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Blessed Pedro Calungsod, Martyr: An Historian's Comments on the Mission in the Marianas

John N. Schumacher, S.J.

In a previous article, we have tried to depict the probable environment in the Philippines from which the lay companions of Blessed Diego de San Vitores, including Blessed Pedro Calungsod, came.[1] In particular we have tried to bring more clarity to their likely age, the type of education they would have had, their linguistic ability, the probable methods by which they were recruited, the types of men they were, their probable motivations, and their commitment to the mission.

In so doing, we have inevitably had to draw somewhat on what they demonstrated themselves to be when actually in the Marianas, since it was impossible to separate so drastically one part of a man's life and character from the rest. Nonetheless, we have left them, as it were, as they left Manila—for the main group of the mission, including all the Filipinos—or as they left Mexico—for those Spaniards who accepted the invitation of San Vitores there.

We will primarily concern ourselves with the activity of San Vitores, Pedro Calungsod and his volunteer missionary companions, and the others, Spaniards or Filipinos, who made up the mission. But here too, in an analogous fashion, we will have to reach back to certain preparations which were made in the Philippines, but which only became active or significant in the Marianas.

Learning the Chamorro Language: San Vitores

If the lay missionaries had not previously been trained as regular catechists, as we have indicated above, what functions did they have,

1. "Blessed Pedro Calungsod, Martyr: An Historian's Comments on His Philippine Background," *Philippine Studies* 49 (2001):287–336

and how were they able to carry them out? Though we have spoken of informal, conversational "catechizing," even this raises the question of the language and how the missionaries, Jesuit or lay, learned the language and how to preach and instruct in it. The question was even more acute for the Jesuits who joined the mission in Mexico, since they had no knowledge of cognate Philippine languages to help them, nor would they have been able to communicate well with the interpreters from the shipwreck of the *Concepción*, at least in a way by which they would be able to learn the Chamorro language. For the lay missionary volunteers, who would presumably learn the language more quickly, there was the problem of how to preach, or give instructions in, Christian doctrine for which they had no professional preparation. For both needs, San Vitores had already, or would soon, provide.

First we must deal with the language, seeing not only San Vitores's own linguistic achievements, and how well he learned the language, but also how he created the means by which his companions would be able to learn it. All the sources agree that San Vitores himself had an extraordinary capacity for learning languages, so much so that his enthusiastic admirers attributed to him a supernatural gift for learning them, like the commander of the galleon *San Diego*, General Antonio Nieto, observing him correct the non-Tagalog Filipinos on the ship when they faltered at his questioning them in some words of their prayers.[2]

Father Lorenzo Bustillos, his devoted companion as a scholastic from Mexico onwards, even further exaggerated San Vitores's ability, speaking of how he had learned Tagalog in the Philippines, something that Bustillos could only have known from hearsay. He is cited for the following claim:

> Father Bustillos, besides repeating that Father San Vitores spoke all the languages in Mindoro, says in a letter to Father Guillen, that God had given him a very special gift of tongues, by which he understood and spoke all the languages there are in the Philippines. He knew the

2. One can give simpler explanations for this ability, since unfamiliar Spanish words, adopted in all the Filipino languages for religious terms not previously existing in them, would be most likely to give them trouble to remember accurately. The idea of a gift of tongues is no doubt derived from the similar gift (wrongly) attributed to St. Francis Xavier. It would be especially likely since San Vitores was greatly devoted to Xavier, and consciously modeled himself and his mission methods on those attributed to the Apostle of the Indies. For the dubious reality of Xavier's supposed gift of tongues, see Schurhammer 1977, 448–49 n. 150.

> Mariana language with total perfection,[3] composing in it a grammar [*arte*], vocabulary, and catechism. On the voyage from the Philippines to Mexico, before entering the islands, he used to correct those Filipinos whom he was bringing as interpreters of this language, thus becoming teacher of his teachers, and teaching what he had not learned. On the same voyage, as we said, he showed himself to know the languages of all the nations who were coming in the ship (García 1683, 366–67).

Obviously, Father Bustillos must have written that letter when he had very little or no experience of the Philippines, to think that anyone could know, or even demonstrate that he knew supernaturally, all Philippine languages. Either he, or more probably García, confuses the assertion made elsewhere that San Vitores knew all the languages of Mindoro with the idea of his knowing all those of the Philippines. Even with regard to knowing all the languages of Mindoro, the mission which San Vitores conducted in Mindoro—in which Bustillos was not present, of course—resulted in three Christian settlements, two of Mangyans and one of Cimarrones.

The latter were, at least in their great majority, native Tagalogs, who for one reason or another had fled to the mountains, a common phenomenon in all parts of the Philippines at that time, whether to flee from justice, or to escape from tribute and forced labor, or because of an unwillingness to settle down in a Christian village. As for the Mangyans, it is possible that San Vitores learned something of one of their languages, but most of them too would have had a familiarity with Tagalog from their trading contacts with the lowlands, as well as from their dealings with the Cimarrones.

Indeed, in García's own account of this mission in Mindoro (1683, 139–55), the only language he ever mentions San Vitores using is Tagalog, certainly in the hymns and prayers. There is no mention of any other language or of a need for an interpreter by him or by his companion and former Tagalog teacher, the *donado*, Brother Marcos Cruz. The statement about knowing the languages of all the "nations" on the ship is very likely hearsay from General Nieto, as explained above, the "nations" being the different linguistic groups of Filipinos. That there

3. This is contradicted by San Vitores himself, as may be seen below, where he says that his translation of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were only rough translations, which he did not want the Chamorros to be forced to memorize until there would be a more perfect version. There is no doubt, however, that he continued to make progress rapidly, and would have later made a more definitive translation.

were men of other nationalities on board, who did not speak at least some Spanish, is very unlikely.

A truer picture of San Vitores's linguistic abilities is to be found in his own words to a close friend and fellow-Jesuit in Spain, the Father Guillen mentioned above. Writing from the village of Taytay, where he had gone to study Tagalog full-time, he says:

> The language is truly difficult, without any relation to those of Europe, though the languages of the Philippines have a great resemblance to one another, and it is only to Hebrew [!] that it has some resemblance. But since with my little ability, I can already carry on the ministry more or less and speak what is necessary for the salvation of these poor people, who would not be enthusiastic, with the grace of Our Lord and the *Acto de Contrición*? ([Ledesma]1981, 131).[4]

Earlier in the same letter, he had explained how he had come to break through the barrier of learning a difficult language. He had started studying it, as most missionaries did, through the prism of Latin.

> I had scarcely begun to study the nominative cases of this Tagalog language [...] when to practice the language I had some good Filipinos who knew Spanish translate the *Acto de Contrición* in the format of the saintly Father Gerónimo López, with all its maxims and Ave Marias [...]
>
> And so I attribute to the *Acto de Contrición* the facility that Our Lord gave me so that before three months of language-study, I could hear confessions ordinarily well, and preach or converse. [...] In my ordinary speaking with the Filipinos, with practice God goes on giving me what is necessary. And when I find myself at a loss for words, I go to my *Acto de Contrición*, in which we cannot get lost ([Ledesma] 1981, 128).

4. The *Acto de Contrición* was not the simple prayer of sorrow for sin, but a penitential procession with songs and prayers, devised by Fr. Jerónimo Lopez, S.J., for use in rural as well as urban missions in Spain. It is described as follows by De la Costa (1961, 471): "López had found in the course of giving innumerable missions . . . that one of the most effective means of drawing [people] to a better life was to march through the streets of a town or village carrying a crucifix and crying out the act of contrition in a loud voice, varying this with short extempore ejaculations expressive of sorrow for sin, and wherever a crowd collected, at street corners or in the squares, expanding the formula into passionate exhortations to repentance. Usually people who merely stopped to stare stayed to pray, and soon the missioner was being followed by a vast procession singing hymns and shouting the act of contrition with him, often with sobs and tears. He led them in this manner to the church, where, after a brief instruction on how to make a good confession, he sent them to the priests waiting in the confessionals." San Vitores had accompanied Fr Jerónimo López in his itinerant missions in Spain before coming to the Philippines, and undoubtedly learned its use from him (Astrain 1920, 806–7). In the Philippines he later used this exercise both in Spanish and in Tagalog, and in the Marianas in Chamorro, adapting it to the different situations.

By the time he met the four survivors of the *Concepción* in 1664, he had mastered Tagalog, and apparently used a similar method in learning Chamorro with one or more of these prospective interpreters. The editor of his so-called "grammar and catechism," referring to San Vitores's supposed supernatural gift of languages, speaks to the point when he says:

> More interesting and important than such legends is the sound method that he employed in acquiring a new language: a native instructor to give him the correct pronunciation and vocabulary, a systematic study of the language, accompanied by a comparison with a similar one (Burrus 1954, 935, n. 5).[5]

This "grammar and catechism" that Burrus published from the Jesuit Roman Archives is undoubtedly the *Arte* of which Father Bustillos speaks, as becomes evident both from its title and from its contents. It is not really a catechism.[6] The first part, the grammar properly so-called, after a few detailed pages on pronunciation, gives an explanation of the language by means of a meticulous explanation of the use of the parts of speech. This is followed by some practice in the phrases necessary to introduce the missionaries to the Chamorros and to explain to them the purpose of their coming.

Only in the second part do we find what seems at first glance to be catechetical instructions. Examined more closely, however, this part contains only a fraction of what composed the Tagalog *Doctrina Cristiana,* but at the same time it contains a good deal more of other religious matters. First, this second part proceeds to the form of interrogating an adult before baptism. Here it becomes evident that this whole catechetical section is intended not for his lay companions, but

5. Burrus errs, however, in saying that San Vitores learned Tagalog in Taytay, Palawan. In San Vitores's letters he says explicitly that he was in the town of Taytay, "some six leagues" (approximately thirty km.) from Manila ([Ledesma] 1981, 128). Burrus has a number of other minor factual errors with regard to the apostolic activities and trip of San Vitores, being an expert on Latin America rather than the Philippines.

6. This manuscript is principally intended to give a sketch of the grammar and pronunciation, with a selection of more useful phrases and formulas to illustrate the rules. For its title is "Grammatical Instructions in the Chamorro Language" ["Grammaticae Institutiones Marianae Linguae"]. The so-called catechetical part was apparently primarily intended to illustrate the grammar, and evolved into supplying the necessary basic instructions for administering baptism in emergency situations, such as that of old and sick adults for whom there was no time or opportunity to receive systematic instructions in the Catholic faith. It was not a catechism in the ordinary sense of the word.

for the Jesuit priests. For, pleading lack of time, he says he omits the Latin formula found in the *Manuale Romanum*, evidently presupposing that this would be well known by memory to priests. In place of it, he announces his intention to prepare still another document for the sake of the lay companions. "In another document, more suitable for the use of our mission here and now, a Spanish version will be added, more convenient here and now, so that even our lay companions may supply the lack of priests present by administering sacred baptism, even to adults in case of necessity" (Burrus 1954, 953).[7]

To this he adds a third part, giving a simple profession of faith, an expression of contrition for sins, and the desire of receiving baptism; then the Apostles' Creed, with a brief explanation of the next life. Finally the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria conclude the work.

It is evident that this is not modeled on the Tagalog *Doctrina Cristiana*, but is totally oriented toward giving the priest the means to explain the bare essentials of Christian belief and morality to be held by an adult urgently needing to receive baptism, with a few of the important prayers added. Though Burrus only summarizes the long introductory letter of San Vitores (twenty-five folios!) to his Jesuit brothers in Manila and Rome who might follow him, he relates that in it

> he explained the nature of the treatise, how and why he composed it, how he intended to add to it and to perfect it. He had not intended to send any copy of it until he could correct it in the light of long experience in the ministry among the natives, but upon seeing how much even such a rudimentary manual had assisted him in instructing them, he decided to let others benefit by it, inasmuch as with it at hand he has been able to receive sixteen adults and thirty-four children of catechumens into the Faith. Thus, he felt that its practical worth had already been demonstrated (Burrus 1954, 936).

In fact, the letter is dated 18 June 1668, just two days after he had arrived in Agana. He had given his first instructions to the assembled people, and performed the baptisms of old and sick adults and some children whose parents had signified their desire to become Christians. This brief treatise was all that he could manage to have copied because

7. As Burrus remarks (953, n. 37), the *Manuale Romanum* referred to is evidently the Roman Ritual (*Rituale Romanum)* for the sacraments. Even apart from San Vitores's explicit declaration, it is hard to see how Leyson, after reading the whole with its difficult and technical Latin, could think that even one educated in the Manila colleges, much less one with the simple education of Pedro Calungsod, could have even understood it. Certainly he could never have used it as a Chamorro catechism.

of the early departure of the galleon for Manila, though he had much more to say, especially to urge other Jesuits to come and join his little group.

It seems clear that the "grammar and catechism" itself had been composed before he left the Philippines, as it was a preliminary to any further use of the language. Certainly he also composed at least a first draft of the *Doctrina Cristiana* in the Philippines, or more probably, with the help of an interpreter translated the Tagalog *Doctrina Cristiana.* This would be used for the children in the school, and for the ordinary adult catechumens, not in proximate danger of death. There is frequent mention of such a *Doctrina Cristiana,* but what Burrus published is not it, and no doubt it is lost today.[8]

What has survived and was published by Burrus, is San Vitores's preliminary attempt to provide an instrument for himself and for the other Jesuit priests to learn the basics of the language and be able to begin to preach and instruct in it. It is certain also that this was only one of several compositions by San Vitores, some for himself, some for the Jesuit missionaries, others for his lay missionary companions like Pedro Calungsod. What they were can only be gathered from scattered references in the primary sources and certain deductions, and will be treated below.

Before San Vitores could compose anything to help his companions, he had to learn the language himself. This principally took place back in the Philippines. It seems likely that he devoted himself to this from the time that he met the four Filipinos rescued by Admiral Esteban Ramos in 1665, since he immediately began to press his plea that missionaries be sent to the Marianas. This gave him two years before the mission departed from Cavite, but, of course, he was heavily engaged in other occupations of the ministry.

According to the catalogs of the Philippine Jesuit Province for the years 1664 to 1666, he was prefect of studies [dean of faculties] in the

8. For example, Francisco Maunahun is reported to have spent his last two years before his martyrdom "alone in the island and church of San Francisco Javier [Agrigan] attending to the baptisms and *Doctrinas* . . ." (García 1683, 456). That is to say, Maunahun, besides performing emergency baptisms, would drill the people preparing for baptism or already Christians, in the *Doctrina.* Likewise, in petitioning the king for funds for his boarding school [*seminario*], San Vitores says he will "choose from all the boys those of more ability, better natural qualities and application to the *Doctrina Cristiana.*" (ibid. 241). As in the Philippines this would be recited every day in school, and in the church on Sundays, undoubtedly led by the Filipino companions, at least at first, and later by the boys of the school.

University of San Ignacio during all of this time, spiritual director and confessor of the Jesuit community, and engaged in pastoral work among both Spaniards and Filipinos ([Ledesma] 1981, 126–27).[9] At the same time he was engaged in writing to the King (later to the Queen-regent), to his father, and to others who would make the mission possible, as well as in negotiating with local authorities in Manila. The grammar studied above, as well as the main part of his introductory letter, must have been composed at this time, even though the early paragraph of the introductory letter, telling of his first success, must have been written in Agana.[10]

From what we know of his method of learning Tagalog, the grammar was no doubt drawn up through the analysis of certain key texts, which, with the help of one or more of his interpreters, he translated or had them translate. In contrast to his study of Tagalog, however, he had no book of formal grammar and its rules to begin with, but had to create his own. Therefore he had to have some substantial texts that he could analyze for this purpose.

Here is where we see his linguistic genius in being able to extract general rules out of a simple text, without any grammatical guidelines except those he would himself devise. Most probably the first texts he would have used were what we would expect from him—the two mentioned by García—the *Doctrina Cristiana* and the *Acto de Contrición* (1683, 322). On the basis of the Chamorro translation of these, done with or by the interpreter(s), he would have been able to determine, with his/their help, the rules for pronunciation and analyze the grammatical structure of the language, the two parts that make up the main grammatical section of the surviving "grammar and catechism" With

9. In 1664, the first year after learning Tagalog in Taytay, his pastoral ministry was designated as only to Filipinos. This would be the opportunity for the missions in Mindoro.

10. According to the summary of this letter by Burrus (1954, 936–38), large sections of the letter are devoted to discussing the opinions of various authors as to the hypothesis that the islands had originally been settled from Japan, and his own opinion that the inhabitants may have come from Egypt, accompanied by other historical considerations mixed with lengthy Scriptural exegesis in the intellectual fashion of the time. All this would have been impossible without the many books cited, which he could have consulted only in the University of San Ignacio, while still in Manila. Since there would not have been much time before the galleon departed Agana for Manila, some handwritten copies of the grammar itself must have been made by one of his Jesuit companions, either in Manila or on shipboard.

these as a basis, he could then proceed to learn the language by conversing with the interpreters.[11]

On the voyage itself, both before and after the stay in Mexico, San Vitores would have worked on others of his various compositions in the Chamorro language. The so-called "grammar and catechism," which should be identified with the *Arte*, as well as the *Acto de Contrición*, and at least a first draft of a *Doctrina Cristiana* having been completed in the Philippines,[12] while on the voyage, probably even from Cavite onward, and perhaps also on the Acapulco-Guam leg of the trip, he worked on his *Vocabulario*, probably with the help of two or more interpreters.[13] This too was probably principally intended for the use of the Jesuit missionaries, and therefore would have been a Spanish-Chamorro vocabulary, since those Jesuits who joined him in Mexico would be most in need of such an aid.

Moreover, one must keep in mind that all these tools for learning the Chamorro language were written out by hand by San Vitores, and though undoubtedly handwritten copies were made by others, it was hardly likely that these could have been many, certainly not enough for each of the lay missionary companions. Indeed it is not unlikely that some of these would have been unable—like his Tagalog interpreter—to read, much less write, in Spanish letters, though this would

11. It is clear that he could not simply have given the *Doctrina Cristiana* or *Acto de Contrición* to just any of the interpreters to translate, since he says explicitly of the Tagalog interpreter who helped him with the vocabulary on the ship that he was unable to read Spanish letters, i.e., the Roman alphabet. Perhaps Don Francisco de Mendoza (if he knew Tagalog) or a group of interpreters helped him.

12. The letter of Bustillos on the linguistic ability of San Vitores cited previously, in spite of its exaggerations and ill-founded suppositions as to San Vitores's supernatural gift of tongues, says definitely that he composed in Chamorro an "Arte, Vocabulario, y Catecismo." He then relates how on the voyage from Mexico to the Marianas, San Vitores corrected the Filipinos whom he had as interpreters, "acting as teacher of his teachers." This clearly supposes that he had already learned the basics of the language in the Philippines, with at least the *Arte* (i.e., the "grammar and catechism" of Burrus) and the *Catecismo* (the *Doctrina Cristiana*)—which, with the *Acto de Contrición*, would have been the master texts from which he could make the analysis of grammar needed to construct the *Arte*—having been completed there, as noted above. The *Arte* and the *Catecismo*—that is, the *Doctrina Cristiana*—were two separate works, both composed in the Philippines. Since Bustillos also says that it was on the voyage from the Philippines to Mexico that he corrected his teacher, this has to refer to the *Vocabulario*.

13. Leyson (1999, 34–35) supposes that San Vitores was "preparing a grammar and catechism in Chamorro with the help of his Tagalog interpreter." The Filipino survivors from the Ladrones who accompanied the mission were, as he understands, only the Tagalog mentioned on one occasion by San Vitores as working with him, and the

be less true in the 1660s than in the time when those shipwrecked in 1638 had gone to sea.

It is not impossible that, as Leyson says, on the voyage Pedro and the other lay missionary companions "were busy learning Chamorro" (1999, 34), though it is highly unlikely that there was anything like a systematic class for them, or even that it kept them busy much of the time. That has never been the way Filipinos learned cognate languages. The interpreters would have been incapable of giving such a class, since they themselves had learned the language unsystematically. It is possible that the Filipino lay missionaries managed to pick up some of the language from the Filipino interpreters, but one ought not expect that there was any regulated learning of the language on their part. For one thing, the Filipino interpreters seem to have been only two, and the companions close to twenty, apart from the Jesuits who had joined in Mexico and knew no Philippine language.

Visayan Esteban. However, there is no reason to suppose that only the Tagalog worked with San Vitores all the time; simply that he was the one who happened to be working there when San Vitores wrote his introductory letter. It is true that San Vitores knew only Tagalog, not Visayan. But as he makes clear in his description of his first meeting with the four men rescued by Admiral Ramos, all of them understood, at least to some extent, both Tagalog and Spanish. Nonetheless, it is logical that the Tagalog would be the one he would depend on more. However, Leyson shows himself unaware of the "principal interpreter from Manila," the Spaniard, Don Francisco de Mendoza, whom we have mentioned above. Though he almost certainly was not as fluent in Chamorro as the two Filipino interpreters, having spent less time in the Marianas than they, and probably not having a cognate Philippine language as his own, he would presumably have had the advantage of being much better educated and therefore more able to understand the linguistic problems San Vitores faced. Moreover, of course, he was fluent in Spanish, so that San Vitores could more easily communicate with him. In fact there is in the grammar of San Vitores evidence that Mendoza did collaborate on it, since the Chamorro equivalent of his name is used as one of the examples of a noun, together with the words *si Dios, si Jesús, si sancta María, si Pedro, si Taypiru, si Pare.* With these is included *si Mandasay*, which, as Burrus noted without being aware of its significance, is evidently, when taken in conjunction with its translation elsewhere, the Chamorro transposition of the surname *Mendoza* (Burrus 1954, 943, n. 26; 945). Whether *si Pedro* is included because it was the name of the Tagalog interpreter, one can only conjecture, but it is not unlikely. (Not Pedro Calungsod, of course, who was a Visayan). *Pare*, of course, stands for *Padre*, but it is impossible for me to say what *si Taypiru* stands for; it hardly seems to correspond to Esteban, but it is almost certainly also a proper name, like the rest in the enumeration of examples. Thus we say "two or more" interpreters, because we have multiple indications of the Tagalog (Pedro?) and Don Francisco Mendoza, without ruling out Esteban or another unknown to us from the sources.

This fact further confirms the supposition that the lay Filipinos, many, if not most, of whom would have had only a rough knowledge of Spanish, picked up on shipboard just a rough basic knowledge, at best, of the Chamorro language. They would learn it more fully from the Chamorros themselves when they were already in the Marianas.

The vocabulary was probably substantially finished on the trip from Cavite to Mexico, and in any case, work on it would have had to be interrupted during the two or more months he spent in Mexico, when San Vitores had many affairs to attend to, particularly the financing of the mission. By this time, however, he must have had more than a fair grasp of the language, since he had begun to compose songs in it. For on the voyage from Mexico to Guam he already had some of these prepared, and continued to compose similar ones day by day, to fit with the liturgy of the day.

It is evident that he had some musical ability, composing and singing songs of his own composition in Chamorro, as he had done in the Philippines in Tagalog. No doubt this too contributed considerably to his proficiency in the language. On the ship itself he conducted a Chamorro liturgy (or paraliturgy).

> He celebrated Holy Week with its processions and images [*pasos*], and the feasts of the principal saints as they occurred, with all the solemnity that the lack of space on the ship permitted; and he composed hymns [*villancicos*] to the saints in the Mariana language, so that they might help him with their intercession toward the conversion of those natives, whose language was already being employed in their praises. In this way he practiced the Mariana language, of which he began to compose a vocabulary, aiding himself with an interpreter whom he himself corrected when the latter erred. He learned it so perfectly that on the feast of St. John the Baptist in the same year, eight days after having entered the Marianas, on the feast of the Sacrament [Corpus Christi], which was reserved for that day, he preached during it with such elegance and propriety that the natives were in admiration (García 1683, 190).[14]

14. Though this seems to indicate that he only began the vocabulary on the Mexico-Marianas leg of the voyage, the whole passage is rather intended as a summary of his linguistic accomplishments, and need not be taken as a strict chronological account of them. Logically, it would seem that he would make the vocabulary before attending to such extras as the hymns to the saints. Or he may have been continuing, rather than beginning, the vocabulary in this part of the voyage. In any case, García was not an eyewitness, but summarized as best he could the primary materials to which he had access.

Nor was this the end of his efforts to dominate the language. He put the *Doctrina Cristiana* to music (probably later)[15] to make it more attractive and easy to memorize for the Chamorros as well, and even to attract those less well disposed.

> Going through the countryside, during the time that he was not occupied in prayer, he sang in the Mariana language the *Doctrina Cristiana,* to invite those who were hidden in the thick forests. On entering a village, even if it were of the most hostile, he used to raise his banner, and sing along the road some little couplets he had composed as an invitation to listen to the *Doctrina Cristiana.* If there was a cross in the village, he would go directly to venerate it, and after prayer, he would go through all the houses of the village without exception, baptizing and hearing the confessions of those who had a need and were capable, explaining in all of them the Christian doctrine, and singing some prayers which he had composed in Mariana verse, to ask from God temporal and spiritual benefits for that house and village, and especially that they be delivered from the *Anito* or devil (García 1683, 236).

This use of songs was continual, and must have helped not only San Vitores, who exercised his linguistic ability in composing them, but would have been an aid to his missionary companions, Jesuit and lay, toward learning the language. On seeing the fondness of the Chamorros for singing and dancing, he put forward even more efforts to take advantage of these natural aids to memorizing the essentials of Christianity.

> He composed in the verse of the [Chamorro] language a very devout supplication to the Virgin, in order to banish the prayers they make to their Anitos; he put to music the sweet names of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, because the Chamorros are fond of music. And because they are dancers by nature, he used to dance and sing with them, in order to attach them to the *Doctrina Cristiana* (García 1683, 322).

As in so many other respects, exaggerations and legends grew up around the linguistic ability of San Vitores and his mastery of the Chamorro language, just as they had about his mastery of Tagalog. Devoted admirers of the man, like Admiral Esteban Ramos and Father

15. We say "probably later" because in the Burrus document, though San Vitores gives the common prayers, he cautions the priest baptizing not to make them memorize "these rough [*rudes*] translations of ours of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer yet . . . until either they might know well our language or we theirs, or some of us, more fully instructed by the grace of God and our experience of the language, shall have made perfect Chamorro translations, both safe and certain" (Burrus 1954, 955).

Lorenzo Bustillos, especially after his martyrdom, often delivered themselves of improbable exaggerations, or spoke more from admiration and affection of this charismatic figure than observable facts warrant. In such exaltation of his allegedly supernatural gifts, they fail to make clear the ingenuity, the careful analysis, and the continual recourse to plain hard work in achieving what he humanly could, leaving the rest to God.

The accounts of his first talks or sermons on arrival in Agana indicate this, as has already been seen in the account of his sermon for the feast of St. John the Baptist shortly after his arrival. It may well have been highly impressive to the Chamorros—no one else was really in a position to judge—but if so, we can be sure that this was the fruit of diligent preparation, as in all his endeavors. A comparison of the description of his first address to the Chamorros on the morning after the arrival of the *San Diego* in Agana is an indication. A modern writer, who, however, made use of original documents for his somewhat novelistic presentation of San Vitores's life says: "Father San Vitores had already mastered the language of the islanders with such perfection that according to one report they marveled at the correctness of his speech, the propriety of the idioms he used and even his pronunciation of the words"(Risco 1970, 121).[16]

Brother Marcelo Ansaldo, however, is perhaps more realistic. In his letter to the Queen, he describes what he saw on the ship the night before disembarking, when many Chamorros came aboard: "All that night there were many natives on the ship, and since the Father had learned *a good part of the language* of the Ladrones . . . with this he could teach them that night many matters of our Holy Faith ([Ledesma] 1981, 200; italics mine). Nonetheless, his linguistic accomplishment was, in sober fact, quite extraordinary.

Learning Chamorro: The Other Missionaries

The other Jesuit missionaries, as may be supposed, were in a much more difficult position, at least the four who had joined the mission only in Mexico. (Father Cardeñoso may well have worked along with San Vitores from the Philippines, and most likely knew Tagalog, since he had been almost two years in the Philippines before departure). Not only did they have no knowledge of cognate Philippine languages

16. This last sentence is probably a typically overstated elaboration by Risco of the more sober description by García, quoted above.

to help them, but they could only have begun to study San Vitores's grammar on the voyage between Mexico and the Marianas, which, of course, gave them little or no practice in actually speaking.[17] Brother Ansaldo indicates their early methods of preaching in the same account of the landing in Agana (199–200):

> That very afternoon the pilot, Father Luís de Medina, superior of the mission to the Philippines, and an interpreter who knew the language well, went ashore . . . He found on the shore more than two hundred men with lances made of human bones . . . The Father spoke to them and the interpreter, and they told them how the Fathers who were coming there intended to stay in their lands and intended to teach them the way to Heaven.

It seems clear that Father Medina spoke in his native Spanish, with perhaps a few Chamorro phrases, and the interpreter translated for him. San Vitores did not let this obstacle hold back the mission. Though he himself was, of course, most active in preaching and instructing, he set the other Jesuits to the apostolate very soon.

> From the beginning he occupied them in Agana and in the other places in the island [of Guam], not waiting till they knew a great deal of the language, for he said they should not worry about not knowing much of the language, since God and the Blessed Virgin would free them from their difficulties when the occasion came, and would give them words and spirit in time of need. (García 1683, 218)

However, he did not leave them without abundant human means in their work. "He also gave them an explanation of the Creed and the Commandments which he had composed in the Mariana language, so that they might read it to the natives"(ibid.).[18] This apparently was the most common manner of proceeding of the Jesuits, at least in the beginning.

17. Moreover, there are in the grammar many comparisons with Tagalog, which, though helpful to one who knew the latter language, must have been unintelligible to those who had never been in the Philippines. Perhaps Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso was able to help them in this.

18. It is clear that this was different than the "grammar and catechism" of which we have spoken above, which did contain the Creed and the Commandments, but had no explanation, as it was made for adults in danger of death, and required only a general assent for baptism. It seems likely that the other Jesuits would have had the first work as an aid to learning the language, but that he then composed this further explanation that he gave them for actual use in the ministry.

Of the scholastic Lorenzo Bustillos we read that on coming with a lay companion to a place called Tarifay, where he was met with hostility as a bringer of the "water of death," he quieted the people by explaining to them that the water of baptism was a water of life, not of death, and then, to demonstrate the truth of what he was saying, drank some of the water he carried with him. When they had calmed down, "he *read* them the explanation of the Christian doctrine, which Father San Vitores had composed" (italics mine). Having been won over in this way, they brought forth their infants and he baptized them, promising to bring them later someone to stay and further instruct the adults so that they too might be baptized (García 1683, 231–32).

San Vitores showed even more care with Pedro Calungsod and his companions, who, though they probably learned the language more quickly than the Jesuits, needed another kind of assistance to do what they were entrusted with.

> He instructed them carefully on the manner of baptizing and catechizing, and those whom he saw to be *more advanced and reliable* [*más aprovechados y seguros*], he used to send to some mission stations due to the lack of priests and the abundance of the harvest that there was in the beginning. They themselves recognized that the fruit which God reaped by their hands was due to the merits of the one who sent them and helped them with his prayers to do tasks so much above their ability. (García 1683, 218; italics mine)

One might get the impression from this that baptism was given quite freely and that the lay companions acted in almost the same fashion as the priests. However, neither of these is true, as is clear from the case of the Jesuit scholastic Bustillos, who would only baptize infants, but promise the adults a priest for later, even though he had given elementary instruction. Apart from the infants and from the old and sick, prospective Christians had to learn the *Doctrina Cristiana* and show themselves living a Christian life.

Thus in spite of the necessary baptisms of the very old and of certain infants in the beginning, the fifteen hundred adults who wished to become Christians had to wait at least a month before San Vitores would baptize any of them. Even then he had to struggle to overcome the prejudice of the chiefly class that baptism was too lofty a gift to be given to those of the lower class (García 1683, 219–222). García recounts how he went about building "the spiritual church of living stones, which are the faithful. He used to spend the whole day cat-

echizing the adults, repeating and singing the *Doctrina*, until he became hoarse"(213–14).

Once they learned the language, the companions could help in this work, but it was normally San Vitores and later, the other priests, often with expositions he had written out for them, who gave the *explanation* of Christian doctrines and the Commandments, which he called "ten steps to Heaven, proving how fitting and according to reason each one was" (215–16).

To evaluate his methods of evangelization, one has to understand the theological principles on which San Vitores and his companions worked. For him, as for St. Francis Xavier, all those who died without baptism, even if they were infants, were condemned to Hell, as being tainted with original sin. This rather gruesome belief motivated what might otherwise seem to be almost frantic efforts to reach as many infants and old and sick adults in the Marianas as possible, and as quickly as could be.

Thus in a letter to his father, to be brought to the king of Spain, he used the words of Xavier in a letter the saint had written a century earlier to Fr. Simão Rodrigues for the king of Portugal. "It is now time . . . to give a warning to the King, for the hour is now nearer than he thinks, in which God our Lord is going to call him to give an account, saying 'Give an account of your stewardship' [Lk 16:2]." For, San Vitores continues on his own, "the royal *cédula* . . . to procure the conversions of these Ladrones islands is totally forgotten, to the gravest harm of these poor souls, who are in even greater need than those in Purgatory, since they are in the ultimate need of what is necessary for salvation" ([Ledesma] 1981, 154–56).[19] And subsequently, writing to the confessor of the Queen, Fr. Everardo Nithard, S.J., he begs her help for "the salvation of so great a multitude of infants, who continue perishing every day" (ibid., 156).

It is in the light of this theology that we find that on the very first day ashore in Agana, as he says in the letter accompanying his *Arte*, he had baptized sixteen adults and thirty-four children of catechu-

19. This was in reference to the intense devotion, especially in Spain, to helping the souls in Purgatory with Masses, indulgences, and other good works which was so characteristic of late medieval and especially early modern Catholicism. His point is that the "souls in Purgatory," though in need of propitiatory help, were assured of eventual salvation; those without baptism would inevitably be condemned eternally to Hell. Though there were theologians who cast doubt on so grim a doctrine, it remained prevalent through the seventeenth century.

mens. In his report at the end of the year, those baptized by the missionaries between their arrival on 16 June 1668 and 21 April 1669 were 13,289, of whom about fifty adults were over one hundred years old, and over a hundred infants had since died. There were also over 20,000 catechumens (Burrus 1954, 936; [Ledesma] 1981, 202).

From the different accounts, one can see the method used. Having come to a village and gathered a crowd, normally the Jesuit would preach the Good News, those other than San Vitores reading the compositions he had written out for them, at least in the beginning. Most likely their primary source would be the Latin-Chamorro text that he had written in the "grammar and catechism." For those who were old and sick, this would suffice for baptism if they expressed themselves willing, according to the formula of his *Arte*. Particularly those parents who wished to become Christians might offer their infants to be baptized.

For the ordinary adult catechumens, there was in addition "the explanation of the Creed and the Commandments" which San Vitores had given to each missionary to read out (García 1683, 218). Those who expressed the desire to become Christians would then be told to learn the *Doctrina Cristiana*, and it is here that the lay companions of San Vitores would do their work of "catechizing," that is, of reciting or singing the *Doctrina* with the Chamorros until they learned it and understood it. Then if they had showed that they were ready to live a Christian life, it would be the priest who would perform the baptisms, unless some unforeseen sickness or accident made it necessary for one of the lay missionaries to do so in the absence of a priest.

After the founding and progress of the school for boys, San Vitores also made use of the "more advanced in the *Doctrina Cristiana* and [Christian] behavior" to accompany the priests on their mission journeys, acting as "interpreters and catechists," in the sense explained above, just as had been done in the early evangelization of the Philippines (García 1683, 240).

But the better instructed among the Filipino lay companions were entrusted with more responsibility. No doubt soon after arrival, San Vitores had composed the Spanish-Chamorro formula for the use of laymen in their explanation of the fundamentals of the faith in preparation for emergency baptism that he had promised in his *Arte*. García records: "He instructed his lay companions in the manner of catechizing, baptizing, and helping to die well, so that they might carry out these ministries *in case of necessity*, thus supplying for the lack of priests [*ministros*]" (1683, 321; italics mine).

Though it was, then, normally the Jesuits who explained the Christian doctrine and performed the baptism, in some cases with the aid of the written instructions that he had composed, San Vitores was compelled to put certain of his lay companions in charge of whole communities, at least for the intervals between the visits of the Jesuit priests. Their functions were limited, but important. Thus in 1669, he passed further north to the new islands of Asonson [Asunción] and Maug, the last of the inhabited ones.

> He converted and baptized the inhabitants of these two islands, who till now had no news of the light that had come to the neighboring islands, and had not heard the voice of Choco.[20] Hence without any obstacle, he was able to baptize all, or almost all, of them, favored by the grace of the Holy Spirit who had brought him.
>
> Not being able to pass on further in the light boats of those islands, he returned to the island of San Juan [Guam], leaving in the two islands two laymen, well instructed in how to baptize in extreme necessity, to help people to die well, and to take care of the church which he built there (García 1683, 250).[21]

From the men whose names have come down to us who were put in charge of a whole island it seems clear that normally these were older, mature men, and men fully familiar with the language—"más aprovechados y seguros," as we have noted above—like Francisco Maunahun, who spent two years without a priest in the island of Agrigan, and the unnamed interpreter, killed with him, who had also for two years taken charge of the islands of Gani (García 1683, 455–56).[22]

Similarly, the one sent to baptize in one village on Anatahan (presumably the cases of necessity) while San Vitores was baptizing in another, was another older man, Lorenzo, the Malabar from the 1638 shipwreck, who was killed while attempting to baptize an infant

20. That is, they had not been exposed to the rumors the Chinese pagan castaway had spread about the poisonous character of the baptismal water.

21. It would seem likely that these two men were Francisco Maunahun, and his unnamed companion in martyrdom.

22. The "islands of Gani" was the collective name for the eight northern islands, beginning with Anatahan and extending north to the last inhabited (at that time) island of Maug (Hezel 1989, 10–13). They included Asonson [Asunción] which San Vitores converted in 1669, and put there and in Maug the "two well-instructed laymen." Alamagan was likewise part of the islands of Gani, as was Agrigan, where Maunahun was put in charge for two years (ibid., 455–56). If these were the same two years, then either there is a second unnamed man, or Maunahun and his companion moved from island to island within the Gani group. For the sizes and distances in relation to one

(García 1683, 219, 250–51). Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, apparently unaccompanied, is reported to have been "going about the island in search of infants [to be baptized] (García 1683, 225). The younger Filipino companions, like Pedro, would not have had the same grasp of the language in the beginning as those who had lived in the Marianas since the shipwreck of 1638. Even then, though they undoubtedly had as much of it or more than the Jesuits, apart from San Vitores, and perhaps Cardeñoso, they would not have had the authority which the priests or the older men—at least all those of whom we have knowledge—would have had, both because of their age, and their previous more or less long residence in the islands. Hence, though the younger men are occasionally spoken of as catechists, or catechizing, it was in "[helping] the preachers of our holy faith untiringly in all the [their] state permitted," as was said concerning the donado, Felipe Sonson, and repeated in different terms even of the more mature men like Francisco Maunahun ("teaching according to his capacity"), as well as of others (Schumacher 1995, 274; García 1683, 455–56).

A Synthetic Picture

The facts and the inferences that we have proffered here do not, as we intimated in the beginning, tell us a great deal more with any certainty about Pedro Calungsod personally. Least of all, do they add anything to what Arévalo and Leyson have said with regard to his actions at the key moment of his life, when he was faced with the choice of saving himself, or being faithful to Father San Vitores and to God.

Much of the positive information concerns San Vitores's lay companions in general, and a good deal of it is by way of being first negative, in showing what they were not, so that we may infer what they were. Only by exclusion can we say what they were like in fact. And when we report the less than exemplary lives of not a few, we are enabled to see how Pedro preserved his sense of commitment in the company of others who had less of it than he. Nonetheless, we can

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another and to other islands, see the map in Risco 1970, third plate following p. 128. Of course there is also the possibility that García, writing in two different sections of his book, and being ignorant of the exact geography of the Marianas, has confused his data; it is impossible to know. The point remains that it was the "more advanced and mature" [*más aprovechados y seguros*] men that San Vitores entrusted with these priestless islands.

draw together the evidence available to give a composite picture of what the best of Pedro's companions, and thus he himself, were like.[23]

Pedro, like the majority of his lay companions who joined the mission in Manila, was a young man, not a boy, certainly fourteen years old at the very least, but more likely eighteen, or at a minimum, sixteen, particularly if he was a sailor. This would make him most probably twenty-one to twenty-three when he was martyred. He was a Visayan, and came possibly, but very doubtfully, from the island of Cebu. He could have come from any other of the Visayan islands. Wherever his home, as a boy he would have received the elementary training given in the parish schools in the Visayan language, or just perhaps, if he were by some chance from the city of Cebu, he might have had his primary education of religion, reading, and writing in the Jesuit Colegio de San Ildefonso.

If that simple possibility were to be a fact, it may have been, though we have no evidence, conducted in Spanish. He would certainly not have had any secondary education in Spanish, or much less in Latin. If the remote possibility that he was from the city of Cebu were verified, this could account for his knowledge of basic Spanish. But he could also have picked up the language informally, possibly as an assistant to one of the Spanish priests, whether Jesuit or Augustinian. He might also have first, or at least more thoroughly, picked it up as a sailor to Manila.

In any case, he and some other Visayan young men, notably the later martyr Hipólito de la Cruz and the latter's brother, Agustín de la Cruz, and apparently some other Visayans, had somehow come from the Visayas to Manila and/or Cavite. The only plausible reason I can offer to explain this somewhat unusual transfer from his native place in the largely less developed—religiously and culturally—Visayan provinces to Manila, would be that he and his Visayan companions were sailors on one of the ships plying their trade between the Visayas and Manila.

This is particularly suasive from the fact that it was not only Pedro, but apparently a whole group of Visayans who made the transfer. This

23. The primary sources, especially García, repeatedly make the point that those who were killed for their fidelity to their mission, were being rewarded for their zeal and fidelity with the gift of martyrdom. Of Francisco Maunahun and his unnamed companion: "I do not call tragedy [*desgracia*] but favor [*gracia*] of the Lord the death which the enemies of Christianity gave those two Christians" (1683, 455). And of Lorenzo the Malabar, after praising his zeal in helping the Fathers: "for this he merited to receive before them the crown that all desired" (ibid., 251).

would also explain his having obtained a fairly good grasp of Spanish, as apparently all the volunteer companions of San Vitores did. For San Vitores would later prepare a formula for baptizing infants and old people, or otherwise aiding the latter in the hour of death, which would be in Spanish with the Chamorro equivalents, thus presuming that Spanish was ordinary among his lay companions.

The plausible occupation of sailor to Manila would likewise give an occasion for learning Tagalog, which was probably the ordinary means of communication among the Filipino volunteers for the mission. In Manila/Cavite too, San Vitores would have tried to ascertain whether Pedro and the other volunteers of various ages he had recruited were really committed to their mission.

He also challenged their willingness and ability to live a good Christian life, even to giving up such customs as drinking *tuba,* so as to present a model for the Chamorros for whom they would work. They were reminded frequently that it was by their model Christian lives, rather than by preaching or even by catechizing, that they would be real missionaries and effective in bringing about the conversion and salvation of the Chamorro people to which they were dedicating themselves. If they could not live up to such standards, they would do more good by staying home.

Undoubtedly some of the younger men would be carried away by the spirit of adventure to volunteer, but we have every reason to think that fundamentally their religious motivation was sincere. Not all of the companions would later prove to be models of fidelity in the long run, however, in spite of the atmosphere of instruction and prayer with which San Vitores surrounded their lives. In the Marianas, they would have a variety of tasks, some material and others more clearly spiritual, such as the drilling of Chamorro catechumens in the *Doctrina Cristiana,* but San Vitores continued to impress on them the missionary vocation to which they had given themselves. Even when out in small groups with the Jesuits, they not only served their Masses, but joined in the Jesuit evening prayers of the Litany of the Saints, the rosary, and a special prayer of St. Francis Xavier for the conversion of unbelievers.

The lives of San Vitores's missionary companions were so closely linked to his that a large part of this article has actually been devoted to their leader, since only in the light of his ardent and charismatic personality can we glimpse the lives of his "lay missionary companions," and thus of Pedro Calungsod.

The Blessed Martyr

What has been said here is independent of the judgment that the Church has made on him by declaring his martyrdom authentic and beatifying him, somewhat later but ultimately for the same reason as Blessed Diego de San Vitores. We have tried to present facts, where possible, or at least inferences which seem plausible in the context of the known facts. As the title of the article indicates, these are "the comments of a historian."

However, the article would be incomplete if we were not to say something about the all too limited glimpse of his interior life, where, without abandoning the historian's role, we can speak as a fellow-Christian in search of bringing the Good News. Though few, the words of those who knew him well give us some insight into his person, particularly when their purpose was not to exalt Pedro, but rather their cherished Father Diego.

In his testimony in Manila in 1677, Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, who had been five years with Pedro, speaks of him as the "old companion of the Servant of God" [*antiguo compañero del Siervo de Dios*] ([Ledesma] 1981, 332), referring surely not to his age, but to his having often accompanied San Vitores, and hence one whom the latter trusted to be ready to accompany him on this dangerous mission.

Another of those who were in Guam at the time and knew Pedro, Fr. Alonso López, wrote of his death: "he could have saved himself from death if he had taken flight, but he wished like a good son to die at the side of his father, and not to abandon him. I consider it certain that if he were carrying arms he would first have finished off the two enemies [Matapang and Hirao] and delivered himself and the Father, given his ardent valor. But the pious soul of the Venerable Father never allowed those who accompanied him to carry weapons" ([Ledesma] 1981, 365).

The ardent courage and the unflinching loyalty of Pedro Calungsod had already received their encomium in the first account of the martyrdoms assembled in Manila from the reports coming from the Marianas, through the compiler, probably Fr. Andrés de Ledesma. San Vitores, he says, could not restrain himself on seeing outraged "the Faith which his fortunate [*dichoso*] companion had professed with constancy even to his death" ([Ledesma] 1898, 11).

It is not without reason that García could sum up Pedro's life by exclaiming: "How happy the man, and how well rewarded were his four years of faithfully serving God in the missions by accompanying

the Ministers of the Gospel, to be able to die for the Faith in company with the first Apostle of those islands, thus being the forerunner in Heaven of his martyrdom" (García 1683, 293).

Appendix 1: Missionaries or Soldiers?

If the designation of Pedro as a trained catechist is without foundation in the documents, and if whatever catechetical functions he may have exercised in the Marianas were only in the very limited and supplementary sense described, what was his role? The sources use various terminology for the companions of San Vitores, the most frequent of which is simply "lay companions" [*compañeros seglares*], which does not distinguish whether they were catechists, soldiers, carpenters, or other lay helpers for such functions as building houses and churches, carrying the baggage of the priests, or otherwise assisting them. Hence above I have called Pedro a "missionary," just as the donado Felipe Sonson was, or the Mexican volunteer, Diego Bazán, the religious nature of whose calling is well-documented. Though most of Pedro's and his companions' functions were material, they were essential parts of the mission team, enabling the Jesuits to devote themselves to preaching, giving the sacraments, and catechizing in the strict sense of the word.

The question arises then, was Pedro a soldier? We know, for example, that when San Vitores went to pacify the two warring Tinian factions in 1670, he formed what he called his *Armada Naval Mariana*, to help enforce the peace. This was "composed of three or four canoes, and ten soldiers . . . All the soldiers were natives of the Philippines, except one Basque from Vizcaya, Juan de Santiago by name. The captain of all was Don Juan de Santa Cruz" (García 1683, 255–56).

As arms they had one field gun, taken from the shipwreck of the *Concepción*, and three arquebuses or muskets. Since the total number of Filipinos in the whole of the Marianas was not large at the time—especially after the assassinations of some—and a few were scattered on other islands, the necessary implication is that all, even the donado Felipe Sonson, were soldiers at times.[24] This is further reinforced by the

24. San Vitores had originally spoken of bringing fifteen to twenty Filipinos. To judge from the difficulty he was experiencing when Felipe Sonson came to him—he had only four then—they probably scarcely reached twenty by the time of departure in 1667. Of course, the number was supplemented by six soldiers, who were not volunteers, but designated by Governor Manuel de Leon, from the galleon of 1669, but at least one of these—Sergeant Major Juan de Santiago—and probably all, were

description of the occurrence of January 1671, when on San Vitores's return from Santa Ana or Zarpana [today Rota], in his absence

> some of his lay companions, [Filipinos, from the context] who had earlier helped in the cultivation of the vineyard of the Lord, desirous of liberty, had fled to some apostate villages which had risen in revolt in his absence. He felt very much *the soldiers* he was losing, and much more because they were going astray and could cause others to go astray" (García 1683, 265; italics mine).[25]

Of these and their return to San Vitores we have spoken in the main text.

On the other hand, at the time of the siege of Agana in September-October 1671 by 2,000 Chamorros, all the sources speak only of twenty-nine to thirty-one soldiers, Spanish and Filipino, together with six [really five] Jesuits.[26] This number includes all those of the mission except for Fr. Alonso López and four lay companions who could not be contacted when Father San Vitores had called all together in Agana

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Spaniards (including Mexicans). Though they did perform certain functions of the lay volunteers, such as accompanying the missionaries (but without carrying any arms, according to San Vitores's instructions, they could not be considered missionaries in the sense that Pedro Calungsod and his volunteer companions were. On the other hand, one who was above all a missionary, Felipe Sonson, who had had military experience when young, "became quite skillful in the use of the musket," during the rebellions, with the permission of his superior (Schumacher 1995, 280). These occasions, of course, were purely for defense, especially during the lifetime of San Vitores.

25. Admittedly, he could also have been, and probably was, using the term "soldiers" in the metaphorical sense of soldiers of the Gospel. But the context implies actual military men.

26. Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, who had accompanied San Vitores from Manila and who led the military force in the siege, in his 1677 testimony at the canonical process on the martyrdom of San Vitores held in Manila, spoke of thirty *soldados* at the time of the siege of 1671 ([Ledesma] 1981, 221). Probably the captain did not include himself in the thirty, as they were *his* soldiers, just as in the account of San Vitores's *Armada Naval Mariana* above, where he is mentioned outside the ten "soldiers." Other testimonies given at the same time in Manila similarly give the figure thirty, probably with the same assumption ([Ledesma] 1981, 216–25). It is possible too that they were influenced by the captain's testimony, as chief eyewitness to this particular event, or were they just giving an approximate number. García (1983, 278 and elsewhere) speaks of twelve Spanish and nineteen Filipino soldiers "some with firearms, some with bows and arrows." Leyson (1993, 37–44; 1999, 58–61) quotes a report in the Jesuit Roman Archives, compiled by Fr. Andrés de Ledesma, the Jesuit provincial in the Philippines, from various accounts sent to him from the Marianas. This report to Rome, perhaps precisely because it is a compilation of different accounts, though it gives the figure of twelve Spaniards and seventeen Filipinos in one place, a few pages later speaks of

as the situation became dangerous.[27] There is no mention of anyone else.

It here becomes evident that those who were spoken of in some places as mere companions, or carpenters, or as baptizing or catechizing in the absence of a priest, also in fact acted as soldiers. Fewer than twelve of the Spaniards (including Mexicans), were regular soldiers, who had mostly arrived in 1669 and 1671, as it became clear that defense was necessary if the missionaries were not to be wiped out completely by hostile factions in Guam.[28] There were *no* laymen who did not also act as soldiers in times of crisis. The Jesuits, of course, did not take part in the fighting, but did stand watch during the night so that the soldiers could sleep (García 1683, 279).

However, we must not conclude from this that either Pedro or the other lay companions of 1668 (excluding the six soldiers sent in 1669 and the unknown number—probably three or four—sent on the 1671

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thirty-one soldiers. Though supplying the Spanish original in a footnote, presumably from J. Ledesma (1981, 273–81), Leyson inadvertently translates "treinta y uno" as "thirty" rather than thirty-one (1993, 41; 1999, 59). This report was later printed with a letter from Fr. José Vidal, S.J., to the father of San Vitores, Don Gerónimo. It is known to have been published three times in the seventeenth century under different titles, described by J. Ledesma (1981, 273), the third of them in Seville in 1674. Though unmentioned by either J. Ledesma or Leyson, there was a new edition with a new title in 1898, containing the same contradictory numbers (Ledesma 1898). Murillo Velarde (1749, f. 297r) gives the figure of twelve Spaniards and nineteen Filipinos, almost certainly dependent on García. All things considered, thirty-one seems the most reliable figure for the total, twelve Spaniards, including Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, and nineteen Filipinos. A clear indication that the Filipinos were not soldiers is that they had no firearms, but only bows and arrows, and according to another source, machetes or bolos. The bows and arrows were no match for the arrows of the Chamorros, made of human bones, which contained poison.

27. Though García does not identify them in his account of the siege except to speak of one priest with a few [*pocos*] lay companions, later in his history he speaks of San Vitores having "sent Father Alonso López to [Tinian] with four lay companions, whom he could not advise in time to retire to Guam" when the siege of 1671 threatened (1683, 453). It is evident that these must be the unidentified ones referred to above, and that the "pocos" were four. Since García wrote from many sources, and in this fifth and last book of his work abandons the chronological order to narrate the lives and virtues of the principal ones who had been killed up to 1681, he evidently did not connect his narration here with what he had said earlier, when treating the life and career of San Vitores.

28. As we have indicated already, not all the Spaniards in the mission were soldiers—e.g., Bazán and Mendoza—and as we will indicate below, the number of regular soldiers who arrived in 1669 and 1671 (there was no galleon in 1670), did not reach twelve, even including the ones who had already been killed.

galleon[29]) were primarily soldiers and not missionaries. The situation during the lifetime of San Vitores was quite different from later times when a Spanish governor and a Spanish military commander with regular soldiers determined the armed interventions against hostile Chamorros, including burning of houses or villages, and retaliatory as well as defensive military action (Hezel 1982, 126–27).[30] The original royal cedula establishing the mission named San Vitores personally, with supreme authority both in religious and temporal matters, with his successors as Jesuit superior to succeed to this authority ([Ledesma]

29. The soldiers of 1671 may be deduced to be three or four, since the Mexican, José Peralta, had been killed by now, but Santa Cruz, Don Francisco Mendoza (to be seen below), and Bazán should, *per se*, be included in the twelve Spaniards, though probably Mendoza, as interpreter, and perhaps Bazán, were among the four lay companions absent on Tinian with Fr. Alonso López. Since the latter had only been in the Marianas a few months, he certainly needed a good interpreter, and having come from Mexico rather than from the Philippines, hence knowing no Philippine language, it is likely that San Vitores would give him the Spanish interpreter, Mendoza ([Ledesma] 1981, 216; García 1683, 267). Since all sources agree that there were twelve Spaniards, apart from the Jesuits, this number must have included the Mexican *criollos* or mestizos who had been among the soldiers who arrived on the 1669 or 1671 galleons, of whom Peralta, the punishment of whose murder occasioned the siege, was one. Another Mexican or Spaniard who came as a soldier in 1671 was Don Nicolas de Mendoza, who testified at the process in Manila in 1677 ([Ledesma] 1981, 218–20).

30. The first "professional" soldiers were the six who came in 1669, apparently unsought by San Vitores. Risco (1970, 140–42) cites a document from the Jesuit archives of Loyola, hitherto unpublished, relating the visit of the new Governor-General of the Philippines, Don Manuel de Leon, on his way to Manila. It was he who took the initiative to leave these six soldiers behind, in the face of the increasing hostility of those whose minds had been poisoned against the missionaries by the Chinese Choco. The governor attempted to take the latter prisoner to Manila, but was unable to locate him. He also left behind some more muskets and ammunition. It is evident that San Vitores had, in the face of the realities he had encountered, modified to a certain limited extent his original policy of radical pacifism. The soldiers were, however, still subject to his ultimate authority, though at first under the immediate command of Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, who had come as a missionary in 1668, but took command when there was need of military action. In 1672 he was succeeded by the regular military officer, Captain Juan de Santiago, one of those left by Governor de Leon. In 1674 Damián de Esplana arrived as Manila-appointed military commander with more reinforcements after several priests and laymen, including San Vitores and Pedro Calungsod had been killed. In 1676 Francisco de Irrisari came as governor, with full authority over both civil and military matters, displacing the Jesuit superior in this regard, and brought more reinforcements, thus bringing the garrison to over 100 men. Both these latter commanders pursued a policy of strong force against any violence or revolt (Hezel 1982, 127).

1981, 165–66; Hezel 1982, 117).[31] But he never saw the spiritual conquest of the Marianas as one to be accomplished by, or—at least in the beginning—even to be protected by, military force.

With the galleon of 1669, besides accepting the six soldiers left by Governor de Leon from the *San José*, San Vitores took other steps for the protection of the mission which he had come to see were necessary. One was on the list of needs he sent on, apparently to Father José Vidal, the procurator of the mission living in Mexico. Together with the expected requests for Mass wine, wheat for hosts, candles, and other articles for the churches he was establishing in different places, and other religious articles to give to the Chamorro converts, there are curious requests for "things which we will accept for the love of God, sent to us by that same love": "eyeglasses of various grades, especially six pairs for old men [he had lost his own on a mission expedition, and thus half-blind, needed to be led by a rope around his waist with a series of knots to designate whether they were going uphill or down!], binoculars to recognize the ships; light and poor clothing like that made of hemp [*brocasí*][32]; shoes in sizes [*puntos*] 10, 11, 12, and 13." Coming more to our point, he requested:

> Firearms for the people who are here: six firelocks [*escopetas*] and six pistols, which will cause the wicked ones more horror than the cannon with its lanyard, and munitions; shields. Though we religious have other, better, arms, the lay companions say that they have a real need for them. Since our entrance here has been to such an extent one of peace, the abovementioned safeguards will not cause any injury for the preservation and defense of those already Christians" ([Ledesma] 1981, 211–12).

Whether or not he requested more soldiers directly from Governor de Leon at this time, we do not know, but an undetermined number—which we have calculated to be three or four—did arrive on the next galleon of 1671. By this time the situation had changed drastically for the worse, and would become worse still once the galleon had departed, and the Chamorro enemies saw they had a much weaker force to contend with. Fr. Luís de Medina, Hipólito de la Cruz, Lorenzo the Malabar, Sergeant Lorenzo Castellanos, Gabriel de la Cruz, had all

31. However, Hezel speaks of a "garrison" of "troops," which we have shown not to be the primary function of San Vitores's original companions. Mojares (2000, 43) shares the same error.

32. This translation is given by Ledesma in Risco (1970, 143). The word is not found in even the best Spanish or Tagalog dictionaries, nor could any Spaniard or Mexican I consulted explain it.

been killed before this time. Though moved to joy at the great grace of martyrdom, clearly given at least to the first three, San Vitores saw that such continued martyrdoms, however much he might extol them and pray for the same grace for himself, could end in disaster to the mission, if not its total extinction.

Apparently as early as the 1669 galleon, he therefore sent to the Queen-Regent through his father, Don Gerónimo, a request for two hundred Pampango soldiers.[33] On 10 November 1671, the Queen-Regent issued such a decree, together with other royal cedulas to fulfill other

33. Risco claims that San Vitores sent a letter to his father, dated 6 June 1671, requesting "more soldiers, more firearms and muskets," to be presented to the Royal Council in Madrid. This he asserts to have arrived in Madrid in September, and that the Queen immediately sent a cedula to the Viceroy of Mexico, which arrived there on 18 November of the same year. On that date it was decided at a meeting to send eighteen well armed men to the Marianas, who arrived there the next year, 1672, when San Vitores was already dead. The chronology of Risco is impossible, and he appears to have confused two different decrees. The galleon *Buen Socorro*, on which Risco alleges San Vitores's letter was sent to his father in June 1671, was on its way to Manila. This trip took a month or more. If the yearly galleon had not already left, in which case another year would pass (it usually left in June or July, though sometimes later) it would wait for the next galleon ready to make the four to eight months' voyage to Acapulco. An indeterminate time would then be needed to get the letter overland, probably via Mexico City, to Vera Cruz, where, if a ship happened to be ready to sail, three weeks to a month might be required before arriving in Sevilla. From there the letter would go overland to the royal court. The Queen could not have received it much before the middle of 1672, perhaps later. Then, of course, there would be bureaucratic consultations in the Consejo de Indias before the royal cedula was sent, by way of Mexico, to Manila. Actually, what was received in Mexico and discussed at a *junta* of 18 November 1671 was a reply to a letter sent by San Vitores through his father *in 1669*, asking in a general way for more Spanish troops and arms for defense. The Queen ordered the Viceroy in Mexico to see what could be done. As a result, the Mexican junta resolved to send eighteen soldiers—Spaniards or Mexicans. García (1683, 266) speaks of the *Buen Socorro* of June 1671 as bringing supplies San Vitores had requested in the list of 1669 cited above, "and soldiers whom Her Majesty sent, by the providence of the Lord, who saw the need." The implication, which is consistent with San Vitores's list of 1669, is that these soldiers had been sent solely at the initiative of the Queen, and perhaps the request of San Vitores's father, and as we have seen, they were only a few—three or four). The eighteen from Mexico, if they were sent at all, would have arrived in May 1672 on the *San Diego*. García's account of this detachment simply says: "They left some [*algunos*] soldiers, without it being necessary to oblige anyone; rather there were many who asked for it, with the desire to avenge the death of Father San Vitores, and to cooperate in the great harvest which that land promised, watered as it was with the blood of so many martyrs" (1683, 446). The minutes of the Mexican junta are reproduced from a document from the Archivo de Indias in Astrain 1920, 816. The estimates for the time required for a letter to travel from Guam to Manila to Mexico to

requests of San Vitores. The 1672 galleon, the *San Diego*, arriving shortly after the death of San Vitores, did bring supplies and some soldiers—most likely the eighteen decided on in Mexico—with good arms, and the *San Antonio* of 1673 brought to Guam and Manila the royal cedula, ordering that two hundred Pampango soldiers should be sent from Manila (Montero y Vidal 1887, 345; García 1683, 469–70). In spite of this, however, due to opposition in Manila, apparently by Governor-General Manuel de Leon, the Pampango soldiers did not arrive.[34] Only in 1675 and 1676 would substantial numbers of troops

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Madrid and back to Mexico to Guam and Manila are roughly based on the data in Schurz 1939, chapter seven, *passim*, and in scattered references in García. Hezel gives a brief summary of the 1669 letter to the Queen, enclosed with her decree of 12 August 1671 to the Viceroy of Mexico, which must be the one discussed in the junta of 18 November 1671, and corresponds to what Astrain says about the latter. However, Hezel specifies two hundred Filipinos, which Astrain's document indicates was never discussed. In any case, the two hundred Pampangos would have had to have been sent by the Governor of the Philippines, not by the Viceroy of Mexico. Perhaps Hezel too has taken this detail from the other royal cedula (Hezel 1982, 122). Since to resolve otherwise this passing mention would occasion further insoluble difficulties, I prefer to think it was an inadvertent conflation of two decrees on Hezel's part as well as on Risco's. It would then be in 1671, after the several priests and lay companions had been killed, that San Vitores again wrote to the Queen, specifically calling for two hundred Pampangos, coming not from Mexico, as the Spaniards and Mexicans of 1669 and 1671 had come, but from Manila. The answering royal cedulas, the last of which was dated 10 November 1671 (when her previous cedula had not yet even been taken up in Mexico), were directed to the governor of the Philippines, as well to the now dead San Vitores. These cedulas would come on the galleon of 1673, and San Vitores's second successor (the immediate successor, Fr. Francisco Solano, had already died) , Fr. Francisco Esquerra, would send Fr. Gerardo Bouvens to Manila to obtain the passage of the Pampangos from the governor, as well as a small boat which could be used for interisland travel (García 1683, 470).

34. Though García does not name the governor explicitly, De León was governor-general 1669–77. García calls him "enemigo declarado de la misión Mariana, " which is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the description of De León's interest and concern for the mission when he passed there in 1669, as recounted in the document from Loyola cited above by Risco (1970, 140–42). However, Manila governors-general were notorious for ignoring orders from Madrid—"se obedece, pero no se cumple." One possible reason why the Governor-General may have been unwilling to send the requested Pampango troops is that just about this time the prince of the island of Siao (in modern Indonesia) came to request Jesuit missionaries, with troops to defend his kingdom against the Dutch. De Leon sent with the Jesuits twenty Spaniards and an unspecified number of Pampangos to fulfill this request. (All were driven out by the Dutch in 1677). At the same time he was faced with rumors (false, as it turned out) of an invasion by a Chinese corsair from Formosa. It is not surprising then that he felt himself unable to send the requested number of Pampangos to the Marianas (Montero y Vidal 1887, 355, 357, 361).

actually come, though not by any means the two hundred Pampangos that San Vitores had requested (Montero y Vidal 1887, 346).[35]

While hoping for some military defenders, San Vitores, recognized that he must act, and make his companions act, with supernatural prudence. For he had increasingly realized the danger that the entire mission might gradually be wiped out by the hostile factions, or that, because of killings committed by one or a few hostile Chamorros, whole villages would withdraw in fear from even listening to the message of the missionaries.[36]

> He told his companions that the ministers of the Gospel should make use of all licit means to plant the faith and the grace of God in the villages. He enjoined them strongly to guard themselves from the dangers of death, as far as that should be possible and licit. For the harm and detriment that would follow for the new Christian community in the loss of many souls of recently baptized children, and of dying adults still in need of baptism, was greater than [the value of] any kind of death, no matter how glorious it might be. For, he added, in the villages where these deaths happen, since they consider themselves to be enemies of the Christians, they do not allow missionaries to enter, for fear of the punishment that their crimes deserve (García 1683, 326–27).

Nonetheless, for the first two years, even in spite of the killings we have enumerated, especially Fr. Luis de Medina and his Visayan companion, Hipólito de la Cruz, he would not allow any fortifications around the mission compound, even for defense. His reason was "to show more clearly that our Law is one of peace, and that those did not come to their lands to make war who did not themselves show any fear of it" (García 1683, 277).

Only when the 2,000 Chamorros under Hurao began to gather together to drive out all the missionaries did he allow some fortifications to be built and two field-pieces, one salvaged from the shipwreck of

35. The newly named governor of the Marianas, Francisco Irrisari, (replacing the Jesuit superiors in their civil authority), brought seventy-four troops. With the arrival of these Hezel estimates the total garrison amounted to about one hundred men (1982, 127).

36. It should be emphasized that at no time were the Chamorros as a whole, or even the majority, hostile to the missionaries or to their preaching, as Mojares implies (2000, 49). But Chamorro society was faction-ridden, a fact the Jesuits did not perceive for some time, and even on the major islands where most of the hostility occurred, while one faction attacked or bitterly opposed the missionaries, others welcomed them, and the number of genuine conversions was great. This was especially true on those islands where the calumnies of the Chinese Choco had not reached, such as those of the north, where the missionaries, even the lay ones, were well received and where almost

the *Concepción*, and the other from the ship which had cast his Chinese enemy, Choco, on the islands, to be set up, just before the forty-day siege of 1671 began. Even these few weapons, he felt, were to be used only to frighten the enemies by their noise, and not to kill, though of course in the end this proved impossible, as the Chamorros taunted the Spaniards with having thunder, but no lightning! (García 1681, 261). Even after the siege began, San Vitores again insisted on negotiations, and even presented many gifts to the attackers, who saw this as a sign of cowardice and even composed chants of their victory over the Spaniards.

San Vitores persisted, even as he was showered with stones, much to the disgust of the few Spanish soldiers, who considered the idea of negotiating with the Chamorros for peace rather than winning it from them by force of arms as contrary to their soldier's honor (García 1681, 278–79). But San Vitores had never had the idea of evangelization through military power, even from the first concrete concept of the mission in Manila. Though he would eventually partially modify his views in the face of reality, he never conceded anything but a military force purely for defense.

Appendix 2: Introduction of Tuba to the Marianas

San Vitores mentions in several places the advantage of there being no alcoholic beverages among the Chamorros as a reason why they would be easier to convert than other pagan peoples. Even after a year's experience, in the report of 15 May 1669 signed by San Vitores and the other Jesuits, he lists among the good qualities of the Chamorros that they never drink distilled spirits [*licor*] or anything else which causes drunkenness ([Ledesma]1981, 205; also García 1683,198). However, the evidence is ambiguous.

García tells elsewhere that in their feasts they had "a drink composed of gruel [*atole*], rice and shredded coconut" (1683, 200). Whether it was fermented, he does not say. The modern biography of Risco, though undocumented, quotes a primary source to which he had access, and which was evidently the source of García, namely a Jesuit

everyone asked for baptism, and underwent the necessary instruction and memorizing of the *Doctrina Cristiana* in order to receive it. Almost all the killings or other hostile actions took place on Guam, Tinian, Saipan, and Rota, which were, however, the largest and most populous islands, but precisely for that reason most divided. Moreover, after the siege of 1671, hostile groups from Guam traveled to some of these islands to stir up opposition to the missionaries (García 1683, 453–54).

Annual Letter, which says rather ambiguously that "they take no wine nor intoxicating liquor" and comments on the restraint in their fiestas, where they took "a beverage made from rice and shredded coconut, which they drink without any reprehensible excess" (Risco 1970, 111). The statement seems to imply that they *did* have a fermented drink, otherwise there would not be any point to saying that they did not drink it to excess. But it was certainly not tuba, and it does seem true that the Chamorros were not given to *borracheras.*

However, it would be surprising if none of the Filipinos who were shipwrecked in 1638 and lived for twenty-six years in Chamorro society, particularly the Visayans, did not teach them the use of tuba, especially since there is evidence that they introduced many innovations into what had been a very primitive society. Among notable indications that the Filipinos made innovations in Chamorro society was that previously there had been no animals, until dogs and cats came from the shipwreck of 1638 (probably also rats), and even more remarkable, the Chamorros did not know fire, until it was shown them by the Filipino castaways (García 1683, 194, 198). They likewise had no cloth, hence their nakedness, and were amazed when the missionaries in 1668 and 1671 introduced sheep, pigs, cows, doves, a small bull, and a horse.

What is certain is that at least after San Vitores's death when a regular force of Mexican and Filipino soldiers was established, tuba was evidently introduced and taken up by the Chamorros, however moderately. A report of 1720 on the sad state of the colony, written by its former governor and military commander, Don José Quiroga, among other accusations against the incumbent Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel, stated that he set up a store in which he sold "*aguardiente,* a local fermented drink made from the coconut palm by Chamorros and bought by the governor for a pittance" (Hezel 1989, 41).

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