutch by building a stone fort with a moat and fence on the hill. The works for the construction of this fort began on December 13, 1618 and since this day is dedicated to Santa Lucia, the new fort was called Santa Lucia.⁴⁶⁷

Further information on this episode is provided to us by another document, it informs us that the captain and sergeant major Antonio Carreño de Valdes together with the

⁴⁶⁵ (Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa vol. II, “Relaicon de las fortalezas y factorias que tienen los olandeses en la India y ingleses” pp. 269-270)

⁴⁶⁶ (Pérez “Malucas y Celebes” p. 430 citing the manuscript of Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban, who was present at the foundation of the fort)

⁴⁶⁷ (Perez “Malucas y Celebes” pp. 430-431) (Tiele “De Europeërs in den Maleischen archipel” 1887 pp. 223-224)

captain Juan de la Umbria, while they were building the fort of Santa Lucia, went together with a troop of 50 Spanish troops, "a reconocer las fuerzas de Calomata", which the Dutch were building, having been seen by the Dutch, the Spanish troops had a clash with the enemies, in the clash Captain Juan de la Umbria was wounded by a musket shot in the right arm.⁴⁶⁸

THE DESCRIPTION OF FR. GREGORIO DE SAN. ESTEBAN

Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban leaves us an interesting description of the Spanish and Dutch forts present in recent years in front of the stretch of sea between the islands of Ternate and Tidore: "Es Terrenate un volcan redondo; el pueblo y ciudad de Terrenate está á la banda de el sur, Tacome á la banda del norte, Malayo á la banda del este, y costeano hacia el sur, está el puerto que llaman de Talangamé, y un poco más adelante está el puerto que tratamos de Calomata, y un poco más adelante nuestra fuerza de Dongil."

"De la otra banda está la isla de Tidore, que tambien es un volcan redondo y alto, pero tiene hacia la parte del norte, que cae hacia Malayo, una grande falda con unos mogotes grandes, y enesta parte está nuestro fuerte de S. Lucas, suerte que están mirando S. Lucas y Calomata, pero está la mar en medio, y es la travesia de una isla á otra, la más corta, un tiro de cañon, aunque las fuerzas están muy desviadas. Junto á la isla de Tidore y cerca de S. Lucas está otra isla pequena, que se llama Meytara, de suerte que está en medio de Tidore y de Terrenate, pero mas llegada á la isla de Tidore que de Terrenate, y así hace dos brazos de mar, el uno más estrecho que el otro, fondeables; el uno le guarda nuestra fuerza de Dongil y el otro le guarda el fuerte de S. Lucas; pues para estorbar nuestras embarcaciones que no fuesen á S. Lucas, tomaron el puerto de Calomata, que tambien alcanza con su artilleria á la isla de Meytara. El otro brazo de hacia Tidore, tambien lo guarda la fuerza de Marisco que está alli junto"⁴⁶⁹

COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE SPANISH GOVERNORS OF THE MOLUCCAS

The son of the King of Tidore for years in sharp contrast with the Spanish governors who have succeeded, in particular with Gerónimo de Silva, expresses to the King of

⁴⁶⁸ (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Marinduque, etc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1623" Filipinas,47,N.60) (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1630" Filipinas,48,N.41)

⁴⁶⁹ (Pérez pp. 430-431 note 4 where this passage from the manuscript of Br. Gregorio de S. Esteban is transcribed)

Spain his opinion regarding the behavior of the Spanish governors of Ternate, informing him that things in the Moluccas they go very differently from what the King orders and that the governors practically do what they want without bothering to respect the orders of the King of Spain.

He also adds a veiled threat, saying that if things continue like this there will be the risk of losing the Moluccas because "Dios concierte, mas no para siempre". However, the loyalty of his father and of him to the Spanish crown is reaffirmed. The letter, most likely written in secret, is entrusted to a certain Juan de Aillón, who was a soldier in the Moluccas from 1615 to 1618. He will have to report to the King, according to the intentions of the Prince, the misdeeds of the Spanish governors.⁴⁷⁰

Strong complaints also reach Governor Fajardo from both lawmen and religious about the behavior of Lucas Vergara, he is accused of harshness in government and lack of balance in many situations. The Jesuit Manuel Ribeyro, in his letter dated August 10, 1618, expresses a completely different opinion towards Vergara, judges him a great servant of the King and expresses the opinion that with his coming to Ternate he resurrected those "presidios".

Even the governor Fajardo does not believe these accusations, to remove the chestnuts from the fire to Fajardo, comes a letter from Vergara in which he resigns from office. In his place D. Jeronimo de Silva was initially appointed, who however refused the assignment, and finally D. Luis de Bracamonte was appointed.⁴⁷¹

During his rule Vergara seems to have often resided in Tidore, in fact several of the letters he sent were written in Tidore. The task of governing Ternate in his absence had been entrusted to Captain Juan de la Umbria.⁴⁷²

Fajardo in December 1618, in describing the assignments and expenses that he judges superfluous and to be cut to better rationalize the meager budget he has available, indicates the excessive number of 600 Spanish soldiers and 200 panpangos stationed in the garrisons of the Moluccas, deeming a cut in the number of soldiers stationed there desirable.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" Tomo VII (1618-1635) pp. xxxv-xxxvi dove è riportata la lettera del principe di Tidore: AGI 67-6-4)

⁴⁷¹ (Letter from Fajardo to King Philip III, 10 August 1619; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 254-255) (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 10 August 1618 in Blair vol. 18 p. 143 which contains the letter from Governor Vergara dated 30 June 1618) (Perez "Malucas y Celebes" p. 428)(Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" pp. 587-588 nota n°1)

⁴⁷² (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc. Juan de la Umbria. 02-10-1630" Filipinas,48,N.41)

⁴⁷³ (AGI: "Capítulo de carta de Tenza sobre plazas superfluas, Manila 19-12-1618")

The Dutch continue to send fleets and soldiers to the islands. Then, as we have seen, they built a new fort on the island of Ternate (Calomata). On the other hand, the Spaniards also built another fort on the island of Tidore (Rum) and are building another one (Santa Lucia in Ternate).⁴⁷⁴ On February 4, 1619, 4 frigates loaded with food and materials for the “presidios” of Ternate left the Philippines, the ships arrived in Ternate without encountering enemy ships.

LETTER FROM VERGARA GAVIRIA ON THE SPANISH “PRESIDIOS”

In May 1619, the governor of Ternate, Lucas de Vergara Gavia in a letter to the King of Spain⁴⁷⁵ points out the big problems that the Spanish forces have in the face of the excessive power of means of the Dutch. Vergara once again complains about the scarcity of help that reached him, in fact in the three years of his government the misery of 80 soldiers without any galley had arrived, while in past years generally 150-200 soldiers and one or two galleys arrived every year, this situation is unsustainable and is aggravated by the fact that over 200 soldiers have died of disease or war in the past three years.

With the few soldiers he has at his disposal, he must garrison 10 fortresses (three located on the island of Ternate: Terrenate, San Pedro and Don Jil; three in Tidore: Tohula, Tomanira and Sokañora; three in Halmahera: Jailolo, Tafongo and Payaye; and one in the island of Sulawesi (Celebes): Manado) and was forced in the last year to build two more, one in Ternate (Santa Lucia) and another in Tidore (San Lucas de el Rume), because the Dutch had planned to occupy it, being these two places “puestos de tanta considerazion”.⁴⁷⁶

The fortresses in Spanish hands, Vergara informs us, have a third of the garrison they normally should have. Governor Fajardo had promised to send reinforcements as soon as possible. If these reinforcements do not arrive as soon as possible, Vergara believes he will be forced to abandon some of the garrisons, furthermore rumors have reached Ternate of the imminent arrival of two large fleets, one Dutch and one English and this would contribute considerably to aggravate the precarious position of the Spaniards.

Filipinas, 20, R. 12, N. 81)

⁴⁷⁴ ("Events in the Filipinas Islands, July 1618-1619, dated July 12, 1619; in Blair vol. 18 p. 223)

⁴⁷⁵ (AGI: “Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gavia al Rey defensa Maluco. Terrenate, 31 maggio 1619” Patronato, 47, R. 37)

⁴⁷⁶ (AGI: “Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gavia al Rey defensa Maluco. Terrenate, 31 may 1619” Patronato, 47, R. 37)

There are 6 companies of Spanish infantry and 2 of pampangas infantry, all these companies have very few soldiers, there are also Indians who serve as "gastadores" and in other duties. In addition to the small number of soldiers present, most of them are ill ("no ay ninguno en pie") with a disease that Vergara defines as "un mal pestilencial". Furthermore, the troops are never regularly paid and this is often a source of discontent among the soldiers and none of them is happy to be serving in Ternate "no ay hombre que no desea salir destas yslas". In order to solve the problem presented by the Dutch in the Moluccas, according to Vergara, it would be necessary for the King of Spain to send a large expedition which, combined with the forces present in the Philippines, would destroy once and for all the Dutch forces present "limpie esto destos corsarios".⁴⁷⁷

Vergara, who has been serving the King for 36 years now, informs us that he has asked the governor of the Philippines to resign from his post as governor of the Moluccas, because he feels very tired and infirm and unable to continue serving in this assignment. Vergara also makes an interesting suggestion regarding the power that the governor of the Moluccas should have, in fact he suggests that the governor should have the title of captain general with the faculty of appointing positions and promotions, without it being the governor of the Philippines to do this, says Vergara to encourage soldiers to serve in the best possible way because having someone on the spot who can see and reward heroic deeds stimulates others to do the same.⁴⁷⁸

Vergara informs the King of Spain that there are four islands where cloves are produced: Ternate, Tidore, Motiel and Maquien. The total annual production of these four islands is estimated at 15,000 quintals of cloves. Furthermore, in the island of Ambon, Vergara estimates, a similar quantity of cloves is produced. Of all this production, only a small part, 2,500 quintals, is traded by the Spaniards, all the rest of the production is traded by the Dutch, they then control all the nutmeg trade which is produced in the Banda Islands. This trade allows the Dutch to support the war against Spain and to arm and sustain the magnificent fleets that they send every year to the waters of the Moluccas. Vergara estimates that with the revenues of a single year of the production of these islands, the King of Spain could arm a huge fleet with which to drive the Dutch out of these waters once and for all.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ (AGI: "Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco. Terrenate, 31 may 1619" Patronato, 47, R. 37)

⁴⁷⁸ (AGI: "Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco. Terrenate, 31 may 1619" Patronato, 47, R. 37) (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. clxvii-clxviii, here are some excerpts from Vergara's letter)

⁴⁷⁹ (AGI: "Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco. Terrenate, 31 May 1619" Patronato, 47, R. 37)

In the Spanish archives there should exist another report of the Spanish and Dutch forts in the Moluccas written during these years by the captain and sergeant major Alonso Martin Quirante.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁸⁰ (Mentioned in Fajardo's Letter to King Philip III, 10 August 1619; in Blair vol. 18 pp. 256)

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE GOVERNMENT OF D. LUIS DE BRACAMONTE, February 1620-1623

THE ARRIVAL OF D. LUIS DE BRACAMONTE IN TERNATE

The new governor D. Luis de Bracamonte arrived in Ternate on February 10, 1620, with a fleet including 2 galleys and three "barcos mayores", the "patache" S. Buenaventura was also part of the same fleet, which however was captured by the Dutch during the journey to Ternate, right in sight of the Spanish fortress.

In command of the captured Spanish boat was the accountant Don Alonso Fajardo de Villalobos, who most likely lost the boat due to his inexperience and lack of courage, in fact, according to what the chronicler la Llave tells us, he surrendered to the Dutch without attempting to flee and to allow a resistance to his soldiers. In this action the Dutch captured a total of more than 100 people including 60 Spaniards, as well as much food (3,000 fanegas of rice) and ammunition destined for the Spanish garrisons of the Moluccas. As a partial relief for this serious loss, the Spaniards managed to capture a ship loaded with supplies from Ternate.

According to the "Report of events, 1620" Bracamonte's fleet consisted of 2 galleys and 4 or 5 "pataccos", with a large quantity of provisions on board and more than 200 soldiers. In the opinion of the governor of the Philippines Alonso Fajardo y Tenza, this army was the most abundant in money and men since the Spaniards had conquered Ternate.⁴⁸¹

In the same period, not only Dutch ships, but also ships from other European nations arrived in the waters of the Moluccas, attempting to establish bases or to undertake the lucrative spice trade. The French, English⁴⁸² and Danes established trading farms in Macassar on the island of Sulawesi (Celebes). Bloody battles often take place between other European nations, especially between the Dutch and the British.

THE SPICE TRADE

In an attempt to revitalize the revenues of the Spanish possessions in the Moluccas,

⁴⁸¹ (La Llave "Trienio" 13, cap. 14, p. 1210) ("Report of events, 1620" Blair vol. 19 pp. 60-61) (Pérez pp. 621-622) (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 1620 in Blair vol. 19 pp. 110-111)

⁴⁸² ("Report of events, 1620" Blair vol. 19 pp. 59-60)

the development of the spice trade was attempted. This trade was almost completely in Dutch hands. The king orders the construction of a clove storage farm in Ternate and plans to develop a profitable trade for the crown. The costs of the Spanish garrisons in the islands are enormous and attempts are made to reduce the wages of the soldiers and precisely to develop trade in order to make the maintenance of garrisons less burdensome for the royal coffers. However, the Spanish presence in the islands is deemed necessary, because otherwise the Dutch would have had ample freedom to practice their lucrative spice trade.⁴⁸³

According to Rios Coronel, the Moluccas annually produce 4,400 bares of cloves, each bares containing 640 pounds, for a total of 2,816,000 pounds, since in Europe a pound of cloves was sold for a ducat, the total production amounted to 2,816,000 ducats. The cost of the entire annual production of cloves can be purchased in the Moluccas for 100,000 ducats. These large profits were almost entirely the prerogative of the Dutch, who bought the fabric in Coromandel at 10, which they resold in the Moluccas at 50 in exchange for the cloves which were finally resold on the European market.⁴⁸⁴

In order to reduce the expenses of the crown, it was proposed to the king to use the island of Celebes, located two days of navigation from the Moluccas, as a food supply point. The island is rich in food that has a reduced cost compared to that of Manila, and finally the king of those parts is well disposed towards the Spaniards. From a military point of view, the massive use of galleys is recommended, 8 of them are requested to be stationed in Ternate, with them it will be easy to be able to capture or sink the Dutch ships in moments of calm wind, condition that occurs almost every day, and for 6-8 hours, in these islands.⁴⁸⁵

THE SPANISH TROOPS IN THE ISLANDS

Interesting information is given to us in the "Report of wages and expenses that His Majesty has to pay in the Moluccas Islands". This report describes in detail the troops and expenses that the Spanish crown supports for the occupation of the Moluccas. In addition to the troop commander, there are seven troop captains of foot and seven ensigns, seven sergeants 20 artillery men. In total, the Spanish forts are garrisoned by about 600 simple soldiers, of whom 140 are musketeers. Then there are two

⁴⁸³ (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 1620 in Blair vol. 19 p. 123, 140)

⁴⁸⁴ (Rios Coronel, Hernando de los "Memorial y relacion..." 1621, Madrid, Spagna. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 19 (1620-1621), p. 290)

⁴⁸⁵ (Rios Coronel, Hernando de los "Memorial y relacion..." 1621, Madrid, Spagna. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 19 (1620-1621), p. 259-264)

companies of pampangos made up of a total of 200 soldiers. The personnel assigned to the two galleys stationed on the islands. In the payroll of the King of Spain there are also 10 religious divided between Jesuits, Franciscans and a vicar. The presence of a hospital is also indicated. The total annual expenses for the crown of Spain amount to over 218,000 pesos.⁴⁸⁶ In this period the wages of the garrison soldiers stationed in the Moluccas and Manila were equalized by order of the king by the governor of the Philippines Alonso Fajardo y Tenza.⁴⁸⁷

In 1620-21, the relief fleet for the Moluccas arrived safely despite being awaited by three Dutch boats, this was possible thanks to the skill and courage of Antonio Gomez, captain of one of the ships of the fleet, who engaged the three Dutch ships in a fight that lasted three long hours and which allowed the other ships of the flotilla to take refuge under the artillery of the Spanish fort. With this expedition, more than 120 Spanish soldiers arrived on the islands to reinforce the garrisons, as well as rice, provisions, clothing and ammunition. These supplies were among the most abundant ever received by the Spanish troops at the Moluccas.⁴⁸⁸

In this year, problems are recorded with the traditional ally of the Spanish, the king of Tidore. The Spaniards discover that the Tidorese have poisoned a well where the Spanish troops go to get water, but the immediate discovery allows the Spaniards not to suffer damage, then later the problems with the Tidorese are resolved anyway. Good relations were also continued with the king of Macazar with whom the Spaniards exchanged gifts. Despite the climate of war, D. Luis de Bracamonte agrees with the Dutch on an exchange of prisoners. However, despite the reinforcements sent, the Spanish troops are always few for the needs of the garrisons, in addition there are many dead and sick due to the climate of the places and the continuous skirmishes with the Dutch. On the other hand, the Dutch continue to send ships and troops and enjoy an indisputable naval superiority over the Spanish.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ (Rios Coronel, Hernando de los "Memorial y relacion..." 1621, Madrid, Spain. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 19 (1620-1621), pp. 292-297)

⁴⁸⁷ (Letter from Fajardo to King Felipe III, 1620 in Blair vol. 19 p. 110)

⁴⁸⁸ ("News from the province of Filipinas, 1621" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 20 (1621-1624), p. 31) ("Letter from Fajardo to the King, July 21, 1621" In: Blair, E. H. and Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 20 (1621-1624), pp. 58-59 and p. 73) ("Letter from Jeronimo de Silva to the King, August 1, 1621" In: Blair, E. H. and Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 20 (1621-1624), p. 107)

⁴⁸⁹ ("News from the province of Filipinas, 1621" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 20 (1621-1624), p. 31) ("Letter from Fajardo to the King, July 21, 1621" In: Blair, E. H. and Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 20 (1621-1624), pp. 58-59 and p. 73) ("Letter from Jeronimo de Silva to the King, August 1, 1621" In: Blair, E. H. and Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 20 (1621-1624), p. 107)

INITIALLY THE DUTCH ARE NOT TOO INTERESTED IN ELIMINATING THE SPANISH PRESENCE FROM THE ISLANDS

However, the great Dutch naval power did not succeed in unhinging the Spanish presence, also because the Dutch did not have much interest in eliminating it completely from the islands, in fact the Spanish helped to curb the ambitions of the inhabitants of Ternate who, being sworn enemies of the Spanish, had of things to rely on the Dutch to be able to support themselves. Furthermore, the control of the clove-rich islands allowed the Dutch to dominate their trade without worrying much about the meager Spanish trade, to finish the agreement between the English and Dutch companies, had made the conquest of the Spanish forts unattractive for the latter because the English could request possession of it by virtue of the treaty, and this from the Dutch point of view was far more serious than the presence of Spanish garrisons on some islands. The Dutch pursued a policy of conservation of the current situation which was more congenial to them, they also tried to hinder the establishment of peace agreements between Ternate and Tidore.

SUBSEQUENTLY, DUE TO THE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN TERNATE AND THE SPANISH, THE DUTCH CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDE

A few years later, in 1621, however, the high costs for maintaining the garrisons in the forts that the Dutch are forced to occupy due to the Spanish presence, led to a completely opposite reasoning, in fact the fear of the Dutch, also due to a certain cooling of relations with their ally Ternate, was now that of a rapprochement between Ternate and the Spaniards. And in fact a certain rapprochement took place for mere commercial interest, through the Tidorese with whom a truce was stipulated, the Ternatese sold cloves to the Spaniards, who generally paid at higher prices than those agreed with the Dutch.⁴⁹⁰

The attempt also by the Spanish to get closer to the Ternatese was also continued later by the governor Pedro de Heredia who tried to play again the card of a return of the old sultan of Ternate, Said Berkat, to try to pacify the islands under the Spanish flag, but the death of the sultan in Manila in 1628 thwarted all negotiations. The cause of this rapprochement of the Spaniards towards the people of Ternate is certainly to be found in the cooling of relations with Tidore.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ (Tiele "De Europeërs in den Maleischen archipel" 1887 pp. 271-277) ("Instructie voor F. Houtman, gegeven te Ambon, 11 Juni 1621")

⁴⁹¹ (AGI "Carta de Niño de Távora con noticias de Terrenate de Heredia, 20-07-1626" Filipinas, 20, R.20, N.140) (AGI "Carta de Niño de Távora sobre liberar a rey de Terrenate, 30-10-1626" Filipinas, 20, R.20, N.151)

The hunger and basic necessities for soldiers was a constant throughout the period of Spanish occupation in the islands. Also in this period which is among the best in terms of sending aid from the Philippines. In a letter dated July 21, 1621, D. Fajardo de Tenca declares that, starting from the moment he took charge of the government of the Philippines, he sent almost 400 Spanish soldiers to the Moluccas.⁴⁹²

THE FORTS OF JAILOLO AND MANADOS ARE ABANDONED BY THE SPANISH

To try to reduce the expenses for the garrisons, under the government of Brancamonte the evacuation of some Spanish garrisons was proposed “propuso retirar algunas de las fuezas, que se hallaban repartidas por aquel archipelago”. Surely the garrisons stationed in Manados and Jailolo were withdrawn. This decision was made mainly due to the escalation of relations between the Spaniards and the Prince of Tidore. An attempt at rapprochement carried out by Brancamonte who sent an embassy to the King of Tidore, bypassing the Prince, had the opposite effect. The latter offended, approached the Ternatese and the Dutch, making agreements with them and causing the population of Tidore to rebel against the Spanish. The Tidorese also made contact with the British at Makassar.⁴⁹³

The abandonment of the two forts of Gilolo took place shortly after the month of March 1620, this was done to reinforce the garrisons of Ternate and Tidore. The control of the two forts was ceded by the Spaniards to the troops of the king of Tidore, their ally, but in August 1620, after repelling an initial attack carried out by 30 Ternatese korakoras against the low fort (which took place on 3 August), the troops of Tidore, surrendered to a Dutch ship coming to the aid of the besiegers, the first fort to surrender was the lower fort and shortly after the higher fort also capitulated. The two forts were taken over by a garrison of troops from Ternate. This occupation of the Jailolo forts by the Ternatese was viewed with an evil eye by Coen, who was concerned with skilfully maintaining the power relations maintained up to now.⁴⁹⁴ The Manados garrison was probably evacuated in 1621.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹² (“Letter from Fajardo to the King, 21 July 1621” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 20 (1621-1624), p. 49)

⁴⁹³ (Pérez pp. 622-623)

⁴⁹⁴ (Tiele, P.A. “De Europeans in the Malayan Archipelago, 1618-1623” pp. 272-273)

⁴⁹⁵ (AGI Filipinas, 7, R.5, N.65 “Carta de Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-12-1621”)

THE DUTCH ABANDON THE MARIEKO FORT AT TIDORE

Already in June 1621 Coen gave the order to dismantle the forts of Kalamata, Marieko and Sabua. This order caused the firm opposition of the sultan of Ternate and his council, who judged at least the forts of Kalamata and Sabua to be of fundamental importance, the first for the defense of Malayo from Spanish incursions, the second for the supply of food. To appease the spirits of Ternate, the order to dismantle the forts of Kalamata and Sabua was not carried out, on condition that at least 100 families of Ternate were left in Kalamata to provide for the maintenance of the fort.

Instead, only the fort of Marieko was dismantled and abandoned, which the Spaniards promptly occupied and rebuilt the fortifications and placed a garrison there. Even, mockingly, the Spanish offered the Dutch governor Frederik Houtman the powder in case he wanted to destroy and abandon other forts. The dates of the abandonment of Marieko by the Dutch and the occupation of the fort by the Spanish are to be placed between the end of 1621 and the beginning of 1622.⁴⁹⁶

However, the episodes of skirmishes between the Spanish and the Dutch and their allies continued even in this historical period. Between 1622 and 1621, upon Dutch request, a flotilla of 25 Ternate Korakoras attacked and captured a Spanish galleon in the waters of Ternate, 130 people were captured, the other 200 of whom 40 Spaniards died in the battle.⁴⁹⁷

As far as religious affairs are concerned, from 1620 to 1623 the Augustinian friar Silvestre de Torres was prior of Ternate.⁴⁹⁸ There is also an episode of martyrdom to record: On 30 August 1622 the Franciscan friar Blas de Palomino was killed in the kingdom of Tagolanda (he had arrived in Ternate in 1619).⁴⁹⁹ At the end of December 1622, Jacques Lefebvre became Dutch governor of the Moluccas he will remain in office until 1628.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁶ ("Instructie voor F. Houtman, gegeven te Ambon, 11 Juni 1621")(Tiele, P.A. "De Europeans in the Malayan Archipelago, 1618-1623" pp. 272-273) (Pérez p. 622) (Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban "Historia de las Islas Malucas" p. 133) ("Rapport gedaen by verscheyden personen (1622)" In: "Kronijk Hist. Gen. 1871, p. 327)

⁴⁹⁷ (Tiele, P.A. "De Europeans in the Malayan Archipelago, 1618-1623" p. 276)

⁴⁹⁸ (Friar Juan de Medina "History of the Augustinians in the Philippine Islands" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 22, p. 80 nota 34)

⁴⁹⁹ ("Early Franciscan Missions" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 293 nota 79)

⁵⁰⁰ (Generale Missiven I p. 177 nota 4)

CHAPTER NINE: THE GOVERNMENT OF PEDRO DE HEREDIA, February 1623-1636

THE ARRIVAL OF PEDRO DE HEREDIA IN TERNATE

Pedro de Heredia was a veteran of the Moluccas, and as governor he will set a record of tenure as he ruled the Moluccas continuously from 1623 to 1636. A highly experienced soldier, he had served the King of Spain before becoming governor of the Moluccas in military campaigns in Italy, Flanders and Brittany.

In 1605 he arrived in the Philippines with the position of ensign with the troops of Esquivel, which the king had sent to conquer Ternate. He participated, embarked on the captain ship, in the Ternate expedition of 1606, which led to the conquest of the fortress of Ternate. Then in the following years he served the King in Ternate with various positions including those of infantry captain, head of the galleys and sergeant major. He conquered and sacked twice the village of Gran Bocanora, and the fort of Jilolo.

His most important success was the capture in 1609⁵⁰¹ of the Dutch admiral van Caerden. Before Esquivel's death in March 1609, he was promoted to captain and sergeant major. He later participated in several clashes with the Dutch in the Philippines. He returned to Ternate on the occasion of de Silva's expedition of 1611 with the position of admiral, he was then appointed by him sergeant major of the "presidios" of the Moluccas.⁵⁰²

In 1620 we find him in Spain where he will be appointed by the King, on December 24, 1620, "alcaide de Terrenate y gobernador de la gente de Guerra de aquel presidio", but he will only take office in 1623, due to the long return journey from Spain.⁵⁰³

In May 1623, the new governor of the Spanish garrisons of the Moluccas, D. Pedro

⁵⁰¹ "Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [f] 1633-08-12" FILIPINAS,48,N.67 blocco 1 foglio 31

⁵⁰² (Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. clxiv-clxvii "Relacion de los servicios del Almirante Padro de Heredia, 4-10-1634" AGI 67-6-8) (AGI: "Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Pedro de Heredia, 20-07-1612" Filipinas,20,R.6,N.50)

⁵⁰³ (AGI "Nombramiento de Pedro de Heredia, 24-12-1620" Contratacion, 5788, L.2, F.246v-247v AGI "Real Provisión, 24-12-1620" Indiferente, 450, L.A6, F.125-126)

de Heredia, departed from Manila with a fleet of eight ships (2 galleys, 2 "pataches", 2 frigates and 2 "champanes"). After a stop in the port of Otong, the expedition headed for the island of Celebes, where the Spaniards maintained relations with the kingdom of Manados, here Heredia promised the king to send again as soon as possible a Spanish garrison, which had been withdrawn by the previous governor D. Luis de Bracamonte.⁵⁰⁴ The governor was accompanied to Ternate by his wife (Francisca de Guzman) and his son.⁵⁰⁵

The promise made to the king of Manado was promptly kept by Heredia, in fact Pedro de Heredia, established a fort in the northern part of the island of Celebes, in Manados, this fortified post was important for the Spanish garrisons because the area in which it was located produced a lot of rice, an essential food for the sustenance of the garrisons of Ternate. Heredia requested a force of 50 soldiers from the governor of the Philippines to garrison the new fort. Furthermore, he declared himself in favor of the return of the old sultan Said Berkat to Ternate.⁵⁰⁶

A LARGE DUTCH FLEET ARRIVES

In 1625 a large Dutch fleet, consisting of 11 boats and with 800 men on board reached Ternate.⁵⁰⁷ The Heredia letter of 4 April 1625, which gives us news of the arrival of this fleet, indicates that "A 5 deste março passado dieron fondo 14 navios delos estados de Olanda en su fuersas de Malayo que estan dos leguas destas y segun esauido por algunos de ellos que ecoxido en tierra pasaron por el nuevo estrecho de Mayres junto al de Magallanes y corrieron las costas del Piru y Nu.a España".

The situation is confused by the notes on the left of the map (probably added by some royal official) where the year of the arrival of the boats is clearly indicated, "Que a cinco de março de 624 dieron fondo 14 nauios de los estados de Olanda en sus fuerças de Malayo". What is reported in the note is certainly wrong, in fact, further on Heredia informs us that the general at the head of this fleet died in the port of Callao (Peru).

The fleet in question is certainly the "Nassausche Vloot" commanded by Admiral Jacques l'Hermite, in fact he will die on June 2, 1624 in front of the port of Callao,

⁵⁰⁴ (Pérez pp. 622-623)

⁵⁰⁵ (Pérez p. 623)

⁵⁰⁶ ("Letter from Felipe IV to Don Juan Niño de Tavora, Madrid September 3, 1627" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 22 pp. 146-)

⁵⁰⁷ ("Letter from Fernando de Silva to King Filipe IV, Manila August 4, 1625" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 22, pp. 67)

after his death the command was taken by Vice Admiral Gheen Huigen Schapenham. This fleet, made up of 12 vessels, had left Holland at the end of April 1623 and sailed through the Strait of Le Maire, then sailed up the coast of South America, where it raided the coasts of New Spain and Peru, from here it then reached Ternate where it arrived, as Heredia informs us, on 5 March 1625.⁵⁰⁸ Another letter, written from Manila to the King, also removes any doubts about the month of arrival of this Dutch fleet, this letter informs us that in March 1625, 14 large Dutch galleons arrived in Ternate, they came from Peru, where the previous year they had plundered its coasts.⁵⁰⁹ In this period, Pedro de Heredia should have, according to the King, 10 boats at his disposal to oppose the Dutch.⁵¹⁰

THE DUTCH ABANDON THE FORT OF CALOMATA

In March 1625 the Dutch dismantled and abandoned the fort of Calomata, which was located within musket range of the Spanish (Don Gil's) fort. The Spanish shortly afterwards, probably in January 1626, rebuilt and occupied the Calomata fort, which was located half a league from Malayo and had been dismantled by the Dutch shortly before. The occupation of the fort was carried out to prevent a new occupation of Calomata by the Dutch. With the occupation of the fort of Calomata, the Spaniards abandoned the fort of Santa Lucia, which was no longer of any use. In the same month of March 1625, the Dutch also dismantled the fort on the island of Moti, however it seems that in this case the Spaniards did not occupy the place with their own garrison. In April 1625, the Dutch probably also dismantled the fortress of Bachian "Y al presente an ydo a rretirlarla del Reyno de Ba(?)jan". The new relief fleet arrived at Ternate undamaged. In this period both Ternate and Tidore are at peace with the Spanish.⁵¹¹

However, despite the Dutch, in 1625, the Spanish forts of the Moluccas are well supplied with troops and supplies, Fernando de Silva tells us about this. While several grievances have reached Fernando de Silva about the work of Governor Pedro de Heredia, he is accused of trading with the Dutch and of subtracting taxes for the

⁵⁰⁸ Dutch documents indicate the date of arrival as 6 March 1625 (Tiele, P. A. & Heeres, J. E. "Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel" Vol. II, p. 37, 41)). (AGI: Filipinas,20,R.19,N.122 "Pedro de Heredia sobre situación de Terrenate 4-04-1625") (Dutch-Asiatic shipping II pp. 50-53)

⁵⁰⁹ (AGI "Carta de la ciudad de Manila sobre varios asuntos, 03-08-1625" Filipinas,27,N.129)

⁵¹⁰ ("Letter from Felipe IV to Don Juan Niño de Tavora, Madrid September 3, 1627" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 22 p. 147)

⁵¹¹ ("Letter from Fernando de Silva to Felipe IV, July 30, 1626" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 22, pp. 93-94) (AGI: Filipinas,20,R.19,N.122 "Pedro de Heredia sobre situación de Terrenate 4-04-1625") (Generale Missiven I p. 217)

export of cloves. His letter also confirms that the Dutch have dismantled the forts of Calomatas and Motil. The Spanish again consider returning the old sultan, Said Berkát, to Ternate, who is still a prisoner in Manila. It seems at the express request of some Ternatese who in return promise a peace treaty with Spain.⁵¹²

The condition of the Spanish garrisons in 1626 is the best it has ever been, for while supplies from Manila have arrived without loss, the Dutch have been helpless since the year before. It seems that the war in Flanders is hampering the arrival of reinforcements from Holland beyond measure. In 1626 the old king of Tidore died, one of his sons succeeded him to the throne. In the same year, the Ternatese made peace with the Spaniards and asked for the return of their old sultan, still a prisoner in Manila. The Dutch have no fleets in the Moluccas this year, they have 5 or 6 forts on the islands of Ternate, Machien and Motiel and a garrison of just 200 men in total. Spanish reports describe the Dutch position as very precarious, several defections in the Dutch ranks are reported, 6 or 8 Dutch soldiers went over to the Spanish in 1626.⁵¹³ Heredia, requested in Manila the return to Ternate of the old sultan, the governor of the Philippines Niño de Tavora expressed a favorable opinion on the return of the sultan, but before carrying out such an act, he expressly requested the opinion of the King by letter.⁵¹⁴ The sultan will never return to Ternate, because he will die in Manila in 1628.

THE SITUATION OF RELIGIOUS IN TERNATE

It is not clear in which year (in 1626 or in 1628), but both the convent and the adjoining royal hospital that the Franciscans had founded in Ternate caught fire, with them also burning a considerable part of the native village. It seems that the Franciscans after this misfortune wanted to leave Ternate, but the governor of the Philippines Juan Niño de Tavora prevented them from returning to Manila. The governor ordered Pedro de Heredia to rebuild the convent, which he did in a short time and with particular care, this time it was rebuilt entirely in stone.⁵¹⁵ In 1626,

⁵¹² ("Letter from Fernando de Silva to Felipe IV, August 4, 1625" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 22, pp. 69-70)

⁵¹³ ("Report of 1626" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 22, pp. 130-132)

⁵¹⁴ (AGI: "Carta de Niño de Távora sobre liberar a rey de Terrenate, Manila 30-10-1626" Filipinas, 20, R.20, N.151)

⁵¹⁵ See: ("Entrada de la seraphica religion de nuestro P. S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas" pp. 45-46, manoscritto del 1649, pubblicato in: Rentana, W. E. "Archivo del bibliófilo filipino" Tomo 1) ("Lettera del governatore Tavora a Felipe IV, Manila 4 agosto 1628" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 22, p. 270) ("Early Franciscan Missions" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 306)

Pedro de Heredia, rebuilt the convent of the Franciscan friars of Ternate (convent of San Antonio de Terrenate) at his own cost, with lime and stone.⁵¹⁶ It seems that around these years the Augustinian convent of Ternate was abandoned.⁵¹⁷

THE "SOCORRO" OF 1627

The reinforcements for Ternate in 1627 (late 1627 or early 1628) consisted of three “pataccos” captained by Francisco Hernandez⁵¹⁸, they are attacked in sight of Ternate by a large and well equipped Dutch boat, two of the Spanish ships manage to take refuge under the cannons of the Spanish fortress, but the third, the one where Captain Hernandez was, seeing any escape route precluded, rushed to attack of the Dutch ship, a galley was sent from Ternate to help the Spanish boat, the battle was going well for the Spanish, when a shot fired by the Dutch hit the powder that the Spanish had on the deck of the ship, it caught fire and the Spaniards were forced to throw themselves into the sea whence they swam to nearby land. In the meantime the galley, fearing the fire that was raging on the other Spanish ship, had approached dangerously the Dutch ship, the panicked men of the galley all gathered on one side of the ship, this led to the sudden capsizing of the vessel, which within minutes it sank. The Spanish were badly defeated in this battle.⁵¹⁹

Governor Tavora gives news in his letter to the king that many desertions take place in Ternate due to the non-payment of wages to the soldiers and the great lack of food from which the Spanish garrisons suffer.⁵²⁰

Between the end of 1628 and the beginning of 1629 a galley and various “pataccos” were sent to Ternate. A large and well-armed Dutch ship tried to provoke the Spanish by firing artillery towards the Spanish fort, so Pedro de Heredia, although he had vastly inferior vessels at his disposal, decided to engage her. Heredia armed two

⁵¹⁶ (Pérez pp. 629-631)

⁵¹⁷ (Fr. Juan de Medina “History of the Agustian order in the Filipinas Islands” 1630 (published: 1893, Manila) In: Blair vol. 24, p. 155 e anche Blair vol. 24, p.15)

⁵¹⁸ He was a Ternate veteran, having served (as soldier, sergeant, ensign, adjutant and infantry captain) for twenty years in the garrisons of the Moluccas. In addition to being commander of the “relief” fleet, he was appointed captain of a company of Spanish infantry and commander of the royal galleys, both of which were assumed to replace Pedro Tufiño. All these offices were conferred on him on October 29, 1627 by Governor Tavora. (“Report of promotions made by Governor Tavora” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 22, p. 232)

⁵¹⁹ (“Report of 1627-1628” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 22, pp. 201-202)

⁵²⁰ (“Letter from Governor Tavora to Felipe IV, Manila August 4, 1628” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 22, p. 264)

“patccos” and a galley and stormed the Dutch ship, the Dutch were defeated and forced into a hasty retreat to Malayo, the Dutch ship's commander was arrested for his conduct. Some Spanish and Dutch soldiers died in the battle.⁵²¹

The Spaniards tried to develop the cultivation of cloves, the governor Tavora declared that he could collect at least 50 bars of cloves a year (which have a value of 4,000 pesos in the Moluccas), which if sold on the Indian market could yield at least 35,000 pesos.⁵²²

THE “SOCORRO” OF 1629

In mid-November 1629, the governor of the Philippines D. Juan Niño de Tavora sent a fleet consisting of two ships and a “patacco” to Ternate loaded with provisions and other material for the Spanish garrisons of the Maluku Islands. The expedition was hit, two leagues from a port (Mindanao ? Manados?) where they had to load rice and food for the Ternate garrison, by a violent storm that led to the loss of the ship “almiranta”. The cargo of the ship was however brought to safety as well as the artillery. The other two boats reached Ternate without problems.

This happened also thanks to the favorable circumstances, in fact, the governor of Ternate, Pedro de Heredia, helped by troops of the king of Tidore, kept the Dutch and their Ternate allies under pressure. He attacked the village “de los terrenates” near the fort of Malayo, which forced the Dutch, who were patrolling the sea with a ship awaiting the “socorro”, to relax their guard over the control of ships passing through the Spanish city of Ternate. Thanks to this the two Spanish boats reached Ternate without being harassed by the Dutch ships. Due to the loss of the ship “Almiranta” two more “pataccos” were later sent with provisions, but only the second reached the islands.

During the last two or three years Dutch power in the Moluccan seas appears to have been very feeble, but the Spaniards are much alarmed by reports from Ambon, whence it appears that a large Dutch fleet is in the process of setting sail for Ternate: “Dezia se quedauan 30 naos del olandes en la isla de Ambueno y que de ellas llegariam la mitad a Terrenate para hazer Rey de los naturales (ayn ?) moro que quieren introducir en el gouierno”.⁵²³

⁵²¹ (“Report of 1628-1629” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 22, pp. 304-305)

⁵²² (“Letter from Governor Tavora to Felipe IV, Cavite August 1, 1629” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 23, pp. 29-32)

⁵²³ (AGI “Carta de Niño de Távora sobre Japón, Terrenate, Mindanao..., 30-07-1630”)

THE SITUATION BETWEEN 1630 AND 1632

From July 1630 until 1632, little or no reinforcements appear to have come to the Dutch in the Moluccas. These years are described as a period of peace in the troubled history of the Spanish outposts in the spice islands.⁵²⁴

Between the end of 1631 and the beginning of 1632, 4 reinforcements were sent to the Moluccas and all successfully arrived in Ternate. Pedro de Heredia would like to be taken over from his post as governor of Ternate. Even during these years the Dutch seem less strong in the seas of the Moluccas. However according to Tavora the troops stationed in the Moluccas are always too few to be able to easily fight against the Dutch. In order to be able to cope with the Dutch power (but also with the emerging English, Danish and French companies), Tavora suggests to the King the union of the Spanish armies with the Portuguese ones, he asks for the union of Macao and Malacca to the government of the Philippines, only in this way it will be possible to have forces sufficient to repel the Dutch.⁵²⁵

In 1632, 6 companies of Spanish soldiers were stationed on the Moluccas. The fleets that are sent to Ternate every year, with food and soldiers for the garrisons, are by far the riskiest and most costly expeditions for the Spanish treasury. They have to move in seas infested by Dutch enemy ships, to try to solve these problems, the "socorro" fleet of 1632, is sent from Manila, at the suggestion of Pedro de Heredia, with a fortified and large vessel and hardly attackable by the Dutch, thanks to this, the fleet reaches Ternate without encountering dangers.

It was also proposed to the king to carry out a rotation of the companies stationed in the Moluccas every three years.⁵²⁶ Juan Cerezo requests the king to appoint a new governor of the Moluccas in place of Pedro de Heredia, now old and wealthy. Several adjustments are proposed to the king to reduce the expenses that the crown has in maintaining the garrisons in the Moluccas, among others the suppression of the galleys with the exception of the only galley of Ternate, which are judged of very

FILIPINAS,8,R.1,N.9) anche in: Blair vol. 23, pp. 95-96

⁵²⁴ (Blair vol. 23, p. 92) ("Events in Filipinas, 1630-1632" In: Blair vol. 24 p. 229)

⁵²⁵ ("Letter from Don Juan Niño de Tavora to Felipe IV, July 8, 1632" published in: Blair vol. 24, pp. 217-220)

⁵²⁶ For this purpose, each "relief" fleet will embark two new infantry companies in order to replace two companies per year/"relief" which will lead to the complete replacement of the soldiers present in the garrisons every three years.

little use⁵²⁷ and finally the suppression of various useless positions, such as that of captain general of the artillery. Another proposal is to clearly define the jurisdiction and fields of maneuver of the various officers.⁵²⁸ Most of these proposals will be approved by the King of Spain, as we will see, in 1635.

In the first months of 1633 an important "socorro" was sent to Ternate, it consisted of a large galleon and was led by the captain Don Jeronimo de Somonte, before arriving in Ternate the boat was confronted by two Dutch ships that were waiting for the "socorro" to attack it, there was a fight that ended in favor of the Spaniards. The Audiencia underlines the importance of having sent the rescue in a large ship otherwise it would have easily been prey to the Dutch.⁵²⁹

In 1634 Lope de Colindres moved to Ternate in the galleon 'capitana San Juan Baptista', with the fleet of General Don Geronimo de Somonte. During this trip, the Spanish fleet had a hard fight with a Dutch vessel which was waiting to prevent the arrival of relief in Ternate. The battle lasted 5 hours and in the end the Dutch were forced to withdraw under their fortress, according to Spanish sources the Dutch lost 30 men as well as many wounded, and their ship was badly damaged. In the battle Lope de Colindres was in charge of the artillery below deck which turned out to be of great importance in the battle.⁵³⁰

RISK OF MUTINY

In August 1633, the soldiers of the Spanish garrison of Ternate are on the verge of mutiny, mainly, it seems, due to an edict issued by the commissioner of the Holy Office, Father Manuel Rinto (Immanuel Rivero), which concerned the sins against nature and which included many sins. He had given two months to expiate his sins and it was understood by the soldiers that even Governor Heredia would have judged who to acquit and who not.⁵³¹

⁵²⁷ In a subsequent letter, Cerazo declares that he has changed his opinion on the usefulness of the galleys and declares that they are useful for helping the garrisons of Ternate in case of need. ("Letter from Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca to Felipe IV, August 10, 1634" published in: Blair vol. 24, p. 329)

⁵²⁸ ("Letter from Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca to Felipe IV, August 14, 1633" published in: Blair vol. 24, pp. 279-285)

⁵²⁹ (AGI "Carta de la Audiencia sobre gobierno, 08-08-1633" Filipinas,21,R.7,N.23)

⁵³⁰ ("Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Tulaque en Cagayan a Lope de Colindres. Resuelto, [f] 24-04-1649" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.2)

⁵³¹ ("Letter from Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca to Felipe IV, August 10, 1634" published in: Blair vol. 24, pp. 330-334) ("Real Cedula, 6 novembre 1636" in: Blair vol.27 pp. 50-52)

Two large war galleons were promptly sent from the Philippines with a company of volunteers, troops judged to be of the highest standard. Admiral Don Jeronimo de Tremonte was placed in command of this expedition. In the vicinity of Ternate, the Spanish ships are attacked by a Dutch ship, which was waiting for them in the port of Malayo, the clash between the Spanish and the Dutch lasted eight long hours, but in the end the Dutch were forced to flee with heavy losses. The Spaniards in this engagement lost 7 men including the chief pilot of the ships.⁵³²

This victory will prove to be very important to block the insurrection of the Ternate garrison, which was only waiting for the defeat of the Spanish reinforcements to rebel against the commander and his officers. Meanwhile Heredia, assisted by the sergeant major Juan Gonzalez de Casares Melon, had imprisoned 150 rebel soldiers, many had died in prison and 11 had been executed, when the reinforcements arrived only 40 prisoners were still alive, the survivors were sent to Manila for be judged. The volunteer troops remained in Ternate, and the soldiers of the presidios were supplied with clothing and food, more than 140 soldiers were replaced. In 1634 there were 600 Spanish soldiers garrisoning the Spanish forts in the Moluccas.⁵³³

A bad blow comes to the Spaniards from the non-recognition of the king of Tidore Cachil Varo by the Ternatese, in fact they recognize as king of Tidore the Cachil Borotalo, a faithful ally of the Dutch and who until then had lived in fort Orange and had served the Dutch as commander naval. Cachil Varo, however, seems for the moment to have the support of the majority of the population and of the chiefs of the island of Tidore. He has as his main residence his fort of Tidore, which is by far the most important fort on the island, more important even than the forts held on the island by the Spanish. Heredia tries to remain neutral in the face of this dispute, but the Cachil Varo accuses him of being responsible for the uprising by his conduct. However Cachil Varo himself declares himself a firm friend of the Spaniards. Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca, intends to send aid to Cachil Varo, with the next "rescue" in October 1634.⁵³⁴

Governor Pedro de Heredia, in a letter sent to the king and dated May 13, 1634, complains about the miserable state of the reinforcements sent to the Moluccas from Manila. In the same letter Heredia informs the king of an expedition that the Spaniards had made against the island of Fafares, where Ternitese and Dutch troops were. The command of this expedition had been placed by the sergeant major Juan

⁵³² ("Letter from Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca to Felipe IV, August 10, 1634" published in: Blair vol. 24, pp. 330-334) ("Real Cedula, 6 novembre 1636" in: Blair vol.27 pp. 50-52)

⁵³³ (Real Cedula, 10 marzo 1634, in: Blair vol. 25 p. 41)

⁵³⁴ ("Letter from Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca to Felipe IV, August 10, 1634" published in: Blair vol. 24, pp. 330-334) ("Real Cedula, 6 novembre 1636" in: Blair vol.27 pp. 50-52)

Gonzalez de Casares Melon who with the galley guard and a good number of infantry soldiers attacked the enemy fort conquering and destroying it. In addition to the destruction of the enemy fort, 400 Muslims were killed and 150 were taken prisoner, 10 pieces of artillery, many muskets and arquebuses were also captured.⁵³⁵

THE ORGANIZATION OF SPANISH TROOPS IN THE MOLUCCAS

With a decree of 1635, addressed to the governor of the Philippines D. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, the king orders not to send any more prisoners to the troops destined for Ternate, furthermore he orders the rotation of the troops in the islands every three years. In fact, the scheme is to send two infantry companies (200 men) to Ternate every year to relieve another two, so that the whole garrison of the Moluccas, which amounts to 600 men, can be completely renewed every three years. In the same decree, the king approves that the change of troops and the transport of goods destined for Ternate be done using large war galleons, so that attacks by the Dutch are difficult.⁵³⁶

Starting from 1635, on the basis of the revision of wages and rations made by the new governor of the Philippines Corcuera, an act made precisely to try to reduce the expenses of the Moluccas. The guardian of the royal warehouses, of provisions, weapons and ammunition for the forts of Ternate, receives a salary of 300 pesos a year without any rations. In the forts of Ternate there must be two infantry helpers, one with a salary of 360 pesos a year and the other with a salary of 96 pesos a year (the salary of a simple soldier). The Pampagos soldiers garrisoned in the Moluccas were to receive an annual salary of 48 pesos of 8 reals each. The Pampagos soldiers will be placed in two companies which will be commanded by the "mestre de campo" and his sergeant major, each of whom will receive a salary of 250 pesos a year. The two ensigns of the Pampagos troops will each receive 150 pesos a year. Each sergeant of the pampagos will receive 120 pesos a year. The role of artillery captain was then abolished.⁵³⁷

The surgeon of the Royal Hospital of Ternate receives a salary of 600 pesos a year, without rations. The camp captain receives an annual salary of 150 pesos. The

⁵³⁵ ("Real Cedula, 6 november 1636" in: Blair vol.27 pp. 50-52)

⁵³⁶ (Real Cedula, 5 november 1635, in: Blair vol. 25 pp. 46-47) (Marginal note of the "Letter from Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca to Felipe IV, August 10, 1634" published in: Blair vol. 24, p. 332) ("Letter from Felipe IV to Courcuera, October 11, 1636" published in: Blair vol. 27, p. 42)

⁵³⁷ (Review of wages and rations made on September 4, 1635, in the Letter of the Governor of the Philippines Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera to King Felipe IV, September 4, 1635, in: Blair vol. 26 p. 201-213)

military notary, who until now has received a salary of 200 pesos a year will no longer be entitled to a salary; even the four substitutes will no longer have the right to pay. The chief gunner of the artillery shall be entitled to a salary of 250 pesos. The galley captains are abolished, their positions will be taken by the master of the galleys, who will collect the real incomes and account for them, he will receive a salary of 250 pesos, he will then be entitled to the daily rations only when he is embarked, otherwise not. The boatswain of the galleys will receive a wage of 200 pesos and rations only when he is embarked. The second-in-command boatswain of the galleys will receive an annual pay of 150 pesos and 30 "gantas" of rice, when ashore, and the usual rations if embarked. The guards and corporals of the galleys are abolished, because they are useless. The galley captain will receive 200 pesos a year plus the usual ration if embarked. Pilots sailing between these islands will receive wages of 500 pesos in addition to rations. Spanish seamen will receive pay of 100 pesos a year on top of the ordinary ration if embarked, while Indian seamen will receive 48 pesos a year on top of the usual ration.⁵³⁸

In the forts of Ternate there are 6 companies of Spanish infantry, with 5 captains, while the commander of the 6th company is the governor of the islands. Then there are 6 ensigns, 6 sergeants, 24 junior posts and 480 soldiers, i.e. 80 soldiers for each company. Finally there are 2 assistants to the sergeant major.⁵³⁹ In 1635, the reinforcements sent to Ternate were made up of 200 Spanish soldiers and 100 pampangos organized in three companies.⁵⁴⁰ Pedro de Heredia will be governor of Ternate until 1636, in fact there is a document signed by Pedro de Heredia, governor of Ternate, dated Ternate, May 11, 1636.⁵⁴¹ A few months after his return to Manila, Pedro de Heredia died, he left all his properties to charity.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁸ (Review of wages and rations made on September 4, 1635, in the Letter of the Governor of the Philippines Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera to King Felipe IV, September 4, 1635, in: Blair vol. 26 p. 201-213)

⁵³⁹ (Letter from the Governor of the Philippines Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera to King Felipe IV, June 20, 1636, in: Blair vol. 26 p. 310)

⁵⁴⁰ (Letter from the Governor of the Philippines Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera to King Felipe IV, June 30, 1636, in: Blair vol. 26 p. 197)

⁵⁴¹ ("Confirmación de encomienda de Pata, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Pata y Masi en Cagayan a Hernando López del Clavo. Resuelto, [f] 1667-11-10" FILIPINAS, 53, N.9 foglio 56)

⁵⁴² ("Events in Filipinas, 1637-1638" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 29 p. 30)

CHAPTER TEN: THE GOVERNMENT OF PEDRO MUÑOZ DE CARMONA Y MENDIOLA, March 1636-January 1640

THE ARRIVAL OF PEDRO MUÑOZ DE CARMONA Y MENDIOLA IN TERNATE

The new governor of Ternate D. Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, appointed "alcayde", governor and "castellan" of Ternate, departed from the port of Cavite on January 9, 1636. On board his ship was also a company of Spanish infantry. He arrived in Ternate on March 7, 1636 and ruled Ternate until January 22, 1640.⁵⁴³

THE COST OF THE GARRISONS OF THE MOLUCCAS

The cost of fighting the Dutch and maintaining the Spanish garrisons of the Moluccas accounts for more than a third of all Philippine expenditure. Military expenses are the ones that have the greatest impact on the budget of the Moluccas, the castellan and governor of the Moluccas receives 2,750 pesos, the two adjutants of the sergeant major 850 pesos each. Then there are 7 companies of foot soldiers for a total of 570 soldiers. The captains of each company each receive 600 pesos. Each ensign 240 pesos, each sergeant 120 pesos, each corporal receives 30 pesos more than the normal soldiers' pay. In addition, each company receives 30 scudos in addition to their normal pay. The total cost of each of these companies is 9,809 pesos.

In the garrisons of the Moluccas there are also two "Pampangos" infantry companies with 200 soldiers. Each captain receives 288 pesos, each ensign 192, each sergeant 144 and each foot soldier 72 pesos. These two infantry companies cost 13,312 pesos. In the garrison of Ternate on the payroll there is also a surgeon whose salary is 664 pesos, an artillery captain with a salary of 480 pesos, a "constable" with 300 pesos, a field captain 330 pesos, a notary of war 200 pesos, an accountant and factor 1,150 pesos, a chief clerk 400 pesos, another clerk 150 pesos, a notary of the royal treasury 250 pesos, an accountant and paymaster 523 pesos, 20 sailors 150 pesos and a "ganta" of rice for one, a "cura" 50,000 maravedis, a sacristan 25,000 maravedis and seven religious, 4 Franciscans and 3 Jesuits, to whom 1,330 pesos are given. The total amount of expenses of the Moluccas garrisons is 97,128 pesos, 3 reals.

⁵⁴³ (AGI: "Informaciones, Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, 1649" Filipinas, 61, N.26 f. a12, h9)

The two captains of the two Ternate galleys each receive 699 and a half pesos. Each galley has a chief who receives 170 pesos, a master of the galleys who receives 300 pesos, a boatswain 250 pesos, a boatswain's assistant 217 and a half pesos, an "alguacil" 230 pesos, an oarmaker 230, 3 sailors each 133 pesos, finally there are the approximately 180 prisoners assigned to the galley who each receive 27 pesos and 2 reals as well as 3 pesos in clothes. The upkeep of each Ternate galley costs a total of about 7,500 pesos.⁵⁴⁴ The costs for the Ternate hospital amount to 1,000 pesos.⁵⁴⁵ The total cost that the crown of Spain has to bear for the maintenance of the Moluccas amounts to about 290,000 pesos.⁵⁴⁶

A NAVAL CLASH WITH THE DUTCH

In January 1637 (or during the year 1636 as it is reported in the Meritos of Pedro Fernandez del Rio) a new fleet of "socorro" was sent to Ternate it was composed of 2 large ships, a "patache" and a galley (in Corcuera's letter two "pataccos" and no galleys are indicated⁵⁴⁷ and several⁵⁴⁸ large "champanos" in command was General Hieronimo Enriques Sotelo (Geronimo Henriquez) who was embarked on the San Luis galleon, while on the other galleon was Admiral Don Pedro de Altomonte (who had also participated in the previous year's expedition), while in command of the "patache" was Don Alonso de Alcoçer. Finally, in command of the new galley "San Francisco Xavier" was Rafael Gomes.

Pedro Fernandez del Rio, who we will later find as governor of the Moluccas, will also participate in this "socorro".. On board the ships were 200 Spanish foot soldiers and 200 sailors. Two Dutch ships which were at Ternate, and which were waiting for the Spanish fleet to attack it, at the sight of the large fleet, took refuge in the shelter of the cannons of their fortress of Malayo. After having landed the supplies, the Spanish ships attempted a sortie, the galleons and galleys attacked the Dutch and bombarded "desde las diez del dia hasta puesto el sol" both the fortress and the two Dutch ships⁵⁴⁹, the Spanish attack caused heavy damage to both the fort and the ships, in the

⁵⁴⁴ ("Memorial Grau y Montfalcon, 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 pp. 128-130)

⁵⁴⁵ ("Memorial Grau y Montfalcon, 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 p. 125)

⁵⁴⁶ ("Memorial Grau y Montfalcon, 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 pp. 139)

⁵⁴⁷ ("Letter by Corcuera to Felipe IV, 20 August 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 p. 348)

⁵⁴⁸ They are 6 according to ("Letter by Corcuera to Felipe IV, 20 August 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 p. 348)

⁵⁴⁹ Nei "Meritos: Pedro Fernández del Rio, 05-1647", si parla di tre navi olandesi.

clash the Spanish ship *Almiranta*, where Fernández del Rio was in charge of the artillery, suffered damage and the Spanish had a sailor killed. This action caused a huge impression among the inhabitants of the islands, even the king of Tidore congratulated General Hieronimo Enriques Sotelo (Geronimo Henriquez) and Admiral D. Pedro de Altomonte. Several Dutch soldiers deserted and took refuge in the Spanish fort, they will be sent to Manila with the two galleons. After this clash the two galleons and the patacco returned to Manila without however bringing cloves because there had been no harvest this year. In Ternate, however, the galley remained, which flanked the other galley already present in Ternate.

Shortly after the departure of the Spanish galleons, the two Dutch ships also put to sea, but during a calm wind they were promptly attacked by the two spanish galleys⁵⁵⁰ spagnole, during the engagement one of the ships was nearly overwhelmed, but a sudden increase in the wind allowed the two ships to disengage. News also arrives of an ongoing rebellion against the king of Manados, an ally of the Spaniards, who on this occasion asked the governor Mendiola for help. The sixteen-year-old or seventeen-year-old son of the king also arrived from Manados, sent to Ternate to be educated among the Spaniards, finally the king asked for friars to be sent to baptize his vassals. Promptly Mendiola sent the requested aid to Manados and the Jesuit Father Pantaleon was sent with them.⁵⁵¹

At the end of October 1638, a champan brought good news from Ternate. In fact, Sergeant Major Francisco Hernandez had raided enemies with good results. He captured in Macasar (Manados), the Spanish soldiers who had deserted the year before together with Captain Ramos (who had later been killed during a quarrel between the deserters), they were arrested and sent to the galleys.

The two galleons of the "socorro" of Ternate set sail on the night of 21 November 1638, the flag-bearer was the "San Luis", while the flagship was the "San Juan", the fleet commander was Don Pedro de Altomonte, while the admiral was Don Alonso de Alçocer, Pedro Fernández del Rio also participated in this expedition as captain and sergeant major, he was in charge of the expedition from Cavite to Zamboanga, where he ceded command to Don Pedro de Altomonte. The flagship ship will return,

⁵⁵⁰ In command of the old galley was Don Agustin de Cepada.

⁵⁵¹ (Pimpín, T. "Sucesos felices que por mar y tierra ha dado N.tro Señor a las armas Españolas en las Islas Filipinas contra el Mindanao y en las de Terrenate, contra los Holandeses por fin del año de 1636 y principio del de 1637" Published in: Rentana, W. E. "Archivo del bibliófilo filipino" Tomo IV pp. 134-136) ("Events in Filipinas, 1636-1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 pp. 312-314) ("Letter from Corcuera to Felipe IV, August 20, 1637" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 27 p. 348) ("Events in Filipinas, 1637-1638" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 29 p. 32, 36) (AGI: "Meritos: Pedro Fernández del Rio, 05-1647" Indiferente,113,N.50)

together with the patacco, from this expedition on April 18, 1639, while the ship *Almiranta*, which had lost contact with the other boats near the coast of the island of Celebes, returned on May 30.⁵⁵² With the ships returning from Ternate also arrived 150 warriors from the island of Siao and 50 Christians from Ternate who took part in the wars on the island of Mindanao in 1639.⁵⁵³ The Franciscan friar Bartolomé de San Diego and his brother Miguel de San Buenaventura, preached (between 1630 and 1640) in the missions of Calonga and Tabuca, islands probably part of the archipelago of the Talud islands, located between Sulawesi and Mindanao.⁵⁵⁴

ALLIANCE BETWEEN TERNATE AND TIDORE

In the Moluccas, the kings of Ternate and Tidore made peace and formed an alliance. Governor Mendiola, worried by these events, sent to Manila to ask for help Father Manuel Carballo, rector of the Jesuit convent of Ternate, he arrived in Manila on August 11, 1639. The cause of this radical change of policy by the king of Tidore seems to be purely formal, in fact the reasons given by the king are linked to the failure to deliver, in the last 4 years, the traditional gift that the king of Spain sent every year through the governor of the Philippines to the king of Tidore. In any case, the rector believes that the king may have, in addition to these motivations, other unknown and therefore more dangerous motives. To resolve the matter, a new governor, Francisco de Figueroa, was sent to Ternate.⁵⁵⁵

In 1639, a boat sent to Ternate with several pieces of artillery on board was attacked by a violent storm, the ship was forced to return to the port of departure, where due to bad weather all the artillery was lost.⁵⁵⁶ On October 31, 1639, another boat from Ternate arrived in Manila, it brought bad news for the Spaniards. In fact, the old king of Tidore, the *cachil* Naro, had been killed by the Ternatese and Tidorese, helped by the Dutch, he had been deposed by Pedro de Heredia, but the king of Spain had ordered to reinstate him to power because he was considered more reliable and faithful of the present king of Tidore. For fear of rebellions, reinforcements were

⁵⁵² ("Events in Filipinas, 1638-1639" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 29 pp. 150-152, 158) ("Meritos: Pedro Fernández del Rio, 05-1647" A.G.I. Indiferente, 113, N.50)

⁵⁵³ ("Events in Filipinas, 1638-1639" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 29 p. 158)

⁵⁵⁴ ("Early Franciscan Missions" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 309 e nota 90)

⁵⁵⁵ ("Events in Filipinas, agosto 1639- agosto 1640" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 29 pp. 195-196)

⁵⁵⁶ ("Letter from Philip IV to Corcuera, August 4, 1643" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 166)

promptly sent to the islands, on November 5, 1639, the "socorro" fleet left for the Moluccas, commanded by Captain Andres de Urbina the fleet was well stocked with men and provisions, the patacco "San Nicolas" was also sent the chief pilot was Captain Machado, moreover it seems that several galleys were sent.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁷ ("Events in Filipinas, agosto 1639- agosto 1640" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 29 pp. 198-201)

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE LAST SPANISH GOVERNORS OF TERNATE, 1640-1663

D. FRANCISCO SUÁREZ DE FIGUEROA Y ACEVEDO, January 1640-1642

The new governor D. Francisco Suarez de Figueroa had left Spain for the Philippines in 1608 together with D. Juan de Silva, with whom he had family ties and had served the king in Ternate during the rule of D. Gerónimo de Silva.⁵⁵⁸ He succeeded Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola on January 23, 1640.⁵⁵⁹

In 1640 the cost that the crown of Spain bears for the maintenance of the Moluccas is more than 230,000 pesos a year, divided as follows: 97,128 pesos for wages, 30,000 pesos for supplies, 4,000 pesos for religious and real treasury administrators and finally 100,000 pesos for the fleet.⁵⁶⁰

During the government of D. Francisco Suárez de Figueroa requests for religious arrived from the island of Celebes, according to what the Franciscan friar Juan Iranzo⁵⁶¹ (Iranço) writes from Manados, many inhabitants of the island (he gives the figure of 100,000 people) would like to become Christians. By friar Iranço, 13 or 14 chiefs of Manados had been sent to Ternate to educate them in the Catholic religion, they were baptized in the convent of San Antonio. The inhabitants of Manados are described as extremely industrious, of robust constitution and fair complexion, while the island is fertile and rice and other cereals grow there in abundance. Following this request, the governor of the Moluccas sent a champan with 12 Spaniards and a religious (friar Lorenzo Garraldo or Garalda⁵⁶²) to help friar Iranço, the leaders of Manados previously baptized in Ternate also embarked on this boat.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁸ (Pérez, pp. 631-632)

⁵⁵⁹ (AGI: "Informaciones, Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, 1649" Filipinas, 61, N.26 *foglio a12*)

⁵⁶⁰ ("Commerce between the Filipinas and Nueva España" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 30 p. 47)

⁵⁶¹ Friar Irazo will stay in the Moluccas and Manados for six years from 1639 to 1645. ("News from Filipinas, 1640-1642" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 122 nota 28)

⁵⁶² He had arrived in Ternate in 1638 and had lived here for some years in the Franciscan convent. ("Early Franciscan Missions" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 308 nota 88)

⁵⁶³ ("News from Filipinas, 1640-1642" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 122-123) ("Early Franciscan Missions" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 308)

The relief of 1640 had as captain general of the ships and the galley, the old governor, D. Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola.⁵⁶⁴ With the same assistance also arrived Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, the newly appointed adjutant of the sergeant major of Ternate.⁵⁶⁵

On January 1, 1641, the "socorro" fleet sent from Manila to Ternate stopped in the garrison of Zamboanga (island of Mindanao), it consisted of a galley, two "pataches" and eight "champanes".⁵⁶⁶ Relief troops to the Moluccas are usually sent from Manila during November-December, as that is when the northerly winds blow. The reverse journey (Moluccas-Manila) is instead carried out starting from mid-May, when the winds blow from the south.⁵⁶⁷

In 1641, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, serving as adjutant to the sergeant major, having captured a Spanish "parao" between the fort of Sancta Lucia and the "Rrio Grande" by the Dutch and Ternate, was sent, by order of Captain Don Francisco del Castillo Caeza de Baca (who was superior head of the galleys), in pursuit of the enemies with 15 Spaniards and as many "merdicas", an armed confrontation ensued where the Dutch were put to flight and were forced to retreat to their Malayo force.⁵⁶⁸

In 1642 some villages (called Meados) of the kingdom of Manados rose up against the Spanish, apparently due to the behavior of some Spanish traders who were there to buy supplies. The Franciscans who had a mission there also paid the price for this upheaval. Friar Lorenzo Garraldo (Garalda) was killed after 7 days of punishment, on February 13, 1642, together with some of the Spanish traders, by the islanders at the instigation of the village sorcerers, while the other Spaniards together with friar Juan Yranzo managed to escape.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁴ (AGI: "Meritos: Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, 29-12-1655" Indiferente,116,N.48) (AGI: "Informaciones, Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, 1649" Filipinas,61,N.26)

⁵⁶⁵ (In: "Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [f] 1659-06-19" AGI FILIPINAS,51,N.1 fogli 49, 56-60, 64-68)

⁵⁶⁶ (Magisa, Raimundo "Succeso raro de tres volcanes" Imp. de la Compañia de Jesús, 1641, Madrid, Spain. Stampato in Rentana, W. E. "Aparato bibliográfico de la Historia General de Filipinas" vol. I p. 117)

⁵⁶⁷ ("Reforms needed in Filipinas" in Blair vol. 19 pp. 33-34)

⁵⁶⁸ (In: "Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [f] 1659-06-19" AGI FILIPINAS,51,N.1 fogli 49, 56-60, 64-68)

⁵⁶⁹ ("Early Franciscan Missions" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 308 and note 88)

D. PEDRO FERNÁNDEZ DEL RIO (which does the functions), 1642-1643

During 1642 the usual relief fleet was sent from the Philippines to Ternate, it consisted of a galleon (San Juan Bautista) and a patacco, in command of the expedition was Pedro Fernández del Rio, general of the "socorro". The Dutch who were waiting for Spanish help to attack them were repulsed, thanks to the excellent conduct of the commander of the Spanish ships, Fernández del Rio, and were forced to retreat to their fortress of Malayo. The two Spanish boats with their cargo arrived safely in the port of Ternate. The commander of the expedition, Pedro Fernández del Rio, was shortly after appointed by the governor of the Philippines governor of the Moluccas, the old governor, D. Francisco Suárez de Figueroa, was placed under arrest.

Governor Pedro Fernandez del Rio gave Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta the task of defending the fortifications of Ternate. During a Dutch attack on two "caracoas" of the king of Tidore who were loading goods, Martín Sánchez repulsed the enemies with great promptness and speed, saving the two Tidorese boats.⁵⁷⁰

The brief period of government of del Rio, was punctuated by clashes with the Dutch and was a period of fervent renewal of the Spanish fortifications on the island of Ternate, in fact, under his government the fort of San Pedro was renovated, "retirada dela ciudad del Rossario de Therrenate puesto principal para su defensa", the fort in question was the one designed at the time of Juan de Esquivel and located on a hill behind the city of Ternate. The "cavallero" of San Juan was finished with his "reuellin", the powder magazine and the platform, this bulwark was the one that controlled the side of the walls towards the countryside ("que barre todo el lienzo que mira a la campania"). In addition, the wall on the eastern side was reinforced "que mira ala parte del enemigo" whose thickness was increased to 4 feet, on the same side the "cavallero" of Cachil Tule was also reinforced who controlled all this part of the wall and was also in defense of the indigenous settlement which was located outside the walls.

A galley was then built, the present one being old and dilapidated, it was the first built by the Spaniards in the Moluccas and was equipped with 14 "bancos". Thanks to the presence of this new boat, the Spaniards were able to effectively face the Dutch, who up to that moment had carried out, with their light boat, several raids against the island of Tidore and also kept Ternate at gunpoint. With the new galley instead the Spaniards counterattacked managing to inflict some hard defeats on the Dutch: in a

⁵⁷⁰ ("Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Caraga, Surigao y Sidarga en Cebu a Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta. Resuelto, [f] 19-06-1659" Filipinas,51,N.1)

naval battle the Dutch light boat was captured which had previously done so much damage to the Spaniards, this clash took place near the Dutch fortress "a tiro de peça de las fuerças del olandes" and 6 Dutch and 60 natives were killed or captured as well as all the artillery of the boat. Other boats were captured in other engagements where the Spanish captured 167 men. Following agreements with the Dutch, 57 Christians were released from Dutch prisons, including 18 Spaniards.

In that year, 14 Dutch ships and an important number of soldiers were in Ternate. The Dutch with about 800 soldiers attempted an attack against the Spanish, but thanks to the courage of the governor and some captains, the Spanish troops managed to face the superior Dutch troops forcing them to retreat to their fort. During his two years of government, del Rio maintained cordial relations with the King of Tidore and with his subjects, moreover he administered justice righteously maintaining peace and friendship between Spaniards and allies. After the arrival of his successor, Lorenzo de Olaso, Don Pedro Fernández del Rio remained in Ternate in command of a company of Spanish infantry.⁵⁷¹

D. LORENZO DE OLASO ACHOTEGUI, 1643-1649 (?)

With the "socorro" of 1643 with which the new "mestre de campo" Lorenzo de Olaso arrived in Ternate, many infantry soldiers also arrived to reinforce the defenses of the Spanish garrisons, constantly threatened by the Dutch. This became even more necessary after the news of the fall of Malacca to Dutch hands. A galleon, two galleys and a patacco were part of the "socorro" of 1643. One of the galleys was en route to make an embassy to the king of Macazar (perhaps Manados) requesting iron, gunpowder and other war materials, but this vessel was shipwrecked and the occupants, who were all saved, embarked on the others ships. The expedition reached Ternate without problems, despite the presence of 4 Dutch ships, which, however, avoided attacking the Spanish convoy. After arriving in Ternate, the other galley was sent to Macazar (Manados) where the king promised to send the requested goods to Ternate soon. During this year the Dutch received no help from Holland, only two small boats came to the rescue of the Dutch in Ternate.⁵⁷²

Probably with this "socorro" the Spanish Jesuit Fernando de Estrada also arrived in Ternate, he had left Manila in January 1643, his sending was the first attempt by the Spaniards to pass the jurisdiction of the Moluccas to the Jesuit province of the Philippines and take it away from that, Portuguese, from Malabar. The reasons are

⁵⁷¹ ("Meritos: Pedro Fernández del Rio, 05-1647" A.G.I. Indiferente, 113, N.50)

⁵⁷² ("Events in the Filipinas, 1643-1644" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 177 e 182)

mainly to be found in Portugal's rebellion against the Spanish crown. The Jesuit remained in Ternate for almost 2 years, he was then recalled in 1644 to Manila by the governor Diego Fajardo who re-established the Portuguese Jesuits in their place.⁵⁷³

In the same period, the Spaniards replaced the Portuguese vicar, Tomé Alvares, with Don Fabian de Santillana y Gabilanes on the orders of Corcuera, governor of the Philippines. Corcuera informs us that in those years six companies of Spanish soldiers, two companies of pampangos and one company of mardicas were present in the garrisons of the Moluccas.⁵⁷⁴

In 1643, Lope de Colindres, being a soldier in the company of the "mestre de campo" Don Lorenzo de Olasso, embarked with him for Ternate, where he was in charge of the fort of San Lucas del Rumen. He returned to Manila with the fleet under sergeant major Palomino.⁵⁷⁵

In 1644 the composition of the Spanish troops stationed in the presidios of the Moluccas was as follows: one sergeant major, two adjutants, six companies of Spanish infantry with 44 officers and 560 soldiers; an artillery captain with 26 gunners; three "pampaga" infantry companies with 18 officers and 180 soldiers and 20 "mardicas". While a Spanish infantry company made up of 7 officers, 100 soldiers and 8 artillerymen was embarked that year for Macasar (Manados ?).⁵⁷⁶ At the end of October 1644, reinforcements for Ternate were sent from Manila.⁵⁷⁷

Ternate is also used as a place to exile unwanted people to the Philippines. Captain D. Diego de Inojosa Villavicencio, was exiled to Ternate by the chancellor of Governor Fajardo, D. Manuel Estacio Venegas, he managed to escape from the island in October 1647 by embarking on a Danish ship which was anchored in the Dutch port of Malayo, with this boat he reached Batavia, here on board a Dutch ship he reached Holland and then finally Madrid.⁵⁷⁸

D. PEDRO FERNÁNDEZ DEL RIO (second term), 1649 (?)

⁵⁷³ (Doc. Mal. III p. 38*) (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III, p. 805 nota n°1)

⁵⁷⁴ (Doc. Mal. III p. 10*) (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III, p. 806 nota n°1)

⁵⁷⁵ ("Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Tulaque en Cagayan a Lope de Colindres. Resuelto, [f] 24-04-1649" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.2)

⁵⁷⁶ (Pérez p. 641 nota n°1 che fa riferimento alla relazione di D. Diego Fajardo sullo stato delle isole Filippine nel 1644. A. G. I. 67, 6, 22) (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 810 nota n°1)

⁵⁷⁷ ("Affairs in Filipinas, 1644-1647" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 35 p. 215)

⁵⁷⁸ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 538 nota n°1)

In 1648, the King issued a “Real Provisión” granting the captain and sergeant major Pedro Fernández del Río the title of “alcaide de la fortaleza de Terrenate y gobernador de la gente de Guerra de aquel presidio”, a title which had remained vacant due to the death of the captain, Francisco Suárez de Figueroa y Acevedo.⁵⁷⁹

This second government mandate which was entrusted to Pedro Fernández del Río had a very short duration, according to Colin-Pastells he died twenty days after his arrival in Ternate.⁵⁸⁰ However, other documents seem to indicate different things: D. Pedro Fernández del Río was certainly in Ternate on 1 April 1649 and signed himself as governor.⁵⁸¹ On August 3, 1649 Pedro Fernandez del Río was still governor of Ternate because he appointed Miguel de Guinea as captain of the 'patron' galley. He was no longer governor on April 14, 1650.⁵⁸²

Some information on this short period of government is provided in the report on the merits of Captain Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta: Starting from 1649, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta served in Ternate with his company, later he was given the position of sergeant major. He was then sent by order of Governor Pedro Fernandez del Río to the forts of San Lucas del Rumen and Chobo. Having received a request for help from the king of Tidore, Cachil Sayde, who had a village under Dutch and Ternatese attack, rescued him with Spanish troops, routing the enemies. Having then received news of new Dutch preparations for a more massive attack on Tidore, the governor Pedro Fernandez del Río, unable (he was engaged in the fortification of Ternate) to intervene directly in aid of the king of Tidore, sent Martin Sanchez de la Cuesta to Tidore as head of the island and in charge of the main fortress of Tidore called Sanctiago de los Caualleros, of the “fuerte Principal” (of the Prince (?)) and that of Puli Cauallo.

In agreement with the king of Tidore it was decided to attack the Dutch in Malayo. The attack took place, with 60 Spanish soldiers, some “pampangos merdicas and

⁵⁷⁹ (AGI “Nombramiento de alcaide de Terrenate a Fernández del Río, 20-05-1648” Filipinas,347,L.3,F.195b1sr-199v)

⁵⁸⁰ (“Carta de Diego Fajardo sobre corto socorro, 20-07-1652” AGI: Filipinas,9,R.1,N.16) (“Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 24-10-1666” AGI: Filipinas,52,N.4) (“Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 1661-12-17” AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14 foglio 104)

⁵⁸¹ “Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangasinan a Miguel de Guinea. Resuelto, [f] 1655-12-09” FILIPINAS,50,N.52 fogli 10-11. Pedro Fernandes del Río (Terrenate, 1 aprile 1649)

⁵⁸² “Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangasinan a Miguel de Guinea. Resuelto, [f] 1655-12-09” FILIPINAS,50,N.52 foglio 13. Service certificate signed by Francisco de Paz (Terrenate, 14 april 1650)

siaos” and the king of Tidore with 100 Tidorese, and was directed towards the bastion of the fort of Malayo which the Dutch call “Punta Real” (the bastion on the southwest side of the fort). The Spanish had a small clash here with the defenders of the bastion who were forced to take refuge inside their fort. Then Captain Juan Ruston (?) came out of the fortress of Malayo with 124 Dutch musketeers, the king of Jilolo with 500 Ternatese, the ambassador of the king of Mindanao with 200 "moros" and the "sangaxe", don Juan, governor of the "pueblo de los merdicas" with 200 men. The ensuing battle was a great victory for the Spanish, who captured 94 Dutch including the Dutch captain, only 11 of the Dutch soldiers managed to escape (19 evidently died). Given the defeat, the Dutch governor sent other troops under the command of Captain Pablo Andrea, who however did not dare to attack the Spanish troops and remained under the protection of the walls of the fort of Malayo (probably this episode took place in 1650). The Spanish victory and the capture of such a large number of Dutch allowed the exchange of prisoners, both soldiers and sailors were ransomed and also two priests.⁵⁸³

D. FRANCISCO DE ESTEYBAR (doing the functions), 1650 or 1652-1656

D. Francisco de Esteybar appears to have ruled Ternate between March 1650 and May 1656.⁵⁸⁴ After the death of Fernández del Rio, the governor of the Philippines entrusted the interim government of Ternate to General Francisco de Esteybar.⁵⁸⁵ Francisco de Esteybar appears to have taken office as governor of Ternate on March 10, 1650.⁵⁸⁶ On June 4, 1650 Francisco de Esteybar is governor of Ternate.⁵⁸⁷ Confirming that he governed Ternate in 1650 is also his declaration: ‘el año de seis y cinquenta que tomé posesion de este gobierno’⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸³ (In: “Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [f] 1659-06-19” AGI Filipinas,51,N.1 fogli 49, 56-60, 64-68)

⁵⁸⁴ This according: “Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 24-10-1666” AGI: Filipinas,52,N.4. Sembra confermare il 1650 anche: “Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [f] 1659-06-19” AGI FILIPINAS,51,N.1 foglio 11

⁵⁸⁵ (AGI “Carta de Diego Fajardo sobre corto socorro, 20-07-1652” Filipinas,9,R.1,N.16)

⁵⁸⁶ According: “Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 24-10-1666” AGI: Filipinas,52,N.4 Sembra confermare il 1650 anche: “Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [f] 1659-06-19” AGI FILIPINAS,51,N.1 foglio 11

⁵⁸⁷ “Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangasinan a Miguel de Guinea. Resuelto, [f] 1655-12-09” FILIPINAS,50,N.52 foglio 14. Biglietto firmato da Francisco de Estybar (Terrenate, 4 giugno 1650)

⁵⁸⁸ “Confirmación de encomienda de Siniloan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Siniloan y Mabitac en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Martínez de Arce. Resuelto. [f] 18-01-1687” FILIPINAS,55,N.14 blocco 2 foglio 39

In 1651, having received (through the Dutch fleet arriving from Europe) the news of the peace between Spain and Holland, Martin Sanchez de la Cuesta was sent, by order of the governor of Ternate, to negotiate with the Dutch governor Gaspar Bandes Bogardes (Gaspar van den Bogaerde).

The Jesuit missions of the Moluccas and the college on the island of Ternate finally passed definitively under the jurisdiction of the province of the Philippines (Manila) in 1654, until then the missions had been subject to the Jesuit province of Malabar (Cochin). This step occurred during the government of Manrique de Lara. The cause that led to this decision was mainly the Portuguese rebellion which definitively detached Portugal from the Spanish dominions.⁵⁸⁹ In 1651 on the island of Sanguil (or Calonga), where the king, Don Juan Buntuan, was a Christian, the Franciscan friar Joseph de Truxillo was sent, here he with the help of another Franciscan Mateo Rodriguez built a church and converted many people.⁵⁹⁰

From 1653 to May 1656, Jacob Hustaert was the Dutch governor of the Moluccas.⁵⁹¹ In 1654, in Cavite, the works for the construction of a galley were completed, its construction having been begun under the government of Governor Fajardo. This galley was sent to Ternate with the "socorro" of that year and remained there in defense of the garrison.⁵⁹²

The "socorro" of 1654 was abundant, eight "champanes" were sent loaded with soldiers, ammunition, food and money. Six companies of Spanish infantry and three companies of "pampangas" infantry were present in the "presidios" of the Moluccas. The relief came at a crucial moment, in fact hostility had broken out between the Ternatese and the Tidorese, due to the help given by the king of Tidore, Cachil Sayde, to the rebels who had risen against the sultan of Ternate.

The Dutch, always allies of the sultan of Ternate, declared war on the king of Tidore. The Spanish governor Esteybar, on the other hand sided with the king of Tidore, there was a risk of war between the two parties despite the peace treaty of Westphalia. However, orders came from Manila from Governor Manrique de Lara to avoid a direct confrontation with the Dutch. According to orders, the king of Tidore was to immediately cease hostilities against the Ternatese and Dutch and stop helping the rebels. If the king did not comply with the orders, authorization was given to

⁵⁸⁹ (Doc. Mal. III p. 11*)(Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 805)

⁵⁹⁰ ("Description of Filipinas" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 36 pp. 196-197)

⁵⁹¹ (Generale Missiven II p. 488 nota 2)

⁵⁹² (Prieto Lucena "Filipinas durante el gobierno de Manrique de Lara, 1653-1663" p. 40)

Esteybar to capture Cachil Sayde and detain him until he complied with the orders. The king was captured by the Spanish and agreed to suspend the war. However, the Dutch were not satisfied with the outcome and claimed the head of Cachil Sayde, but Esteybar refused to hand him over, leaving him free to govern Tidore.⁵⁹³ Probably the rebellion of some of Ternatese was due to the succession struggles for the role of sultan of Ternate. The succession then took place with the help of the Dutch in 1655.⁵⁹⁴

On December 7, 1654, Hernando López del Clavo was appointed captain of one of the two companies of the 'socorro' army for Ternate, an army which was led by Captain Hernando Ponze de Viruez ('regidor' of the city of Manila). With this assignment he went to Ternate, then on the return journey to Manila, on the order of the governor of Ternate, Francisco de Esteybar, he also stopped in the kingdom of Siao, where he brought two religious. On the next journey to the Philippines, on the shallow waters of an island (Cagayanes Island), he wrecked the 'captain' ship. But thanks to the prompt intervention of Hernando López del Clavo, most of the men and material embarked on the 'captain' ship were saved and loaded onto his boat.⁵⁹⁵

In 1654, Manrique de Lara informs us that the Spanish had peace treaties with the kings of Macasar, Camboya, Tidore, Calonga, Manados, Mindanao, Jolo. According to Lara, the king of Macassar was the one who showed himself to be the friendliest to the Spaniards.⁵⁹⁶

Also in this period the island of Ternate was often used as a place of confinement, for example the captain Onofrio Lombardo was sentenced in 1656 to 10 years of service as a soldier in Ternate.⁵⁹⁷

THE JESUIT MISSIONS

In 1655 there are three Jesuits present in this mission, one is the rector of the mission who lives in the college of Ternate from where he deals with the spiritual care of the Spanish garrisons and the natives of the islands of Ternate and Tidore and the village of Mardicas. The other two missionaries take care of the many stations on the other

⁵⁹³ (Prieto Lucena "Filipinas durante el gobierno de Manrique de Lara, 1653-1663" pp. 102-107)

⁵⁹⁴ Prieto Lucena cita una lettera di "Manrique de Lara al Rey, 19 luglio 1654" AGI, Filipinas, 285)

⁵⁹⁵ ("Confirmación de encomienda de Pata, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Pata y Masi en Cagayan a Hernando López del Clavo. Resuelto, [f] 1667-11-10" FILIPINAS, 53, N.9 fogli 13-23, 43-45, 52-68, 78-80, 83-89, 95-96, 103-105, 108-109.)

⁵⁹⁶ (Prieto Lucena "Filipinas durante el gobierno de Manrique de Lara, 1653-1663" pp. 100-101)

⁵⁹⁷ (Prieto Lucena "Filipinas durante el gobierno de Manrique de Lara, 1653-1663" p. 47)

islands. The main and also the oldest of all these missions is the one in the kingdom of Siao where there are currently about 4,000 Christians. From this mission Christianity spread to several other nearby islands, there are Christian villages on the island of Sanguil Baçar (also called Tabuco)⁵⁹⁸, in the islands of Talaos⁵⁹⁹ and in the island of Matheo (Manados or Macasar). In Calonga (or in the nearby village of Taruna), the capital of the island of Sanguil Baçar, a Franciscan friar lived and there was a garrison of Spaniards. In Manados, in the past there were about 4,000 Christians, but now due to the continuous attacks by the Dutch and Ternatese, the Christian religion has almost completely disappeared. All the old missions in the islands of Gilolo and Morotai have long since been abandoned, again due to the wars with the Dutch.⁶⁰⁰

In a document signed by the Attorney General of the Philippines, Francisco Vello, it is stated that the King of Tidore is a Christian, but this is not true.⁶⁰¹ In 1655 the Jesuits have three priests in the missions of the Moluccas, they were Father Vicente Choua, Father Francisco Miedes and Father Diego de Esquivel.⁶⁰²

DIEGO SARRIA LASCANO, 1656-1658

In the Seville archive there is a report of the merits of this governor, but it refers to the years preceding his government in Ternate. This report informs us that Sarria Lascano, after having served in the armies of Don Fradrique de Toledo and in the

⁵⁹⁸ The island of Sanguil Baçar had four main "kingdoms": Siao, Maganitos, Tabucan and Calonga. The kingdom of Calonga has two Christian villages Calonga and Tarruma, here the Spanish had a garrison with 10 or 12 Spanish soldiers, who were stationed here to defend the two Christian villages against attacks by the Muslim inhabitants of the same island. The Spanish garrison was then withdrawn. One of the villages, that of Calonga, which is governed by the father-in-law of the king of Siao, still remains Catholic (there are about 800 Christians) and faithful to Spain and is regularly visited by the Jesuits who reside in the Siao mission, and a friar also resides there Franciscan. The other village, that of Taruma, however, is under the control of the Dutch. in this village there are now some Dutch people and a Protestant pastor. ("Jesuit missions in 1656" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 28 nota 46 pp. 100-101 nel quale è citata la testimonianza dell'Auditor Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla)

⁵⁹⁹ These appear to be four islands near Sangil and Siao. The head of the islands is Christian, as are about 800 local families. ("Jesuit missions in 1656" In: Blair, E. H. and Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 28 note 47 p. 101 in which the testimony of Auditor Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla is quoted)

⁶⁰⁰ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 803-817) ("Jesuit missions in 1656" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 28 pp. 99-102)

⁶⁰¹ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 805)

⁶⁰² ("Jesuit Missions in 1655" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 36 p. 58)

galleons of the "plata" was licensed to move to the Philippines and Ternate, where he served for nine years as a soldier, ensign, captain and admiral. He particularly distinguished himself in Mindanao and Jolo. In 1642, he was appointed admiral of the "socorro" who was to be sent to Ternate. Later he was appointed "alcaide y castellano" of Ylo Ylo, governor of Oton and "probedor general" of the Ternate forces, with this position he rescued the garrisons of the Moluccas twice in two years.⁶⁰³ The relief of 1656 was regularly sent, the same had happened in the previous two years.⁶⁰⁴

D. FRANCISCO DE ESTEYBAR (second term), 1658-1659

In the report on merits, a small mention is also made of his second government in Ternate, in which it is noted that thanks to his experience and authority, he is quelling and settling the unrest and doubts that the Ternatese ("los moros de aquella tierra"), allies of the Dutch, have introduced into the "Moors", the Tidorese, allies of the King of Spain.⁶⁰⁵

THE LAST SPANISH GOVERNORS

In the last years of the Spanish presence in the Moluccas there were several governors of which there is not much information. The first is D. Francisco de Atienza Ibáñez who will govern for an initial period between 1659 and 1660 (?) and then will also be the last Spanish governor of Ternate.

The others are Francisco Prado de Quiros who governed Ternate between 2 May 1660 and 15 December 1660.⁶⁰⁶ Juan de Chaves, who will rule for a short time between 1660 and 1661, and finally D. Agustín de Cepeda Carnacedo, who will be governor of Ternate between 1661 and 1663.

In 1662, the dismantling of the garrisons of Zamboanga, Ternate, Calamianes and

⁶⁰³ (AGI "Meritos: Diego Sarria y Lazcano. Relación de Méritos y servicios del almirante Diego Sarria y Lazcano, residente en las islas Filipinas. Observaciones: Añadido hasta 1650" 01-1647 Indiferente,113,N.37)

⁶⁰⁴ (AGI "Carta de la Audiencia sobre pérdidas de naos, Tunquín..." 15-07-1656 Filipinas,22,R.8,N.36)

⁶⁰⁵ (AGI "Meritos: Francisco Esteybar, 15-07-1659" Indiferente,118,N.24)

⁶⁰⁶ "Confirmación de encomienda de San Jacinto, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de San Jacinto y Magaldan en Pangasinan a Francisco Prado de Quirós. Resuelto. [f] 1666-12-23" FILIPINAS,52,N.14 blocco 1 foglio 70

Iligan was decided. The aim was to concentrate the few troops available on the defense of Manila, which was feared to be attacked in a few months by a huge Chinese fleet.⁶⁰⁷

THE ABANDONMENT OF THE MOLUCCAS

In December 1662, Governor of the Philippines Manrique de Lara wrote to General Francisco de Atienza Ibáñez, charged to be the last governor of Ternate, instructions for the dismantling of the Maluku garrisons. This decision was made out of fear of an attack on the Philippines from the island of Formosa by Koxinga's troops. The feared attack never materialized.

However, the Spanish took care to make the Dutch and their allies understand and accept that the abandonment of the garrisons did not mean the abandonment of the possession rights that the Spanish had over the Moluccas, on the contrary the Spanish practically asked that the Dutch not only not occupy abandoned Spanish forts, but also prevent anyone else from doing so.⁶⁰⁸

On 25 March 1663 the new and last Spanish governor arrived in Ternate; he had the task of making the Spanish garrisons withdraw from the islands, dismantling the forts and negotiating with the Dutch the rights which, despite the abandonment and dismantling of the Ternate and Tidore, the Spaniards reserved to keep on the Moluccas islands. The Spanish fleet, this time, consisted of 14 empty junks.⁶⁰⁹

In accordance with the orders of Manrique de Lara, the dismantling of the Spanish forts had to follow a precise criterion which was to transport all the material (ammunition, artillery, etc.) removed from the dismantled forts “*alas fuerzas del Rumen*”⁶¹⁰ on the island of Tidore, which was to remain the last place to be demolished, because it was here that was the most important and safest port in the

⁶⁰⁷ (Prieto Lucena “Filipinas durante el gobierno de Manrique de Lara, 1653-1663” pp. 133-134)

⁶⁰⁸ (Doc. 26 890 “Copia de la carta que Don Saluniano Manrique de Lara escribió al gobernador de Terrenate... cuando se resolvió a retirar las fuerzas que guarnecian aquel presidio para resistir al tirano Cogsenga dándole instrucciones sobre las diligencias que habia de hacer con el gobernador holandés del Malayo para garantizar la propiedad y dominio que a la sazón, tenia S. M. en aquellos puertos y plazas. Se acompaña copia de las diligencias hechas a este fin por el general Don Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, a quien se cometió la retirada, y una relación del estado en que quedó el dicho presidio.” 9-12-1662 (Arch. Gen. De Indias, Filipinas, 9, R.2, N.34) (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III p. 811 nota n°1)

⁶⁰⁹ (Dagh-Register 1663 pp. 240-241)

hands of the Spaniards. All the Spanish fortifications of Ternate and Tidore were to be, according to Manrique de Lara's intentions, completely demolished and then set on fire. All the work had to be completed within the monsoon period “que no se pase la monson de la buelta”.⁶¹¹

In the "certificación" written by the governor Francisco de Atienza Ibáñez in Manila and dated 10 December 1666, the dismantling works of the Spanish fortifications and the destruction of the buildings in the city of Ternate are described. Were demolished, the bastions San Felipe, San Xpoual (= San Cristoval), Santiago, San Agustin (most likely it is the name of the old bastion of Cachil Tulo), San Juan, San Lorenzo, Sant Pedro “retirada della” (i.e. the fort built on a hill overlooking the city) and the "cube" of Nuestra Señora. Baluarte Don Xil (Gil) and Fort San Francisco Calomata were also demolished. While the houses, churches and convents of the city of Ternate were set on fire.⁶¹²

On May 29, 1663, a last Spanish delegation was sent to the Dutch governor Van Voort. The mission was headed by the Jesuit Diego de Esquivel, with him were the insign Juan Garcia, the captains Francisco Sanchez and Nicolas Rodriguez and the adjutant Francisco de Gayeta. They were received on the Dutch side by the major factor and commissioner Nicolant, the fiscal Croon, the factor Jacobus, the secretary of justice and the preacher Jon Sabellius. The negotiations were conducted in the Latin language.

The Spaniards reaffirmed their rights on the dismantled garrisons, affirmed that the rights of the King of Spain remained unchanged even if he did not garrison his forts with troops, furthermore they affirmed that the Ternatese could not claim rights on the Spanish garrisons because they had been conquered during the war and they were

⁶¹⁰ This hint, later confirmed by some Dutch reports, indicates the presence of more forts at Rume, it seems in fact that there was a fort up on the hill and another fort down near the beach.

⁶¹¹ (A.G.I. “Manrique de Lara al gobernador de las fuerzas de Terrenate, 9-12-1662” Filipinas,9,R.2,N.34)

⁶¹² (AGI “Carta de Manrique de Lara sobre asuntos de guerra” “Traslado de carta de 9 de diciembre de 1662 de Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, al gobernador de las fuerzas de Terrenate, comunicándole la decisión de retirar las fuerzas que guarnecían aquel presidio para resistir a Cogsenia, tirano de las costas del reino de la china y dándole instrucciones sobre las diligencias que había de hacer con el gobernador holandés de Malayo para garantizar la propiedad y dominio español sobre esos puertos y plazas; diligencias hechas por el general Francisco de Atienza Ibañez, a quien se acometió la retirada, y relación del estado en que quedó dicho presidio. 1667, mayo, 6.” (Cat.20890) Filipinas,9,R.2,N.34)

confirmed at the making of the peace by the treaty of Munster. Furthermore, the rights of "dominion" allowed him to do what the King wanted with his own possessions, even destroying them, without however losing the right of ownership.

The Dutch replied asking if in case of occupation by the sultan of Ternate they had to defend the possessions of the King of Spain with their own weapons, the Spaniards said that the King of Spain had his own army and with this he would have asserted his rights on anyone who trampled on them, without thereby being accused of breaking the peace. The Dutch then objected that destroying and completely demolishing their palaces and forts connoted the intention of the Spanish never to return to occupy these places, but the Spanish replied that instead this was the "mayor accion de dominio que podia hacer el Rey nuestro señor". At the end of the talks, the Dutch decided to defer to the decisions of Batavia, so they did not endorse the Spanish requests.⁶¹³

From the correspondence between Atienza and the Dutch governor of Ternate, Antonio Van Voort, it is clear that the Spaniards abandoned the city of Ternate on May 29, 1663, moving to Rume from where they wrote several letters dated May 30, 1663. Therefore it seems plausible that among the last day of May and the first days of June 1663, the last Spanish troops left the island of Tidore. It was the last episode of a relationship that began 142 years earlier with the arrival in Tidore of Magellan's expedition on November 8, 1521.⁶¹⁴

A few days after the Spanish had left Ternate, on June 11, 1663, the Dutch commander of Fort Malayo and the Ternate sultan Mandarsaha (Manlarsaha, Mandar Shah), visited the remains of the Spanish city, they found a ghost town, where the walls had been demolished, houses and monasteries both in the castle and in the *Mardijkers* quarter had been set on fire. Fort San Pedro had also been partially destroyed although in the opinion of the Dutch it could be repaired.⁶¹⁵

Soon after the Spanish departure, the king of Tidore occupied the forts on his own island which the Spanish had abandoned and attempted to destroy. A contingent of 40-50 of the king's soldiers occupied the fort of Rum (Romi) at a time when the Spanish were leaving. The king of Tidore, not content with having occupied the Spanish forts of his island, also had designs on the castle of Gammelamme, by virtue

⁶¹³ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III pp. 811-812 nota n°1)

⁶¹⁴ According to what Jacobs reports, on June 2, 1663, the Spanish abandoned the forts of the Moluccas, to concentrate all their forces on the defense of Manila. (Doc.Mal. III p. 2*)

⁶¹⁵ (Van de Wall p. 259) (Dagh-Register 1663 pp. 531-532)

of the fact that his ancestors had collaborated, in 1606, together with the Spanish in the conquest of the fort and for this reason he felt right to occupy the fort.⁶¹⁶ On 18 June at the invitation of the king of Tidore, the Dutch commander visited the Spanish fort of Rum (Romy) together with the king, finding it in excellent condition, only the staircase and the balconies of the upper fort had been destroyed, some buildings had been filled with wood by the Spaniards with the clear intention of burning everything before leaving, but something or someone (the Tidorese) had prevented them from completing their plans. According to the Dutch report the fort of Rum (Romy) was formed by a fortification at beach level called "the platform" which continued upwards in a triangular shape, completing this structure were three small redoubts. Even the upper fort was in good condition and kept its walls intact, on the side facing the sea there was also an iron cannon.⁶¹⁷

The fort of Tahoele, was donated by the Dutch, after the Spanish had abandoned it, to the Sultan of Tidore, here he established his residence, in the fort the Dutch maintained a guardhouse of 8-10 soldiers.⁶¹⁸ According to Pastells, Tahula ("la fuerza grande de esta isla") was occupied by Golofino to whom the Dutch gave 16 soldiers as a guardhouse. The other garrisons were further destroyed by the Dutch who used much of the stone to improve the fortifications of Malayo.⁶¹⁹

According to a Dutch report from 1707, after the departure of the Spanish the King of Tidore accepted the Dutch request and the promise of 300 Rs.s to demolish the forts of Tahoele, Romij and Tiobbe. But the forts were not completely dismantled, upon the request of the king, which was approved by the company on January 19, 1666, the Tahoele fort was kept as a royal residence. Furthermore it was ordered by the company not to proceed with the destruction of the forts of Romij and Tjobbe but to leave their walls half the height of a man and to give the king a lower sum (200 rs.s) than the 300 Rs .s promises. Tjobbe Fort was where the King's European Guard was stationed in 1707, and was not kept as a fortress. While the Tahoele fort was still fairly well preserved having been repaired by the recently deceased king Hamza Faharoedin.⁶²⁰

There is an interesting correspondence on the Moluccas in the General de Indias archive in Seville, born from a request made by an envoy of three sultans of the Moluccas (Ternate, Tidore (Taduri) and Bachian) to return under Spanish protection. The envoy of the sultans arrived in Zamboanga probably in 1778. The envoy of the

⁶¹⁶ (Dagh-Register 1663 pp. 395-396)

⁶¹⁷ (Dagh-Register 1663 pp. 531-532)

⁶¹⁸ (Van de Wall p. 259; Doc. Mal. III pp. 660-661 Doc. n°215)

⁶¹⁹ (Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III p. 812 note n°1)

⁶²⁰ (ARA: VOC 8076 Ternate 1707 p. 429-430)

sultans brought with him a letter from the sultans of Taduri (Tidore) and Bachan (dated August 1778), as well as a bottle of water from the Taroula spring and a sack of earth of the ancient fort of the Spaniards. From the fact that the two sultans of Tidore and Bachan wrote the paper, it seems that in fact only these two sultans were the architects of this initiative.⁶²¹

THE SPANIARDS IN THE ISLAND OF SIAU

In 1671, a small Spanish garrison (a commander with 14 soldiers) was sent to the island of Siau, for the protection of the king of the island, Francisco Xavier Batahi. In 1677 when the Dutch conquered the island, the Spanish garrison was taken prisoner and with them three Jesuits were captured, the friars Cebreros, Español and Turcotti, both the soldiers and the friars were first transported to Ternate and then to Manila.

Shortly before the Dutch conquest of the island, Father Manuel Español wrote (September 1, 1677) an interesting letter to the governor of the Philippines, informing him of the need to improve the defenses of the fort and to increase the number of soldiers in the garrison. In March 1677 Caracoas had arrived in Siau with a letter from the governor in which he expressed his intention to increase Spain's reputation by improving the defenses of the island's fort, but his good intentions had been thwarted by a "Real Cedula" in which requested the reduction of the expenses of the garrison.

Father Español advised the governor of a way to increase the number of soldiers in the garrison without increasing the management costs of the garrison, his advice is to place an ensign at the head of the garrison (as was done before in Caurima or Tarruna)⁶²² or a sergeant major. In this way, with the money saved for the captain's pay, 4 Spanish soldiers could be added to the small garrison of 8 Spanish soldiers at the present time, as well as adding 8 Pampangos soldiers to the 4 present, so that the present garrison could reach the number of 25 men including the commander without affecting the total expenditure. Español judged, that with this arrangement and with three artillery pieces the garrison could deal decently with any problems.

Español then expressed his fears for a supposed attack by the inhabitants of Ternate, who apparently wanted to take revenge for an insult received from the kings of Siao and Tabuca. Furthermore, the king of Tabuca, cachil Gadmá (King of Tabuca, Tagolanda and Talaos), had asked for protection from the Spaniards, promising to

⁶²¹ The source of this data is the manuscript: (A.G.I. "Gobernador Filipinas sobre los tres sultanes de Terrenate" Estado, 45, N. 5)

⁶²² Doc.Mal III p. 721 reports Tarruna, while Pastells "Labor.." reports Caurima

convert to Christianity together with his subjects. Español already anticipated the possibility of converting thousands of people because the kingdom of Tabuca controlled a good part of the northern area of the island of Celebes. He even came to envisage a move of the garrison to Tabuca “por ser mexor tierra y donde los españoles estarian mas contentos”.

The work of the Jesuits, in Siao and in the neighboring islands, had however already borne various fruits, in fact about 700 people had been converted in the village of Caiuhice (Kauhise, Siao), another 500 had been baptized in Cauripa (kingdom located on the island of Celebes) and finally another 200 Christians were in Talaos on the island of Cabisua.

Español's fears about a Ternatese attack on the small outpost materialized in November of the same year, when a fleet of Dutch and Ternatese boats conquered the small Spanish garrison. This event ended the Spanish presence in the Maluku Islands.⁶²³

THE MARDICAS

The inhabitants of the Spanish city of Ternate, upon abandoning the Spanish garrisons in the Moluccas, moved to the Philippines. These people were known as Márdicas (Márdikas). The "mardicas" (hombres de mar), who lived in the Spanish city of Ternate, and who had always been very loyal to the Spaniards, moved to Manila, where they also transferred the sacred and venerated image of the "Santo Niño de Ternate". Initially it seems that they settled near the walls of Manila, in a neighborhood called Bagumbayan (=Pueblo Nuevo, (Ermita) where Luneta park is today). After the British invasion of 1762, to improve the defenses of Manila, it was decided to clear the space around the wall, and this involved the evacuation of the village of Bagumbayan (Ermita). The population was moved to a new village in the province of Cavite in Maragondon bar, where they founded the town of Ternate.⁶²⁴

The Mardicas were the inhabitants of the Spanish garrisons of the Moluccas who followed the Spanish at the time of the abandonment of the islands in 1663. They, according to La Concepción⁶²⁵ they spoke three languages: Spanish, Tagalog and their own dialect. They were fervent Christians and faithful devotees of St. Francis Xavier.

⁶²³ (Doc.Mal. III p. 2* & 18*-19*) (Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica” vol. III pp. 813-814 nota n°1 AGI 67-6-22)

⁶²⁴ (Montero y Vidal p. 327-328-329)

⁶²⁵ (Hist. de Philipinas, vii, p. 102) (“El ternateño de las Molucas” Revista Filipina primavera 2001, n°4)

They have kept their customs and their dialect.

SPANISH GOVERNORS OF TERNATE	
1606-1609	Juan de Esquivel
1609-1610	Lucas de Vergara Gabiria (first term)
1610-1612	Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca
1612-1617	D. Jerónimo de Silva
1617	Juan Gutierrez Paramo ⁶²⁶
1617-1620	Lucas Vergara Gabiria (second term)
1620-1623	D. Luis de Bracamonte
1623-1636	Pedro de Heredia
1636-1640	D. Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola
1640-1642	D. Francisco Suárez de Figueroa
1642-1643	D. Pedro Fernández del Río (first term)
1643-1649 (?)	D. Lorenzo de Olaso Achotegui
1649 (?)	D. Pedro Fernández del Río (second term)
March 1650-May 1656	D. Francisco de Esteybar (first term)
1656-1658	Diego Sarria Lascano
March 1658- March 1660	D. Francisco de Esteybar (second term) ⁶²⁷
1659-1660 (?)	D. Francisco de Atienza Ibáñez
1660 (?) - 1 May 1660	Juan de Chaves
2 May 1660-15 December 1660	Francisco Prado de Quiros ⁶²⁸
15 December 1660-1663	D. Agustín de Cepeda Carnacedo
1663	D. Francisco de Atienza Ibáñez (second term)

⁶²⁶ Acted as governor for a few days between the departure of Jeronimo de Silva and the arrival of Lucas de Vergara Gabiria. ("Confirmación de encomienda de Masbate. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de la isla de Masbate en Ibalon (Albay) a Fernando [Hernando] Suárez. Resuelto, [f] 1623-11-22" FILIPINAS,47,N.65 blocco 2 foglio 19) (AGI: "Confirmación de encomienda de Filipinas. Juan Gutierrez Paramo. 10-03-1625" Filipinas,48,N.1)

⁶²⁷ According: "Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 24-10-1666" AGI: Filipinas,52,N.4

⁶²⁸ "Confirmación de encomienda de San Jacinto, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de San Jacinto y Magaldan en Pangasinan a Francisco Prado de Quirós. Resuelto. [f] 1666-12-23" FILIPINAS,52,N.14 blocco 1 foglio 70

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- “Carta de Ruy Pereira Sangage al Rey de España. 1) Carta de Ruy Pereira Sangage al Rey de España, dándole gracias por la concesión de un pueblo que se le dio en la conquista de Terrenate, en atención a sus servicios. Terrenate, 2 de mayo de 1606. 2) Parecer de don Pedro de Acuña sobre la conducta y persona de Ruy Pereira Sangage. Terrenate, 02-05-1606” Patronato,47,R.16
- “Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco. Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey, participándole los progresos conseguidos en las islas del Maluco desde que las puso a su cargo don Pedro de Acuña. Terrenate, 31-03-1607” Patronato,47,R.22
- “Carta de la Audiencia enviando la de Juan de Esquivel. Carta de la Audiencia de Manila: [Cristóbal] Téllez Almazán, Andrés de Alcaraz, Juan Manuel de la Vega, informando que mandan unos pliegos de Juan de Esquivel, maestre de campo, que había traído un fraile franciscano llegado de Terrenate (V. N.2) y petición de socorros al virrey de México. (Cat. 7446). Manila, 23-07-1607” Filipinas,20,R.1,N.12
- “Carta de Francisco de Uribe al Rey escasez ropas, socorros. Carta de Francisco de

Uribe al Rey, avisándole de lo que está sucediendo en el Maluco con motivo de la escasez que tienen de ropas y socorros; trata también del estado en que se hallaba el presidio de Terrenate. Terrenate, 15-05-1608” Patronato,47,R.33

- “Carta del rey de Tidore a Rodrigo Vivero sobre el Maluco. Copia de carta del rey de Tidore a Rodrigo de Vivero, gobernador de Filipinas, informándole del estado en que se encuentra el Maluco, y del gran número de holandeses que allí llegan. En portugués. Tidore, 7-07-1608” Filipinas,7,R.3,N.36

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- “Carta de Vivero sobre socorro a Juarez Gallinato. Carta de Rodrigo de Vivero, gobernador de Filipinas, diciendo que tras la pérdida de la isla de Maquien en manos holandesas, y ante el peligro que corre Terrenate ha decidido enviar un socorro al capitán Juan Juárez Gallinato, dejando lo de Mindanao para el año que viene. (Cat. 7859). Cavite, 25-08-1608” Filipinas,7,R.3,N.41

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que tenía el enemigo en aquellos mares e islas. Terrenate, 08-04-1612” Patronato,47,R.35

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- “Carta de Silva sobre mala situación en Terrenate. Carta de Juan de Silva, gobernador de Filipinas, dando cuenta del mal estado en que se encuentran las cosas de Terrenate, pide se le envíe una escuadra de navíos que se una a las que allí se puedan disponer. (Cat. 9230). Manila, 19-07-1614” Filipinas,7,R.4,N.51

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- “Confirmación de encomienda de Balangiga. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Balangiga en Ibabao (Samar) a Gabriel de Coronilla. Resuelto, [f] 27-05-1619” Filipinas,47,N.23

- “Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco. Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, gobernador de Terrenate al Rey, diciéndole que se le ha muerto mucha gente de estas guarniciones, y que por no socorrerle el gobernador de Filipinas, pide auxilio y fuerzas para poder arrojar de allí a los enemigos. Terrenate, 31-05-1619” Patronato,47,R.37

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Laglag y Sibucan en el río Araut y las del estero de Maquila en Cagayan a Pedro de Hermua. Resuelto. [f] 13-07-1619” Filipinas,47,N.28

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Albay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Albay y Canaman en Camarines y Catanduanes, a Gregorio de Vidaña. Resuelto, [f] 21-10-1620” Filipinas,47,N.38

- “Méritos y servicios: Fernando de Ayala:Filipinas. Información de los méritos y servicios del general don Fernando de Ayala. Pasó a las islas Filipinas en 1620 con un navío que se envió desde Nueva España; también obtuvo y desempeñó muchos cargos y comisiones, se halló en la conquista de Terrenate e Iloilo. Manila, 23 de julio de 1622. [c] 23-07-1622” Patronato,53,R.25

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Cuyo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Cuyo en Calamianes a Juan Martínez de Liedena. Resuelto. [f] 10-02-1623” Filipinas,47,N.47

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las

encomiendas de Casiguran y Sorsogon en Ibalon (Albay) a Diego de Cabra. Resuelto. [f] 03-07-1623” Filipinas,47,N.53

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Albay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Albay, Taytay, Tiui y Poro a Antonio Gómez. Resuelto. [f] 05-07-1623” Filipinas,47,N.54

- “Meritos Esteban de Alcázar. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Esteban de Alcázar, capitán de infantería, alcaide del Parian de los sangleyes, almirante de las naos de Filipinas. [c] 19-07-1623 (SUP)” Indiferente,161,N.81

- “Meritos: Fernando Centeno Maldonado. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Fernando Centeno Maldonado, general en las Islas Molucas y Filipinas. Manila, 15-08-1623” Indiferente,111,N.43

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Marinduque. Expediente de confirmación de encomienda de la isla de Marinduque a Juan de la Umbria. Resuelto. [f] 02-10-1623” Filipinas,47,N.60

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Fotol y río de Mandayat en Nueva Segovia a Gabriel de Carranza. Resuelto. [f] 23-10-1623” Filipinas,47,N.62

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Calasiao, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Calasiao y Manabas en Pangasinan a Alonso Martín Quirante. Resuelto. 08-11-1623” Filipinas,47,N.63

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Masbate. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de la isla de Masbate en Ibalon (Albay) a Fernando [Hernando] Suárez. Resuelto. [f] 22-11-1623” Filipinas,47,N.65

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Canaman, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Canaman, Milavit, Camalingan, Bagtas y Daet en Camarines a Pedro Martínez Cid. Resuelto, [f] 23-12-1624” Filipinas,47,N.72

- “Meritos, Juan de Acevedo. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Juan de Acevedo, almirante, sirvió en las Molucas e islas Filipinas. [c] 1625 (SUP)” Indiferente,111,N.56

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Filipinas. Expediente de confirmación de encomienda en el distrito de la Audiencia de Filipinas a Juan Gutierrez Paramo.

Resuelto. 10-03-1625” Filipinas,48,N.1

- “Carta de Niño de Távora sobre liberar a rey de Terrenate. Carta de Juan Niño de Távora, gobernador de Filipinas, sobre la necesidad de poner en libertad al rey de Terrenate para la pacificación de esas tierras, a petición de Pedro de Heredia. (Cat. 13361). Manila 30-10-1626” Filipinas,20,R.20,N.151

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Burauen. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Burauen a Bartolomé Díaz Barrera. Resuelto. [f] 18-01-1627” Filipinas,48,N.13

- “Meritos Pedro de Heredia. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Pedro de Heredia, alcayde y Gobernador de la gente de guerra de Terrenate. Manila 22-09-1628” Indiferente,111,N.78

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Bislig, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bislig y Catel en Caraga a Francisca de León Escobar. Resuelto, [f] 16-05-1629” Filipinas,48,N.18

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Catubig, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Catubig y Laguan en Ibabao (Samar) a Antonio Menéndez de Valdés. Resuelto. [f] 16-05-1629” Filipinas,48,N.19

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Milavit, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Milavit, Naga y Camalingan en Camarines a Pedro Jaraquemada. Resuelto. [f] 01-08-1629” Filipinas,48,N.24

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Abra, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas del Abra y de Vigan en Ilocos a Juan de la Umbria. Resuelto. [f] 22-11-1629” Filipinas,48,N.28

- “Esteban de Alcázar. Expediente de concesión de licencia para pasar a México a favor de Esteban de Alcázar, capitán y sargento mayor. [f] 1630” Indiferente,2077,N.212

- “Provisión del gobierno de Veragua. Propone personas para el gobierno de Veragua: Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan de Castroverde, Antonio de Figueroa, Lorenzo de Ayala, Jusepe Tello, Lorenzo de la Peña Escalante, Juan García de Navia, Antonio Malaber y Guevara, Juan de Lezama R: "Nombró a don Juan de Castroverde". [c] 31-05-1630. Madrid” Panama,2,N.5

- “Carta de Niño de Távora sobre Japón, Terrenate, Mindanao. Carta de Juan Niño de Távora, gobernador de Filipinas, dando cuentas del estado del Japón, que tiene armada una flota para atacar las costas de estas islas, y fortificaciones que con esa ocasión se hicieron; socorro a Terrenate; petición del virrey de la India de tres galeones para la flota de la China; sucesos de Nuño Álvarez Botello en Malaca; jornada que se hizo al reino de Joló e isla de Mindanao; reducción de los indios de Cagayán. Manila, 30-07-1630” Filipinas,8,R.1,N.9

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Barugo, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Barugo y Tambo en Cebu a Francisco Jiménez. Resuelto. [f] 18-09-1630” Filipinas,48,N.36

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Sinait, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Sinait y Vigan en Ilocos a Juan García Peláez. Resuelto. [f] 18-09-1630” Filipinas,48,N.37

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Agoo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Agoo en Pangasinan a Pedro de la Fuente Uriez (sic por Urroz). Resuelto. [f] 28-09-1630” Filipinas,48,N.39

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc. Expediente de confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc en Calilaya a Juan de la Umbria. Resuelto. [f] 02-10-1630” Filipinas,48,N.41

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Candaba, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Candaba y Arayat en Pampanga a Francisco de Vera y Aragón. Resuelto. [f] 09-10-1630” Filipinas,48,N.44

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Baro. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Baro en Ilocos a Hernando Suárez. Resuelto. [f] 02-12-1630” Filipinas,48,N.45

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Bacon, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bacon y costa de Bucaygan en la provincia de Camarines, a Martín de Adaro. Resuelto. [f] 01-02-1631” Filipinas,48,N.48

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Caraga a Juan de Chaves. Resuelto. [f] 14-02-1631” Filipinas,48,N.49

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Meycauayan. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Meycauayan en Bulacan a Gonzalo Ronquillo. Resuelto. [f] 31-02-1631 (SIC)” Filipinas,48,N.50
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Casiguran y Palanan de Manila a Francisco Carreño. Resuelto. [f] 07-04-1631” Filipinas,48,N.52
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Binalbagan. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Binalbagan en la isla de Negros a Pedro Martínez. Resuelto. [f] 31-10-1631” Filipinas,48,N.54
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Abuyog, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Abuyog en la isla de Leyte y Potat en la isla de Cebu a Pedro Méndez de Sotomayor. Resuelto. [f] 02-11-1631” Filipinas,48,N.55
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Bato, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bato, Lulu, Purao, Culi, Simbuey, Gattaran, Talapa en Cagayan a Juan Muñoz. Resuelto. [f] 12-12-1631” Filipinas,48,N.57
- “Meritos: Diego de Azcueta y Menchaca. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Diego Azcueta y Menchaca, alcalde ordinario de la ciudad de Manila. Referencias: Cristóbal de Azcueta y Menchaca, General en Filipinas. 1632” Indiferente,111,N.134
- “Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [f] 1632” Filipinas,61,N.12
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Ayumbon, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Ayumbon y Sanctor en Pampanga a Rodrigo de Mesa. Resuelto. [f] 02-07-1633” Filipinas,48,N.64
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto. [f] 12-08-1633” Filipinas,48,N.67
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Batan. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Batan en Pampanga a Fernando de Ayala. Resuelto. [f] 05-09-1633” Filipinas,48,N.70
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Barugo, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las

encomiendas de Barugo y Tambo en Leyte a Francisco Jiménez. Resuelto. [f] 07-09-1633” Filipinas,48,N.71

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Maquila, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Maquila y Tulaque en Cagayan a Agustín Pérez. Resuelto. [f] 21-10-1633” Filipinas,48,N.76

- “Meritos: Lorenzo Bravo de Cuellar. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Lorenzo Bravo de Cuéllar, que sirvió en las islas Filipinas. [c] 10-01-1634” Indiferente,111,N.152

- “Carta de Corcuera sobre socorro de Terrenate y Cachil Naro. Carta de Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, gobernador de Filipinas, dando cuenta del envío del socorro a Terrenate; encuentro que tuvieron con un galeón enemigo y regreso del gobernador de Terrenate, Pedro de Heredia. Por triplicado. (Cat. 16196) Acompaña: Orden e instrucción que los generales Pedro [Muñoz de Carmona y] Mendiola, gobernador de Terrenate y Jerónimo Somonte, capitán general de la armada real deben de guardar en razón de la restitución del rey Cachil Naro a su reino. Manila, 5 de julio de 1636. Con duplicado. (Cat. 16199). [c] 02-07-1636. Manila” Filipinas,8,R.3,N.72

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Santa Catalina a Alonso Serrano. Resuelto. [f] 19-09-1638” Filipinas,49,N.25

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [f] 13-05-1639” Filipinas,49,N.31

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Meycauayan. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Meycauayan en Bulacan a Jerónimo Somonte. Resuelto. [f] 13-05-1639” Filipinas,49,N.32

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Pata, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Pata y Masi en Cagayan a Francisco Suarez de Figueroa. Resuelto, [f] 19-08-1639” Filipinas,49,N.38

- “Informaciones: Pedro Jaraquemada. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro Jaraquemada, capitán y sargento mayor, vecino de Manila. [f] 1640” Filipinas,61,N.19

- “Meritos: Fernando de Ayala. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Fernando de

Ayala, castellano interino de Manila y maestre de campo. [c] 27-07-1643” Indiferente,112,N.47

- “Meritos: Hernando del Castillo. Relación de Méritos y servicios del capitán Hernando del Castillo, vecino de Manila. [c] 1645 (SUP)” Indiferente,112,N.145

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Viri. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Viri en Ibabao (Samar) a Ginés Rojas Narvaez. Resuelto. [f] 09-01-1645” Filipinas,49,N.61

- “Meritos: Diego Sarria y Lazcano. Relación de Méritos y servicios del almirante Diego Sarria y Lazcano, residente en las islas Filipinas. 01-1647” Indiferente,113,N.37

- “Meritos: Pedro Fernández del Rio. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Pedro Fernández del Rio, Gobernador de la gente de guerra de Terrenate. [c] 05-1647” Indiferente,113,N.50

- “Meritos: Francisco del Castillo Relación de Méritos y servicios del capitán Francisco del Castillo, residente en Filipinas, alcalde mayor de Balayan. [c] 20-05-1647” Indiferente,113,N.48

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Bacnotan, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bacnotan y Binmaley en Pangasinan a Pedro Muñoz de [Carmona y] Mendiola. Resuelto. [f] 23-05-1647” FILIPINAS,49,N.66

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Dalaguete, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Dalaguete y Panglao en la provincia de Cebu a Francisco de Atienza Ibáñez. Resuelto. [f] 06-06-1647” Filipinas,49,N.68

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Antique. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Antique en Oton a Juan de Heredia Ormastegui. Resuelto. [f] 13-09-1647” Filipinas,49,N.69

- “Meritos: Jerónimo Somonte. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Jerónimo Somonte, General en Filipinas. Referencias: José de Somonte Juan de Somonte Observaciones: Ampliada hasta 12-1655. [c] 02-05-1648” Indiferente,116,N.2

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Tulaque en Cagayan a Lope de Colindres. Resuelto. [f] 24-04-1649” Filipinas,50,N.2

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Sequior, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Sequior en Cebu, Ilaguan en Leyte y Borongan a Juan Fernandez Sevillano. Resuelto. [f] 02-05-1649” Filipinas,50,N.6
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Pedro de Almonte y Verastegui. Resuelto. [f] 02-05-1649” Filipinas,50,N.7
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina,etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Santa Catalina en Ilocos y Dumaguete y Tanjay en la isla de Negros a Rafael Home de Acevedo. Resuelto. [f] 18-05-1649” Filipinas,50,N.10
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Candaba, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Candaba, Arayat, Cagalissan, Bani y Apalit en Pampanga a Marcos Zapata de Carvajal. Resuelto. [f] 04-09-1649” Filipinas,50,N.12
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Sampongan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Sampongan, Anbongal, Maylon, El Buqui, Iligan, Bayu, Balo, Naguan, Tog, Baganga, Manoliguo, Caragan, Manay, Marayo, Casalman, Quinolan y Bitanagan a Diego Maldonado Bonal. Resuelto. [f] 07-10-1649” Filipinas,50,N.14
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Libmanan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Libmanan en Camarines, Burias y Masbate en Ibalon (Albay), Batan, Maripipi, Liman y Cabayan en Cebu a Francisco de Atienza Ibañez. Resuelto. [f] 16-10-1649” Filipinas,50,N.17
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Narvacan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Narvacan en Ilocos y Tingue de Baon, por otro nombre Danao en Oton a Lorenzo de Orella y Ugalde. Resuelto. [f] 23-10-1649” Filipinas,50,N.18”
Non c’è niente su Ternate
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Buguey. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Buguey en Ibalon (Albay) a Luisa Suárez. Resuelto. [f] 26-11-1649” Filipinas,50,N.19
- “Carta de Diego Fajardo sobre procesos contra los que ayudaban a Corcuera. Carta de Diego Fajardo Chacón, gobernador de Filipinas, dando cuenta del proceso seguido contra los que apoyaban a Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, su antecesor, en la difamación de su gobierno y que acabó con la ejecución de Juan Ramos, alférez, y el destierro a los distintos presidios de estas islas de Lucrecia de Maldonado, Alonso

Centeno, sargento mayor, Pedro de Almonte [y Verastegui] general de la armada que iba contra los holandeses, Francisco Rojo, sargento mayor de esta armada, Diego Sarriá, de los capitanes Marcos de Resinas (sic por Rasines), Andrés de Chaves, Laureano de Escobar, Francisco de Sierra, Juan de Salinas, y de los ayudantes Hernán Gómez Grande y Pedro de Garay, todos sus cómplices. (Cat. 18866). [c] 24-01-1650. Manila” Filipinas,9,R.1,N.10

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Guimbal. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Guimbal en Oton a Esteban de Somoza y Losada. Resuelto. [f] 02-02-1651” Filipinas,50,N.20

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Baler. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Baler en Tayabas a Alonso Romero. Resuelto. [f] 04-03-1651” Filipinas,50,N.24

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu a Alonso López. Resuelto. [f] 28-04-1651” Filipinas,50,N.29

- “Meritos: Francisco Claudio Arias de Verastegui, Relación de Méritos y servicios de Francisco Claudio Arias de Verastegui, capitán, sirvió en Filipinas. Referencias: Juan Claudio Arias de Verastegui Pedro de Brito Sebastián Pérez de Acuña. Nota: No hay relación. [c] 10-07-1651” Indiferente,114,N.30

- “Meritos: Agustín Cepeda. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Agustín Cepeda, Gobernador de la gente de guerra de la fuerza de san Sebastián en la isla de Mindanao. Observaciones: Ampliada hasta 1667-03-10. [c] 01-07-1652” Indiferente,121,N.89

- “Meritos: Juan Camacho de la Peña. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Juan Camacho de la Peña, sargento mayor en las islas Filipinas. [c] 15-07-1652” Indiferente,114,N.56

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Agoo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Agoo en Pangasinan a Antonio Pérez. Resuelto. [f] 02-10-1653” Filipinas,50,N.39

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Bagatayan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bagatayan, Pajo y Liloan en Cebu, Bislig y Catel en Caraga a Juan Camacho de la Peña. Resuelto. [f] 09-10-1653” Filipinas,50,N.40

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangansinan a Francisco de Palmas. Resuelto. [f] 22-06-1654” Filipinas,50,N.44
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Bito, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bito, Binca, Manliron y Malaguicay en las provincias de Leyte, Samar e Ibabao (Samar) a Francisco de Alfaro. Resuelto. [f] 22-08-1654” Filipinas,50,N.45
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Naujan, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Naujan, Bongabon, Santiago, Lin y Baco en la isla de Mindoro a Juan de Chaves. Resuelto, [f] 25-08-1654” Filipinas,50,N.47
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Julián de Torres. Resuelto. [f] 23-11-1654” Filipinas,50,N.48
- “Meritos: Ginés Rojas y Narvaez. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Ginés Rojas y Narváez, castellano del castillo de Santiago en Manila, [c] 29-11-1655” Indiferente,116,N.42
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Balayan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Balayan y bajos de Tuley a Simón Alvarez. Resuelto. [f] 03-12-1655” Filipinas,50,N.51
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Maquila, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Maquila, Tulaque y Mandayat en Cagayan a Juan de Zabaleta. Resuelto. [f] 09-12-1655” Filipinas,50,N.53
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangasinan a Miguel de Guinea. Resuelto, [f] 09-12-1655” Filipinas,50,N.52
- “Meritos: Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, Gobernador de Terrenate. Observaciones: Ampliada hasta 17-12-1657. Manila, 29-12-1655” Indiferente,116,N.48
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Caraga, Surigao y Sidarga en Cebu a Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta. Resuelto. [f] 19-06-1659” Filipinas,51,N.1

- “Confirmación de encomienda de Paracale, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Paracale y Capalonga en Camarines a Antonio Maldonado y Moscoso. Resuelto. [f] 05-07-1659” Filipinas,51,N.3
- “Meritos: Francisco Esteybar. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Francisco Esteybar, General, sirvió en Terrenate y Zamboanga. Manila, 15-07-1659” Indiferente,118,N.24
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Bondoc, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bondoc y Catanauan en Tayabas y Marinduque en Mindoro a Francisco de Arechaga y Bolivar. Resuelto. [f] 19-07-1659” Filipinas,51,N.6
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Binalbagan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalbagan en isla de Negros, Dumangas y Baon en Oton a Ginés Rojas y Narváez. Resuelto. [f] 17-09-1659” Filipinas,51,N.10
- “Meritos: Andrés Ezquerra. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Andrés Ezquerra, capitán, sirvió en Filipinas. Referencias: Gonzalo Carvajal Andrés Esquerra Francisco Ezquerra Juan Ezquerra Gabriel Rivera Gonzalo Sánchez Carvajal, escudero. [c] 23-10-1659” Indiferente,118,N.44
- “Meritos: Pedro Bravo de Acuña. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Pedro Bravo de Acuña, Capitán, sirvió en Filipinas, Armada, La Habana y San Antonio de Gibraltar. [c] 07-03-1660” Indiferente,118,N.65
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Payo, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Payo en Catanduanes, Tocava y Caraco en la isla de Negros a José Cerrillo. Resuelto. f] 06-04-1661” Filipinas,51,N.11
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Casiguran y Palanan en Tayabas a Manuel Correa. Resuelto. [f] 28-11-1661” Filipinas,51,N.12
- “Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Abucay y Samal en Pampanga a Francisco de Esteybar. Resuelto. [f] 17-12-1661” Filipinas,51,N.14
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